ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Willie F. Page, EDITOR

REVISED EDITION BY
R. Hunt Davis, Jr., EDITOR

Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

VOLUME I

ANCIENT AFRICA

(PREHISTORY TO 500 CE)

Willie F. Page, Editor

Revised edition by R. Hunt Davis, Jr., Editor

A Learning Source Book

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Encyclopedia of African History and Culture,

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For my wife, Grace,
and my sons, Ed and Chris

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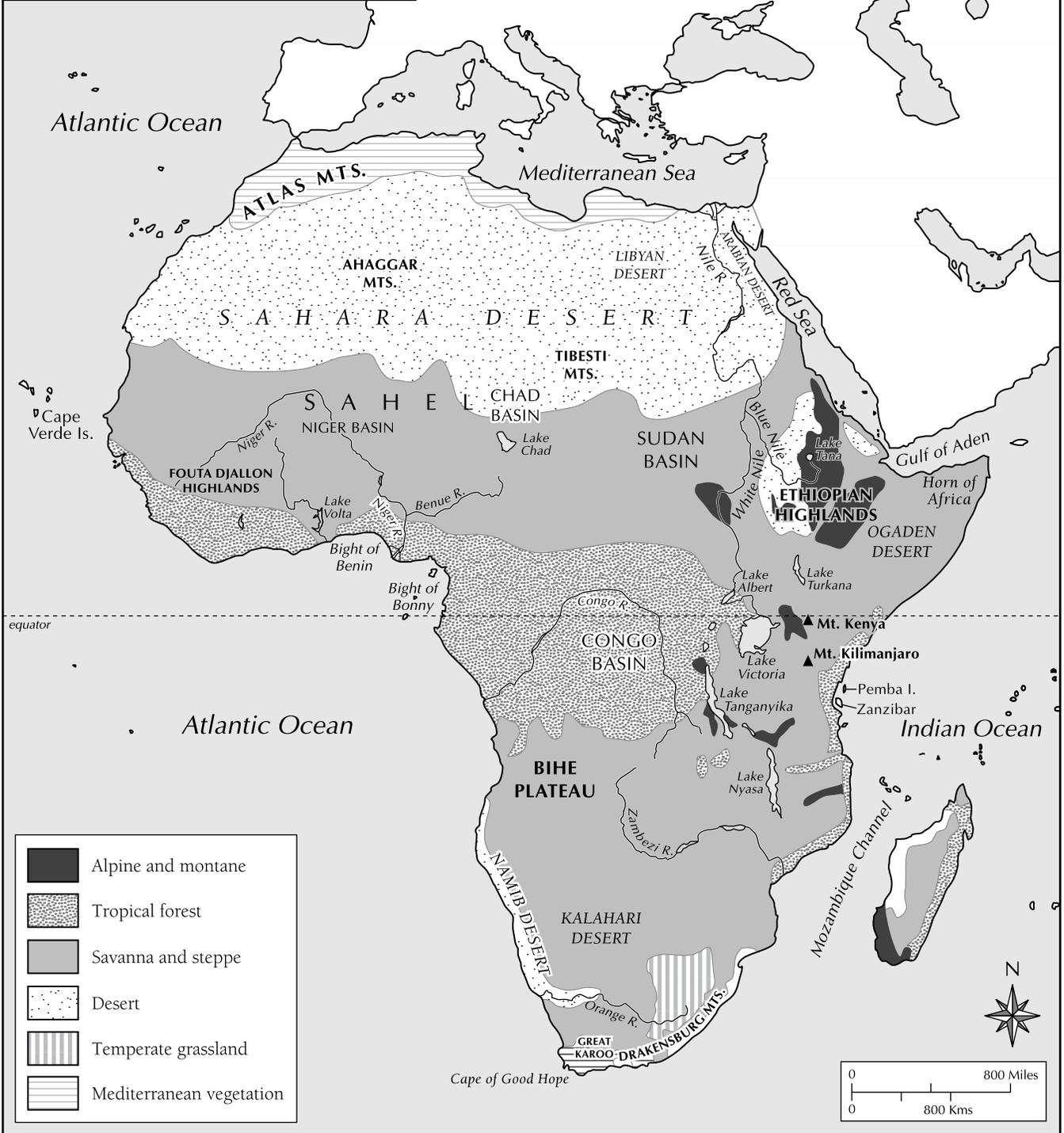
Africa and the Mediterranean Region: Major Empires and Kingdoms, 3000 BCE–700 CE

Atlantic Ocean

ROME
c. 200 BCE–476 CE

MACEDONIA
338–323 BCE

Black Sea

Caspian Sea

ASSYRIA
c. 2000–612 BCE

ATHENS
477–404 BCE

HITTITES
c. 2000–1193 BCE

Nineveh

SPARTA
404–371 BCE

Euphrates

Tigris

PERSIA
550–c. 250 BCE

CARTHAGE
c. 600–146 BCE

Mediterranean Sea

SYRIA

Byblos

Babylon

Susa

Tripoli

ISRAEL

Cairo

JUDAH

Memphis

OLD BABYLON
c. 2000–1750 BCE

Pasargadae

EGYPT
c. 2700–c. 1070 BCE

Nile

NEW BABYLON
c. 626–539 BCE

Thebes

Elephantine

Red Sea

Abu Simbel

KUSH
c. 2400 BCE–350 CE

ANCIENT GHANA
c. 500–1200 CE

NUBIA

PUNT
c. 2000–1500 BCE

Napata

Gebel Barkal

Segou

Niger R.

Lake Chad

MEROË
c. 600 BCE–300 CE

ABYSSINIA

YORUBALAND

Benue R.

AKSUM
c. 500 BCE–1000 CE

Benin

Igbo

Congo R.

Indian Ocean

Lake Victoria

Lake Tanganyika

Atlantic Ocean

Lake Nyasa

Zambezi R.

N

Orange R.

0		800 Miles
0		800 Kms

Political Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

MOROCCO

Canary Is. (SPAIN)

WESTERN SAHARA

MAURITANIA

CAPE VERDE

SENEGAL

THE GAMBIA

GUINEA-BISSAU

GUINEA

SIERRA LEONE

LIBERIA

MALI

BURKINA FASO

IVORY COAST

GHANA

TOGO

BENIN

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE

TUNISIA

ALGERIA

NIGER

NIGERIA

Mediterranean Sea

LIBYA

EGYPT

CHAD

REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

Red Sea

ERITREA

DJIBOUTI

ETHIOPIA

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

SOMALIA

GABON

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Cabinda (ANGOLA)

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

RWANDA

BURUNDI

UGANDA

KENYA

TANZANIA

SEYCHELLES

Indian Ocean

Atlantic Ocean

ANGOLA

ZAMBIA

MALAWI

COMOROS

MADAGASCAR

MAURITIUS

Réunion (FRANCE)

NAMIBIA

ZIMBABWE

MOZAMBIQUE

BOTSWANA

SWAZILAND

SOUTH AFRICA

LESOTHO

N

1 North Africa
2 East Africa
3 West Africa
4 Central Africa
5 Southern Africa

| 0 | 800 Miles |
| 0 | 800 Kms |

Physical Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

Mediterranean Sea

ATLAS MTS.

AHAGGAR
MTS.

S A H A R A D E S E R T

*LIBYAN
DESERT*

Nile R.

ARABIAN DESERT

Red Sea

TIBESTI
MTS.

*Cape
Verde Is.*

S A H E L

CHAD
BASIN

NIGER BASIN

Niger R.

*Lake
Chad*

SUDAN
BASIN

Blue Nile

*Lake
Tana*

Gulf of Aden

*Horn of
Africa*

FOUTA DJALLON
HIGHLANDS

*Lake
Volta*

Benue R.

Niger R.

White Nile

ETHIOPIAN
HIGHLANDS

OGADEN
DESERT

*Bight of
Benin*

*Bight of
Bonny*

*Lake
Albert*

*Lake
Turkana*

equator

Congo R.

▲ Mt. Kenya

CONGO
BASIN

*Lake
Victoria*

▲ Mt. Kilimanjaro

Atlantic Ocean

*Lake
Tanganyika*

Pemba I.
Zanzibar

Indian Ocean

BIHE
PLATEAU

*Lake
Nyasa*

Zambezi R.

Mozambique Channel

NAMIB DESERT

KALAHARI
DESERT

Orange R.

GREAT
KAROO

DRAKENSBURG MTS.

Cape of Good Hope

N

Legend

◼	Alpine and montane
▓	Tropical forest
▒	Savanna and steppe
░	Desert
▦	Temperate grassland
▤	Mediterranean vegetation

0		800 Miles
0		800 Kms

CONTENTS

LIST OF ENTRIES

PREFACE

In three initial volumes, the first edition of this encyclopedia covered African history and culture from earliest times to 1850. This new edition adds two volumes to carry the coverage to the present. Also, we have revised the original three volumes to include a number of needed articles, while consolidating some entries and updating others. One particularly necessary revision involved including entries for all of Africa's present-day countries in each of the three initial volumes. In addition to new country articles, Volume I now includes a number of new geographical entries. African languages, which had been spread among the three volumes, are now consolidated in this volume, as well. The present Volume I thus contains entries that are not necessarily tied to any specific chronological period as well as articles that deal with African history and culture prior to 500 CE. The articles in the remaining four volumes are more solidly anchored to the time periods of each particular volume.

Examining Africa's past represents, in many ways, a supreme challenge to scholarly endeavor. Some of it is known, but much of it still awaits further research. It is possible to lay out a broad outline of the past, but fundamental questions remain. For example, what sparked the massive expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples, a population movement that lasted centuries and that transformed the cultural and political landscape of the continent? How did Africans learn to make iron, and how did iron-making technology spread from region to region? Exactly who were the Egyptians? Were they, as many Afrocentric scholars have argued, black Africans who migrated into the Nile River Valley from elsewhere? Or, as many traditional Egyptologists have maintained, were they indigenous to Egypt? Or were they a mixture of peoples? How were empires such as Mali, Ghana, and Songhai governed, and what was the relationship between rulers and ruled? How extensive was the impact of the transatlantic slave trade on Africa? What is the legacy of colonialism, and how do we measure its impact today? Why is Africa today the world's poorest and most disadvantaged continent? What will it take to change this situation?

Fundamental questions like these serve to spur further research on both the African past and present. There is a desire—indeed a pressing need—to discover more about Africa's past and to better understand its present. For millions of people around the world, in Africa and elsewhere, it is part of a discovery of their own traditions and heritage as well as those of their neighbors and their ancestors. For others, it is a wish for knowledge. Who can let languish the exploration of so vast a part of human life and history?

When using this encyclopedia, readers should keep in mind the vastness and diversity of Africa itself. It is the world's second-largest continent, occupying one-fifth of the earth's land surface. It contains the world's longest river, the Nile, and its largest desert, the Sahara. The continent's climate and topography exhibit tremendous variation. Thus it is not surprising that Africa is equally vast and rich in the diversity of its peoples and cultures. Simply put, this great diversity makes it impossible to offer a comprehensive treatment of African history and culture for any of the encyclopedia's chronological periods. As a result, choices had to be made about what to include and what to leave out. On the whole this has been done following several simple criteria. Among the most important of these are, first: What are the most significant historical developments and cultural features of Africa, past and present? Second: What are the best-established facts and interpretations? Third: What will be most useful and interesting for the reader? And fourth: What information will be most helpful in bringing Africa's past and present to life for the reader? It is the hope of everyone associated with this project—the writer, the editors, and others—that these criteria have resulted in an array of articles that illuminate the richness and variety of African life and culture over time. It also is our hope that this work will stimulate those who read and use it to continue to learn more about how, in the words of the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE), there is always something new coming out of Africa.

R. Hunt Davis, Jr.

HOW TO USE THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA

This encyclopedia is organized chronologically, dividing the African past into five major eras. This division serves to make it easier to study the vastness and complexity of African history and culture. It also allows students and general readers to go directly to the volume or volumes they wish to consult.

Volume I, *Ancient Africa,* deals with Africa up to approximately 500 CE (roughly, in terms of classical European history, to the Fall of the Roman Empire and the dissolution of the Ancient World on the eve of the emergence of Islam). The volume also includes articles on the continent's key geographical features and major language families. In addition you will find articles that deal with certain basic aspects of African life that, in essential ways, remain relatively constant throughout time. For example, rites of passage, funeral customs, the payment of bride-wealth, and rituals related to spirit possession are features common to many African societies. Although these features can evolve in different cultures in radically different ways, their basic purpose remains constant. Accordingly, rather than try to cover the evolution of these cultural features in each volume, we offer a more general explanation in Volume I, with the understanding that the details of these cultural touchstones can vary widely from people to people and change over time.

On the other hand there are entries related to key cultural and social dimensions whose changes are easier to observe over time. Such entries appear in each of the volumes and include architecture, art, clothing and dress, economics, family, music, religion, warfare, and the role of women.

Volume II, *African Kingdoms,* focuses on what may be loosely termed "medieval Africa," from the sixth century to the beginning of the 16th century. This is the period that witnessed the rise and spread of Islam and, to a lesser degree, Arab expansion throughout much of the northern and eastern regions of the continent. It also saw the flowering of some of Africa's greatest indigenous kingdoms and empires. Other Africans, such as the Maasai and Kikuyu living in and around present-day Kenya, did not live in powerful states during this time yet developed their own dynamic cultures.

Volume III, *From Conquest to Colonization,* continues Africa's story from roughly 1500 to 1850. During this era Africa became increasingly involved with the Atlantic world due to European maritime exploration and subsequent interaction through trade and cultural exchanges. This period also included the rise of the transatlantic slave trade, which in turn created the African Diaspora, and the beginnings of European colonization. As a result, it marks a period when the dynamics shaping African culture and society began to shift.

Volume IV, *The Colonial Era,* covers Africa during the years 1850–1960. This historical period begins with Europe's conquest of the continent, leading to the era of colonial rule. Political control enabled Europe to extend its economic control as well, turning Africa into a vast supply depot of raw materials. Volume IV also covers the rise of nationalist movements and the great struggle Africans undertook to regain their independence.

Volume V, *Independent Africa,* deals with the continent since 1960, when Africans began regaining their independence and started to once again live in sovereign states. (This process, of course, took longer in the southern portion of the continent than in other parts.) In common with the rest of the world's people, however, Africans have faced a host of new and challenging problems, some of which are specific to Africa, while others are of a more global nature.

In addition to the aforementioned cultural entries that appear in all five volumes, there are entries for each of the present-day countries of the continent as identified on the Political Map found at the front of each volume. Readers can thus learn about the key developments in a given country within a given time period or across the entire span of African history. There are also articles on individual ethnic groups of Africa in each of the volumes. Since there are more than a thousand identifiable groups, it has been necessary to limit coverage to the major or key groups within a given period. Thus, a group that might be historically important in one period may not be

sufficiently important, or may not even have existed, in a period covered by one or more other volumes. Likewise, there are entries on the major cities of the continent for given time periods, including, in Volume V, all the present national capitals. Another key set of entries common to all volumes concerns historically important persons. In general, historians are more readily able to identify these individuals for recent periods than for earlier times. As a result the latter volumes contain more individual biographical entries. An exception here is the case of Ancient Egypt, where historical records have enabled us to learn about the roles of prominent individuals.

In preparing these volumes, every attempt has been made to make this encyclopedia as accessible and easy to use as possible. At the front of each volume, readers will find an introduction and a timeline specific to the historical era covered in the volume. There are also three full-page maps, two of which appear in all five volumes (the current political map and a physical map), and one that is specific to the volume's time period. In addition the front of each volume contains a volume-specific list of the photographs, illustrations, and maps found therein. The List of Entries at the front of each volume is the same in all volumes and enables the reader to quickly get an overview of the entries within the individual volumes, as well as for the five-volume set. Entries are arranged alphabetically, letter-by-letter within each volume.

Entry headwords use the most commonly found spelling or representation of that spelling, with other frequently used spellings in parentheses. The question of spelling, of course, is always a major issue when dealing with languages utilizing an alphabet or a script different than that used for English. Changes in orthography and the challenges of transliteration can produce several variants of a word. Where there are important variants in spelling, this encyclopedia presents as many as possible, but only within the entries themselves. For easy access to variant and alternate spelling, readers should consult the index at the end of each volume, which lists and cross-references the alternate spellings that appear in the text.

Each volume contains an index that has references to subjects in the specific volume, and the cumulative index at the end of Volume V provides easy access across the volumes. A cumulative glossary appears in each volume and provides additional assistance.

The entries serve to provide the reader with basic rather than exhaustive information regarding the subject at hand. To help those who wish to read further, each entry is linked with other entries in that volume via cross-references indicated by SMALL CAPITALS. In addition the majority of entries are followed by a **See also** section, which provides cross-references to relevant entries in the other four volumes. The reader may find it useful to begin with one of the general articles—such as the ones dealing with archaeology, dance, oral traditions, or women—or to start with an entry on a specific country or an historically important state and follow the cross-references to discover more detailed information. Readers should be aware that cross-references, both those embedded in the text and those in the **See also** section, use only entry headword spellings and not variant spellings. For those readers who wish to research a topic beyond the material provided in individual and cross-referenced entries, there is also a **Further reading** section at the end of many entries. Bibliographical references listed here guide readers to more in-depth resources in a particular area.

Finally, readers can consult the **Suggested Readings** in the back of each volume. These volume-specific bibliographies contain general studies—such as atlases, histories of the continent, and broad works on culture, society, and people—as well as specialized studies that typically cover specific topics or regions. For the most part, these two bibliographic aids contain those recently published works that are most likely to be available in libraries, especially well-stocked city and college libraries. Readers should also be aware that a growing number of sources are available online in the form of e-books and other formats. The World Wide Web is also a good place to look for current events and developments that have occurred since the publication of this encyclopedia.

LIST OF IMAGES AND MAPS IN THIS VOLUME

Photographs and Illustrations

Maps

INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

In Volume I, *Ancient Africa,* readers will find everything from information about the earth's earliest hominids to the history and culture of the Egyptians and Nubians to the events that led to the establishment of Roman Africa. These, of course, are the subject areas for which we have the most historical information. As a consequence Volume I is somewhat skewed in the direction of these subjects. Some of this information, especially dealing with human origins, has a "late-breaking" quality to it, due to the extensive ongoing research and important new archaeological findings that occur almost every year. Information about ancient Egypt, on the other hand, is more constant, although here, too, ongoing research continues to provide important new results.

Readers also will find entries about a wealth of other peoples, places, and events. Particularly important are the beginnings of some of the world's earliest agricultural and pastoral societies, for the transformation from hunting-and-gathering to planned food production is essentially the point at which history begins. Nevertheless, even to this day some Africans continue to live in hunting-and-gathering societies. For this reason, readers will find articles on such peoples as the San and Mbuti and their way of life. Splendid and sophisticated cities such as Memphis, in ancient Egypt; Napata and Meroë, in the kingdom of Kush; Carthage, in what is today Tunisia; and Jenne-Jeno, on the inland Niger River delta, point to the early importance of urban life and culture in African history.

This volume provides the principal coverage of geography for the encyclopedia as a whole, with entries on the major rivers, lakes, and other important geographical features of the continent. Languages also receive extended coverage in Volume I, with articles on each of the major language families as well as on important language sub-families and some individual languages. As with the geographical entries, this basic information is relevant for the subsequent periods in African history but does not necessarily need to be repeated in the other four volumes. However, if a certain language has particular relevance to a later historical era, that language may be listed in volumes other than this one, as well.

Religion and spirituality constitute prominent aspects of a people's culture and hence receive extended coverage in this volume. Some of the religion-related articles, such as those regarding life in ancient Egypt, are specific to the time period of this volume. Other religion entries, however, such as those on ancestor worship and funeral customs, are written in what is sometimes called the "anthropological present," which underscores both the timelessness and the continuity of the subject. Because we are using this historical writing technique, certain religious and spiritual subjects are covered here but not in later volumes, where they may be equally relevant. There are further entries on many other topics, such as animals, that were important to ancient African life and remain significant far beyond the early era of African history. Thus some of these articles serve not only to introduce ancient Africa but also to point to some of the traditions that continue to characterize Africa since that time.

When it comes to the study of ancient African history, it is important to realize several points. First, traditional historical and archaeological methods have provided extensive information on the major African civilizations of the ancient world, including Egypt, Kush, Aksum, and Carthage. These civilizations also left written records and documents, and we can use these to supplement the ample archaeological evidence to piece together some semblance of their histories. In contrast, archaeology has always been more difficult to pursue in sub-Saharan Africa. Part of the reason is environmental, since the humid tropical climates are more destructive of material remains than are arid and semi-arid climates. Moreover, archaeologists tend to focuse more on monumental sites than on those of an everyday nature, and sub-Saharan Africa has far fewer monumental sites than the northern and northeastern portions of the continent. Beyond this there is the whole question of the availability of written sources. The vast majority of sub-Saharan societies did not utilize writing until much later in their history. Instead they relied almost exclusively on oral history for maintaining links with their own cultural tra-

ditions and with the past. Many societies had oral history specialists (or griots, as they are known through much of West Africa), who were responsible for passing down significant historical events and cultural practices from one generation to the next, events and practices that continued to possess relevance for the living generation. Thus, this volume's article on oral traditions is also relevant for later eras of African history and culture.

Oral traditions, however, often involve the inclusion of information—legends, myths, folklore—that is difficult to verify factually and thus is incompatible with conventional historical methodology. As a result many more traditionally minded historians have viewed with skepticism the use of oral traditions for reconstructing the past. It always must be remembered, though, that quite frequently these oral histories are all we have to go on in our efforts to understand the pasts of many of Africa's peoples. Similarly, it is also important to remember that these histories and traditions, even when they seem to encompass magical, mythical, or otherwise improbable events, often manage to give us an impressive portrait of the minds and spirits of the people who listened to them

and passed them on from one generation to the next. Because of this, when discussing the origins of a particular culture or the beginnings of a particular society, we often include not just the known empirical evidence but also information from the legends and myths that are told about these events.

A final point to remember is that, quite often, when it comes to the history of peoples and cultures, modern scholars are forced to operate by a kind of logic of extension. For example, we may not have much hard data about the entire ancient history of a particular people, but we might have fairly reliable accounts of their lives and ways dating back a thousand years or more. If the study of their languages, genealogy, or culture supports the assumption that these people have lived in that same area relatively unchanged, we can project what their lives may have been like 500 or even 1,000 years earlier. Such logic cannot be pushed to extremes, however, and for this reason certain groups and peoples have either not been included in this volume or else treated less extensively than some might desire. In other words, even in today's "Information Age" we simply do not have enough information.

TIME LINE (PREHISTORY–541 CE)

Prehistoric Africa	
5,000,000 BCE	Period of early hominids
4,400,000 BCE	*Australopithecus ramidus* exists in Ethiopia.
4,200,000 BCE	*Australopithecus anamensis* exists in Kenya.
3,000,000 BCE	*Australopithecus afarensis* ("Lucy") exists in Ethiopia.
	Australopithecines ("Taung Child") exist in South Africa.
2,500,000 BCE	Early Stone Age; Oldowan Toolkit
2,000,000 BCE	Middle Stone Age
	Homo habilis emerges.
	Australopithecus robustus exists in South Africa.
1,750,000 BCE	*Australopithecus boisei* exists in Tanzania.
	Homo erectus ("Turkana Boy") emerges.
1,500,000– 40,000 BCE	Acheulean Age
200,000 BCE	*Homo sapiens* emerges in tropical Africa.
60,000 BCE	*Homo sapiens* in Ethiopia.

40,000 BCE	Mining appears in present-day Swaziland.
40,000– 7000 BCE	Late Stone Age
20,000 BCE	San people living in southern Africa.
15,000 BCE	Qada culture flourishes in Nubia.
20,000– 10,000 BCE	Pleistocene epoch; last ice age comes to an end.
9000–6500 BCE	Early calendar used in Congo area.
8000 BCE	Cattle are domesticated.
	Copper discovered and used by Neolithic peoples.
	Sahara begins to dry and become a desert.
7000–4800 BCE	Neolithic Age
6000–5000 BCE	Sorghum domesticated in the Sudan.
Ancient Africa	
5000 BCE	Irrigation used in Egypt.
4800 BCE	Badarian culture begins in Egypt; Predynastic Period begins in Egypt.

4200 BCE	Naqadah I culture in Egypt.
4000 BCE	Egyptians grow food along Nile.
	Badarian culture flourishes in Upper Egypt.
3700 BCE	Naqadah II culture in Egypt.
3500 BCE	Bronze used for weapons and tools.
	Hierakonpolis constructed.
3400 BCE	Nubian A-Group flourishes.
3200 BCE	Naqadah III culture in Egypt.
3050 BCE	Upper and Lower Egypt are unified under Menes.
3000 BCE	Beginning of Archaic Period (Dynasties 1–2) in Egypt
3000 BCE	Berbers arrive in North Africa.
2780 BCE	Nubian B-Group flourishes.
2705 BCE	Egyptian Old Kingdom (Dynasties 3–8) begins.
2550 BCE	Egypt's King Khufu builds Great Pyramid.
2430 BCE	Egypt's King Sahure reaches Punt by boat
2400 BCE	Kingdom of Kerma begins in Nubia.
2300 BCE	Nubian C-Group flourishes.
2213 BCE	Egyptian Old Kingdom ends and First Intermediate Period begins (Dynasties 9–10).
2040 BCE	Egyptian Middle Kingdom begins (Dynasties 11–12).
1880 BCE	Egyptian Middle Kingdom ends and Second Intermediate Period begins (Dynasties 13–17).

1570 BCE	Egyptian New Kingdom begins (Dynasties 18–20).
1550–1070 BCE	Horses introduced into Egypt.
1525–1417 BCE	Thuthmose I–IV rule Egypt.
1400 BCE	Amarna period begins in Egypt.
	Iron/steel smelted in Tanzania.
1304–1237 BCE	Ramesses the Great
1200 BCE	Sea Peoples attack Egypt.
1070 BCE	Egyptian New Kingdom ends and Third Intermediate Period begins (Dynasties 21–26).
1000 BCE	Bantu expansion begins.
	Immigrants from Saba, in Yemen, arrive in Ethiopia.
	Pre-Aksumite period starts in Ethiopia.
900 BCE	Napata kingdom flourishes in Nubia.
900–600 BCE	Nok culture flourishes.
800 BCE	Phoenicians found Carthage.
780–664 BCE	Kushite dynasty controls Egypt.
663 BCE	Assyrian invasion ends Kushite rule of Egypt.
600 BCE	Camels introduced to Egypt and Sahara.
590 BCE	Meroitic period in Kush.
500 BCE	Aksum emerges as a power.
	Carthage dominates North Africa.
	Hanno explores Africa's Atlantic coast.

The Greco-Roman Period and Beyond

332 BCE	Alexander the Great conquers Egypt; Ptolemaic Dynasty begins.

264–146 BCE	Period of Punic Wars; Carthage is destroyed.
200 BCE	Meroë civilization begins.
30 BCE	Roman conquest of Egypt.
24 CE	Roman conquest of Nubia.
100 CE	Iron technology spreads throughout Africa.
200 CE	Christian monasticism in north-eastern Africa.
	Akan groups migrate into what is now Ghana.
250 CE	Nubian X-Group rises.
400 CE	Bantu expansion slows down.
350 CE	Decline and fall of Meroë.
335 CE	King Ezana rules in Aksum.
395 CE	End of Roman rule in Egypt.
400 CE	Ancient Ghana Empire begins.
	Town of Jenne-Jeno established.
429 CE	Vandals arrive in North Africa.
451 CE	Coptic Christians split from Roman Church.
541 CE	Christian Nubia becomes independent.

A

Abu Hamed Area located on the upper NILE RIVER between the fourth and fifth cataracts, within present-day Republic of the SUDAN. In ancient times Abu Hamed was fought over by EGYPT and NUBIA.

Abu Hamed, which is dominated by an S-shaped Bend of the Nile, is found in what was once Upper Nubia. This stretch of the river runs in a southwestward direction for about 150 miles (about 241 km) before returning to a northerly direction at the end of the bend. Here the river is rocky and fast, and it was often dangerous to ancient navigators.

More than 2,500 years ago, the highly sophisticated Nubian culture flourished in this region. As part of the long struggle between Egypt and Nubia for control of the area, the armies of the Egyptian pharaoh (king) THUTMOSE I (r. c. 1525–c. 1512 BCE) advanced through Sudan before stopping just south of Abu Hamed. The region was invaded once again around 671 BCE, when ASSYRIANS defeated the armies of the Egyptian KUSH empire that stretched from Abu Hamed to the NILE DELTA.

Between the sixth and eighth centuries CE, the people of Nubia converted to COPTIC CHRISTIANITY and resisted invasions from Egypt, which had been under Muslim rule since the seventh century. Between the 13th and 15th centuries, however, Abu Hamed finally became Muslim-controlled. The area of the fourth cataract between Abu Hamed and GEBEL BARKAL has proved fruitful to modern archaeologists, who have discovered there many signs of ancient human life, including rock inscriptions, cemeteries, and churches.

Further reading: Derek A. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush: The Napatan and Meroitic Empires* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1998).

Abusir, pyramids of Mortuary complex of Fifth Dynasty kings in ancient EGYPT, built in the 25th century BCE, once a site of pyramids, sun temples, and funerary temples. The ancient burial grounds of the OLD KINGDOM at Abusir were located in northern Egypt about 10 miles (16 km) from the Giza plateau. Located between the cities of Giza and SAQQARA, the site held 14 pyramids, several sun temples, and tombs of royalty and government officials. Only four of the pyramids remain.

Perhaps the most notable distinction at Abusir is the construction and decoration of the sun temples. In addition to the more common pyramids, mortuary temples, and tombs, several of the Fifth Dynasty kings, including Niuserre and USERKAF, built temples with great stone pillar obelisks in honor of the sun god RA.

The mortuary temples built with the pyramids at Abusir were unusually decorated; walls and columns were intricately sculpted in relief, with palm, lotus, and papyrus plants standing out from the surface. Columns with lotuses at the head, or the capital, are the oldest known examples of this type of relief sculpture.

Although they were built after the great pyramids of Giza, the Abusir pyramids are much smaller, with the tallest rising to 223 feet (68 m). The pyramids at Abusir have the typical north entrances to their chambers.

Still standing today are the unfinished pyramid of Neferefre, the unfinished pyramid of Neferkare, the pyramid of Niuserre, and the pyramid of Sahure. Some parts of the Abusir complex have not yet been excavated.

Abydos Considered the home of the ancient Egyptian god OSIRIS and an important royal site during Egypt's early

Dynastic Period. Archaeological excavations of the tombs at Abydos began in 1895. These suggest that each ruler built large, rectangular, brick enclosures intended as funerary palaces. However, no human remains have yet been found in these structures.

Of all the royal monuments found at Abydos, the temple of the Nineteenth Dynasty pharaoh SETI I (r. c. 1318–c. 1304 BCE) is the largest and most notable. Among its features are impressive representations of the god Osiris, as well as of Seti I and his successor, RAMESSES II (r. c. 1304–c. 1237 BCE). The temple of Seti I includes a "Royal List," also called a "King's List," that gives the names of many of Egypt's rulers. Located in a gallery known as the Hall of Ancestors, this list is part of a wall relief that depicts Seti I and Ramesses II paying homage to the rulers who came before them.

Several ancient Egyptian Royal, or King's, Lists have been discovered, including the papyrus Turin Canon, the Abydos and Karnak Lists, which were found in temples, and the Saqqara List, which was found in a tomb. Although these lists tend to arrange the names of Egyptian rulers in chronological order, none of them is complete by any means. Instead, they seem to include those names that their authors determined to be important or valuable for one reason or another.

Abydos enjoyed royal favor throughout its history. However, its actual role in royal burials is unclear. With the exception of Queen Merneith, there is little indication that other rulers were buried at Abydos.

Further reading: Omm Sety and Hanny El Zeini, *Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt* (Los Angeles, Calif.: L L Co., 1981).

Abyssinia Ancient name for the area including the present-day country of ETHIOPIA. Scholars differ over the origin of the word. According to some, the name appeared during the rise of AKSUM in the first century CE. Others speculate that the word originally referred to an ETHNIC GROUP that lived in old Ethiopia. Still others suggest that the word derives from the ARABIC word for "mixed" in reference to the fact that the area is comprised of many ethnic groups.

acacia gum Also known as gum arabic, one of the oldest and most widely used of the natural gums harvested from species of the acacia tree. Dating back 5,000 years,

to the time of the ancient Egyptians, gum arabic has been used as a binder in inks and cosmetics and as an agent in the process of mummification. Ancient Egyptian inscriptions refer to *kami*, a type of gum arabic used in painting as a pigment binder and adhesive.

Today, acacia gum is widely cultivated in tropical Africa from MOZAMBIQUE to SOMALIA, the Republic of the SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, KENYA, and TANZANIA. In Sudan, there are special "gum gardens" in which the trees are propagated from seeds. Elsewhere, the gum is collected from wild trees. Oddly, the best yield of gum arabic comes from trees that are in an unhealthy condition. Hot weather, poor soil, and lack of moisture are all factors that improve gum production.

Commercial gum arabic is still widely used today in pharmaceutical preparations, in inks and other art supplies, and in practically all categories of processed foods.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. IV, V).

Acheulean Age One of two major phases of the early STONE AGE in Africa. The Acheulean Age began approximately 1.5 million years ago and lasted for more than 1 million years. Its hallmark was the evolution of sophisticated toolmaking, specifically the development of hand axes, cleavers, and picks. (The name *Acheulean* is derived from the place in southern France where the hand ax was first discovered.) The era is often associated with the corresponding biological development of *Homo erectus*, a large-brained, bipedal toolmaker whose remains have been found in many parts of Africa.

Acheulean technology also included the development of the use of fire, which further contributed to the
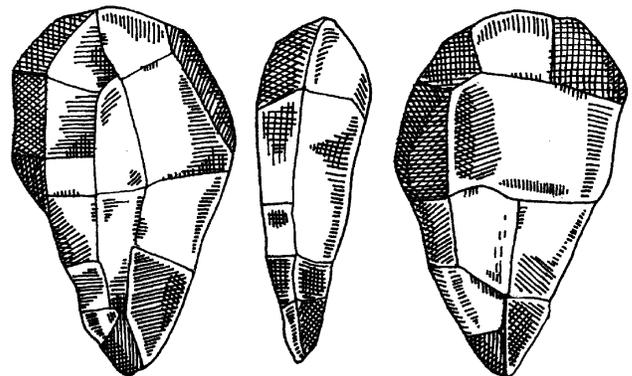
The left, top, and right-side views of an Acheulean hand ax found in Kamoa, Democratic Republic of the Congo, show the heavier, flaked construction characteristic of this hand tool.

modification and refinement of existing tools. Tools specifically designed for hunting were another important achievement during this age.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vol. I).

Acheulean toolkit Prehistoric set of axes and scrapers that were named for the valley in France in which early discoveries of the tools took place. Although tools of this type were first unearthed in southern France, the vast majority have been found in Africa. In general, they are sharper and heavier than the older OLDOWAN TOOLS, with chipped flakes and sharpened points. Most were used, in one way or another, in the preparation of food.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vol. I); STONE AGE (Vol. I).

Adulis Port on the RED SEA that flourished during the height of the kingdom of AKSUM. Beginning as a fair-sized village, within a few centuries Adulis expanded into a center of world trade. Merchants arrived there from Arabia, GREECE, India, and Ceylon and then traveled for several days by caravan to the Aksumite kingdom, climbing nearly 7,000 feet (2,134 m) above sea level in the process. Adulis also served as a link to the ports that stretched to the central coast of East Africa. This enabled Aksum to continually diversify and replenish its stock of trade goods.

See also: ADULIS (Vol. II).

Further reading: Basil Davidson, *African Civilization Revisited* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, Inc., 1998).

Afar People who have long lived on the arid coast and hinterland of ERITREA and in the eastern Danakil province of ETHIOPIA; also, the language spoken by the Afar people. Sedentary pastoralists, the Afar apparently migrated to the Danakil area from the Ethiopian Highlands, perhaps as long ago as the prehistoric era. Living in the DANAKIL DESERT, even in ancient times the Afar settled as close as possible to whatever sources of water they could find. Over time, as their numbers increased and they became divided into chiefdoms, diminishing water supplies led to frequent clashes with SOMALI peoples.

See also: AFAR (Vols. II, III); AKSUM (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: I. M. Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar, and Saho* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1998).

Afar Depression Low-lying area along the northeastern coast of ETHIOPIA. The Afar Depression is part of the great RIFT VALLEY, which runs from southwestern Asia to southeastern Africa. At approximately 300 feet (91 m) below sea level, the Afar Depression is Ethiopia's lowest

point. The depression has long been occupied by the AFAR people, who also live on the nearby DANAKIL DESERT and in parts of DJIBOUTI.

Africa Name of the second largest continent of the world, covering an estimated 11,687,187 square miles (30,269,814 sq km), and situated south of Europe between the Atlantic and Indian oceans. Over the centuries, Africa has been identified by many names. Among Greek and other ancient travelers it was known as Aetheiopia, Corphye, Ortegia, and Libya. The Moors, Nubians, and Numidians, on the other hand, frequently called the continent Alkebulan, meaning "mother of humankind."

The name *Africa,* however, may be a corruption of a Carthaginian name originally used by the BERBERS. The Carthaginians, who traced their origins to Phoenician seafarers, had come to the northern coast of Africa as early as 1000 BCE.

By 800 BCE the Phoenician trading stations had become full-fledged colonies. Their capital was at CARTHAGE, the site of modern-day TUNISIA. There Phoenicians and indigenous Berber agriculturalists coexisted, creating a distinct Carthaginian culture that lasted until its conquest by Rome in 146 BCE. At that time Rome assumed control of the trading colonies, identifying the northernmost region of the continent as Africa.

Afro-Asiatic languages Family of languages once spoken primarily in North Africa and western Asia that includes the Semitic, Berber, Cushitic, Chadic, and ancient Egyptian branches. The SEMITIC LANGUAGES from both Africa and Asia include ARABIC, the major spoken, religious, and commercial language of North Africa today, and the language that was spoken by the Harari. The languages in the Berber branch of the Afro-Asiatic family were spoken throughout North Africa by various nomadic peoples, including the TUAREGS, in the regions of MOROCCO, TUNISIA, and ALGERIA. The Cushitic languages were spoken in parts of ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA, and regions of East Africa. The languages of the Cushitic branch were BEJA, Agaw, Burgi-Sidamo, Oromo, and Omotic. The most important of the CHADIC LANGUAGES was HAUSA, spoken in the kingdoms of Hausaland.

Other languages that fell into the Afro-Asiatic family were AMHARIC, spoken in Ethiopia and the language of the Solomonic Dynasty; GE'EZ, the literary language of the Ethiopian church after the fourth century CE; and TIGRINYA, spoken in northern Ethiopia, ERITREA, and TIGRAY. These all belong to the Semitic branch.

Further reading: Vic Webb and Kembo-Sure, eds., *African Voices: An Introduction to the Languages and Linguistics of Africa* (Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press, 2000).

afterlife Concept or belief that life continues after death. Many African societies express their belief in the afterlife through specific rituals and shared social experiences. One of the strongest beliefs is that the afterlife is an ordered world in which individuals reside after death. This world may exist in caves, in forests, or, as the Abaluyia and others believe, in a place beyond earth.

Although beliefs about the afterlife differ among societies, one common theme is that those who have passed on still have at least some role in the living community, which is why specific acts, or rituals, are performed for the dead. These rituals range from simple burial rites to elaborate ceremonies that might require creating a shrine or making offerings of FOOD, drink, or money.

The choice of which ritual to perform generally is determined by economic circumstances, living arrangements, or long-standing traditions. Groups like the Lodagaa of BURKINA FASO, for example, believe the land of the dead lies to the west, separated from this world by the River of Death. At funerals, friends and relatives provide the symbolic fee of twenty cowries, which is needed by the deceased in order to cross the river. In contrast, groups like the MBUTI place personal belongings in the grave, while other groups bury household items for the deceased to use in the afterlife.

In most societies the funeral plays a critical role following the death of a loved one, allowing people to share their grief and reinforce the ideals they hold about life after death. The Hadza of present-day TANZANIA provide an interesting example. They bury their dead in a relatively simple ceremony. They return sometime later, however, always at night, to perform the Epeme dance. This dance is done to ensure the wellbeing of the living by honoring the dead. Another group, the Yombe, who live in present-day northern ZAMBIA, inform the community of a death by playing a special rhythm on a drum. After wrapping the deceased in a shroud, the Yombe create a grave, called a "house," that has several rooms. The Yombe then turn the deceased to face the place of his or her birth in order to find the way home. Some societies, such as the AKAN, from GHANA, hold a second burial ceremony to mark the end of a mourning period. For them this second ceremony is a final recognition that the dead have successfully achieved their place in the spiritual realm.

Agaw (Agau, Agew) Ethiopian ETHNIC GROUP situated in the central and northern highlands. Through the study of regional speech patterns, linguists have traced the continuous presence of the Agaw as far back as 7000 BCE.

Mainly farmers, the Agaw were overshadowed by the neighboring kingdom of AKSUM during its rise to political statehood. Like the BEJA and NUBA, Agaw speakers were subject to Aksum's demands for tribute, as well as its repeated attempts at religious conversion. In the eighth cen-tury, Islamic expansion limited Aksum's sea trade and weakened the power of the Aksumite state. As a result the Aksumite kingdom was relocated deeper within Agaw territory. There Aksumite military colonies created a feudal society, while Aksumite priests continued to spread Christian religious teachings. Though the Agaw continued to rebel, frequent intermarriages between Agaw women and Aksumite soldiers led to the beginnings of an intermingling of the two groups.

See also: AGAW (Vol. II).

Agbor Ancient IGBO settlement located in western Igboland, in present-day NIGERIA. Little is known about the history of Agbor, although Igbo people probably occupied the region in ancient times. Evidence from surrounding areas indicates that the earliest Igbo settlers in Agbor may have been the Ado na Idu, Nri, or Isuama. These inhabitants probably lived in a manner similar to their Igbo neighbors, subsisting primarily through agriculture. Loose village structures were centered on a council of elders who provided leadership and authority. The recognition of ancestors was central to the traditional Agbor RELIGION, although it included a belief in a supreme god.

See also: AGBOR (Vol. II).

age grades Ancient system designed to instill cultural identity through the social interaction of men from different generations. In Africa, age grades typically involve the youngest and oldest male members of a society. Grouping these individuals by age allows a useful exchange of human interaction; youthful ideals and enthusiasm are tempered by the wisdom and experience of elders. In most groups age grades operate on an independent basis, free from family influence, and, unlike AGE SETS, they are organized within a local residential area.

In Africa various types of age grades have developed over the centuries, perhaps in response to changing societal needs. The earliest groups may have functioned as decision-making bodies for their communities. Over time, age grades became known for both defending their communities in times of war and participating in public work projects. In MANDE society, for instance, seven age grades, each with a specific group name, are maintained at all times, while new ones are created every seven years.

See also: SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I); INITIATION RITES (Vol. I); RITES OF PASSAGE (Vol. I).

Age of Metals Period during which several ancient African cultures developed the technology for smelting brass and iron for use as tools and ornamentation. The exact time period, chronology, extent, and role of the Age of Metals in ancient Africa has been a subject of contro-

versy among historians, archaeologists, and other scholars. Much is known about the BRONZE AGE and IRON AGE in ancient EGYPT. Elsewhere, however, far less is known. Indeed, for many years the vast majority of authorities maintained that most of Africa witnessed no Bronze Age at all, progressing, instead, directly from the late STONE AGE to the Iron Age. More recently, however, evidence has been found of Bronze Age items in NUBIA and southern Republic of the SUDAN, as well as in present-day MAURITANIA. Whether these items and the technology behind them were local in origin or whether the objects or their technology were imported from a place such as CARTHAGE is not known.

According to those who have witnessed recreations of the process, the ancestors of the Haya people of present-day TANZANIA made steel using a small furnace. The bowl of the furnace was approximately 18 inches (45.7 cm) deep and lined with mud obtained from a termite mound. (Composed of grains of silica and alumina, the termite mud does not absorb much water.) The top of the furnace was shaped like an inverted cone. Made of iron slag, it stood about 5 feet (1.5 m) high. At its base, eight blowpipes were inserted at various depths.

A fire was lit with swamp grass and fed with charcoal produced outside the furnace. Goatskin bellows were then used to force air through these pipes and into the furnace in order to produce a fire with an extremely high temperature. After the smelting process, according to the witnesses, the Haya dismantled the furnace and recovered lumps of steel from the bed of swamp grass charcoal.

More, however, is known about the development of iron-making technology. In particular, investigations dating back to the 1970s suggest that advanced and highly complex iron making was known among the Haya people of present-day Tanzania at least 2,000 years ago. Handed down through generations of oral history, this iron-making technology apparently was sophisticated enough to create good-quality steel.

Further reading: Peter R. Schmidt, ed., *The Culture and Technology of African Iron Production* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1996; Ivan Sertima, ed., *Blacks in Science: Ancient and Modern* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1989).

age sets Widespread system that assigns specific tasks to adult males from various clans and communities. Over the centuries age sets have played an important role in reinforcing traditions and creating stability in African societies. For example, age sets have been widely used in Africa for military defense. They also have been used to initiate young men into secret practices or in the knowledge of underlying systems of belief. In this way young men learn to respect and value the knowledge of those elders who have guarded and maintained those practices throughout their lives.

Elder members of the age sets have certain rights as well, and these rights form the basis for strict social controls. For example, at a certain age young men are taught to assume responsibilities in marital and community affairs. Often, however, some elders within the system continue to exert their influence. They might do this by determining the age at which younger men are allowed to acquire adult status. Other areas in which elders continue to have influence are testing young men's suitability for marriage and helping to choose suitable brides for eligible young men.

Age sets play an interesting role among the MAASAI, whose young boys compete to enter age sets known as *moran.* Once they enter the age set the boys often spend an extended period preparing to become adults. This preparation sometimes goes on until the men are well into their twenties. After entering a *moran,* their loyalties become focused on their families and herds.

See also: INITIATION RITES (Vol. I).

agricultural revolution Process by which humans began to cultivate their food; sometimes called the Neolithic revolution. In the eastern region of the SAHARA DESERT in northern Africa, which was then well-watered grasslands, the agricultural revolution took place between 9,500 and 8,000 years ago and significantly changed the way FOOD was produced. No longer simply hunting and gathering their food, the inhabitants of the region now began to cultivate their crops with the aid of tools designed specifically for that purpose. It was once believed that this change in food production methods was introduced into Africa from the Middle East. However, the evidence now suggests that AGRICULTURE developed on its own in three widely separated areas of the world: the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and the eastern Sahara. Three additional centers of agricultural innovation—two in the HORN OF AFRICA and one in the West African wooded savanna—emerged before 5500 BCE. The major crops produced in Africa during this period included YAMS and rice, as well as various types of MILLET, SORGHUM, and palm oil. Other plants, such as wheat and barley, were probably imported from western Asia at a later date.

About 4000 BCE the NILE VALLEY began to play an important part in the agricultural revolution. The banks of the NILE RIVER produced a variety of crops, and the Nile

Valley became one of the earliest centers of food production in the region. With the increase in agriculture, grain exports and other commerce began to develop. These activities helped establish a solid and prosperous economy, and the society that emerged laid the foundations for pharaonic Egypt.

See also: EXPORTS (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: John A. Mears, *Agricultural Origins in Global Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 2003); Bruce D. Smith, *The Emergence of Agriculture* (New York: Scientific American Library, 1998).

agriculture Of all the innovations of early humans, crop cultivation and animal husbandry, in other words, agriculture, are widely considered to be the two most important. Neither of these activities, however, could have occurred until the glaciers retreated and previously waterlogged landmasses dried out. Only then could people establish year-round, farm-like settlements in those areas. These settlements, in turn, led to large, dense populations and, ultimately, to stratified urban societies. These politically organized societies eventually evolved into fully developed civilizations.

> **Cattle may have been domesticated in Africa even earlier than 9000 BCE. A team of researchers, led by University of Massachusetts anthropologist Dr. Charles M. Nelson, recently reported on findings made at three sites in the Kenya highlands, approximately 25 miles (40 m) from Nairobi, KENYA. There the researchers found the remains of cattle. After testing their findings using radiocarbon dating techniques, the group reported that the remains apparently were 15,000 years old. The researchers' further investigations suggested that these cattle were domestic, rather than wild, animals.**

The two key elements of agriculture—planting crops and domesticating animals—appear to have developed independently in at least eight areas of the world, including three in Africa: the eastern SAHARA DESERT, the HORN OF AFRICA, and the wooded savanna belt of West Africa. These developments occurred between 9,000 and 7,000 years ago.

The Development of Agriculture in Africa The first signs of African agriculture are evident in the period between 10,000 and 9000 BCE, when the Sudanian population of the eastern Saharan region began collecting tropical grasses that were the predecessors to such domesticated crops as sorghum, fonio, and pearl millet.

They also began to switch from hunting to raising wild cattle, which they had domesticated. This preceded the domestication of the wild grains they had been gathering by at least 1,000 years. By about 7000 BCE, however, they were cultivating some of the grains, including SORGHUM. They also began to grow COTTON around this time, with baked clay spindle whorls for weaving cloth existing in the middle NILE RIVER valley as early as 5000 BCE. As the climate became drier after 6500 BCE, this Sudanic agricultural tradition spread westward to the upper bend of the NIGER RIVER.

A later independent development of agriculture took place slightly later in the RED SEA Hills region of the Horn of Africa, where the full domestication of cattle had occurred by around 7000 BCE. Sheep and GOATS then spread into the region from southwest Asia. Yet another independent invention of agriculture took place further south in the highlands of ETHIOPIA, where *enset,* sometimes called the false banana, began to be cultivated. The stem and the bulb of the plant are edible when cooked. The other major region of independent agricultural invention appeared among the peoples speaking NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES in the forested savannas of West Africa. Here a "planting agriculture" emerged by about 8000 BCE, with YAMS as the major crop. Rather than sowing seeds, as with grain crops, part of the yam was planted back into the ground, where it later took root. Subsequently, the oil palm was tended for its cooking oil, nuts, and palm wine. The raffia palm, too, was tended, and its fiber was used to make cloth. By the fifth millennium BCE the first signs of agriculture were evident in EGYPT, where grain crops had come from southwest Asia. Thus, by 3500 BCE, agriculture was well established throughout the northern half of the continent. It subsequently spread southward over the next several millennia until the peoples of southern Africa were practicing agriculture and raising livestock by the first few centuries CE.

> **Researchers representing Southern Methodist University, the Geological Survey of Egypt, and the Polish Academy of Science recently reported on discover6ies they had made in the area of Wadi Kubbaniya, a now-desolate region in Egypt's Western Desert. Their report indicates that between 17,000 and 18,500 years ago—when much of Europe was still covered with ice—Africans in that area were growing barley, capers, chickpeas, dates, lentils, and wheat.**

African agriculture is based on either vegetation or cultivation. Vegetative agriculture is garden-style growing

in which tubers or shoots are placed in the ground to yield a plant. Yams were probably the first crops used for garden-style growing. Cultivation-based agriculture depends on the use of seeds for larger crop yields and is more labor-intensive. Since crop rotation is a relatively new technology in Africa, land was traditionally overcultivated and abandoned when exhausted.

The tools found most readily in traditional agrarian societies in Africa are the digging stick, hoe, and spade. Plows were not traditionally used other than in the Ethiopian highlands. Low soil fertility meant that soil could only be cultivated for a short period of time and production was relatively low. Once the plot of land was chosen, existing plants were burned to produce a vitamin-rich ash fertilizer. After the seeds were planted and sown, the fields had to be periodically pruned of weeds during crop growth. Wild animals and insects were always a threat to the harvest, as was drought. After the crops were harvested, the land was replanted and the process began again. Without a plow, the land could only be used for two to three years, or until the nutrients had been completely leached from the soil. It was then abandoned for up to 20 years so that native plants would have time to refortify the soil. The farmer then migrated to a new plot of land to start the process over. As populations grew, finding enough land to maintain this shifting cultivation method was difficult. Nonetheless, it continued for centuries in much of Africa, particularly the central and eastern regions. In equatorial Africa, little soil preparation was done other than stripping the land, which often resulted in extremely poor crop yields. In the semi-arid regions, the planting season was shortened to only a few months due to the long dry season.

The social implications of agrarian societies varied in different parts of Africa. Among many peoples, the men typically prepared the fields by burning and clearing them. The women usually did all the labor-intensive planting, sowing, and harvesting. Other than this common male-female labor division, agricultural customs among peoples differed greatly. Division of land might have been based on age, gender, democratic allocations, or other traditional systems.

To many African people, working the soil was as much a ritualistic process as it was a way to grow food. In places like Dahomey, for example, the people appealed to a higher god whom they believed created the world by furrowing the earth. Most peoples performed elaborate ceremonies to bless the planting, sowing, and harvesting of the crops. Seeds were often passed among family members as sacred objects. Priests were called upon to ask the gods for a successful harvest. This close association between traditional cultivation techniques and RELIGION has resulted in conservative agricultural advances throughout much of Africa.

Yams have long been a staple in many of the tropical forested regions. Native to Africa, these wild tubers have been domesticated into the modern variety over the centuries. They were relatively easy to grow because they required simple garden-style cultivation. Although they have low nutritional value, these dense carbohydrates store well in both dry and humid climates. Combined with a variety of fruits and vegetables, they have provided a good base to the African diet for centuries.

An equally important native plant is the oil palm. It was originally found only in the forest, but with domestication, it has become one of the most important sources of oil in Africa. Plantains, a member of the banana family, were also important to much of the African population, particularly in the rain forests. Native to southeast Asia, the plantain was probably introduced to eastern coastal Africa by the Malagasy people of MADAGASCAR, who arrived as early as the first century BCE. Over a period of several hundred years a variety of other crops were introduced to Africa through foreign contact. Some crops, like cassava, corn, and groundnuts (peanuts), which originated in the Americas, became important staples in parts of western, central, and eastern Africa after the 15th century.

Seed plants are more labor intensive than tubers or plantains to cultivate. In Africa the most common traditional seed plants were the millet variety of cereals. Found in temperate savanna regions, seed plants required properly prepared fields. The field was first cleared, usually with a hoe. After the seeds were sown, the fields required constant care to keep weeds at bay and to prevent animals from pillaging the ripening plants. Once harvested, the millet was fermented or ground into flour.

One of the most important domesticated plants grown in Africa was sorghum. Native to Africa, sorghum has been grown in the eastern Sahara for more than 7,000 years. Beginning in the first millennium sorghum cultivation began to rapidly spread as iron tools were introduced to different parts of Africa. Other important millets included digitaria, bulrush (pearl) millet, and finger millet. Today, many of the traditional millet crops have been replaced by corn.

One of the few crops in Africa that requires wet cultivation is rice. Native Guinea rice has been cultivated around the GUINEA coast and Niger basin for more than two thousand years. Indian Ocean traders brought a common variety from Southeast Asia between the ninth and 10th centuries. Because rice was easy to store and did not need to be ground before eating, it became popular among the upper classes along the coast during the following centuries.

See also: AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION (Vol. I); AGRICULTURE (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Fekri A. Hassan, ed., *Droughts, Food and Culture: Ecological Change and Food Security in Africa's Later Prehistory* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002).

Ahmose I (Amosis)

Ahmose I (Amosis) (r. c. 1570–1546 BCE) *First king of the period historians call Egypt's New Kingdom*

Ahmose was the son of the pharoah Seqenenre Tao II (r. c. 1591–1576 BCE) and Queen Ahhotep II (d. c. 1515 BCE). Ahmose became pharaoh at a young age, succeeding both his father and his older brother, WADJKHEPERRE (r. c. 1555–1550 BCE), the last king of the Seventeenth Dynasty. Because of his youth Ahmose's mother, Queen Ahhotep, probably served as co-regent during the early years of his reign. As pharaoh, Ahmose continued Egypt's war with its Asian enemy, the HYKSOS. Ahmose triumphed, driving the Hyksos out of EGYPT. Next, he reconquered NUBIA, returning it to Egyptian control. With his borders secure, Ahmose then set about consolidating his power at home.

The last years of Ahmose's reign were devoted to reorganizing Egypt's system of government. Ahmose also built many religious and funerary monuments, although few have survived to modern times. He was particularly devoted to AMUN, the god who was to assume even greater importance during the reigns of his successors.

Ahmose ruled for about 25 years, and examination of his well-preserved mummy suggests that he was close to 35 years old when he died. He and his queen, Ahmose

The face of Egyptian pharaoh Ahmose I (r. c. 1570–c. 1546 BCE) is painted on this Eighteenth Dynasty mummy case. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt © *Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis*

Nefertari (c. 1570–1505 BCE), produced one son, AMENHOTEP I (r. c. 1546–c. 1525 BCE), who succeeded his father as pharaoh.

See also: NEW KINGDOM (Vol. I)

Further reading: Ian Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000); Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001); Christiane Ziegler, *The Pharaohs* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002).

Ahmosid/Thutmosid lines

Ahmosid/Thutmosid lines Group of 13 kings and one queen who ruled ancient Egypt as the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1570–c. 1320 BCE). The Eighteenth Dynasty begins what historians call the NEW KINGDOM.

The Eighteenth Dynasty

King	Ruled (BCE)
AHMOSE I	c. 1570–c. 1546
AMENHOTEP I	c. 1546–c. 1525
THUTMOSE I	c. 1525–c. 1512
THUTMOSE II	c. 1512–c. 1504
THUTMOSE III	c. 1504–c. 1450
HATSHEPSUT (with THUTMOSE III)	c. 1501–c. 1482
AMENHOTEP II	c. 1450–c. 1425
THUTMOSE IV	c. 1425–c. 1417
AMENHOTEP III	c. 1417–c. 1379
AKHENATEN (AMENHOTEP IV)	c. 1379–c. 1364
SMENKHARE	c. 1364–c. 1361
TUTANKHAMUN	c. 1361–c. 1352
AY	c. 1352–c. 1348
HOREMHEB	c. 1348–c. 1320

See also: AKHENATEN (Vol. I); AMENHOTEP IV (Vol. I); AMENHOTEP II (Vol. II).

Akan

Akan Peoples of the forest region of present-day GHANA, TOGO, and IVORY COAST. There is continuing debate about the origin of the Akan peoples, who eventually spread throughout the Volta Basin. One theory is that the Akan came south from present-day northwestern Ghana. Other theories say they came from the northeast, perhaps from as far away as EGYPT, passing through ancient Ghana on the way. The association with ancient Ghana is supported by the fact that certain names are shared by the Akan and the Mandinka, who have strong links to ancient Ghana. The matrilineal tradition of ancient Ghana was also found in some of the Akan states, including Ashanti.

Regardless of the precise origin of the Akan, it is widely believed that these people began migrating into

the forest region 2,000 years ago. In time, distinct king-doms began to emerge. The Fante people, for example, settled in the southwest, the Akwamu and the Akyem in the northeast, and the Ashanti in the northwest. Ashanti warriors were fierce fighters, and they forged alliances with neighboring states to conquer their adversaries and become one of the most powerful nations in West Africa, especially in the 17th century.

See also: AKAN (Vols. II, III, IV); AKYEM (Vols. II, III); ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); FANTE (Vols. II, III).

Akan gold weights Small, brass objects, some in the shape of plants, animals, and figures. Others are engraved with markings and designs. These weights are generally believed to be relics of the ancient AKAN people of IVORY COAST.

The Portuguese called these objects "gold weights" because they saw them being used for the purpose of weighing GOLD. Historians believe, however, that only a few of the objects, which also have been called "Ashanti gold weights," were actually used as gold weights. Opinions differ about what the true purpose of these objects might have been.

Some historians maintain that the Akan gold weights were a means of artistic expression. Others believe that the objects represented a classification system used by the ancient Akan people. For these scholars, the weights were a kind of ancient encyclopedia cataloging such entities as creatures of the land, air, and sea, as well as various other material and nonmaterial things. Still another view is that the weights were intended to aid the memories of those citing proverbs. (A particular symbol, for example, might have been nothing more than a design in itself, but when considered with its metal base, it might have represented the message of a proverb. In this way a particular weight, with its many complex symbols, could have represented a very detailed text.)

Regardless of their exact purpose, the gold weights are thought by some scholars to be examples of ancient African writing. The symbols on the objects have been matched with symbols used in ancient Libyan writing, suggesting that the Akan ancestors may have contributed to the development of writing in northeastern Africa. The symbols are arranged together on single metal pieces, which may mean that they stand for particular words or phrases.

Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) (r. c. 1379–c. 1364 BCE) *Ninth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty*

Known as the "heretic pharaoh" because of changes he instituted in Egyptian religion, Akhenaten, the son of AMENHOTEP III (r. c. 1417–c. 1379) and Queen Tiye (c. 1415–1340 BCE), began his reign as Amenhotep IV. He

married NEFERTITI (c. 1403–1367 BCE), and the couple produced six daughters. The early years of his reign reflected his traditional upbringing, in particular, the long-standing dedication to the god AMUN.

In the fifth year of his reign Amenhotep IV began to promote a form of monotheism that radically altered Egyptian religious and political structures. He replaced worship of Amun with devotion to a new god, ATEN, and changed his royal name to Akhenaten to indicate his allegiance to the new deity. He then moved the religious capital from its traditional site, Thebes, to a newly constructed capital at AKHETATEN (also known as el-Amarna).

Akhenaten sought to impose the new religion on his subjects by suppressing the cults of other Egyptian deities. He destroyed the old temples, building new ones devoted to Aten. Religious services at the new capital were frequently led by the king and queen themselves, with Akhenaten serving as the one and only high priest of the new cult. This brought him into direct conflict with Egypt's established priesthood, which was devoted to the cult of Amun.

Akhenaten's new cult was never really accepted or even understood by his subjects, and most people continued to practice the old religion. Later generations came to regard the religious changes he made as heretical. After his death, Akhenaten's successor, TUTANKHAMUN (r. c. 1361–c. 1352), moved to restore Egypt's traditional religion, making Thebes once again the religious capital. Although Akhenaten's monotheistic cult ultimately proved unsuccessful, during its brief existence, it produced significant changes in Egyptian ART. These are evident not only in the temple decorations at el-Amarna but also in the literature of the period.

Further reading: Christiane Ziegler, *The Pharaohs* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002).

Akhetaten (el-Amarna) Religious capital of EGYPT during the reign of AKHENATEN (r. c. 1379–c. 1364 BCE) and consecrated for the worship of the god ATEN. Also known by its modern ARABIC name, el-Amarna, the city of Akhetaten was founded by the "heretic pharaoh," Akhenaten. Situated midway between Egypt's old religious capital at MEMPHIS and the royal city of Thebes, the city was dedicated exclusively to the worship of Aten. There Akhenaten led services devoted to this new, monotheistic deity whom he hoped would supplant Egypt's traditional gods. The most important buildings in the city were the temples and palaces devoted to Aten, but there also were administrative offices as well as houses for nobles and artists. In addition, outside the city, there were tombs intended for the nobility and the royal family.

Akhetaten served as Egypt's capital only during the reign of Akhenaten. After his death the city was abandoned and its monuments dismantled or destroyed.

Aksum (Axum)   Capital city and major kingdom of ancient ETHIOPIA from about 500 BCE to 1000 CE; noted for its trade networks, ARCHITECTURE, and traditions of Christian faith. According to many anthropologists it is quite likely that humankind first emerged in the Great RIFT VALLEY that cuts across Ethiopia from the RED SEA to Lake Turkana. In this valley, archaeologists have found fossil skeletons dating back 3.5 million years. By the time of the late STONE AGE several prehistoric populations inhabited present-day Ethiopia, most notably the Omotic and Cushitic-language speakers. Initially HUNTER-GATHERERS, these peoples eventually learned to cultivate various grains and other crops and to domesticate sheep, CATTLE, DONKEYS, and GOATS. They established patterns of life that have continued among their descendants down to the present time.

During those thousands of years the indigenous peoples also interacted with the immigrants who came to the region, especially from across the Red Sea. One of the first groups of immigrants, Semitic-speaking traders from Saba, or Yemen, in southwestern Arabia, began arriving about 1000 BCE, or even earlier. Actively involved in the Red Sea trade along the Arabian Peninsula, they sought to expand trade along the Ethiopian coastline. Settling in the mountainous regions of TIGRAY, AMHARA, and Shoa to the south, these Sabaean settlers produced the culture generally known as pre-Aksumite. The ancient city of ADULIS, near modern-day Massawa, was the most important pre-Aksumite trading center, maintaining important links both along and across the Red Sea. At the same time, the immigrants added their knowledge of irrigation and hillside terracing to the plow and hoe cultivation of the indigenous Kushites. The result was a network of farms that developed in the region's valleys and foothills.

Sabaean settlement continued for 1,000 years, with frequent contacts and intermarriages between the Kushites and Sabaean settlers. The result of all these interchanges was a distinctive culture from which the BETA ISRAEL, or Falasha, trace their origins and Judaic faith.

By about 500 BCE a number of descendant colonies united to form a powerful city-state whose capital, Aksum, was situated on a northeastern plateau overlooking the Red Sea. This geographical vantage point strengthened the

Stone monuments (called *stelae*) at Aksum, in Ethiopia, dating from the fifth century BCE are thought to mark royal burial sites. © *Davis Bartruff/Corbis*

kingdom's trading networks with EGYPT, Arabia, and other trading ports along the East African coast. Spreading out from its primary port at Adulis to secondary ports on the Gulf of Aden, Aksum's trading networks eventually extended as far as the eastern MEDITERRANEAN SEA and the Middle East, India, and even present-day Sri Lanka.

As time passed Aksum became a strong trading competitor with MEROË, in the KUSH kingdom. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* a shipping guide recorded in the first century BCE, describes Aksum as the primary market for ivory in the northeast. The kingdom also supplied elephants for military conquests waged by the PTOLEMIES, in Egypt, as well as rhinoceros horn, animal hides, GOLD dust, spices, tortoise shell, frankincense, and myrrh.

By the fourth century Aksum's trading ties had grown to encompass the eastern Roman Empire, which ensured the kingdom even greater prosperity and international recognition. Indeed, at the height of Aksum's power, its rulers dominated an area extending from present-day Republic of the SUDAN to SOMALIA and from the coast of the Red Sea to the Nile Valley. At times Aksumite power even stretched across the Red Sea to the Arabian peninsula.

During this period Aksum grew in wealth, as well as in political and military influence. Archaeological excavations have recovered everything from gold and silver (which initially may have been imported from outside the kingdom) to silk and muslin. Glassware from royal tombs has also been discovered, as have metal tools from Egypt and spices originating from locations as distant as the Far East. There also is evidence that Aksumite manufacturing was sufficiently developed for the kingdom to make— and even export—glassware and crystal, as well as brass and COPPER items.

Aksum has a number of monuments, known as stelae, that are significant for their size and purpose. Aksum's tallest stelae measures 108 feet (33 m) high and weighs between 550 to 700 tons, making it the world's largest monument of this type. These structures are believed to have served as markers for the subterranean tombs of Aksum's kings. Carved to look like multistory buildings, the stelae have doors, windows, and baseplates for offerings.

Aksum was one of the first African kingdoms to mint its own coins, and archaeologists have recovered Aksumite coins in sites as far away as Yemen. Although from the third to the seventh centuries, gold, bronze, and silver were all used to make the kingdom's coins, its gold coins were carefully matched, in their weights and inscriptions, to the coins of ROME. Over the years archaeologists have been able to use these coins to undertake detailed studies of the kings and rulers of Aksum.

Aksum's most successful ruler was King Ezana (r. c. 320–c. 350 CE), whose authority extended from southern Arabia to the western edge of the ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS. Known by the traditional title of *negusa negast* (king of

kings), Ezana held dominion over numerous chiefs and princes who paid him allegiance and monetary tribute.

How does a building remain standing for thousands of years? Among those who apparently knew the answer were the ancient Sabaean settlers of Aksum, who were one of many ancient populations who knew the secret of building with dry stone. This form of architecture uses no mortar to bind the stones together, and archaeologists have traced surviving remnants as far back as 300 CE. These remains include castles that stood several stories high and were built with stepped walls, battlements, and corner towers. Other notable examples of Aksum's dry stone architecture include St. Mary of Zion, one of the earliest churches built in the kingdom.

The conversion of this king to CHRISTIANITY marked a significant chapter in Aksum's history and had a profound impact on the region. The Christian religion had apparently come to Aksum many years before, brought to the kingdom by merchants from Byzantium. However, the religion had made few inroads in the kingdom until Ezana embraced the faith near the end of his reign.

The precise reasons for Ezana's conversion are unknown, although there is speculation that it might have been due to either influence of the Roman emperor Constantine (272–337 CE) or Aksum's close trading ties with GREECE. Another influence may have been Frumentius, a Syrian missionary who served as Ezana's tutor. Whatever the ultimate reason for Ezana's decision, its significance to him and his is made clear by the way in which Aksumite coins began to bear images of the Cross of Christ rather than symbols from Aksum's traditional, polytheistic religions or images of Ezana himself. A more lasting effect of this conversion, however, was the way in which it allied Aksum with now-Christian ROME and isolated Aksum from the people within the region who continued to follow traditional polytheistic religions.

Inscriptions left behind by King Ezana provide details about a number of wars. Some of these stemmed from religious conflicts; many others were caused by Ezana's monetary demands on the region's independent chiefdoms. (When the Tsarane, for example, refused to pay tribute, Ezana led a military expedition against them.) Other conflicts may have been resolved by enslaving and selling captives to Rome, as in the case of the BEJA nomads from the Red Sea hills.

About 350 CE, at the height of Aksum's power, King Ezana ordered an invasion of the island of MEROË. Towns and villages were razed and crops were destroyed. Prisoners and livestock were seized and many Kushites fled, set-

tling, perhaps, in Kanem-Bornu (in what is now central Republic of the SUDAN). An inscription left by King Ezana states: "Twice or thrice they had broken their solemn oaths and had killed their neighbors without mercy, and they had stripped our deputies and messengers whom I sent to inquire into their raids. . . . And as I had warned them, and they would not listen but refused to cease from their evil deeds. I made war on them, they fled without making a stand, and I pursued them for 23 days, killing some and capturing others."

Renewed Christian fervor came to Aksum in the wake of the Councils of Nicea (c. 325 CE) and Chalcedon (c. 451 CE). The decisions made by these councils effectively made heretics of the MONOPHYSITES—Christians who had previously maintained the purely divine nature of Christ. When the councils rejected this interpretation, the Monophysites became subject to persecution and, eventually, to violence. In the wake of this, many Monophysites took refuge in Aksum. There they found asylum and ignited a period of religious enthusiasm that became known as "the second conversion." Among the more notable figures during this period were the Syrian monks known as the Nine Saints. Establishing a strong monastic tradition in the region, they ultimately helped found what became known as the Aksumite Christian or Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

After Muslim conquests during the seventh century, the trade routes that had made Aksum so rich were blocked or even changed. As a result the Aksumite kingdom lost its economic preeminence. Forced to resume an agricultural focus, the kingdom faced dwindling natural resources caused by soil erosion and overexploitation of trees. The Aksumites became enmeshed in serious religious conflicts when they decided to resettle in the interior central highlands. There they faced serious revolts from groups such as the Beja and the AGAW, Semites who rebelled against the proselytizing of the Aksumites. The final blow to Aksum came in the 10th century, when the Banu al-Hamwiyya, an Agaw group led by a woman known as Gudit (Judith) or Isato, sacked the Aksumite kingdom.

See also: AKSUM (Vol. II) BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vols. I, II); GUDIT (Vol. II).

Further reading: Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1997); David W. Phillipson, *Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, its Antecedents and Successors* (London: British Museum Press, 1998); David W. Phillipson, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–7* (London: British Institute in Eastern Africa: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2000).

Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) *King of Macedonia, and ruler of a vast empire*

Alexander was the son of Philip of MACEDONIA (382–336 BCE), and Olympias, a princess of Epirus (present-day Albania). As a child he studied literature, SCIENCE, and MEDICINE under the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE). By his late teens he was taking an active part in the affairs of state, ruling as regent in his father's absence, serving as an ambassador in Athens, and commanding part of his father's army at the battle of Chaeronea, in 338 BCE.

Crowned at the age of 20, Alexander quickly established his authority by executing his Macedonian enemies. He then set out to restore Macedonian rule over the Greek cities of Thessaly, Athens, and Thebes. He then turned eastward in search of new lands to conquer.

In 334 BCE Alexander attacked Persia and, with a force of only 42,000 soldiers, defeated the larger army of the Persian king Darius (r. 336–330 BCE). Forging southward, Alexander's army arrived in EGYPT in 332 BCE. The Egyptians, who loathed the Persians, welcomed Alexander and named him pharaoh. While in Egypt, Alexander established the city of ALEXANDRIA, which became a seat of learning and economic power for 900 years.

Alexander then led his armies back to Persia, defeating King Darius once again, and marching eastward to the Indus and Ganges rivers. Everywhere his armies went, Alexander spread Greek ideas, reformed unjust laws, and established himself as the supreme ruler. Just 33 years old when he died, Alexander had created an empire that stretched from southern Europe to India, encompassing virtually all of the world then known to Europeans.

Further reading: E. E. Rice, *Alexander the Great* (Stroud, U.K.: Sutton Publishing, 1997).

Alexandria   Second-largest city in EGYPT, located on the MEDITERRANEAN SEA on the western edge of the NILE DELTA. Alexandria served as one of the world's leading cultural center for hundreds of years. Alexandria was founded in 331 BCE by the Macedonian king ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE), at the site of a fishing village named Rhakotis. Finding the place an ideal crossroads between the rest of Egypt and GREECE, Alexander commissioned the Greek architect Dinocrates to design a city to serve as a regional capital. Although his capital was founded in 331 BCE, Alexander himself did not return there during his lifetime. He was, however, buried there following his death in 323 BCE.

Ptolemy I, one of Alexander's commanders, succeeded him, thus beginning the dynasty of the PTOLEMIES. Although Ptolemy I was, like Alexander, Macedonian, he saw the potential for Alexandria to be the intellectual, cultural, and commercial capital of the Mediterranean world. Under his guidance the city flourished, becoming famous throughout the ancient world for its remarkable library and for the Lighthouse of Alexandria, which by the second century CE was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

Throughout the Ptolemaic dynasty, the city continued to serve as a great center of trade and learning. However, by the end of the reign of CLEOPATRA (r. c. 51–c. 30 BCE), Octavian CAESAR (63 BCE–14 CE) had seized Egypt for ROME. By this time Alexandria's population had grown, attracting people from all around the Mediterranean. In addition to the original Egyptian population, Greek and Jewish communities developed within their own districts. Alexandria became even more diverse as CHRISTIANITY spread throughout the Roman Empire in the following centuries. After many years of being subject to persecution, in 312 CE Alexandria's Christians gained influence when Christianity was made the official religion of the Roman Empire.

In 642 Muslim forces under the command of Amr Ibn el Aas (d. 663 CE) arrived from Arabia and peacefully captured Alexandria. As the ruler of Egypt, Amr made the crucial decision to move his capital to the eastern bank of the Nile River to establish the city of al-Fostat. This would later become the center of present-day CAIRO.

While the Arabs respected the history of Alexandria, they were more interested in developing their new capital, and over the next thousand years or so the city gradually reverted to a small fishing village. The port of Alexandria would not regain its importance until the mid-19th century.

See also: ALEXANDRIA (Vol. IV).

Algeria   Country located in North Africa measuring approximately 919,600 square miles (2,381,800 sq km) that borders the MEDITERRANEAN SEA in the north, TUNISIA and LIBYA in the east, NIGER and MALI in the south, MAURITANIA and WESTERN SAHARA to the southwest, and MOROCCO in the northwest. Over the course of its long history Algeria has belonged to many great empires, from the PHOENICIANS to the Romans. Algiers is its largest city and capital.

Algeria's first inhabitants were the BERBERS. According to cave paintings dating from 8000 to 2000 BCE, the Berbers were CATTLE herders and hunters. Around the ninth century BCE the Phoenician civilization in present-day Tunisia established trading posts, including Algiers and Annaba, along the Algerian coast. Between the third and second centuries BCE coastal Algeria was known as NUMIDIA and was ruled by Berber kings. From around the first century BCE to the fifth century CE, Algeria was controlled by the Roman Empire.

See also: ALGERIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ALGIERS (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: David Cherry, *Frontier Society in Roman North Africa* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1998).

alphabets and scripts   Alphabets were largely unknown among the vast majority of ancient African languages, which remained, until fairly recently, primarily spoken languages. Despite this, however, ancient Africa did see the development of three major early alphabetic writing systems: COPTIC, GE'EZ, and Meroitic. In modern times, N'ko and Vai emerged in West Africa.

Coptic   The Egyptians, of course, were one of the first peoples to develop an organized system of writing, and their HIEROGLYPHICS date back to the fourth millennium BCE. Coptic script emerged more than 3,000 years later and represented the last stage of Egyptian writing. It also represented what would turn out to be the only native African writing system based on what could properly be called an alphabet, with characters clearly representing phonetic sounds.

Based largely on the Greek alphabet, COPTIC script contained an additional seven letters, borrowed from the Egyptian demotic script, to denote sounds not used in the Greek language. Coptic, however, did not immediately gain acceptance in EGYPT. In fact, although it was developed as early as the second century BCE, Coptic did not gain widespread use in Egypt until the third century CE. It was at this time that Christian missionaries, wanting to make their religious scriptures accessible to Egyptians, used Greek characters to translate these writings into Egyptian.

Coptic script replaced both the DEMOTIC script, which used more than 400 symbols, and the even older system of hieroglyphics—which included an unwieldy 130 characters used to convey sound and an additional 4,000 hieroglyphs used to represent ideas of enhanced meaning. The Coptic system gradually dropped some of its borrowed demotic characters and became highly standardized.

In 451, when the Coptic Church broke away from the Orthodox Church, it adopted Coptic as its liturgical language. It remained the script of the church until at least the 14th century.

Ge'ez   An Ethiopian script, Ge'ez was used in writing the AMHARIC language and dates to c. 300 CE. In the Ge'ez script each character stands for a syllable rather than a phonetic sound. Ge'ez became the primary written language of ETHIOPIA, used not only to record the lives of the saints and to compose religious poetry, but also to write stone inscriptions, philosophical tracts, and chronicles of royalty. The Bible was translated into Ge'ez between 400 and 600 CE. Ge'ez remained in use as the literary language of Ethiopia until the modern era, and it is still the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church today. Unlike other Semitic languages, Ge'ez is written and read from left to right.

Meroitic   Throughout its history, the Nubian kingdom of KUSH utilized writing. Because of Egypt's strong cultural influence, Kush had long based its writing system on hieroglyphics, but when the center of the kingdom moved south to MEROË (c. 500 BCE), a new Meroitic script began to emerge. This system combined hiero-

glyphic signs and written letters and drew from Egyptian writing. While there are numerous extant texts and inscriptions written in Meroitic script, and the connections with Egyptian hieroglyphs has allowed some individual words to be translated, scholars are still unable to decipher the Meroitic script as a whole. This is largely because they have not been able to relate it to known, or cognate languages. This suggests that the Meroitic language came from outside the region of the Nilotic Sudan, which is in keeping with the evolving understanding of the diverse sources of Meroitic civilization.

Other Languages and Alphabets Much later, in the 19th century, the Vai, a West African people who speak a language of the MANDE branch of the NIGER-CONGO family of languages, also developed a written script. Like Ge'ez, Vai is a syllabic, rather than a phonetic, writing system. It is still used in LIBERIA and SIERRA LEONE.

In the mid-20th century the GUINEA intellectual Souleymane Kanté (1922–1987) created the N'ko alphabet that captured the tonality that was an essential feature of Mande languages. He had experimented with ARABIC script and the Roman alphabet for reducing his own Mande language, Maninka, to writing, but neither proved satisfactory. So he created a completely independent alphabet. N'ko subsequently inspired a grassroots literacy movement among Mande speakers across West Africa.

Several other native African languages, including HAUSA and Swahili, adopted writing systems that borrowed Arabic script, which Arab conquerors had brought to North Africa in the seventh century CE. Arabic, however, lacks the "e" and "o" vowel sounds, as well as consonants that represent the sounds "ch," "g," "p," and "v," all of which are used in many African languages. For this reason, the Roman alphabet, which arrived with Christian missionaries and European colonists, replaced Arabic script in written African languages in the 19th century.

See also: VAI (Vols. II, III); WRITING (Vol. I).

Further reading: Bruce M. Fagan, *World Prehistory: A Brief Introduction*, 3rd edition (New York: Harper Collins, 1996); Ali Mazuri, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (London: BBC Productions, 1986).

Amanitare (r. c. 12 BCE–c. 12 CE) *Queen of the ancient Kush kingdom*

Queen Amanitare and her husband, King Netekamani, were the co-rulers of Musawarat es Safra, located just 20 miles (32 km) from MEROË, in the kingdom of KUSH. Established near the beginning of the Common Era, Musawarat became a trading center linking southern and western Africa, Asia, and the Mediterranean region. Among Amanitare's achievements was the construction of several temples at NAGA, some 20 miles (32 km) from Musawarat. Archaeological excavations at Naga have unearthed a Lion Temple that is distinguished by an en-

graved image of a four-armed, three-headed lion god. Also of interest is a nearby smaller temple whose mix of architectural influences reflects Musawarat's complex trading ties. The walls of this smaller temple contain a remarkable relief of Amanitare's son, the celebrated military hero Sherkarer.

Amarna period Era of religious and political turmoil in EGYPT during the reign of AKHENATEN, c. 1379–c. 64 BCE. After Amenhotep IV changed his name to Akhenaten to reflect his devotion to the god ATEN, the young pharaoh set out to establish a new capital dedicated solely to the worship of that deity. He named this new city AKHETATEN, meaning "the Horizon of Aten." Decorations created for the religious monuments in the new city resulted in a new and unique art form. Instead of the rigid depictions of royalty that were traditional in Egyptian art, Akhenaten and his family were shown in a more human manner, engaged in everyday activities. The literature of the period, particularly its poetry, also underwent radical changes, which found expression in hymns and devotional pieces created in praise of Aten.

The Amarna period, which sometimes is called the Amarna Revolution, lasted barely three decades, coming to an abrupt end with the death of Akhenaten. Despite its relatively short duration, however, it proved to be an important phase in Egyptian religious and political history.

Further reading: Nicholas Reeves, *Akhenaten: Egypt's False Prophet* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001); Ian Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Amenhotep I (Amenophis) (r. c. 1546–c. 1525 BCE) *Second king of Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty; son of Ahmose I and Queen Ahmose Nefertari*

Amenhotep I was very young when he came to the throne, and, as was often the case during the NEW KINGDOM, his mother was co-regent during the early years of his reign. Amenhotep enjoyed a relatively peaceful and popular reign. He focused his attention on securing and consolidating the empire created by his father's successful military campaigns against the HYKSOS and NUBIA. Under Amenhotep's rule, EGYPT enjoyed both economic prosperity and great artistic expression, which were manifested in the many monuments he built and restored.

Amenhotep was the first pharaoh to separate his mortuary temple from the tomb in which he was actually to be buried, a practice that continued by his successors. He died without a direct heir.

Further reading: Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001); Christiane Ziegler, *The Pharaohs* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002).

Amenhotep II (Amenophis II) (c. 1450–c. 1425 BCE) *Sixth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty; son of Thutmosis III and his second wife, Hatshepsut-Merytre*

Amenhotep II is best remembered as a man of considerable physical strength, an avid sportsman, and a great military leader. As a ruler, Amenhotep II had to preserve and protect the immense empire he had inherited from his father, THUTMOSE III (r. c. 1504–c. 1450 BCE). Amenhotep II quickly proved his strength as a military leader, when Asian city-states revolted against Egyptian rule. Displaying incredible fierceness in battle, he rapidly conquered his enemies. Later in his reign he conducted equally brutal wars in Syria and NUBIA. During these campaigns he was reputed to have publicly displayed the bodies of captives both on the prow of his ship and on the walls of the royal capital at Thebes.

Upon his death Amenhotep II was succeeded by Thutmose IV (r. c. 1412–c. 1402 BCE), his son by his marriage to his sister, Tio. Buried in the VALLEY OF THE KINGS, Amenhotep's tomb was unearthed in 1898. At that time it was found to contain not only his mummy, but also those of several other pharaohs.

Further reading: Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001); Christiane Ziegler, *The Pharaohs* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002).

Amenhotep III (Amenophis II) (r. c. 1417–c. 1379 BCE) *Eighth king of Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty*

The son of THUTMOSE IV (r. c. 1425–c. 1417 BCE) and Queen Mutemwiya, Amenhotep III enjoyed a long and peaceful reign, during which Egypt enjoyed a period of economic prosperity. He was particularly noted for the luxury and splendor of his royal court. He also was a patron of the arts, building and restoring monuments throughout his kingdom.

Like many pharaohs, Amenhotep III maintained a large harem. However, his chief wife, Tiye, was a strong, capable woman who played an important role in the governing of EGYPT. The royal couple had four daughters and two sons. When he died at the age of 50, Amenhotep III was succeeded by his younger son, who would later change his name from Amenhotep IV to AKHENATEN.

See also: AHMOSID/THUTMOSID LINES (Vol. I).

Further reading: J. Fletcher, *Egypt's Sun King: Amenhotep III* (London: Duncan Baird, 2000); David O'Connor and E. H. Cline, eds., *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on his Reign* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1998); J. Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001); Christiane Ziegler, *The Pharaohs* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002).

Amenhotep IV See AKHENATEN.

Amenirdis I (r. c. 760–c. 747 BCE) *The sister of King Piankhy, founder of Egypt's Twenty-fifth Dynasty (c. 780–c. 644 BCE)*

Amenirdis is notable as the first woman of the ancient kingdom of KUSH to hold the title of "Divine Wife of AMUN." Initially controlled by the powerful male priesthood of Amun, young women of ruling families were first appointed as priestesses during the eighth century BCE. Their appointment allowed kings to assert greater control over the city of Thebes as well as land and wealth consecrated to the god Amun. After he established the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of EGYPT, PIANKHY continued this tradition. Some historians have argued his decision gave greater legitimacy to the Kushite conquest.

For a brief period, Kushite priestesses formed their own dynasty, adopting the daughters of reigning kings upon whom they conferred title and responsibility. Amenirdis I (r. c. 745 BCE) passed the title on to Shepenupet II (r. c. 700 BCE), Piankhy's daughter. Surviving records indicate this practice continued under the reign of Taharqa (690–664 BCE), whose daughter Amenirdis II inherited the title but died before her formal installation.

In keeping with the traditions of the gods, priestesses of Amun lived a celibate life, attended by servants and administrators. However, the recognition granted to them was in many ways equal only to that of the reigning Kushite kings. Priestesses were given a formal coronation, royal temples, and extravagant burials that immortalized their deeds. Although they were restricted to the city of Thebes, it appears that they held a high degree of political power and amassed great wealth. The restoration and construction of public buildings, monuments, and statues reflect the good works of these ancient women. Temples built to honor Amenirdis I still stand at MEDINET HABU. Their numerous wall reliefs show the priestesses making ritual offerings to Amun on behalf of the king.

See also: KANDAKE (Vol. I).

Further reading: Robert G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London: Rubicon Press, 2000); Barbara Watterson, *The Egyptians* (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

Amhara Ethiopian ETHNIC GROUP; also the name for the region they occupy. The primary language of ETHIOPIA has long been AMHARIC, the Semitic language of the Amhara. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which largely shapes religious life in Ethiopia, is closely allied with the Amhara. One of the main reasons for the success of the Amhara is the closeness of their family relationships, since for them kinship and land ownership are linked.

There are at least two major accounts of the origins of the Amhara. One story declares them to be descendants of Sabaean settlers, or Himyarites, who crossed the RED SEA from present-day Yemen. According to archaeologists,

these Sabaean immigrants, who may have arrived in Ethiopia as long ago as 500 BCE, developed both the hybrid language known as GE'EZ and an original form of Ethiopic script. These settlers also brought with them their advanced knowledge of irrigation and terracing systems, which greatly aided in establishing durable methods of farming in the arid lands of Ethiopia. Throughout their history, the Amhara have earned their livelihood from the soil, raising teff (a type of cereal), as well as corn, wheat, legumes, and vegetables.

Another account of the Amhara's origins, taken from the *Kebra Nagast,* Ethiopia's national epic, asserts that the Amhara are descendants of King Solomon and Queen MAKEDA (queen of Sheba). On the basis of this, the Solomonic dynasty of Ethiopian rulers, who were primarily of Amharic descent, carried the title "Lions of Judah."

See also: AGAW (Vol. I); AKSUM (Vol. I); AMHARA (Vols. III, IV); SOLOMONIC DYNASTY (Vol. II).

Amharic A language of the Semitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic family of languages. Amharic has served as the primary language of ETHIOPIA for many centuries and, for almost a millennium, has been both the official language of Ethiopia, used in court and government documents, and the language spoken by the dominant population group of Ethiopia.

Like other Ethiopian SEMITIC LANGUAGES, Amharic is descended from GE'EZ, the ancient ecclesiastic and literary language of Ethiopia. The grammatical forms used in Amharic clearly place it in the Semitic branch of AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES, which were introduced into Ethiopia by traders from southern Arabia during the first millennium BCE. Although it strongly resembles other Semitic languages in its use of grammatical forms, Amharic employs a syntax much more similar to that of the Ethiopian Cushitic languages, especially OROMO.

Amharic is one of the few African languages that produced an ancient written literature. Amharic derived its written script from the alphabet of ancient south Arabia. Though originally written from right to left (as ARABIC is), Amharic script—probably as a result of Greek influence—later changed direction from left to right. Amharic did retain the practice, common in many Semitic written languages, of separating words by placing two dots between them.

See also: LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I).

Amratian culture Early culture in predynastic EGYPT.
See also: NAQADAH I AND II (Vol. I).

amulets Objects, ornaments, or symbols imbued with ritual power that are worn, carried, or placed in graves; also known as charms. Based on a number of archaeologi-

The ankh, right, and other ancient Egyptian amulets were thought to possess ritual power. Museo Egizio di Torino, Turin, Italy © *Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis*

cal excavations, amulets appear to have been in use in Africa from an early period. In ancient times, they were made from materials of the natural environment, including animal bone, shells, and rock. One of the earliest known charms was recovered in the western sudanic belt and dates back to the NEOLITHIC AGE (c. 5000–c. 3000 BCE). There is speculation among ethnologists that this particular relic resembles a type of fertility charm comparable with ones still used by the Fulani.

In southern EGYPT the population of el-Badari (c. 4300–c. 3800 BCE) was associated with recovered amulets that resembled HIPPOPOTAMUSES and gazelles. These items may have functioned within BADARIAN CULTURE as magic charms used for protection during the hunt. They also might have been used to prevent the spirits of dead animals from causing harm. Hunting charms were important to many African societies and, in later periods, were sewn onto hats or shirts. This practice continued in regions of SOUTH AFRICA and NIGERIA until well into the modern era.

During the period in Egyptian history known as the MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–c. 1840 BCE), amulets were used in a wider context. Egyptian mothers tied charms on a string and placed them around the necks of their children for their protection. This also was done as a cure for illness. High child-mortality rates were not unusual in Egypt, and many such charms contained spells and prayers written on papyrus.

Charms used to protect Egyptian pharaohs in death were made of GOLD, lapis lazuli, and obsidian. These objects were placed between the bandages of the pharaoh's mummified remains, while large scarab amulets, contain-

ing spells and prayers, were placed on the heart to protect it. A considerable number of COWRIE SHELLS were also used in Egyptian burials as a powerful symbol of rebirth and regeneration.

The use of charms and amulets continued in many parts of Africa in ancient times, playing an important role in major RITES OF PASSAGE. Among the Pende of ANGOLA and Democratic Republic of the CONGO, for example, elders continue a custom even today in which they carve small ivory masks known as *minyaki*. Initiates wear these MASKS as amulets as they undergo rituals that prepare them for adulthood.

See also: BEADS (Vol. I); CLOTHING (Vol. I); JEWELRY (Vol. I).

Further reading: Barbara Watterson, *The Egyptians* (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

Amun (Amun-Ra)   The sun god of ancient EGYPT, whose name means "concealed one." Egyptian worship of Amun dates back to the earliest times, but Amun did not become the preeminent, all-powerful deity until the pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty attributed their military successes to him. At that time, Amun was merged with the northern sun god, RA, becoming Amun-Ra, "King of the Gods." Worship of Amun became widespread, and the priests who served the deity were rich and powerful. As a result those priests exercised great influence over the pharaohs.

Amun usually was depicted in the form of a strong young man, often with the head and curled horns of a ram. According to Egyptian mythology, Amun was married to the goddess Mut. Their son was the god Khonsu.

The cult of Amun-Ra flourished at the Egyptian capital of Thebes until the reign of the pharaoh AKHENATEN (r. c. 1379–c. 1364 BCE). At that time, worship of Amun-Ra and the other gods of the Egyptian pantheon was abandoned and replaced by devotion to a single new deity, ATEN. Akhenaten's attempt at a monotheistic revolution, however, did not last long. After his death, Akhenaten's successors restored Amun to the supreme place in the ranks of the gods.

Amyrtaeus   (r. 404–399 BCE) *Egyptian pharaoh, believed to be from Libya, who was the only king of Egypt's Twenty-Eighth Dynasty*

Amyrtaeus is believed to be a relative of another Amyrtaeus, who years earlier had tried to oust the Persians from the NILE DELTA region. After succeeding Darius II to the throne in 404 BCE, Amyrtaeus fought a successful military campaign against the Persians, who occupied LOWER EGYPT.

By 400 BCE Amyrtaeus had gained control of UPPER EGYPT. Beyond this, little is known about Amyrtaeus's reign other than that, according to Egyptian tradition, he broke an Egyptian law that led to his son being forbidden to succeed him.

Anansi (Ananse, Kwaku Anansi)   Mythological spider trickster of the Ashanti people of present-day GHANA. According to Ashanti myth Anansi is the son and intermediary of the sky god Nyame, on whose behalf Anansi brings rain and floods. Traditionally, Anansi is a cunning figure, living by his wits. He is credited by some with creating the first human; in some legends he is also responsible for creating the separation between day and night. Anansi was also seen as having taught people how to sow grain and to use a shovel in the fields, thus introducing AGRICULTURE. Although in Ashanti legends Anansi is rarely bested by any human, in at least one myth he is beaten after an encounter with a girl made out of wax. When the girl refuses to speak to him, Anansi hits her with his legs. Anansi is then stuck to her, allowing people to approach and attack him.

ancestor worship   Somewhat misleading term used to describe the practice, prevalent among West African peoples, of honoring ancestors. So-called ancestor worship centers on the belief that the deceased can intercede in the lives of their living relatives. Although supported by no universal set of beliefs, the practice is similar in most African societies. Believers hope that ancestors who are properly honored will bring good fortune to their relatives on earth. On the other hand, some ancestors may become evil spirits who haunt the living, cursing them with disease or natural disaster. In this case, the family must provide the appropriate sacrifices to appease the evil spirit. If the spirit continues to plague the living, his or her bones may be dug up and burned.

Ancestors are usually recognized individually rather than collectively. A family or clan typically honor their relative in group ceremonies, calling upon that individual to bless them with a good harvest or protect them from a village plague. The living usually communicate with the deceased through prayer or sacrifice. While the deceased are believed to have the power to influence the living, they do not have unlimited powers and can only influence those who recognize them.

In order to enter the ancestral realm properly, the deceased must be buried according to custom. When the head of a family dies, his eldest son often takes over his position of family authority. In most cases this first heir to the deceased must perform the burial ceremony for his father. With some peoples, a man who dies without a direct heir cannot be honored. Instead his soul is left to wander aimlessly as a ghost. Funeral rites may continue for years until the deceased has properly passed into the ancestral realm. Ceremonies, prayers, and ritual sacrifices

may aid in the process. Not until funeral rites for the deceased are complete can the son officially lead the services for his departed father.

Many peoples who honor their ancestors believe that the ancestral realm is organized hierarchically, parallel to the living world. Thus, the rank of the deceased increases only as the rank of his counterpart on earth increases. For instance, if the living son is heir to family authority, his father's rank in the ancestral world will increase as his son's rank rises in the family or among his people.

See also: AFTERLIFE (Vol. I) ORISHA (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

ancestry   Founding members of families, groups, or nations identified through myths, shrines, and specific sites. In Africa one of the most important roles that ancestry plays is in defining life's purpose and traditional values. For thousands of years, oral history has helped to accomplish this through myths. In some societies, myths detail heroic deeds or hardship that give meaningful personal or national histories to future generations. It should be kept in mind, however, that not all African societies share this view. Among the Pokot of western KENYA, for example, ancestral spirits traditionally are viewed as evil and are held responsible for great misfortune. In fact, it is believed that even speaking of the dead opens the way for bad luck.

Special symbols or shrines commemorated family ancestry in many ancient African societies. In the kingdom of Benin, in what is now NIGERIA, some royal families used a special altar under which founding male ancestors were buried. Carved wooden roosters were placed on the altars of female ancestors. Commemorative figures that honor the ancestors were also used by the Baoule of IVORY COAST.

One of the most ancient symbols of ancestry in Africa, the ARK OF THE COVENANT was used to commemorate the national ancestry of ETHIOPIA, beginning with King Solomon and Queen MAKEDA (queen of Sheba). Similarly, among the Ashanti of GHANA, a unified national ancestry was achieved through the centuries-old tradition that maintained symbolic royal stools and a royal umbrella that "covers the nation."

Ancestry may also be linked to particular sites. For NUER groups in the present-day Republic of the SUDAN, a special tamarind tree in their homeland west of Bahr el-Jebel traditionally represented the place from which many claim to have originated. Similarly, the KIKUYU treated Mount Kenya as the House of Mumbi, the spiritual dwelling place from which they originated and to which they would return as ancestors.

Traditional RELIGION continues to make a place for ancestor reverence and worship. For example, in the annual EGUNGUN festival of the YORUBA people, the roots of which lie thousands of years in the past, it is believed that the spirits of deceased and sometimes divinized ancestors are summoned to bring comfort and relief to the living.

See also: AFTERLIFE (Vol. I).

Angola   Present-day country on the southwestern coast of Africa measuring approximately 476,200 square miles (1,233,400 sq km) that is bordered on the north by the Republic of the CONGO, on the west by ZAMBIA, and on the south by NAMIBIA.

Angola has been inhabited since prehistoric times, as evidenced by early human remains found at archaeological sites in Luanda. However, many thousands of years passed before more developed societies arrived in the area. The first settlers were HUNTER-GATHERERS who spoke KHOISAN LANGUAGES. At the beginning of the sixth century Bantu-speaking people, who had mastered METALLURGY, flocked to the region, probably originating to the north, near present-day NIGERIA or CAMEROON. When they reached Angola, these newly arrived agriculturalists were able to use their knowledge of AGRICULTURE, metalworking, and ceramics to dominate the indigenous inhabitants. After several centuries various BANTU LANGUAGES had been established throughout the region. The result was the genesis of a number of different ethnic groups who took on different characteristics and spoke languages with Bantu roots.

See also: ANGOLA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Ankaratra range   Volcanic mountain range in the central highlands of the island of MADAGASCAR. Covering nearly 2,000 square miles (5,180 sq km), the Ankaratra mountains lie to the southwest of Antananarivo, the present-day capital city of Madagascar. Mount Tsiafajavona, the island's second highest peak, lies within the Ankaratra range.

Anlamani   (r. c. 623–c. 593 BCE) *Kushite king of Egypt*
Anlamani and ASPELTA (r. c. 593–c. 568 BCE), his brother, were royal descendants of the prominent Kushite rulers that included Taharqa (r. c. 690–c. 664 BCE) and PIANKHY (r. c. 751–c. 716 BCE). Like his predecessors Anlamani apparently erected one of the stone pillars, known as stelae, that have provided historians and archaeologists with important insights into the inner workings of the Kushite kingdom. Among other things, Anlamani's stelae record his progress among the various Nomes, or provinces, of EGYPT. Although, as these and other records show, Anlamani kept a watchful eye over the vast territory that was controlled by KUSH, he was unable to prevent warfare with the nomadic Blemmyes who inhabited the western desert.

Anlamani's reign was also noteworthy for the role played by the female members of his family. On his stelae, he describes how his mother, the KANDAKE, or queen mother, Nasalsa, attended his royal coronation at Kawa and played a prominent role in royal proceedings. He also describes the importance of his sisters, consecrated priestesses of AMUN. According to Anlamani's records, one of the chief responsibilities of these women was to play the sistrum in the holy temples that his predecessors erected at GEBEL BARKAL in honor of the god AMUN.

ants There are more than 8,000 species of ants, which vary in length from .08 inch to 1 inch (.2 cm to 2.5 cm). Some African ant species, like the driver ants found in the tropics, do not live in permanent colonies. They are nomadic and carnivorous and move in long columns, devouring animals unfortunate enough to cross their path. Large armies of driver ants can even consume large mammals. Also found in the African tropics are tailor, or weaver, ants. These ants build nests out of leaf fragments that are held together by a kind of silk secreted by their larvae.

In ancient Africa there were many interesting beliefs about and uses for ants. In EGYPT, for example, ant eggs were crushed and used as cosmetic eyeliners. Elsewhere in Africa, the industriousness of ants associated them with fertility. The Pangwa of TANZANIA believed that the world was created from ant excrement. According to the Dogon people of MALI the anthill was a symbol of female fertility.

Apedemak God worshiped by kings of the ancient kingdom of KUSH. Elevated to the status of a national deity, Apedemak was a highly symbolic figure. He usually was depicted as having a man's body with four arms and a lion's head. The head, according to some reports, represented the Twenty-fifth Dynasty king Taharqa of EGYPT.

Worship of Apedemak may have been temporarily suspended in the eighth century BCE when Kushite kings conquered Egypt about 740 BCE. Initially the Kushites' adaptation of Egyptian religious rites included the worship of the god AMUN. By 200 CE, however, Kushite kings returned to many of their own ancient religious practices, including the worship of Apedemak.

See also: AMANITARE (Vol I); NUBIA (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Aqaba, Gulf of Northeastern arm of the RED SEA, which separates the Arabian and Sinai Peninsulas. The Gulf of Aqaba borders modern-day Israel, EGYPT, Jordan, and Saudia Arabia and has had a long history as a commercial port and strategic area. In ancient times, Aqaba was on the spice caravan route to Egypt, GREECE, and

other parts of Europe. Religious scholars have linked the area with the biblical port city of Ezion-Gerber, where King Solomon was said to have built a fleet of ships.

Arab coastal trade Commerce between Arabia and coastal Africans took place as early as the first century BCE. Early immigrants from Arabia and Yemen left their politically unstable homelands in search of new territory along the eastern coast and HORN OF AFRICA. They crossed the RED SEA and established trading ports along the coasts of present-day ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA, and the Republic of the SUDAN. These trading centers connected Africa to the riches of Arabia, Asia, Persia, GREECE, and ROME for the first time. Early Arabian traders exchanged weapons for African GOLD, ivory, honey, tortoise shells, and slaves. As the Arab immigrants intermarried with local people, new cultures emerged. In Ethiopia, around 100 CE, the powerful trading kingdom of AKSUM was founded by people who centuries earlier had emigrated from Saba, in Yemen, and intermarried with the indigenous Cushitic-speaking peoples. Although Arab coastal trade flourished over the next 200 years, it sharply declined from the third to seventh centuries with the fall of Rome, warfare with Ethiopia, and internal conflict among African peoples.

Around the same time, as the first Arabs reached the Horn of Africa and eastern coast in the first century BCE, other Arabs crossed the Red Sea further south at the Strait of Bab el-Mandeb. They too established trading kingdoms. A rich culture developed as the local people integrated the Arabian Semitic language and Sabaean religion (from Saba) into their culture. The Arabs introduced basic WRITING technology and stone-building techniques, allowing for rapid advances in these early African kingdoms.

Sub-Saharan Africa, known as *bilad al-sudan*, or "land of the blacks," to the Arabs, also had early contact with Arabian traders. Southern coastal Africa along the present-day Swahili Coast was connected to the African interior via extensive trade routes.

Arabic Semitic language of the Afro-Asiatic language family originating in the Arabian Peninsula. The influx of Arabs into Africa, especially during the seventh century, had considerable impact, so much, in fact, that Arabic became the primary language not only of the Middle East, where it originated, but of North Africa as well.

Arabic constructs most words on the basis of three consonant sounds, with vowel sounds inserted either before, between, or after consonants. Depending upon where they come in relation to these consonants, the vowel sounds indicate associated meanings as well as number (i.e., singular or plural). The use of prefixes and suffixes attached to the root words provide further shades of meaning or indicate grammatical case (e.g., subject or

object). The three consonant sounds "s," "l," and "m," for example, provide the basis for such related words as *Islam*, *Muslim*, *salaam* (peace), and *salama* (safety). Arabic sentences normally follow the pattern of verb-subject-object.

The Arabic language remained largely confined to the Arabian Peninsula until the seventh century CE, when Islamic Arabs initiated a campaign to conquer and colonize various regions of Africa (and Asia) and convert its peoples to Islam. The military—and missionary—success of these efforts had a powerful impact on many African tongues and cultures. Later settlement by Arab traders, beginning in East Africa in the 14th century, also served to heighten the influence of Arabic on African languages.

Even in areas in which Arabic did not replace—or at least diminish the importance of—indigenous languages, Arab conquest and trade often had a significant impact on local cultures and tongues. Arabic influence can clearly be seen in the large Muslim population of eastern and Central Africa, for example.

The Arabic influence on African language and culture can be seen most readily among the Swahili and HAUSA tongues, where Arabic vocabulary has influenced the formation of words in both languages. Although most Swahili vocabulary is drawn from BANTU LANGUAGES, a great number of Swahili words have been derived from the Arabic vocabulary, including the word *Swahili* itself, which means "the coast" in Arabic. In addition, both Hausa and Swahili (unlike almost all other African languages) developed a written alphabet, something which is most likely a direct result of the influence of Muslim Arabs, upon whose alphabet these indigenous Africans based their own.

The AMHARIC language of ETHIOPIA, affected by the migration of Arab traders in the first millennium BCE, also demonstrates a strong Arabic influence.

Indigenous African languages and dialects have influenced spoken Arabic in these regions as much as Arabic has had an impact on them. Although many North Africans now use the Arabic language almost exclusively (unlike most regions of Africa, where multilingualism is the norm), this spoken Arabic varies widely from country to country. Written Arabic, however, is largely consistent throughout North Africa. It has become the dominant language in MAURITANIA, MALI, MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, LIBYA, EGYPT, and the Republic of the SUDAN, and is commonly spoken in SOMALIA, CHAD, Ethiopia, and DJIBOUTI.

See also: LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I).

archaeology   From the Greek words *archaios,* meaning "ancient things," and *logos*, meaning "study of," archaeology is a relatively young science, but it has already unlocked many mysteries associated with the study of Africa, which scientists consider the cradle of humanity. In just the last few decades, many ancient, fossilized remains have been recovered as a result of archaeological

Sites of Hominid Remains, c. 3.18 Million Years Ago–40,000 BCE
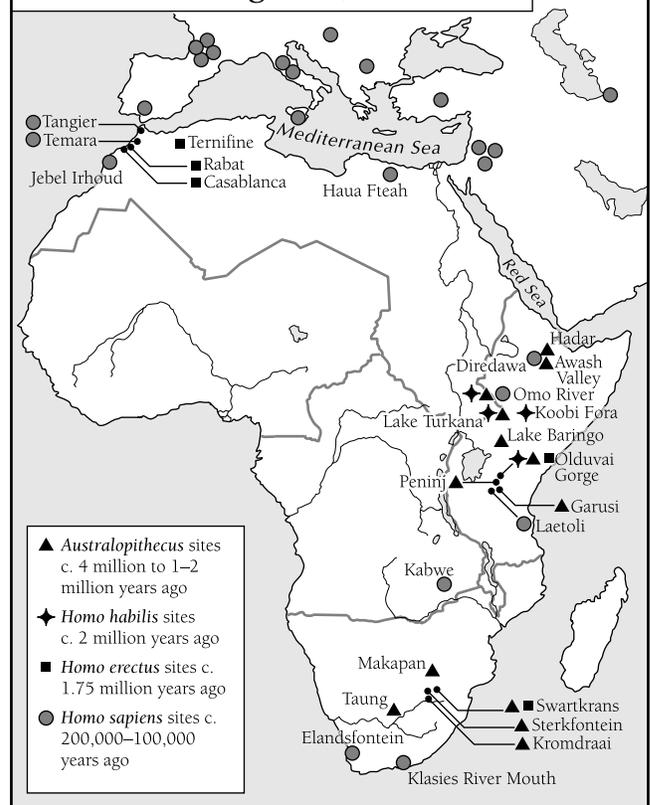
excavations, including the TAUNG CHILD in SOUTH AFRICA; *ZINJANTHROPUS* and *HOMO HABILIS* in OLDUVAI GORGE in TANZANIA; *HOMO SAPIENS* in Kabwe, ZAMBIA; Nario-kotome boy in Lake Turkana, KENYA, and one of the oldest fossilized recoveries to date, Dinkenesh (or "Lucy"), recovered in Hadar, a region of the Awash River valley in ETHIOPIA.

For these finds to provide useful information, archaeologists must interpret, classify, and analyze the data that results from them and explain their significance within the correct environmental, cultural, and historical contexts. Archaeologists are often aided in their investigations by written records, ORAL TRADITIONS, and artifacts from the time period. They may also draw on the work of such specialists as geologists, botanists, linguists, and chemists, among others.

Many archaeological discoveries, in the form of human and animal remains, provide a glimpse into the day-to-day activities of prehistoric human beings—those peoples who lived before the invention of WRITING, approximately 5,500 years ago. The time period in which these prehistoric peoples lived is generally divided into the Early, Middle, and Late Stone Ages. Excavations of STONE AGE sites have yielded a great deal of information concerning hominids, the biological term derived from

the Latin word *homo* (human being) which describes the various branches of the homininidae family from which modern humans descend. Hominids were primates that had the ability to think, stand, and walk on two feet as early as 2.5 million years ago.

Archaeologists have also been trained to identify and retrieve artifacts or objects that are made or changed by human hands. These artifacts might include pottery, ROCK ART, cloth, or stone tools such as the ACHEULEAN AGE hand ax found in Tanzania and Kenya and dating from between 700,000 years and 1.5 million years ago. Such primitive tools, for example, are easily distinguished from the more refined cutting tools produced during the Late Stone Age by more evolved humans, known as *Homo sapiens,* or modern human beings, who began to appear 100,000 years ago.

Recovered graves represent another source of artifacts and have provided archaeologists with some idea of prehistoric religion in Africa, particularly in regions where burial patterns consistently reveal some form of belief system. Such graves have been identified in Zambia, ZIMBABWE, and MALAWI. In both northern and southern Africa a number of graves have also been recovered that held the remains of *Homo sapiens* along with stone tools.

Some archaeologists specialize in certain periods and regions, such as ancient EGYPT and NUBIA, that offer an abundant degree of material culture. For example, in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, archaeologists found an ancient building that they believe was once occupied by a pharaoh. They were able to confirm that the building was a multiroom dwelling that dated back to the MIDDLE KINGDOM. These rooms contained basin rims and the remnants of pottery. In addition, a dried-up well connected with the building had many hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Archaeologists can use data from more extensive excavations to reconstruct an entire ancient civilization. For example, the ruins of Great Zimbabwe and its surrounding smaller villages, which lie in Masvingo in modern Zimbabwe, have offered archaeologists important information concerning the development of early city-states in Africa. Archaeologists who have conducted excavations at the ruins have been able to reconstruct the events that influenced Great Zimbabwe's rise and that contributed to its downfall. This was done by using special tools such as trowels and small brushes to scrape away dirt and sand. This allows the archaeologists to study the strata, or levels, of rock and determine the age of artifacts while causing the least amount of damage.

One of the cardinal rules in archaeology is maintaining the contextual integrity of the site. This means that items found in one soil strata cannot be lumped with others from another strata. To prevent this from occurring, all information discovered in the field is recorded on special forms known as *provenance sheets* for later analysis in laboratories. Special computer software is also used to recreate the original stratigraphic layers of ancient sites.

To gain some idea of the age of their findings, archaeologists have increasingly relied on sophisticated dating methods such as radiocarbon dating and potassium-argon dating. These methods evolved from atomic physics and involve measuring the breakdown of chemical elements in formerly living objects. Recently, archaeologists have collaborated with scientists in testing the DNA found in human and animal tissue to provide an even more complete picture of the past.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. II, III, IV, V); HUMAN ORIGINS (Vol. I); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); RELIGION, PREHISTORIC (Vol. I).

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architecture   In ancient Africa, as in other parts of the ancient world, architecture was determined by the climatic conditions, natural resources, and sedentary habits of its peoples. African buildings vary from mud houses in tropical habitats to elaborate tombs and palaces in others. From EGYPT to Great Zimbabwe, however, none of these buildings "just happened." In fact, each of them, from the simplest mud house to a great pyramid, had to be planned and constructed with great skill.

Houses   In sub-Saharan Africa, houses are among the most common architectural constructions, and their basic configurations and designs often date back thousands of years. Traditionally, most of the houses of sub-Saharan Africa are circular, a shape that offers a number of advantages to the people of this area. To begin with, the area of a circle provides more than 25 percent more floor space than a square with the same perimeter and more than 43 percent more space than any rectangle with that perimeter.

Beyond this, circular houses require significantly fewer materials than square or rectangular ones. Circular houses also have greater resistance to the forces of changing winds. In addition, they generally are easier to make. This was an important factor for nomadic peoples who had to abandon their homes every few months or for agricultural peoples who moved frequently because of land rotation.

A notable circular house design is that of the traditional MBUTI home, which dates back hundreds and even

thousands of years. To build their homes, these people of the northeast Congo region first drive saplings into the ground. Next they bend the tops together overhead, securing them with smaller twining saplings. This forms a dome-shaped structure that is covered with large heart-shaped leaves that overlap to form a waterproof enclosure. Dead branches are placed on top to hold the leaves flat. Once the leaves settle into place, even the hardest rains generally cannot penetrate a Mbuti house.

The Chagga of TANZANIA, who long inhabited the fertile slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, traditionally construct beehive-shaped houses. Interestingly, the critical dimension used in the construction of these homes is the height of the tallest man known by the builder. The diameter of the house always is two to three times the length of that man's arm span, from the fingertips of one hand to the fingertips of the other. The circumference of the house is marked off by tying a hoe to the end of a rope and attaching the other end to a peg located at the center of the planned dwelling; as the builder walks around the peg, he draws a circle with the hoe.

A number of agricultural peoples used cylindrical walls for their homes, topping them with cone-shaped thatched roofs. The walls intersect the roof to form a circle. The major distinction between this cylinder-cone design

and the dome and beehive designs of the Mbuti is the material used to construct the walls. In the dome and beehive houses, the walls are made of the same material as the roof, usually saplings covered with leaves or grasses. In contrast, the walls of the cylinder-cone dwelling are usually made with mud, clay, or some other material that is plentiful in the area.

Exactly how each group or people creates these cylindrical walls—and what they do to decorate them—varies. The KIKUYU of present-day KENYA, for example, traditionally form the walls with a network of wattling that is fastened to posts and then daubed with clay. Mud is used whenever clay is not abundant. In contrast, the Hehe people of Tanzania construct a large, oblong structure with many large rooms. The walls are 10 inches (25 cm) thick and have a flat thatched roof daubed with earth. This type of construction keeps the structures remarkably cool in even the hottest weather.

Another approach is taken by the MAASAI, who since ancient times have constructed houses resembling covered wagons. The structure traditionally is covered with a mixture of mud and cow dung. Once the sun has thoroughly dried the walls, the house is clean and sanitary. Fishermen in the Lake Kyoga area also use local materials for their homes, which they construct with a thatch made

This reconstruction at Botshabelo Village, South Africa, shows a Ndebele hut of the earliest style, made only of thatch. The wooden door is decorated in a traditional motif. © Lindsay Hebberd/Corbis

of papyrus stems. The finished homes resemble inverted baskets and can be moved from place to place by canoe.

The walls of many of these houses traditionally are whitewashed and then decorated with elaborate designs. Some houses have murals painted on the inner or outer walls. Other types of ornamentation are placed around doorways or on roofs. In southern NIGERIA and along the GUINEA coast, murals, decorated relief patterns, and carved wooden doors and posts are found at the homes of the privileged. The outer walls of the traditional red-earth houses of the IGBO, in present-day Nigeria, are often painted in red, black, green, and white geometric patterns. Murals and mats woven with intricate designs are found in many areas of the Zambezi region of the Congo.

Larger Structures   African architecture, of course, has not been limited to houses, even in ancient times. The Egyptians were among the most famous architects and builders in human history, and their works remain marvels.

The GREAT PYRAMID at Giza, for example, was the very first of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World to be constructed. Built as a tomb for the great king KHUFU, the pyramid is awe-inspiring in size. The length of each of the four sides exceeds 755 feet (230 m), and the corners are almost perfect right angles, astonishingly accurate to within 0.007 of a degree. The height is 481.4 feet (146.7 m) and the base covers an area of 13.1 acres (5.3 hectares). The ratio of one-half the perimeter divided by the height yields a number equal to 3.1408392 (compared with the true value of pi, which equals 3.1415927), a remarkable fact the significance of which is not yet understood.

The Great Pyramid of Giza also is one of the largest structures ever built. In its original form, it was large enough to simultaneously hold within its walls St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Peter's in ROME, the cathedrals of Milan and Florence, and Westminster Abbey. And, if they were broken into 1-foot (30.48-cm) cubes and laid end to end, its stones would stretch two-thirds of the way around the equator.

Among other monumental architectural achievements are the famous ruins at Great Zimbabwe, which give a vivid impression of the splendor of Mwene Mutapa, one of the wealthiest kingdoms of southern Central Africa. Built more than a thousand years ago, it, too, represents a major triumph of African architecture and construction.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vols. II, III, IV, V); GREAT ENCLOSURE (Vol. II); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II).

Ark of the Covenant (Ark of the Law, Ark of the Testimony)   Highly revered chest or cupboard, reputed to contain the scrolls or tablets of Jewish law. It is of special importance to Ethiopian Christians. Considered the "holiest of all holies" for the Jewish people, the Ark of the Covenant has been described as a rectangular box made of hardwood and covered with gold plate. It is said to be 4 feet long; 2 feet, 6 inches wide, and 2 feet, 6 inches deep. According to various traditions, the cover of the Ark is decorated with cherubim, or angelic figures. Biblical references indicate that Moses made a case shaped like the "belly of a ship," into which he placed two stone tablets of the law.

The legends of the ark have an important role for many Ethiopians, who trace their Judeo-Christian heritage to the reported union of Solomon and and Ethiopian queen. According to the *Kebra Nagast,* Ethiopia's holy book of ancient secrets and traditions, the Ark of the Covenant was handed down for safekeeping from one generation to the next, from Moses to Israel's great king Solomon. In the 10th century BCE Solomon met Queen MAKEDA, known in the Bible as the queen of Sheba. Queen Makeda, who acquired the Ethiopian throne at a young age, had traveled from her country to Jerusalem in hope that Solomon would teach her how to govern.

The *Kebra Nagast* goes on to explain that Solomon used trickery to seduce the visiting queen, who eventually bore him a son. Solomon, however, later dreamed that this son, named Menelik, would someday be responsible for transferring responsibility of the holy laws from Israel to Ethiopia. At the age of 13 Menelik, who had been residing in Ethiopia with Queen Makeda, came to Jerusalem to visit his father. After being taught Jewish history and law, Menelik was anointed king of Ethiopia. (He thus became MENELIK I.) At the same time, several nobles from Solomon's royal court were assigned to assist the youth in his development (see BETA ISRAEL). In spite of this, however, Menelik stole the Ark and returned with it to Ethiopia, thus fulfilling Solomon's dream.

The Ark, say many traditional legends, remained hidden away through centuries of wars and political upheaval. A number of these tales insist that the Ark was kept in a cave that had been sealed when an earthquake caused a landslide.

Obviously, the mysteries of the Ark are not likely to be solved any time soon. But many Ethiopians insist that the Ark ultimately was kept in the kingdom of AKSUM, thus forming the basis for their claim to be the Chosen People of God.

See also: AMHARA (Vol. I).

Further reading: *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek (I): Being the 'Book of the Glory of Kings'* (London: Kegan Paul, 2001).

Arsinoe I   (r. c. 282 BCE) *Queen of Egypt and the first wife of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus*

Arsinoe's father, Lysimachus (c. 361–c. 281 BCE), the king of Thrace, arranged her marriage to symbolize the union of Thrace and EGYPT against Seleucus I Nicator of Syria. She married about 282 BCE and had three children. Although the length of their marriage is unknown, Arsinoe I did not remain queen of Egypt for long. When

Egypt and Thrace defeated Syria in 279 BCE, Ptolemy's recently widowed sister, ARSINOE II (316–270 BCE), arrived in Egypt. Arsinoe I was sent into exile sometime around the arrival of Arsinoe II. Some scholars believe that Arsinoe I was exiled immediately following Lysimachus's death, when Egypt's political tie to Thrace ended. Others speculate that Arsinoe II convinced her brother that Arsinoe I was conspiring to assassinate him. Whatever his motivation, Ptolemy sent Arsinoe I to Coptos in UPPER EGYPT and married Arsinoe II.

Further reading: Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt: From Alexander to Cleopatra* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984).

Arsinoe II (316–270 BCE) *Queen of Thrace, who later married King Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt*

Ptolemy I Soter, the father of Arsinoe II, was the founder of Egypt's Ptolemaic dynasty. He arranged for Arsinoe II to marry King Lysimachus of Thrace (c. 361–c. 281 BCE) in 300 BCE to secure the family's power within the Thracian kingdom. Arsinoe II accused the heir to the throne, her stepson Agathocles, of conspiring to kill his father. When the trusting Lysimachus ordered the execution of his son, Seleucus I Nicator of Syria declared war on Thrace. During the war, Thrace allied itself with EGYPT through the marriage of ARSINOE I (r. c. 282 BCE), Lysimachus's daughter by a previous marriage, to Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, the brother of Arsinoe II. Lysimachus died from battle wounds in 281 BCE, and Arsinoe II was forced to flee Thrace. She temporarily settled in Cassandrea.

When Thrace defeated Syria in 279, Arsinoe II's half-brother Ptolemy Ceraunus tricked her into marrying him. His interest extended no further than the Thracian throne. When he arrived in Cassandrea to claim his new wife, he immediately killed Arsinoe II's two youngest sons. She fled to ALEXANDRIA, where her brother King Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his wife Arsinoe I ruled Egypt.

Shortly after the arrival of Arsinoe II in Egypt, Arsinoe I was sent into exile at Coptos in UPPER EGYPT. Although Arsinoe I could have been exiled immediately following Lysimachus's death, most scholars speculate that she was exiled when Arsinoe II convinced her brother that Arsinoe I was conspiring to assassinate him. Arsinoe II then married her brother, a practice customary among the Egyptians but puzzling to the Greeks. From that point on, the name *Philadelphus,* which means "brother-loving," was attached to the names of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II.

Arsinoe II Philadelphus became a powerful force in the Egyptian monarchy. She appeared on Egyptian coins, and several towns were named in her honor. In keeping with custom, she was deified during her lifetime. A cult was established in her honor when she died, and a massive shrine, the Arsinoeion, was dedicated in her honor.

Further reading: Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt: From Alexander to Cleopatra* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984).

Arsinoe III (245–204 BCE) *Wife of King Ptolemy IV Philopator and queen of Egypt*

Arsinoe III was the sister and husband of King Ptolemy IV Philopator of Egypt. Their father, Ptolemy III Euergetes of EGYPT, married Arsinoe III in 217 BCE to her brother after Egypt defeated the Seleucid kingdom in Southwest Asia. During her reign, Arsinoe III had little political influence. The Ptolemaic dynasty fell into a state of decline as her husband succumbed to the influence of his corrupt court ministers. When Arsinoe III gave birth to the heir to the throne, her husband forbade her to appear in public. When Ptolemy IV died in 205 BCE, his court officials had Arsinoe III assassinated to ensure that they would retain power. Her son Ptolemy V Epiphanes was then crowned King of Egypt. At only six years of age, Ptolemy V became another puppet for the royal court.

art Contemporary people around the world make clear distinctions between useful objects and objects whose sole purpose is to be beautiful. However, prehistoric African cultures typically incorporated beautiful images, designs, and objects into their everyday lives, tending not to categorize their crafted objects as what we call art.

See also: ART (Vols. II, III, IV, V); BEADS AND JEWELRY (Vol. I); BODY ADORNMENT (Vol. I); MASKS (Vol. I); POTTERY (Vol. I); ROCK ART (Vol. I); SCARIFICATION (Vol. I).

Asclepius Greek god of divination and healing; long associated with IMHOTEP (c. 2650–c. 2610 BCE), the ancient scribe, physician, poet, architect, and astronomer of ancient EGYPT.

See also: ISIS (Vol. I).

Aspelta (Aspelto) (r. c. 593–c. 568 BCE) *Ruler of both Egypt and the Kush kingdom*

During Aspelta's reign Egyptian religious beliefs and rituals were retained, as were HIEROGLYPHICS, Egyptian architectural styles, and the practice of mummification. Aspelta's greatest accomplishment of record was shifting the capital of the kingdom of KUSH to MEROË, which became a center of political, cultural, and social power in 590 BCE.

See also: APEDEMAK (Vol.I).

Assyrian Of or relating to the ancient empire of western Asia situated in the upper valley of the Tigris River; the Assyrian empire began its ascension around 2000

BCE, and rapidly declined after about 612 BCE. Ancient texts credit the Assyrian king Esarhaddon with the invasion of EGYPT and the capture of the capital city of MEMPHIS about 660 BCE. His son Ashurbanipal (c. 681–c. 669 BCE) continued the conquest of Egypt, sending armies as far as Thebes. Weapons made of tempered iron reportedly gave the Assyrians a decisive advantage over the Egyptians, whose weaponry was made of bronze and stone. The process of smelting iron to make tools and weapons is believed to have been mastered by the Assyrians as early as 1300 BCE.

astronomy The practice of the science of astronomy has been widespread in Africa since ancient times, and instances of ancient astronomical practices have been discovered in virtually every part of the continent. In EGYPT, for example, astronomical studies led to perhaps the world's first solar CALENDAR. In KENYA stand huge, megalithic monuments that modern scientists have determined to be carefully aligned with stars and other heavenly bodies. Ancient Africans also learned that numerous earthly cycles—seasonal, planting, animal migration, animal mating, and so on—are closely related to the cycles of the Moon and Sun. From their long-term observations, they created calendars with which they scheduled planting and harvest times as well as important festivals and rituals.

Accuracy and precision were important to these ancient Africans. In part, this was a matter of survival, since the success or failure of everything from crops and hunts to annual migrations often depended upon the accurate prediction of weather and seasonal events. These predictions were also politically important because the astronomer-priests with the most accurate predictions enjoyed the most power and prestige.

Another example of ancient, African astronomy has been found in northwestern Kenya. There anthropologists have studied the recently discovered Namoratunga I and Namoratunga II sites, which date from the fourth century BCE. The first of these is a large rock-art cemetery in which the graves are surrounded by megalithic stones. These huge standing stones are marked with symbols resembling cattle brands.

According to some scholars, Namoratunga II may have been used to create a calendar system as early as 300 BCE. However, it contains only a single grave that is surrounded by several huge standing stones. Namoratunga II also contains nineteen large stone columns arranged in rows that seem to have no relationship to the graves. The columns of Namoratunga II do, however, follow obvious patterns and seem to be related to astronomical events that are part of a complex calendar system developed long ago by eastern Kushites. This calendar links the rising of seven stars or constellations—Triangulum, the Pleiades,

Aldebaran, Bellatrix, Central Orion, Saiph, and Sirius—with a 12-month, 364-day year.

Further reading: Jean De Heinzelin, "Ishango," *Scientific American* 206:6 (June 1962), pp. 105–114; Alexander Marschack, *The Roots of Civilization* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972); Ivan Van Sertima, *Blacks in Science: Ancient and Modern* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1983).

Aswan (Assuan, Assouan, Syene) City and state in southern EGYPT. Located on the east bank of the NILE RIVER, Aswan has a long history of foreign rule. The city is situated near what is now known as Lake Nasser, across from the island of ELEPHANTINE. In ancient times, Aswan was known as Swen (meaning "the mart" in Egyptian) and was the site of an important quarry that supplied granite for Egyptian monuments. (These quarries are still used today.) Under Macedonian and Greek occupation during the last few centuries BCE, the city was named Syene. It time it successively became a garrison post for the Romans, Turks, and British.

Atbara River Tributary of the NILE RIVER. The Atbara River, also known as the Black Nile, is approximately 500 miles (805 km) long. It flows over Nubian sandstone northward from the Ethiopian Highlands to the Angareb and Satit Rivers in present-day Republic of the SUDAN. From there it flows into the Nile at Atbara. The banks of the Atbara River are mainly semiarid badlands. During the dry season from November to May, the Atbara virtually evaporates to the extent that only a handful of pools remain. In the rainy season, it swells to provide more than 20 percent of the Nile's total water volume and carries more than 11 million tons of silt down river into the valley, which is now blocked by the Aswan High Dam, and becomes Lake Nasser.

Aten Deity promoted by the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep IV (r. c. 1379–c. 1364 BCE). After coming to power, Amenhotep IV declared his allegiance to a new deity called Aten. Changing his name to AKHENATEN as a sign of his devotion, the pharaoh then made the worship of Aten the kingdom's official religion and set out to eliminate devotion to all other gods, especially AMUN-RA.

Under Akhenaten's direction, a new city was constructed midway between Thebes and MEMPHIS. Named AKHETATEN, meaning "Horizon of Aten," it became the center of the new RELIGION, replacing Thebes as Egypt's religious capital, and Akhenaten the pharaoh officiated as the one and only high priest of Aten.

Akhenaten's new religion represented a radical break with traditional Egyptian theology. The supreme god of Egypt's old pantheon was AMUN, usually depicted as the

sun after it had set and become hidden from view. In contrast, Aten was pictured as a bright-red sun disc with extended rays. The new religion also replaced dozens of other deities (each with its own powers and personality) with Aten, a singular god who was worshiped as the one and only true source of created life.

Worship of Aten did not survive beyond the reign of Akhenaten. After his death, Akhenaten's successors treated the new religion as heresy. Dismantling and destroying the monuments devoted to Aten, they reestablished the previous Egyptian belief system and moved the religious capital back to Thebes.

Further reading: Nicholas Reeves, *Akhenaten: Egypt's False Prophet* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001).

Atlas Mountains

Atlas Mountains Mountain chain located in Northwest Africa. Stretching more than 1,200 miles (1,931 km), the Atlas Mountains extend from the port of Agadir, in southwestern MOROCCO, through northern ALGERIA to the Tunisian capital of Tunis in the northeast. The highest point in the range is Jebel Toubkal (Mount Toubkal) in southwestern Morocco. Formed of sedimentary rock during the late Jurassic period, the Atlas Mountains are rich in minerals, especially phosphates, coal, iron, and oil. The most rugged areas of the Atlas range are in Morocco, where the tallest peaks can be found. In Algeria, the system becomes a series of plateaus, with the Tell Atlas and the Saharan Atlas regions surrounding the Plateau of the Chotts.

The Atlas Mountains function as a weather barrier between the MEDITERRANEAN SEA and the SAHARA DESERT, to the south. The slopes facing north get enough rain to support forests and farms. Streams that flow down this side of the range are diverted to irrigate fields of crops essential to the people of North Africa.The south-facing slopes are much drier than those facing north. This southern section, called the Saharan Atlas, is covered with shrub and grasses and dotted with salt lakes and SALT flats. Although too dry to farm, the Saharan Atlas can support grazing sheep.

Australopithecus

Australopithecus Type of hominids that are considered ancestors of the modern human species, HOMO SAPI-ENS. All evidence of the earliest known hominids, which belong to the genus *Australopithecus,* has been found on the African continent.

The genus *Australopithecus* included several species, the best known being *anamensis, afarensis, africanus, boisei,* and *robustus*. These species originated during the Pliocene epoch (1.6 to 5.3 million years ago) and had become extinct by the end of the early Pleistocene epoch (900,000 to 1.6 million years ago).

The oldest of these species is the *Australopithecus* (or *Ardipithicus,* as it is called by some) *ramidus,* discovered in the Afar Triangle of ETHIOPIA and dating back 4.4 million years. The 4.2-million-year-old fossil of *Australopithecus anamensis,* the second oldest hominid specimen, was found in KENYA. The third hominid species, *afarensis,* probably was an ancestor of the australopithecines that followed it. Like *ramidus*, it was discovered in the Afar Triangle of ETHIOPIA. The most famous *afarensis* specimen, Lucy, dates back 3.2 million years.

Evidence of both *Australopithecus africanus,* who lived 2 to 3 million years ago, and *Australopithecus robustus,* who lived 1 to 2 million years ago, has been found in SOUTH AFRICA. Fossils of the *boisei,* originally called ZINJANTHROPUS, were found in Tanzania and date back 2.3 to 2.5 million years.

Fossils belonging to the genus *Homo,* which refers to more "human" species, have also been discovered in Ethiopia, Kenya, and ZAMBIA. Although *Homo* specimens also have been found in the Middle East, Asia, and Europe, most paleontologists believe that the first hominids in Eurasia were derived from an African source anywhere from 1 to 1.8 million years ago.

The biological term *hominid,* from the Latin word *Homo,* or person, is used to describe the various branches of the Hominidae family. These Hominidae were closely related primates with the ability to think, stand, and walk on two feet in ways similar to modern human beings. As early as 2.5 million years ago, these hominids began to make the first tools.

Archaeologists have determined that the australopithecines, one of the broad categories of hominids, had a brain capacity of 26 to 33 cubic inches (440 to 550 cc). Perhaps the most notable example of this species ever discovered is the TAUNG CHILD, the name given to a fossilized skeleton found in South Africa in 1925. The Taung Child lived between 2 and 3 million years ago and lived to an age of three to six years. The child's brain capacity was 25 cubic inches (410 cc), a figure that probably would have expanded to 26 cubic inches (440 cc) had the child lived to maturity.

During the 1960s, archaeologists recovered another branch of the Hominidae family at OLDUVAI GORGE and Lake Turkana. Classified as HOMO HABILIS (meaning "handy"), HOMO ERECTUS (meaning "upright"), and HOMO SAPIENS (meaning "wise"), these species are the closest to modern humans, with brain capacities measuring up to 78 cubic inches (1,280 cc). The reconstructions of recovered remains in Africa indicate a broad similarity to human features and a range of body size from slender to robust.

See also: HUMAN ORIGINS (Vol. I).

Further reading: Donald C. Johanson and Kevin O'Farrell, *Journey from the Dawn: Life with the World's First Family* (New York: Villard Books, 1990).

aware Traditional game played in many regions of Africa; also known as *awele* and *oware*. *Aware* is considered one of the oldest games in the world, having its origins in ancient EGYPT, where it was reportedly used as an early bookkeeping method.

Aware may have been symbolic of early AGRICULTURE and CATTLE raising, since terms such as "seeds and land" and "cattle and fields" became synonymous with a player's side of the board and the small objects used to navigate it. The widespread variations of the game within Africa attest to its longevity and popularity. It is called *ayo* among the YORUBA, *giuthi* by the KIKUYU of KENYA, and *adi* in southern GHANA. In UGANDA it is known as *omweso*, while the IGBO call it *azig*. Among Arabs, it was known as *mancala,* which reportedly meant "to move" or "to transfer." Stone boards have been identified at ancient temples at Thebes, KARNAK, and LUXOR. Ancient forms of the game board have also been found embedded in stone ruins in ZIMBABWE, as well as in the megaliths of ETHIOPIA.

The game's popularity within the royal courts was captured in many works of sculptured art, and elegant game boards were carved from ivory and GOLD. Yet much has been written about the game's simplicity and spontaneity, since *aware* could be played on the ground or any other flat service on which two parallel rows of six holes or cups could be arranged. Three-row versions were played in ETHIOPIA, and four-row versions have been noted in the Swahili regions of East Africa. The number of holes varied as well, ranging from six to 50. In a two-row game, 48 seeds would be divided between two players. A four-row game would require the use of 64 seeds divided between two players.

Moving counterclockwise around the entire board, each player tried to capture the majority of his or her opponent's seeds. On the surface, *aware*'s rules appear simple, but for new generations of players its many variations and complexities have been compared to chess.

Ay (c. 1352–c. 1348 BCE) *King of Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty who became pharaoh after the death of Tutankhamun*

A prominent court official at the royal city of AKHETATEN, Ay came to the throne at an advanced age and ruled only four years. His brief reign was devoted to restoring the traditional Egyptian religion that AKHENATEN (r. c. 1379–c. 1364 BCE) had attempted to overturn. Some scholars suggest that Ay married Ankhesenamun, the widow of Tutankhamun (r. c. 1361–c. 1352 BCE), in order to become pharaoh. Ankhesenamun, however, seems to have disappeared from sight soon after the death of Tutankhamun, and it is a queen named Tiy who is depicted at Ay's side in all the decorations of the period. To further deepen the mystery, a wall painting in Tutankhamun's tomb shows Ay presiding at the dead pharaoh's funeral rites, a duty he would perform only if he already were an heir to the throne.

B

ba In ancient Egyptian RELIGION, the part of the spirit of the deceased that could leave the tomb and travel the earth during the day. Not simply a composite of a person's body and soul, the *ba* represented all the attributes of a deceased individual. According to traditional Egyptian religion, the *ba* came into being at the moment of death and needed a mummy or a tomb statue in which to exist. The latter, generally made of wood, was believed to become magically alive in the tomb of the deceased.

The *ba* was often represented as either a falcon or a bird with a human head. The closest translation of the word *ba* is "animated manifestation," the part of the spirit of the deceased that had the power to leave the body, change its shape, and journey back to earth. At night, however, the *ba* had to return to the body of the deceased.

Many Egyptians considered animals to be the *bau* (plural of *ba*) of deities. There also were *bau* that were thought to represent the various powers of kings and queens. *Bau* often were painted on coffins or sarcophagi. They also were seen in reliefs and architectural features.

See also: *KA* (Vol. I).

baboons Baboons live mostly on the plains and rocky savannas south of the SAHARA DESERT. Male baboons, which can weigh up to 90 pounds (40.9 kg) and stand up to 4 feet (1.2 m) tall, are usually much larger than females, which often weigh as little as 30 pounds (13.6 kg). Both males and females, however, have coats of harsh fur of varying colors and long, curving tails. Adult males often have capes of long hair over their shoulders.

Baboons are considered highly intelligent and sociable animals. Living in structured societies known as troops and led by a dominant male, they communicate by doglike barks and by changing their posture and the shape of their tails. They generally live between 30 and 40 years on a diet consisting of plants, insects, bird eggs, and small mammals.

In ancient EGYPT one type of baboon, the Hamadryas, was trained to perform many household tasks. Considered sacred, the mummified remains of Hamadryas baboons have been found in tombs, and their images frequently adorned both temples and tombs. The Hamadryas were thought to be representatives of THOTH, the god of writing, who, according to the ancient Egyptians, recorded the verdicts of the dead at the last judgment.

Badarian Predynastic Egyptian culture that flourished about 4500 BCE. The earliest prehistoric culture of UPPER EGYPT, Badarian culture represents the height of achievement of the African Chalcolithic (or primitive predynastic) period. It was named for al-Badari, the site at which, in 1925, British archaeologists first excavated evidence of this ancient culture.

Apparently a sparsely populated agrarian community, the Badarians grew wheat and barley and herded CATTLE, sheep, and GOATS. The Badarians distinguished themselves through their finely made black-topped POTTERY, which included both pots and vases. These featured thin walls and ripples, both of which are signs of a level of artistic skill rarely found in so-called primitive cultures. Painted and decorated, Badarian pottery employed a variety of polished finishes.

Unlike many other early cultures, the Badarians, while still focusing on the functionality of objects, apparently

developed an aesthetic of beauty. Jewelry has been found—shells, stone and COPPER beads, and bracelets—that dates back to this period both in Badarian regions and in EGYPT. In addition the Badarians manufactured and utilized cosmetics, fashioning them by grinding down metal and mineral ores.

The Badarians used flint tools such as stone axes, sickle blades, saw-edged knives, and arrowheads. They wore clothing of linen as well as leather. Statuettes indicate that they probably worshiped a fertility goddess or earth mother as their main deity.

The Badarians buried their dead, along with food and goods for the AFTERLIFE, in shallow oval pits. Bodies were usually laid on the left side, as if sleeping, with the head to the south and the face pointed toward the west. Women had the largest graves.

Further reading: Ian Shaw, ed., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000).

Bahriya Oasis One of approximately five oases situated at the edge of Egypt's Western Desert near LIBYA. Ancient trade caravans relied heavily on the numerous tree-lined oases in Africa's northern desert regions. Sometimes known as *foggara,* the wells of these oases tapped into underground rivers, which may have originated as far away as the ATLAS MOUNTAINS. Some of these oases, including Bahriya, Farafra, Dakhla, and el-Kharga, may also have supported small permanent settlements. A fifth such OASIS, Dunqul, was located near ELEPHANTINE in UPPER EGYPT.

See also: DAKHLA OASIS (Vol. I); KHARGA OASIS (Vol. I).

Ballana culture See NUBIAN X-GROUP.

Bamana (Bambara) MANDE-related language spoken by a group, also called Bamana, that lived in the grasslands near the upper NIGER RIVER. After the arrival of Islam in the region about the 13th century, the Bamana were also known as Bambara, meaning "unbelievers." Bamana speakers were identified primarily as Mande until the early 17th century.

The origin of the Bamana speakers is uncertain, but it is widely believed that their ancestors migrated into the area from the SAHARA DESERT, bringing with them the agricultural skills and tools that they had used there when that region could still sustain crops. Rice, as well as several varieties of MILLET, seem to have been their main crops. Although both iron and COPPER are believed to have been known in nearby regions around c. 500 to c. 1000 BCE, the extent of the metalworking knowledge of the ancestors of the Bamana is not known.

See also: BAMBARA (Vols. II, III).

bands and segmentary societies Two contrasting groups that can trace family lines to a common ancestor. Anthropologists usually refer to bands as stateless societies without rulers because bands often consisted of small groups of people who lived in camps. Traditionally these groups had few institutions and based their economy on an equal exchange of goods. Typical of these among the ancient peoples of Africa were the !KUNG of SOUTH AFRICA, whose members were dependent on each other to hunt and forage for FOOD.

Sometimes groups formed larger family clans when they united in times of war, epidemics, or starvation. Among the Ngombe peoples, who occupied the forests of the northwest Congo region, any size group that claimed descent from the same ancestor was known as a *libota.* Through polygamous marriages involving several wives and numerous children, some *libotas* may have had as many as 5,000 descendants, all of whom traced their family line to Gonji, the oldest man of the oldest generation.

When family members decided to break away from the larger group, a segmentary process occurred as they migrated to other regions of the same territory. The Tiv of NIGERIA were typical of this process and were organized into many small segmentary groups. Under the segment system, such groups received protection from larger groups that established institutions to settle disputes and administer justice. Some groups imposed fines, imprisoned individuals, or banished them in order to restore order, but disputes among the Tiv were settled by a singing duel.

In present-day Africa the system of segmented societies has been greatly affected by modernization, but members of the same band often live near each other and follow ancient customs, even in urban areas.

Further reading: William R. Bascomb & Melville J. Herskovits, *Continuity and Change in African Cultures* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975); Daniel G. Bates, *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

Bantu expansion Process through which people speaking the BANTU LANGUAGES spread throughout the southern half of the African continent. The expansion was carried out over a couple of millennia, with Bantu speakers eventually making up the vast majority of the population in the region.

The Bantu languages originated with an ancestral Proto-Bantu language that was spoken in the BENUE RIVER region of the western Cameroonian grasslands and neighboring eastern NIGERIA. The nature and the timing of the Bantu expansion is a matter of scholarly debate, but it was clearly linked to the development of AGRICULTURE in the Benue region, perhaps as early as 3000 BCE. The in-

habitants began farming both cereal and root crops and raising livestock. Access to agriculture provided the Proto-Bantu with a technological and economic base that was superior to that of the largely nomadic groups of HUNTER-GATHERERS, who at this time inhabited the vast regions of southern, Central, and East Africa into which the Bantu-speaking peoples expanded.

The probable cause for the expansion was an increasing population that required more land for FOOD production. Because hunter-gatherer populations were not as densely settled, Bantu-speaking farmers were able to establish themselves on fertile areas in their midst. These new settlers did not pose a challenge to the established patterns of life because their villages and fields did not at first take up much land. In time, however, the villages became cultural and economic centers, attracting indigenous peoples from the surrounding regions. While there certainly was conflict over land and resources, the more common state of affairs was coexistence and gradual assimilation. The archaeological site at Kalambo Falls, near the southern end of Lake TANGANYIKA, provides evidence of such coexistence. Bantu-speaking farmers established themselves in the region as early as the fourth century CE, but the older STONE AGE way of life continued alongside the agriculturalists for many centuries.

One plausible explanation of the timing and direction of the Bantu expansion is that the first phase was made up of a gradual eastward movement from the Proto-Bantu core area in CAMEROON toward the Great Lakes region of western UGANDA. Taking place mainly to the north of the rain forests and along the UBANGI RIVER watershed, this phase began in the latter part of the second millennium BCE. As the Proto-Bantu speakers spread out, the original language began to diverge. A North Bantu branch of the language emerged that included both a Proto-West Bantu and a Proto-East Bantu. Beginning about 1000 BCE these two languages then began to expand from their core regions.

The West Bantu speakers expanded south into the rain forests of the CONGO BASIN and then into the southern savanna. Soon they moved still farther south into the drier woodlands of what is now southern ANGOLA and ultimately into the arid regions of today's northern NAMIBIA. Much of the initial movement occurred along the rivers of the Congo basin, which allowed for movement through a region whose heavy RAIN FOREST made it inhospitable for farmers and herders. The Proto-East Bantu expansion moved into the forest and savanna border regions of the upper CONGO RIVER and upper ZAMBEZI RIVER and then into East Africa and southeastern Africa. This process was far advanced by the early first millennium BCE.

In the East African savannas and uplands, the Bantu agriculturalists encountered Cushitic and Nilo-Saharan

The Probable Spread of Early Bantu-Speaking Peoples, c. 1700 BCE–1500 CE
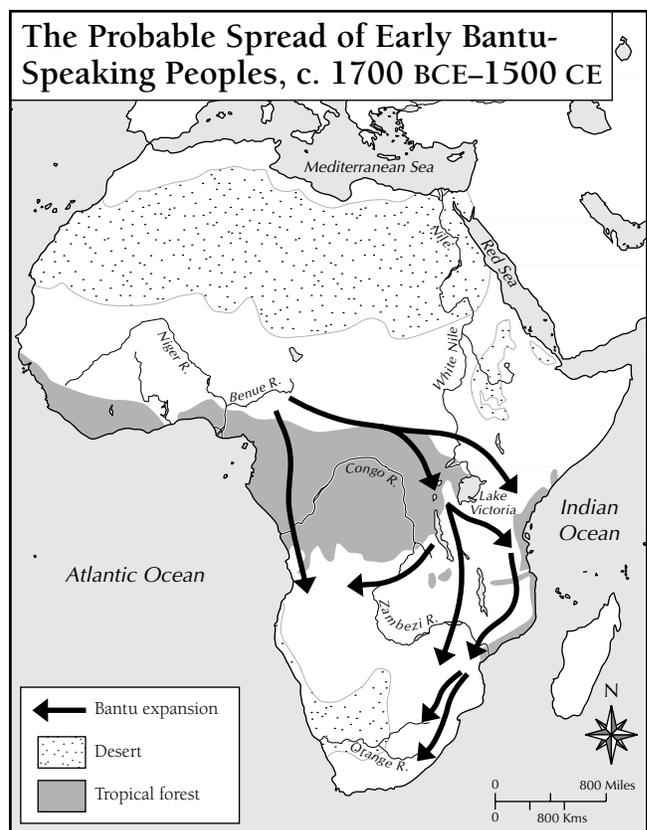
peoples who farmed grains and raised CATTLE. Duting this time the Bantu learned the technology of iron smelting. The earliest evidence of iron smelting in East Africa dates from about 800 BCE in the western Great Lakes region. It seems that the Bantu speakers rapidly embraced this new technology, not only because it provided for superior weaponry but, more importantly, it allowed them to make superior agricultural implements such as hoes and scythes. Archaeological evidence points to a rapid expansion throughout central, eastern, and southern Africa by grain farmers who also herded cattle and utilized iron tools. This expansion took place from the second century BCE to the sixth century CE. Some non-Bantu peoples, such as the Khoikhoi of southern Africa, also adopted cattle herding but remained distinct from the Bantu peoples who had migrated into the region.

The expansion of the Bantu speakers came to a halt after they populated the areas that were suitable for rain-fed agriculture and had obtained sufficient grazing lands for their herds. Thus they did not expand into the more arid regions of southern Africa such as the Karoo and the Namib Desert. They reached the natural limits of their expansion by about 1500 CE.

Further reading: Christopher Ehret, *An African Classical Age: Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 BC to AD 400* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1998).

Bantu languages   Strictly speaking, Bantu is a term of linguistic classification, although it is also used to refer to those who speak one or another of the approximately 500 closely related Bantu languages. The term Bantu means "people," with its root, *ntu*, meaning "human being" and its prefix, *ba-*, indicating the plural form. It describes the large number of languages belonging to the Benue-Congo branch of the family of NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES. These languages share much in the way of a common vocabulary, especially for basic terms such as numbers, colors, and so forth. Like other languages in the Niger-Congo family, Bantu languages employ different vocal tones to indicate different meanings. In addition, such southern Bantu languages as Sotho, Xhosa, and Zulu have incorporated some of the unique click sounds that characterize the KHOISAN LANGUAGES of southern Africa.

Just as most Indo-European languages classify nouns according to gender, Bantu languages place every noun in a particular class. These are marked by prefixes (e.g., the *ba-* in Bantu) and sometimes suffixes. The noun class determines the prefixes that link subject, verb, and object in a sentence. Verbs in the Bantu languages are made up of the root, or stem, which indicates meaning. As with the nouns, prefixes and suffixes are then added to this stem to indicate tense, voice, mood, negation, person, and number.

Today the Bantu languages are the dominant languages of the southern half of Africa from southern CAMEROON in the west to KENYA in the east. They are spoken in 27 African countries. All of the present Bantu languages stem from a single ancestral language: Proto-Bantu. This ancestral language was part of a cluster of several languages spoken in the BENUE RIVER region of the western Cameroonian grasslands and neighboring eastern NIGERIA. This was a region where the population began to practice AGRICULTURE, perhaps as early as 3000 BCE. They began by farming both cereal and root crops and raising livestock. Words related to these crops and DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, such as GOATS, have been passed along from Proto-Bantu into the subsequent Bantu languages. Access to agriculture provided the Proto-Bantu speakers with a technological and economic base that was superior to that of the largely nomadic groups of HUNTER-GATHERERS inhabiting the vast regions of central, eastern, and southern Africa into which the Bantu-speaking peoples were expanding.

The spread of people speaking one of the Bantu languages was part of the historical process of BANTU EXPANSION. Although the nature and timing of the Bantu expansion is a matter of scholarly debate, it led to several branches of the Bantu languages. The initial branch was North Bantu, which was spoken in the area stretching eastward from Cameroon to western UGANDA and which was limited mainly to areas north of the rain forests and along the UBANGI RIVER watershed. The North Bantu branch gave rise to both the West and East Bantu branches, for it contained the proto languages of both groupings. The West

Bantu languages are spoken extensively in the CONGO BASIN, while those of the East Bantu branch are found throughout eastern and southeastern Africa. Yet another branch, Central Bantu, is the result of a later fusion. Speakers of the Central Bantu languages reside in the southern savanna and arid woodlands of ANGOLA and ZAMBIA.

The best known of the modern Bantu languages is Kiswahili, which in addition to being the mother tongue of some 5 million people of the Swahili Coast is a lingua franca for another 30 million people living in East Africa. Another important Bantu lingua franca is Lingala, which is used by some 7 million people living mostly in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Other Bantu languages with more than 5 million speakers include Rundi in BURUNDI, Rwanda in neighboring RWANDA, KIKUYU in Kenya, Xhosa and Zulu in SOUTH AFRICA, Shona in ZIMBABWE, Mbundu in Angola, and Luba in the Congo area.

See also: IRON (Vol. II); LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

Further reading: Derek Nurse and Gérard Philippson, eds., *The Bantu Languages* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

baobab tree   One of the world's oldest and largest trees, indigenous to Africa, India, and Australia; also known as the *kuka*. Although there are different types of baobabs, those found in the dry savanna regions of Africa are scientifically classified as *Adansonia digitata*. Because its leaves only bloom for a brief period during the year, some view the baobab as an enormous upside-down bottle whose branches resemble twisted roots.

Ethnic groups in regions where the trees grow, such as Republic of the SUDAN, KENYA, TANZANIA, NIGERIA, SENEGAL, the Limpopo Valley, and ZIMBABWE, have known for centuries that the baobab is a major sustainer of life. Some groups, in fact, refer to the baobab as "mother" because its pulp is used for healing a wide range of ailments. It has been used for treating scurvy, malaria, and rickets, as well as infections of the eye, skin, gums, and urinary tract. Beyond this, the baobab's bark has been used to make rope, fabric, and even FISHING nets. The leaves, when in bloom, have been used to flavor drinks and stews and to produce a fruit, about a foot in length, called "monkey bread."

Baobabs measuring more than 20 feet (6 m) wide are estimated to be about 1,000 years old. Generally the older the tree, the more water its hollow trunk and interior roots can reserve. This is particularly critical in the more arid regions where humans and animals such as elephants seek water during long droughts and have inadvertently destroyed the trees as a result.

In ancient times these baobab trunks served as burial tombs for kings, chieftains, or founding members of family clans. This tradition was strongest among the Wolof and Serer of Senegal and the Tonga people of Zimbabwe, who laid their dead to rest with jewelry and surrounded

Baobab trees line a road near present-day Morindava, Madagascar. *© Chris Heller/Corbis*

by other valuable items. These groups referred to the living tree as an "ancestor," paying homage through special rites and ceremonies.

Barbary Coast North African coastal region bordered by the SAHARA DESERT to the south, EGYPT to the east, the Atlantic Ocean on the west, and the Mediterranean to the north. The name *Barbary* comes from the Latin word *barbari*, "barbarians," the term given to the people who lived on the periphery of the Roman Empire. Those people, who came to be known as the BERBERS, were the region's original inhabitants.

basket making Ancient craft in which grasses or other natural fibers are woven, braided, coiled, or sewn into practical and decorative objects. Baskets have played an important role for much of Africa's history and are generally associated with FOOD production. Evidence of the earliest forms of basketry date back to the Neolithic Period (c. 5200 BCE) when inhabitants of the Faiyum of EGYPT, an area between the NILE VALLEY and the Gebel el-Qatrani escarpment, produced reed baskets to store cultivated grains. When made as an open-type netting or box-like trap, baskets were also used by these people to catch fish. Archaeologists have also recovered a number of basket granaries lined with straw matting. Attached to homes or hung from trees, these basket granaries indicate how these people stored their food in the semi-arid environment that existed at that time. This basket-making tradition remained prevalent among later populations, including TUAREGS and the HAUSA, who lived along the ancient trade routes of the SAHARA DESERT.

Along with environmental factors, societal traditions often determined the need for particular types of baskets. Although basket weaving is traditionally the work of women and their daughters, in slack periods men and boys also participated in basketry. Baskets functioned as bowls, grain and flour sifters, and seating mats, and some baskets were so tightly woven that they could hold milk or other liquids. Basketry techniques were also used to make MASKS, masquerade costumes, and musical instruments.

The uses and variations involved in basket making were largely based on the availability of natural fibers in a particular region. Unique patterns were created by alternating complementary colors. These were achieved by means of dyes or by using contrasting natural fibers, such as long grasses, straw, willow reeds, rush, rattan, raffia bamboo, or palm leaves. These natural fibers were some-

times dried or soaked for pliability. Animal hides, COWRIE SHELLS, and other decorative items were also at times sewn to finished baskets.

Batn el-Hajjar   Barren rocky area between the second and third cataracts of the NILE RIVER; also known as the "Belly of Stones." The Batn el-Hajjar's narrow gorges are flanked by rocky terrain. During ancient Egypt's MIDDLE KINGDOM (C. 2040–c. 1668), the country's southernmost border, which divided EGYPT from NUBIA, was located just south of the Batn el-Hajjar. By the start of the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–c. 1070 BCE), Egypt's border extended as far as the fourth cataract of the Nile.

beads   Worn for social status, ritual purpose, or personal adornment, beads were integral in the traditional African culture and ECONOMY. Archaeological evidence has confirmed the use of beads dating back to the prehistoric period. The wearing of waist beads, a common form of BODY ADORNMENT for both men and women, is an ancient practice in Africa, and it generally has represented a sign of ethnic affiliation and social status. Waist beads also were seen as a distinctive sign of beauty. Ancient waist beads were probably made of such natural objects as feathers, flowers, or stones. Later, beads that had been obtained by either trade or early forms of a craft industry were used.

Some of the earliest examples of waist beads have been found within BADARIAN CULTURE of southern EGYPT (c. 5000–c. 3800 BCE), where men apparently were the primary wearers of beaded girdles. Excavations have led to the recovery of the remains of at least one individual wearing strands of beads around his waist, some of which were made of steatite, a precious stone. These stones were also glazed with malachite, a green carbonate mineral.

Although it is not certain whether women wore waist beads in the Badarian period, by ancient Egypt's MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–c. 1668 BCE), Egyptian women were wearing waist beads as a status symbol. Archaeological excavations have recovered a beaded girdle worn by Princess Set-Hathor, the daughter of the pharaoh Sesostris II (r. c. 1950–c. 1920 BCE). The princess's girdle was made of GOLD, lapis lazuli, and green feldspar and was also decorated with COWRIE SHELLS. The addition of cowrie shells on the beaded strand apparently represented a safeguard against the evil eye. Elsewhere, in a tradition that continued up until modern times, waist beads often were used to signal the marital status of women.

Beads were also worn in Maadi, near el-Omari in southern Egypt, where carnelian beads, perhaps dating from 4000 BCE, were recovered from storage pits originally thought to hold grain. Elsewhere in ancient Africa, 2,000- to 3,500-year-old rock drawings of the SAN people, in what is now BOTSWANA and the KALAHARI DESERT, rou-

tinely depicted people wearing beaded jewelry that archaeologists believe was made of eggshells of OSTRICHES. Eggshell beads worn as flattened disks have also been documented among the Turkana of northern KENYA. In other societies plant seeds, straw, reed fibers, seashells, fossilized bone, and animal horns were used as well.

To make such beads, a sharpened tool probably would have been positioned over the bead and either hammered or worked until each side was pierced. Some powdery substance, possibly chalk, was probably added to make the bead easier to string. Fibers used for the strings probably included palm leaves, sisal, and vines. The rough grainy surface of other rocks was used for polishing the finished bead, which ultimately might be round, flat, square, hexagonal, or even barrel shaped.

The analysis of some beads recovered from ancient Egypt's Predynastic Period, circa 4000 BCE, indicates that they were made of steatite, also called soapstone, which was considered a precious stone. A glaze was used to give beads a glass-like appearance. By the Fifth Dynasty (c. 1465–c. 2350 BCE), early forms of glass beads were being made. Blue faience, green feldspar, lapis lazuli, carnelian, turquoise, hematite, and amethyst also came into popular use in Egypt, undoubtedly carried by merchants associated with the Mediterranean and RED SEA trade.

In later eras these beads spread from Egypt to regions south of the SAHARA DESERT, probably carried by Arab merchants along camel routes to IVORY COAST, GHANA, and NIGERIA. Various populations along the East African coast wore carnelian beads, which possibly reflects early trade in that region. In fact, beads represented an important form of currency in early regional economies. The monetary value assigned to a specific number of beads on a string might have an equivalent value to locally made items or food and in many cases served as an important form of BRIDE-WEALTH.

The origins of certain types of beads have yet to be identified. In West Africa, two types of Akori beads are among the oldest recovered in the region. The oldest type dates back to 439 CE. Other beads in the region include the Aggri. Made of glass or porcelain material, Aggri beads have generally been found embedded in the earth and may have been associated with important rituals.

From the earliest times, beaded MASKS, crowns, and other royal objects have been associated with reigning kings in GHANA, MALI, CAMEROON, KwaZulu-Natal, and Nigeria. In AKAN society, kings and priests traditionally have worn special bead bracelets to convey their royal status. However, beads may have held a particular appeal for women since they offered a creative outlet and an important source of income. Among the Ndebele of SOUTH AFRICA, for example, beads were used to announce an impending engagement. Elsewhere, Pokomo and Akamba women have long performed certain important ceremonies wearing beaded "dance necklaces" or collars. The

best-known of this form of beadwork has traditionally been worn by MAASAI women.

Along with traditional uses, beads transmit the history and culture of a particular region, creating an outward expression of unity between generations. In South Africa, the Xhosa use ornate beadwork to designate various AGE SETS. Unique designs serve as symbolic code words relating to history, proverbs, and sometimes poetry. Similarly, countless generations of Zulu women have used beads as a form of education, transmitting social ideals to young girls in vibrant patterns that accent clothing, bags, and accessories.

As Africa's economy continued to evolve, beads and the way they were worn became more ornate, eventually coming to include a greater variety of glass, coral, bronze, ivory, amber, and silver.

See also: JEWELRY (Vol. I); MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vol. I); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

bees Bees have been domesticated for thousands of years. The first mention of beekeeping in ancient Egypt occurs as early as 2400 BCE. The ancient Egyptians made good use of bee products: They used honey as a food sweetener and as a cosmetic for softening the skin and treating open wounds. Bee venom was sometimes used as MEDICINE. Beeswax was used to prepare mummies and build ships, and it was combined with pulverized stone to make glue. Egyptians traded honey with other countries and wore JEWELRY decorated in the shape of bees.

Ancient Egyptian marriage contracts required husbands to provide wives with honey throughout the marriage.

Behdet (Edfu) Ancient city of UPPER EGYPT, also known as Edfu, whose patron god was HORUS. With increasing governing instability during the First Intermediate Period (c. 2213–c. 2040 BCE), Upper Egypt and LOWER EGYPT divided into warring kingdoms. The inhabitants of Lower Egypt worshiped SETH of Ombos, while those of Upper Egypt recognized the reigning god as Horus of Behdet. After Egypt's reunification during the MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040 BCE–c. 1820 BCE), Horus became the national god of the Egyptian state. Subsequently reigning kings were known as "the living Horus." Behdet was also the site of a metal foundry, where blacksmiths, known as *mesnitu,* created religious icons using a forge located within the city's great temple.

Further reading: E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians: Studies in Egyptian Mythology* (New York:

Dover Publications, 1969); Barbara Watterson, *The Egyptians* (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

Beja Ethiopian Cushitic-speakers, also known as Hedareb NOMADS, who share an ethnic and linguistic affiliation with a number of groups that inhabit the RED SEA hills along the border between present-day Republic of the SUDAN and ETHIOPIA. Speakers of one of the oldest dialects in Ethiopia, also called Beja, the Beja people tend to be scattered, undoubtedly the result of their traditional way of life as nomadic pastoralists. A patrilineal society composed of a number of small, related clans, the Beja were loosely organized under a chieftan's rule. The Beja contributed to the decline of MEROË by raiding caravans and crippling trade. The Aksumite king Ezana described them as constantly engaging in warfare with their regional neighbors.

See also: AKSUM (Vol. I); BEJA (Vol. II); CLAN (Vol. I).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *The History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1995); Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: The Red Sea Press; 1997).

Benin, Republic of Country in coastal West Africa measuring approximately 43,500 square miles (112,700 sq km) that shares borders with NIGER and BURKINA FASO to the north, TOGO to the east, the Atlantic Ocean to the south, and NIGERIA to the west. By about 4000 BCE Benin's population was fully engaged in AGRICULTURE. Those living in the drier northern regions grew grain crops such as MILLET and SORGHUM and had DOMESTICATED ANIMALS such as GOATS and CATTLE. Neither the crops nor the livestock were suitable for the tropical RAIN FOREST zone of southern Benin. There, in common with others in the broader West African tropical forests, they developed a planting agriculture, sometimes termed "vegeculture," with YAMS as the major crop. The oil palm, which provided both cooking oil and palm wine, and the raffia palm, which provided the fiber for weaving raffia cloth, were important tree crops in the south. FISHING, hunting, and gathering wild foods were important as well.

The early agricultural developments led to a growing population. Commercial development began to take place over the first millennium BCE, especially with the trading of iron products from those regions that did and didn't have workable iron ore deposits. This trade tended to be at the local level, though in northern Benin the population became linked to the growing commercial network of the savanna and desert.

See also: BENIN, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Benue-Congo Branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Benue-Congo languages are spoken from the

Cape of Good Hope northward to NIGERIA and include the BANTU LANGUAGES.

See also: LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I).

Benue River West African river that is the longest tributary of the NIGER RIVER. Flowing for approximately 673 miles (1,083 km), the Benue is an important water highway for the transportation of COTTON, groundnuts (peanuts), and other trade goods. Originating in northern CAMEROON, it flows through falls and rapids across central NIGERIA. Along its course, the Benue River marks the border of Cameroon and the Nigerian state of Benue. It varies in width from 1,600 to 3,200 feet (488 to 976 m) and is joined by the Mayo-Kebbi tributary and the Gongola River before converging with the Niger about 30 miles (48 km) from the Nigerian coast.

Berbers Pre-Arab peoples of North Africa, including the well-known TUAREGS, who for thousands of years have inhabited the areas from the coast of MOROCCO to the Siwa Oasis in EGYPT and from the Mediterranean to the SAHARA DESERT. Their language constitutes one of the five branches of the AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES.

Based on archaeological findings, the Berbers are known to have occupied parts of Morocco as early as 1600 BCE. Their history goes well beyond this, however, and although the exact origin of the Berbers is unknown, historical evidence dates them to at least 3000 BCE. Indeed, most scholars consider them to be the original population of North Africa. Over the centuries, however, the Berbers have mixed with so many ethnic groups that they have lost much of their independent racial identity.

Throughout time two primary groups of Berbers inhabited the lands of North Africa. One group consisted of farmers and CATTLE raisers living in the northern plains and mountain regions. The second group was made up of of semi-pastoral nomadic peoples living in the deserts and pasturelands.

The livestock and agricultural products of the Berbers have played an integral role. In the 12th century BCE, the PHOENICIANS established a large trading empire on the North African coast. Phoenicians relied on the Berbers to supply them with crucial foodstuffs for their settlements and for export. Not only were the Berbers exposed to the manufactured goods of the Mediterranean world, but they also fell under the influence of the Semitic culture of the Phoenicians. This helped pave the way to the Berbers' later acceptance of the three major monotheistic religions: JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, and Islam.

Ancient Berber society was essentially feudal in structure, with distinct classes that included nobles (primarily NOMADS and pastoralists), the clergy (called *inislemen*), vassals, artisans (*inadan*), and laborers (called *iklan*). Berber society also tended to maintain a social and class distinction between AGRICULTURE and trade, with farming falling to the lower classes and trade to the upper classes.

ROME overtook the Carthaginian empire in the second century BCE because Roman leaders wanted to control its wealth and trade. During this time, however, a wealthy and powerful Berber state existed in NUMIDIA. The Numidian Berbers possessed large numbers of CAMELS, an animal perfectly suited to the desert conditions. This provided them with great military strength and the ability to control trans-Saharan trade routes. The Romans viewed this Berber state as a threat and eventually conquered the Berbers, making Numidia a part of the Roman Empire. Rome continued to rule this area for more than 600 years, giving rise to a Romano-Berber population that still exists to this day.

See also: BERBERS (Vols. II, III, IV, V); PASTORALISM (Vol. I); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Further reading: Thurston Clarke, *The Last Caravan* (New York: Putnam, 1978); Jeremy Keenan, *The Tuareg: People of Ahaggar* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977).

Beta Israel (Falasha) Agriculturalists from the highlands north of Lake Tana and the outskirts of GONDAR, in ETHIOPIA. Also known as Falasha, they have maintained their faith in the Jewish RELIGION over several millennia; small numbers of Beta Israel live in Ethiopia to this day.

There are many conflicting stories concerning the origins of the Beta Israel (or "House of Israel"). One common story involves their descent from the noblemen who accompanied King MENELIK I from Jerusalem when he reportedly brought the ARK OF THE COVENANT to Ethiopia. Menelik, the supposed first king of the Solomonic Dynasty, is traditionally identified as the son of King Solomon and Queen MAKEDA (queen of Sheba). Another legend, however, identifies the Beta Israel as one of the lost tribes of Israel who established their kingdom in Ethiopia following the Hebrew exodus from EGYPT.

Whatever their origin, the roots of the Beta Israel stretch back well before the arrival of Semitic farmers from southern Arabia around 600 BCE. Many of their religious texts are ancient, attesting to the longevity of their faith. Beta Israel are strict observers of the Jewish Sabbath, and their holy book, translated into GE'EZ, is the cornerstone of their religion. Traditional priests, or *kohanim,* are elected by the Beta Israel to serve as spiritual leaders of the community. Outsiders have commented that their ceremonies reflect a fusion of traditional African practices, along with rites of the Christian faith; yet observance of the Jewish calendar's holy days and festivals, rites of purity, consumption of ritually slaughtered animals, and male circumcision are also strictly observed.

JUDAISM apparently was widespread in the region of Ethiopia before the adoption of CHRISTIANITY by the Aksumite king Ezana, during the fourth century. At that

time, those who refused to convert were persecuted and forced to live in the mountainous highlands. Subsequently, as outsiders within a predominantly Christian society, the Beta Israel lived as a segregated caste, surviving by weaving, making POTTERY, and working as BLACKSMITHS or goldsmiths. Although the region's ruling elite held these crafts in low regard, this expertise allowed the Beta Israel to maintain a sense of independence and identity. They were able to form their own social guidelines, elect leaders, and retain their religion and culture.

See also: BETA ISRAEL (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SOLOMONIC DYNASTY (Vol. II).

Further reading: Miguel F. Brooks, *Kebra Nagast (The Glory of Kings): The True Ark of the Covenant* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1998); Donald N. Levine, *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965).

Betsileo   A Malagasy people who make up the second largest ETHNIC GROUP in MADAGASCAR. The Betsileo are a mix of Bantu-speaking and Bayo-Indonesian peoples who settled on the island during the first millennium. They practice a form of ANCESTOR WORSHIP influenced by traditional Christian beliefs.

blacksmiths   Since ancient times the blacksmith has held a revered position in some African societies. Indeed, it is widely believed that there were two types of kings found in ancient Africa. One was a warrior who ruled over a closed, stratified society, and the other was an artisan who reigned over a hard-working, open society.

Early societies in the SAHEL were nearly evenly divided between pro- and anti-blacksmith stratification. Although EGYPT was a caste-based society, the people of Ta-Seti, who according to legend invaded EGYPT and began the dynastic period, were known as *mesniu* (blacksmiths) and supposedly did metal work with COPPER.

Egyptian legend has it that these people, who were identified with UPPER EGYPT, were followers of the god HORUS, while those in southern Egypt were followers of the god SETH. According to Egyptian mythology, after Horus killed Seth, the blacksmiths settled on land given to them by Horus. This land was located on both sides of the NILE RIVER, in what is called Middle Egypt. However, in one of several battles between the North and South that took place at Anu, the South was victorious.

The status of the blacksmith in African society has always been steeped in mystery, spirituality, admiration, and awe. The blacksmith is glorified and shunned, admired and despised. In many areas he is believed to have magical powers and, as a result, is afforded special privileges and bounded by special social mores. Some are humble and tactful; others are bold and arrogant.

In most African societies, because the blacksmith is considered a craftsperson, and therefore a person of respect, the products of blacksmiths are believed to have particular value; they are even said to have important powers. For this reason works created by blacksmiths—which may be made of terra-cotta, stone, or wood as well as metal—are used to adorn and declare social status. These objects also may help establish the presence of a spirit, since a well-crafted object is believed by many peoples to be able to call forth both divine and human spirits. For this reason, these crafted objects are important in nearly every aspect of African culture.

Among many groups RITES OF PASSAGE are a significant focus of ART objects. Beyond the rituals associated with such familiar passages as birth, puberty, marriage, and death, many groups hold special induction ceremonies for healers, diviners, blacksmiths, and other skilled craftspeople; in some societies, the blacksmith performs some or all of these functions.

Blue Nile   River located in northwest ETHIOPIA, approximately 850 miles (1,360 km) long. In ancient times the Blue Nile sustained agricultural crops such as COTTON, wheat, SORGHUM, dates, sugar cane, and legumes. Its waters provided fish for inhabitants of the region and transported merchants to and from EGYPT.

From its source at Lake Tana in the ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS, the Blue Nile descends thousands of feet through a deep gorge. It then journeys south and west through present-day Republic of the SUDAN. At the Sudanese capital city of KHARTOUM the Blue and WHITE NILE meet above the Shabluka Gorge, forming the main stream of the NILE RIVER, the world's longest river. Two-thirds of the Nile's waters come from the Blue Nile.

boats   See GALLEY (Vol. I); SHIPBUILDING (Vol. I).

body adornment   Personal adornment in Africa has always conveyed multiple meanings. Societal values, for example, associated with status, marriage, or initiation were often communicated through specific items of adornment. Early evidence for this has been found in cave paintings of the Tassili Plateau in the SAHARA DESERT that date from c. 8000 to c. 6000 BCE. In one of several scenes, the painted figure archaeologists refer to as the Horned Goddess performs a ritual dance. She bears the ancient markings of SCARIFICATION along with an elaborate headdress. Her image may have been meant to convey her place in society or to impart the importance of fertility; it may also have held other meanings. Other prehistoric images of this nature have been found in SOUTH AFRICA, where women in vulture headdresses performed similar ritualized dances.

In Africa, hair, too, has always served as an important statement about the individual. The Tassilli cave provides one of the earliest images of the traditional hairstyle popularly known today as cornrows. In many parts of Africa, hair braiding evolved into what became an elaborate form of cultural identity that included family affiliations, lineage, and marital status. Married women in EGYPT, for example, reportedly wore shoulder-length hairstyles that appear to have been a series of twisted strands. By the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty in the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1550–c. 1070 BCE), wigs made of animal wool and plant fibers were far more popular, particularly among the upper classes.

Recovery and analysis of ancient makeup palettes indicate that body adornment was also associated with the need to protect and enhance the skin. Groups like the SAN used animal fats colored by plant dyes. The Kuba used a mixture of camwood and palm oil that was applied to the face and body. Palettes containing cosmetics also indicated that both men and women in the Sudan wore makeup or facial paint. These palettes, sometimes containing alabaster or slate, have been linked to the Tasian, BADARIAN, and NAQADAH I cultures that existed as long ago as 4000 BCE.

Another form of makeup began when Egyptians started to protect their eyes against the glare of the sun with powders made of pulverized lead, COPPER, antimony, or malachite. These powders were applied to the eye with wooden, stone, or metal sticks. Over time this form of application became highly stylized among women. Questions also have been raised about whether or not Egyptian women painted their lips. In answer, there are Egyptologists who point to the Egyptian word *seshet* as a word to describe a cosmetician, since it reportedly means "painter of her mouth."

Body adornment extended to the natural plant dyes and minerals used to create intricate patterns on the hands and feet. The application of henna leaf extract, widely used for this purpose, was practiced by women in Egypt, NUBIA, and ETHIOPIA. Like other forms of adornment, this practice may have spread through interaction associated with regional trade or migration. It has also been associated with the IGBO, whose patterns and methods were known as *uli*.

In Africa, men have always held strong ideals concerning adornment as well. The widely touted prenuptial contest associated with the Geerewol festival in NIGER, NIGERIA, and CAMEROON is a case in point. For many centuries, among the Fulani-related Wodaabe people, it has been traditional for the men who are eligible for marriage to enter a contest in which women judge them on the basis of their artful use of makeup.

Eligibility for marriage has also generated other forms of body adornment in Africa. In various regions, the traditional fatting houses or fattening ceremony was usually reserved for young women between the ages of 15 and 18 years old. The goal of this ceremony was to add sufficient body weight to achieve a desired image of a large-sized, ro-

bust woman. Seen as adding to a woman's poise, elegance, and attractiveness, this practice was associated with wealth. The process was known to take months or as much as a year to complete. Along with an amplified diet, during this time, young women were taught social etiquette and given instructions about the proper role of a wife.

See also: BEADS (Vol. I); CLOTHING AND DRESS (Vol. I); JEWELRY (Vol. I).

Further reading: Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996); Ivan Van Sertima, ed., *Black Women in Antiquity* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1997).

Book of the Dead In ancient EGYPT, a series of funerary texts containing magical spells and prayers. The Book of the Dead was written on PAPYRUS scrolls and illustrated with colorful images. The texts that make up the Book of the Dead were intended as instruction manuals for the souls of the deceased, a way to help them overcome the obstacles they would encounter while passing through the underworld. The most important of these texts are the Book of Going Forth by Day, The Book of What Is in the Underworld, and The Book of Gates.

The images in the texts originated as decorations on the walls of tombs of Egyptian royalty and nobles in the OLD KINGDOM (c. 2705–c. 2213 BCE). Later, in the MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–c. 1668 BCE), they were used to decorate the coffins of commoners, nobles, and royals alike. The texts themselves were not written down on papyrus scrolls until the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–c. 1070 BCE). Although these scrolls were costly to produce, they became popular among those who could afford them and continued to be widely used until the end of pharaonic rule in Egypt.

The Book of Going Forth by Day was the text most frequently used by the ancient Egyptians. It is a loose collection of about 200 sections, or chapters, containing the magic spells and passwords to be recited by the deceased in the AFTERLIFE. According to Egyptian belief, these words would help ensure that the deceased would pass safely through the underworld to enjoy the blessings of paradise.

Another text, The Book of What Is in the Underworld, also known as Amduat, was first found on the walls of the tomb of the pharaoh THUTMOSE I (r. c. 1525–c. 1512 BCE). This collection of royal funerary texts was intended as a guidebook to the underworld. According to common Egyptian belief, the book would help the deceased successfully reach the appropriate destination in the afterlife.

The Book of Gates stands apart from the other funerary writings because of the emphasis it places on the importance of the sun god RA. In The Book of Gates, Ra is portrayed as the creator and preserver of life, as well as the one who resurrects the dead. The work contains spells

to make the sun rise and to show the paths the deceased must travel in their voyage in the boat of Ra.

See also: DEIR EL-BAHRI (Vol. I); KARNAK, TEMPLE OF (Vol. I).

Boran Oromo (Borana, Borena)

Sub-group of the OROMO nation. Described as pastoralists, the Boran have occupied northwest Borena and the southern region of ETHIOPIA for thousands of years. Considered the guardians of culture and tradition, their most important institution was the *gada* system, which has exerted a strong influence on its members and, like AGE GRADES, traditionally has been exclusively for men. This age system emphasized cultural identity, exerted societal control, and organized social, political, and religious activities.

Boran government was made up of the eldest men of the *gada* system. These men, known as *jarsa biyya*, presided over moral and customary law, ceremonies, and religious life. From 47 to 55 years of age, men were chosen to act as priests, or *quallu*. As such, they were authorized to represent Waqa, considered the creator of life. Through different activities Boran men gained critical insights into how their society functioned. This knowledge was reflected in their outward appearance, and especially in their wooden walking staffs.

From a very young age, Boran Oromo boys and men traditionally learned to carve staffs, or forked sticks, that signify work activities, entry into adolescence, and even marriage. Married Boran Oromo women carried a *siqqe,* a staff with a point that has three tiers.

Creating a wooden staff required a critical set of circumstances. For example, only specially designated trees could be cut, and only on certain days of the week. The wood of the *Haroreessa hiddo* tree was the first choice among carvers since its moist wood was considered a symbol of life. After being carved, the sticks were dyed and then oiled with butterfat to maintain the life force of the tree. Considered a living object, the wooden staff of a Boran man was broken and left on his grave when he died.

Further reading: Sahlu Kidane, *Borana Folk Tales: A Contextual Study* (London: HAAN, 2002).

Border Cave

Multilevel cave situated in the region between KwaZulu-Natal in SOUTH AFRICA and SWAZILAND. Excavations at Border Cave have unearthed many significant findings from the STONE AGE period.

Using radiocarbon and other dating methods, archaeologists have been able to trace recovered skeletal remains to a period ranging from several thousand to millions of years. The recovered skull and mandible fragments found in Border Cave 1 and 2, for example, are between 100,000 and 150,000 years old, a period that corresponds to what is generally considered to be the Middle Stone Age in Africa. This, in turn, has helped archaeologists identify the remains as belonging to the species known as HOMO SAPIENS, which is generally considered the ancestor of modern human beings.

Additional excavations at Border Cave 3 have unearthed the skeletal remains of an infant as well as remnants of a shell that may have come from ostrich or emu eggs. The cave was also a source of hematite, which, according to some evidence, ancient populations mined more than 28,000 years ago. (Hematite is a mineral that ranges in color from black to red and represents the chemical component of iron ore.) It is possible that this hematite was used as either a paint for BODY ADORNMENT or to create cave ART. However, the presence of this material may also indicate the possibility that iron-making activities occurred in the region at a later date.

See also: PASTORALISM (Vol. I); ROCK ART (Vol. I).

Botswana

Landlocked country measuring approximately 231,800 square miles (600,400 sq km) in southern Africa. It is bordered by present-day SOUTH AFRICA, ANGOLA, NAMIBIA, ZAMBIA, and ZIMBABWE. Nearly equal in size to the state of Texas in the United States, present-day Botswana is noted for its arid, subtropical temperatures and vast, sandy plains. One of its major rivers is the Okavango that feeds into a number of inland northern deltas. The Makgadikgadi Salt Pans support diverse wildlife species, including wildebeest, antelope, and zebra. In contrast to the KALAHARI DESERT, or "thirstlands," in the southwest, Botswana's eastern region consists of rocky hills and shallow sand.

Botswana may be one of the oldest regions of the world, with underlying bedrock estimated at 2.5 billion years old. Based on a number of archaeological studies, the region also appears to have been populated from an early period. Historians generally agree that Botswana was first occupied by SAN hunter-gatherers between 20,000 and 30,000 years ago, if not longer. They appear to have occupied the Kalahari as well as the northern deltas. Some sources indicate that the Khoikhoi (meaning "men of men"), PASTORALISTS who occupied various regions in South Africa, arrived slightly later and coexisted with the San in Botswana.

At the eastern site known as Depression Shelter in Tsodilo Hills, archaeologists have found evidence of con-

Rock paintings, some possibly 20,000 years old, created by the San peoples have been discovered in the Tsodilo Hills, Botswana. © *Galen Rowell/Corbis*

tinuous land use from 17,000 BCE to 1550 CE. It is believed that the highly fertile soil in this area supported large settlements of clay and thatch homes. These are believed to have been arranged in a circle around a central court or gathering place. However, it is not yet clear which of the groups occupied these settlements since the activities of San HUNTER-GATHERERS and Khoikhoi pastoralists were sometimes interchangeable, depending on the scarcity of FOOD resources.

It is generally believed that Bantu-speaking farmers migrated into Botswana approximately 1,500 to 2,000 years ago. Their methods of crop cultivation relied on a method known as swidden AGRICULTURE, which involves the cutting and burning of forestland to promote fertility. This method stood in contrast to the smaller environmental impact made by the San and Khoikhoi. The Bantu were also associated with iron-making in Botswana. Remnants of an iron-smelting furnace dating to at least 190 CE have been recovered at a site in TSWAPONG HILLS near Palapye. Its use undoubtedly placed further demands on natural resources for fuel.

The Tswapong Hills have been a particularly rich source of archaeological discoveries. Located in the eastern part of the country, near the city of Serowe, the hills contain numerous caves and gorges that have yielded some of the most extensive information about early Bantu-speaking peoples yet found in southern Africa. These peoples, who were the ancestors of the TSWANA, migrated into the region beginning about the first century CE and overcame the indigenous !KUNG, who had inhabited the region for up to 30,000 years before this.

The extraordinary number of rock paintings preserved in Botswana's arid environment has greatly expanded present-day knowledge of social exchange among these groups. Most of the paintings have been attributed to the San since they depict traditional healing rites, rain-making ceremonies, animal sacrifice, and a range of other activities associated with hunting and gathering culture. A number of archaeologists, however, admit that it is possible that others were responsible for making these paintings, since some images depict relationships between the San and the Khoikhoi. Other paintings show battles between the San and Bantu and are suggestive of group conflicts.

One painting, found in the area of Gaborone, modern Botswana's capital city, is an engraving that shows animal tracks and human feet. It is traditionally attributed to Matsieng, a creation myth figure who generally is considered to be an early Tswana ancestor.

According to some historians, the central issue of such conflict involved farms that had been established by Bantu speakers in the San or Khoikhoi settlements of Tsodilo Hills. Eventually the San and Khoikhoi were marginalized to outlying areas of Botswana, and the Bantu speakers, known today as Tswana, emerged as the region's dominant ETHNIC GROUP.

See also: BOTSWANA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* (Gaborone, Botswana: Macmillan Botswana, 1984).

bride-wealth   Symbolic gifts in the form of money, goods, services, or livestock made by prospective grooms to the FAMILY of the bride. Often these contracts also represented a political alliance, a theme repeated in many other African societies in which marriages were arranged through a council of elders or reigning chiefs. Luxury items such as cloth, COPPER bracelets, BEADS, hoes, CATTLE, and various forms of livestock solidified the marriage, with the expense for these items borne by the entire family of the groom. This expense sometimes was so great that it was paid over several years.

In rural African societies, bride-wealth was shaped by different traditions and needs. In ancient times, communities such as the IGBO of southern NIGERIA and the NUBA of the present-day Republic of the SUDAN required that a groom spend months or even years cultivating land that belonged to the bride's family. In these regions the agricultural labor of a woman, as well as that of her future children, was associated with potential land ownership. As a result these societies required that a woman's birth family

be compensated for the loss of this labor. By the time of the IRON AGE, in regions that included present-day CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, Republic of the CONGO, and CAMEROON, where YAMS, groundnuts (peanuts), and cassavas were widely cultivated, groups such as the Banda presented iron farming implements as bride-wealth. In contrast, the Serer of western SENEGAL placed a high value on livestock and used GOATS, CATTLE, and sheep as a bride-price. Cattle were used by Khoikhoi and TSWANA in the eastern region of BOTSWANA and in various regions of SOUTH AFRICA.

Bride-wealth is an ancient, widespread tradition practiced in city-states as well as in outlying rural societies of Africa. One of the earliest references to bride-wealth appears in Egyptian texts dating back to the seventh century BCE. Marriage contracts, known as *shep en sehemet,* detailed property and monetary items that listed the bride-wealth the groom presented to the father of the bride. Although restricted primarily to the upper class, such a list provides some idea of the potential value women held as future queens, priestesses, or landowners.

Overall the concept of bride-wealth allowed a man to obtain full conjugal benefits and full rights to any offspring produced within his marriage, along with an awareness of a woman's value to her family. It also served as a way to effectively control the number of wives a man might attain. Inversely, the custom served to discourage the likelihood of divorce, since custom demanded that, in the event of a divorce, the woman's family return the gifts that had come to them as bride-wealth.

See also: POLYGAMY (Vol. I); SERER (Vol. II), .

Further reading: Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women: A Modern History* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997).

Bronze Age Prehistoric period following the STONE AGE and preceding the IRON AGE during which weapons and other implements were crafted from bronze, an alloy made of COPPER and tin. Copper was the first metal that people used to their advantage in large quantities. Though scarcer than iron ore, copper ore can be found in places relatively easy to access. Furthermore, because it is soft and has a low melting temperature, copper is easy to work. As a result, to this day metal workers generally need only wooden mallets and other rudimentary implements in order to shape copper into JEWELRY and ornaments. However, this softness also limits copper's usefulness, making it relatively weak when used for weapons and tools.

Tin, however, also is abundant and, when added to copper, has a hardening effect. This led to the production of bronze, which was used in many of the great civilizations of the ancient world. While much is known about the use of bronze in EGYPT, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean, little is known about the extent of its use in sub-Saharan Africa. Evidence shows that bronze objects were used in NUBIA and in the southern region of present-day Republic of the SUDAN. In addition, tools, arrowheads, and other weapons—all made of bronze and dating to the fifth century BCE—have been found near Akjoujt, in MAURITANIA. The origin of the technology needed to make this metal is unknown, but archaeologists and historians have posed the theory that knowledge of the process came to other parts of Africa from CARTHAGE.

Iron has often been called the "king of metals," and it has traditionally brought increased military power and advanced AGRICULTURE, as well as domination of trade and control of rich natural resources, to societies with the technology to use it. If iron smelting developed as early as the Haya people appear to have accomplished it, then the need for a Bronze Age technology might have been bypassed. It is conceivable that, in most of western and southern Africa, many cultures went straight from the Stone Age to the Iron Age. This is further borne out by the fact that iron smelting was practiced as early as the first millennium BCE in most areas of the middle Senegal valley and the inner NIGER DELTA. As a result the need for bronze may primarily have been for the making of symbolic and ornamental objects. If this indeed was the case, then those people who already had iron technology had the riches to import any bronze items they wanted.

Burkina Faso Landlocked country in the West African interior measuring approximately 105,900 square miles (274,300 sq km). It is bounded to the north and east by MALI, to the south by IVORY COAST, GHANA, TOGO, and the Republic of BENIN, and to the west by NIGER. Burkina Faso lies within the West African savanna, sometimes referred to as the SAHEL, and is mostly plateau country with grasslands and scattered woodlands.

Burkina Faso's early population spoke NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES. By the fourth millennium BCE, the region's people were growing grain crops such as MILLET and SORGHUM and had DOMESTICATED ANIMALS such as GOATS and CATTLE. The development of AGRICULTURE led to population growth and more complex social structures. In the north of the country, archaeologists have found some STONE AGE axes, which belonged to the Neolithic culture out of which the early farmers emerged.

A major technological advancement was the smelting and forging of iron, which took place in the first half of the first millennium BCE. The mining and working of COPPER was also important. The growing use of metals helped promote commerce because not all regions were equally fortunate in terms of the local availability of metals. Another item of commerce was the COTTON cloth that by 1000 BCE was produced in the sudanic belt. The growth of trade led to the specialization of labor for BLACKSMITHS, weavers, and traders.

See also: BURKINA FASO (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Burundi   Landlocked country in eastern Central Africa covering approximately 10,700 square miles (27,700 sq km) and bordered by RWANDA, TANZANIA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Some scholars believe that Burundi's first inhabitants were the HUNTER-GATHERERS known as the Twa, a small-statured ETHNIC GROUP that apparently was present when the first Bantu-speaking people arrived. By the fifth century the HUTU, who were agriculturalists, began migrating into the area. This migration lasted until the 11th century, by which time the Hutu had come to dominate the Twa and other groups in the area.

See also: BURUNDI (Vols. II, III, IV, V); TWA (Vol. II).

Bushmen   Term sometimes used, especially in the past, to refer to the SAN people of the KALAHARI DESERT region. The term is believed to derive from the word *bosea* (small), which was used by the early Dutch settlers in SOUTH AFRICA. Though the word *Bushmen* has been widely used, many now find the term derogatory, preferring *San* or, in the TSWANA language, *Basarwa*.

Buto   Chief goddess and protector of ancient LOWER EGYPT; also called Uto, Edjo, and Per Wadjit. Buto was often depicted as either a deadly cobra wrapped around a PAPYRUS stem or a woman wearing the RED CROWN of Lower Egypt. When portrayed as a rearing cobra with a spread hood, ready to spit poison on the pharaoh's enemies or incinerate them with her fiery glare, the image of Buto is called the *uraeus*.

Buto, the personification of the sun's burning heat, was the queen of all the gods. She was regarded also as a goddess of the night and was honored with one of the six great FESTIVALS of the ancient Egyptians. According to Egyptian mythology, Buto, whose name literally means "she who is green," was nurse to the infant god HORUS. In this role, she protected the child from his treacherous uncle, SETH, by hiding him in the delta marshes.

Along with NEKHBET, the vulture goddess of UPPER EGYPT, Buto was believed to defend and protect the royalty of united EGYPT. Depicted together on the royal diadem and other works of ART, the two goddesses symbolized the sovereign's reign over Egypt. In addition to her role as the protector of the pharaohs, Buto was believed to bite and kill Egypt's rulers at their appointed times of death.

The goddess's name was given to the city of Buto, which was the capital of the sixth nome, or province, of Lower Egypt and a major center for the cult that worshiped the goddess.

See also: COBRAS (Vol. I).

Byzantine Africa   Area of Africa, including North Africa, EGYPT, and part of LIBYA, that belonged to the Byzantine Empire from the third century CE until the coming of Islam in the seventh century. The eastern portion of the Roman Empire continued to be an important political, social, economic, and religious force after the breakup of the Western Roman Empire at the end of the fifth century CE. Historians call the Eastern Roman Empire the Byzantine Empire, after Byzantium, the ancient name of its capital city, Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey), but to its people and rulers it was simply the Roman Empire. Its official language was Greek, although its inhabitants spoke a variety of languages and dialects that ranged from Latin to COPTIC. It was made up of lands in northeastern Africa, southeastern Europe, and southwestern Asia. Although parts of the empire were lost to Islam and other threats, the Byzantine Empire remained significant until 1453, when the Turks captured Constantinople and founded the Ottoman Empire.

The history of Byzantine Africa begins when Octavian CAESAR (63 BCE–14 CE), by then the emperor Augustus, made Egypt a province of ROME in 30 BCE, which was a year after the death of CLEOPATRA. Roman colonization, coupled with Augustus's successful quieting of hostile peoples in the area, created conditions that led to four centuries of prosperity.

The Founding of Constantinople   By the third century CE the Roman Empire began to decline as a result of internal strife, famine, and war. In 306 DIOCLETIAN (245–316 CE) named Constantine (c. 288–337 CE), later known as Constantine the Great, his successor in the west. By 312 Constantine had defeated his rivals for the throne and became emperor of the west, ruling as a co-emperor with Licinius in the east until 324. That year he defeated Licinius in battle, converted to CHRISTIANITY, and moved his capital to the site of the ancient city of Byzantium, located on the Bosporus, the strait of water that separates European Turkey from Asian Turkey on today's map. Constantine dedicated his new capital as a "new Rome" in 330, renaming it Constantinople after himself. The move placed the new administrative capital of the empire in a place of strategic and commercial advantage between Europe and Asia. Constantine died in 337. His sons and nephews fought for control of the em-

pire and even wanted to restore traditional Roman RELI-GION. The empire permanently split into its eastern and western parts after Emperor Theodosius I died in 395. The fall of the Western Roman Empire is often dated to 476, when Germanic invaders forced the last emperor, Romulus Augustulus, from the throne.

North Africa in the Byzantine Period North Africa thrived under Roman rule. The numerous and spectacular ruins at various sites in TUNISIA and Libya attest to the prosperity of the region. Between the first and third centuries, private estates of considerable size became common, many public buildings were erected, and an export industry flourished. Many North Africans received Roman citizenship. In 193, a North African, Septi-

mus Severus, even became emperor. Following Constantine the Great's declaration of religious freedom for all in the empire in 313, Christianity in North Africa grew strong. The fourth and fifth century church fathers Tertullian, Cyprian, and Saint Augustine, the bishop of Hippo, were important leaders whose writings had an effect throughout the early Christian world.

By the end of the fourth century, however, Roman civilization in North Africa was entering a period of decline. The Germanic Vandals invaded Africa and soon made CARTHAGE their capital.

See also: BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Averil Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1996).

C

Cacheu River River that runs approximately 125 miles (201 km) through central West Africa in the territory of present-day GUINEA-BISSAU. The river flows to the west, where it ultimately reaches the Atlantic Ocean near the town of Cacheu (formerly spelled Cacheo). The surrounding coastal lowlands produce crops of SORGHUM, cassava, corn, and MILLET and are also used for grazing CATTLE, sheep, and GOATS.

See also: CACHEU (Vol. III).

Caesar, Gaius Julius (c. 100–44 BCE) *Roman general, statesman, and dictator*

A brilliant military strategist, Caesar joined with Pompey the Great and Marcus Licinius Crassus in an alliance called the First Triumvirate, which ruled ROME from 53 to 50 BCE. At the time, Rome dominated the Mediterranean region, ruling lands on both the African and European seacoasts. Operating from a Roman post in Syria, Crassus prompted a war with the Parthians. Crassus' defeat and death at the hands of the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 BCE destroyed the fragile alliance that ruled Rome. Pompey attempted to seize all power for himself, but Caesar amassed his armies and drove Pompey from Rome. Pompey fled southward, ultimately to EGYPT, where Ptolemy XIII had him killed in 48 BCE.

At that time, Ptolemy XIII was fighting a civil war for the Egyptian throne with his sister, CLEOPATRA, who, following the tradition among Egyptian royalty of sibling marriage, was also his wife. To settle the matter, Caesar, who had followed Pompey to ALEXANDRIA, ordered both Ptolemy and Cleopatra to submit to his judgment. Beguiled by Cleopatra's charms, Caesar had her installed as queen of Egypt. Refusing to accept the ruling, Ptolemy escalated the Egyptian civil war, and Caesar almost died in the battles that raged through the streets of Alexandria. But by March of 47 BCE, Caesar had overcome Ptolemy and secured Cleopatra's seat on the throne. Caesar remained in Egypt with Cleopatra for several months. The queen later gave birth to a son, Ptolemy Caesarion, whom Caesar acknowledged as his own.

After leading Roman armies in Asia Minor (present-day Turkey) and quieting a rebellion in Rome, Caesar returned to Africa in 46 BCE. This time, he went to NUMIDIA, where King JUBA I had allied himself with three mutinous Roman military leaders. Caesar swiftly and soundly defeated this alliance and declared Numidia a province of Rome.

A victorious Caesar returned home, where he declared himself dictator of all Rome. Cleopatra reunited with him in Rome later that year. Secure in his rule, Caesar drew up plans to rebuild the once-great African coastal city of CARTHAGE. Before he could see his plans come to fruition, however, he was assassinated by a group of Roman senators on March 15, 44 BCE.

Caesar, Octavian (Augustus) (63 BCE–14 CE) *First emperor of Rome*

Born Gaius Octavius, Octavian was the grandnephew and a favorite of Julius CAESAR, who adopted him as his intended successor as ruler of ROME. Upon his great-uncle's assassination in 44 BCE Octavian took the name Gaius Julius Caesar. By making peace with his rivals, Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Octavian ended the civil war that had followed Caesar's death.

Beginning in 43 BCE the three ruled the empire as a triumvirate, with Lepidus ruling over Rome's extensive dominions in North Africa, which included both NUMIDIA and MAURITANIA. Within several years, however, Octavian had forced Lepidus from power and wrested control of Africa for himself.

In 37 BCE Antony abandoned his wife Octavia (Octavian's sister) and married CLEOPATRA. Octavian felt his position as Caesar's only recognized heir to be even further threatened when Antony accepted Caesarion, Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar, as her co-ruler. Five years later, claiming that Cleopatra exercised undue power over Antony, Octavian declared war on the queen of EGYPT. By 31 BCE Octavian's forces had overwhelmingly defeated those of Antony and Cleopatra. Within a few months, Octavian had captured and annexed Egypt, Antony and Cleopatra had killed themselves, and Caesarion was executed. Ultimately, Octavian also seized Cleopatra's treasure, using it to pay off the pensions of his military veterans. As the sole ruler of the Roman Empire, Octavian gave himself the title of *augustus*. He ruled the Roman Empire for more than forty years (27 BCE–14 CE), restoring the empire to peace and prosperity.

Cairo Capital of EGYPT and largest city in Africa. Located on the east bank of the NILE RIVER, Cairo was officially founded in 969 CE. Prior to this, the city had been known by a variety of names, including MEMPHIS, Heliopolis, and Babylon. During its ancient history, it was governed by a long list of rulers, from the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans to the Arabs and Turks.

About 5,000 years ago, MENES (r. c. 3050–2890 BCE), the legendary pharaoh who united UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT, founded the city of Memphis approximately 15 miles (24 km) south of modern-day Cairo. In 525 BCE invading Persians established a fort, named Babylon, north of Memphis, from which they controlled Egypt until the arrival of ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE) in 332 BCE. The region later fell under the rule of the Romans.

See also: CAIRO (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: André Raymond, *Cairo* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

calabash Hard-shelled gourds produced by a tropical vine or tree; common varieties include the white-flowered gourd (*Lagenariasic eraria*) and the bottle gourd (*Cucurbitaceae*), both of which come from vines. Bottle gourds bear fruit that is edible when young but, when grown from seed, they require a great deal of time to produce. This is, perhaps, the basis for Dahomean folk tales that relate that the calabash symbolizes the earth—its two halves representing the land and the sky.

Used since ancient times as a decorative item in the tropical regions of Africa, the hard-shelled gourd was also prized as a handy storage container. Traditionally, because of the great variation in gourd shape, the finished vessel often resembled a club, dipper, kettle, or trough, measuring anywhere from a few inches to several feet in height. In order to make containers, the gourd and its ripened fruit were soaked in water. The fruit disintegrated and was discarded, and the hard outer peel became more pliable. After being dried in the sun, it was easier to carve into shapes or to add incised decorations and symbols. Colors of calabash gourds ranged from ochre to golden brown and were often accented by the dark oil of shea nuts. Among the most elaborately decorated calabashes, which featured BEADS, leather, or reed coverings, were those produced by the Fulani of Adamawa, in CAMEROON.

Finished calabash containers were most often used to store grains, water, milk, MEDICINE, and tobacco. They were utilized as digging tools or as spoons for serving or eating. For centuries calabash played an important part in making MASKS. Calabash has also been used in the creation of musical instruments.

One traditional calabash instrument of ancient origin had seeds or pebbles woven into a net or macramé covering. When shaken, the beads produced a rhythmic amplified sound against the hollow gourd. Smaller hand versions had beads sealed within the calabash. In northern GHANA, the Frafras made a *duuliga*, or violin, from the calabash gourds. Generally it was covered with snakeskin and leather. The instrument's playing strings were made from horsetails with inverted twigs used as a bridge. Other instruments made from the calabash gourd include the African thumb piano, noted for its resonating sound created by a hollow cavity and metal or bamboo "keys." The *balafon*, similar in design and sound to a XYLOPHONE, was also made from the calabash.

The hard shell is capable of withstanding various manufacturing and decorative techniques. Most common were resist dye techniques, which entailed creating designs from candle wax or the paste of cassavas. Stamps made from calabash shells have also been used to decorate fabric with ornate designs, symbols, and proverbs.

Because of their durability, versatility, and beauty, calabash containers have always been highly regarded. The technique of making calabash vessels was passed down from one generation to the next, making them an important source of material culture.

See also: THUMB PIANO (Vol. II).

Further reading: Laure Meyer, *Art and Craft in Africa* (Paris: Terrail, 1995); Thelma R. Newman, *Contemporary African Arts and Crafts* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1974).

calendar As many recent archaeological discoveries demonstrate, calendars have been important to the peoples of Africa since ancient and even prehistoric times.

Calendars may have been used in Africa for far longer than scientists once believed. One of the most interesting recent archaeological discoveries is a piece of bone found in the present-day Republic of the CONGO. Dating back to between 9000 and 6500 BCE, the bone has 39 notches carved on its surface. At first, the artifact was believed to be linked to some kind of numerical notation. Further study, however, led scholars to suggest that the notches are part of a system noting the phases of the Moon. If so, this notched bone might be one of the earliest calendars yet discovered.

Ancient societies probably first began to note time in relation to natural events or work routines that were regularly repeated. As a result these people probably divided the year into periods of planting or harvest or into times of rain or drought. Later they began to incorporate into their thinking patterns involving the progressions of the sun, moon, or stars.

The lunar calendar was one of the earliest attempts to organize these observations. Lunar calendars are based on the phases of the moon, with generally a month assigned to each lunar cycle. Since each of these cycles is only about 29 days long, lunar calendars inevitably were "short" almost 11 days when compared with the 365¼ day solar year. As a result, over the years, lunar calendars inevitably became out of step with the seasons. To rectify this, some societies developed calendars based on a different number of months; others periodically instituted various kinds of corrections to their calendars.

Ancient Egyptian Calendar The ancient Egyptians are generally recognized as the first to develop a calendar based on the movement of the sun. Although it had several inaccuracies, the Egyptian calendar represented a major step forward in the measurement and recording of time. It is uncertain exactly when the ancient Egyptians created the first versions of this calendar, but some scholars believe that its use dates back as much as 6,000 years.

The Egyptians based their calendar on their observations of the sun, stars, and NILE RIVER. Noting that SIRIUS,

which is one of the brightest stars in the heavens, was invisible for a period of several months, they discovered that it reappeared in the eastern sky just prior to the beginning of the Nile's annual flood. This fact became the cornerstone of their calendar, which divided the year into a system of 12 30-day months. They then brought the total number of days in a year to 365 by adding five festival days, each in tribute to a different major deity.

The Egyptian calendar also divided the year into three seasons, each of which was four months long. These seasons reflected shifts in the climate as well as other changes in the natural environment. The season of *akhet*, for example, roughly corresponded to the modern season of autumn and marked the time of the Nile's flood, which lasted from mid-July to mid-November. *Peret*, the next season, lasted from mid-November to mid-March and represented the Egyptian winter. *Shomu*, the Egyptian equivalent of summer, began in the middle of March and lasted until mid-July.

The solar year's extra one-quarter day was not taken into account by the ancient Egyptians. But Egyptian civilization lasted so long that this seemingly minor error eventually became a major problem. In fact, it got to the point that the Egyptian calendar and the progression of seasons were so mismatched that the Egyptians were having winter during a time that, according to the calendar was actually summer. The Egyptians eventually rectified the situation by creating a new calendar.

Calendars in Other Parts of Africa Elsewhere in ancient Africa, other types of calendars were used. For thousands of years, for example, astronomer-priests in West Africa based their calendars on the rising and setting of certain stars. This allowed them to link the planting and harvesting of certain crops, as well as the celebration of key religious FESTIVALS, with the predictable arrival of nature's seasons.

In other parts of Africa variations of a lunar calendar were used. Some peoples reconciled discrepancies between the lunar cycle and solar year by allowing for special "days of waiting," often a period in which people waited for the annual rainy season to begin. The individual months of the year were often named for activities typical of that time; months also were simply assigned numbers.

Other peoples dealt with the discrepancy between the lunar and solar cycles by creating twelve different months that were, in turn, divided into four unequal weeks. Thus, a month would begin with the disappearance of the moon and then progress through weeks last-

ing for 10 days, 10 days, four days, and five days. Each of these days often had a particular spiritual significance and was believed to bring either good or bad fortune to humans, domesticated animals, and wild creatures alike.

Some peoples developed particularly accurate systems for predicting the seasons. The Kamba of present-day KENYA, for example, traditionally calculated the arrival of rainy and dry seasons with the aid of the sun. By drawing lines through certain points in their fields, they were able to measure the position of the sun and make surprisingly accurate predictions about the arrival of the seasons.

See also: ASTRONOMY (Vol. I).

Cambyses II (r. c. 525–521 BCE) *King of the Persian Achmeunid dynasty, who ruled ancient Egypt in the sixth century BCE*

Cambyses II is believed to have solidified his power by killing his brother Smerdes, in 529 BCE. In 525 Cambyses completed the conquest begun by his father, Cyrus the Great, who had invaded Babylon in 539. After the conquest, Cambyses II became the first ruler of Egypt's Twenty-seventh Dynasty. According to the ancient historian HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE), Cambyses II was a harsh king who treated his Egyptian subjects poorly. Herodotus also claimed that Cambyses II lost his sanity and committed suicide, but there is little evidence to support these claims.

camels Mammals that stand about 7 feet (2.1 m) tall and weigh approximately 1,500 pounds (680 kg). They have long necks, small ears, thick eyelashes, and powerful, sharp teeth for fighting. Their coats vary in color from dusty white to golden brown. Camels with one hump are known as dromedaries and are bred for riding. Flat, thick-soled, cloven hoofs that do not sink into the sand, double rows of protective eyelashes, and nostrils lined with hairs to protect against flying sand are all physical traits that make camels suitable to the desert environment. Camels are able to survive on coarse VEGETATION and can drink as much as 25 gallons (95 l) of water in a matter of minutes. Their famous humps serve as storage areas for fat and allow them to go for days without water. Capable of carrying loads of 500 to 600 pounds (227 to 272 kg), camels can travel at speeds up to 8 to 10 miles (13 to 16 km) per hour for as long as 18 hours at a time.

For centuries camels have been used by the people of North Africa and the SAHARA DESERT as means of carrying loads across sandy areas. It is believed that camels originated in North America 40 million years ago and then spread to South America and Asia.

Modern camels had a relatively late start in Africa, having been introduced to the ancient Egyptians by the PHOENICIANS some time in the fifth century BCE. Soon after their arrival in Africa, however, camels became prized for their ability to carry trade goods across the Sahara. They were also valued for wool, meat, and milk.

See also: CARAVANS (Vol. II).

Further reading: Richard W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975); Brent D. Shaw, *Environment and Society in Roman North Africa: Studies in History and Archaeology* (Aldershot, UK: Variorum, 1995).

Cameroon Country covering about 183,600 square miles (475,500 sq km) of west-central Africa. Cameroon is an ethnically diverse land, featuring over 200 distinct ethnic groups, including both the Fulani and various MBUTI groups.

Cameroon borders the Gulf of Guinea to the southwest, NIGERIA to the west, CHAD to the northeast, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to the east, and the Republic of the CONGO, GABON, and EQUATORIAL GUINEA to the south. Geographically, the country is divided into four regions. The coastal region of the southwest, which is dominated by dense rain forests and swamps, has one of the wettest climates in the world, receiving, on average, more than 150 inches (381 cm) of rain a year. Just past the coast there are a number of volcanic mountains whose slopes hold much of the country's most fertile soil. Of these mountains, Mount Cameroon is the tallest, with an elevation of 13,350 feet (4,069 m). Beyond these mountains is a dense forest in an area that is about 1,000 feet (305 m) above sea level. In Cameroon's interior is the Adamawa Massif. Rising to a height of 4,500 feet (1,372 m), it is dominated by savanna. Further north, the savanna becomes the marshy land surrounding Lake CHAD. Here, the climate is drier than in the rest of the country.

In the south, the Sanaga, Wouri, Nyong, and Ntem Rivers run west into the Atlantic Ocean. The CHARI and Logone rivers move north from the Adamawa Massif and drain into Lake Chad. A river system in the Chad Basin, which includes the BENUE RIVER, flows into the NIGER RIVER basin of Nigeria. The Ngoko River and Sangha River join together and flow into the CONGO BASIN.

Archaeological evidence suggests that Cameroon has been occupied for about 50,000 years. The first people to live in the area were MBUTI groups, known in Cameroon as the Yele and Binga. For thousands of years these people have inhabited Cameroon's southern forests, hunting antelope, wild pigs, and other animals, and gathering foods like wild fruit, nuts, tubers, and caterpillars. Living in clans of 10 to one 100 members, they are NOMADS, moving as needed to places where FOOD is more readily available. As a result they live in huts that can be fully constructed in a matter of hours.

The BANTU LANGUAGES originated with the proto-Bantu languages spoken along the Cameroon-Nigeria

border, with BANTU EXPANSION beginning as early as 1000 BCE. About 2,000 years ago different ethnic groups began migrating to the Cameroon region. The most important of these were the Sudanic-speaking Sao people, who settled around Lake Chad sometime in the first century CE.

See also: CAMEROON (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Mario Azevedo, ed., *Cameroon and Chad in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Lewiston, Me.: E. Mellen Press, 1988); Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *A History of the Cameroon* (London: Longman, 1974).

Cameroon grassfields Region bordered by present-day NIGERIA to the west; noted for its extensive iron industries. The early widespread use of iron in the grassfields appears to have been linked to the wealth gained from early food production and trade. Among the region's earliest population groups were HUNTER-GATHERERS known as the Baka, said to have occupied the region approximately 50,000 years ago. Early forms of food production occurred about 4000 BCE and included the cultivation of YAMS and bananas.

Migrating Bantu speakers, as part of the BANTU EXPANSION into equatorial Africa, later settled in the southern forests of CAMEROON and the western grassfields. These groups appear to have been related by common languages and cultural practices and formed a number of diverse patrilineal societies, including the Chamba, We, and Isu. They were also among the groups credited by some historians with bringing traditions of iron making to the region.

Radiocarbon dating has confirmed that smelting techniques were used in the region thousands of years ago. Nearly 100 sites at which smelting occurred have been identified; they are believed to have been used to produce a wide range of items associated with AGRICULTURE, hunting, and household use. Iron may also have been used to create symbols and various other items related to royalty. At least one group, the Mbum people, made iron tokens of uniform shape. These tokens, made in varying denominations, could only be used in very specific ways, including the purchase of trade or prestige items, or as a form of BRIDE-WEALTH.

It is known that later kingdoms developed as a result of trade. One of the most powerful and longest lasting dynasties in Cameroon was associated with the Tikar. Other significant kingdoms were organized by the Mileke, the Menda, and the Mum. In examining many of these ancient smelting sites and speaking with the modern-day descendants of the ancient inhabitants, archaeologists have been able to reconstruct early METALLURGY processes. On a physical level, the process consisted of placing iron ore and charcoal into a heated foundry. The recovery of glazed material indicates that high temperatures were used for long periods at a time, which sug-

gests that foundry workers may have processed the iron over several days.

Other aspects of iron making included such rituals as specific prayers, songs, or dances. As a result the physical act of creating iron and the traditions that surrounded it were compared to the act of procreation. Potent herbs were traditionally buried beneath the furnace to strengthen the "birth" of a malleable form of iron.

Throughout the grasslands, there apparently were many taboos associated with iron production as well. Arguments or any acts of bloodshed—accidental or deliberate—were not allowed at iron-making sites. Menstruating women were barred as well. Married men were therefore the main keepers of the grassfield furnaces and were instructed to refrain from sexual relations prior to and during the process of smelting.

The formation of such ritual activity appears to have been based on the belief that iron could absorb the positive or negative practices associated with adult life. This was particularly true for weaponry such as spears, daggers, knives, or machetes, all of which were considered significant targets of negative influences. Masters of the forge were those men who best understood the various facets of iron production. They were among the earliest kings and were considered some of the most powerful members of early grassland societies, often credited with the power to heal or destroy.

See also: IRON WORKING (Vol. II); NUMUW (Vol. II).

Further reading: "Magical Iron Technology in the Cameroon Grassfields," in *African Material Culture* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1996).

Canary Islands Group of mountainous islands in the Atlantic Ocean that lie about 50 miles (80 km) off the coast of northwest Africa. They include Gran Canaria, Tenerife, Lanzarote, La Palma, Fuerteventura, Hierro, and Gomera, among others.

The origins of the people of the Canary Islands are uncertain. Juba II, who ruled MAURITANIA from 29 BCE to about 20 CE, sent an expedition to the islands, and they were found to be unpopulated. However, the expedition did find the remains of some ancient buildings on Gran Canaria. It is believed that Roman ships visited the Canaries in the third century, as Roman *amphoras* (narrow-necked jars) of that era have been found offshore.

cape buffalo Large mammal belonging to the same family as WATER BUFFALO and CATTLE. Unlike the water buffalo, which originally came from Asia, the cape buffalo is native to the African continent and has not been domesticated. The cape buffalo is black or dark brown, and adult males can grow to nearly 6 feet (1.8 m) tall at the shoulder and can weigh up to 2,000 pounds (908 kg); fe-

males are smaller. Cape buffalo are highly social animals that live in large grazing herds of up to 2,000 members. In ancient Africa, cape buffalo could be found throughout the sub-Saharan continent on open savannas and grassland, as well as in swamps and lowland rain forests.

Cape Verde, Republic of

Cape Verde, Republic of Island country approximately 1,560 square miles (4,040 sq km) in size located in the Atlantic Ocean, some 400 miles (670 km) west of SENEGAL. The country's 10 islands and five islets are clustered in two groups. The northern, or windward, group is known as the Barlavento Islands and includes Santo Antao, São Vincente, São Nicolaue, Santa Luzia, Sal, and Boa Vista. The southern, or leeward, group is known as the Sotavento Islands and includes Brava, Fogo, Maio, and São Tiago, where the capital city of Praia is located.

Despite the fact that the country's name means Green Cape, drought is a serious problem for these rugged volcanic islands. As a result there is a shortage of both tree cover and arable land. The islands were uninhabited at the time that the Portuguese came across them in 1460. The first Portuguese settlers arrived in 1462, settling on São Tiago. It is possible that people from the Moroccan mainland had sailed to the island of Sal to collect salt from its extensive deposits.

See also: CAPE VERDE (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Capsian culture Ancient African civilization that settled in the southern region of what is now TUNISIA as long ago as c. 6000 BCE. They are generally believed to be the direct ancestors of modern-day Libyans. *Capsian peoples* and *Capsian culture* are phrases that are used to describe the large number of prehistoric tools produced during what some archaeologists call the Late Paleolithic period and that others refer to as the Late STONE AGE. The name was borrowed from the inland regions that include the great salt lakes of el-Meka located near Qafsah (Capsa). Capsian peoples were largely sedentary, and the fact that plant FOOD products have been established as a formative part of their diet may account for an expanding population. And, although they domesticated plants, evidence suggests that the Capsians also hunted.

There have been various reports that the tools and products of this culture were in place approximately 10,000 to 6,000 years ago. Recovered tools include a type of drill created to bore holes in ostrich eggshell fragments, which were then strung and worn as necklaces. Many stone microliths or blades have been recovered along with POTTERY. Overall these finds provide a picture of a sedentary society.

The influence of the early peoples of this region is believed to have spread to the northern and eastern regions between 9000 and 5000 BCE. Evidence from the later NEOLITHIC AGE after the sixth millennium indicates that CATTLE became an essential source of trade at this time, perhaps through the influences of EGYPT or various groups from the Sudan. In addition, a significant shift in certain traditions or tool-making capabilities took place during the same era. Archaeologists speculate that because the climate and environment were well suited for hunting, the techniques for making appropriate tools developed during this period prior to the first millennium BCE. This led to a period that was characterized by the use of iron tools and weapons.

Analysis of several rock carvings found in the Atlas, Ahaggar, and Tibesti Mountain ranges have linked them to Capsian culture. These carvings are of great significance since they depict animals, some long extinct, that once roamed the region. Identifiable figures include the giant buffalo, ELEPHANTS, RHINOCEROS, and HIPPOPOTAMUS. Findings of large middens, or refuse heaps, indicate that the region was inhabited by land mollusks as well. The areas of their former habitation are now largely desert terrain.

One of the most unique aspects of the region involves thousands of large, stone tombs or megalithic stone structures. Estimated to have been built around the first millennium BCE, the megaliths of Mzora in ALGERIA stand nearly 200 feet high and have been credited to Capsian peoples.

caravan routes Network of trade routes that extended from the sub-Saharan kingdoms of West Africa, including ancient GHANA and ancient MALI, across the SAHARA DESERT to North Africa, where, on the coast, goods were then exchanged with European merchants. For almost 1,000 years trade moved over these routes from the NIGER RIVER to the city of Sijilmasa in North Africa. Beginning about the fourth century CE this trade was controlled by the Soninke Empire of Ghana. At the height of Ghana's power, which lasted for more than 700 years, these caravan routes were the lifeblood of the empire, carrying SALT, slaves, ivory, civet, gum arabic, foodstuffs, COTTON cloth, metal ornaments, leather goods, and, above all, GOLD.

See also: CARAVANS (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Carthage Ancient city located on North Africa's coast near present-day TUNISIA. Carthage was the principal city of the PHOENICIAN civilization. Later, it battled with ROME in the PUNIC WARS, during which it was burnt and destroyed. Carthage was rebuilt before being destroyed for good in the seventh century CE.

Phoenician Carthage Carthage was founded by the Phoenicians in the ninth century BCE. The Phoenicians called Carthage *Kart-hadasht,* meaning "new town." Ac-

cording to tradition, the city was founded by the Tyrean queen Dido, who was fleeing her brother King Pygmalion. Built on a peninsula projecting into the Gulf of Tunis, Carthage had two harbors connected by a canal. Beyond the harbors was the Byrsa, a walled fortress built on a hill.

Carthage's Phoenician settlers were sailors and merchants. and the city became a commercial center, with wharves, markets, and factories built by slave labor. The Phoenicians grew wealthy trading POTTERY, textiles, ivory, lumber, slaves, fruits, and metal. (The latter included deposits of silver, which, beginning as early as 800 BCE, were brought from mines in Spain and North Africa.) Although the evidence is limited, Carthage no doubt benefited from trade across the desert to the south via the trans-Saharan trade routes.

The Phoenicians reaped great profits taking cheap manufactured goods, like pottery or JEWELRY, and trading them for valuable metals. In Roman times Punic goods, such as beds, cushions, and mattresses, were both prized and imitated. Still, because Carthage produced few pieces of ART and literature, there is very little information regarding the government, language, and daily life of the city. Carthaginian religious rituals involved human sacrifice to Baal, a fertility god, and Tanit, the Carthaginian version of the Phoenician goddess Astarte. The Greek gods Demeter and Persephone and the Roman goddess Juno were also absorbed into Carthaginian RELIGION.

Carthage's Empire By the sixth century BCE Carthage dominated the entire North African coast, from the Atlantic Ocean to the western border of EGYPT. Carthage's empire expanded to include nearby Libyan peoples and older Phoenician colonies. It also controlled Sardinia, Malta, the Balearic Islands, and part of Sicily. One Carthaginian admiral, HANNO (c. 530–470 BCE), traveled along the coast of North Africa about 430 BCE. Another expedition, led by Himlico, traveled up the Atlantic coast of Europe as far as Britain.

Between the fifth and third centuries BCE, Carthage engaged in a series of wars with GREECE and ROME. Carthage battled with the Greeks for control of Sicily, which was only 100 miles (160 km) from Carthage and was a perfect stepping-stone between North Africa and Italy. Carthage was defeated in Sicily in 480 BCE, when the forces of Carthaginian general Hamilcar were repelled by the ruler of Syracuse, Gelon. In spite of this defeat Carthage still held territory in the western part of Sicily. In the fourth century BCE Syracuse's rulers made repeated attempts to rid Sicily of the Carthaginians. In 310 BCE the forces of Syracuse's ruler Agathocles attacked and inflicted great damage on parts of eastern Tunisia. Agathocles' forces, however, ultimately were defeated.

Ruins of the ancient city of Carthage have been preserved in present-day Tunisia. *© Nick Wheeler /Corbis*

Roman Carthage Carthage's three wars with the Romans are known as the PUNIC WARS. In the First Punic War, fought from 264 to 241 BCE, the Carthaginians were defeated and lost their hold on Sicily. The Second Punic War lasted from 218 to 201 BCE and featured the famous Carthaginian general HANNIBAL (c. 247–c. 183 BCE). Hannibal and his war ELEPHANTS marched through Spain and France and crossed the Alps into Italy. Though he was victorious at Cannae, Hannibal ultimately lost to the Romans. As a result the Carthaginians ceded to Rome control of Spain and a number of islands. During the Third Punic War, which lasted from 149 to 146 BCE, the Romans destroyed Carthage, spreading SALT over the ruins as a symbolic gesture of contempt.

In 122 BCE, after a period of 25 years during which Carthage lay in ruins, a new city was built, called Colonia Junonia. This city survived only 30 years. Later, in 29 BCE, the Roman emperor Octavian CAESAR (63 BCE–14 CE) rebuilt the city, fulfilling a wish made by his predecessor, Gaius Julius CAESAR (c. 100–44 BCE). This new city was known as Colonia Julia Carthago.

Roman Carthage thrived, ranking behind only Rome in wealth and importance, and the city was a favorite of Roman emperors, although none lived there. Under the Romans, Carthage was also a center of CHRISTIANITY. Important Christian Carthaginians included St. Cyprian, who was Carthage's bishop in 248 CE, and Tertullian, a Christian ecclesiastical writer who lived there in the third century CE. The famous philosopher St. Augustine was bishop of nearby Hippo in the fifth century.

Carthage declined after the third century CE. In 439 the Vandal king Gaiseric captured the city, which then became the Vandal capital for almost a century. In 533 the Byzantine general Belisarius captured the city and renamed it Colonia Justiniana Carthago in honor of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I.

Between 697 and 705 CE the city was conquered by the Arabs. Among Carthage's ruins are the remains of fortresses, temples, and an aqueduct that date from the Roman era.

Carthaginian Religion Similar to other ancient societies of Africa, Carthaginians created a framework for religious worship that centered around a supreme god known in Africa as Baal Hammon. The word *Hammon* was associated with the sun, an attribute that the Phoenicians apparently found strong and protective. A number of lesser deities coexisted with the high god, many of whom reflected the influence of EGYPT. For instance, in Carthage the deity Eshmoun was equivalent to ASCLEPIUS, considered a sacred healer in Egypt. Even from a personal perspective, Carthaginians generally had first names that reflected religious faith.

Over the centuries historians and archaeologists who have studied this era and region have commented on the Carthaginian traditions involving human sacrifice. Based on the recovery of skeletal remains, archaeologists have determined that the practice of human sacrifice to Baal flourished well into the third century BCE. Generally, small children were sacrificed in a religious ceremony that occurred once each year. Their burned bones make it uncertain as to whether this was the sole cause of death. There have been some reports that the children were the first-born males of wealthy families. Thousands of urns containing their ashes have been found in Hadrumetum, Motya, and Cirta, which became the capital city of the ruler known as MASSINISSA (240 BCE–148 CE). The urns at earlier sites were buried under large stone markers called stelae, but it is generally believed that this practice declined in the fourth century BCE. The urns were associated with the shrine of Tanit, a goddess who was widely worshiped after the fifth century and who may also have received sacrificial victims.

Since the burials of adults have generally been described as modest, with few burial goods, questions still persist among historians and archaeologists as to why such practices were so prevalent.

See also: CAESAR, OCTAVIAN (Vol. I); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Further reading: Serge Lancel, *Carthage: A History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1995).

caste systems Social classes separated from one another by royal status, specialized skills, or wealth. In many West African kingdoms, the society's castes were made up of free people with special crafts, such as weaving, making POTTERY, or doing leather work. There also were castes of musicians and praise singers. In exchange for their services, caste groups like these often enjoyed the special protection of a kingdom's ruling class. This relationship generally lasted until the ruling class lost power, at which time caste members were forced to sell their wares or services to anyone who would buy them.

One of the most complex and significant castes in Africa was composed of BLACKSMITHS. These artisans, who made weapons as well as essential agricultural and household items, were consistently associated with both divine kingship and spirituality. Indeed, not only did many ancient kings use the blacksmith's anvil as a symbol of royalty, but the ORISHA, or deity, of war and iron was OGUN, a legendary figure who dwelled in the blacksmith's forge.

As in other parts of the world, the castes of ancient Africa faced limitations as well as enjoyed privileges. In areas such as RWANDA, for example, only members of the ETHNIC GROUP known as HUTU were allowed to be blacksmiths. Elsewhere, in ETHIOPIA and the western Sudan, there were religious taboos as well as negative assumptions about various craftworkers. These beliefs prevented craftworkers from marrying outside their caste.

The cattle depicted in this rock painting from Algeria, created 4000–1500 BCE, are being washed in a river in the *lotori* festival, a Fulani initiation rite. *© Pierre Colombel/Corbis*

See also: DEITIES (Vol. I); DIVINE RULE (Vol. I); *NUMUW* (Vol. II); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II).

caterpillar The larvae of a butterfly or moth. The caterpillar has long fascinated the MBUTI of the ITURI FOREST of central Africa. These people use caterpillars to make poison for their arrowheads and, before their hunts, they will pray to N'go, the caterpillar deity, to make their poison strong. In Mbuti mythology, the caterpillar is believed to have divine qualities. Along with another insect, the PRAYING MANTIS, the caterpillar is associated with Kaang, the creator god.

cattle Grazing mammals raised for their milk, meat, and other products. In Africa, the domestication of cattle began between 5,000 and 10,000 years ago, following the domestication of sheep, GOATS, pigs, and DOGS. Long-horned, humpless cattle were well-established in the NILE VALLEY of EGYPT by 4000 BCE. These cattle, known as the Egyptian, or Hamitic, longhorn, appear in pictographs on the walls of Egyptian pyramids. Over the next 2,000 years these animals migrated from the Nile to ETHIOPIA and into the southern reaches of the continent. Eventually, HORSES replaced cattle as sources of labor, leaving the primary value of cattle to be meat, milk, and leather.

Africa, like other continents, has known many breeds of cattle. Most are indigenous, having existed on the continent for thousands of years. Other breeds have evolved more recently through cross-breeding with either African or imported cattle. Regardless of their origins, however, cattle have been of profound importance to several peoples of Africa.

The MAASAI are one such example. For hundreds and even possibly thousands of years, Maasai life has revolved around cattle. Besides providing the Maasai with their

basic food staple—milk—ownership of cattle determines virtually every social role as well as the social status of each individual person.

The breeds of cattle kept by the Maasai vary considerably, mostly because of the Maasai's age-old practice of clandestinely acquiring cattle from their neighbors. The Maasai traditionally have justified this tradition with a legend stating that their deity, Ngai, gave them the sole right to keep cattle. As a result, the Maasai maintain, their cattle tend to be larger and healthier than other peoples'. The truth is, however, that the Maasai have so many cattle that the offspring of both the Maasai and their cattle have more than enough milk to drink, and, as a result, are indeed healthy and sizable.

The Fulani are another people for whom cattle have been of prime importance for hundreds of years. Mainly herders and traders, the Fulani established trade routes that fostered economic and political ties with otherwise isolated ethnic groups. As they traveled these routes, the Fulani traded with the sedentary farmers they passed, exchanging dairy products for agricultural products and luxury items. The Fulani then exchanged the latter for other goods as they continued on along their nomadic routes.

The Watusi, or Tutsi, developed a breed of cattle, known as the Ankole-Watusi, that became a favorite of breeders around the world. Medium-sized cattle with large-diameter horns, their ancestry can be traced back more than 6,000 years. Later, between the 13th and 15th centuries, these cattle were brought into northern UGANDA by Nilotic- and Cushitic-speaking peoples, leading to the eventual spread of Ankole-Watusi cattle from Lake Mobutu to Lake TANGANYIKA.

Among other important African breeds are the Bonswara and the Mashona, which also is known as the Makalanga (or Makaranga). Another breed, the Nguni, is a subtype of the Sanga, which is associated with the pastoralist tradition of the Bantu-speaking peoples. Other important breeds include the Tswana and the Tuli.

See also: PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

Further reading: Andrew B. Smith, *Pastoralism in Africa: Origins and Development Ecology* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1992).

Central African Republic   Landlocked country measuring approximately 240,300 square miles (622,400 sq km) and bordered by present-day CHAD, Republic of the SUDAN, BURUNDI, both the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and the Republic of the CONGO, and GABON. Origins of human life in the area date back a million years or more. Some historians even maintain that civilized societies were in place in this region well before the better-known civilizations associated with ancient EGYPT.

The region was initially populated by HUNTER-GATH-ERERS such as the Aka, groups whose ways of life were altered when the northern region was impacted approximately 100,000 years ago by climatic changes known as pluvials, or prolonged periods of rain. As a result many of these nomadic communities became sedentary; the people settled around the rivers, where they cultivated grain and fished. A number of these settlements bordered the CONGO RIVER in the southwest and undoubtedly contributed to the river's later importance as a prominent trade route. Unfortunately, the Congo River has also played host to deadly diseases that decimated many of these populations.

About 1000 BCE settlers associated with the BANTU EXPANSION began to dominate the region, bringing with them a clan-based social structure. Modern excavations in the region have unearthed many significant finds, which have provided telling information about the existence of these early groups and the events that shaped the region's history.

The earliest recovered stone tools were crude and worn. They have been described as "pebble tools" because of their small flakes or edges. In contrast, at a site known as Batalimo, near the Ngoere River in Upper Sangha, an advanced type of Acheulean hand-ax that was recovered demonstrates how the tools used in this region evolved over time. Other finds include microlithic tools made of hard flint and quartz; these date back approximately 8,000 years. POTTERY associated with the NEOLITHIC AGE (between 3000 and 1000 BCE), with distinctive designs and a flat bottom, indicates that the inhabitants were early FOOD producers. Overall, these findings are characteristic of a sedentary, well-developed society.

Stone megaliths erected in the Bouar region have been less easy to interpret. Megaliths like these, which generally are free-standing stones with distinctive shapes and which often weigh several tons, are usually erected by organized societies and are used as a type of burial site. (They also are known as *tumuli* or *cairns*.) Unfortunately, the absence of skeletal remains—a factor that archaeologists have attributed to high soil acidity—makes it difficult to confirm that the societies that built these stone pillars were indeed organized ones; only items made of iron have been recovered from the megalith sites during excavations.

Radiocarbon dating indicates that the megaliths of the Central African Republic range in age. The oldest megalith pillars were placed there about 5500 BCE; the most recent pillars date back from 450 BCE.

ROCK ART in the region also confirms the antiquity of early populations. Although paintings and engravings have been found in the northern and eastern regions of the Central African Republic, the northern cave sites are where archaeologists have discovered highly stylized yet identifiable human forms. They also have found numerous symbols drawn with red ochre.

The Central African Republic has been associated with early methods of FOOD production, such as systematic planting, cultivation, and harvesting that called for specialized tools. Simple digging sticks were replaced with early forms of hoes, knives, and picks that were used to cultivate cereal grains and wild seeds such as MILLET and SORGHUM. The region has also been noted for its oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*), a highly nutritional food product used for cooking and for making palm wine. The production of palm oil and wine became the basis of a significant industry in Africa. Food imports into the region included YAMS and bananas, which was another important food import that was cooked in numerous ways and also brewed for beer.

Other notable aspects of the region are its handicrafts, including BASKET MAKING, carved stools and MASKS, and a unique musical instrument known as the *balafon.* Made of animal horns, wood, and CALABASH gourds, the *balafon* was the forerunner of the modern-day XYLOPHONE. Equally notable are the diamonds found throughout the region, which have attracted prospectors from around the world.

See also: ACHEULEAN AGE (Vol. I); CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (Vols. II, III, IV, V); COCOYAM (Vol. I).

Further reading: Tamara Giles-Vernick, *Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Central African Rain Forest* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 2002).

Chad Landlocked country in central Africa, approximately 496,000 square miles (1,284,760 sq km) in size, that shares borders with LIBYA to the north, the Republic of the SUDAN to the east, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to the southeast, CAMEROON to the southwest, and NIGER to the west. It also shares Lake CHAD, which in ancient times was much larger than it is today, with NIGERIA to the west. Chad's northern reaches stretch into the SAHARA DESERT, while the southern portion of the country, in the region of the CHARI RIVER, contained well-watered savanna grasslands suitable for AGRICULTURE.

Chad is associated with the earliest evidence of human origins. In 2002 scientists announced the discovery of a skull near an ancient lake bed that now lies in the desert. Nicknamed Toumaï, or "hope of life" in the Goran language, it dates back between 6 and 7 million years. In addition to pushing back the age at which the human lineage separated from that of chimpanzees, the discovery also shifts the focus of human origins

from the HORN OF AFRICA westward to central Africa. Much more recent archaeological evidence from the ENNEDI region in northeastern Chad, from perhaps the eighth millennium BCE, provides some of the earliest insights into the NEOLITHIC AGE. The evidence is older than that found in the NILE VALLEY. Although the archaeological sites now lie well into the Sahara Desert, during the Neolithic era the region was much wetter. Rock paintings from that time show large game animals that could not live there today. This area of Chad is also part of the narrow belt between Lake Chad and the Nile Valley that according to linguists is the likely core area from where the Afro-Asiatic, Niger-Congo, and Nilo-Saharan LANGUAGE FAMILIES emerged. They were in one way or another associated with the early agriculture and the domestication of animals in this region.

By 5000 BCE, and probably much earlier, the economic basis for Chad's population was formed by grain crops such as MILLET and SORGHUM, along with a variety of domestic livestock including CATTLE, GOATS, and sheep. After about 3500 BCE the Sahara expanded, and the locus of agriculture shifted to the south. This was to be the area where the great states of the African medieval era emerged, linked as they were to the central TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES.

See also: CHAD (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Chad, Lake Large lake located in west-central Africa. The fourth-largest lake in Africa, Lake Chad is what remains of a much larger and more ancient inland sea. A shallow lake with two basins, one at the north and one at the south, its main tributaries are the CHARI and LOGONE rivers.

See also: CHAD, LAKE (Vol. III); KANEM-BORNU (Vols. II, III, IV).

Further reading: Graham Connah, *Three Thousand Years in Africa: Man and His Environment in the Lake Chad Region of Nigeria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Chadic languages Major subgroup of the family of AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES. The Chadic group comprises many languages, the most important of which is HAUSA. During the 13th century some of the Chadic languages changed substantially as Muslim traders from North Africa integrated with the native Chadic-speaking groups, introducing many of their ARABIC words to the language.

See also: LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I).

Chari River River located in the Chad region of north-central Africa. The Chari, or Shari, is 600 miles (966 km) long and drains a 250,000 square mile (647,497 sq km)

region before it flows into Lake CHAD. It is the largest river system in the Lake Chad Basin.

The Chari River serves as the divider between the two contrasting regions of Chad: the SAHEL and mountain regions to the north and the Lake Chad floodplains to the south and west. The Chari River has historically offered an abundant supply of fish for the local population, and the sediments of the river create fertile soil for FOOD crops as well as for COTTON.

cheetahs   With their powerful legs, cheetahs are well known as the fastest animals in the world, capable of reaching speeds up to 60 miles (97 km) per hour. Averaging 55 inches (140 cm) long, with 25-inch (64-cm) tails, cheetahs stand about 30 inches (76 cm) tall and weigh up to 130 pounds (60 kg). The coarse fur of an adult cheetah is colored a sandy yellow and is marked by small black spots. Two black streaks run down its face from the corners of its eyes.

Cheetahs usually live about 12 years. Male cheetahs live in groups of three or four; female cheetahs, except when they are raising cubs, usually live alone. Cheetahs hunt alone or in small groups, generally during the afternoon. They prey on GAZELLES, impala, and waterbuck. Cheetahs, in turn, are preyed upon by LIONS and LEOPARDS. Unlike most cats, a cheetah's claws only partially retract, which allows the animal greater traction when it runs.

In ancient times Sumerian and Egyptian nobles trained cheetahs to aid them in their hunting expeditions. In ancient EGYPT, where cats were revered, the goddess Mafdet was often depicted as a cheetah, and, according to legend, she killed a serpent with her claws. Images of cheetahs also adorn the tomb of King TUTANKHAMUN.

child rearing   In Africa, the raising of children involves not only a child's immediate FAMILY but also the community at large and the child's ancestors. Child rearing also involves a reinforcement of the cultural values and traditions most cherished by each particular society. In most African societies, community rites surrounding child rearing start at birth. The most ancient traditions of the KIKUYU, for example, call for them to bury the placenta of a recently born child in an uncultivated field. This is done because, to these pastoral people, open pastures symbolize all that is new, fertile, and strong. The Yansi, on the other hand, traditionally throw the physical remnants of birth into the river as a way of showing that the child belongs to the community. Both practices were meant to ensure that healthy children were born in the future.

Other rites were specifically designed to strengthen the bonds between fathers and newborns. Since the earliest times, AKAN fathers, for example, traditionally were called upon to pour the child's first libation, or tribute, to the ancestors. Akan fathers also were required to provide the child's first pillow, which was a clean old cloth believed to carry the father's spirit.

African mothers, meanwhile, have been required since ancient times to perform special rites of purification. These rites usually begin during the earliest stages of pregnancy and might include carrying special charms and observing special taboos against the consumption of certain foods. Among the MBUTI, who have inhabited sub-Saharan Africa since the STONE AGE, women were long required to perform ritual offerings in the forest to ensure the safe delivery of their children.

One of the most significant rites associated with child rearing is the assignment of a name. Traditionally, important ceremonies accompanied the various naming practices. Among the Wolof of West Africa, for example, a social event was organized in the mother's home. Taking place a week after childbirth, the child was seated on the lap of an elder. Its name (and the meaning of that name) was then whispered into the child's ear, along with a prayer, making the child the first to hear its own name. Only after this was the child's name formally announced to the jubilant attendees.

Among many African peoples, names were traditionally a sign of a strong belief in reincarnation, and children received the names of those ancestors they most resembled in physical features or behavior. A child might also have received the names of grandparents or significant community leaders. Descriptive names that might have been related to a special incident associated with the birth or the period of pregnancy might also have been given. In this way the child could acquire several names during his or her lifetime, each of which described, in some way, who he or she was.

Breast-feeding, for many peoples, represented the most critical time for young children, and it generally lasted anywhere from 12 to 24 months. Although this long period of nursing offered a built-in immunity for most children, once they were weaned such dangers as malnutrition and disease claimed many lives. Those children who did survive beyond this period, however, eventually came to flourish under the watchful eyes of older siblings, members of the household, and the community at large. In this way children absorbed the social and cultural values of the society, as well as the community's codes of acceptable social behavior. Part of this process also involved identity or marks. For some societies, this sometimes meant physical markings, sometimes known as SCARIFICATION, on the face or body. In other societies, the piercing of ears or the wearing of particular kinds of JEWELRY or charms indicated that children had become full members of society.

Work tasks traditionally offered other learning experiences for young children. In some societies, especially

in ancient times, children between two and four years old were expected to help with hunting and gathering, household tasks, herding sheep and GOATS, and feeding DOMESTICATED ANIMALS. Rock paintings dating back to the prehistoric era tend to bear this out, showing women and children collecting fruits and nuts, as well as leaves and roots. As the children reached their middle years, more responsibilities were placed upon them, including obtaining water for the household, herding livestock, cultivating FOOD, cooking, and running errands. By assisting adults, children expanded the food reserves of the family, providing for greater economic opportunities through trade or sale.

Puberty in ancient African societies traditionally meant greater involvement in the community. Initiation into adulthood was linked to sacred rites and SECRET SOCIETIES. Already familiar with domestic and agricultural work patterns, the teenage girls of many societies were considered ready for marriage as soon as they were formally initiated into adult membership in the community. In some societies, particularly when BRIDE-WEALTH was required, boys married anytime between 18 and 30 years of age.

After a marriage took place a young couple often lived within a parental household or compound (which family the couple went to live with was dependent upon whether they were part of a matrilineal or patrilineal society). In this way, couples were able to assist aging members of the extended family, who in turn passed on their wisdom to the couple's offspring.

See also: AGE GRADES (Vol. I); RELIGION, PREHISTORIC (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); WOMEN IN PREHISTORIC AFRICA (Vol. I).

Further reading: Iris Berger and E. Francis White, *Women in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1999); Anthony Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, Inc. 1998); John Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1990).

Chiwara Mythical hero of the BAMANA-speaking people of central MALI. According to tradition Chiwara taught the Bamana how to farm. In his honor the Bamana hold a festival in which dancers wear MASKS representing antelopes, the animal associated with Chiwara.

In the Bamana language, *chiwara* literally means "farming animal." According to legend the mythical Chiwara was the offspring of the first woman, Mousso Koroni, and a snake. Chiwara was a hard-working animal who tilled the soil using his claws and a magical hoe that had been given to him by his mother. In this way Chiwara taught the Bamana people both the skill of farming and the value of hard work. The forgetful Bamana, however, became lazy when crops grew plentiful. Chiwara

was disheartened and buried himself in the ground, never to be seen again. (The word *chiwara* was also understood to mean "excellent farmer," the highest praise one could receive in Bamana culture.)

In their festival in honor of Chiwara, Bamana males represented the sun, while the females were associated with the earth. Together, they symbolized the perfect balance that is necessary for a successful harvest. Wearing antelope masks, the dancers imitated the movements of the graceful animals by standing hunched over and carrying two short sticks as forelegs. They moved to the beat of songs sung by women in praise of the farmers.

See also: BAMBARA (Vols. II, III); MANDE (Vol. I).

Christianity Along with Islam and JUDAISM, one of the world's three great monotheistic religions. Each believes in a single, all-powerful God, and each believes that its sacred scriptures represent the divine word of God as revealed to humanity. Christianity professes its belief in Jesus Christ as the son of God and the savior-redeemer of the world.

The Early Church in Africa According to Christian tradition the RELIGION was first brought to Africa when Jesus, Joseph, and Mary traveled to EGYPT after Jesus' birth. The religion later flourished in parts of North Africa under Roman rule. The early African church had a strong presence in communities like CARTHAGE and Tangier between the first and third centuries.

The tradition says that one of the first people to spread Christianity after Jesus's death was St. Mark, who preached in Egypt around the years 40 to 60 CE and who founded a church in ALEXANDRIA. In Christianity's first two centuries the religion spread quickly, with each region led by a bishop. By the year 220 Christianity had grown to the point that the province of NUMIDIA had 13 bishops.

For many years, however, the Roman Empire continued to persecute early Christians. As late as 258, in fact, St. Cyprian (d. 258), a theologian and the bishop of Carthage, was martyred for refusing to offer sacrifice to the Roman gods. By 313, however, the Edict of Milan was passed throughout the Roman Empire, allowing Christians to worship freely.

In its early days the African church also underwent a number of controversies that resulted in breaks from the official church based in ROME. In the early fourth century, for example, the Donatist movement arose after a group of Numidian bishops objected to the appointment of the new bishop of Carthage. Instead of accepting the new bishop, they appointed their own, declaring themselves to be the true church. As a result the Donatists, who at one time included one-half of the Christians in Africa, were persecuted and their churches confiscated.

In the fifth century an argument involving the Monophysites also caused a schism, or split, in the church. It

The Spread of Christianity, 100–600
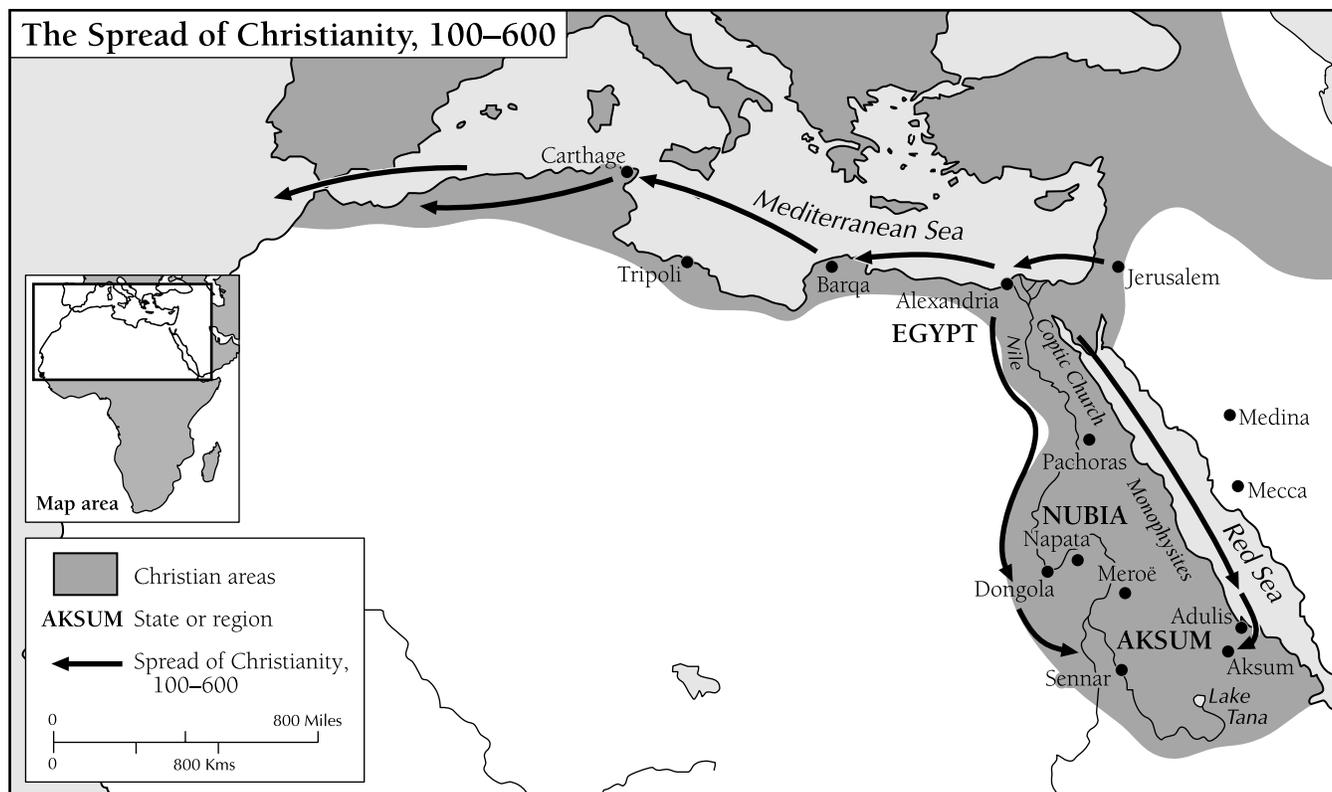
was at that time that the COPTS of Egypt and Syria, who believed only in the divine—rather than the dual—nature of Jesus, broke with Rome.

Early African Christians were among the first important contributors to Latin Christian literature. One of the most influential thinkers in the early history of the Christian Church, St. Augustine (354–430), was born in Numidia. He became the bishop of Hippo, near Carthage, in 396; his writings include the *Confessions* and *City of God.* Other notable thinkers from Christian Africa include Tertullian (c. 160–225).

The Catholic and Christian presence in Africa was diminished with the introduction of Islam between the seventh and 10th centuries. Still, the Christian Church in ETHIOPIA today stands as a descendent of the long tradition of Christianity in Africa.

Christianity and Traditional African Religions
Ever since Christianity spread to Africa, especially in Roman North Africa, Africans have observed both Christian and traditional rituals and beliefs. At times they have even taken elements from both forms of worship.

Although there certainly is not one single traditional African religion, general similarities and differences can be sketched out between Christianity and the traditional beliefs of Africans.

Like Christians, many African peoples believe in the existence of one supreme being or creator god. However,

early European visitors to the continent did not think this to be the case, partially because there seemed to be few shrines devoted to a supreme being. Since the creator was a remote being that stayed out of human affairs, few Africans offered worship to one god. Mulungu, for example, is the supreme, omnipresent god of many East African peoples. But this deity is prayed to only as a last resort, not as a matter of course or daily ritual.

Traditional African religions and Christianity also share a belief in an AFTERLIFE. Many African peoples, from the ancient Egyptians to the MBUTI of southern Africa, have buried the dead with their possessions so that they can use their belongings in the next world. Unlike Christians, however, many African peoples revere their ancestors, whom they believe have supernatural powers. The Bantu-speaking Fang people, for example, have long believed that the bones of ancestors can affect the fortunes of people.

A major difference between Christianity and the traditional religions involves the acceptance of other DEITIES. Unlike most African religions, Christianity does not allow its believers to worship any deity besides God. In contrast, followers of traditional African religions pray to various secondary deities as well as to their ancestors. These secondary gods serve as intermediaries between humans and the creator. The YORUBA people of NIGERIA, for example, believe in a creator, OLORUN, who watches

over a group of divinities called ORISHA, to whom worshipers appeal for guidance and support.

Another important difference is seen in the attitude toward nature and fertility. Christianity does not include rituals that celebrate nature or fertility. Traditional African religions, however, have long seen these principles as worthy of worship. The people of CARTHAGE worshiped a fertility god named Baal, who was represented as a calf and who was offered human sacrifices. The BAMANA people of central Africa hold an annual festival in honor of CHIWARA, the deity that was thought to have taught people to farm.

Missionaries have brought Christianity to many areas of Africa. Nevertheless, African traditional religions continue to survive. In part, this is because, unlike Christianity, African religions do not observe a strict doctrine and constantly evolve to include beliefs of other religions. As a result some African people observe a religion that combines traditional practices with Christian beliefs.

See also: CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MONOPHYSITE (Vol. I).

circumcision Surgical modification of male or female genitalia, or sexual organs. Although the controversy surrounding the practice of circumcision in Africa is recent, there is sizable evidence indicating that it is a cultural form dating back to antiquity. Archaeologists have documented the earliest instances of circumcision in Egyptian mummies, dating from at least 4000 BCE, that show evidence of the procedure. Additional evidence is provided by early travelers and writers about the region, including HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE), who noted that "the Egyptians and Ethiopians have practiced circumcision since time immemorial." From the NILE VALLEY the practice appears to have spread through resettlement and migration patterns, reaching many parts of Africa, including ETHIOPIA, the Sahara, and the SAHEL, as well as areas populated by the Fulani, IGBO, and HAUSA. Although less documentation has been found for its existence in the central and southern regions of Africa, the practice of circumcision has occurred there as well.

For those in Western society, understanding the prevalence and longevity of circumcision has meant looking beyond the dangers of blood loss, trauma, and potential death experienced by women, young boys, and girls. Its proponents have argued that one must take into account the social, cultural, and economic factors of practicing societies; it is these that reportedly account for the longevity of the practice among traditional societies, Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Africa.

Circumcision's many variations reflect conformity to specific social beliefs and values, but it appears to be most predominant in patrilineal societies in which potential bridegrooms and members of their families exercised

a strong influence. For example, in those parts of Egypt, SOMALIA, and neighboring regions in the HORN OF AFRICA where female circumcision is rigidly enforced, the prevailing belief is that it keeps women chaste and pure for marriage. Although there is little fanfare for women who undergo the procedure, it carries significant economic considerations because, unless a young woman is circumcised, she is not "marketable" as a wife. The ramifications for uncircumcised women and their families generally include social isolation and condemnation. Proponents have also cited the presentation of traditional family values as a critical factor in preserving the custom.

Moreover, within traditional societies in which young males and females simultaneously experienced circumcision as a rite of passage, the practice has been viewed by many as a powerful expression of social identity and acceptance. In KENYA, accompanied by a great communal celebration, Akamba children are initiated between the ages of four to seven years. Circumcision is traditionally seen among them as a commitment to the adult world of work and social responsibilities. Similarly, MAASAI males and females had to undergo circumcision before they were even considered adults deemed suitable for marriage or assignment to roles in society. After circumcision these males and females remained symbolically bound together for life within established AGE GROUPS. Those who were uncircumcised remained outside of society, considered neither male or female.

The simplest and most widely practiced form of male circumcision entails the cutting of the foreskin. Among the most extreme variations are two forms of castration. Populations such as the BEJA of Nubia and ETHIOPIA, the Sidamo of Ethiopia, and the SAN and Khoikhoi of SOUTH AFRICA have traditionally practiced unilateral castration. Bilateral castration, practiced by Muslim enslavers, produced a caste of men known as eunuchs who were deemed suitable attendants for female harems.

Female circumcision in its most simple form involves clitoridectomy, or the surgical removal of the clitoris. In some societies, the labia minora and labia majora may also be removed. The most extreme form of female circumcision, practiced in regions such as Somalia, is known as the pharaonic tradition. In Western society it is known as infibulation and entails the removal of the clitoris and both labia. The remaining sides of the vulva are sutured together and remain intact until the young woman's wedding night.

See also: BRIDE-WEALTH (Vol. I); RITES OF PASSAGE (Vol. I); SCARIFICATION (Vol. I).

Further reading: John R. Hinnells, ed., *Dictionary of Religions* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995); John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Oxford, U.K.: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1999); G. Mokhtar, ed., *General History of Africa II Ancient Civilizations of Africa, Abridged Edition* (Paris: UNESCO, 1990); Barbara

G. Walker, *The Woman's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1983).

civets Although often referred to as a civet cat, the civet is not really a feline but belongs to a related family that includes the mongoose. Civets are about 30 inches (76.2 cm) long, not including a 20-inch (50.8-cm) tail. They weigh up to 25 pounds (11.3 kg) and have coats of gray or black fur, which may be marked in different patterns of stripes and spots. Their faces resemble those of weasels.

Civets are solitary animals, usually living alone in trees and rocky hillsides and going out at night for food. Some civets, such as the African civet and the Congo water civet, are semiaquatic. Although most civets live on the ground, palm civets are found in trees and eat fruit. Civets usually give birth to litters of two or three.

Civets are noted for glands, located near their genitals, that give off a musky odor. Although, in nature, these glands are used for marking territory, humans have long used them to manufacture perfume, removing the musk from captive civets every two or three weeks. As a result civets were among the many trade items that caravans, controlled by the empires of GHANA, carried from the NIGER VALLEY to North Africa.

clan Group of related FAMILY members who trace descent from a common ancestor. A clan may be limited to a small geographical area or dispersed across a wide territory, but, invariably, the members of a clan share a strong bond of identity and common origin. Often, that identity is represented by a special emblem or sacred object.

A clan's sense of identity is further determined by observing the rule of exogamy, wherein men and women of the same clan are not allowed to marry. Identity also is reinforced by sharing a common name. Clans may be broken down into LINEAGE groups or into sub-clans, which refer to segments of a clan that have been dispersed throughout a region. The mutual support and unity created by a clan is one of its most important functions. Clans can expand through marriage and thereby strengthen their alliances with other clans.

Clans are formed when family groups become large and members spread to different areas of the same territory. Although larger in size than bands and segmentary societies, family clans may still need to unite for economic or other reasons. Among the Pokot (or Suk, as they sometimes are called) of western KENYA, for example, the clan traditionally regulated marriage and maintained other forms of social control. Clan members who trace their family line to a female ancestor are considered a matriclan. Patriclans are represented by a single male

ancestor. Over centuries, the loyalties of family clans eventually broadened and were replaced by AGE GRADES or SECRET SOCIETIES.

See also: TOTEMISM (Vol. I).

Further reading: William R. Bascomb and Melville J. Herskovits, *Continuity and Change in African Cultures* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975); Daniel G. Bates, *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

Cleopatra (r. 51–30 BCE) *Queen of Egypt and last ruler of the Ptolemaic dynasty*

Celebrated in literature and legend for her extraordinary beauty, Cleopatra was equally celebrated in history for her intelligence, commanding presence, and political skills. Like the other rulers of the Ptolemaic dynasty, she was descended from Ptolemy I, one of the favored generals of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) and the dynasty's founder. Born about 69 BCE, Cleopatra was the daughter of Ptolemy XII Auletes; the identity and ethnic background of her mother are uncertain. Although some historians have suggested that, because of the fairly common mixing of Greek-Macedonian, Middle Eastern, and African bloodlines, Cleopatra probably had a dark-skinned complexion, she, like other Ptolemaic rulers, undoubtedly would have considered herself to be Greek. In spite of this, Cleopatra took an active interest in Egyptian culture and customs, and she was, in fact, the only member of her royal line to actually be fluent in the Egyptian language.

Cleopatra came to the throne at the age of 17 or 18, reigning jointly with her father. Upon his death she first ruled in conjunction with her brother, Ptolemy XIII. Then after his death she ruled with her other brother, Ptolemy XIV, whom she had married according to the Egyptian royal custom of sibling marriages.

During this time EGYPT became embroiled in the political turmoil and civil strife of ROME. Misjudging the situation, Cleopatra, along with factions of the Egyptian court, at first sided with the Roman consul Pompey rather than Pompey's adversary, Gaius Julius CAESAR (c. 100–44 BCE). This misstep led her brother, Ptolemy XIV, to exile her for a period. By the time Caesar visited Egypt, however, Cleopatra had regained her position and was allowed to meet the victorious Roman leader. The resulting affair between the two rulers led to the birth of Cleopatra's son, who eventually bore the name Ptolemy XV Caesarion. In time Cleopatra ruled over Egypt as co-regent with Caesarion, enjoying the security of Caesar's protection until his assassination in 44 BCE.

Determined to keep Egypt from falling under complete foreign domination, upon Caesar's death Cleopatra quickly turned for protection to one of Caesar's protégés, the Roman consul Marc Antony. Their romantic and po-

litical liaison at first proved highly beneficial to both of them. On the one hand, it gave Antony access to Egypt's wealth and resources, which were valuable to him while he was consolidating his power and pursuing his ambitions in Rome. On the other hand, it gave Cleopatra support in her campaign to extend Egypt's borders and to maintain its independence.

Marc Antony, following Roman custom, killed himself by falling on his sword. The cause of Cleopatra's death, however, is less certain. According to popular legend, she died of a snake bite, having clasped to her breast a highly poisonous snake known as an asp. Some historians argue, though, that the actual cause of her death may have simply been some form of poison. Regardless of exactly how the two met their ends, the victorious Octavian had the lovers buried together in a single mausoleum in the city of ALEXANDRIA.

The grand designs of both Antony and Cleopatra, however, came to an end at the battle of Actium, where, in 31 BCE, Antony was decisively defeated by the forces of Octavian, later known as Augustus CAESAR (63 BCE–14 CE). Eventually, both Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide rather than face the humiliation of defeat.

Further reading: Michel Chauveau, *Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

climate Africa's various climactic regions reflect its location in the tropical zone. Still, within Africa's relatively uniform climate are deserts, grasslands, and rich tropical forests. These changes in terrain and climate have long affected the lives of Africans. In ancient times climate determined where Africans chose to live, their way of life, their language, and even their religious beliefs.

Climatic Zones Generally, a symmetric pattern of climatic zones extends both north and south from the equator. The equatorial tropical RAIN FOREST regions in central Africa are bordered to the north and south by savanna grassland, which is bounded by the desert. In the extreme northwest and southwest of Africa is a region of mild, Mediterranean-type climate. There are also a few mountainous regions.

The rain forest climate can be found in the central part of the continent and the eastern coast of MADAGASCAR. The average temperature in this area is about 80° F (26.7° C), and the average annual rainfall is about 70 inches (1,78 cm).

North and south of the rain forest are belts of tropical savanna climate. Here, the temperatures remain high year-round. Rain falls during the summer season. These areas consist of open grasslands dotted occasionally with trees like acacias and BAOBABS.

Past the savanna lands are arid, desert climates. Less than 10 inches (25 cm) of rain fall annually in the SAHARA DESERT in the north, in the HORN OF AFRICA in the east, and the KALAHARI DESERT and Namib Desert in the southwest. In the Sahara temperatures vary depending on the time of day and season. The highest temperatures are in July, when the average temperature is over 90° F (32.2° C). During the Saharan winter, the temperature can fall below freezing at night.

In the north and northwest—MOROCCO, ALGERIA, and TUNISIA—and in the far southwest of Africa, the climate is typically mild and wet during the winter and warm and dry during the summer.

A mountain climatic region is found in parts of ETHIOPIA, East Africa, and the ATLAS MOUNTAINS in Morocco. The weather is warm and temperate. On the highest peaks, like Mount KILIMANJARO, snow can be found.

Impact on People Climate had a tremendous influence on the migration of ancient peoples. Areas of present-day TUNISIA were populated by HUNTER-GATHERERS known as the Capsian people around 10,000 BCE. The dry, open country of North Africa was ideal for hunting, and it led them to migrate north to influence the Ibero-Maurusian group of present-day Algeria and east to the Gulf of Sidra.

The proximity of desert, Mediterranean, and mountain climates in North Africa has led to a concentration of people leading different ways of life. While Roman North Africans led sedentary, agricultural lives, the BERBERS in the Atlas Mountains lived as NOMADS, tending sheep and CATTLE. In the deserts, Arabs soon began trading along CARAVAN ROUTES. Their proximity to one another allowed for trade and the exchange of ideas and cultures.

In contrast, the densely forested regions of the interior of Guinea led to less migration and a later development of trade than in the sudanic belt south of the Sahara. Due to the relative isolation the boundaries of the forest promoted many distinct cultures and languages, although the languages all belonged to the family of NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES. Also, rather than the grain-based AGRICULTURE of the savanna, the people of the forest relied on root and tree crop agriculture. Perhaps as early as 8000 BCE the people along the savanna fringe of the forest began planting YAMS, which were to become the principal FOOD crop. They also utilized palm trees for producing palm oil and raffia cloth. They lacked DOMESTICATED ANIMALS except for the guineafowl. As they began to use the polished stone axes of the NEOLITHIC AGE, agriculturalists moved deeper into the forests, for they were able to clear land for their yams and palm trees, which required sunlight. Also, by early in the first millennium CE the arrival of Asian crops that could grow in the shade, like the plantain

and COCOYAM, led to the further expansion of farming in the forests. Hunting and gathering also continued to be important.

The climate has also affected the religious beliefs of Africans. For example, once the necessary tools were available to farm the tropical forests of West Africa, these areas became quite heavily populated and supported fairly urban civilizations. Consequently, the religious beliefs found there were based on their states and their rulers. Kings of city-states were associated with gods, good luck, and fertility. In East Africa, however, the temperate grasslands supported cattle herding and a more rural way of life. As a result East African religious beliefs centered around the worship of sky divinities who were associated with their ancestors.

See also: GEOGRAPHY (Vol. I); INTERTROPICAL CONVERGENCE ZONE (Vol. I).

Further reading: Colin Buckle, *Weather and Climate in Africa* (Harlow, UK: 1996); L. A. Lewis and L. Berry, *African Environments and Resources* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988).

cloth and textiles

Cloth and textiles used for clothing, blankets, bandages, burial shrouds, and tents have been produced since the beginning of civilization. One of the earliest known fabrics of human manufacture was linen, which was made from flax, a long-stemmed plant that grew along the NILE RIVER. Ancient Egyptians made linen as early as 5000 BCE. First, the flax was pulled from the ground and retted, or soaked, in water. The fibers were then separated from the stems and beaten until they were soft. These fibers were next twisted into thread that was woven into linen on a loom. The ancient Egyptians used linen for everything from the robes and loincloths they wore to the bandages in which they wrapped their mummies.

Elsewhere in Africa nomadic Bedouins used the hair of domesticated GOATS and sheep to weave the tents in which they lived. Strips of coarse cloth known as *fala'if* made from this animal hair were then sewn together into a long rectangular shape and supported by tent poles. These tents were lightweight and easily taken down.

The BERBERS of North Africa also used animal hair and wool to weave tents and carpets. These textiles were often dyed with roots and herbs and featured intricately woven symbols that were meant to scare away evil spirits.

The ASHANTI people of GHANA and the Kuba people of the CONGO BASIN were also renowned for their intricate textiles woven from palm fibers. The best-known Ashanti cloth is called *kente* and is worn at various ceremonies.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

clothing and dress

As elsewhere, humans in Africa developed clothing in response to the environment and the availability of resources. For HUNTER-GATHERERS like the forest-dwelling MBUTI of central Africa, tree bark offered an ample supply of materials for clothing. Similarly, the raffia palm tree, which is indigenous to central and West Africa, supplied an early source of clothing for people living in those areas. Men were the primary weavers. Other early forms of natural fibers used for clothing were jute, wild silk plants, and flax. Silk cultivators and users included the HAUSA, ASHANTI, YORUBA, and Nupe.

Pastoralist societies tended to wear animal skins supplied by their herds. These skins were scraped and cut into forms after being dried and treated. One of the earliest known prehistoric cave paintings, found in Bechar in ALGERIA, for example, depicts men wearing animal skins and coats made of feathers. The BORAN OROMO of ETHIOPIA and the MAASAI of KENYA also utilized their herds to make leather garments.

In the colder, mountain climates of North Africa, pastoralist groups such as the BERBERS coupled the use of animal skins with fur to create clothing that provided warmth. The fur was woven into a variety of woolen-like items ranging from clothing to tents, blankets, and rugs. It has long been the custom of women in this region to wear shawls known as *mouchitya* as a sign of their marital status. Similarly, in the ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS, men and women have long worn *awollos,* or shawls, made of woven grass to protect them from the cold.

The earliest known cultivation of plant fibers used to weave cloth in Africa has been traced to EGYPT between 4000 and 3000 BCE. Along with animal skins, sedentary societies such as the Tasian culture, BADARIAN CULTURE, and NAQADA I cultivated flax. Although it is not certain what type of device was used to weave or spin the material, archaeologists have recovered bone needles that clearly were used for sewing. Looms were certainly present by Egypt's dynastic period, from which there are wall reliefs depicting looms in use. Needles, in use as early as the OLD KINGDOM (c. 2705–c. 2213 BCE), were made of COPPER. These and other findings, such as the linen burial cloths found in ancient tombs, indicate that production of cloth was firmly entrenched during this period. However, stylized dress was reserved for the upper classes.

There is some debate as to whether the tight-fitting sheaths depicted in Egyptian art were worn by all women or only by goddesses and religious figures. More generally it is believed that by 1550 BCE, during the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1590–1070 BCE), clothing for both males and females had evolved to fuller garments known as a *kalasiris.* Women wore this garment supported by shoulder straps or bodices with sleeves, while men wore this form of clothing from the waist down. During an earlier period, men were known to wear kilt-like garments that fell to the knee and sometimes to the calf. In contrast, Egyptian laborers apparently wore a form of apron, while children and servants appear to have worn little if any

clothing. Forms of dress in the neighboring kingdom of MEROË were comparable to those of Egyptians.

Stylized cloth was associated with the rise of early kingdoms that also pushed new forms of expression. Embroidery, appliqué, and other forms of embellishment with BEADS, COWRIE SHELLS, and GOLD threads made specialized forms of cloth a coveted luxury reserved for ruling kings. Specialized cloth, such as the raffia cloth made by the Kuba people, was also used to make specific statements about regional culture and FAMILY LINEAGE by using proverbs and designs of animals and plants. Cloth of this type became an essential component in royal ceremonies, FESTIVALS, masquerades, and ritual work.

Many ancient forms of cloth production served significant functions in modern African society, although with limited use. Bark cloth made by the Mbuti, for example, traditionally was only worn at such sacred events as funerals, ceremonial dances, and INITIATION RITES. Beyond this, male TUAREGS have long worn indigo veils and robes to announce their status as adults.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); CLOTHING AND DRESS (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Mary Jo Arnoldi, Christraud M. Geary, and Kris L. Hardin, eds., *African Material Culture* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1996).

cobras African cobras include ringhals, which inhabit the southern part of the continent, and tree cobras, which are found along the equator. The Egyptian cobra, which is native to EGYPT, is identifiable by its small, flat face and rounded snout. It can grow up to 8 feet (2.4 m) long. In ancient Egypt, cobras were associated with the snake goddess BUTO, who was often depicted as a snake coiled around a PAPYRUS roll. According to Egyptian legend, Buto helped nurse the god HORUS when he was born. She also protected him from his treacherous uncle SETH, who killed Horus's father, OSIRIS. Buto was believed to be the protector of Egyptian royalty. As a result Egyptian kings wore a depiction of the cobra on their crowns.

cocoyam (taro) Tuberous root plants generally grown in the forest regions of Africa. Known as the "Asian yam" or taro, cocoyams were first imported from Asia sometime during the first century CE. They entered Africa by way of southeastern trade routes, transported by Malaysian or Polynesian sailors from the South Pacific. These seafarers subsequently settled on the island of Madagascar by the second century, and some historians believe the crop spread from this point. Others hold that the cocoyam was present in Africa at an earlier period, pointing to many myths that relate to its existence. It also was carried overland from South Asia into North Africa, having been noted in EGYPT as early as 500 BCE.

Among the many African myths dealing with YAMS and cocoyams is one that has long been told among the IGBO. In it the Igbo's founding king sacrifices his children, a boy and a girl, whose burial results in the first yam and cocoyam.

The assignment of female qualities to cocoyams, which are a prominent FOOD staple, carried over to the role of gender in their cultivation. For centuries, the cocoyam has provided a notable source of income for women farmers in Africa. Successful harvests not only provided subsistence for the woman's FAMILY but also promoted cooperative marketing strategies.

Further reading: Ralph Austen, *African Economic History* (London: James Currey, 1996).

coelacanth Ancient lobe-finned fish known to inhabit the waters off the southern coast of Africa. Based on fossilized remains, scientists have determined that the coelacanth was a likely ancestor of some early forms of land vertebrates hundreds of millions of years ago. This assumption is based on the coelacanth's unique physical characteristics. Its body, which may range in color from blue to brown, is notable for its lobes. (Lobes are the rounded, fleshy projections attached to fins and tail, which give this species the appearance of "walking" on limbs or feet.) Coelacanths have been measured at a mere 6 inches (15 cm) and up to 5 feet (150 cm) in length. They may weigh as much as 150 pounds (67.5 kg) or more.

For many years fossilized remains served as the only record of the coelacanth's existence. Scientists assumed that the coelacanth had become extinct approximately 60 million years ago. These beliefs were revised after in 1938, when it was discovered that the species was flourishing in the southeast region of the Indian Ocean, near SOUTH AFRICA, MADAGASCAR, and COMOROS. In fact, for centuries it has been part of the regional diet. (It is generally dried and salted before consumption.)

Comoros (Comoro Islands) Archipelago situated in the western Indian Ocean between the northern tip of the island of MADAGASCAR and the coast of East Africa. Its four major islands are Njazidja, Mwali, Nzwani (Anjouan), and Maore, which is also known as Mayotte. The islands are noted for unusual wildlife, including Livingstone's flying fox, a giant fruit bat found nowhere else in the world, and the COELACANTH, a fish once thought to have been extinct for millions of years.

See also: COMOROS (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Congo basin Area in tropical western Central Africa that is drained by the CONGO RIVER. The basin covers 1,600,000 square miles (4,100,000 sq km) and occupies most of the present-day countries of Democratic Republic of the CONGO and the Republic of the CONGO, as well as parts of ANGOLA, northeastern ZAMBIA, and southern CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. The basin is made up of an intricate system of tributaries and channels surrounded by dense tropical RAIN FOREST. In ancient times, the area was inhabited by the forebears of the small-statured MBUTI people and, later, by Bantu-speaking peoples.

The Congo basin extends over 1,200 miles (1,931 km) from north to south, about the same distance it also covers running from the Atlantic in the west to the Nile-Congo watershed and Lake TANGANYIKA in the east. This basin is made up of a system of tributaries flowing downward along concentric slopes. These slopes surround a depression known as a cuvette, a sunken area containing alluvial deposits lying on sand and sandstone.

Due to its location straddling the equator, the climate of the Congo basin is hot and humid, with an average temperature of about 76° F (24° C) in northern parts of the basin. In this region it rains throughout the year, with an average of about 67 inches (175 cm) of rainfall annually. The savanna territory of the southern region is dryer. This area has distinct dry and wet seasons and averages 49 inches (125 cm) of rainfall a year.

The earliest known reference to the Congo basin occurs in ancient Egyptian records. Around 2000 BCE the Egyptian commander HARKHUF visited this region, known to Egyptians as the Land of Trees, and wrote of a "mysterious place with forests so dense they were as dark as night in the middle of the day." Harkhuf also claimed to have discovered a race of small-statured men who sang and danced to their god. These tiny men, who apparently were the region's first inhabitants, became known to outsiders as the PYGMIES. Growing to an average height of about 4.5 feet (1.5 m), they survived by hunting, FISHING, and gathering wild fruits and edible plants. They lived in shelters made of brush deep in the jungle.

Between 500 and 150 BCE, iron was introduced to this area. A trade route was established from Koro Toro in the north to the Likouala region, located between the Sangha River and the UBANGI RIVER. About the same time, the region began to be inhabited by various Bantu-speaking peoples, who fished and farmed near the river. In medieval times, the Congo region was dominated by various empires that often traded such goods as COPPER and ivory.

See also: CONGO (Vol. III); CONGO BASIN (Vol. II).

Congo, Democratic Republic of the (Congo-Kinshasa; formerly Zaire) Western Central African country, approximately 905,400 square miles (2,345,000 sq km) in size and occupying the larger portion of the CONGO BASIN. To the north lie the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC and the Republic of the SUDAN, to the east lie UGANDA, RWANDA, BURUNDI, TANZANIA, and ZAMBIA, which, along with ANGOLA, also runs along the southern border. The Congo has a narrow outlet to the Atlantic at the mouth of the CONGO RIVER, which along with the UBANGI RIVER constitutes its western border with the Republic of the CONGO. The extensive river system has facilitated transportation and the movement of peoples and goods for several millennia. Approximately half of Africa's tropical forests are in the Congo, and these are its principal ecological feature. Transitional woodlands lie to the north and south of the RAIN FOREST, while the southernmost area consists of savanna grasslands and light woodlands. The Mitumba Mountain Range runs along the country's eastern edge, bordering the RIFT VALLEY.

The earliest clear evidence of human habitation in the area dates from the middle phase of the STONE AGE, which lasted from c. 1.5 million to 40,000 BCE. Archaeological discoveries of ACHEULEAN TOOLKIT sites in the southern savanna regions provide concrete evidence of the Middle Stone Age populations. This population evolved into the Late Stone Age, which emerged somewhat after 40,000 BCE. This way of life continued to remain viable until the first phase of the BANTU EXPANSION led to the spread of agriculturalists along the northern edge of the rain forest in the latter part of the second millennium BCE.

Following this expansion of the North branch of the Bantu peoples the West Bantu expansion took place southward into the rain forests of the Congo Basin and then into the light woodlands of the southern savanna. Here the YAMS and palm trees that the West Bantu brought with them could readily grow. Much of the initial movement was along the rivers of the Congo basin, which allowed for movement through what because of its heavy cover of rain forest, would have been an inhospitable region for farmers and herders. It was only with the arrival of the banana as a major FOOD crop, perhaps around 500 CE, that the Bantu-speaking farmers could establish themselves in the deep forest. Until that time, Late Stone Age HUNTER-GATHERERS, such as the ancestors of the MBUTI (sometimes referred to as PYGMIES) continued as the dominant population of the rain forests.

The Bantu occupation of the open southern savanna grasslands was facilitated when people belonging to the East Bantu group moved westward, bringing with them the grain crops and CATTLE of East Africa and merging with people of the West Bantu group. They also brought new technology for iron working. By about 500 CE the migration of the Bantu into the southern savanna had come to an end. The nuclei of farming villages began to grow as their inhabitants developed agricultural techniques adapted to their surroundings. Along with population growth came the beginnings of incipient state structures.

Because of the wide variability in soil and rainfall patterns, however, the population remained unevenly distributed, affecting the rate of social and cultural change.

See also: CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ZAÏRE (Vol. V).

Congo River   Africa's second longest river, after the NILE RIVER, and one of the longest in the world; located in west-central Africa, primarily between the present-day countries of Republic of the CONGO and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO (formerly ZAÏRE). The Congo extends about 2,900 miles (4,640 km), ranging in width from 0.5 to 10 miles (.8 to 16 km). It rises in the highlands of northeastern ZAMBIA between Lake TANGANYIKA and Lake Nyasa (Malawi), where it is known as the Chambeshi River, at an elevation of 5,760 feet (9,216 m) above sea level and at a distance of about 430 miles (688 km) from the Indian Ocean. Formed by the junction of the Lualaba and Luvua rivers in the southern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Congo River flows generally north to a point just south of the equator, where the Lualaba becomes the Congo River proper. From this point the course of the river resembles a huge irregular arc, looping northeast, northwest, and southwest to an outlet between Banana in Congo and Sharks in ANGOLA, on the coast of the South Atlantic Ocean.

Like South America's Amazon River, the Congo flows out of an equatorial zone in which heavy rainfall occurs almost all year. Upstream from Malebo Pool, the Congo basin receives an average of about 60 inches (15.25 m) of rain a year, of which more than one-fourth is discharged into the Atlantic. The drainage basin of the Congo, however, is only about half the size of that of the Amazon, and its rate of flow is considerably less than that of the Amazon.

More than 4,000 islands, including about 50 that are more than 10 miles (16 km) in length, are situated in the Congo River. With its numerous tributaries, which also include the Aruwimi, Kasai, and Lomami Rivers, the Congo is the main artery of TRANSPORTATION in central Africa and drains the central African equatorial basin, an area of more than 1.6 million square miles (4.16 million sq km). This drainage basin includes most of Republic of the Congo and the Democratic Republic of Congo, as well as northern Angola, western Zambia and Tanzania, and the southern part of CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. It is the most clearly distinguished of the various geographic depressions situated between the Sahara, the Atlantic Ocean, and the lakes of East Africa.

The Three Sections of the River   From its sources to its mouth, the Congo River system has three contrasting sections. The first, the upper Congo, is characterized by confluences of lakes and rapids. At first, several streams unite to form the river. Then, after about 60 miles

(96 km), the upper Lualaba, Luvua, and Lukuga rivers merge. Each stream undergoes some type of expansion, even when it does not form a lake. Rapids occur not only along the head streams but also several times along the course of the main stream. Navigation is possible along some sections of the upper Congo, but only for vessels of low tonnage.

The second section, the middle Congo, flows steadily for more than 1,000 miles (1,600 km) to within 22 miles (35 km) of Kinshasa. Its course is narrow at first, but it soon grows wider, after which islands occur in midstream. This change in the character of the river corresponds to its entry into its alluvial plain. From that point onward, with the exception of a few rare narrow sections, the Congo divides into several arms, separated by strings of islands. It increases from a width of 3.5 miles (6 km) downstream from Isangi to widths of up to 8 miles (13 km). Beyond the natural silt levees occurring on either bank, some areas are subjected to extensive flooding that increases the river's bounds still further. The middle course of the Congo ends in a narrow section called the Chenal.

The Congo's third section begins upon leaving the Chenal. There the Congo divides into two branches, forming Malebo Pool, a vast area about 15 miles (24 km) by 17 miles (27 km). Immediately downstream are the first waterfalls of the of the river's final section. Cataracts and rapids are grouped into two series, separated by a fairly calm central reach, in which the altitude drops from a little less than 900 feet (270 m) to a few yards above sea level. The Congo's estuary begins at Matadi, downstream from the rapids that close off the interior Congo. With a length of 83 miles (133 km), it forms the border between present-day Angola and Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa). At first the estuary is narrow, with a central channel 65 to 80 feet (104 to 128 m) deep, widening again downstream of Boma. There the river, obstructed by islands, divides into several arms. In some places the depth does not exceed 20 to 25 feet (30 to 40 m), which makes dredging necessary to allow oceangoing vessels to reach Matadi. Beyond the estuary's mouth, the course of the Congo continues offshore as a deep underwater canyon that extends for a distance of about 125 miles (200 km).

Navigability on the Congo is limited by a series of 32 cataracts over the river's lower course, including the famous Inga Falls. These cataracts make it impossible to navigate the Congo between the seaport of Matadi, at the head of the Congo estuary, and Malebo Pool, a distance of about 250 miles (400 km). Below Matadi, however, where the Congo estuary begins, the river is navigable to the sea, a distance of approximately 83 miles (133 km). The only obstacle to navigation on the upper Congo are the cataracts near Kisangani. Between Kisangani and Kinshasa, at the northern terminus of the cataracts, the

river is navigable to all river craft. Many vessels have regular schedules on this route, as well as on most Congo tributaries. This helps the Congo form the continent's largest network of navigable waterways, amounting to 9,000 miles (14,400 km).

Climate and Animal Life The equatorial climate that prevails over a significant part of the Congo basin is coextensive with a dense evergreen forest that spreads out over the central depression. The forest region is bordered on either side by savanna, and the forest and savanna often meet.

Animal life in the Congo basin is close to that of the equatorial forest, which is sharply distinct from the wildlife of the savannas. Numerous species of fish live in the waters of the Congo, with more than 230 identified in the waters of Malebo Pool and its tributaries alone. The swamps often dry up at low water and are inhabited by lungfish, which survive the dry periods buried and encysted in cocoons of mucus. The waters of the Congo itself also contain various kinds of reptiles, with crocodiles being the most striking species. Semi-aquatic tortoises are to be found as well, as are several species of water snakes.

More than 265 species of birds typical of the equatorial forest have been recorded in the Congo region. Occasionally or seasonally, however, atypical birds may be seen, including such seabirds as the sea swallow, which fly upstream from the ocean. Migratory birds from Europe, including the blongios heron and the *Ixobrychus minutus* (little bittern), pass through the region, too. Species with a wide distribution within Africa, such as the Egyptian duck, also have been noted.

Aquatic mammals such as HIPPOPOTAMUSES, otters, and manatees are present but are rare. The manatee has been officially identified only on the Sangha tributary, but it appears to have given rise to legends of a siren-like creature called Mami Wata.

See also: CONGO (Vol. III); CONGO BASIN (Vol. II); MAMI WATA (Vol. IV).

copper Reddish, extremely ductile metal that is an unusually good conductor of electricity. Copper is found in a free metallic state, and, in Africa, this is how it was discovered and first used by neolithic peoples around 8000 BCE. The source of much of this copper was—and still is—the rich veins of ore found in present-day ZAMBIA. This belt extends about 280 miles (448 km) northwest from present-day city of Luanshya, in Zambia, into what is now the Katanga region of Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Up to 160 miles (256 km) wide, this area contains more than one-tenth of the world's copper deposits.

Using copper as a substitute for stone, ancient peoples fashioned crude hammers, knives, and other utensils.

The malleability of the material made it relatively simple to shape by beating. Pounding hardened the copper so that more durable edges resulted. Copper's bright reddish color and its durability made it highly prized.

The search for copper during this early period led to the discovery and working of native copper deposits. Sometime after 6000 BCE people discovered that copper could be melted in a campfire and cast into a desired shape. After this came the discovery of copper-bearing rock and the process of using fire to reduce the ore to metal. This was the dawn of the age of METALS and the birth of METALLURGY.

In EGYPT, where graves have been found containing copper weapons and other implements, this metallic age began sometime between 5000 and 4000 BCE. At Gerza, just south of the modern site of CAIRO, the inhabitants learned basic copper metallurgy from immigrants from MESOPOTAMIA. By about 3500 BCE the Gerzeans had developed an entire civilization based on copper metallurgy. During this same period Nubians also were fabricating instruments made of copper.

Around 3500 BCE, copper was intentionally alloyed with tin to produce bronze, which was both harder and tougher than either copper or tin. For this reason it was widely employed for both weapons and objects of ART. From Egypt, the use of bronze rapidly spread across the Mediterranean to Europe, and the period of the metal's extensive and characteristic use has been designated the BRONZE AGE.

As copper became more important to them, the ancient Egyptians sought copper, as well as GOLD and antimony, in the land of PUNT. Although the exact location of Punt is unknown, it probably was along the mouth of the ZAMBEZI RIVER, where the gold obtained, even today, has a distinctive greenish tint, probably due to impurities of copper and antimony.

Unlike northern Africa, central Africa had no specific Bronze Age. Instead, in the last millennium BCE, central African peoples discovered the value of copper during what was, for them, the IRON AGE. These peoples prized copper for its luster and color, using it extensively for personal JEWELRY—bangles, chains, necklaces, hair ornaments, and rings. These objects were given to loved ones as well as to important personages, and were made with great craftsmanship. Copper also was used to beautify personal belongings, and copper-inlaid decorations appeared on knife handles. Fine copper wire was used to bind spearheads to shafts, and burnished copper nails were used as embellishments on shields. Copper was also used in works of art used to furnish the graves of important people.

The demand for fresh copper grew with each succeeding generation, particularly as the development of new political authorities led to the need for court regalia for kings and chiefs. Copper was also used for the musical instruments that accompanied kings and their nobles

on their sojourns around their domains. Not surprisingly, during this period copper frequently became more valuable than gold.

See also: BRONZE (Vol. II); COPPER (Vols. II. IV); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); COPPER MINES (Vol. II).

Further reading: Eugenia W. Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa: Copper in Pre-colonial History and Culture* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

Coptic The last form of the language of the ancient Egyptians, which evolved when EGYPT was converted to CHRISTIANITY. After the conquest of Egypt by ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE) in 332 BCE, Greek replaced ancient Egyptian as the official language of the country. While the Egyptian population continued to write and speak the ancient dialects, the advent of Christianity created the necessity of translating the Hebrew scriptures and Christian gospels into a language the common people could easily understand. This was resolved by creating a script for ancient Egyptian utilizing a combination of the Greek alphabet and a few letters from DEMOTIC script. As a result Coptic played an important role in the development of Christianity in Egypt, remaining the liturgical language of Egyptian Christians for centuries.

Copts Name by which the Christians of EGYPT are known. The word *Copt* is derived from an Arabic distortion of the Greek word *Aigyptos,* which itself is a corruption of the ancient Egyptian name for the city of MEMPHIS, *Ha-Ka-Ptah.*

According to the Coptic tradition, Christianity was brought to Egypt in 61 by St. Mark the Evangelist, a disciple of Jesus. During the next two centuries, the new RELIGION rapidly gained acceptance throughout the country. The center of Coptic Christianity was ALEXANDRIA, the city founded by ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE) after his conquest of Egypt in 332 BCE.

The Coptic Church contributed considerably to early Christian thought, producing such well-known theologians as St. Athanasius (c. 293–373) and St. Cyril the Great, who was head, or patriarch, of the Egyptian Church from 412 to 444 CE. St. Anthony (c. 251–356), the founder of Christian monasticism in the East, was another major figure of the church in Egypt during that time. Later, dur-
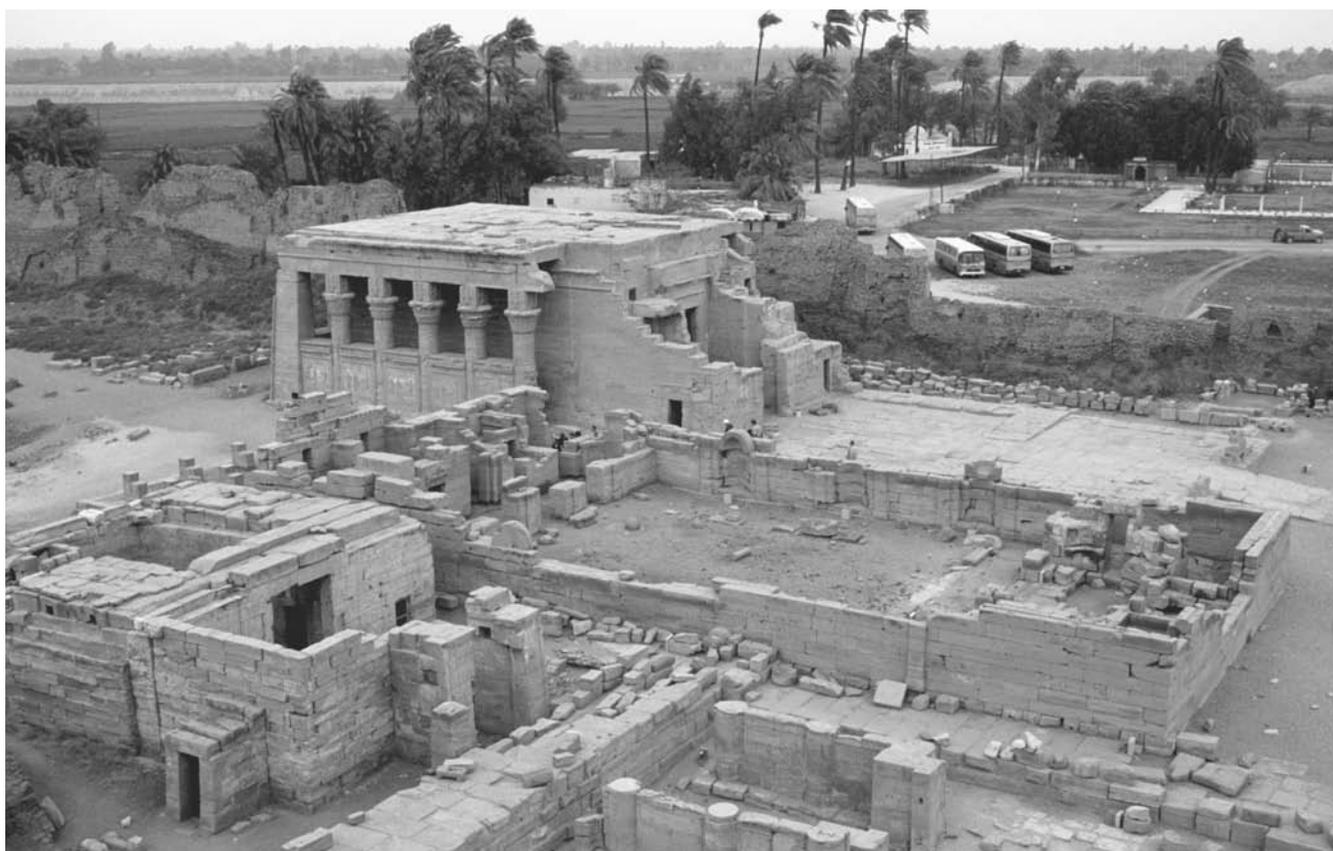
The shrine celebrating the divine birth of Thirtieth Dynasty pharaoh Nectanebo I (r. c. 380–362 BCE) or Nectanebo II (r. 360–c. 343 BCE) at Dendara, north of Luxor, was reconsecrated as an Egyptian Coptic church by the fifth century CE. *© Vanni Archive/Corbis*

ing the fourth century, it was Coptic missionaries who were responsible for introducing Christianity to ETHIOPIA.

The Coptic Church still exists today in modern Egypt. Though a minority within a Muslim country, the Copts continue to practice their Christian faith, viewing themselves as direct descendants of the ancient Egyptians. Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, secretary-general of the United Nations from 1992 to 1997, is but one of many Copts to figure prominently in the modern world.

In 451 the Coptic Church separated from the rest of Christendom following a theological dispute concerning the divinity of Christ. Known as the MONOPHYSITE Controversy, or Monophysite Heresy, this resulted in an independent national church. Although it was isolated from most of the Christian world, the Coptic Church continued to flourish on its own until Egypt was conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century.

See also: COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II).

Further reading: Christian Cannuyer, *Coptic Egypt: The Christians of the Nile* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001); Barbara Watterson, *Coptic Egypt* (Edinburgh, U.K.: Scottish Academic Press, 1988).

cotton Soft, white, fibrous substance taken from the tropical plants of the *Gossypium* genus. Cotton was one of the first textile fibers manufactured by humans. Production seems to have been developed by the ancient Indus civilization between 5000 and 3000 BCE. By around 2500 BCE, the craft had developed enough that ancient Egyptians were wearing cotton clothing.

Although cotton originated outside of Africa, it ultimately bore a strong connection to the continent. Woven cloth cotton appeared by about 3000 BCE at Mohenjo-Daro, in the ancient Indus civilization. How-ever, scholars have determined that the plant used to make the cotton of Mohenjo-Daro originated in the KALAHARI DESERT of southern Africa, where it still grows today. Botanists are unsure how this plant appeared thousands of miles away in another civilization, but they suspect that the cotton plant was cultivated in Africa before its arrival in the Indus Valley. There is also archaeological evidence of cotton textiles in the middle NILE VALLEY by 5000 BCE.

Traditionally cotton has been woven by African craftspeople using elaborate looms, including the vertical cotton loom and the horizontal fixed-heddle loom, a device that is still used in MADAGASCAR today.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); COTTON (Vols. II, III, IV).

cowrie shells Brightly colored shells that served as one of the earliest forms of money in ancient Africa. Cowrie shells are the oldest and most widely used currency in human history, having been used before the introduction of coins (c. 600 BCE). Before cowrie shells, the barter system and CATTLE were used in business transactions.

Cowrie shells were valued for their beauty and the difficulty in obtaining them. The Kuba people of Central Africa built vast trade networks that allowed them to obtain cowrie shells from distant places. The Ghana Empire, which controlled many of the trade routes in West Africa, also traded cowrie shells. Cowrie shells were not just used for trade and currency, however; they also were used as ornaments. The Nupe, for example, used them to decorate cloth MASKS, and some of the peoples of ETHIOPIA used cowrie shells to decorate their baskets.

Cowrie shells belong to the marine snails of the Cypraeidae family that flourish in the tropical waters of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Thick and humped, the shells are often glossy and speckled. The variety of shell most commonly used as currency was a small yellow and white type known as the money cowrie.

See also: MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vol. I).

Crete Island in the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, located southeast of mainland GREECE. Crete is long and narrow, with an area of 3,190 square miles (8,262 sq km). The island developed one of the earliest civilizations in human history. By 3000 BCE Crete was part of the early Minoan civilization that produced exquisite POTTERY, SCULPTURE, painting, and metalwork. During this time Crete established trading links with northern Africa. Ancient records show that traders from EGYPT imported both Cretan cedar and oil (products that were used in the preparation of mummies), while Cretan baskets, pottery, and JEWELRY were traded for goods from areas in northwestern Africa.

By the IRON AGE (c. 1200 BCE) Crete was controlled by the mainland Greeks known as the Mycenaeans. In 67 BCE the Roman Empire conquered Crete. Under Roman rule the island was linked with the Greek civilization of Cyrenaica in North Africa. It later became part of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires.

crocodiles One of the largest living reptiles, generally recognized by its long triangular snout. Widely found in Africa, from EGYPT to SOUTH AFRICA and from MAURITANIA to ETHIOPIA, the Nile crocodile (*Crocodylus niloticus*) is divided into several subspecies: the East African crocodile

(*C.n. africanus),* the West African crocodile (*C.n. chamses*), the South African crocodile (*C.n. corviei*), the Ethiopian Nile crocodile (*C.n. niloticus*), the Kenyan Nile crocodile (*C.n. pauciscutatus*), and the Central African crocodile (*C.n. suchus*).

Some humans eat crocodile eggs and prize their skins. In certain regions of Africa humans also eat crocodile meat. In ancient Egypt the crocodile was revered by certain sects and was represented by Sobek, the crocodile god of fertility. Worship of this crocodile deity was particularly prevalent in the province of Fayoum. Mummies of crocodiles have been found in excavations of Egyptian tombs.

crows Black birds belonging to the same family of animals as the raven and the magpie. The pied crow, which is found in tropical Africa, is distinguished by its white nape and breast. According to the FOLKLORE of the SAN, the bird's white patch comes from a lump of fat. It seems that when San did not return promptly from a long day of hunting, their wives would tie a piece of fat onto the birds and then send them out in search of the men. Although the fat is mentioned in many versions of the tale, its exact purpose is debated. Some versions state that the fat was intended for the bird to eat as it conducted its search; others declare that it was meant to feed the hungry hunters.

Cyrene Greek city in North Africa. Cyrene was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Cyrenaica (c. seventh to fourth century BCE), located in a fertile region rich in natural resources. The city was established in an eroded river valley at 2,000 feet (610 m) above sea level and named after a nearby spring, Kyre.

Located in present-day LIBYA, Cyrene was founded in 631 BCE by a group of settlers from the island of Thera in the Aegean Sea. The settlers were led by Battus, whose descendants ruled Cyrenaica for eight generations. During the reign of the Battiads, Cyrene thrived economically, as it often traded with other Greek cities. The Battiad dynasty expanded their kingdom to include the port city of Apolliana and the towns of Barje and Euhesperides.

Sobek, the Egyptian crocodile god, is sometimes depicted as a crocodile and sometimes as a human with the head of a crocodile, as in this bas-relief from the Temple of Sobek and Horus (C. 205–180 BCE) in Kom Ombo, Egypt. © *Gian Berto Vanni/Corbis*

About 440 BCE the city became a democracy. Then, in the fourth century BCE, Cyrene surrendered to ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE) and fell under the rule of Egypt's Ptolemaic Dynasty. Under Ptolemaic rule Cyrene became a center of learning, featuring great scholars and a medical school. In 96 BCE Cyrene became part of the Roman Empire. The city continued to flourish as the capital of a Roman province that also included CRETE. Cyrene declined in the first half of the first millennium before ceasing to exist after its conquest by Muslims around 64 CE.

D

Danakil Depression   Basin area in the DANAKIL DESERT, between northern ETHIOPIA and southeastern ERITREA; like the Danakil Desert, it has long been populated by the nomadic AFAR people, who migrated there from the ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS. The Danakil Depression is one of the lowest places on earth not covered by water, lying about 400 feet (116 m) below sea level at some points. It is part of the Great RIFT VALLEY, a geological fault system extending from the Jordan Valley in southwest Asia to MOZAMBIQUE in southeast Africa.

Like the rest of the Danakil Desert, the Danakil Depression was formed after the evaporation of an inland sea. The depression is a triangular basin made up of SALT pans and active volcanoes, which separate the Danakil Desert from the RED SEA. The CLIMATE of the Danakil Depression is hot and arid: Temperatures reach 120° F (49° C) and the depression receives less than 7 inches (18 cm) of rain fall annually. The landscape is rocky, with little VEGETATION or wildlife.

Danakil Desert   Desert lowland area lying between northern ETHIOPIA and southeastern ERITREA, bordering DJIBOUTI. Also known as the Afar Plain or Danakil Plain, the Danakil Desert is part of the Great RIFT VALLEY, a geological fault system extending from the Jordan Valley, in southwest Asia, to MOZAMBIQUE, in southeast Africa.

A rocky desert area, the Danakil has little VEGETATION or wildlife. It reaches temperatures of 120° F (49° C) and receives less than 7 inches (18 cm) of rain per year. The desert runs 350 miles (570 km) from north to south, while widening from 50 to 250 miles (80 to 400 km). Active volcanoes, often called the Danakil Alps, separate

the desert from the RED SEA to the north and east. The ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS border the desert to the west.

The Danakil Desert was once a sea that has now evaporated. As a result 450 square miles (1,200 sq km) of the desert are covered by more than 1 million tons (1.12 metric tons) of SALT. In the northern part of the desert, the DANAKIL DEPRESSION is 400 feet (116 m) below sea level. The area is populated by the AFAR, a nomadic people who migrated there long ago from Ethiopia's highlands.

dance   Over many centuries a wealth of dance forms have emerged in Africa that incorporate the history, RELIGION, and traditional values of countless societies. Dance also has served as an important aspect in RITES OF PASSAGE ceremonies and is a long-standing form of social recreation. An extensive and complex activity, dance in Africa has been described as earth-centered and as the lifeblood and expression of community solidarity. It is almost always performed in league with MUSIC such as drumming, song, and sustained audience interaction.

While no one society can be said to represent a standard dance style, the dance forms of many African peoples share several common elements and purposes. Mass dance movements are prevalent in many public ceremonies. The music might begin with an underlying rhythm created by drum, shells, rattles, or hand clapping. All areas of the body are used to punctuate the music, with quick movements of the torso and the arms or with uniform steps ranging from the very simple to the complex series of leaps and movements made by such groups as the

MAASAI. The Ewe people of TOGO recreate their origin stories in dance forms that imitate the movement of birds. These steps have a larger meaning that is symbolic of migration patterns.

Another form of dance common to many African societies is the ring dance, in which dancers face the middle and move in a counterclockwise circle. It is interesting to note that after the European slave trade began, this form of dance survived in the American South as the ring-shout. The ring, a vital symbol of community solidarity, also symbolizes regeneration. Processional or line dancing is often an essential part of FUNERAL CUSTOMS, and other forms include "free-flow" dance formations or formations that complement a solo dancer.

In the ancient world, dance evolved in many different ways and forms. Cave paintings attributed to the SAN of BOTSWANA depict dancers in religious trances, which some sources believe may have been invoked through repetitive dance steps in ways similar to other societies that invoke SPIRIT POSSESSION. Likewise, the ancestor's of the SHONA women of present-day ZIMBABWE believed themselves to be possessed by *mhondoro* spirits who imparted counsel after being invoked through dance. Similar healing rites were later performed by HAUSA women in West Africa and the Kalabari women of the NIGER DELTA.

Early forms of dance also evolved from the daily routines of work life. Various peoples might typically display the elements involved in FOOD production, such as using a hoe or pounding grain. The *ziglibit* dance of IVORY COAST imitates the pounding of corn. These familiar and communal settings are also emphasized in yearly harvest dance FESTIVALS. In Nigeria the Irigwe people imitate the growth of crops in their leaping dance steps. Nupe fishermen of Nigeria portray their skilled throwing of FISHING nets in dance. Pastoral groups in the Republic of the SUDAN and KENYA incorporate the movements of CATTLE in their dances, while groups such as hunters or BLACKSMITHS have secret dances only known within their castes.

Scenes depicted in various wall reliefs lead to the conclusion that dance was commonplace in ancient EGYPT. Some scenes show dancers (primarily women prior to the MIDDLE KINGDOM) singing, dancing, and clapping. Women dancers often performed as part of religious rites and were associated with specific temples. They were also linked to the royal kingdom and were reportedly always accompanied by a female leader. The practice of having a leader of the dance line, a master of the DRUMS, and an initiator of song are also common features in many African societies.

The indictment of "savagery" leveled against African dance by such European writers as Joseph Conrad often failed to take into account the dance's larger context. Many dances are in fact erotic, created as a central part of fertility rites, or as a part of INITIATION RITES. Dance is thus used to reinforce certain ideas concerning communal identity and the social role of young adults. In north-central Igboland a special mask known as *Agbogho Mmuo* was held in the air and "danced" by young male initiates to acknowledge the beauty of young women. In ancient GHANA it was common for girls in Ga society to display their beauty. It should also be noted that in many other societies, dancers are traditionally segregated by gender or age. The YORUBA of Nigeria held dances in which the entire community participated, including the ruling king, and danced according to status and age.

The strength, skill, self-discipline, and endurance of dancers were also tested by traditional war dances in societies that raised armies for battle. In both the Zulu and Ndebele societies of southern Africa, men performed dances that honor the history of warrior kings. The need to exhibit great skill while dancing also extended to reigning kings. The Ashanti kings were judged by their dance skills performed at their coronation ceremony.

While the role of dance in African societies remains constant, styles changed and spread over the centuries as a result of migration, trade, and the development of city-states. With the advent of new religions and ideas, many traditional dances were abolished or forgotten.

See also: MASKS (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Further reading: Michel Huet, *The Dance, Art, and Ritual of Africa* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Michel Huet, *The Dances of Africa* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996); Kariamu Welsh-Asante, ed., *African Dance: An Artistic, Historical, and Philosophical Inquiry* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1994).

Darius I (r. c. 521–486 BCE) *King of the Persian Achmeunid dynasty of the sixth and fifth centuries* BCE

Darius succeeded CAMBYSES I (r. c. 525–c. 521 BCE) to the throne and spent the first years of his reign crushing revolts in Persia, Media, Babylonia, and the East. A powerful leader, he expanded his kingdom to include parts of India. According to tradition, he was a good king to the Egyptians. His projects included a canal that ran from the Nile to the RED SEA, as well as a large temple to AMUN at el-Kharga. Upon his death, in 486 BCE, Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes II.

death and dying   Attitudes and practices concerning death vary greatly among African societies. GEOGRAPHY, economy, and local customs play an important role in determining each people's view of death. Typically, groups that are sedentary tend to give more importance to death and the surrounding ceremonies than nomadic people. A plausible explanation is that NOMADS must quickly

bury the dead and abandon the body in order to move on to new territories in search of FOOD. For precisely this reason, the Mbeere of KENYA left their deceased in the bush to decompose naturally. More sedentary peoples, such as the Lugbara of UGANDA, created permanent burial grounds that could be attended to for years. Groups like these these developed elaborate funeral rites that sometimes spanned decades. They believed that a proper burial was essential to send the deceased's spirit into the realm of the ancestors, where it would be worshiped by surviving relatives.

Variations on ANCESTOR WORSHIP, a common practice among many traditional African societies, is evident in the customs of the Dogon of present-day MALI. The Dogon believe a person has at least eight souls that are separated from the body at death. Once separated, the soul journeys back to the Creator of all humanity. This journey can take several years, and it requires many expensive sacrificial ceremonies on the part of the deceased's family.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS among groups and peoples are just as varied as views about death. In general, however, most peoples consider sudden death from disease or accident bad luck, so the body is not treated with the same respect as when an elder dies. Those peoples who bury their dead often prepare the body by simply washing it; sometimes they also clean out the stomach or intestines. Some peoples remove the fetus from women who die in childbirth and bury it because they believe the buried fetus prevents others from becoming infertile. After a body is prepared for burial, a ceremony or mourning period usually follows. Funeral rites may last as long as the burial, or they may continue for years.

See also: DOGON (Vol. II).

Deir el-Bahri, Temple of Modern Arabic name for the site of an ancient Egyptian mortuary complex built by King MENTUHOTEP II (r. c. 2040–1989 BCE). Located in the cliffs to the north of Thebes, Mentuhotep's structure consisted of three levels topped by a pyramid. This design was unique for its time, differing significantly from the burial monuments of earlier rulers by combining the king's mortuary temple and tomb in one building.

Queen Hatshepsut (r. c. 1504–1482 BCE), who ruled EGYPT during the Eighteenth Dynasty, also erected a temple at el-Bahri. Modeled after Mentuhotep's nearby temple, it has long been famous for its elegant and graceful design. The decorated reliefs on its exterior reflect the glories of Hatshepsut's rule, as well as her great devotion to the god AMUN. Of particular interest are the temple's depictions of a trading expedition to the land of PUNT, which took place during her reign. Although Mentuhotep's temple complex has not survived, Hatshepsut's monument still remains much as it was when first constructed.

deities Deities in ancient African societies were part of complex belief systems and took many different names and forms. Many societies were monotheistic, having a belief in a central, all-powerful deity that could be contacted through prayer or offerings. Other societies combined this belief with a faith in the existence of lesser deities that served as intermediaries between the all-powerful god and the living. The rationale was that the central deity, as the powerful Creator of all things, was removed from the daily affairs of humans. Therefore, the responsibilities for daily concerns were assigned to deities that had the ability to produce fertile crops, to ensure economic growth, or to generate prosperous trading. Among the Anang of NIGERIA, for example, Abassi was considered a powerful, invisible giant who ruled over the universe from his compound in the sky. Lesser deities in Anang society were known as Nnem, and they served as helpers or messengers to God. Among the Mossi of Yatenga, in BURKINA FASO, Wennam was the principal deity who assigned earth custodians—Tenga Wende and Tido Wende—to provide earthly abundance through farm crops. Prayers and offerings were given to the earth custodians through specially built shrines. The YORUBA of Nigeria recognized OLORUN as their supreme deity but depended upon the ORISHA for resolving dilemmas or meeting day-to-day needs.

Many such deities were portrayed in artwork or appeared as carved figures throughout the ages. In some societies these figures represented the power of the deity or served as a means of transferring spiritual power. Some figures were placed on shrines within the living compound or family homes. Other figures were carried by dancers during rituals honoring specific deities.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); MONOTHEISM (Vol. I); POLYTHEISM (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

Further reading: E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religions: A Definition* (New York: Orbis Books, 1973).

demotic Flowing, cursive script that served as the final stage of hieroglyphic WRITING in ancient EGYPT. Although probably developed expressly for use in government documents, demotic script became the most common everyday script in Egypt from around 660 BCE until the early fifth century CE. (Its name is derived from the Greek word *demotikos,* which means "for the people.") In addition to being utilized for government documents, demotic script became common in correspondence, business, literary texts, wood carvings, and stone inscriptions. Only priests, who continued to use the older HIERATIC script in writing religious texts, avoided using the more prevalent demotic script.

Like modern cursive handwriting, demotic script joined the letters of words, employing quick strokes of a

reed brush to create a flowing handwriting. Although harder to read than hieratic script, the demotic script allowed more standardization—that is, everyone wrote its characters in essentially the same way. The last dated example of demotic text is a stone inscription from 425.

The ROSETTA STONE (discovered in 1799 and translated in 1822) is inscribed in demotic script, hieroglyphs, and a Greek translation. The presence of all of these written languages provided the key to deciphering ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Dendara Village in EGYPT; site of a well-preserved ancient Egyptian temple. Dendara, on the west bank of the NILE RIVER in central Egypt, was the principal site of the cult of HATHOR. The ancient Egyptian goddess of the sky, fertility, women, and childbirth, Hathor was represented either as a cow or as a woman whose crown consisted of a sun disk held between the horns of a cow. The Hathor temple at Dendara is one of the best-preserved buildings of ancient Egypt. Built primarily during the Ptolemaic Period (c. 323–c. 30 BCE), it was completed by the Roman emperor Tiberius early in the first century. The influence of both classical Roman and Greek styles can be seen in the relief carving. This is especially true of the human figures, which feature the heroic, voluptuous, larger-than-life proportions characteristic of the Greek style.

deshret Arid, reddish-yellow land of the SAHARA DESERT that covers approximately 95 percent of EGYPT; from the Egyptian word meaning "red earth" or "desert." Ancient Egyptians distinguished the dry, sandy, infertile *deshret* from the land they called *KEMET* (black earth), the extremely fertile soil of the NILE RIVER valley. This silt-layered, fertile soil washed over the fields of ancient Egypt every year when the Nile flooded. Its richness allowed the Egyptians to carve out from the desert a band of green fields bordering each side of the river. The distinction between *deshret* and *kemet* is characteristic of the Egyptian adherence to dualism, the notion that any totality consists of two elements joined in harmonious opposition. Capitalized, the terms refer to UPPER and LOWER EGYPT; *Deshret* was also the name of the RED CROWN, the symbol that represented the Delta region of Lower Egypt.

Dida Galgalla Lava desert, found in KENYA, consisting of gray sand and brown and gray boulders. The Dida Galgalla lies north of Marsabit and west of Lake TURKANA. It is part of the Great RIFT VALLEY, a geological fault system that runs about 3,000 miles (4,827 km) from the Jordan Valley in southwestern Asia to MOZAMBIQUE in southeastern Africa. Although Dida Galgalla is a harsh environment, it is home to many rare birds.

Diocletian (245–316 CE) *Roman emperor who strengthened the empire's position in northern Africa*

Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, an officer in the Roman army, was proclaimed emperor by his troops upon the death of Emperor Marcus Aurelius Numerianus (Numerian) in 284. Carinus, Numerian's brother and co-emperor, challenged Diocletian's claim to the title of *emperor,* but was assassinated by his own troops during the battle for the throne.

Diocletian recognized the difficulty of one man ruling the vast Roman Empire. So in 286 he chose to share the throne—and the title of augustus—with Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus (Maximian). Seven years later Diocletian named two younger men, Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus (Galerius) and Constantius I Chlorus (Constantius I), as subordinate rulers with the title *caesar.* Each of the four rulers had administrative control over a portion of the Roman Empire, with jurisdiction over Africa being divided between Diocletian, who ruled over EGYPT, and Maximian, who ruled over the rest of Roman Africa.

Through a combination of warfare and administrative reorganization, Diocletian restored the strength of the Roman Empire, which had deteriorated under several prior rulers, and extended its boundaries in Persia and Africa. In 296 Diocletian's armies recaptured Egypt, which had declared its independence from the Roman Empire. As part of his reorganization of the empire, Diocletian divided Cyrenaica, a region of North Africa, into two provinces: Libya Superior (Pentapolis) and Libya Inferior (Sicca). He then assigned a permanent military force to the region—the first such contingent placed in Africa by an emperor.

In 305 Diocletian abdicated and forced Maximian to do the same, leaving rule to his handpicked successors, Galerius and Constantius I.

See also: CYRENE (Vol. I); ROME (Vol. I).

Further reading: Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity: From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammed* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989); Jackob Burkhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1983).

disease in ancient Africa Disease has plagued the African continent for thousands of years. The African people have long coped with disease-causing organisms by adapting to their environment. Threatening diseases were kept at bay with simple changes in diet, water sources, or migration patterns. Subtle genetic mutations over the centuries have allowed Africans to effectively deal with many diseases.

However, new diseases emerged in response to the changing African environment. Parasites and microbes that cause diseases are directly affected by GEOGRAPHY. Some thrive in the savanna grasslands or semiarid deserts,

while others prefer the rain forests of the western coastal regions. Parasitic diseases like malaria depend upon mosquitoes for transmittal; thus, the disease survives only in areas with pools of water. Temperature and altitude also play an important role in determining where microbes are viable. Extreme CLIMATE changes can affect the susceptibility of the population to otherwise nonthreatening diseases.

The Role of the Seasons The seasons affect diseases both directly and indirectly. The wet season allows mosquitoes and other parasitic hosts to breed, while the dry season can contribute to heat exhaustion, which can negatively affect human immune systems. Dry seasons have always been a time of travel for the African people; they abandon their crop fields to visit neighboring villages for trade. However, diseases travel along with their human hosts, often with devastating effects.

Particularly before the time of European involvement, the seasons determined the state of health of Africa's agriculturalists. Barring periodic catastrophes like drought, the wet season supplied a bounty of FOOD for Africa's inhabitants. The nourishment this food provided enabled people to increase their body weight, thus strengthening their immune systems against disease. The dry season brought drought and hunger, which increased the susceptibility of the immune system. On the other hand, the dry season prevented parasitic larvae from hatching.

Parasites Parasites are some of the most common disease vectors in Africa. Like all parasites, those found in Africa rely on a secondary organism to transport them to the host. Common parasites include filarial worms like the *Loa loa* and the *Calicoides*, which are both transmitted by flies. Intestinal worms are passed to humans from MONKEYS, although they are not life threatening.

Echinococcus granulosus is a tapeworm common in sheep, CATTLE, CAMELS, DOGS, and many other mammals in Africa. Ingesting their larvae can lead to hydatid, or echinococcal disease, which causes severe cysts throughout the body, particularly in the liver. In the Turkana region of KENYA, where dogs are important to society, hyatid disease is spread predominately through the feces of dogs. Children are particularly susceptible to the disease because mothers use dogs to guard their children while they work.

Another native African parasite is *Leishmania.* It is transmitted by tropical sand FLIES that bite humans and animals. Some strains of *Leishmania* cause minor disfigurement by producing open sores on the body and face, while others have more serious side affects. One form of *Leishmania* has long been evident in the regions surrounding present-day ETHIOPIA, where inhabitants often sought shelter in nearby caves. The parasite was contracted from sand flies that feed on cave-dwelling rodents.

Schistosomes are parasites that are passed through the feces of snails. The origins of this parasite can be traced to the lakes of central and eastern Africa, where many species still exist that infect both humans and baboons. Humans are infected by coming into contact with infected water. The disease can cause serious liver, bladder, and kidney problems.

Viruses Viral diseases are abundant in Africa. Many have never left the continent, but some have caused substantial problems abroad. Most are harbored in animals and then passed to humans via tick or insect bites, although the bites rarely result in disease. More often the virus is destroyed by the immune system or protects its host from a more dangerous virus.

Malaria Malaria has long been a serious health threat in Africa. Mosquitoes transmit all four strains of the disease. One of the more lethal strains has been largely controlled after thousands of years of genetic selection. The sickle-cell trait common to Africans developed as a direct response to the malaria parasite. Sickle cells limit the parasite's ability to grow once inside red blood cells, thus largely protecting the host. In tropical regions outside of Africa where sickle cells are not common, this same malaria strain is a serious life-threatening disease.

Disease in Ancient Egypt Evidence gathered from ancient Egyptian papyri and the medical examination of mummified remains suggest that the people of ancient EGYPT suffered from many of the same diseases that afflict people today. These included malaria, poliomyelitis, smallpox, trichinosis, bubonic plague, arthritis, gout, tooth decay, and gall stones. Among the most common diseases in ancient Egypt were parasitic infections. Malaria, characterized by recurrent chills and fever, as well as anemia and enlargement of the spleen, may have been the disease that claimed the life of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, in 323 BCE. Another parasitic infection, schistosomiasis, also was common in ancient Egypt.

See also: DISEASE IN MEDIEVAL AFRICA (Vol. II); DISEASE IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III); DISEASE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Aidan Cockburn, Eve Cockburn, and Theodore Reyman, *Mummies, Disease and Ancient Cultures* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Joyce Filer, *Disease* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1996).

divination Widespread throughout Africa, divination has long served as a central component in African RELIGION. It has also played a prominent role in political and cultural areas, as well as in the succession of kings, and, as such, offered practitioners the ability to gain the confidence of rulers. For example, divination was prominent in the enthronement or installation ceremonies of ancient kings in EGYPT. It also serves as an important means of reinforcement of FAMILY and community identity.

Over the centuries a vast number of divination systems have developed in Africa. The ritual skill required to master these systems included a thorough grounding in names, signs, and figures, along with their interpretative counterparts, such as proverbs, parables, or symbolic riddles. For centuries, these systems have appeared deceptively simple to outsiders. For instance, the Dogon traditionally read the tracks left by animals from an ancient period, while the Mum of West Africa interpreted the movements of spiders. More frequently, divining involved the casting down and "reading" of various objects, such as COWRIE SHELLS, divination stones, or gourds. Other diviners interpreted vital information from numbers, from reading palms, or from images in water. Many divination experts were linked to spiritual DEITIES either through an ORACLE or some other form of medium.

Other types of divination reflect a very complex SCIENCE, such as the system of IFA. Administered by a *babalawo* (father of mysteries), divination has been a dominant tool and feature of the religions shared by the YORUBA and Fon peoples of NIGERIA, Republic of BENIN, TOGO, and GHANA. It has long been associated with the deity Orunmila, who was considered the god of divination, and involved the use of 16 palm nuts cast on a divining tray. Each throw of the palm nuts gave a numerical formula whose meaning was revealed to the *babalawo,* and the procedure was repeated every five days.

A common thread among various forms of divination is that ritual specialists often created them to explain the unexplainable, including droughts, storms, depleted soil, or ruined crops. On a personal level, divination can almost be compared to a form of "preventive medicine," foretelling impending illnesses and diagnosing their underlying causes. Whenever misfortune stemmed from neglect of family or ancestral spirits, diviners were able to offer the appropriate actions to repair the results of this neglect. Overall, divination served as an important means of keeping society in harmonious balance.

There has been considerable debate as to whether the practitioners or specialists who were able to perform divination were customarily men or women. This may have depended on the particular society. The skills involved probably were passed down as an inherited body of information from family members. Diviners also served as apprentices to master teachers for a fixed number of years. It is also possible that the ability to divine may have occurred more quickly as a result of SPIRIT POSSESSION. The diviner's function has been described as multidimensional and may have included healing skills as well. Among the Zulu of KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA, for instance, Izangoma was the title used for females who traditionally served as a diviner-healer for one of several goddesses, such as Nomkhubulwane. Similarly, Nganga was a variation of the same title used by the Kongo people of western central Africa. The primary tools of the Nganga diviner generally included herbs and special medicines whose contents remained a secret. For societies in the Congo region, Nkisi figures were also employed by Ngangas. The chief responsibility of identifying WITCHCRAFT, and the application of appropriate remedies for the harm caused, were often accomplished through divination.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Further reading: John R. Hinnells, ed., *The Penguin Dictionary of Religions* (London: The Penguin Group, 1995); John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: The Heinnemann Group, Ltd., 1999); T.N.O. Quarcoopome, *West African Traditional Religion* (Ibadan, Nigeria: African Universities Press, 1987).

divine rule Belief among some ancient African societies that kings obtained the right to rule from the society's deity or DEITIES. Exempt from ordinary laws and customs, many ancient kings served dual functions as rulers and intermediaries for the deity.

In Africa the concept of divine rule can be traced back to ancient EGYPT, where from even the earliest dynasties pharaohs claimed to be descended from various deities. Elsewhere in Africa royal claims to divine rule entitled kings to wear special royal garments and crowns. They might also carry scepters or other objects to signify their power and status. Among some peoples, kings even lived in special areas removed from the general popoulation.

Some societies simply replaced kings who became ill, wounded, or disabled. Others believed that, even if a king's power was divinely based, kings could be overthrown or replaced if their actions became cruel or unjust. In SENEGAL, for example, a king who had been wounded in battle would be replaced by a paternal brother. Other societies legitimized regicide, the actual or symbolic killing of the king, in situations that called for the king's removal. This practice, too, dates back to the ancient Egyptians, among whom aged pharaohs faced death. In Egypt this practice was eventually transformed into a symbolic ritual known as the SED FESTIVAL, which represented the periodic rejuvenation of the pharaoh.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vol. I); LAW AND JUSTICE (Vol. I).

Further reading: Basil Davidson, *The Lost Cities of Africa* (New York: Little, Brown, 1987); E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religions: A Definition* (New York: Orbis Books, 1973); Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* (New York: First Vintage Books; Random House, 1984).

Dja River Also called the Ngoko River, the Dja forms part of the border between CAMEROON and Republic of the CONGO. The river stretches nearly 450 miles (724

km) before it feeds into the Sangha River, a tributary of the Congo. Much of the river is navigable by small craft.

Djeme   Site of the mortuary temple of RAMESSES III (r. c. 1198–1166 BCE); later known by the Arabic name Medinet Habu. During a reign of more than 30 years Ramesses III was revered as a military hero who not only defeated invading forces from the west but also successfully expanded the territorial boundaries of EGYPT. Ramesses' victories ushered in a period of great prosperity for Egypt, which in turn generated the construction of many buildings and temples. One of the outstanding works of the period known as the NEW KINGDOM (1570–1070 BCE), Ramesses' memorial temple housed a library and contained numerous inscriptions and wall reliefs related to his victories.

Djerid   Largest SALT lake in Africa, also known as Chott Djerid and Shatt al-Jarid. Located in southwestern TUNISIA near the SAHARA DESERT, Djerid occupies an enormous salt-flat basin of about 1,900 square miles (4,921 sq km). Except after heavy rains, only the lowest parts of the lake are covered with water.

Djibouti   Present-day country covering about 9,000 square miles (23,300 sq km) on the northeastern coast of the HORN OF AFRICA. Djibouti is bordered by ERITREA to the north, the RED SEA to the east, to the southeast, and ETHIOPIA to the south and west. Inhabited since the STONE AGE, Djibouti was inhabited by Somali PASTORAL-ISTS and the AFAR.

   See also: DJIBOUTI (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

dogs   Dogs held a special place in ancient Egyptian society. Only people of royal blood were allowed to own pure-bred dogs, which were treated lavishly during their lives. When their masters died, these dogs would be placed in tombs with them to provide protection in the AFTERLIFE. One of the earliest known breeds of domestic dogs in EGYPT is the Basenji, a short-haired, medium-sized dog that whimpers rather than barks. Basenjis were raised in the courts of Egypt's pharaohs.

   Africa is also home to a wild dog known as the African hunting dog, a long-limbed animal with large, pointy ears. African hunting dogs prey on antelopes south and east of the Sahara.

domesticated animals   Africa witnessed the early domestication of animals along with the emergence of AGRICULTURE. Africans were responsible for domesticat-

ing four animals: CATTLE, cats, DONKEYS, and guinea fowl. By about 8000 BCE inhabitants of the RED SEA hills area who had been hunting wild cattle began to domesticate them so that they could have a more reliable supply of meat. This far-eastern area of the SAHARA DESERT thus became one of the three areas of the world, the other two being the Middle East and India, where domesticated cattle independently emerged. Wild cats were domesticated in ancient EGYPT and elsewhere on the continent. A wild counterpart to the domesticated donkey lived throughout North Africa. It was probably domesticated by about 3000 BCE, becoming a beast of burden throughout North Africa and the Middle East. In the West African forest zone the people domesticated the guinea fowl, probably before 5000 BCE.

   Further reading: Andrew B. Smith, *Pastoralism in Africa: Origins and Development Ecology* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1992).

Dongola Bend   Region encompassing the lands situated between the third and fourth cataracts of the NILE RIVER; also known as Dongola Reach and The Land of Yam. Originally populated by farming and FISHING communities, Dongola is a fertile river valley described as the garden of the Upper Nile. It spans more than 200 miles (322 km) of unbroken terrain and produces abundant crops of MILLET and COTTON, as well as CATTLE and other DOMESTICATED ANIMALS.

   At the beginning of ancient Egypt's Twelfth Dynasty (c. 1990–c. 1780 BCE) a trading post was established in Dongola, which was by then considered a province of the Egyptian Empire. The ruling dynasty's plans to push further south into Nubia were interrupted by the HYKSOS occupation of EGYPT, in the 17th century BCE. Ultimately, after the Hyksos invaders were expelled, the rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1570–c. 1320 BCE) resumed the expeditions to the area.

   During his reign the third pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty, THUTMOSE I (r. c. 1525–c. 1512 BCE), led an army to Dongola, venturing beyond the fourth cataract to Kurgus. There, in the region that became the capital city of MEROË, Thutmose left an inscribed marker noting his conquest. Although a number of Kushite revolts occurred in Dongola following the death of Thutmose I, they were suppressed by a succession of Egyptian overlords.

donkeys   The introduction of the domestic donkey to the African continent was an important factor in the improvement of TRANSPORTATION and LABOR productivity for many peoples. Wild asses have inhabited the continent of Africa for thousands of years. Two varieties still thrive in northeastern Africa, the Nubian and the Somali asses. Rock paintings indicate that ancient Egyptians hunted

Nubian asses, so their range must have extended from the Nile to the RED SEA. Small numbers of wild Nubian asses still inhabit parts of The Republic of the SUDAN. Their Somali relatives are much larger and live in the desert region between the Red Sea and the plateaus of present-day SOMALIA.

The ass was one of the first animals domesticated in Africa. Bred by the Egyptians from its wild counterpart, which was native to North Africa and Arabia, the donkey became one of the most important domestic animals in Africa. Donkeys were used in early EGYPT as the principal means of transportation and as labor animals. As populations spread from North Africa to the Sahara and the eastern coast, indigenous peoples began using the donkey for labor and transport. It was particularly important to early Afro-Asiatic peoples.

drums Oldest known musical instrument in the world, the drum dates back to around 4000 BCE in ancient EGYPT. The MUSIC produced by the drum—and the drum itself—varied from group to group in ancient Africa. A drum is a percussive instrument that is constructed by stretching a skin over a vessel or frame; the sound comes from the vibration of the stretched skin as it is struck. The earliest drums were probably made from hollowed-out tree trunks with a reptile or fish skin stretched across it. These drums were struck with the hands. When animal skins took the place of fish or reptile skin as the stretched membrane, sticks were then used to beat the drum. Eventually a double-headed drum was produced by attaching tension cords through holes in the skins in order to hold the two ends together. Perhaps the best-known double-headed African drum is the Ethiopian *kebero,* which was used to accompany the music of important religious ceremonies.

Drums were also important throughout sub-Saharan Africa. In religious FESTIVALS and rituals, dancers often performed intricate movements to the syncopated rhythms of drums, which were played primarily by males. Drums were played by one person, in pairs, or in a larger group known as an *ensemble*.

See also: DANCE (Vols. I, IV).

Dyula (Dioula, Diula, and Jula) People of western Africa who speak a MANDE language of the Nilo-Congo family. They are chiefly Muslims and have long been noted as commercial traders. Most of the Dyula inhabit the trade routes of IVORY COAST, but Dyula clans have also settled in lands that became present-day BURKINA FASO, MALI, GHANA, and GUINEA-BISSAU. The word *dyula* means "itinerant trader," and the Dyula are respected for their abilities in commercial dealings. The Dyula were active GOLD traders as long ago as the third century CE, flourishing during the periods of ancient GHANA and the empire of Mali.

See also: DYULA (Vols. II, III, IV).

E

eagles Because of their powerful build and majestic bearing, eagles have long been associated with power and warfare. According to the traditions of the ancient Egyptians, for example, the king was granted the authority to rule over the earth by Holse, the god of the eagle. In EGYPT, eagles also were associated with the phoenix, a bird that was part of Egyptian mythology from early times.

ebony Valuable timber tree (*D. dendo*), native to various parts of Africa as well as to parts of Asia, the Americas, and the Pacific; also known as black ebony, billetwood, as well as GABON, Lagos, Calabar, and NIGER ebony. The best ebony is from the heartwood of the tree. Heavy and almost black in color, this hard, dense wood can be polished to a beautiful sheen, which makes it one of the world's most exquisite, as well as most durable, woods.

Ebony was highly prized in ancient times. The Greek historian HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE), for example, wrote that the Ethiopians sent a tribute of 200 logs of ebony to Persia every three years. Ebony from NUBIA was used to make some of the famed treasures of the Egyptian kings and contributed significantly to Egypt's material wealth.

See also: EBONY (Vol. III).

ecological zones Ecological zones, or ecosystems, of Africa fall roughly into the following categories: coastal zones, deserts and semi-deserts, mountainous zones, savanna grasslands and woodlands, and tropical RAIN FORESTS. Africa's ecological zones are affected by elevation and CLIMATE. Most of southern and eastern Africa lie above an altitude of 3,280 feet (1,000 m) above sea level, as are much of the MAGHRIB, the central and eastern SAHARA DESERT, and the HORN OF AFRICA. Rainfall patterns, shaped by the INTERTROPICAL CONVERGENCE ZONE, the monsoon seasons of the Indian Ocean, and ocean currents have been major factors in shaping the ecological zones. Temperature also plays an important role, as does latitude. Also, long-term climatic shifts affect the ecological zones. One such example can be seen near the end of the long Holecene wet phase that occurred in the Sahara regions during the third millennium BCE. This climatic change created much of the desert region that we know today. More recently, human activity has affected the ecological zones. For example, over the centuries, humans have been felling forests for heat, cooking fuel, and for the smelting of iron. At the same time, overgrazing has led to desertification in drier grasslands regions.

A low coastal plain is present in much of the continent, though it varies in its vegetation. Along much of the West and East African coasts, mangroves dominate, though the southwestern coast, with its drier climate, is arid to semiarid. The far north and the far south have a Mediterranean-type climate with winter rainfall patterns and a vegetation of forest and scrub. Moving inland from both extremes of the continent, the landscape becomes increasingly arid. To the north is the large expanse of the Sahara, and to the south lie the smaller expanses of the KALAHARI and the Namib deserts. The deserts gradually give way to dry grassland and thornveld steppe regions, which south of the Sahara are called the SAHEL. These regions change into better-watered, tropical, grassland savanna and then wooded savanna. In the CONGO BASIN and behind much of the West African coast lies rain forest.

On the western side of the continent, the ATLAS MOUNTAINS sit between the Mediterranean coastal zone of the western Maghrib and the desert interior. On the eastern side of the continent, the Northern Desert stretches much farther south along the coast than it does in the west. The Sahelian ecology inland also encroaches farther south. The Congo Basin rain forest does not extend beyond the RIFT VALLEY and its string of lakes. However, the tropical, wooded savanna and tropical grasslands stretch across the interior of the southern part of the continent. A relatively narrow belt of the eastern coast, stretching southward from KENYA into SOUTH AFRICA and broadening out somewhat in MOZAMBIQUE, is made up of tropical and sub-tropical coastal forest.

See also: ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V).

economy As with most ancient peoples, economic issues were major considerations in many African cultures. Not surprisingly, dynamics such as CLIMATE, terrain, subsistence, shelter, natural resources, technology, trade, and even ART were all related in one way or another to economics.

Subsistence Once people moved from the hunter-gatherer stage of subsistence and began to develop tools and settle into village life, most economic decisions resulted from a combination of experience and the availability of resources. In hunting as well as FISHING societies, for example, status often was determined by continued success in the hunt or catch or by the size and number of fishing vessels an individual owned. With the AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION, the availability of water sources and grazing land determined whether an ETHNIC GROUP survived through PASTORALISM, farming, or a mixture of the two. Whatever the option, by well before 500 CE, AGRICULTURE emerged as the basis of the economy throughout most of the continent.

Shelter In many parts of Africa, housing was not as problematic as it was in colder, harsher environments. Thatched-roof homes were erected in wet, heavily forested areas, while mud and clay structures were built in more arid climates. However, wealth and status often were linked to the number and size of the dwellings owned by a person. Thus, economic considerations were linked to the availability of the materials needed to erect dwelling places. In some parts of the continent, including ancient EGYPT, KUSH, and AKSUM, building activities moved far beyond the basic provision of shelter. Elaborate houses were built for those in the upper social levels, as were public buildings, temples, monuments, and, in MEROË and Egypt, PYRAMIDS. Building construction in these societies thus became an important component of the economy.

Natural Resources Throughout Africa settling in close proximity to fertile fields and mineral deposits often was the means to acquire immense power. For example, the rich soils of the NILE VALLEY provided the economic underpinnings of the complex civilization of ancient Egypt.

Indeed, fertile soils constituted the principal natural resource for all pre-industrial societies, since ultimately even a highly sophisticated society such as Egypt's rested on an agricultural base. A solid agricultural foundation, however, could not be obtained through anything other than the natural resources at hand. Other important natural resources, including COPPER and GOLD, were obtainable through trade.

Trade Early HUNTER-GATHERERS did not engage in much trade or barter, but as soon as Africans adopted the more settled mode of existence associated with agriculture, trade became necessary to the economic livelihood of communities. Farmers, for example, bartered with neighboring hunter-gatherers, exchanging grain for wild game. Gradually trade activities led to the development of the markets that became a key aspect of African village life. Trade also became vital to the well-being of major states. As noted, Egypt depended on trade to obtain resources that it lacked, and Aksum emerged as a powerful state in large part because of its strategic location in relation to the trade routes of the HORN OF AFRICA.

Art and Crafts Artists and BLACKSMITHS were revered in ancient Africa, in part because their products were considered functional rather than merely decorative. In many societies birth, death, and natural events such as weather favorable to the growth of crops, were believed to depend on appeasing various ancestors and DEITIES. This required creating effective icons and fetishes for use in ceremonies. Those who fashioned these objects were thought to possess magical powers. Since the well-being of entire communities often depended on adequate yields from the hunt or harvest, these objects—and the people who made them—were very closely associated with the economy of the community. In the more sophisticated societies, such as those of the Nile Valley, producing art became a major economic activity and supported large numbers of skilled individuals.

See also: ECONOMY (Vols. II, III, IV, V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Ralph A. Austen, *African Economic History* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1987).

Edfu (Idfu) Town in central EGYPT; location of the Temple of HORUS. Located on the west bank of the NILE RIVER, about 65 miles (105 km) from ASWAN, Edfu houses the best-preserved cult temple in Egypt, the Temple of Horus. The town itself has been known by many names, having been called *Tbot* by the early Egyptians, *Apollinopolis Magna* by the Greeks, and *Atbo* during COPTIC times. About 3400 BCE it was the capital of a predynastic Upper Egyptian kingdom that worshiped the god Horus.

The large sandstone temple is second in size only to the great Temple of KARNAK, and it bears an abundance of inscriptions and HIEROGLYPHICS. These tell of religious ceremonies and recount tales of the pharoahs' wisdom and might. The temple, which was discovered in 1860,

was well preserved by its long submersion under desert sands. Excavations on the site have yielded a magnificent black marble statue of Horus and a Roman necropolis, as well as Coptic and Byzantine remains.

Further reading: Barbara Watterson, *The House of Horus at Edfu: Ritual in an Ancient Egyptian Temple* (Gloucestershire, U.K.: Tempus, 1998).

Edo   Kwa-speaking group that has long inhabited the southern forest region west of the NIGER RIVER. These peoples have inhabited this area, in what is now the Benin province of present-day NIGERIA, for upwards of 3,000 years. Originally single-family settlements dominated the region. In about the fifth century, however, village communities began to form in order to improve safety. These communities also facilitated more efficient use of natural resources.

See also: EDO (Vol. II).

Egungun   A masking cult in YORUBA society that represents the return of the dead from the spirit world. According to traditional Yoruba belief, an Egungun, a supernatural being after whom the cult is named, is the embodiment of the spirit of a male ancestor who returns from the spirit world to visit his FAMILY. Not every ancestor is invoked as an Egungun, only those who lived a good life on earth and who, because they are in favor with OLORUN, the Creator, are permitted to enter heaven and return to the world of the living. Such ancestors are seen as worthy of true worship, not just veneration, and may be used by the living to appeal to the creator. The Egungun can either intercede with angry divinities to protect the living from harm or simply bless the living and receive their offerings.

The living person who puts on the family's Egungun attire also puts on the ancestor's spiritual power. He wears a special outfit made from cloths of different colors that cover him from head to foot. His feet are obscured, and he wears a veil that allows speech but conceals the wearer's identity. Many Egungun also wear special MASKS and charms. The person wearing the Egungun attire is accorded the respect due an honored visitor from heaven; women and the uninitiated may not touch the Egungun on penalty of death.

Egungun are sometimes summoned by an individual to bring spiritual benefits and comfort to his descendants. They are also summoned by entire villages to go from dwelling to dwelling and bless the living at the start of the yam season or the planting season and at other FESTIVALS. Egungun are also called on at times of calamity to carry a propitiatory offering to an offended divinity.

See also: ORISHA (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

Further reading: Omosade Awolalu, *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites* (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman, 1979).

Egypt   Country covering about 386,700 square miles (1,001,600 sq km) situated in northeast Africa. Egypt is mostly desert, with the NILE RIVER running, south to north, for 600 to 700 miles (960–1120 km) through the center. On either side of the river lies a narrow strip of land known as the NILE VALLEY. The northern part of Egypt, known as the NILE DELTA, is where that river empties into the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. Modern Egypt is bordered by the RED SEA to the east, the Republic of the SUDAN to the south, and LIBYA to the west.

The name *Egypt* is derived from the Greek word *Aigyptos,* but the ancient Egyptians called their country *KEMET,* or "black land," for the dark, richly fertile soil that results each year as the Nile overflows its banks and floods the river valley. In sharp contrast to this is the "red land," or desert (*DESHRET*), which makes up much of the rest of the country. Until the country was unified (c. 3050 BCE), the ancient Egyptians divided their land into two kingdoms, UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT. Because the Nile flows northward, Lower Egypt was the northern part of the country, and Upper Egypt was the part to the south.

Egyptologists divide the long history of ancient Egypt into kingdoms and intermediate periods. These are in turn subdivided into dynasties of rulers.

Predynastic Period	
Badarian Culture	c. 4800–c. 4200 BCE
Naqadah I, II, III	c. 4200–c. 3050 BCE
Early, or Archaic, Period	
Dynasties 1–2	c. 3050–c. 2705 BCE
Old Kingdom	
Dynasties 3–8	c. 2705–c. 2213 BCE
First Intermediate Period	
Dynasties 9–10	c. 2213–c. 2040 BCE
Middle Kingdom	
Dynasties 11–12	c. 2040–c. 1820 BCE
Second Intermediate Period	
Dynasties 13–17	c. 1820–c. 1570 BCE
New Kingdom	
Dynasties 18–20	c. 1570–c. 1070 BCE
Third Intermediate Period	
Dynasties 21–26	c. 1070–c. 525 BCE
Kushite Domination	c. 780–c. 664 BCE
Late Period (Persian Rule)	
Dynasties 27–31	c. 525–c. 332 BCE
Greco–Roman Rule	c. 332 BCE–c. 642 CE

After the end of Roman rule CHRISTIANITY flourished in Egypt for several centuries only to be replaced by Islam when the country was conquered by Arabs in the seventh century.

The Egyptian contribution to the history of civilization is immense. Foremost among these contributions are

Egypt 3100 BCE–350 CE

Mediterranean Sea

Alexandria ▲
Buto ●
Sais ●   Mendes ●
Naucratis ▲ Xois ●
LOWER   Tanis ●
EGYPT   Busiris ●
Daphnae ▲
Pelusium ▲
Raphia ▲
Rhinocolura ▲

Bubastis ●

(Merimde) ●
(Giza) ●
(Abusir) ●
Memphis ●   (Saqqara) ●
(Dahshur) ●
(Lisht) ●
Arsinoe ▲   (Gerza) ●
(Meydum) ●
Herakleopolis ▲ (Lahun) ●

Oxyrhynchus ▲

(Beni Hasan) ●
Hermopolis ▲ Antinoopolis ▲
AKHETATON ●
(Tell el-Amarna)
(Tasa) ●
Lykopolis ●
(Badari) ●

Myos Hormos ▲

Red Sea

UPPER
EGYPT
Ptolemais ▲
Nile
Abydos ●   (Dendara) ●
Leukos
(Naqadah) ● ▲ Koptos   Limen ▲
(Deir el-Bahari) ●
Thebes (Karnak, Luxor) ●
(Medinet Habu) ●
Hermonthis ▲ (Tod) ● *VALLEY OF*
(Esna) ●   *THE KINGS*
Hierakonpolis ▲ (el-Kab) ●
(Edfu) ●

(Gebel el-Silsilis) ●
Ombos (Kom Ombo) ●

Elephantine Is. ● Syene (Aswan) ●
Phlae Is. *1st cataract*

NUBIA

0 ————————— 100 Miles
0 ————————— 100 Kms

(Abu Simbel) ●

BUHEN ●
2nd cataract

Map area

● Predynastic and Dynastic sites
▲ Greco-Roman sites
BUHEN Ancient Egyptian name
(Abu Simbel) Modern name
Tanis Greco-Roman name

(Soleb) ●
(Sesebi) ●

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the introduction of WRITING, the advancement of medical SCIENCE, the development of sophisticated agricultural programs, and the creation of lasting architectural monuments.

Although a majority of Egyptologists interpret the ancient Egyptian word *kemet* to mean "black land," some Egyptologists and other scholars dispute this interpretation. *Kemet*, according to them, means "Land of the Blacks," a reference to the black-skinned Africans they believe were the actual inhabitants of the ancient kingdom.

Since the latter half of the 20th century the racial makeup of the ancient Egyptians has been a subject of considerable controversy. The traditional view of Western scholars is that the ancient Egyptians were a light-skinned but sun-tanned people. According to these scholars, truly black-skinned people began to be seen in Egypt only after the Eighteenth Dynasty. Other scholars believe that, from predynastic times onward, the ancient Egyptians were in fact black Africans. The most prominent of these scholars is the Senegalese historian Cheikh Anta Diop. Diop points to the writings of the fifth-century BCE Greek historian HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE), who described the Egyptians of his time as black and as having a culture that was African in orientation.

See also: DIOP, CHEIKH ANTA (Vols. IV, V); EGYPT (Vols. II, III, IV, V); EGYPTOLOGY (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993); Barbara Watterson, *The Egyptians* (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

elephants The African elephant is the largest living animal on land, weighing 8 tons (7 metric tons) and standing 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m) at the shoulder. Elephants are usually gray or brown in color and have little body hair. They breathe through their powerful trunks, which are also used to suck up water and to pick up FOOD. On either side of an elephant's trunk are tusks. Ivory is made from elephant tusks.

Elephants are found in sub-Saharan Africa and live in jungles and savanna, moving in small groups led by older cows (female elephants). Adult members of the groups can each eat more than 500 pounds (225 kg) of grasses and other VEGETATION a day, and can live up to 60 years.

Elephants have played an important part in Africa's history and culture. In the mythology of many African peoples, elephants symbolize strength, leadership, and greatness. The Baule people of GHANA and the IGBO people of NIGERIA, for example, traditionally have carved MASKS in the form of elephants. The Samburu people of present-day KENYA have, for hundreds of years, worn ivory charms made from the tusks of elephants that had died in the wild. These charms were put on babies to protect them from harm. Another Samburu custom has been to burn elephant dung on the floor of the house of a newly married couple to bless them with a long, happy marriage.

Elephantine Former name of the site known today as ASWAN, situated along the NILE RIVER. Ancient accounts of Elephantine emphasize its importance as a route to the lands south of EGYPT. Some of the most important of these accounts were those of HARKHUF, an Egyptian governor who took part in four expeditions to the area during the Sixth Dynasty (c. 2350–c. 2250 BCE).

Harkhuf's journeys took him as far as KERMA, in the kingdom of KUSH, near the third cataract of the Nile, where he sought to discover trade routes and establish economic relations with the rulers he met. Harkhuf's travels along what he called the "40-day road" ultimately brought him praise from his royal masters. As he wrote in approximately 2300 BCE: "The majesty of Mernere, my lord, sent me, together with my father, the sole companion, and ritual priest Iri to Yam in order to explore a road to this country (south). I did it in only seven months and I brought all gifts from it. . . . I was very greatly praised for it."

Elgon, Mount Extinct volcano found within the Great RIFT VALLEY along the border of present-day KENYA and UGANDA. Mount Elgon consists of a crater up to 5 miles (8 km) wide with several peaks rising from it. The highest of these peaks is Wagagi, which has an elevation of 14,178 feet (4,321 m).

On its eastern and southeastern slopes, Mount Elgon blends gently with the Uasin Gishu Plateau, which stands at 6,200 feet (1,890 m). But on its western and northwestern slopes, high cliffs separate Mount Elgon from the plains of eastern Uganda. Within the volcano's crater are forests and swamps, which are drained by the Suam and Turkwel rivers. The area has long been occupied by the Gishu, a Bantu-speaking people.

Ennedi Region in the northeastern part of present-day CHAD, known for its ancient ROCK ART. Stone, cave, and cliff paintings dating back to as early as 6000 BCE have been found on the massif of the Ennedi region. The types of rock art have changed considerably over time, with different colors and styles in their representation of the animal species, dress, and weaponry, but they are generally classified into three periods: Archaic, Bovine, and Dromedary (or Equine).

The Bovine Period, extending from around 2000 BCE to 1000 CE, represents a significant change in the rock art of Ennedi. To a great extent this is due to the domestication of CATTLE and sheep as well as to the emergence of DOGS as companions. Since these animals are consistently depicted as being healthy-looking and plentiful in number, it has been suggested by some scholars that the appearance of these domestic animals during this period is linked to climatic changes that brought about a general increase in the prosperity of the area.

Human figures from the Bovine Period are shown wearing more elaborate JEWELRY than the figures from the earlier Archaic Period. This ornamentation includes adornments for the ears and head as well as more extensive garments, such as headdresses, robes, and long, full skirts. Their weaponry also was more sophisticated, with spears, shields, and curved clubs all being depicted. The life scenes increased in scope as well, with depictions of containers filled from grain harvests, women in conversation or dancing, and musicians playing instruments.

It is estimated that, over the centuries, there have been 15 or more styles of rock art in the Ennedi region, each differing in its depictions

See also: ENNEDI (Vol. II).

Equatorial Guinea Country in tropical western Central Africa, some 10,800 square miles (28,000 sq km) in size that is made up of Río Muni, a mainland coastal enclave, and five volcanic islands in the Atlantic Ocean. Río Muni, which features coastal plains and interior hills, shares borders with CAMEROON to the north and GABON to the east and south. The largest island is Fernando Pó (now called *Bioko*), which is about 780 square miles (2030 sq km) in size. The small islands of Corisco and Great and Little Elobey lie in the Gulf of Guinea about 100 miles (161 km) northwest of the mainland portion of the country. The present-day capital city of Malabo is on Bioko. The fifth island of Annobón is also small and is located 350 miles (563 km) southwest of mainland Equatorial Guinea.

The earliest humans of the mainland portion were HUNTER-GATHERERS. Today's Yele people are descendents of this original population. The BANTU EXPANSION brought the first farmers into the area more than 2,000 years ago. YAMS were their principal crop. The arrival of bananas by about 500 CE provided local farmers with an important new crop that greatly enhanced their food-producing capacity. During this period some Bantu speakers from the mainland also settled on Fernando Pó.

See also: EQUATORIAL GUINEA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Eritrea Former province of ETHIOPIA, approximately 36,000 square miles (93,600 sq km) in area, including regions in the HORN OF AFRICA and the mountainous plateaus bordered by the RED SEA. Much of Eritrea's ancient history has been overshadowed by the kingdom of AKSUM, which reached its heighht about 350 CE. However, numerous cave paintings recovered in the region attest to a regional history dating back to at least 6000 BCE. During these ancient times the area was primarily populated with indigenous AGAW, Nilotic-speakers from the forests of southern Sudan, and Kushite pastoralists who originated in the desert to the north. During the pre-Aksumite era (c. 800–300 BCE) these peoples were joined by Semitic speakers originating in southern Arabia (Yemen). As the recovered temple at Ilmuquah reveals, the region's religious traditions have also been diverse, reflecting elements of JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, and Islam.

See also: ERITREA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Eshu (Esu, Eshu-Elegba) One of the principal divinities in traditional YORUBA religion. In Yoruba belief, Eshu is the divinity that must be appeased before all other divinities or ancestors. Eshu delivers sacrifices and offerings from humans to the gods and from one divinity to other divinities, thus maintaining the relationship between the human and the supernatural worlds. Eshu must be taken seriously because he is the god who tempts and tests, rewarding and punishing humans regardless of rank and influence, to determine their true character. He prompts human beings to offend the gods, whose anger they must then mollify with sacrifices. It is said that without Eshu, the gods would go hungry.

Eshu is comparable to neither the Christian Satan or the Muslim Shaitan; traditional Yoruba belief does not look upon the world as a contest between absolute good and absolute evil. Still, Eshu can create hatred between brother and brother, and he can reconcile them after years of dispute. He can kill a firstborn child and provide offspring to the childless. He punishes those who do not offer the required sacrifices and rewards those who do. In Yoruba religion, Eshu personifies the coexistence of good and evil in the world.

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

Further reading: Omosade Awolalu, *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites* (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman Group, 1979).

Esna Site of the important cult of Khnum, the ancient Egyptian god of fertility, water, and procreation; located

The temple of Khnum at Esna, Egypt, built during the reigns of Ptolemy VI (C. 180–C. 145 BCE) to Decius (249–251 CE), lay buried under Nile mud until the 19th century, when this hall was excavated. The town of Esna still covers the rest of the temple. © *Richard T. Nowitz/Corbis*

south of the city of Thebes. According to Egyptian myth, Khnum used a potter's wheel to create humankind from clay. The temple at Esna shows Roman influence in its reliefs and columns.

Ethiopia East African country, some 435,000 square miles (1,126,900 sq km) in size, bordered by present-day ERITREA, DJIBOUTI, KENYA, SOMALIA, and Republic of the SUDAN. Based on the unearthing of skeletal remains of humans who lived millions of years ago in HADAR, the Omo Valley region, and in Aramis in the Awash Valley, Ethiopia is considered one of the cradles of humanity. Called ABYSSINIA into the 20th century, the region was the site of AGRICULTURE and domestic herding dating back to the STONE AGE. Within its diverse population are eastern Cushitic speakers including the OROMO, SOMALI, AFAR and Saho, who were primarily nomadic herders. Other groups, such as the AMHARA and TIGRAY, reflect a mix of Arabic influence, carried by immigrants from the Arabian Peninsula in the centuries before Christ.

Royalty in Ethiopia includes the Solomonic dynasty, initiated, according to Ethiopian tradition, by Queen MAKEDA (queen of Sheba). Ethiopia's tradition of literacy dates back more than 2,000 years and includes a popular form of script known as *lessana ge'ez,* or simply GE'EZ, meaning "the language of the free." However, Ethiopia's embracing of CHRISTIANITY, initiated during the rule of King Ezana (r. 320–350 CE) of AKSUM, generated some of the most unique forms of religious devotion and architecture in the world.

See also: ARK OF THE COVENANT (Vol. I), BLUE NILE (Vol. I); ETHIOPIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SOLOMONIC DYNASTY (Vol. II).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994); Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: The Red Sea Press, Inc, 1997); David W. Phillipson, *Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, Its Antecedents and Successors* (London: British Museum Press, 1998).

Ethiopian Highlands The Ethiopian Highlands, which cover almost two-thirds of ETHIOPIA and much of central ERITREA, were produced by the lava flow of long-extinct volcanoes. The average elevation of the region is about 5,500 feet (1,676 m). Many rivers and deep valleys cut through the landscape, often dropping 2,000 feet (610 m) below the plateau. The highlands are split into two sections by the Great RIFT VALLEY, a geological fault system that stretches 3,000 miles (4,827 km) from southwest Asia to southeast Africa.

The rift cuts through the highlands diagonally, from northeast to southwest. The western highlands is the larger section, running from central Eritrea and northern Ethiopia to Lake TURKANA in the south. The rugged western highlands are divided by the valley of the Abay, also known as the BLUE NILE. The western highlands are also the location of Mount RAS DASHEN, which, at 15,157 feet (4,620 m), is the highest peak in Ethiopia. Inhabitants of the western highlands include the TIGRAY, the descendents of a Semitic people who established the Christian AKSUM kingdom, and the AMHARA, also descendants of Semitic peoples and political rivals of the Tigray. Found in the much smaller eastern highlands is Mount Batu, which stands at an elevation of 14,127 feet (4,306 m).

The Ethiopan Highlands are the most heavily farmed and most densely populated regions of both Eritrea and Ethiopia. They are also home to many forms of wildlife, including the rare Simien fox.

ethnic group Term used to signify people who share a common culture. Other terms frequently used to indicate a distinct cultural identity include *group, people, nation,* and *nationality.* Ethnic identity is based on factors such as common languages, shared customs and traditions, and a common historical past. In certain cases there is a common heroic tradition as well.

One of the better ways to identify a group of people sharing a common culture is by the language they speak, as in "Maninka speaker" or "YORUBA speaker." Among the MANDE-speaking peoples, for example, there are 46 distinct though closely related languages. Some Mande are Muslims and others are not, but both share the common heroic and historic past of the GHANA and MALI empires and the literature of the Epic of Sundiata.

Awareness of a common ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY may be rooted in the ancient past, but in many cases it may also be of much more recent origin. For example it was only after coming under British colonial rule that the IGBO of NIGERIA developed a common ethnic identity.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); GHANA, ANCIENT (Vol. II); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); SUNDIATA (Vol. II); TRIBES AND TRIBALISM (Vol. I).

ethnicity and identity An ETHNIC GROUP is most commonly defined as a group of people united by a common inherited culture, racial similarity, RELIGION, and belief in a common history and ancestry. If a person is to be part of this group he or she must first identify with its membership. Once that is done the person can gain a set of meanings that serve to bind him or her to the group and separate him or her from others.

Where ethnicity comes from is a matter of debate. Some scholars have attributed ethnicity to certain primordial differences between people. This makes ethnic identity a "given" phenomenon, with people being born to a certain ethnicity just as their fathers and mothers

were before them. Other scholars see ethnicity as an instrument. The differences between people—culture, religion, language, even race—are mutable. Thus ethnicity is a tool used by individuals, groups, or elites to gain some greater end, usually something material in nature or possibly the acquisition of power over others. For this reason some scholars have asserted that ethnicity was manipulated by colonial governments in Africa to divide populations and increase the strength of the colonial state.

Dominant views today tend to focus on how ethnicity can be "constructed." Ethnicity is one identity of many that is fluid and created by society. This construction might be influenced by elites as instrumentalists maintain, and they might retain certain primordial attributes over time, but not necessarily. A growing scholarship on this subject, called *ethnogenesis,* considers how few ethnic identities in Africa today existed 150 years ago. Rather, they emerged through ever-shifting social norms.

The ramifications of ethnicity vary. In some cases ethnicity becomes a proxy for nationalism. In Europe ethnic identities—Alsatian, Catalonian, Bolognese, and so on—were largely replaced by monolithic national identities only in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Today most European ethnic distinctions have become more about FOLKLORE and culture than defining identity. People identify with French, German, Spanish, or Greek heritage. But there are some ethnic identities—Kurdish, Basque, Serb, Croat, and so on—that made a resurgence in the late 20th century, often with violent consequences.

In Africa ethnicity has often manifested itself as a struggle between "tribalism"—something that would divide African societies—and national movements that would form Europe-like bonds with state identities. This, scholars argue, transforms much of what happens on a social, economic, and political level into a question of whether people will consider themselves, first and foremost, KIKUYU, HAUSA, or Xhosa, or whether they will see themselves primarily people of KENYA, NIGERIA, or SOUTH AFRICA. In recent African history the mobilization of ethnicity into a nationalist agenda has been neither easy nor peaceful. In countries throughout the continent—Kenya, ZIMBABWE, and ZAMBIA, to name a few—ethnic cleavages have grown with democratization as leaders looked to their ethnic bases to improve their chances of attaining office. Ijaw in Nigeria, for example, have galvanized their identity around a belief in local rights to oil. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the government of RWANDA fostered ethnic differences between the HUTU and Tutsi populations for its own ends. Ultimately this led to ethnically driven genocide in 1994. Avoiding future ethnic conflict in Rwanda, around the continent, and the world, will require an increasingly sophisticated understanding of the complex ways in which people identify themselves.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); STATE, ROLE OF (Vol. V).

Further reading: Clifford Geertz, ed., *Old Societies and New States* (New York: The Free Press, 1963); Mahmod Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Crawford Young, *Ethnicity and Politics in Africa* (Boston, Mass.: Boston University African Studies Center, 2002).

Ewaso Nyiro River River in KENYA that, along with the Tana River, drains Mount KENYA. The Ewaso Nyiro is a brown, muddy river that winds through the northern Frontier Desert. The rich jungle banks of the river contrast with the surrounding desert and support animal life such as CROCODILES, ELEPHANTS, WATER BUFFALO, LIONS, GIRAFFES, ZEBRAS, and MONKEYS. The Ewaso Nyiro River is part of the Great RIFT VALLEY, a geological fault system extending 3,000 miles (4,827 km) from the Jordan Valley in southwest Asia to MOZAMBIQUE in southeast Africa.

F

Falasha See BETA ISRAEL.

family In African societies an extended family unit naturally consisted of grandparents, parents, children, brothers, sisters, and cousins. In ancient times family units were based within large households or compounds, and the larger the family, the more secure its members felt. The security was not only social but also economic, for the family in Africa traditionally constituted the principal unit of production. Responsibility, obligation, and authority were the cornerstones of family life, but decision making was often left to the wisdom of family elders. In terms of RELIGION African societies viewed the family connections continuing after death, which provided yet another form of security. The living members of a family provided offerings for the deceased, who in turn looked after the welfare of the living.

From an economic standpoint, family structure generated FOOD production and therefore contributed to the economic welfare of the entire family unit. Archaeological reconstructions of the lives of ancient HUNTER-GATHERERS show that while there frequently was a division of LABOR among the sexes, there also was a certain level of gender equality. Among the !KUNG, whose population extended over areas of present-day BOTSWANA, ANGOLA, and NAMIBIA, women looked after the children, supplied the family with water and firewood, and prepared the family dwelling. Women also contributed a large portion of the community's food in the form of wild plants. On the other hand, men were responsible for providing the community with a sufficient supply of meat. As hunters—often of large predators—men performed tasks that were

considered more dangerous and more complex. In spite of this, men may also have assisted within the household and frequently were joined by women in the decision-making process. As AGRICULTURE developed there continued to be a division of labor along gender lines. Among farmers, men usually did the heavy work of preparing the fields while women tended to the crops planted in these fields. In pastoral societies men usually, but not always, handled the livestock with women carrying out other forms of labor.

Because marriage often represented the unification of families, kingdoms, and countries, political power was also tied to family structure. The ancient rulers of EGYPT and NUBIA, for example, often made marriage arrangements between siblings and first cousins precisely in order to exercise political control over a particular region or kingdom. This type of family structure also allowed people, especially wealthy or royal households, to transfer or maintain material resources. Although children were coveted in all societies, the offspring of royal marriages were particularly valued (and rewarded). It was they who were the recipients of the crown or, at the very least, of such inherited forms of wealth as land or CATTLE.

See also: FAMILY (Vols. II, III, IV, V); LESSER WIVES (Vol. I); POLYGAMY (Vol. I).

Further reading: Mario Azevedo, "The African Family," in Mario Azevedo, ed., *Africana Studies: A Survey of Africa and the African Diaspora*, 3rd ed. (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2004).

farming techniques Prior to about 10,000 BCE ancient peoples got their FOOD by hunting, gathering, and

FISHING. Groups of people moved seasonally in order to be near food sources. When the transition to farming came, most historians believe that it was made independently in several different regions of the world.

While it was previously believed that the first farming was carried out in MESOPOTAMIA about 8000 BCE, there now is evidence to suggest that ancient peoples harvested barley as early as 16,000 BCE. Likewise, it appears that wild SORGHUM was harvested in the area of KHARTOUM, in present-day Republic of the SUDAN, as early as 9000 BCE. While not yet universally accepted, this evidence has done much to change long-held views of human technological development.

The first food-production method used by ancient Africans was probably gathering and storing grain, or cereal, produced by wild grasses. Gatherers then began actively to encourage the growth of the grasses, possibly by weeding to remove competing plants. Stone hoes were invented to accomplish this task. The next step was collecting and sowing seed from the strongest plants.

The transition to food production was made during the STONE AGE in different ways in different areas of Africa. The people of the NILE VALLEY took advantage of the fact that while the WHITE NILE flowed continuously, the BLUE NILE flooded annually, leaving behind deposits of dark, fertile soil along its banks. When the water receded, the people pushed seeds into this muddy deposit, and a crop would grow as the soil dried out.

Between 8000 and 4000 BCE the climate of the SAHARA DESERT was much wetter than it is today, and a series of rivers and lakes there provided good fishing. As the Sahara gradually became drier, however, from about 3000 to 1000 BCE, the desert spread, and rivers and lakes became smaller and smaller. The emphasis on fishing gradually shifted to farming the savanna grasslands that bordered the desert. Stone Age farmers of the area used sickle blades for cutting grasses and grinding stones to make flour.

The crops chosen for domestication depended on the conditions of the area. For example, along the edges of the spreading desert, pearl MILLET was domesticated, probably because it was fairly drought-resistant. In contrast, in the wetlands of the upper NIGER RIVER, wild rice was grown. The peoples of the tropical forest planted root crops, such as YAMS, instead of cereals. In the highlands of ETHIOPIA farmers grew oil plants and cultivated the banana-like *enset* for its starchy stalks.

The development of farming in forested areas required tools to clear the land. New techniques of grinding and polishing stone resulted in improved axes and adzes. To make them, a stone was ground against a harder stone to create a sloping, sharp-edged surface. This was an improvement over the earlier method of sharpening a stone by striking it against another stone to chip away flakes. Other techniques for clearing forests included killing trees by ringing them and setting fires to burn the undergrowth. Forest farmers also took advantage of natural clearings to grow yams and palm trees for nuts. The IRON AGE brought with it further improvements in farming tools.

Various techniques traditionally were used to produce a rich enough soil to support cereal grains as a primary crop. In the eastern and central regions of Africa, farmers with nothing more than simple hand-held hoes used the technique known as *citemene,* (shifting culture). This entailed clearing an area in a wooded region and building a FIRE from the branches of large trees. Smaller trees were usually reduced in size to a stump and became focal points for new crops. This method, usually carried out by men, occurred near the end of a dry season and before the start of the rainy season. Farmers learned whether or not the soil of a particular area was conducive to growing grain crops by observing the quality of surrounding grasses or even noting the presence or absence of certain types of insects and animals.

Burning dead grass and undergrowth enriched the soil with minerals and nutrients that were useful for planting new crops. After two to three years of crop production the ground was often allowed to lie fallow in order to recover its strength. During that time, a new crop of cereal grains was planted elsewhere or in combination with secondary crops such as pumpkins, beans, or cowpeas. These secondary crops helped ensure proper drainage and supplied other types of nutrients.

The effectiveness of these techniques varied from region to region. In addition, the populations of some regions planted grain randomly. Generally, however, the entire FAMILY had specific tasks in relation to the planting and harvesting of grain. Families sometimes were assisted by the community's AGE SETS during harvest time, when extra LABOR was critical. Harvesting grain required that the crops be dried in the sun, threshed, and then transported to large granaries. In traditional societies the first harvested grain was given as a symbolic gift to wives or other members of the family. Over the centuries, family farmers formed societies that managed to create a surplus that could be traded for needed items or stored for future use. This surplus also left the people time for raising other foodstuffs and for the development of society as a whole.

As the transition to farming spurred Africans to invent new tools and cultivation methods, the social, political, and economic fabric of their lives also changed. People no longer had to move constantly in order to gather food. Consequently, permanent settlements sprang up, and more enduring housing was built. Populations increased, too, as women bore more children who could be kept safe within the settlement. More children meant more hands to work the farms, so surplus food could be

produced and traded to other peoples for raw materials and other necessary items. Not surprisingly, the changes brought about by the rise of AGRICULTURE led to the formation of rich and poor classes, with those who controlled the land and food production becoming the wealthy class.

See also: AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION (Vol. I).

festivals Celebrations that often combine religious, historic, and cultural themes. Widespread in Africa, festivals frequently occurred on an annual or seasonal basis. In many societies festivals were a means of restoring spiritual balance and maintaining a strong sense of community. Ancient rulers also used community festivals as a way to reinforce their regal power. One of the earliest—and most noteworthy—examples of this was the ancient Egyptian SED FESTIVAL, which was a celebration of divine kingship. In western Africa festival dates are often determined by DIVINATION and are often unknown until the last minute.

Harvest Festivals One of the most important festivals in agricultural communities is the annual harvest festival. The IGBO people of present-day NIGERIA celebrate Ikeji, meaning "new yam eating," by serving only dishes made of YAMS to symbolize the abundance of the crop. The New Yam Festival, marking the end of one planting season and the start of the next, is a time to thank the yam spirits through the ancestors for a bountiful harvest. The king or the oldest man in the community traditionally eats the first yam, his position bestowing on him the role of intermediary between the people and the spirit world. The first day of this four-day festival is the holiest and most important. Sacrifices are offered to the ancestors, who it is believed walk among the living on that day. All male children are expected to attend and offer reverence. The remaining days of Ikeji provide masquerades for the entertainment of guests. Marriages are often contracted at this time.

The peoples of the NIGER DELTA celebrate the Ikwerre, Kalabari, and Okrira festivals in honor of the water spirits. Masqueraders wear MASKS that resemble fish or water birds. Rituals include divinations and sacrifices, followed by songs and dances depicting these spirits, who, it is believed, are present within the masqueraders who wear masks representing them.

Festivals Honoring Ancestors Reverence for ancestors and belief in SPIRIT POSSESSION are important aspects of traditional Yoruban religion. The EGUNGUN festival, which honors the ancestors and requests their blessings, lasts 24 days. On each day of the festival a masked dancer, believed to be possessed by an ancestor, dances through the town or village. The body of the dancer is totally concealed so that he becomes the disembodied spirit of the ancestor his DANCE honors. On the final day of the festival a priest sacrifices animals at the shrine of the ancestors and pours their blood on the shrine. The sacrificed animals are consumed at the feast that follows.

Festivals in Honor of Divinities The YORUBA celebrate many festivals to honor the many DEITIES, or ORISHA, in the pantheon of their traditional belief system. One commonly celebrated festival honors SHANGO, the god of thunder and lightning and the orisha of drum and dance, who is feared and respected among the people. Shango's followers come to him for protection from their enemies, for legal problems, and for solutions to assorted difficulties. Shango's festival lasts 20 days, a period during which his hereditary priest makes sacrifices at Shango's shrine. On the final day, the priest becomes possessed by Shango and gains magical powers, including the ability to eat fire and, much later, swallow gunpowder. A procession ending in a feast concludes the festival.

Festivals of Secret Societies Many peoples throughout Africa have formed SECRET SOCIETIES, bound by oath, in response to a special local or cultural need. The secret societies also conduct festivals. One noteworthy example is the Yoruba Gelede festival, held annually from March until May, before the rainy season. This festival, intended to appease the destructive powers of the ancient mothers, is the remedy for the distress caused by the threat of drought or infertility. Males dance in pairs, their faces uncovered but with female masks perched on top of their heads. The faces on the masks show the serenity and composure considered desirable in Yoruba women. Because the dancers' identities are not secret, they are not thought to be possessed by a god and may walk freely among the people in costume before and after the masquerade.

Other Festivals Celebrations also generally accompanied the RITES OF PASSAGE into adulthood, following CIRCUMCISION or clitoridectomy and their associated rituals. In these and in other ceremonies, the importance of blood must be noted. Spilling blood when making a sacrifice means that life, whether human or animal, is being given back to God, who is the ultimate source of life. Among the MBUTI who live in what is now the Republic of the CONGO, blood shed during circumcision is thought to bind the person to the land and to his ancestors in a solemn covenant or agreement. Once the individual's blood is shed, he joins the stream of his people. There is, however a widespread belief in African societies that menstrual blood is ritually dangerous and taboo, forcing women, even priestesses, to absent themselves from shrines and banning them from handling any ritual objects. Even though women frequently functioned as mediums with the spirit world, the task often belonged to a girl before she reached puberty or to an older woman past childbearing age.

See also: KUOMBOKA CEREMONY (Vol. V); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Fezzan (Fezan) Saharan region of the present-day North African country of LIBYA. The Fezzan was the site of ancient settlements and cave paintings, some of which date back to prehistoric times. Controlled by a people known to the ancient Greeks as the GARAMANTES and sometimes called the Garamantian Empire, the area later became part of the Roman Empire under the name Phazania.

See also: FEZZAN (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: Charles Daniels, *The Garamantes of Southern Libya* (New York: Oleander Press, 1970).

fire Fragments of burned bone found in a cave at Swartkans, SOUTH AFRICA, provide evidence of the intentional use of fire in Africa 1 million years ago. In other parts of Africa, hearths were probably not commonplace as centers of human habitation until about 60,000 years ago, when there was a pronounced rise in social and cultural activity.

Anthropologist Louis Leakey pointed out that the same primitive tool used to make fire—a hard, pointed stick twirled between the palms to make a piece of soft wood smolder—can also be used as a hand drill to make holes in shell and bone. Fire and such drilled objects, perhaps used as personal ornamentation, enter the archaeological record in Africa at the same time.

Fire also has its place in African mythology. For example, in the creation stories of the Dagara people of what is now BURKINA FASO and GHANA, fire is the first element on the wheel of life. Water is the second element. According to these stories, in the beginning there was no world as humans know it, but only a burning ball of fire moving at great speed. When this ball of fire encountered a massive body of water, the shock forced fire into the underworld, leaving a hot, steamy surface that was fertile for living things. This surface, called Earth, is the third element on the Dagara wheel of life. The minerals and stones and other hard components of the earth hold things together and thus make up the fourth element. The fifth element, vegetative nature, came into existence when the clouds of steam in the atmosphere subsided, allowing plant life to grow.

In tropical Africa the nights are close to 12 hours long year-round, and darkness falls abruptly. The first uses of fire were to provide protection from animals and, later, to help in hunting and toolmaking. Control of fire made the night safe. Fires caused by lightning and set by humans helped thin the vast African forests and turn woodlands into grasslands, making cultivation and passage easier. The main areas of migration and settlement in prehistoric Africa tended to be in the savanna regions.

fishing Early inhabitants of Africa were primarily nomadic foragers, but archaeological evidence indicates that several groups also established very early fishing communities. The Ishango people of Lake Albert were active fishermen about 23,000 BCE, as were the inhabitants of Wadi Kubbaniya in EGYPT 5,000 years later. Not until 7000 BCE did fishing communities start to emerge in abundance, however. In addition to the NILE and NIGER rivers, the banks of the Congo and the Zambezi rivers emerged as fishing areas. Harpoons and net weights have been found in some of the settlements, indicating that early NOMADS were able to live a semi-sedentary life for the first time.

With a plentiful FOOD supply, these early fishermen were able to establish villages of up to 1,000 people living in permanent dwellings. Their social structure changed from loose ties between families (which was typical of nomadic peoples) to more structured communities. New concepts, like property and inheritance, emerged as they accumulated nets, harpoons, and other tools necessary for fishing.

Although the social progression of these early fishing communities is unclear, they were successful enough to flourish for thousands of years. As agricultural technology was introduced, fishing villages began to trade fish for the crops and commodities of neighboring villages.

Early fishing techniques were improved upon over time, but the seasonal rhythms of the rural fishing lifestyle remained largely unchanged until the latter part of the 19th century. As the high era of European colonialism began many indigenous fishermen were forced to abandon fishing as a means of sustenence in order to provide LABOR for colonial ventures.

See also: FISHING, COMMERCIAL (Vol. V).

flamingos The African flamingo is reddish with black wing feathers. In ancient EGYPT, however, these birds were frequently found in lakes, a fact that led to a striking difference between the birds of ancient Egypt and those of the rest of the continent. Flamingos actually are white in color; their pink hue comes from eating tiny pink shrimp. Since brine shrimp are rarely found in Egyptian lakes, even today many Egyptian flamingos are only a very pale pink.

During the height of power for the Roman Empire in Africa, flamingo tongues were consumed as a great delicacy. In fact, flamingos were such a popular food in ancient ROME that the birds were threatened with extinction. To protect them, the Romans established a law forbidding the hunting of flamingos.

flies Adult flies measure between .25 and .5 inches (0.6 and 1.2 cm) in width. Some flies are known to carry malaria and other serious diseases. For example, the tsetse fly, which lives throughout tropical areas south of the SAHARA DESERT, is a known carrier of the parasite that causes sleeping sickness.

In ancient EGYPT flies were considered symbols of valor and determination. Often, GOLD medals in the shape of flies were given to accomplished soldiers. Flies were also recognized as pests. Egyptians covered their doors and windows with mats to keep them out. According to the Bible, an infestation of flies was among the 10 plagues sent to Egypt by God to persuade the Egyptians to release the Israelites from slavery.

See also: MALARIA (Vol. V); TSETSE FLIES (Vol. II); DISEASE IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. 1).

folklore Proverbs, stories, tales, beliefs, customs, codes, and literature of a culture passed on from generation to generation, usually as ORAL TRADITION. Since the stories and proverbs of ancient African cultures were typically told and not written, much of what we know about ancient folklore comes from the versions of stories that still exist in present-day Africa. Scholars believe that this existent folklore is very old and has been passed down for centuries, enabling people of today to learn a great deal about the people of the past.

In Africa, as in other parts of the world, folklore takes different forms for different purposes. Generally, though, figures in these stories can go beyond the constraints of everyday life. They may amass great wealth, visit imagined places, or perform actions that if carried out in real life would merit punishment or even death. Though folklore can contain magical elements, the rationale for telling the stories is often to help real people better understand their world.

Creation myths are among the most common types of ancient folklore, and they often explain how things came to be. Hundreds of creation myths exist. In almost every such African myth, the gods give humans everlasting life, but someone distorts the message. The YORUBA of NIGERIA have a particularly rich tradition of folklore, and their creation myth is well known. However, even among the Yoruba themselves, the myth varies, showing that, even within a culture, folklore can differ from region to region.

The Yoruba creation myth, like most African myths, includes a god in the sky ruling over earth from above. More specifically, the Yoruba myth tells that before there were people on earth, there was only water and flooded marshland. Therefore, the chief god, OLORUN, decided one day to make land and sent another god to make it, giving him a snail shell containing earth and a hen. Even though he had been given an important task, this god stopped to get a drink on the way, and, as a result, fell into a drunken sleep. His brother, Oduduwa, hearing and seeing what had happened, took the gifts from Olorun and went to earth to accomplish the feat. He poured the earth from the shell and set the hen on it so that the hen could peck and scratch the earth to form land. The hen continued until there was a sizeable piece of dry land. When the drunken god awoke and saw what had taken place, he fought with Oduduwa over the claim to this land. Olorun made Oduduwa ruler over earth, and the other god was given the less important task of creating figures, which became people when Olorun breathed life into them.

One variation of this myth explains that the god who came to form land on earth became bored and began to create humans out of clay but stopped in the middle to drink. Because of the god's drunkenness, some of the humans were not formed well, thus explaining how deformed people came to be. This is another example of how folklore explains a part of real life.

The African trickster tale is another common form of folklore; in fact, it is perhaps the best-known of all. In it, the trickster often outsmarts the gods or gets out of an impossible situation. In one such trickster tale of the Yoruba, the trick is played on the tortoise, as he tries to steal knowledge from the gods. The knowledge is contained in a shell that he carries around his neck, but, angry that he cannot traverse a tree trunk because of the shell, the tortoise breaks it. As a result knowledge spills out and spreads throughout the earth. Scholars speculate that this type of folklore shows the quirks and flaws of humans, as well as the lessons we can learn. ANANSI, a spider figure, is one of the well-known tricksters of western Africa. In Nigeria and the Republic of BENIN, the trickster can also takes the form of a hare or a tortoise.

Much African folklore centers on animals, as well as on spirits of the natural world. In this type of folklore, there are gods and spirits to represent most of the things on earth and in the sky, including animals, the sun, moon, stars, and lightning. A spirit may be strong or weak, depending on the power that its natural counterpart has on earth. For example, a river or a snake has great power because it can kill people, and so both are among the nature spirits that are strong. In folklore, animals often have greater powers than in real life and can talk, climb to the sky, and accomplish other amazing feats, even speaking to the gods.

The purposes of honoring or praising something in nature and of teaching about nature are often served in folklore. For example, in one myth from TANZANIA, a giraffe asks a god for wisdom, and the god consents. The god tells the giraffe that it will be allowed to see and listen but not talk. This, the deity explains, is because those who talk much are foolish, while those who remain silent show wisdom. This, according to myth, explains why GIRAFFES never seem to utter a sound.

Folklore also explains what may at first seem inexplicable. One story of how FIRE was brought to earth is an example. In this myth, the insects and birds came together to find a way to bring fire from the sky so that they could stay warm at night. The Mason Wasp agreed to fly high into the sky, past the clouds, where it was thought the gods kept fire. The vulture, eagle, and crow decided to go with him, but after many days of flying, the vulture died. The eagle, too, died, followed by the crow. Only the wasp remained aloft. After 30 days, the gods did indeed give fire to the wasp to bring to earth. For his perserverence, the wasp was rewarded by the gods as the only animal able to build a nest near fire.

Traditionally, in Africa, those who knew folklore and, in particular, proverbs, were thought to be wise. They were respected and thought of as people who understood the culture and how it functions. One of the reasons why ancestors were revered in many African cultures may have been because of their knowledge of the folklore that was orally passed from generation to generation. Stories, tales, proverbs, customs, explanations, and codes of behavior have all been passed down for centuries in Africa in the great tradition of oral literature. Some of these stories were so elaborate that they took days to tell. This folkloric tradition served to honor or praise, explain, teach, preserve history, pass down morals and virtues, and elevate people in their everyday existence.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Leo Frobenius and Douglas C. Fox, *African Genesis: Folk Tales and Myths of Africa* (New York: Dover Publications, 1999).

food Ancient Africans obtained food in several ways: they hunted, fished, gathered, scavenged, herded, and farmed. The earliest peoples were HUNTER-GATHERERS. Their diet included large and small game, birds, fish, mice, grass-hoppers, crabs, snails, mollusks, fruit, nuts, wild cereals, vegetables, fungi, and other plants. Even in ancient times, hunting and gathering only used a portion of peoples' time, allowing opportunity for other activities, including social interaction and artistic expression. Some historians, therefore, believe that were it not for population growth, ancient peoples would not have taken up farming, since it represented a much more time-consuming activity. (In fact, it has been said that hunger was the motivating force behind AGRICULTURE, migrations, revolutions, wars, and the establishment of dynasties.)

When the ancient African population grew larger than food sources could support, people began to engage in agriculture. While the hunters-gatherers did consume some wild cereal, the advent of farming meant that a steady supply of grain was available and that a surplus could be amassed to provide food in lean times or as currency in trading necessities and other items.

GEOGRAPHY was a determining factor in the diet of the hunters and gatherers. Different regions supported different wild plants and animals. In parts of West Africa, for example, people harvested forest snails, while groups living on the shores of Lake VICTORIA used water FLIES as an ingredient in soup.

In the case of agriculture, the type of terrain and amount of rainfall determined the kinds of crops that grew best. The ancient Egyptians grew barley, beans, cucumbers, dates, figs, grapes, leeks, melons, and wheat. The people of ETHIOPIA domesticated *noog,* an oil plant, and teff, a tiny grain that was not found elsewhere in Africa. Many varieties of wheat and barley were cultivated in Ethiopia, where the altitude was conducive to their growth. The peoples of West Africa's "yam belt" cultivated many plants used in soups, including fluted pumpkins. The IGBO used YAMS as a carbohydrate staple, rolling pounded yams into a ball and dipping them into a sauce before eating them. The peoples of marginal areas experimented with a fluctuating blend of farming, hunting and gathering, and FISHING. CLIMATE change also affected diet. For example, gradual desiccation in the western sudanic belt affected the development of cereals.

VEGETATION and rainfall also determined the type of DOMESTICATED ANIMALS that Africans kept and the patterns of life that they followed. Some people lived as pastoralists, since the generally drier grasslands with relatively low rainfall could not sustain farming. The pastoralists for the most part herded either CATTLE or CAMELS. Sheep were important in North Africa and also in eastern and southern Africa. Pastoralists obtained meat and milk from their herds, diversifying their diets by trading with farmers for other types of food. Other Africans living in better-watered areas often farmed as well as herded livestock. They could thus combine both grown crops and livestock products in their diet. Those farmers living in the more heavily forested areas had smaller domesticated animals such as GOATS and fowl.

Yet another factor influencing the diet of ancient Africans was social mores. The MAASAI were pastoralists and loathed hunting and farming. Consequently, only in times of famine would they take up cultivation and hunting, although some Maasai groups did adopt agriculture.

Foods from Asia were also part of the diet of ancient Africans. It is thought that the settlers of MADAGASCAR brought bananas, rice, and COCOYAM from Asia. It was previously thought that these foods spread to the mainland and then across the continent. However, it is now believed that they probably spread very gradually around the shores of the Indian Ocean.

The importance of food staples was reflected in the languages of ancient Africans. Among the Igbo, a successful yam farmer was referred to as a "yam king," and the Igbo language has numerous words for yams. The Chagga

have 20 different words for banana. To the NUER and Dinka peoples, fish and grain were more important than meat. Thus Dinka priests were referred to as "masters of the fishing spear." In the eastern Sahara the word for life refers to SORGHUM. In the SAHEL the same word refers to MILLET.

The preparation and consumption of food was often associated with rites and rituals. For example, the peoples of the MAGHRIB ate communal meals built around couscous, which was made from pulverized grain. Women prayed aloud during the grinding process, and the communal consumption of the couscous was an expression of solidarity. Among the Igbo, the eating of yams was forbidden before the New Yam Festival. This was most likely done to allow the tubers to grow to maturity.

The amount of food available sometimes determined who would live and who would die. Some hunters and gatherers would be forced to abandon their infants and elders in times of famine. The diets of the ancient Africans also affected their life span and health. A diet lacking in certain nutrients could be responsible for illness, and many people suffered a lifetime of pain due to such health problems as arthritis and tooth decay.

See also: FOOD (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

foxes Foxes have long, pointed muzzles, thick coats, and long tails. They generally are solitary animals, living alone most of the year and sleeping in grasses or thickets. During the breeding season, pairs of foxes establish dens, homes burrowed in the ground, to raise their families.

Foxes eat a variety of foods, including insects, small birds, rodents, lizards, eggs, and fruit. They are, in turn, hunted by larger animals like wolves, as well as by humans. The most common fox, the red fox, is found in northern Africa and can be as long as 23 inches (58 cm) and weigh 5 to 10 pounds (2 to 4 kg). The fennec, or desert fox, which is found in the Sahara, has large ears and fluffy cream-colored fur. The desert fox is between 9.5 and 16 inches (24 to 40 cm) long and weighs between 1.5 and 3.5 pounds (3 to 8 kg). It is the smallest type of fox.

Foxes appear in the mythology of various African cultures, often as a mischievous trickster character. In ancient EGYPT, many people carried *was*-scepters, fetishes with carvings of dog or fox heads that were thought to hold life-giving powers.

Fulani See FULFULDE.

Fulfulde (Fulani, Peul) A Niger-Congo language spoken in West Africa. Speakers of Fulfulde are found in a band stretching from CHAD to CAMEROON. *Fulani* is the HAUSA designation for speakers of Fulfulde, *Fula* is the Mandinka term, and *Peul* that of the Wolof.

By the end of the 20th century an estimated 5 to 10 million people spoke one of the six mutually understandable dialects of this language, making it the most widely spoken language in the West Atlantic branch of the NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES.

See also: FULANI (Vols. II, III, IV).

funeral customs Burial rites and associated beliefs practiced by various societies. The number of different funerary customs practiced among the populations of Africa provides some idea of their significance. Funeral rites have held an integral place in society from ancient times and often appear to have developed to express a belief in reincarnation or regeneration. These themes influence every aspect of life in Africa and have served as the underlying source of many of its cultural forms. It is a theme most apparent in each new generation, which is believed to embody returning ancestors.

Funerals have long been considered a crossroads where the worlds of the living and the dead briefly coexist. In the unsettling period following death, funerary rites have also offered grieving people a way to reinforce the continuity of kinship while reinforcing the all-important sense of community. The appearance of food, libations, gifts, and personal possessions in and on graves can be traced back to many ancient populations. The custom may have initially begun as an appeasement to the gods or as a way to avert calamities, such as drought or failed crops. In ancient EGYPT, for example, it was customary to bury people with their possessions, and status was a determining factor in how the deceased was to be sustained, protected, and compensated in the next world. Archaeologists have excavated the mummified remains of pharaohs in beautiful sarcophagi with a wide array of grave goods, including precious jewels, weapons, household items, and such means of TRANSPORTATION as chariots and small boats.

In comparison, some 10,000 to 25,000 years ago, the HUNTERS-GATHERER ancestors of the modern day SAN in BOTSWANA and the KHALAHARI DESERT in southern Africa buried their dead with simple possessions, such as stone tools. Some sources indicate that they placed the bodies in a fetal position, knees bound by rope close to the chest, with the body lying on its left side facing east. Archaeologists' excavations have failed to offer a complete picture of what formal funeral ceremonies, if any, the San conducted. Instead, it appears that following the family's farewell, the San dismantled their camps and abandoned the area except for periodic visits. If true, the absence of elaborate rites may reflect the San's nomadic existence.

Many funeral customs were shaped by the environment. Ritual imagery of rivers, lakes, and other bodies of water confirm a widely held view of death as a journey. The Mende of SIERRA LEONE believe that the last gasps of

a dying person are efforts to climb the hill of death. A few days later, a "crossing the river ceremony" acknowledges the person's arrival in the land reserved for the dead. The Lodagaa, farmers in northern GHANA, maintain that the land of the ancestors is found in the west, across a river of death. The fee to cross the river is 20 cowries, and those who attend the funeral pay for the journey. The impact of environment on belief was further demonstrated by the Chagga of what is now TANZANIA, who hold that it takes nine days to travel the rugged desert terrain between the physical and spiritual worlds. As a result, for protection from the sun, their deceased loved ones are "fed" with milk and wrapped in animal hides.

Some of the traditions practiced by the Abaluyia people of KENYA are representative of many African societies. For example, although men and women demonstrate strong displays of grief, widows often have a well-prescribed path to follow. As soon as death is apparent, wives and their cohorts begin to wail and their children take up these laments as well. Wailing is considered by many societies to be an essential rite, and the inability to cry is offensive. Among the people of Manianga, in the present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO, women whose "strong eyes" shed no tears are considered a disgrace to their FAMILY and community. The underlying impulse involved is reciprocity—"Today we cry for you, tomorrow you will cry for me."

As in many African societies the Abaluyia keep their deceased unburied for a brief period to allow relatives and friends to gather. They hold night vigils and festive ceremonies, which are also common in many societies. Vigils are often organized to ward off the possibility of WITCHCRAFT, generally associated with inexplicable deaths. Festive ceremonies, on the other hand, are traditionally held to please the deceased while offering communal solace to the grieving family. It should be noted, however, that one funerary custom that remains within the cultural sphere of the pastoral Abaluyia society is the recognition given to women who have been faithful to their husbands. At the burial ceremony, such a widow is encouraged to dance holding her husband's spears; if past childbearing age, she may wear his garments.

The timing and logistics of burial are influenced by societal beliefs. For instance, the Lodagaa bury their dead in the morning or evening because in the afternoon the soul of the dead person might be apart from the body, basking in the sun. The Abaluyia, on the other hand, bury everyone except for chieftains in the afternoon; chieftains are traditionally buried at sunset.

While the practice of a "double funeral" is largely misunderstood by outsiders, there is both a practical purpose and a societal purpose behind it. The dead are first buried quickly to prevent a polluting presence. In the interval before the more formal funeral, many traditional rituals intended to elevate the deceased to ancestral status are celebrated. The SHONA people of ZIMBABWE, for example, held a *kugadzira,* a communal meal, a year after death. This meal not only allowed the family to reaffirm kinship ties, it also called for the distribution of former possessions belonging to the deceased, including former wives, lands, and titles. In later times, the Zulu people celebrated the *ukubuyisa idlozi* (bringing home of the spirit), a ceremony held by the bereaved family within two years of death. When the ceremony was performed for men of high position, an ox was sacrificed to the ancestors, and the name of the deceased was then added to the praise list. The ceremony culminated with the eldest son dragging a tree branch, symbolic of the spirit, from the gravesite to the homestead.

Many societies that perform double funerals present sacrificial offerings at shrines during the interim period or participate in sacred DANCE. The Dogon and the Fulani, for example, perform a dance to reunite spirit and community. Not only do these ceremonies "invite back" the departed, in many regions they served as an official notice that the period of mourning, pollution, and disorder that are thought to accompany death is at an end. The formal funeral, a community event, climaxes this period of grief.

Following the funeral, the work of maintaining the memory of the deceased continues. The AKAN of GHANA still invoke their ancient traditions of remembering the ancestors and their continuing deeds for the community through the *adae wukudae* or *kweisidaie* ceremonies performed on Wednesdays and Sundays. Announced by drumming on the morning of the event, the ceremonies begin after ancestor stools are ceremonially blackened and water poured by a female elder. This symbolic gesture allowed the ancestors to wash their hands before eating. Beginning with the oldest stool, rulers or priests traditionally gave an offering of plantains, meats, and wine, and they invited the ancestors to participate:

> *My spirit grandfather,*
> *Today is Wednesday Adae*
> *Come and receive this mashed plantain and eat*
> *Let this town prosper . . .*

Rites such as these continue to be used by many African societies in order to maintain ties to the deceased. Funerary customs have a timeless quality that blends past, present, and future in a celebration of life over death.

See also: AFTERLIFE (Vol. I); ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

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G

Gabon   Country covering about 103,300 square miles (267,500 sq km) along the central-western coast of Africa. Today Gabon is bordered by EQUATORIAL GUINEA, CAMEROON, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and ANGOLA. Spearheads dating back to c. 7000 BCE have been discovered in the area, but little is known about the early inhabitants who used them. Bantu speaking peoples migrated into the area in the first millennium.

See also: GABON (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: K. David Patterson, *The Northern Gabon Coast to 1875* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1975).

galley   Though galleys had a single mast and sail, the primary source of power for the ships was human. The first galleys had one series of rowers on each side of the long, narrow, shallow boat. Shields, which were sometimes made of animal hide or heavy cloth, hung from a rail to protect the rowers. The galleys were used for transporting goods for trade, but also for war. From about 850 BCE on, galleys often were fashioned with a large ram at the bow.

Around 700 BCE, the PHOENICIANS introduced a new kind of galley, a bireme, which had two rows of oars. These were arranged with an upper and lower bank of rowers on each side of the ship. The Greeks are credited with building the first three-banked galley ship about 500 BCE. These three-banked galleys, or triremes, were also used by ROME and other kingdoms in the Mediterranean, primarily because they acheived greater speed and had more power with which to ram enemy ships. Some of the three-banked ships held two or three masts and sails. Galleys with four and five banks of oars followed.

Galleys were used to carry trade goods in the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Over time, the galleys used in commerce were built differently than those used in war. The merchant ships became deeper and wider, with a greater storage capacity. They also came to rely more on sail and wind power than on the strength of human rowers. In contrast, the long, narrow fighting galleys were primarily powered by rowers and were built for speed and ease of maneuverability.

See also: SHIPBUILDING (Vols. I, II); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); TRANSPORTATION (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Gambia, The   Small coastal West African country that is some 4,360 square miles (11,290 sq km) in size and that stretches inland 295 miles (490 km) from the coast along the Gambia River. Varying in width from 15 to 30 miles (24 to 48 km), The Gambia is completely surrounded by SENEGAL except for a narrow coastal strip on the Atlantic Ocean. Gambia is part of the larger Senegambia region.

HUNTER-GATHERERS of the STONE AGE long inhabited the banks of the Gambia River. As AGRICULTURE developed in the interior savanna regions along the NIGER RIVER, it expanded westward to The Gambia. The most important agricultural development was the adoption of African rice (*Oryza glaberima*). Originating in the inland NIGER DELTA, perhaps as early as 3500 BCE, it spread to the coastal zone, where it became a principal FOOD crop from Senegal to GHANA. By 500 CE the region was well populated by farmers who used iron implements and lived in villages.

The people of the Gambia region were possibly in contact with CARTHAGE. About 470 BCE the Carthaginian explorer HANNO (c. 530–470 BCE) made a voyage along the Atlantic coast of Africa that perhaps reached as far as present-day CAMEROON. It is probable that one of the broad rivers his chronicle describes was the Gambia, though it could also have been the SENEGAL RIVER. Whether there were further links between Carthage and the Senegambia region remains unknown, since there are no other records of Carthaginian voyages along the West African coast.

See also: GAMBIA, THE (Vols. II, III, IV, V); GAMBIA RIVER (Vol. II).

Further reading: Harry A. Gailey, *A History of the Gambia* (New York: Praeger, 1965).

Garamantes   Inhabitants of northern Africa, in the vicinity of the FEZZAN region, in present-day LIBYA, the Graramantes were eventually absorbed into Roman Africa. Although their exact origins are unclear, the roots of the Garamantes are traced to ancient, probably even prehistoric, times. According to some historians, they may be related to the SEA PEOPLE who, at various times, challenged Egyptian power in eastern Africa. Other scholars, however, see the Garamantes as related to the various indigenous STONE AGE peoples of North Africa whose rock drawings and other remains have only recently begun to be studied.

As early as the fifth century BCE the Greek historian HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE) described the Garamantes as successful warriors who were noteworthy for their mastery of four-horse chariots. These war chariots allowed the Garamantes to establish military dominance in the region. For the most part, it seems that these lightweight, maneuverable chariots were used primarily to raid and plunder neighboring areas. The speed and power of the Garamantes' chariots allowed these raids to go on over an area that, according to Herodotus and the Roman geographer Strabo, stretched from ETHIOPIA in the east to the Atlantic coast in the west.

The Garamantes' military power gave them effective control over much, if not virtually all, of the trade passing through their territory. Evidence also suggests that the Garamantes themselves might have used their chariots as part of their own trading efforts: Many of the numerous rock paintings found in the Fezzan depict the Garamantes' vehicles in action, and some seem to show ox-drawn carts that might have been quite suitable for transporting trade goods. In addition, some of the ancient pathways across the region seem capable of handling traffic from vehicles larger and heavier than the Garamantes' war chariots. Unfortunately, there is little other hard evidence—in the form of discoveries from other regions, for example—to support the notion that the Garamantes maintained trans-Saharan or, indeed, any other significant trade routes.

Beyond controlling the trade, the Garamantes also conducted extensive raids against neighboring peoples, including the far more powerful Carthaginians. Even when CARTHAGE was a major force in North Africa, in the sixth century BCE, the Garamantes remained a significant problem for the city-state's outlying regions, and conflicts between the Garamantes and Carthaginians were frequent. The pattern continued after Carthage's defeat in the PUNIC WARS, with the Garamantes raiding and plundering areas that had fallen under Roman dominion. This went on until ROME, determined to solve the problem of the Garamantes once and for all, launched a major military expedition against them. By the year 19 CE, this Roman force had effectively stamped out the Garamantes' opposition and brought them under the rule of Roman Africa. In the sixth century the Garamantes fell under the control of the Eastern Roman Empire.

gazelles   Found in North Africa and eastern and central Africa, gazelles are slender, graceful animals standing from 2 to 3 feet (60 to 90 cm) at the shoulder. They live on open plains and in desert areas. Their fur coats are usually brown, though their bellies and rears are white. Light stripes run down from the sides of their faces from above the eyes to the muzzles. Their horns are short and have slightly upturned rings at their ends. Female gazelles have horns that are usually smaller and more slender than those of males.

There are about 12 species of gazelles. Of these, the Dama gazelle, found in North Africa, is the largest. The most common gazelle found in East Africa is Thomson's gazelle. It has black stripes along its sides and white stripes on its face. No matter what type, gazelles move in herds that usually include five to 10 members, though herds sometimes can number several hundred.

Gazelles were a familiar part of ancient Egyptian life. Egyptians used bows and arrows to hunt gazelles, which had an important place in their diet. Later, some Egyptians even raised gazelles on farms. The animal's appearance in Egyptian mythology underscored its importance. Anunket, a goddess worshiped at ELEPHANTINE, was often associated with the gazelle. Another Elephantine goddess, Sati, is represented with a human head, the crown of UPPER EGYPT, and the horns of a gazelle.

Gebel Barkal   Sacred mountain in the ancient Kushite city of Napata in Upper Nubia. Situated between the third and fourth cataracts of the Nile, Gebel Barkal (also known as Djebel Barkal) was a spiritual center for several generations of Kushite kings. A 303-foot-high (100-meter-high) tabletop mountain made of sandstone, the *gebel* (mountain) was thought by worshipers of the Egyptian god AMUN to have a deity's spirit residing deep within its interior.

Rulers of the KUSH kingdom established Napata as their capital in the eighth century BCE, after which they constructed numerous temples, statues, PYRAMIDS, and stelae at Gebel Barkal. They installed the priesthood of Amun there as well. One of the Gebel Barkal temples, erected by King PIANKHY (r. c. 751–716 BCE), housed a famous example called the Stele of Victory. Comparatively lengthy, the text on this stele contained 159 lines in Meroitic script detailing both Piankhy's military conquests and his responsibilities as king. Other stelae at the site discussed the nature of the Kushite kingdom and proclaimed the supremacy of the god Amun. Similar monuments were constructed by King Shabaka (r. c. 716–701 BCE), who succeeded his brother Piankhy as king and continued the policy of monument building. One of Shabaka's more noteworthy creations was a pyramid, also located at Gebel Barkal, that later served as his burial site.

Other successors, including Piankhy's sons, Shabataka (r. c. 698–690 BCE) and Taharqa (r. c. 690–664 BCE), also built temples at Gebel Barkal. Considered one of the greatest builders of the era, Taharqa demonstrated his devotion to the god Amun by building and restoring temples and sanctuaries at Gebel Barkal as well as at Thebes, KARNAK, MEMPHIS, Kawa, and the Isle of Argo. He also made offerings of precious jewels and gold plate, along with equipment and endowments for the sanctuaries and priesthood. His projects at Gebel Barkal included the reconstruction of the Temple of Amun, to which he added an inner chamber to house his altar. Taharqa's work also included the construction of a series of colossi that stood in the forecourt, a rock temple dedicated to Amun, and a separate temple honoring the goddess Mut, the wife of Amun.

Still later, King ASPELTA (r. c. 593–568 BCE) left several stelae at Gebel Barkal that provide some idea of what it meant to become a king. One of these contains what has become known as *The Enthronement or Coronation Text.* It depicts the Kushite army standing near Gebel Barkal, their leaders consulting the god Amun about Aspelta's kingship. Another of his stelae, the Stele of Excommunication, offers important insights into the authority of the priests of Amun, who reportedly held the power of life or death over Kushite kings. Based on the writings of the ancient historian Diodorus of Sicily, the power of the priesthood at Gebel Barkal ultimately was destroyed by the Kushite king Arkamani.

See also: EGYPT (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: P. L. Shinnie, *Ancient Nubia* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1996).

Gebel Silsila   Narrow gorge on the NILE RIVER in southern EGYPT, forming a natural barrier that, in Egypt's Predynastic Period, marked the boundary between Nubian and Egyptian cultures.

As the Nile flows north past the fertile plain of Kom Ombo, it is hemmed in by nearly barren sandstone hills where the water courses through a tight bottleneck at Gebel Silsila. Beyond the gorge, the river reemerges in limestone cliffs that form the reaches of the lower NILE VALLEY to the Delta. In ancient times, the area extending south from Gebel Silsila to the second cataract and beyond was the territory of lower Nubian farmers and herders. Described by archaeologists as the NUBIAN A-GROUP, these people established themselves in the area some 5,800 years ago, developing a culture that lasted from approximately 3800 to 3000 BCE.

Deluged annually by rising waters, the gorge at Silsila was a site for the A-Group's sacred fertility ritual, which was performed at the time of flooding. These rites were dedicated to the goddess Taweret (also known as Thoueris and Taurt). The protector of childbirth and fertility, she was portrayed as part hippopotamus, part crocodile, and part lion. The narrows were also the location of shrines and offerings to the deity Hapi. Shown as a fat man with pendulous breasts, Hapi represented fertility and personified the annual inundation of the Nile River.

Further reading: David O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

Ge'ez   Ancient language of ETHIOPIA; part of the Hamito-Semitic language family. Ge'ez apparently developed from the language of the Sabean settlers who crossed to Ethiopia from southern Arabia as early as the first millennium BCE. By the third and fourth century, it was being used for written inscriptions. It continued to be used, both as a spoken and a written language, for hundreds of years, in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, where it is still used today in scriptures and services. The Ge'ez alphabet, which is called *fidel* (meaning "the alphabet" or "the writing system") by its users, dates back to approximately 100 BCE, making it one of the oldest African alphabets and certainly the oldest one still used in modern times. Like English, the Ge'ez alphabet consists of 26 letters, but all of those letters represent consonants.

See also: ALPHABETS AND SCRIPTS (Vol.1); ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (Vols. IV, V); GE'EZ (Vol. II); LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I); WRITING Vols. I, II).

geography   The second largest continent in the world, surrounded by two oceans and two seas, and home to rich and varied resources and physical features, Africa was first recognized as the continent called AFRICA by the ancient Romans. (The word *Africa* may come from Latin or Greek words that mean "sunny" and "without cold.") Before that, the Greeks referred to the continent as LIBYA.

Africa is bounded by water, with the Atlantic Ocean on its western coast, the Indian Ocean and RED SEA on its east ern coast, the MEDITERRANEAN SEA to the north, and the Indian and Atlantic Oceans to the south. The African

Mount Kilimanjaro, a dormant volcano on the Kenya–Tanzania border, is one of a series of volcanoes formed at the same time as the Great Rift Valley. *© Shama Balfour; Gallo Images/Corbis*

continent comprises more than 11.5 million square miles (4,439,000 sq km), or one-fifth of the land on earth, and is almost as wide from east to west (4,600 miles or 2,882 km) as it is long from north to south (5,000 miles or 3,100 km). Most of the continent has a tropical climate.

Africa is divided by the equator (0° latitude), which passes through GABON, the Republic of the CONGO, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, UGANDA, and KENYA. The tropic of Capricorn runs through the southern part of the continent and through southern MADAGASCAR. In addition the prime meridian, or 0° longitude, traverses Africa from north to south.

The lowest point in elevation in Africa is at Lake Assal, which is located in DJIBOUTI, near the coast of the Gulf of Aden. It lies 515 feet (157 m) below sea level.

Among the massive continent's unique physical features is one of the largest islands in the world, Madagascar. Africa also contains one of the world's largest bodies of fresh water, Lake VICTORIA, and some of the largest deposits of natural resources, including GOLD, diamonds, and fossil fuels. Africa has the longest river in the world, the NILE RIVER, and the most species of freshwater fish and hooved mammals of any continent.

The CLIMATE and VEGETATION of Africa, which combine with the physical terrain and the latitude to form the continent's ECOLOGICAL ZONES, are thought to have remained basically the same for many years. Most of the ecological changes have taken place during the past 1 million—and especially the past 2,000—years. These changes have been caused, in large part, by the impact of humans on the land as they became more advanced in AGRICULTURE, toolmaking, and building, and as populations increased and cities grew.

In turn, Africa's geography has contributed in significant ways to the history of the continent. The vast amount of desert in the northern part of the continent, in particular, has had a great influence on human settlement. Indeed, for long periods in African history, some areas were entirely unoccupied. Even today, the world's second largest continent contains only 10 percent of the world's population. The continent's mountains and deserts imposed barriers to settlement and communications between settlements, but they also became home to peoples who were able to take advantage of what these areas had to offer.

Physical Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

Mediterranean Sea

ATLAS MTS.

AHAGGAR MTS.

LIBYAN DESERT

Nile R.

ARABIAN DESERT

Red Sea

S A H A R A   D E S E R T

TIBESTI MTS.

S A H E L

CHAD BASIN

Niger R.

NIGER BASIN

Lake Chad

SUDAN BASIN

Gulf of Aden

Cape Verde Is.

FOUTA DJALLON HIGHLANDS

Lake Volta

Niger R.

Benue R.

Blue Nile

White Nile

Lake Tana

ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS

Horn of Africa

OGADEN DESERT

Bight of Benin

Bight of Bonny

Congo R.

Lake Albert

Lake Turkana

equator

CONGO BASIN

▲ Mt. Kenya

Lake Victoria

▲ Mt. Kilimanjaro

Atlantic Ocean

Lake Tanganyika

Pemba I.

Zanzibar

Indian Ocean

BIHE PLATEAU

Lake Nyasa

Zambezi R.

Mozambique Channel

NAMIB DESERT

KALAHARI DESERT

Orange R.

GREAT KAROO

DRAKENSBURG MTS.

Cape of Good Hope

N

■ Alpine and montane	
Tropical forest	
Savanna and steppe	
Desert	
Temperate grassland	
Mediterranean vegetation	

0		800 Miles
0		800 Kms

High Plains In general, Africa is thought of as a massive plateau with three divisions: the northern plateau, in which the SAHARA DESERT and the ATLAS MOUNTAINS lie; the central and southern plateaus, which encompass regions of southern and west-central Africa; and the eastern highlands. Some of the highest plateau land is in ETHIOPIA, within the country's eastern highlands, where the altitude reaches heights of up to 15,000 feet (4,572 m).

Other plateau areas that reach significant altitude are the CAMEROON highlands, the GUINEA highlands (which reach into SIERRA LEONE and LIBERIA as well as Guinea),

the Fouta Djallon, which is also in Guinea, the Jos Plateau in NIGERIA, and the Adamawa area that lies in CAMEROON and Nigeria.

Mountains Although Africa has many groups of mountains and several well-known mountain peaks, mountains comprise a smaller percentage of land in Africa than they do on any other continent. In the Great RIFT VALLEY, which spans almost 4,000 miles (6,437 km), volcanic and seismic events created the highest peaks in East Africa. KILIMANJARO at the border of Kenya and TANZANIA (central Africa), the tallest mountain peak in Africa, rising to 19,340 feet (5,895 m), is actually a dormant volcano. Other tall, volcanic peaks that are now extinct include Mount KENYA (17,058 feet or 5,199 m); Mount Meru (14,978 feet or 4,565 m), in Tanzania, about 40 miles (64.4 km) west of Kilimanjaro; and Mount ELGON (14,178 feet or 4,321 m), which is on the border of Kenya and Uganda. Mount Cameroon, an active volcano in western Africa, peaks at 13,435 feet (4,094 m).

The Atlas Mountains lie in the northwest, crossing through MOROCCO and the northern tip of ALGERIA, near the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts. The Virunga Mountains, in northwest Democratic Republic of the Congo, are still actively volcanic, and every 10 years or so an eruption produces a lava flow. A lava flow from the distant past was responsible for the creation of Lake Kivu.

The RUWENZORI MOUNTAINS, unlike many of Africa's great mountain ranges, were not formed as a result of volcanic activity. Also called the Mountains of the Moon, these peaks are located in the central African countries of Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The highest mountain in this range is Margherita Peak, at 16,795 feet (5,119 m). In southern Africa, the Drakensberg Mountains rise to a height of 11,425 feet (3,299 m) at Ntlenyana (also called Ntshonyana) and to 10,823 feet (3,280 m) at Mont-aux-Sources.

Lakes The western Rift Valley is the location of Lake TANGANYIKA, among others, while lakes found in the eastern Rift include Nyasa, Natron, and Manyara. These equatorial lakes were part of a system that also formed one of the largest freshwater lakes in the world, Lake Victoria. Lake CHAD, another large freshwater lake, is located in the central sudanic region.

Rivers and Tributaries Africa is home to many great and famous rivers, including the CONGO RIVER, the NIGER RIVER, the ZAMBEZI, the ORANGE RIVER, the Vaal, and the NILE RIVER. Water supply and control of water have historically been of concern throughout Africa. As a result, rivers and tributaries have played an important role in AGRICULTURE, irrigation, and drainage, as well as in travel, trade, and politics.

The Nile River, at 4,150 miles (6,677 km), is the longest river in the world. The Nile flows out of Lake Victoria (the Victoria Nile) north into Lake Albert (the Albert Nile), where it continues north as the al-Jabal River, the WHITE NILE, and the Nile. Finally, after winding through Uganda, Republic of the SUDAN, and EGYPT, the Nile spills into the Mediterranean Sea.

Several tributaries join the Nile along its right bank as it makes its journey north, including the Sobat, Atbara, and BLUE NILE. The al-Ghazal is the major tributary on the left bank. Together the Nile and the tributaries flow north and west before entering the Mediterranean. There, the Nile basin covers a vast area of Egypt north of CAIRO.

Another of Africa's great rivers, the Congo River, travels 2,900 miles (4,666 km) from its source in ZAMBIA to the Indian Ocean. It drains most of Central Africa. Like the Nile, it descends rapidly through a series of steep gorges, rapids, and waterfalls, including the Boyoma Falls, which extends for 60 miles (96.5 km).

The Niger River begins in Guinea. Then, with its largest tributary, the BENUE River, it winds through Nigeria before entering the Atlantic Ocean. About 2,600 miles (4,183 km) in length, the Niger has the largest river basin in western Africa. As with the Nile, swamps make parts of the river difficult to navigate.

The ZAMBEZI RIVER travels 2,200 miles (3,540 km) and forms the magnificent VICTORIA FALLS. One of the largest waterfalls in the world, it is located on the border of Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Zambezi's two main tributaries are the Kafue and the Luangwa, which join the Zambezi past Lake Kariba and then empty into the Indian Ocean at the river's 37-mile-wide (59.5 km) mouth. Swamps of reeds and other water plants clog the river in places, impeding travel and FISHING.

The Orange River, flowing from the Drakensberg Mountains to the Atlantic, is, along with its tributary, the Vaal, about 1,300 miles (2,092 km) long. It is one of the six important drainage systems in Africa and drains southern Africa.

Grasslands Two wide areas of vast grasslands (one north of the equator and one south), which used to be known as savannas, lie between the deserts of the north and south and the rain forests near the equator. These are large, open, grassy areas in which only a few trees might be found. Among these is the BAOBAB TREE and the acacia. On average these grasslands receive moderate rainfall of 20 to 45 inches (50.8 to 114.3 cm) per year.

The Highveld grassland area of South Africa is a true grassland, with trees or woody plants comprising 10 percent or less of its land. This is likely due to the natural occurrences of lightning, which often cause fires.

> Grass was long thought of as being "sweet" or "sour." Sweet grass was good for grazing; sour grass was not. One of the best-known sweet grasses in Africa is the *Themeda* variety. *Andropogon* is one of the better-known sour grasses.

Africa has had the longest history of human life on earth. During the period of human habitation, grasslands generally have increased and treed areas have decreased. In part, this has been caused by the burning of woodlands, which has occurred for centuries and has caused tall grasses to take over large areas of plateau. Among these grasses is *Hyparrhenia,* a grass that, although it is quite common, is not good for grazing; tall and coarse, it can be home to disease-spreading insects.

These human-induced grasslands are no longer home to many, if any, original trees. On the other hand, farmers have been domesticating trees for thousands of years, planting them to create park-like areas within their farms. The exact effects of this prolonged human use of Africa's grasslands have been, and probably will continue to be, a topic of great debate.

Africa's grasslands and woodlands are home to many species of animals, among which are LIONS, African ELEPHANTS, RHINOCEROS, antelope, GIRAFFES, deer, ZEBRAS, WATER BUFFALO, BABOONS, CHEETAHS, LEOPARDS, JACKALS, hyena, and various types of MONKEYS. In the equatorial RAIN FORESTS, the magnificent gorilla (the largest ape in the world) lives, as do monkeys, bats, and lemurs.

Deserts The deserts of Africa cover about one-third of the continent. Today, these deserts are among the hottest and driest in the world, but millions of years ago, rain fell there in abundance for long periods of time. The last great rainfall that fell on the deserts of northern Africa occurred about the sixth millennium BCE. Today, the African deserts receive less than 16 inches (41 cm) of rain per year, with some areas receiving only 5 inches (13 cm) per year.

More than 25 percent of Africa is made up of the vast Sahara Desert, which has an area of 3.5 million square miles (9,065,000 sq km). This massive desert reaches from the Atlantic coast in the west to the RED SEA in the east, and it has long been a natural barrier between the northern coastal areas and the rest of Africa. Within the great Sahara are the Nubian and Libyan Deserts, as well as the western Sahara. Fewer types of vegetation grow in the Sahara than in any other arid region in the world. Several animals are found in the Sahara today, including hares, desert FOXES, GAZELLES, and a type of small rodent called a jerboa, which is noted for its ability to jump great distances. However, evidence of a prehistoric hunting culture that probably existed on the edge of the Sahara shows that many animals—including elephants, rhinoceroses, HIPPOPOTAMUSES, and giant buffalo—once roamed what are now desert areas.

Among the driest deserts in the world is the Namib Desert, which is located on Africa's southern Atlantic coast. Being near the ocean coast, some succulents are able to survive on the moisture from the constant fog. The other great desert in Africa is the KALAHARI DESERT, located in southern Africa.

The spread of the desert southward, c. 8000 BCE, caused a change in the way of life of the HUNTER-GATHERERS who lived near these areas. The gatherers, for example, learned ways to plant seeds and grow crops. In north-central Africa, in particular, hunters and gatherers began an AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION, learning to produce more and more FOOD by planting seeds and improving their methods of FISHING.

Over the centuries, the course of African history also has been affected by the continent's vast supplies of natural resources. These resources have included gold, nickel, fossil fuels, diamonds, COPPER, manganese, platinum, iron, zinc, lead, tin, beryllium, limestone, graphite, and gypsum. They also have included a wealth of animal and marine life and a rich array of vegetation.

See also: GEOLOGY (Vol. I).

Further reading: A. T. Grove, *The Changing Geography of Africa* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993).

geology One of the oldest continents on earth, Africa is particularly rich in such mineral resources as GOLD, silver, COPPER, iron ore, gypsum, limestone, and granite, which were all used extensively by ancient Africans.

Geological History The continent of Africa was not always in the form that it is in today. According to the theory of plate tectonics, the mysterious geological occurrence known as the Pan-African event brought together the West African plate and the Central African plate about 200 to 300 million years ago. After this, Africa became part of a supercontinent called Gondwanaland in which Africa, South America, Antarctica, Australia, and the subcontinent of India were joined. Eventually, a series of geologic events and eruptions, about 175 million years ago, caused Gondwanaland to separate into the present continents. Over time the Atlantic Ocean widened, separating the continents even further.

Rock Formations Several types of rock are found throughout Africa. These contain a wide variety of minerals and natural resources. In western Africa, crystalline rock is found under or outcropping over half of the area and this is known as the West African Shield. The oldest activity that formed shield rock is thought to have occurred over 2.5 billion years ago. The shield rock here and in other parts of Africa contains a rich supply of resources, including gold, manganese, diamonds, copper, lead, iron ore, zinc, low-grade uranium, and several other minerals.

In general, sedimentary rock comprises less of the rock found in Africa than igneous or metamorphic rock. Sedimentary and partially metamorphosed sedimentary rock, however, cover parts of the shield rock throughout

Africa. This type of rock tends to form on or near the surface and is the only type of rock in which certain valuable resources like natural gas are deposited. Limestone, shale, and sandstone are among the sedimentary rocks commonly found in Africa, and they have been often used for building, especially by the ancient Egyptians.

Sedimentary basins formed in the west in the CONGO BASIN and GABON, near the coasts of SENEGAL, SIERRA LEONE, IVORY COAST, and southern NIGERIA, and then later in large basins inland in CHAD and other areas. Within these basins, rich natural resources were formed of petroleum, natural gas, coal, potash, gypsum, zinc, and uranium.

Igneous activity produced many geologic features in Africa, including the cliffs and plateaus in Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Guinea, and LIBERIA. When magma intruded and created dikes and plugs and then later eroded, many diamond deposits formed in these areas. Volcanic activity also created cliffs, plateaus, and outcropping that eroded, allowing for the deposits of diamond, tin, and other minerals to form. Granite is a common type of igneous rock found in Africa and was used extensively in building and sculpture by the ancient Egyptians.

Geological Features The geologic features of Africa have had an enormous impact on human settlement and history. For example, the Mediterranean coast along northern Africa has for many millennia been considered uninviting because of its rocky coastline and lack of harbors. Since TUNISIA offers some of the best access to Africa, cultural advances often entered Africa from there and moved westward. As a result, from the time the PHOENICIANS entered Africa and founded CARTHAGE, c. 800 BCE, the east coast of TUNISIA became an important and prosperous area that changed the course of African history.

Geologic resources have been exploited in Africa since prehistory. Archaeological evidence shows the first known mine was dug more than 40,000 years ago in SWAZILAND. This mine was probably dug to locate ochre, which is a variety of the mineral hematite. It was used for ornamentation and funeral customs.

Gold was one of the first metals to be used extensively by humans. As early as about 4000 BCE, gold was found in EGYPT, which was the main producer of gold until the first century CE. In ancient times gold was found in the bottoms of streams and mined from sand and gravel. Bronze (a copper-tin alloy), copper, silver, and iron were other metals used extensively in ancient Africa.

In addition to using the natural mineral resources, ancient people discovered the use of rock for building and sculpting. Egypt, in particular, had a wealth of limestone, sandstone, and granite, all available from the exposed surface of the earth. The development of natural stone resources in ancient Egyptian building marks an era of incredible human and technological achievement, a period when human beings mined, quarried, and con-

structed on a large scale without the benefit of the wheel, the pulley, or smelted iron tools.

The exploitation of mineral and stone resources in Africa contributed greatly to economic wealth in ancient times. The continent contains some of the largest deposits of mineral resources in the world, and at least some or most of the minerals known to exist in the world can be found in Africa. Major deposits of fossil fuels include natural gas, coal, and petroleum, as well as some of the greatest deposits of gold, diamonds, copper, manganese, nickel, platinum, and phosphates. Iron ore, tin, zinc, and lead are among the other important minerals found in Africa.

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Gerzean culture Early culture of predynastic Egypt.
See also: NAQADAH I AND II (Vol. I).

Ghana Coastal West African country, some 92,100 square miles (238,500 sq km) in size, that borders BURKINA FASO to the north, TOGO to the east, the Atlantic Ocean to the south, and IVORY COAST to the west. Ghana has three distinct ECOLOGICAL ZONES—coastal plains that give way to RAIN FOREST, which turn into savanna woodlands in the northern part of the country.

There is archeological evidence that points to habitation of the coastal zone at least 6,000 years ago. FISHING in the coastal lagoons and river estuaries was an important economic and food-gathering activity. Archaeologists have also unearthed evidence of human communities in the rain forest region dating as far back as 4,000 years ago. In the savanna woodlands to the north, people began to cultivate YAMS as early as 8,000 years ago. They also tended palm trees to produce both palm oil for FOOD and raffia fibers for making raffia cloth. With improved polished-stone tools they were able to move deeper into the forest to clear plots for growing yams and palm trees, both of which required sunlight. After 3000 BCE the addition of African rice (*Oryza glaberima*) to the array of crops aided the further southward expansion of AGRICULTURE, as did the emergence of okra and KOLA NUTS as forest crops. By early in the first millennium BCE, iron metallurgy had also made its appearance.

The commerce of the savanna regions, which dates back to the second millennium BCE, began to penetrate the forest zones of West Africa in the first millennium BCE. Metal goods, along with cloth made of COTTON from the savanna, were exchanged for kola nuts and SALT from the coast zone. By about 500 CE the foundations had been laid for the emergence of states and urban life.

See also: GHANA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Ghana, ancient   Kingdom founded in the SAHEL between the fifth and eighth centuries; also known as Akwar and Ouagadou. The roots of what was to become one of Africa's richest and most powerful kingdoms lay in migrating NOMADS from the North African coast who began settling in the region before the fifth century. The exact ethnic makeup of early Ghana's inhabitants is unclear. However, they are likely to have been a combination of BERBERS, black Africans, and other ethnic groups. The ancient kingdom and empire of Ghana should not be confused with the modern country of Ghana, located 500 miles (805 km) to the southeast.

See also: GHANA EMPIRE (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II).

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Gibraltar   Southernmost area of the Iberian Peninsula. A rocky promontory called the Rock of Gibraltar forms the southernmost point. Gibraltar has an area of 2.3 square miles (5.8 sq km). At its highest point, the rock is 1,396 feet (425 m) above sea level. While the ancient history of the area is obscure, many prehistoric relics, including a Neandertal-type skull, have been found in its caves. No town existed at Gibraltar before 1160 CE.

The narrow waterway that flows between the Rock of Gibraltar and the northernmost point of northwest Africa is called the Strait of Gibraltar. "Pillars of Hercules" is the name given by the ancient Greeks (c. 1100 BCE) to the two peaked rocks that flank the entrance to the straight. Ancient Calpe was the name for the northern rock (Rock of Gibraltar); ancient Abila was the southern rock (Jebel Musa). To the ancient Greeks the Straight of Gibraltar signified the ne plus ultra—the end of the world as it was known at that time—although it was believed that somewhere beyond that point lay Atlantis, the mythical continent supposedly engulfed by the Atlantic Ocean.

From the fourth through seventh centuries there was a thriving Christian civilization. However, the transition from the previous Greco-Roman era to CHRISTIANITY was not without problems. Northern Africa was sharply divided between two cultures. To the west of the Gulf of Syrtis (Sidra) were speakers of Latin, while in Egypt and Cyrenaica were Greek-speaking people. The conflicts within and between the eastern and western arms of the church, and the failure of either sector to bring the marauding ethnic NOMADS in the south into the fold, greatly weakened the region. The invasion of the Roman Empire by the VANDALS, who settled in Africa in 429, set the stage for the arrival of Islam and Muslim rule, which began with the coming of Tarik-ibn-Zeyad in 711.

giraffes   Long-necked, hoofed mammals that belong to the same animal family as the OKAPI, giraffes stand about 18 feet (5 m) and are the tallest mammals on the earth. Giraffes live on the savannas and open grasslands south of the Sahara. Giraffes have highly developed senses of sight, hearing, and smell. Although they move in a trot that might look slow, they are able to achieve speeds up to 30 miles (48 km) per hour. They mainly eat acacia leaves and are preyed upon by LIONS and sometimes LEOPARDS. Though it is commonly thought that giraffes make no sounds, they actually are able to emit a low moan. They live between 15 and 20 years.

Because of their unique appearance, giraffes have been noted throughout Africa's history. In ancient EGYPT giraffes were considered exotic animals and their tails were among the trade items brought from faraway lands. An inscription from ELEPHANTINE shows a giraffe brought by King Wenis of the Fifth Dynasty from a trade expedition. In ZIMBABWE, rock paintings have been found of giraffes, which were considered to have the same essential quality, *nlow,* as humans.

goats   Wild goats often live in rocky areas. Female goats (does) and their offspring (kids) travel in herds of about 30 to 40. Male goats (rams) live alone and only return to the herd during mating season. Wild goats include the ibex, which is found in present-day Republic of the SUDAN.

After DOGS, goats were probably the first animals domesticated by humans, and they have provided meat, milk, and wool to humans for thousands of years. During the BANTU EXPANSION goats were an important part of the people's diet since goats could survive on almost any VEGETATION and required less maintenance than CATTLE.

> Goats appear frequently in African mythology. One CAMEROON myth tells the story of a girl who fed flour to a hungry goat. To thank her, the goat told her about a great flood. Because of this warning, she and her brother were the only survivors.

gold   A yellow, soft, lustrous precious metal that does not tarnish or corrode; gold was mined and panned in several locations throughout Africa from ancient days to the present. Gold has been important in Africa since the time of ancient EGYPT. The pharaohs of Egypt exploited the alluvial gold found in or along streams in Nubia and KUSH. Egyptian gold, categorized as white gold, included a high percentage of silver, whereas yellow gold was

called *noub*. In addition to using gold as currency, the Egyptians used gold to make JEWELRY, to adorn burial furnishings, and to decorate buildings.

Archaeological evidence at sites between the NILE RIVER and the RED SEA reveals the mines of Kush in Nubia as one of the greatest gold-producing operations of the ancient world. Because it remained an essential trading commodity within Nubia well after its conversion to CHRISTIANITY in the middle of the sixth century, some estimates have placed overall gold production of Kush at more than 3.5 million pounds (1.6 million kg).

Trade within Africa between northern merchants and indigenous populations was the first link in the trading chain. More than 2,000 years ago HERODOTUS (c. 490–425 BCE) wrote about the gold trade between the Carthaginians and the chiefdoms in MAURITANIA. The Carthaginians had devised a means of communicating their arrival and desire to trade by creating a large FIRE on the shore near their ships, with smoke serving as a signal. Then the Carthaginians stacked items such as COPPER, cloth, COWRIE SHELLS, and SALT in heaps at a designated site. The Carthaginians then moved away and the local traders came forward to stack gold next to the Carthaginian trade goods. The 10th-century Arabic traveler al-Masudi noted this same method of trade being carried out in various parts of West Africa and commented that the process continued until both sides were satisfied that an equal exchange had been made.

The gold trade first became significant in TUNISIA in North Africa during the fourth century BCE, but the sources of that gold are unknown. Evidence of early mining activities in the Sirba River Valley in what is now NIGER, has led to speculation that the gold of CARTHAGE came from there because the Sirba Valley is closer to Carthage than Bambuk, Bure, or the other gold fields that later became the major African producers of the gold. Archaeologists working in West Africa believe that gold crossed the Sahara as early as the fourth century CE because standard Roman weights used to measure gold have been found from the time of Constantine the Great (r. 307–337). The fact remains, however, that no gold artifacts have been found in sub-Saharan Africa that date from this period. The earliest gold object from West Africa is an earring dating to c. 800 found in the city of ancient Jenne in the upper inland NIGER DELTA of the middle Niger.

See also: GOLD (Vols. II, III, IV, V); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); WANGARA GOLD FIELDS (Vol. II).

government, systems of   The earliest systems of government emerged among bands of HUNTER-GATHERERS. Since the social organization of such bands was not complex, neither was the system of government; it was more of a manner of leadership than a system of government.

However, even at a this level there had to be means of making group decisions and settling disputes, both within the band and with other bands. Such issues became more complex with the advent of AGRICULTURE since this led to an increase in population and to greater social complexity.

Settled, permanent communities with an expanded population provided the basis of systems of government as such rather than the social leadership that was characteristic of hunters-gatherers. Once a community was producing a FOOD surplus, then some individuals could devote their LABOR to activities other than producing food. These came to include providing political leadership and governing. As societies grew in size and complexity, so too did their systems of government.

Many African agricultural communities never became very large and complex, so their systems of government remained relatively simple. Factors such as age, gender, kinship, political abilities, and personal skills were key determinants of leadership. In some settings the institution of chieftainship emerged, but in others government rested with elders, heads of households, or key religious specialists. Where larger states emerged they did so around chieftainship, often with a paramount chief taking precedence over several local chiefs. In such instances there was a greater emphasis on hierarchy, inheritance of ranks, and other indicators of social stratification. This could lead to the institutionalization of sacral chiefship, also called divine rule.

The most complex state in ancient Africa developed in EGYPT, where the state ruled over a large-scale and highly stratified society. At its apex was the pharaoh, who was, in the eyes of the citizenry, a god-king. Of course, complex states did not have to have a system of government centered on a ruler who was a god. In the case of AKSUM, for example, King Ezana (r. c. 320–350 CE) converted to CHRISTIANITY. Such a conversion would have been impossible for a god-king.

See also: BANDS AND SEGMENTARY SOCIETY (Vol. I); CASTE SYSTEMS (Vol. I); CLAN (Vol. I); GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Great Pyramid   Pyramid built during the Fourth Dynasty, by King KHUFU (r. c. 2550–2536 BCE). The Great Pyramid of Giza (also called the Great Pyramid of Khufu) is one of three great PYRAMIDS built near the city of Giza, EGYPT. Originally a necropolis of ancient MEMPHIS, it is today part of Greater CAIRO. Built by King Khufu to serve as his tomb, the Great Pyramid of Giza is the only surviving wonder of the Seven Ancient Wonders of the World.

The pyramid is believed to have been built over a 20-year period. However, it is not known how the great blocks of stone from which it was constructed were put in place. One theory is that long levers were used. Another

Four hundred eighty-two feet (147 m) high, the Great Pyramid was built as the tomb of the pharaoh Khufu in 2540 BCE. *© Charles and Josette Lenars/Corbis*

theory suggests that a ramp was assembled and raised as the building advanced. The ramp, which may have been either straight or spiraled, may have been coated with mud and water in order to ease the movement of the blocks as they were put into place.

When first built, the Great Pyramid of Giza was 481 feet (159 m) high. Over the centuries, approximately 30 feet (10 m) has been lost from its top. For more than 43 centuries, the pyramid ranked as the tallest structure on earth. Each side measures 750 feet (248 m) long, is angled at 51 degrees and 51 minutes, and is carefully oriented with one of the cardinal points of the compass. The entire structure consists of around 2 million blocks of stone, each weighing more than 2 tons (1.8 metric tons). A smooth limestone casing once covered the pyramid, but much of this was plundered to provide materials to build Cairo. The vastness of the Great Pyramid of Giza can perhaps best be fathomed by considering that the cathedrals of Florence and Milan, St. Peter's Basilica in ROME, as well as Westminster Abby and St. Paul's Cathedral in London, could all fit inside.

The Great Pyramid of Giza represents the prototype of a private necropolis built on a huge scale according to preconceived, organized plans. This pattern for construction, which was established by King Khufu, was followed by most of his successors during the Fourth Dynasty. On both sides of the Great Pyramid of Giza there are streets of nearly seventy aligned *mastabas,* or platform tombs, built for Khufu's officials. There also are four subsidiary pyramids. The first three were built for Khufu's mother, Hetepheres; Queen Mereyites; and Queen Henutsen, respectively. The fourth pyramid is smaller, and its purpose is debated. Clearly not a tomb, it may have been constructed as a residence for the king's KA, or spirit.

The entrance to the Great Pyramid is located on its north face. Inside are a number of corridors, galleries, and escape shafts, some of which lead to the king's burial chamber. At the heart of the pyramid is the king's sarcophagus, which is made of red granite. The interior walls fit so closely together that not even a card can fit between them, another indication of the sophisticated level of construction. Inside are inscriptions bearing the cartouche, or symbol, of King Khufu, along with the names of the work gangs involved in the project.

Khufu did not rely solely (and perhaps not at all) on slave LABOR for his pyramid-building project. Instead, he utilized those portions of the population that were left idle, unable to farm, during the Nile River's annual flood. This provided more than tens of thousands of Egyptians with FOOD and clothing during what often was a difficult

time. More than this, the project also served to unite the population behind a single, national goal.

Excavations of the site of the Great Pyramids began in 1869 under the leadership of Auguste Mariette, the founder of the Cairo Museum. These excavations continue to this day.

The pyramid currently is maintained as part of a much-visited tourist area that also includes the PYRAMIDS of Kings Khafre and MENKAURE. A museum in the area houses the sun boat, a funerary boat discovered on the site in 1954. This boat is believed to have carried the body of Khufu to his burial place inside his Great Pyramid.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vol. I).

Great Sphinx   Mammoth stone sculpture representing a mythological being that possessed a lion's body and a king's head; created in ancient EGYPT at Giza as the royal portrait of King Khafre (c. 2520 BCE).

Perhaps the most well-known of all Egyptian sphinxes, the Great Sphinx at Giza, was massive, at 187 feet (570 m) long and 66 feet (201 m) high. The entire structure was constructed from limestone. The head of the creature was a sculpted portrait of King Khafre, the fourth king of the Fourth Dynasty. The use of the sphinx as a portrait for royalty continued throughout Egyptian history, and the influence of the mythological sphinx spread from EGYPT to Asia and on to GREECE, where it first appeared c. 1600 BCE. Scholars theorize that the Great Sphinx at Giza was most likely built to serve as the guardian of the royal mortuary complex.

Greco-Roman Period   In northeastern Africa, the epoch (c. 332 BCE–642 CE) comprising the Ptolemaic (332 BCE–30 BCE), Roman (30 BCE–c. 330 CE), and Byzantine dynasties (c. 330 CE–642 CE). For nearly 1,000 years, a succession of three foreign dynasties ruled EGYPT, first from GREECE, then from ROME, and finally from Byzantium. These rulers held sway over a vast empire that covered much of the Mediterranean world. The city of ALEXANDRIA was its administrative center, while its borders at times extended across LIBYA and as far as Syria and the Aegean Sea.

The Ptolemaic era saw the rise of Alexandria as a world center of Greek learning, knowledge, and culture, as well as a crossroads of international trade. Greece sent troops to Africa in support of local rebellions against the Persian rulers of Egypt as early as the mid-fifth century BCE. By 450 BCE, the Greek historian HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE) had journeyed to Egypt. The spread of Greek language and culture, called Hellenization, did not begin in earnest, though, until ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE) of MACEDONIA overthrew the last Persian ruler of Egypt in 332 BCE. Alexander stayed there only a few

months. But during that time he established the port city of Alexandria (naming it after himself) and moved the royal capital there from MEMPHIS. These actions served to reorient Egyptian trade and society outward toward the Mediterranean.

Upon Alexander's death, his empire was divided, and the Greek general Ptolemy became the ruler of Egypt. Taking the title of pharaoh, he founded the Ptolemaic Dynasty that ruled Egypt for more than 250 years. The succession of PTOLEMIES maintained their power, in part, by adopting Egyptian religious iconography, actively promoting Egyptian RELIGION and culture, and claiming the same divine status that the Egyptians had attributed to preceding rulers. At the same time, they guarded and developed free SCIENCE, literature, ART, and culture, and classical Greek literature and drama became popular, especially in the nation's urban centers.

Great mathematicians and physicists such as Euclid (fl. c. 300 BCE) and Archimedes (c. 290–211 BCE) were among the many Greek scholars who worked in Egypt. The desire to encompass all this Greek learning prompted Ptolemy III to found the famous Library of Alexandria. Unfortunately, the thousands of PAPYRUS scrolls that made up the great library have not survived.

As the economic and political power of Alexandria grew, an undercurrent of conflict among Egyptians, Greeks, and the immigrant populations who occupied the crowded streets developed within the city. Faced with popular revolt, depleted finances, and poor international relations, the later PTOLEMIES found themselves gradually reined in by Roman power. The able queen CLEOPATRA (r. c. 51–30 BCE), who was linked to both the Roman general Gaius Julius CAESAR (c. 100–44 BCE) and later to Marc Antony (d. c. 30 BCE), led a war against Rome. Egypt's armies, however, were routed at the battle of Actium, in 30 BCE, and with Cleopatra's suicide the next year, direct rule from Rome began.

Transformed into an imperial province, Egypt served as both a granary and a military stronghold for Rome. For three and one-half centuries the Roman Empire exploited the land and resources of Egypt, extracting grain and taxes in ways that ultimately proved socially and economically ruinous to the local population.

Egyptians were granted Roman citizenship in 212 CE. Under the emperor DIOCLETIAN (284–305), however, the once mighty Roman Empire was divided into East and West, and Egypt was divided into three provinces. By the latter stages of Roman domination, CHRISTIANITY became Egypt's official religion, and soon was the country's predominant faith. When Constantine I (c. 280–337) defeated Licinius in 324 and became sole emperor of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire, he moved the capital of the empire to the city of Byzantium, in Asia Minor, beginning the Byzantine period of the Greco-Roman era. A fifth-century religious split led to the MONOPHYSITE

movement in Egypt in support of a doctrine stating that Christ had only one, divine nature. The persecution of the Monophysite Coptic Church, as it was known, stiffened Egyptian resistance to Byzantine rule. Heavy taxation further disaffected the Egyptian population from the empire, and in 642 the people stood by as the unpopular Byzantine rulers of Alexandria fell to invading Islamic armies.

See also: BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vol. II); COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); COPTS (Vol. I).

Further reading: Richard Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Günther Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Robert B. Jackson, *At Empire's Edge: Exploring Rome's Egyptian Frontier* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002).

Greece Hellenic city-states of the ancient Mediterranean that influenced African history, SCIENCE, technology, and cultures through settlement and dynastic rule; Hellenic influence was particularly noteworthy in EGYPT in the years 332 to 30 BCE. One of the first discussions of Hellenic influence in Africa is found in *The Histories* of HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE). Written circa 430 BCE, Herodotus's work describes the founding of the Grecian colony of CYRENE almost 200 years earlier. The settlers, according to Herodotus, had come from the drought-stricken island of Thera and had sailed to northern Africa, where they settled at a place called Aziris. After six years they were led by the North African inhabitants to a spring known as Apollo's Fountain, which became the site of the Cyrenean colony. The moist soil of this city, which allowed crop cultivation and horse breeding, enabled the settlement to thrive and expand through the region.

This, of course, was not the only mention of Africa by the ancient Greek historian. Elsewhere, Herodotus maintained that shields and helmets had first entered Greece from Egypt and that the Greek word *aegis* (a goatskin harness) was derived from the goatskin robes worn by North African women. He also claimed that these were the people who had taught the Greeks how to harness a chariot with four horses.

Other descriptions of Greek colonization in Africa are more deeply rooted in myth and legend. In the tale of Jason and the Argonauts, for example, the hero is said to be sailing to the ORACLE at Delphi when a sudden gale blows his ship off course. Landing in northern Africa, Jason gives a tripod to the god Triton in exchange for safe passage from Lake Tritonis. The deity then predicts that when a descendant of the *Argo's* crew removed the tripod, 100 Greek cities would be built there. Upon hearing this, the Africans reportedly hid the tripod.

In the end, however, it was ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE) who ultimately brought extensive Hellenic influence to the African continent. Indeed, Alexander's military victory over Egypt's Persian rulers in 332 BCE inaugurated three centuries of Greek domination. (The name *Egypt* itself comes from the Greek; the Egyptians actually referred to their own country as KEMET.)

Under the Ptolemaic Dynasty (320–30 BCE) founded by Alexander's successors, the new capital city of ALEXANDRIA quickly rose as a place of both commerce and learning, becoming the center of Mediterranean life for centuries. During this time the museum (or temple of the muses) at Alexandria, along with the city's famous library, represented an attempt to encompass all of Greek learning in a center very much like a modern university.

During the era of the PTOLEMIES, Greek poetry, drama, and literature were spread chiefly by Greek immigrants, whose culture remained isolated from the local African communities. Greek science, however, had a wider ranging influence. Among Alexandria's scholars, writers, and artists were Apollonius Rhodius, the composer of the epic *The Voyage of the Argo;* Aristophanes of Byzantium, who was credited with the invention of punctuation marks; Aristarchus of Samothrace, the first grammarian; and Theocritus of Syracuse, the first bucolic poet. The mathematician Euclid (fl. c. 300 BCE), the most important figure in the history of geometry, taught in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter (306–283 BCE). The mathematician Archimedes (c. 290–211 BCE), also a resident of Alexandria, discovered the ratio 3:2 between cylinder and sphere; he also invented the Archimedean screw for raising water, a development that revolutionized irrigation and AGRICULTURE in the NILE VALLEY. Other leading scientists of Alexandria included the geographer Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c. 276–194 BCE), whose map of the world was the first to use lines of latitude and longitude, and Herophilus of Chalcedon (c. 335–280 BCE), the physician who discovered the nervous system.

The Ptolemaic rulers solidified their power by adopting and adapting Egyptian RELIGION and symbols. Following the example of their predecessors, they claimed divine status as pharaohs. They built temples and fostered the cult of Sarapis, a Hellenized version of the Egyptian cult of OSIRIS. Brother-sister marriage was evidently common practice within the dynasty, as well as in the population at large.

The change from HIEROGLYPHICS to the DEMOTIC form of language signaled the new order, as the Hellenized language became the official language of both the state and the bureaucratic elite. Demotic remained predominant until the introduction of COPTIC, much later in time.

For the Ptolemies, ruling Egypt was, to a great extent, a business proposition, and Alexandria served as the center of commerce and trade. Unfortunately, this only served to increase social tensions among immigrant Greeks, Egyptians, and other Africans. With the fall of Egypt to ROME, the social disintegration of Alexandria became inevitable. The Greek culture, science, and ART that

influenced Alexandria's life for that period, however, have endured.

See also: GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD (Vol. I).

Guinea Present-day West African country some 95,000 square miles (1,246,100 sq km) in size. The name *Guinea* was formerly used to describe the entire western coast of Africa. Modern Guinea borders GUINEA-BISSAU and SENE-GAL to the north, MALI is located to the north and east, and LIBERIA and SIERRA LEONE are located to the south and west. Guinea's history stretches back 30,000 years, with archaeological evidence from the area indicating early agricultural cultivation.

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Three independent modern nations located on the Atlantic coast of Africa use the name Guinea—the Republic of Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, and Equatorial Guinea.

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The region closest to the Atlantic coast is called Lower Guinea. Its earliest inhabitants were the Baga and the Nalu peoples, who were later displaced by the Susu and Mandinka. The Lower Guinea forest region, nearest to the borders of present-day Sierra Leone and Liberia, was occupied by the Kpelle (Guerz), the Loma (Toma), and Kissi ethnic groups, who lived in small villages. The NIGER RIVER originates in this dense forest, where the region's heaviest rainfall occurs. Archaeologists studying the southeast areas of the forest have strong evidence that cultivation of YAMS, oil palms, and other agricultural crops was well under way by 100 BCE. Later rice and KOLA NUTS were grown. The Lower Guinea highlands, which rise to their highest peaks in the Nimba Range, are approximately 5,780 feet (1,762 m) above sea level.

The northeastern plains of the region are called Upper Guinea. The area's characteristic grasslands, or savanna, supported a number of useful trees, including the BAOBAB and the shea, which was used to produce SHEA BUTTER. The central area of Upper Guinea contains strong evidence of MILLET cultivation from as early as 1000 BCE. Archaeologists have uncovered many stone figures carved in human and animal likeness. These figures, known as *nomoli,* were made of steatite or granite and were probably made for fertility rites that attempted to ensure successful harvests.

Archaeologists have also been able to create a link between early forms of METALLURGY and the growth of Guinea's early city-states. It appears that iron smelting was done from at least 200 BCE, as a number of tools and pieces that are likely ritual objects have been found throughout the area.

See also: GUINEA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Guinea-Bissau Small, tropical West African country, some 14,100 square miles (36,500 sq km) in size, that is made up mostly of a coastal plain that rises to the savanna in the interior. It shares borders with SENEGAL to the north and GUINEA to the east and south, while its western edge abuts the Atlantic Ocean.

Farmers began their crude forms of AGRICULTURE in the area several thousand years ago, but the most important development was the adoption of African rice (*Oryza glaberima*). Originating in the INLAND NIGER DELTA, perhaps as early as 3500 BCE, it spread to the coastal zone, where it became a principal FOOD crop from Senegal to GHANA. The region's farmers became highly skilled at utilizing the tidal river estuaries for growing rice. Because of its numerous river estuaries, Guinea-Bissau was particularly well suited for this crop. The ocean also yielded SALT, which people became adept at gathering from drying pans along the shore. A trade in salt gradually developed with the interior region of the western Sudan, which lacked salt. In this way, the people of Guinea-Bissau became linked to the vast trading network that included the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES.

See also: GUINEA-BISSAU (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

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Hadar Site of the discovery of the skeletal remains of an example of an early primate species. Located in the AFAR region of ETHIOPIA, 217 miles (347 km) northeast of Addis Ababa, Hadar became the focus of media attention in 1974 when archaeologists recovered the remains of an early primate species later identified as *AUSTRALOPITHECUS afarensis (A. afarensis)*. Archaeologists who made the discovery gave these nearly complete skeletal remains of a young woman the name Lucy. Ethiopians, however, refer to her as Dinkenesh (which means "she is wonderful") and regard her as the mother of human civilization.

> **Estimated to be between 3 million and 3.18 million years old, Lucy's bones are among the oldest fossilized remains of the human family ever found.**

With a slender but powerful body, Dinkenesh stood just under four feet tall when she died at about the age of 20. Her robust arms were longer than those of modern humans, although her hands and brain were no larger than those of a chimpanzee. An agile climber, Dinkenesh also was fully bipedal, meaning that she stood upright and walked on two feet. Her upright stance helped her get FOOD from the trees as well as from the ground and allowed her to survive by scavenging meat, hunting smaller animals, and feeding on fruits, vegetables, roots, and tubers. Such food-gathering abilities helped Dinkenesh's species survive and evolve over more than 2 million years.

See also: *HOMO ERECTUS* (Vol. I); *HOMO HABILIS* (Vol. I).

Hannibal (c. 247–183 BCE) *Renowned Carthaginian military commander*

As commander of the forces for the North African city-state of CARTHAGE, Hannibal led a daring march over the Alps from Spain to Italy. Taking place during the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE), this feat is considered one of the greatest in military history.

Born in Carthage, near present-day Tunis, Hannibal was the son of the great Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca. Following the defeat of Carthage by ROME in the First Punic War (264–241 BCE), Hamilcar Barca led Carthaginian forces to Spain, where he conquered much of the country. He brought his son to Spain at about nine years of age, making the boy swear undying hostility to Rome.

Hannibal remained in Spain following his father's death in 229 or 228 BCE. There he led troops under the command of his brother-in-law, Hasdrubal, who succeeded in consolidating Carthaginian dominion over the Iberian Peninsula. When Hasdrubal was assassinated in 221 BCE, Hannibal was proclaimed commander in chief by the Carthaginian troops. This field promotion was later ratified by the Carthaginian government.

As commander, Hannibal's first priority was to solidify Carthage's position in Spain. To accomplish this, he married Imilce, a Spanish princess, and conducted a series of battles against various Spanish tribes. In 219 he attacked Saguntum, a city in Spain that, although within Carthaginian territory, was considered a friend by Rome. Although Saguntum fell to Hannibal's troops after an eight-month-long siege, Rome demanded the surrender of the Carthaginian general. Hannibal refused, despite the fact that he had been severely wounded in the siege.

Rome responded by declaring war against Carthage, thus initiating the Second Punic War.

In 218 BCE Hannibal initiated an ambitious attack that targeted Rome itself. Leaving his brother (also named Hasdrubal) to defend Carthaginian Spain and North Africa, Hannibal mobilized his forces. Marching from Cartagena, the capital of Carthaginian Spain, Hannibal's force included between 40,000 and 102,000 troops, HORSES, and 38 ELEPHANTS, which were to be used in battle as well as to carry baggage.

In the autumn of 218 BCE Hannibal's troops marched north along the eastern coast of Spain and over the Pyrenees mountains, where his soldiers battled local peoples. The Carthaginian army then crossed the Rhône River, where Hannibal commandeered small boats for his troops and built rafts for the elephants. The most treacherous part of Hannibal's march, however, was the alpine crossing, which took 15 days. Many troops died, some of exposure, some in landslides or falls from mountainsides, and some from the attacks launched by local mountain peoples.

By the time the Carthaginian army finally arrived in northern Italy, more than half of Hannibal's troops had died, leaving just 20,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and only a few elephants. In spite of this, the Carthaginian army won impressive victories, rallying behind Hannibal and reinforcing his reputation as a great battlefield general. Defeating the Taurini people, Hannibal's troops conquered their chief town, the modern-day city of Turin. The Carthaginians also destroyed the Roman forces in battles at the Trebia River and Lake Trasimene. With each victory, Hannibal added reinforcements, recruiting Ligurian, Gallic, and Celtic soldiers.

After resting throughout most of the summer of 217 BCE, Hannibal's troops resumed their movement south through Italy. In 216 BCE the Carthaginian and Roman armies finally battled in full force at Cannae in southeastern Italy, where the Romans maintained a large supply depot. During the battle Hannibal ordered the center line of his troops to yield, retreating but not breaking their line. By pushing both flanks forward and breaking through the Roman lines, the Carthaginians were able to circle behind the Roman center and surround the Roman army. The Romans were overwhelmed, with an estimated 60,000 soldiers dying in the battle. Fewer than 6,000 Carthaginian troops were lost.

Hannibal's army occupied Italy for the next 13 years. Though Hannibal had hoped to use this occupation to rally the Italian population into a rebellion against Rome, neither his own countrymen nor the subjugated Italians supported him in this effort. Moreover, Rome's dominant strength at sea not only made Hannibal's troops dependent on local provisions but also cut them off from reinforcements. As a result, Rome slowly reclaimed the territories seized by the Carthaginians.

In addition to eating away at Hannibal's victories in Italy, the Romans also began waging successful military campaigns in Carthaginian Spain. In 207 BCE Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal, who had been bringing Carthaginian reinforcements from Spain to northern Italy, was intercepted, defeated, and killed by the Romans.

When Rome invaded Carthage itself in 203 BCE, Hannibal finally abandoned Italy and returned home. The Carthaginians had accepted harsh Roman terms of surrender and had negotiated an armistice when Hannibal attacked Roman troops at Hadrumetum (now Sousse, in TUNISIA). In a battle at Zama later that year, Hannibal's army suffered defeat at the hands of an alliance of Roman troops led by Scipio Africanus and Numidian troops led by Scipio's ally MASSINISSA. In the battle, which brought an end to the Second Punic War, the Carthaginian army lost 20,000 men. Hannibal, however, survived.

Defeated by Rome, Hannibal then served as a civil magistrate in Carthage. While paying the harsh tribute demanded by Rome, Hannibal reformed the government of Carthage. He overthrew the oligarchic power structure, introduced constitutional and administrative changes that reduced corruption, and initiated a renewed period of financial prosperity.

Fearful that the still-powerful Hannibal might initiate another war, the Romans demanded that he surrender. Instead, he fled to Ephesus, in Asia Minor. There, King Antiochus III of Syria, preparing an attack on Rome, put Hannibal in command of a fleet in Phoenicia. Hannibal was inexperienced as a naval commander, and he suffered a quick defeat at the hands of the Roman fleet.

Once again fleeing the Romans, Hannibal arrived in Bithynia, on the southern coast of the Black Sea, in 190 BCE. There he served King Prusias II in his war against Pergamum, another ally of Rome. Once again, however, Hannibal was defeated, and once again the victorious Romans demanded Hannibal's surrender. This time he was unable to escape, and, in the Bithynian village of Libyssa, he killed himself by taking poison.

See also: PUNIC WARS (Vol. 1).

Further reading: Serge Lancel, *Hannibal* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000); J. F. Lazenby, *Hannibal's War* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

Hanno (c. 530–470 BCE) *Carthaginian explorer*

The voyage of Hanno was recorded in an 18-line Carthaginian inscription hung on plaques in the Temple of Chronos, the Greek god of time. Translated into Greek as the *Periplus of Hanno,* it was one of the earliest written geographical narratives in the ancient world. Around 430 BCE, HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE) wrote of Hanno's voyages regarding the founding of Carthaginian trade on the Atlantic coast of Africa. According to the *Periplus,* Hanno set out with 60 ships bearing 30,000 colonists, although these

figures have long been disputed and may have been greatly exaggerated. (Five thousand settlers would have been more in line with colonizing missions of the period.)

Also in dispute is the extent of Hanno's voyages. The Roman Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History*, stated that Hanno had circumnavigated Africa and reached Arabia, a feat that was not impossible. As the places described in the narrative suggest, however, it is probable that he sailed beyond the western SAHARA DESERT and MAURITANIA to SIERRA LEONE, and possibly as far as CAMEROON or GABON. Some of the places mentioned can be associated with known sites, while others remain in dispute. No other subsequent written reports about these regions are known to exist until those of the Portuguese, some 2,000 years later.

Carrying out orders to found colonies along the African coast, Hanno deposited groups of settlers, known as Libyphoenicians, at seemingly suitable places along the way. Afterward, he founded a trading post on an island near Mauritania. The survival of Carthaginian barter methods on the coast was described by the Arab authors Sharif al-Idrisi and Yacout in the 12th and 13th centuries CE, a remarkable persistence that has led some scholars to speculate that trade may in fact have been the primary mission of Hanno's colonizing voyage.

Noted for its literary style, the *Periplus of Hanno* is an early example of popular travel writing. The account, which may not have been written by Hanno himself, contains a report of an active volcano and the earliest extant description of gorillas. It tells of sometimes hostile encounters with indigenous peoples and animals, as well as of MUSIC, raging fires, and aromatic trees, which were seen as potential trade goods. The use of the word *gorilla* may have been a corruption of *kikongo ngo diida,* meaning an animal that violently thumps its chest. The description in the *Periplus* of the gorillas as a race of hairy men and women may cast doubt upon this aspect of the account, but our modern concept of human and nonhuman primate species may cloud our judgment as to exactly what kind of creatures Hanno's men saw (and skinned).

An annotated summary of Hanno's chronicle, based on the Greek translation, follows:

Hanno was sent by the Carthaginians beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Straight of GIBRALTAR), in order to found cities of the Libyphoenicians. He sailed with 60 ships, 30,000 colonists, and provisions. The ships sailed for two days beyond Gibraltar and founded the city of Thymiaterium (Altar of Incense) on a great plain.

The party then sailed westward to Solois (in what is now MOROCCO but which Hanno called LIBYA), a heavily forested area. The voyagers consecrated a temple to the Phoenician lord of the sea and then sailed eastward into thick marshes that were a feeding ground for ELEPHANTS and other wild animals. Sailing one day's journey to the sea, they founded cities called Caricus Murus, Gytta, Acra, Melitta, and Arambys.

They sailed to the River Lixos (or Lixus), where they had friendly relations with a nomadic herding people, the Lixites (BERBERS).

Living above the Lixites were hostile people with "burnt faces," wild animals, and mountains inhabited, according to the Lixites, by cave-dwellers who could outrun HORSES.

Traveling with Lixite interpreters, Hanno sailed southward for 12 days, then turned east for a day's journey. Settlers were left on a small island in a bay, where they founded a city they called Chernah. Based on distance, they judged this place to be situated on the far shore of the land mass around which they were sailing, directly opposite CARTHAGE. Sailing past a great river called Chretes, they came to a lake with three islands (probably the Tidra archipelago, near the coast of Mauritania). A day's journey beyond these islands they came to a mountain range inhabited by people wearing animal skins. These people threw stones at the ships and drove off Hanno's expedition before it could make a landing.

Next, Hanno came to a broad river (probably the SENEGAL RIVER, which the expedition found teeming with CROCODILES and HIPPOPOTAMUSES). Turning back, the party retreated to Chernah.

Sailing southward for 12 days along the coast (probably as far as modern-day GUINEA, SIERRA LEONE, or even LIBERIA), the party encountered "Ethiopians" (possibly Kru speakers) who fled from them and whose speech was unintelligible to the Lixite interpreters.

Dropping anchor by a tall mountain range, the party noted forests of aromatic wood. Two days beyond the forests was open sea with a plain on the landward side, where many nighttime campfires were observed.

Replenishing the party's freshwater supplies, the crew sailed along the coast for another five days (probably reaching present-day IVORY COAST). They then came upon a great bay that the Lixites called the Bay of the Horn of the West (probably Cape Three Points in GHANA, the entrance to the Bight of Benin).

Disembarking on an island, they saw only forests during the daytime. At night, however, the bay was ringed with fires, and they heard flutes, cymbals, DRUMS, and many voices. The sailors were afraid, and their soothsayers advised them to leave the island. Sailing away quickly, the party passed a burning country of aromatic forests, with huge torrents of FIRE flowing down into the sea, making landing impossible.

Hurrying on in fear, they sailed another four days past the burning coastline. In the middle was a taller flame that seemed to rise up to the stars. In daylight, they saw that it was a high mountain called Chariot of the Gods (most likely the active volcano Mount Cameroon).

After three days of sailing alongside the fires, Hanno's party reached a bay called Horn of the South (possibly in Gabon). In the bay they came to an island with a lake,

within which was another island "full of savages." Most of these creatures were "women" with hairy bodies; the interpreters called them "gorillas." Hanno's party gave chase, but the males escaped by climbing trees and throwing stones. Three females were taken, biting and clawing their captors, who killed them, skinned them, and brought the skins back to Carthage. (Here the *Periplus of Hanno* ends.)

Haoulti   Archaeological site of the pre-Aksumite culture of present-day ETHIOPIA, dating to the fourth or fifth century BCE. Haoulti and its archaeological remains demonstrate the influence of South Arabia upon northern Ethiopia in its ARCHITECTURE, ART, and culture.

The objects discovered at Haoulti provide insight into the complex cultural influences on the region before the rise of the ancient Christian kingdom of AKSUM, around the second century CE. The richest example of the influence of South Arabia upon Haoulti in the fourth and fifth centuries BCE are a *naos,* or throne, and various statues that were discovered there. The *naos* was carved from a single block of local limestone and stands 56 inches (142 cm) tall. It has four feet shaped like bulls' hooves that support a base decorated with two bars with a small niche covered with ornamentation. The niche is topped by a dais in the shape of a depressed arch. Along the edge of the niche, two rows of reclining ibexes converge to form a stylized tree, which stands at the top of the throne. Each side of the throne is decorated with a bas-relief of a small figure, holding a staff, who precedes a larger bearded man holding a fan. The figures have aquiline features, which suggest a Semitic appearance, with their eyes depicted as small lozenges. The smaller figure wears a plain robe down to his ankles, while the larger figure wears a baggy loincloth.

The same bulls' hooves on the throne are seen in a marble statuette from Marib, and the reclining ibexes occur in decorations from Saba, including Marib and Haz. The facial features and clothing are parallel to figures represented in bronze SCULPTURE also from Marib. These similarities suggest the South Arabian influence.

The statues also recall artifacts accidentally discovered at Addi Galamo on the western edge of the TIGRE plateau. The Haoulti statue represents a seated woman with her hands on her knees dressed in a long, pleated robe. Over the robe she wears a wide necklace made of three thick, ringed strands. From it hangs a shield that lies across her chest. The shield is counterbalanced by an ornament in the shape of a trapezoid that rests between her shoulder blades. The woman's posture, the position of the hands, and the necklace with its counterweight all bear a strong resemblance to the statues of Addi Galamo. Statues with the same pose of a seated woman wearing a long fluted robe, with a necklace with hanging beads, a

shield, and a counterweight are in the National Museum in ROME as well. However, the posture and decoration of the statue is most similar to statues of women from the region under Syro-Hittite control, which seems to be the real point of connection between Ethiopia and Asia Minor in the seventh and eighth centuries BCE.

Other objects, such as two earthenware AMULETS and a carnelian amulet, were found at Haoulti and are Meroitic in origin. These objects show the relationship between Ethiopia and the NILE VALLEY before the common era. The influence of MEROË on Ethiopia was primarily in metalworking techniques that are seen in bronze, iron, and GOLD objects discovered at the site.

Harkhuf   (governed c. 2290–2270 BCE) *Egyptian trade expeditionist and royal governor*
Harkhuf led notable journeys into NUBIA and to inner Africa during the Sixth Dynasty. Much of what is known about Harkhuf derives from the biography found in his mastaba, the inscribed stone tomb of common Egyptians. Originally from ELEPHANTINE, Harkhuf was appointed as governor of a southern section of UPPER EGYPT during the rule of King Merenre. He was mainly responsible for trade—both the discovery of new trade routes and the safe maintenance of existing ones. In this capacity, he led four documented expeditions into Nubia and Yam (in the Sudan). The Nubian route was a particularly important link to central Africa and the goods to be found there, which included incense, MONKEYS, DOGS, GIRAFFES, EBONY, skins (probably leopard and panther), ivory, and other unusual goods.

During early expeditions through the territories of Irtjet and Zatju, Harkhuf traveled along the NILE RIVER. But when these territories later became hostile to EGYPT's efforts to exploit and colonize Nubia, Harkhuf was forced to take alternate routes or to travel under the protection of the ruler of Yam. He sometimes traveled with his own military or armed escort in order to keep the trade routes open.

One of Harkhuf's most famous journeys was his fourth documented expedition, during which he traveled south to Yam. On this trip, Harkhuf arranged to bring MBUTI people back to the court of King Pepi II, who, as a collector of the unusual, was very pleased with the gift.

Hathor   Ancient Egyptian goddess, known as the protector of pregnant women and patron of MUSIC and DANCE. In the mythology of ancient EGYPT, Hathor was the daughter of Nut and RA. In early myths, Hathor was the mother of the sky god HORUS, but in time this capacity was attributed to ISIS. Hathor became the protector of Horus, and her name translates to "house of Horus." She was depicted either as a cow or as a woman crowned by a sun disk held between a cow's horns.

In the story of Ra, Hathor was created by her father Ra as "Sekhmet," the destroyer of men who wronged him. Later, however, Ra changed his mind and disguised beer as blood, which Sekhmet then drank. Intoxicated, she could no longer kill and became Hathor, goddess of love. Hathor also was worshiped as a goddess of fertility. It was believed that, when a child was born, seven Hathors came to announce the infant's fate. The seven Hathors were regarded as having the power to exchange a prince born to ill fortune with a luckier child, thereby protecting the dynasty and the nation.

In later times, Hathor was also regarded as a goddess of the dead, giving FOOD and water to the deceased as they arrived in the underworld.

Hausa   Nigerian ETHNIC GROUP populating the northern region. The origins of Hausa speakers can be traced to Chadic speakers near Lake CHAD, who have inhabited the area for more than 6,000 years. It is believed that during the 12th century groups of these people migrated southwest into the region that became known as Hausaland.

The Hausa language demonstrates remarkable uniformity of pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical structure wherever it is spoken. This probably indicates that Hausa originated relatively recently and spread rapidly through the lands south of the SAHARA DESERT, since older languages tend to have more differences in their variations, which generally evolve based on geographical distance. Hausa also became infused with many Arabic words due to the influence of Islam. Hausa is the most widely spoken language of sub-Saharan Africa because it is spoken as a second language for the purpose of trade.

Hausa oral tradition names the descendants of the Muslim prince Bayajida as the founders of the settlements that became Hausaland, perhaps in the late 10th century. Nevertheless, it is probable that non-Muslim agricultural peoples had established the settlements before Bayajida's arrival.

See also: CHADIC LANGUAGES (Vol. II); HAUSA (Vols. IV, V); HAUSA STATES (Vols. II, III); ISLAM (Vol. II); SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Mahdi Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History* (Zaria, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1978).

Hawara, Pyramid of   Along with LAHUN and LISHT, part of the mortuary complex for kings of the Twelfth Dynasty of EGYPT. The pyramid was built between c. 1938 and 1770 BCE by order of King Amenemhet III, and it was one of the most elaborate pyramids of the time. Its vast southern temple was said to have had 3,000 chambers on two floors. Ancient scholars believed that the Pyramid of Hawara, also known as "the Labyrinth," was designed as a meeting place, but it was probably built as a mortuary complex.

The roof of every room was made of stone, and the walls were filled with sculptures. Each court was built of white marble. The Greek historian HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE) speculated that the money and LABOR used to build the Labyrinth must have outweighed all the public works of the Greeks put together.

See also: PYRAMIDS (Vol. I).

hawks   In ancient EGYPT, hawks, like falcons, were admired for their grace and power. In Egyptian mythology, the hawk was associated with Menthu, the god of war. Menthu was often depicted as a man with a hawk's head. Because RA, the sun god, was also portrayed as a man with a hawk's head, the two gods were often confused with each another.

healers and diviners   Religious healers who try to cure disease and ailments by appealing to supernatural powers. Common figures throughout history in ancient African societies, healers and diviners have traditionally served as an important link between the real and supernatural worlds. Many traditional African societies believe that offending otherworldly powers causes disease and illness. Therefore it is also maintained that the cures lie in appeasing the spirits. In the appeals they make to otherworldly spirits, the healers and diviners provide hope that diseases can be cured or that illnesses can be avoided. The types of cures vary from culture to culture, or even among various healers within a single culture, and an appropriate cure might involve anything from exorcism to religious ceremonies to herbal remedies.

Healers and diviners were found among some of the earliest inhabitants of Africa, including the SAN, who originated, according to most estimates, between 20,000 to 30,000 years ago. The San traditionally believe in two gods. The first is the Creator; the second is the Creator's subservient messenger, Gauwa. Despite the fact that in San society the healers would often interact with Gauwa, the great Creator is the being who is seen as bringing illness and death. Ironically, it is the same Creator who is seen as instilling the healers with the power to facilitate cures. That power, however, had limits and could easily be disrupted. Therefore the healers are always on guard to avert any bad will that the Creator might send their way through Gauwa.

Healers and diviners abound among the San, with virtually everyone playing the role of healer at some time. The San believe that curing powers can be delivered through DANCE, so large village dances are held several times a month, much as they have been held throughout the San past. At these gatherings, the San believe, the sick will be cured and future evil will be avoided. At a typical dance the healer enters into a trance, placing his hand first on the sick person and then on the rest of the villagers. The healer then grunts softly, fluttering his hands as he does so. His sounds and movements become progressively louder and more animated to draw out the sickness that is affecting the infected person.

As the dance develops and the sickness becomes more difficult to extract, the healer's grunts turn into high-pitched shrieks. He then tramples the FIRE of the dancing area and might even set his own hair on fire in an attempt to spark his healing powers. The villagers might put out the fire in the healer's hair as he hurls flaming sticks into the darkness to chase away Gauwa and the evil spirits. He then goes into a deep trance that enables his spirit to leave his body and confront Gauwa. During the trance the people watch over his body, chanting for his safe return from the state of half-death. When he awakens from the trance, the healer has done all that he can do to cure the sick.

Although each society appeals to the spirits in its own particular way, the purpose of the process is generally the same: They all attempt to alleviate illness by removing evil from the sick. Some groups use ceremonies akin to the dances of the San. Others use good-luck charms, love potions, or sacred objects to drive away evil spirits. Some even use magical remedies involving sacrifice, usually in the form of small, DOMESTICATED ANIMALS.

The concept of evil, and thus the root of a person's illness, varies among groups as well. Evil spirits might come in the form of an all-powerful god such as Gauwa. Other groups, such as the Suku people of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO and ANGOLA, believe in WITCHCRAFT. Among the Suku, witches were not gods but instead were people who had been turned into evil spirits after being fed human flesh at birth. As adults these witches could inflict illness or death on humans. Suku healers and diviners perform rituals to protect the people from witches and heal those already cursed by illness.

Heracleopolis Greek name for the ancient Egyptian city of Henen-nesut, the capital of EGYPT during the First Intermediate Period (c. 2213–2040 BCE).

Heracleopolis, the Greek name of the town called Henen-nesut in ancient times, was located in present-day Bani Suwayf. The Ninth and Tenth Dynasties, often referred to as the Heracleopolitans, were founded by King Khety and controlled Middle and LOWER EGYPT from Heracleopolis.

About the same time the Eleventh Dynasty, which claimed UPPER EGYPT, was flourishing in Thebes. The presence of two dynasties, which lasted nearly 75 years, was the source of great conflict. Each dynasty sought dominion over the other, and boundaries continually changed. This period was finally brought to an end about 1968 BCE by King MENTUHOTEP II (sometimes called Mentuhotep I), who defeated the Heracleopolitans, reunified Egypt, and launched the MIDDLE KINGDOM.

Scholars believe that the group of literary works describing the strife of this time was probably written after the reunification of Egypt, during the Middle Kingdom.

herders See PASTORALISM.

Herihor (r. c. 1080 BCE) *Ancient Egyptian official and usurper of the throne*

Herihor was a high official during the reign of Ramesses XI (r. c. 1110–1070 BCE), in the Twentieth Dynasty. (Ramesses ruled from 1100 to 1070 BCE and was the last king of the Twentieth Dynasty.) Although it is known that Herihor was a military officer and high priest during Ramesses's reign, details about his exact origins are obscure. It is thought, however, that he came to EGYPT to help stop a rebellion led by a former high priest of AMUN. The ineffectual Ramesses was unable to stop Herihor from making himself first a high priest, and later VIZIER of both UPPER and LOWER EGYPT. Herihor's fight to control the throne is depicted in reliefs found in the temple of Khons in Thebes.

Herodotus (484–425 BCE) *First Greek historian, often referred to as the Father of History*

Born in Halicarnassus, a Greek colony in Asia Minor, Herodotus devoted himself to literary pursuits during much of his life. His great work, *The Histories*, is the story of the war between the Persian Empire and the much smaller Greek city-states.

Known as the first historian to make investigation the key to history, Herodotus researched his book by traveling extensively throughout the ancient Mediterranean world. His African travels took him to places throughout EGYPT, including ELEPHANTINE, in the southern part of Egypt, as well as the Arabian frontier in the east.

Herodotus was an inquiring reporter, talking to many people, including actual witnesses to the events he later wrote about. Interwoven throughout his book are descriptions of the people and countries he visited. In the course of telling his story, Herodotus reports on the customs of the Egyptians, the HITTITES, and others he met during his travels. Much of what we know today about many of the ancient peoples comes to us from Herodotus.

Native to Africa, the goliath heron is the largest member of the heron family. Ancient Egyptians associated the heron with the phoenix, a symbol of rebirth. © *Brian Vikander/Corbis*

Despite the fact that he has been criticized for including inaccurate and often highly implausible anecdotes in his work, Herodotus greatly influenced later historians by clearly establishing the principle that history must begin with research.

herons   With broad wings, long and straight pointed bills, and soft plumage, herons are usually found in tropical areas, where they wade in streams and marshes and feed on frogs, fish, and other water animals.

Africa is home to the European night heron and the shoe-billed heron, which is found along the WHITE NILE. Also found in Africa is the goliath heron, which has a reddish head and neck, and is the largest heron of all at up to 59 inches (150 cm) in length.

In ancient EGYPT herons were associated with Bennu, the ancient Egyptian phoenix. According to legend, there was only one phoenix and it was a servant of the sun god. Every 500 years this phoenix would build a nest that would serve as a funeral pyre. Once the phoenix was con-sumed by the pyre's flames, a new one would arise from its ashes in a process that represented the rising and setting of the sun, as well as resurrection and eternal life.

Hierakonpolis   City in UPPER EGYPT, c. 3500–3400 BCE, believed to be the earliest African city; also known as Nekhen. Archaeological studies conducted over the past 20 years have uncovered a wealth of information about the life and culture of this city built along the western bank of the NILE RIVER. The remains of palaces as well as artifacts and artwork all indicate that Hierakonpolis was the residence of both early kings and royal officials. Mud-brick and stone temples found there have been proved to be burial sites, which, according to some archaeologists, provided models for the great PYRAMIDS built by later Egyptians. Religious beliefs among the residents of Hierakonpolis included devotion to the god HORUS as the patron deity of the city. In addition, the many temples, as well as the ritual MASKS and grave goods (also known as *nekhen*) that were buried with the dead, suggest a belief in an AFTERLIFE. This would seem to be reinforced by the fact that Hierakonpolis's cemeteries contain some of the earliest forms of mummification found in EGYPT. The dead were padded and wrapped with linen and covered with pitch in order to seal out decay-causing moisture.

Hierakonpolis also is considered the birthplace of Egypt's long tradition of pharaonic dynasties, which developed after periods of warfare with the rival kingdoms of Nekeb and NUBIA. Eventually, between 3200 and 3000 BCE, Hierakonpolis emerged as the dominant kingdom in the region. One of the prime pieces of evidence is a stone tablet called the NARMER PALETTE. The palette's depiction of the famous warrior-king Narmer (also widely known as MENES), who is seen wearing both the RED CROWN of LOWER EGYPT and the WHITE CROWN of UPPER EGYPT, is generally interpreted as a symbol of Egypt's unification into a single nation. Besides King Menes's name, the tablet contains details of the many military victories he won while consolidating his power.

With unification came the earliest form of centralized government in Africa. King Menes reportedly founded the First Dynasty and relocated the capital to MEMPHIS. Egypt then entered a period of rapid development that included the regulation of trade links and the construction of palaces, large tombs, and religious temples. In addition, greater emphasis was placed on creating methods of irrigation to produce the abundant crops needed to sustain Egypt's growing population.

hieratic   Form of ancient Egyptian WRITING used from the First Dynasty (c. 2925–2775 BCE) to about 200 BCE. Hieratic script was a cursive form, which meant that its characters were written in a flowing style in which the

letters of words were joined together. Hieratic script was usually written in black INK with a reed pen on PAPYRUS. It was used in literary and religious texts, as well as such everyday documents as letters, catalogs, and official writs.

Hieratic script was introduced around the time that HIEROGLYPHICS were first being used in carved or painted inscriptions. It represented a simplified form of hieroglyphic writing that was quicker to write, especially on papyrus. Although the symbols used in hieratic script were similar to hieroglyphic writing, hieratic symbols were less detailed. Also, the spelling of words was occasionally different.

Hieratic script was written right to left. It was first written in vertical lines, starting at the top, but later it was also written horizontally. Around 660 BCE, DEMOTIC script began to replace hieratic script in daily use.

hieroglyphics
Egyptian writing system consisting of pictures or symbols that was used in ancient EGYPT for more than 3,000 years. (The name *hieroglyphics* comes from the Greek *hieros,* meaning "sacred," and *glypho,* meaning "inscription.")

Priests and scribes carved hieroglyphics on temples and tombs, public monuments, furniture, and wrote on PAPYRUS. This writing form was popular from the end of prehistory until about 396 CE. The most recent hieroglyphic text appears on the walls of the temple of ISIS on Philae Island.

Hieroglyphics probably were developed to record crop yields, determine tax rates, or set down the histories of kings. The writing form soon took on a religious significance, however. The Egyptians themselves called hieroglyphics *medou netjer*, or "words of the gods." The average Egyptian of the time would not have been able to read hieroglyphics, which can be read right to left, left to right, or in vertical columns. There was no hieroglyphic dictionary; thus, scribes often made up symbols or created new symbols for what they wished to express.

Several hundred picture signs make up the hieroglyphic writing system. There are three basic elements of hieroglyphic writing: phonograms, ideograms, and determinatives. Words could be created by using only phonograms, only ideograms, or by combining the two.

HIERATIC and DEMOTIC were both derived from hieroglyphics. *Hieratic,* a word that comes from the Greek *hieratikos* meaning "priestly," is best described as cursive hieroglyphics. This writing form is as old as hieroglyphics and was written mostly with a brush on papyrus. In it, smaller signs are joined together to form word groups. Like hieroglyphics, hieratic was used mainly by priests and scribes. Demotic, also called enchorial, came into use during the Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty, about 664–525 BCE. Demotic evolved from hieratic and was a style of penmanship. Demotic pen strokes were

quicker and less defined than hieratic. With demotic, new signs were created, and the connection between hieroglyphics and hand-written text faded. This less formal language was used mostly in official, business, and personal writing.

A *phonogram* is a sound in picture form. Egyptians did not usually include vowels in their writing, so hieroglyphic phonograms depict consonant sounds of the spoken language.

An *ideogram,* or logogram, is a symbol or picture representing a specific object. Typical hieroglyphic ideograms are birds, cats, Egyptian gods, and items connected with daily life, like crops, fish, and boats.

A *determinative* is a type of logogram. There were several hundred hieroglyphic determinatives, which were used to further explain the meanings of words. Because vowels were not shown in the written language, two words with similar consonants would appear alike unless distinguished by determinatives. Both *pot* and *pet,* for example, would be written *pt* according to the Egyptian system. Similarly, with the addition of one particular determinative, the phonogram *mr* would mean "canal"; with a different determinative, it would mean "love." Determinatives also were used to show plurals.

For centuries, the signs and symbols of hieroglyphics were locked in mystery. While many were fascinated by the carvings, they mistakenly believed hieroglyphics were just decorative symbols. The discovery of the ROSETTA STONE in 1799 by Napoleon's soldiers became the key to interpreting the ancient Egyptian writing. The Rosetta Stone features the same text carved in three different languages: hieroglyphics, demotic, and Greek. By comparing the texts, scholars were able to decode the hieroglyphic inscription. The Rosetta Stone has been on display at the British Museum in London since 1802.

When inscribing tombs or memorials to pharaohs, ancient Egyptians often disguised the true meaning of the hieroglyphics by creating new signs or by giving new forms to old signs. Later kings, trying to erase the history of earlier pharaohs, often destroyed monuments to past leaders. With this in mind, coded hieroglyphs were carved inches deep into the stone or statues. For example, one statue to RAMESSES II contained a sun god (RA), the king as a child (*mes*), and a sedge plant (*su*), which was seen as equalling Ra-mes-ses. In this way, the hieroglyphs of the pharaoh's name could be preserved for eternity.

high-water canalization In ancient times man-made waterways were used for irrigation, drinking water storage, drainage, and travel that allowed for greater trade opportunities between eastern Africa and the Persian Gulf. Early canals in the Middle East were probably built to satisfy the need for drinking water and irrigation. However, during periods of high water, travel on the canals was possible. The most notable canal of ancient Africa linked the NILE RIVER to the RED SEA by way of the Isthmus of Suez. Built more than 3,000 years ago as an irrigation canal, it was used during periods of high water by sailors seeking to extend trade between the East African coast from Sofala, on the coast of what is now MOZAMBIQUE, up to the Persian Gulf. This ancient canal is the ancestor of the modern Suez Canal.

Although some researchers believe that excavation may have begun under either SETI I or RAMESSES II, during the 14th century BCE, it also is possible that the ancient canal was built during the period of the Twelfth Dynasty (c. 1981–1820 BCE). Still other researchers say that DARIUS I, king of Persia built the canal around 500 BCE. The canal was maintained and modified until sometime in the eighth century CE.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. I).

hillside terracing Process by which crops are grown on hillsides or mountains. Crops grown using this technique are planted on graduated terraces built into the slope. This labor-intensive method of AGRICULTURE has been practiced in sub-Saharan Africa since the IRON AGE, starting around 3000 BCE. Hillside terracing reduces soil erosion and water loss and maximizes the amount of land available for agricultural production.

Each terrace is built on a low, flat ridge of earth that runs across a slope. The terraces are built with a slight gradation so that water may run off. In areas where there is not an excessive amount of rainfall, the terraces may be built on the same level. This type of agriculture has been used in Africa for cultivating cassava, YAMS, rice, MILLET, and SORGHUM, among other crops.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vols. I).

hippopotamuses Large, amphibious mammals found in the lakes and rivers of sub-Saharan Africa. Tomb inscriptions in ancient EGYPT portrayed serpent-like creatures threatening people and crops. In these inscriptions, hippopotamuses were often pictured being harpooned. According to Egyptian legend, the dead whose hearts failed to be lighter than the feather of Truth (MAAT) were destroyed by a monster named Ammut, who was part hippopotamus, part lioness, and part crocodile.

In spite of these views, hippopotamuses were revered by Egyptians as a symbol of fertility. The hippopotamus was, for example, associated with female pregnancy. During the MIDDLE KINGDOM of ancient Egypt, earthenware sculptures of hippopotamuses became popular.

Hittites Indo-Europeans who established an empire in Asia Minor during the 14th and 13th centuries BCE. Originally known primarily through a brief mention in the Bible, the importance of the Hittite empire has been reaffirmed within the last hundred years by archaeological discoveries in Turkey and Syria. (The name *Hittite* was derived from the Hatti people of Asia Minor.) Around 1400 BCE, during the reign of the great pharaoh AMENHOTEP IV, the Hittite king Suppiluliumas I conquered Mitanni, a Syrian kingdom. This established the Hittites as an empire in Asia Minor and a rival to Egyptian power. This rivalry came to a head in 1285 BCE when the Hittite leader Mutwatallis fought an indecisive battle against the Egyptian pharaoh RAMESSES II at KADESH. Although Ramesses was forced to flee the scene of the conflict, the battle stopped the Hittite advance toward EGYPT. Peace between the two powers was sealed by a marriage between a member of Ramesses's family and a Hittite princess.

At the peak of its power the Hittite empire extended from upper MESOPOTAMIA and Syria to what is now southern Lebanon. During this time the Hittites began smelting iron, signifying the beginning of the IRON AGE. Hittite religion included the worship of thousands of DEITIES, and their literature displays a level of emotion not usually found in ancient Near Eastern texts. In addition the Hittite code of law appears to express more humane treatment than other legal systems of that time and place. The empire flourished until around 1200 BCE, when it was overthrown by the Aegean SEA PEOPLES.

Homo erectus Scientific term used to describe certain members of the Hominidae family; a human-like species living in the prehistoric era. In 1975 scientists working near Lake TURKANA, in ETHIOPIA, recovered the fossilized remains of a 12-year-old boy. Named *Homo erectus* (*H. erectus*) because he stood "upright" and traveled extensively over wide areas, scientists believe that the boy probably traveled from the Ethiopian coast to Harar. From there, the boy, who lived about 1.5 million years ago, traveled to the Awash Valley and then southwest into the Omo Valley and to Lake Turkana. Based on his ability to travel, scientists have theorized that *H. erectus* was the first member of the human family to migrate from Africa to parts of Europe and Asia. This belief is supported by the discovery of other hominid remains in this region.

The features of *H. erectus* seem more human than those of earlier members of the human family. His brain capacity, for example, was 70 cubic inches (1150 cubic cm), and he appears to have had vocal chords, giving him

the ability to speak. *H. erectus* lived a relatively long life as well. He also may have learned varied techniques for survival. Among the most important of these was the use of FIRE, which helped *H. erectus* with cooking, protection, and warmth. *H. erectus* also developed advanced tools like knives, choppers, scrapers, and cleavers, all of which helped him hunt large animals and prepare them to be consumed as FOOD.

See also: HOMO HABILIS (Vol. I); HOMO SAPIENS (Vol. I); HADAR (Vol. I).

Homo habilis Scientific term used to describe certain humans of the prehistoric era who, over centuries, evolved into HOMO ERECTUS; members of the now-extinct Hominidae family that includes the modern human beings known as HOMO SAPIENS. During the 1960s, the remains of six species of *Homo habilis* (*H. habilis*) were

recovered at OLDUVAI GORGE in KENYA and at Lake TURKANA in ETHIOPIA. Scientific analysis indicates that *H. habilis* lived between 1.5 and 2.5 million years ago, providing further evidence that human life began on the continent of Africa.

Scientists distinguish between humans and primates by the size and development of the brain and jaw and by their posture. The first hominids are called *AUSTRALOPITHECUS* (*A. pithecus*). The earliest known hominid, nicknamed "Lucy," is also known by the Ethiopian name Dinkenesh. A nearly complete *A. afarensis* skeleton roughly 3.18 million years old, Lucy is the ancestor of *A. africanus,* a skull of which is shown at the bottom of the chart on this page. After *A. afarensis,* hominid development branched in at least two directions. *A. robustus* (strong), which became an evolutionary dead end, had large molars and powerful jaws but a brain capacity about the same as its predecessor, *A. africanus.* Another branch became the antecedent of modern humans: *Homo habilis* (skillful) developed about 2 million years ago; *H. erectus* (upright in posture) appeared about 1.75 million years ago; and *H. sapiens* (wise) evolved between 300,000 and 400,000 years ago.

Homo erectus and *Homo habilis* were two of several important discoveries made in Africa that relate to early hominids.

Given the name *habilis,* meaning "clever," "handy," or "skillful," *H. habilis* belonged to a group of hunters and gatherers who used simple stone tools. These tools, which often have been found with or near the skeletal remains of *H. habilis,* were stones that had been flaked, or broken off, to form cutting points. They were used as knives, hand axes, or choppers and may have provided some form of defense against large predators. Despite this tool-making ability, *Homo habilis* apparently had a small brain capacity, ranging from 40 to 61 cubic inches (650 to 1,000 cubic cm), according to most estimates.

Homo sapiens Term used by scientists to describe the most evolved members of the Hominidae family, which closely resemble modern human beings. *Homo sapiens* (*H. sapiens*) had the largest brain capacity of all recovered hominids, measuring 79 to 85 cubic inches (1,300 to 1,400 cubic cm). This is a close comparison to modern-day humans, whose brain capacity measures roughly 88 cubic inches (1,450 cubic cm).

H. sapiens, meaning "wise," lived in tropical Africa some 100,000 to 200,000 years ago. The earliest known

example of *Homo sapiens,* dating back approximately 60,000 years, was found in the Dire Dawa region of ETHIOPIA. *H. sapiens* were believed to have traveled over a wide area, leading some scientists to theorize that members of *H. sapiens* eventually colonized other parts of the world. Generations of adaptation, according to some theories, would have caused differences in skin color and appearance between these migrating *H. sapiens* and their African ancestors.

See also: *HOMO ERECTUS* (Vol. I); *HOMO HABILIS* (Vol. I).

Horemheb   (c. 1348–1320 BCE) *Last king of ancient Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty*

Horemheb became pharaoh after the death of AY, who died without an heir. A general, Horemheb had risen through the ranks of the Egyptian army, having served under the pharaohs AMENHOTEP III (r. c. 1417–1739 BCE), AKHENATEN (r. 1379–c. 1364 BCE), and TUTANKHAMUN (r. c.1361–c. 1352 BCE). Horemheb's wife, Mutnodjme, may have been the sister of Akhenaten's queen, NEFERTITI.

The main thrust of Horemheb's rule was the restoration of traditional Egyptian religion, law, and order. Seeing himself as the rightful successor to Amenhotep III, the last pharaoh before the Amarna Period, Horemheb sought to erase the memory of the four pharaohs who preceded him, all of whom he believed to be connected to the cult of ATEN. Abolishing the changes and reforms instituted under Akhenaten, Horemheb firmly reestablished devotion to Egypt's old gods, restoring old temples and building many new monuments in the process. Horemheb's death marked the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Horn of Africa   Term used to describe the protruberance jutting out along Africa's northeastern coast on the RED SEA. The Horn of Africa is so named because on a map it looks like the horn of a rhinoceros. The major physical feature of the horn is that it is bisected by the eastern RIFT VALLEY, a part of the Graeben fault line that extends from the Dead Sea in West Asia through the eastern portion of the African continent. The Graeben fault is a fault in which the tectonic plates are moving away from each another, causing the land between the fault cliffs to sink. This has created East Africa's Rift Valley. Seven million years ago the Arabian Peninsula and what we call today the Horn were connected at present-day Yemen. It is predicted that millions of years in the future the Horn will become an island. Today, evidence of this ongoing process can be seen in DJIBOUTI, where fissures of seawater are breaking into the continent.

According to some historians, the Horn was the fabled Land of PUNT that figured prominently in the history of ancient EGYPT and which was visited by Egypt's Queen Hatshepsut. Other sources indicate that trade in a variety of goods, including frankincense and myrrh, flourished at the port of Zeila, on the Horn, as early as the sixth century CE.

Much of the land of the Horn is dry or even arid, forming a semi-desert covering almost 23,000 square miles (59,570 sq km). Its mountainous terrain includes Africa's third-highest mountain, RAS DASHEN, which measures 14,000 feet (4,270 m). Nearby Djibouti has Africa's lowest point, at 455 feet (140 m) above sea level. With one of Africa's longest coastlines, the Horn has the continent's largest area of geological rifting, which occurs when shifts of the earth, over time, form deep valleys.

See also: ADEN, GULF OF (Vol. II); ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); BENADIR COAST (Vol. III); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SOMALIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

horses   Many historians believe horses were first introduced to Africa from Asia as long ago as the time of the HYKSOS, who invaded and conquered EGYPT about 1650 BCE. Although it is unclear precisely when horses were first used in battle, images and skeletal remains of horses have been linked to Egypt's NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–1070 BCE). This suggests that horses played a role in Egypt's war of liberation against the Hyksos. Exactly what that role was, however, is not certain. The iron bits, bridles, saddles, and stirrups unearthed in recent excavations, for example, would have allowed riders to control a horse while simultaneously using weapons. However, it also is possible that, since horses were considered a powerful symbol of prestige, they initially may have been used only for hunting or for pulling chariots. Regardless of their precise military role, it is clear that horses were used in the Saharan trade caravans before being replaced by CAMELS.

By the first millennium BCE horses had become a valuable trade item and were widely used in both the MAGHRIB and the kingdom of KUSH. The geographer Strabo (c. 22 CE) detailed battles in which mounted warriors fought on horseback with javelins, describing the horses as small but spirited and tractable. According to Strabo, the horses wore COTTON or hair collars, from which hung a lead rein. Some of these horses, Strabo continued, were so well trained that they followed the warriors like pet DOGS, without even being led.

See also: CARAVANS (Vol. II); CAVALRY (Vol. II); DOMESTICATED ANIMALS (Vol. I).

Horus   Ancient Egyptian sky god, important for the pharaohs' claim to be his earthly embodiment. In Egyptian mythology, Horus was generally known as the son of OSIRIS and ISIS and was represented by a falcon or a falcon-headed man. The Sun and the Moon were thought to be his eyes. In predynastic times, the followers of Horus

invaded EGYPT, and he was venerated as a triumphant warlord. Horus also was an important part of the state religion. As a result many pharaohs took on his name.

Horus is believed to be a synthesis of two earlier DEITIES, Horus the Child and Horus the Elder. As Horus the Child, he was often depicted as a child suckling at the breast of his mother, Isis, which may have inspired the more modern image of the Madonna and Christ Child. As Horus the Elder, he avenged the death of his father, Osiris, against the evil SETH. Horus lost his left eye in the 80-year battle, but he eventually rallied to defeat Seth and victoriously unite UPPER and LOWER EGYPT. The image of the eye of Horus, a human eye combined with falcon markings, became a powerful Egyptian amulet.

human origins   The commencement of the existence of humans is generally believed to have taken place on the continent of Africa. In 1974 archaeologists working in the region of HADAR, ETHIOPIA, discovered the 3.18-million-year-old remains of a woman. "Lucy," as the woman was called, provides strong evidence of a common human ancestry originating in Africa. Skeletal remains, rocks, and fossils also have been uncovered in Africa's Great RIFT VALLEY—some dating back 5 million years—that help support this theory. More recent discoveries made in present-day CHAD suggest that hominids inhabited Africa as early as 7 million years ago.

Olduvai   One of the most important sites in paleoarchaeology, OLDUVAI GORGE is located near Lake Eyasi in the north-central part of what is now TANZANIA. Located in the area of the Great Rift Valley, the gorge is 9 miles (14.5 km) long and 330 feet (100.6 m) deep and exposes a virtual timeline of prehistory in nearly 2 million years of sedimentary rock. Excavation of the rock layers has revealed the fossilized remains of many ancient hominids, including AUSTRALOPITHECUS, HOMO HABILIS, and HOMO ERECTUS. The discoveries made there, most anthropologists agree, established the African origins of all humankind.

A family of English archaeologists, the LEAKEYS, is largely responsible for Olduvai's fame. Between the 1930s and the 1960s, Louis Leakey unearthed a number of stone tools of the OLDOWAN tradition. His wife, Mary Leakey, was the first to find a hominid fossil in the gorge, a 1.75-million-year-old *Australopithecus boisei* that was unearthed in 1959. Since then, Olduvai Gorge has yielded many fossilized skeletal remains, including some dating back 700,000 to 1.8 million years.

Kenya   Evidence of early human presence, including fossils of *Homo erectus* and *Homo habilis,* has also been discovered in modern-day KENYA. Western Kenya, in particular, where sedimentary deposits have been dated back 12, 14, and even 20 million years, has been a major source of information about the course of human evolution.

In 1972, for example, a hominid skull was unearthed at Koobi Fora, a sand spit east of Lake TURKANA in the northern part of the country. Discovered by Bernard Ngeneo—a member of a team of researchers led by the famous paleoarchaeologist Richard Leakey—the skull was identified as belonging to *Homo habilis* and was dated as being from 1.8 to 1.9 million years old. Designated "1470" for its museum accession number, it has proven a controversial find because its discovery suggests that many types of hominids apparently coexisted in East Africa for many millennia, a fact that makes it hard to delineate any clear path of human evolution.

An even more famous Kenyan hominid specimen was found in 1984 by Kimoya Kimeu, the foreman of another Leakey-led team, this one working at Nariokotome on the western shore of Lake Turkana. The TURKANA BOY, as the discovery was called, represents one of the most complete fossil hominid skeletons ever found. Living approximately 1.6 million years ago, the Turkana Boy was a *Homo erectus* of about 12 years of age. Analysis of the bones has led archaeologists to conclude that a mature *Homo erectus* would have been about 6 feet (2 m) tall and would have boasted a large brain.

Botswana   A lime quarry at Taung, in present-day BOTSWANA, revealed one of the earliest glimpses of the extended human family tree in the form of a small skull, its braincase intact. Found in 1924, it was identified as belonging to a young *Australopithecus africanus*, a new species of upright-walking, intelligent hominid. The TAUNG CHILD, as the discovery was called, was not accepted by the scientific community until additional *Australopithecus* finds were made in the 1960s.

It is believed that the area's three rivers—the Zambezi, Okavango, and Chobe—once formed a single mighty river, which is thought to have flowed across an arid, desert-like northern Botswana. When this river divided, it apparently formed the Okavango Delta, which is the world's largest inland river delta. There, archaeologists have found parts of heavy-duty stone picks and axes, which constitute evidence that tool-making hominid inhabitants were present in the delta somewhere between 200,000 and 600,000 years ago.

Further reading: Brian M. Fagan, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Archeology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966); Richard Milner, *The Encyclopedia of Evolution* (New York: Facts On File, 1991).

hunter-gatherers   Term used to characterize societies whose main form of sustenance is derived from a combination of hunting, FISHING, and the collection of wild plant foods growing in a natural state. Hunter-gatherer societies were widespread on the African continent for thousands of years. Until about 3,000 years ago southern Africans depended exclusively on hunting and gathering.

Many groups lived nomadic lifestyles, tracking game animals and fresh sources of FOOD. They gradually lost most of their land and livelihood to pastoralists, gardeners, and farmers. Eventually the remaining bands were by and large assimilated into neighboring populations. Today relatively few African peoples survive primarily as hunter-gatherers, and much of what is known about hunting and gathering societies of the past is based on observations made more recently. The largest and best-known such population today is the Khoisan group of the arid Kalahari region in southern Africa.

Hunter-Gatherers in Prehistory   Millions of years ago pre-human populations subsisted in Africa by means of hunting and gathering. Fossils found in Bouri, ETHIOPIA, in the 1990s indicate that by 2.5 million years ago hominids were already using stone tools to carve meat and scrape bone marrow. The increase in protein and fat provided by a carnivorous diet may have been a factor in the evolution of bigger brains and longer legs in protohuman populations. Paleolithic evidence remains scarce for the evolutionary period during which the genus *Homo* and the human species emerged in Africa.

Southern African hunter-gatherers have dwelled continuously in the KALAHARI DESERT region since at least 9000 BCE. Although the area is now desert-like, there were also wet periods over the past 11,000 years. Even today, although surface moisture is rare, water trapped below the surface of the absorbent sand sustains hardy species of plant life, including grasses, thornbushes, and fruit-bearing trees. The VEGETATION is thus highly resistant to drought and provides fodder for many animals, including large antelopes. The combination of edible plant life and game animals has enabled nomadic hunter-gatherers to survive in the arid CLIMATE for many generations.

Tools and Weapons   Archaeological research reveals that around 8000 BCE hunter-gatherers in Africa had developed sophisticated means of acquiring food. At Gwisho springs in Zambia's central Kafue Valley, the moist soil has preserved many tools and artifacts, some of which date from c. 2000 BCE and demonstrate the successful adaptation of hunter-gatherers in the region. Microlithic blade technology was in use across vast areas of savanna and forest throughout sub-Saharan Africa. In the drier climates, rock paintings and carvings on cave walls have been preserved from ancient times. Many of these artworks, created using paints mixed from animal fat, vegetable dyes, and ochres, depict beasts of prey and scenes of hunting and fishing. However, in the northern part of southern Africa, there are few paintings, and no Kalahari SAN people are known to have made ROCK ART in historic times.

In heavily forested regions a variety of weapons—from axes and spears to dug-out pits and trap lines—were employed from the Middle STONE AGE and into the Late Stone Age. During the Late Stone Age, prolific hunters of the savanna grasslands killed animals of all sizes with the bow and arrow, as well as with multi-pronged spears fashioned from carefully hewn microliths attached to shafts of wood. Arrowheads of stone or bone were tipped with slow-acting poisons. With this technology, small, highly mobile hunting parties could track and bring down large, fast-moving, far-ranging ungulates such as antelope and buffalo. Small game could be caught in traps, nets, and snares, or tracked with DOGS and clubbed. Reptiles and bird eggs also provided a source of food. In the swampy Okavango of the northern Kalahari, fishing, rather than game hunting, was a mainstay of subsistence.

In addition to meat, one of the main by-products of hunting was bones, which were made into tools, weapons, and ornaments. Skins were another by-product, and hides were scraped with stones, treated to become soft, and made into such useful items as clothes, house-coverings, and carrying bags.

The Gatherers   Far less ancient vegetal material has survived as evidence than the more durable stone and bone. But it is clear that gathered plant and animal foods were an important part of the human diet. Hunter-gatherers living today depend upon gathered foods for more than half of their nutritional needs. The !KUNG traditionally have obtained as much as 80 percent of their food supply from plants, which despite being seasonal are more abundant and reliable sources of food. While men probably were the primary hunters, ranging far afield in pursuit of game, gathering was principally the job of women, who also had to care for the young. The gatherers' principal tools were sharpened digging sticks and carrying bags. They picked fruits, berries, and melons and dug tubers and edible roots. Women also caught insects such as CATERPILLARS, LOCUSTS, and termites, providing a highly concentrated source of nourishment.

Social and Political Organization   The typical political organization of early hunter-gatherer bands was probably loosely stratified, with a relatively undefined social hierarchy compared to later settled populations. The predominant forms of social organization among hunter-gatherer bands have been characterized by anthropologists as communal, reflecting the loose hierarchy and mobility that would allow small, kin-based groups to remain flexible and highly adaptive to the constant challenge of changing environmental conditions. Even today, for example, MBUTI and others living in the RAIN FORESTS of Central Africa maintain few material possessions and do not greatly value private individual ownership. Their hunting territories are strictly defined, however.

Researchers have inferred much about ancient African hunter-gatherer populations from the practices of surviving groups in the Kalahari. Much of this information is

drawn from field studies carried out during the 1950s and 1960s. In the past, these peoples were often thought to have descended from refugees fleeing other regions. However, the combined evidence of ARCHAEOLOGY, historical linguistics, and the highly developed degree of adaptation of these peoples show that they have occupied the Kalahari for millennia. Likewise the societies, cultures, and ways of life of these peoples were thought to have undergone little change over the centuries. More recent archaeological and historical studies, though, indicate that contact with herders and farmers has been influential for the past 2,000 years.

Names and Languages Outsiders referred to these hunter-gatherer groups by a variety of generalized names, none of which reflected historical ethnic origins or the self-descriptions of local and kin groups. Bantu-speaking agriculturalists referred to the hunter-gatherer peoples as Sarwa (or Twa); Khoikhoi herders living to the north knew them as the SAN (or Sonqua); later European settlers called them BUSHMEN. The latter name, originally meaning simply "those without CATTLE or other domesticated livestock," became a derogatory term in the context of the racialized social politics of modern southern Africa. Today the preferred term for the hunter-gatherer peoples of the Kalahari is *San,* a word taken from the Nama language and whose original meaning is obscure. Anthropologists have created a general term, *Khoisan,* to describe the peoples of the Kalahari, who are descended from the historical intermingling of Khoikhoi (Khoekhoen or Hottentot) herders and San hunter-gatherers.

Southern African hunter-gatherers spoke a great many different languages. For the most part, these fall into three major LANGUAGE FAMILIES, all distinguished by the use of "clicks." Cultural differences among modern populations, such as those found between the !Kung in the northwest of southern Africa and their neighbors, suggest that hunter-gatherer societies as a whole were heterogeneous and diverse. Following the introduction of herding, strict divisions between hunter-gatherer societies and pastoralists may not have always existed.

The unusual symbols and letter patterns in the names of the !Kung, /Gui, //Gana, Kxoe, //Ng-!Ke, and /'Auni languages and dialects stand for clicks. The Khoisan family of languages employs three kinds of clicks, almost always as the beginning consonant of a word. These are an ingressive click, for which air rushes into the mouth; an egressive click, for which air rushes out of the mouth; and a labial click, made with the closing of the lips, which sounds like a kiss.

Staple Foods and Diet Studies of Kalahari hunter-gatherers in historic times paint a somewhat different picture than the familiar image of a society of big-game hunters. Although large antelopes were hunted, most meat came from such smaller game as hares, OSTRICHES, guinea fowl, porcupines, and small antelope breeds. In fact, meat provided a relatively small part of the food supply. Gathered foods were the true dietary staples. Throughout the Kalahari edible plant foods included the fruit of the BAOBAB tree, sour plum, and a variety of other species. In addition, the !Kung lived in an area where the nutritious *mongongo* nut grew in abundance.

The chief significance of hunting in Kalahari societies was as a source of status and prestige. Hunters marked their arrows for easy identification, and the kill belonged to the hunter whose arrow first struck the felled beast. He was the one responsible for dividing up the spoils, following strict rules in distributing the meat to the network of kin who made up the band. Everyone received a share and no one ate alone, although the parents of the victorious hunter's wife were favored.

Large animals were butchered by men in the field for easier transport, and women did the cooking. Unlike meat, plant foods were relatively abundant and did not have to be shared beyond the immediate family.

In the dry southern regions of the Kalahari, melons and roots were an important source of water. Calabashes and ostrich eggshells were hung in trees to collect water during the rainy season. Later in the year, groundwater was extracted through sucking tubes. Winter droughts often forced people to move near the few underground springs, even though such sources were still in a relatively dry state.

Nomadic and Settled Lifestyles The scarcity of water and edible plants enforced a regime of movement throughout extensive and well-defined territories of the Kalahari. The !Xo of the dry southern desert remained on the move throughout the year, pausing in their annual rounds only for the boys' puberty ceremonies in the fall. In the central savanna, //Gana and /Gui peoples came together and collected water during the brief rainy season before dispersing. In the western central Kalahari, the Nharo people enjoyed a more abundant water supply and consequently lived in larger and more stable settlements. In the Upper Karoo region, hunter-gatherers known as /Xam camped on hilltops and followed game animals. Prior to colonial contact and Dutch settlement, hunter-gatherers whom the Khoikhoi called the Soaqua inhabited the coastline of the western Cape. They ate shellfish and fish, game animals, ostrich eggs, and tortoises as well as plants. The Soaqua often used caves, generally located at a high elevation, for shelter from the elements; these caves also gave them a panoramic view of the land. The Soaqua may also have gone on seasonal migrations for hunting purposes.

Bands and individuals, as well as FAMILY units, interacted frequently, visiting their neighbors for extended periods. Individuals also could move between bands, which, therefore, were often in flux. Ties of marriage and fictive kinship were built up, facilitating a high degree of social mobility among bands and providing networks for the common sharing of water and other resources in times of scarcity. Families lived in semicircular thatched shelters of branches and twigs. Campfires were central gathering places, with families moving from one hearth to another in ritualized visitation rounds. Marriages were usually arranged between members of different bands. Although POLYGAMY occurred, it was practiced only rarely, since there was a shortage of marriageable females and few men could afford to support more than one wife.

The highly mobile, nomadic lifestyle of most southern hunter-gatherers meant that few material goods or possessions were kept, and manufacturing was minimal. Houses were temporary shelters that were abandoned when people broke camp. Personal items were limited. In addition to clothing, tools, weapons, fire drills, and implements for food gathering and processing, southern African hunter-gatherers made musical instruments, pipes, boxes, and other items of wood, bone, shell, and stone. Later, metal obtained in trade was used for knives and blades.

Clothing and Dress   Typical animal-skin clothing in the Kalahari consisted of loincloths for men and aprons for women. Women also wore cloaks that doubled as slings for carrying babies and for collecting foodstuffs or firewood. Some groups made skin hats and leather sandals. Children's clothing, although varied, was typically patterned after adult garments.

Ornaments were worn by men, women, and children. Small disks made of ostrich eggshell were strung into necklaces and waistbands or sewn onto headpieces and clothing. Other decorative wear was made of roots, seeds, reeds, and animal horn. Young women powdered their hair and painted their faces with either red ochre or a mixture of crushed wood and animal fat. Women also bore ornamental tattoos made by rubbing ash into cuts in the skin of the face, buttocks, and thighs. Men received SCARIFICATION marks during their initiation into adult status; facial tattoos were earned through successful hunting.

The Khoisan People Today   Today, most Khoisan people in the Kalahari are adapted to herding and agriculture, with only about 5 percent subsisting primarily by hunting and gathering. Most of the hunter-gatherer populations have been decimated by disease, assimilation, poverty, economic dependency, and the encroachment of others on their former lands. In BOTSWANA and NAMIBIA, small reserves of land have been set aside for Khoisan people living a traditional lifestyle, but these modern hunter-gatherers live under the constant threat of losing their remaining territory.

See also: KHOIKHOI (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: Catherine Painter-Brick, Robert H. Layton, and Peter Rowley-Conwy, eds., *Hunter-Gatherers: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2001); Richard B. Lee and Richard Daly, eds., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Hutu (Bahutu, Wahutu)   Bantu-speaking people who have long inhabited a region of present-day BURUNDI and RWANDA. Believed to have entered the area as early as the fifth century, the Hutu encountered and overcame the Twa, small-statured hunters who had been in the region for centuries. The Hutu brought with them a way of life dedicated to small-scale farming and cattle herding. Their social structure involved into a CLAN system, with *bahinzas* (petty kings) ruling small regions.

See also: HUTU (Vols. II, III, IV, V); TWA (Vol. III).

Hyksos   Foreign invaders who occupied EGYPT in the 17th century BCE. Little is known about either the origins of the group of Asians known as the Hyksos or about how they conquered large parts of Egypt. The most common assumption is that they used military force, although political control is another possibility.

Under Hyksos rule Egypt seems to have enjoyed peace and prosperity. The Hyksos respected the native religions, maintained ancient Egyptian as the official language, and allowed many Egyptians to serve at high levels of government. Although later Egyptians depicted the period of Hyksos rule as one of chaos and misery, there were indisputable technological advances during the era, including the use of both copper and bronze. The Hyksos were also the most likely source of many new tools and innovations in warfare, including the use of both horses and war chariots.

Hyksos rule in Egypt enabled the KUSH kingdom to regain control over NUBIA. After a century of Hyksos rule, the southern Egyptian city of Thebes asserted its independence. The war that resulted led to the expulsion of the Hyksos around 1570 BCE.

Further reading: John Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966).

Hyrax Hill   Archaeological site that is located near Lake Nakuru, in present-day west-central KENYA. Hyrax Hill, which lies within Kenya's portion of the Great RIFT VALLEY, is about 3 miles (4.8 km) from Lake Nakuru and stands about 300 feet (91 m) above the lake level. In 1926, famed paleontologist Louis Leakey first found evidence of prehistoric hominid life in Hyrax Hill. Mary

Leakey (1913–1996), Louis Leakey's wife and fellow paleontologist, began her own work at the site in 1937. Her excavations revealed the remains of a STONE AGE culture, including a walled enclosure and a burial mound. In total there are three separate sites, the oldest dating back 3,000 years and the most recent from two or three centuries ago.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); LEAKEYS, THE (Vol. I); LEAKEY, LOUIS (Vol. IV); LEAKEY, MARY (Vols. IV, V).

I

idolatry The worship of drawn, carved, sculpted, or painted images that represent religious figures, legends, and myths. The religions of ancient Africa often relied on images to teach and maintain cultural traditions. This frequently was accomplished by the appearance of religious images on such everyday objects as coins, JEWELRY, weapons, tools, and buildings. Egyptians and Nubians, in particular, were noted for such ART, which included representations of the Egyptian moon god Khonsu, the sky goddess, Nut (who sometimes was portrayed as a cow), and APEDEMAK, the Nubian lion god.

See also: EGYPT (Vol. I); NUBIA (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Further reading: Cyril Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1985); Roland Oliver and Brian M. Fagan, *Africa in the Iron Age: c. 500 BC–1400 AD* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

Ifa YORUBA divination system made up of a series of verses that are chanted to drive away evil. Ifa was an ancient DIVINATION system practiced by the Yoruba people of the southwestern region of present-day NIGERIA. The Ifa verses were chanted by a learned Yoruba priest to alleviate a client's suffering. Yoruba priests appealed to the gods by reciting the verses that fit a particular sufferer's needs. Different verses applied to different aspects of life, from physical ailments to natural disasters, and they served to encourage the Yoruba standard of ideal tribal life by supporting the accumulation of wealth, wives, and children. These materialistic goals helped instill an entrepreneurial spirit within the community. Through the Ifa chantings (a single recitation of a verse could last several hours), an individual was believed to form a direct connection with the gods.

The Yoruba people originally supported a pantheistic society. They believed that mankind originated in Ife (ILE-IFE), a sacred city that supposedly arose when one of the gods turned water into land. As the first Yoruba city, Ife was the center of Ifa divination. At the height of its influence from the 11th to 15th centuries, Ife was the focal point for surrounding kingdoms. Neighboring kingdoms even sent their deceased rulers to be buried in the sacred town.

Ifa, the divination god, was the backbone of the Yoruba divination system. During a ceremony, a Yoruba priest called on Ifa with an ivory tapper (*iroke-Ifa*). Palm nuts were tossed onto a dusted divination board (*opon Ifa*). The Yoruba priest then studied the pattern left in the dust to determine which verses to recite. The process was repeated until the priest had a complete message to chant.

According to Yoruba belief, Eshu-Elegba, the messenger god, delivered to the other gods the divine messages that had been chanted by Yoruba priests. Eshu's image was used extensively in Ifa art, particularly on divination boards and bowls. His hair was always depicted half-shaved to symbolize his friendship with Ifa.

During an Ifa ceremony a Yoruba priest usually carried a special iron staff that symbolized his power over death. A cock was often sacrificed and tied to the staff because the Yoruba believed that the scream of the bird tricked the gods into believing that a person had been sacrificed, thus avoiding a human death. This Ifa staff

was believed to protect the priest and the sufferer during the ceremony.

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Yoruba priests shaved their heads to honor Eshu and to symbolize the beginning of an initiation ceremony. Other Yoruba shaved their heads for ceremonies, believing that spirits entered a person through the head.

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See also: IFA (Vol. III).

Further reading: W. Bascom, *Ifa Divination; Communication between Gods and Men in West Africa* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ. Press, 1969); E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1973); Ivor Miller, *Ifa Will Mend Our Broken World: Thoughts on Yoruba Religion and Culture in Africa and the Diaspora* (Roxbury, Mass.: Aim Books, 1997); Benjamin Ray, *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual, and Community* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 2000).

Igbo (Ibo) People living chiefly in the southeastern region of present-day NIGERIA. The Igbo probably originated at the junction of the NIGER RIVER and BENUE RIVER and then migrated about 100 miles (161 km) south to southeastern Nigeria, one of the most fertile regions of Africa. The Igbo speak the Igbo language, part of the Kwa Branch of the family of NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES. There are linguistic connections between the Igbo and nearby groups including the Igala, YORUBA, and Idoma. These indicate that the Igbo were once part of a much larger group of Niger-Congo-speaking people. The Igbo apparently split off from these other groups about 5,000 to 6,000 years ago.

There is little agreement among historians about the origins of the Igbo people. While the founding myth has the Igbo migrating southward from EGYPT, many maintain that the Igbo culture is a combination of the Nok, Ife, and Benin cultures of the local region.

See also: IGBO (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ILE-IFE (Vols. I, II); NOK CULTURE (Vol. I).

Further reading: Herbert M. Cole and Chike C. Aniakor, *Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos* (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1984); Elizabeth Isichei, compiler, *Igbo Worlds: An Anthology of Oral Histories and Historical Descriptions* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978); Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of the Igbo People* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976); Don C. Ohadike, *Anioma: A Social History of the Western Igbo People* (Athens, Oh.: Ohio University Press, 1994).

Ile-Ife YORUBA city in the southwestern region of present-day NIGERIA. The city is also known as Ife and Ife-Lodun. Probably the oldest population center occupied by the Yoruba people, Ile-Ife dates back at least 1,000 years. Excavations at the site have revealed Ile-Ife to have been, even in its early days, a remarkably urbanized community. This has led some historians to theorize that Ile-Ife's first settlers, who supposedly immigrated there from the north, had experience with living in towns or even larger communities.

See also: ILE-IFE (Vol. II).

Imhotep (fl. c. 2650 BCE) *Vizier of the pharaoh Djoser; recognized as a deity during the Third Dynasty of ancient Egypt's Old Kingdom*

One of the few Egyptian gods other than the pharaohs who was an actual historical figure, Imhotep was a priest, scribe, poet, doctor, and a founder of the Egyptian studies of ASTRONOMY and ARCHITECTURE. As the VIZIER of King Djoser (r. 2630–2611 BCE), Imhotep also was skilled in a wide variety of royal enterprises and administration.

As an architect, Imhotep is best known for designing the STEP PYRAMID OF DJOSER, at SAQQARA. Located near MEMPHIS, the step pyramid is known as the first human-made structure to be fashioned entirely from stone. The pyramid was built as a tomb for Djoser. It ultimately moved beyond its intendend purpose, inspiring a style of architecture that embodied the spiritual ideas of the Egyptian people. Containing temples, pavilions, corridors, chapels, halls, and storerooms, the pyramid also was distinguished by fluted columns attached to its limestone walls, a clear link with ancient styles of Egyptian architecture.

Imhotep was first honored as a god during the OLD KINGDOM (c. 2705–2213) because of his wisdom and his work as a scribe. Later, during the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–1070), SCRIBES venerated Imhotep as their patron, pouring out a few drops of water as an offering to him before beginning to write.

During the Late Dynastic Period Imhotep was fully recognized as a god. He was associated with the writing god, THOTH, and he was seen as a patron of MEDICINE. Anyone, god or man, who suffered with pain was thought to be tended to by Imhotep, and feats of miraculous healing were attributed to him. This led the Greeks eventually to identify Imhotep with ASCLEPIUS, their god of medicine.

A small temple of Imhotep was built on the Island of Philae during the Ptolemaic Period (c. 332–44 BCE). The Roman emperors Claudius and Tiberius commissioned praises to Imhotep that were inscribed on the walls of their Egyptian temples. In ART Imhotep was represented as a seated priest with a shaved head hold-

ing a PAPYRUS roll. At times he was shown without divine insignias, clothed in the garb of an archaic priest.

Further reading: Maribelle Cormack, *Imhotep, Builder in Stone* (New York: F. Watts, 1965).

initiation rites Culturally based practices designed to introduce adolescents to the values, history, and social guidelines prevalent within their societies. Many of these practices date back to ancient times, and a number of them survived, in one form or another, well into the present era.

In Africa the initiation of the young has always represented an important vehicle for passing on knowledge about community affairs, economics, RELIGION, and such social responsibilities as courtship, sexuality, marriage, and childbirth. Male and female elders were usually assigned the task of directing or participating in specific initiation activities. These activities were drawn from elements of nature, song and DANCE, morality tales, ORAL TRADITIONS, and ritual objects to create a learning experience. The length of the actual ceremonies varied, with some lasting a day and other, more complex rites lasting months or even years. Researchers have noted three common themes in many initiations: The first was separation from the community and familiar surroundings; the second was a period of seclusion; and the third step involved integration or rebirth within the initiate's community.

For many adolescent girls, initiation often began with the onset of menstruation. The AKAN of GHANA, for example, held a sacred feast for young women. It included libations and prayers designed to invoke protective guidance and future fertility. The young initiates remained with older female adults for a specified period in order to learn about taboos, sexuality, marriage, diet, and other social responsibilities. In contrast, young women of the Nandi society in KENYA traditionally underwent rigorous training, including the symbolic cutting of firewood, spirited dancing, and, ultimately, female CIRCUMCISION.

Many societies regard the initiation of young men as a test of strength. The Mbundu of ANGOLA traditionally called their initiation *mukanda.* A rite that sometimes lasted several months, it included feasting, song and dance, and sexual freedom. The young men were taken to a special site known as "the place of dying," a symbolic metaphor for the loss of their youth. After they were circumcised and forced to endure physical ordeals and verbal abuse, they were formally educated in the ways of adult males. They then returned to their villages wearing white clay MASKS to symbolize the process of rebirth. There they performed the dance of war for public recognition of their adult status.

See also: AGE GRADES (Vol. I); SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I); RITES OF PASSAGE (Vol. I); WOMEN IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I).

Further reading: Gregory Ghent, *Emblems of Passage: Art of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003); John S. Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1989); Annemieke Van Damme, *Spectacular Display: The Art of Nkanu Initiation Rituals,* Migs Grove, ed., Gert Morreel, trans. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian National Museum of African Art, 2001).

ink Fluid or paste first used for WRITING and drawing in ancient Africa about 2500 BCE. The Egyptians were among the earliest people to use ink, reed pens, and brushes for writing. One of the oldest sources for ink was the cuttlefish, which was fairly common in the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. Later Egyptians began to use colored dyes such as indigo, white lead, charcoal, and soot. They, and later the Ethiopians, used specially designated colors to honor the gods mentioned in sacred texts. Other sources for making ink included extracts from juices, plants, and minerals. After it was molded and dried into sticks or small cakes, lampblack mixed with glue or gum was also used.

Ink and PAPYRUS were used to create the early form of books known as papyrus rolls. Papyrus comes from a reed-like plant found in the marshes of the NILE VALLEY and NILE DELTA regions. The ancient Egyptians sliced these stalks into thin sections. Then they laid them side by side and pressed them into sheets approximately 5 to 6 inches (12 cm to 15 cm) wide. When the sheets were dried in the sun, they achieved a paper-like consistency. Although seemingly fragile, many papyrus documents were preserved beneath Egypt's hot desert sands for more than 4,000 years.

See also: EGYPT (Vol. I); ETHIOPIA (Vol. I).

Inland Niger Delta Region in present-day Republic of MALI located between the NIGER RIVER and the Bani River. The Inland Niger Delta covers about 11,583 square miles (30,000 sq km) and features mostly swamps and standing water, although the territory also crosses areas of savanna grassland and SAHEL scrub. The region is flooded for much of the year, but its fertile soil allows for the farming of crops such as MILLET and rice.

The Inland Niger Delta is the result of the geographical history of the present-day Niger River. At one time the

Niger River Basin, c. 500 CE
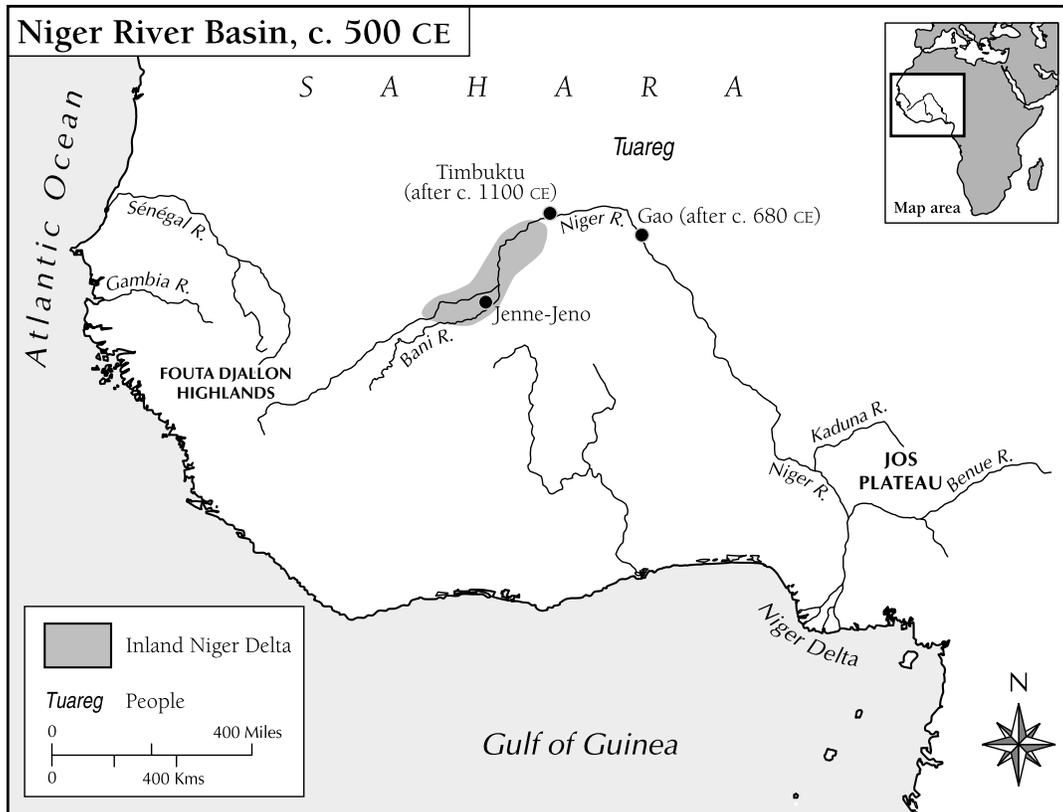
Niger was two rivers, the Djoliba and Quorra. The Inland Niger Delta was the delta for the Djoliba River, which flowed from its source in the highlands of the Fouta Djallon, in present-day GUINEA, to its mouth at Lake Azwad in present-day Mali. Lake Azwad, a salt lake, dried up as the SAHARA DESERT expanded southward. Geographical contours of the land directed the flow of the Djoliba into the Quorra River, resulting in the Niger River's unique bowed shape.

Prior to European colonization the empires of ancient GHANA, Mali, and Songhai controlled the delta region in succession. During much of this time the main commercial center of the region was JENNE-JENO, which had been founded early in the first millennium CE. Za, another important trading city in the Inland Niger Delta, was located 62 miles (100 km) west of Jenne-Jeno. Founded by a branch of MANDE speakers known as the Nono, Za was a thriving center of commerce by the 10th and 11th centuries. In fact, it was traders originating from Za who are thought to have established the city of Jenne in the 13th century.

Jenne eventually came to rival and even supplant Jenne-Jeno as the region's primary commercial power. Trade items included COPPER, GOLD, SALT, KOLA NUTS, and ivory. By the end of the 15th century there also was a thriving trade in dried fish and cereals. Much of this trade was conducted by BERBERS and Sudanese merchants who used CAMELS and riverboats to transport goods along routes extending northward to the Sahara, North Africa, and the MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

See also: FOUTA DJALLON (Vol. II); JENNE (Vols. II, III); NIGER EXPEDITION (Vol. III); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); ZA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Sanche de Gramont, *The Strong Brown God: The Story of the Niger River* (London: Hart Davis, MacGibbon, 1975).

Inscription of Mes Inscription on the walls of a tomb at SAQQARA that details the court records of a land dispute fought over several generations during the 13th century BCE. The inscription was carved to prove the legal right, by inheritance, to the land in question. It also provides evidence of the substantial legal rights of ancient Egyptian women, showing that they had the right to administer property, to serve as witnesses before a court of law, to file lawsuits, and to appeal court rulings.

The subject of the inscription, Mes, was a descendant of Neshi, an Egyptian admiral whom King AHMOSE I (r. c. 1570–1546 BCE) had rewarded with a large tract of land south of MEMPHIS. Before he died, Neshi insisted that the land never be divided, decreeing that his heirs (and their heirs) would hold joint ownership and share in the income generated by the land, but that it would

be under the management of a single heir who would act as trustee.

Mes's descendants, however, eventually separated into two branches, with one branch of the family eventually being, in effect, disinherited from both trusteeship and joint ownership. During the reign of King HOREMHEB (c. 1348–1320 BCE), Werenra, a woman from the disenfranchised branch of Neshi's family, filed suit in the high court of the VIZIER, one of the king's highest civil officials. As a result she won back both trusteeship and joint ownership.

Werenra's sister, Takharu, later sued to demand division of the estate among six heirs. After the vizier decided in Takharu's favor, Werenra and her son Hui appealed this verdict, which, after many years, finally was overturned. Eventually, the position of trustee was inherited by Hui's wife, Nubnefret.

Nubnefret's right to the position was challenged by Khay, a member of the rival branch of the family. Falsely claiming that his trusteeship had been taken from him by Hui and Nubnefret, Khay bribed a court official to forge tax records supporting his claim. With the help of this fraudulent evidence, Khay won the case. Nubnefret's son, Mes, however, reappealed to the vizier. Producing the authentic tax records as well as witnesses who testified to his family's long trusteeship, Mes won a reversal, finally settling the case.

Intertropical Convergence Zone

Meterological term used to describe the weather produced by the convergence of the northeasterly and the southeasterly trade winds over Africa. African seasons are distinguished as wet or dry rather than cold or hot. Different seasons are often a product of the Intertropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) that lies in a belt near the equator. At these latitudes the intense sun and warm ocean waters heat the air, causing it to rise. As it cools it produces thunderstorms. Variations in the ITCZ can interfere with the seasonal cycle over land by delaying rain, by causing droughts, or by dropping massive amounts of rain, causing floods. This convergence zone is also responsible for huge thunderstorm clusters that grow in intensity to become hurricanes.

See also: CLIMATE (Vol. I).

Iron Age

Period in ancient times during which iron was the primary metal used for weapons, tools, and other implements. For many years, it has been widely believed that the earliest human use of the metal occurred about 1650 BCE, when the HITTITES of ancient Turkey began making iron tools and weapons. They passed their knowledge of iron-working to the Assyrians who, in turn, used iron weapons to help create an empire stretching from EGYPT to India. Ironworking was also practiced by the PHOENICIANS, whose colony of CARTHAGE lay in what is now TUNISIA. It was probably extensive trade with people in present-day LIBYA, ALGERIA, and MOROCCO that was responsible for carrying Phoenician iron technology to the western Sudan and sub-Saharan Africa.

Ironworking flourished in AKSUM, NUBIA, and, in particular, KUSH. Of all the ancient peoples, the Kushites were the most notable ironworkers. About 750 BCE, 60 years after Shabaka led the Kushites to conquer Egypt, the Assyrians conquered Egypt using their superior iron weapons. The Kushites learned how to identify ore-rich land and how to smelt iron. Realizing that land in the southern reaches of their own empire was rich in iron ore, the Kushites moved their capital from Napata to MEROË, which became a center of iron technology. Even today, tall mounds of iron slag—the waste material removed from iron during the smelting process—can be found among the ruins of Meroë, testimony to the major role ironworking played in Meroitic culture. Europeans have referred to Kush during this period of its history as the "Birmingham of Africa" (relating Meroë to the great Industrial Age iron-producing city of England). Unfortunately for the Kushites, the new iron technology contributed to the fall of Kush. Throughout parts of the kingdom, trees were cut to fuel the fires for iron production. This ultimately led to a deforestation of the region, and the subsequent erosion destroyed the Kush soil.

Recent discoveries have shown that, contrary to some long-held theories, sub-Saharan Africans developed metal-working technology at a very early stage in history. By about 1400 BCE, for example, East Africans were already producing steel in carbon furnaces, even though steel was not invented in western Europe until the 18th century CE. Iron technology, however, spread slowly across Africa, and it was not until the first century CE that the smelting of iron began to rapidly diffuse throughout the continent.

The spread of iron technology across southern Africa went hand-in-hand with the spread of BANTU LANGUAGES. Proficiency with the production of iron tools and weapons made it possible for the Bantu-speaking people to subjugate most of the indigenous HUNTER-GATHERERS with whom they came in contact. As a result, the previous inhabitants of the newly found areas were assimilated into Bantu-speaking culture. Once assimilated, these peoples became proficient in making iron tools and weapons for themselves, enabling many to develop agricultural communities.

In time the use of iron became widespread in sub-Saharan Africa. During the first millennium, for example, the people of what eventually became the kingdom of GHANA used iron weapons to gain prominence in West Africa. At the same time, the use of iron farming tools gave these same people agricultural superiority. No evi-

dence of widespread ironworking within Ghana itself has been found, however, a fact that leads most archaeologists and historians to believe that Ghana used its well-known GOLD supplies to purchase iron weapons and tools from Saharan traders to the north and east.

Elsewhere the people of the NOK CULTURE, located in the northern area of what is now NIGERIA, were smelting iron by 500 CE. Ironwork has been known among the Haya people of western TANZANIA for even longer, possibly, it is believed, for at least 2,000 years.

Further reading: Peter R. Schmidt, ed., *The Culture and Technology of African Iron Production* (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 1996); Joseph O. Vogel, *Great Zimbabwe: the Iron Age in South Central Africa* (New York: Garland, 1994).

Ishango Bone Oldest known mathematical tool, which was found in an ancient mountainside settlement near the Lake Edward region in present-day UGANDA and Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

The Ishango Bone is named after the Ishango people, who inhabited the area sometime between the seventh and 10th centuries BCE. Little is known of the Ishango people except that they hunted, fished, and farmed in the area before volcanic eruption destroyed their village.

Although the dates of the Ishango civilization are uncertain, scientists believe the Ishango Bone was made around 8500 BCE. It was originally considered a simple tally record, but recent microscopic analysis has revealed additional notch marks indicating that it may have been used as a lunar CALENDAR. The bone itself has a quartz WRITING tool at one end, while the body is made of bone that is etched with three rows of notched marks, with each row having its own mathematical significance. The first row is a series of calculations based on the number

Found in 1960 and dating back to 8500 BCE, the Ishango Bone is the world's oldest mathematical tool. It is kept in the Royal Institute for Natural Sciences in Brussels, Belgium, and can be seen only by special arrangement.

10, the second row contains prime numbers between 10 and 20, and the third is a multiplication table.

The Ishango Bone is an important indicator of the scientific progress in Paleolithic Africa. With the advancement of trade among societies, knowledge of mathematics and units of measure became increasingly important. Basic mathematical calculations were also used to predict the effects of drought or floods on crop yields. With the discovery of the Ishango Bone, the long-held assumption that African societies were slow to develop mathematical technology was disproved.

Isis Ancient goddess considered the source of life and divine motherhood. In Egyptian mythology Isis was the daughter of the earth god Neb and the sky goddess Nut. The best-known myths about her involve the resurrection of her husband OSIRIS and the virgin birth of her son HORUS. In these myths, she found and then put back together the pieces of her husband's body when he was dismembered by his brother SETH. It is speculated that the recurring themes of resurrection, virgin birth, and the trinity of Isis, Osiris, and Horus came to influence early Christian thought and philosophy.

The worship of Isis occurred in many regions of the ancient world, generating hundreds of images of the goddess that reflect distinct cultures. Isis has been shown holding the sistrum, an instrument believed to have originated in NUBIA, as well as both a healing wand and the Egyptian *ankh,* another symbol of life and immortality. More recently, in the form of the Black Madonna, images of Isis and the infant Horus have been found in regions as far-flung as Afghanistan, Portugal, northern England, France, and Mexico.

The earliest religious rituals honoring Isis apparently took place in prehistoric Nubia among the Anu, an ancient people who inhabited the region that eventually became the kingdom of MEROË. Even after the establishment of Meroë, the ruling queen of the realm—the KANDAKE—traditionally served as a priestess of Isis.

In EGYPT worship of Isis dates back to 2500 BCE, and Egypt became a primary site for rites and ceremonies honoring the goddess. It was commonly held by Egyptian pharaohs, for example, that their prosperity stemmed from the NILE RIVER, which they believed to have been formed by the tears Isis shed for her husband. Egyptian worship of Isis reached its peak during the period spanning the Twenty-seventh through the Thirtieth Dynasties

This statue of the goddess Isis, daughter of the earth god Neb and the sky goddess Nut, from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 BCE) is 35.5 inches (90 cm) high. Cairo Museum, Cairo, Egypt.
© Roger Woods/Corbis

(525–332 BCE), when worshippers built the great temple at Philae, an island situated in the Nile River.

After Egypt was conquered by the Greeks in 332 BCE, temples devoted to Isis were established in the new city of ALEXANDRIA. In time the religion spread beyond North Africa to GREECE, where it was known as the Eleusianian Mysteries, and even to Italy, where the remains of an Isis temple have been recovered at the site of the city of Pompeii. By 86 BCE, the worship of Queen Isis had become a cornerstone of Roman religion and remained so until being supplanted by CHRISTIANITY.

Further reading: Ean Begg, *The Cult of the Black Virgin* (London: Arkana Press, 1985); George Hart, *Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986); Richard H. Wilkinson, *The*

Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003); R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

Itjawy   Capital of ancient EGYPT at the beginning of the MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–1820 BCE). About 1991 BCE, following a brief civil war, Amenemhet (Amonemhet) seized power from the reigning king, Mentuhotep III. Amenemhet then reunified Egypt under a central government. Previously a VIZIER during the brief reign of Mentuhotep III, Amenemhet was an experienced administrator, and when he became king he recognized the advantage of having a more centrally located capital. Thus he moved the capital from Thebes to Itjawy (also spelled Itj-towy or Itj-Tawy). Located near the Fayyum Oasis, south of MEMPHIS, and on the border of UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT, the name of the new capital meant "seizer of" or "one who takes control of two lands." The relocation of the capital ushered in a prosperous and powerful period for Egypt, one that saw a rebirth of ART, ARCHITECTURE, and literature.

Ituri Forest   Dense tropical rain forest in Central Africa that is home to two ancient peoples, a group of Bantu-speaking village agriculturalists and the MBUTI, a nomadic HUNTER-GATHERER group. The forest is named for the Ituri River, which flows through it, running east to west.

Though inhabited by the Mbuti for thousands of years, the Ituri Forest, which is home to giant hardwood trees that rise to a height of 170 feet (51.8 m), was thought by many people to be completely impenetrable. Walking through the forest is not easy, as the floor contains a thick mass of plants, trees and tree roots, and fallen fruits and nuts. In some areas the thick tree canopy prevents almost all sunlight from reaching the forest floor. Humid, with a high annual rainfall, the Ituri forest has a wide variety of plants and animals, including the greatest variety of primates of any region in the world. Throughout history, the seeming inhospitable nature of the forest has afforded its inhabitants protection from enemies. Even today, there is no easy access to the forest in the way of improved roads or easily navigable waterways.

As far back as the Sixth Dynasty the ancient Egyptians knew of the Mbuti. POTTERY of ancient EGYPT shows representations of small-statured people, and Pepi II (r. c. 2300 BCE) was known to have some of these people living at his court. Four groups of these peoples, collectively known as the Mbuti, still live in Africa today. Though there is not much archaeological evidence of the ancient Mbuti, scholars believe that they

have inhabited the Ituri Forest since about 2500 BCE, hunting and gathering for subsistence.

Besides the Mbuti a group of agriculturalists has inhabited the Ituri for at least 2,000 years. Most of these people speak one of the BANTU LANGUAGES, and traditionally they have lived in small villages, cultivating crops and raising livestock. In parts of the forest the Mbuti and these agriculturalists trade FOOD and goods with each other and even share languages and customs.

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Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire) West African country approximately 124,500 square miles (322,400 sq km) in size that is bordered to the east by GHANA, to the west by LIBERIA and GUINEA, to the north by the Republic of MALI and BURKINA FASO, and to the south by the Gulf of Guinea. The country's name came from the region's thriving trade in ivory elephant tusks.

Because bones are difficult, if not impossible, to preserve in the region's extremely moist climate, archaeologists have not yet been able to determine exactly when humans first settled the area. Traditional accounts note that the first masters of the land were short and bearded, much like the MBUTI of East Africa, who supposedly lived in trees and hunted with spears and arrows. It is theorized that these people probably arrived in the area by the fifth millennium BCE, having been forced from their previous homelands as the Saharan forests began to disappear. Scraps of tools and weapons that have been found suggest that people were present in greater numbers by the end of the Paleolithic Age (c. 2000 BCE).

See also: IVORY COAST (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Robert J. Mundt, *Historical Dictionary of Côte d'Ivoire* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1995); H. Sugar, *Côte d'Ivoire* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC Clio, Inc., 1996).

J

jackals Typically found in deserts, grasslands, and open brushland, Jackals are nocturnal animals that sleep during the day in holes or hidden in the brush. Like hyenas, jackals usually feed on the dead carcasses of already hunted animals, although they also prey on rodents and young GAZELLES. The golden jackal, found in Northeast Africa, usually hunts in small packs. The black-backed jackal and side-striped jackals are found in southern and eastern Africa. The black-backed jackal is red with a black back. The side-striped jackal is gray with with a stripe on its sides.

Perhaps because they scavenge dead animals, jackals have had a somewhat dark reputation in African FOLKLORE. In ancient EGYPT, Anubis, the god of the dead, was depicted either as a jackal or a man with a jackal's head. Anubis embalmed mummies in the AFTERLIFE. Another jackal-headed god, Wepwawet, was worshiped in Syut, a commercial center south of CAIRO. In Hellenistic times Syut became known as Lycopolis, which means "City of the Wolf."

Jenne-Jeno Ancient city on the Bani River, a tributary of the NIGER RIVER, in what is now MALI. Jenne-Jenno is the most thoroughly excavated site of the early first millennium in West Africa, and much of what is known about that region is the result of these investigations.

For centuries the area surrounding the site of Jenne-Jeno was subject to the regular flooding that typified the INLAND NIGER DELTA at that time. Between the effects of the flooding itself and the diseases that resulted from it, the land remained virtually uninhabitable for centuries.

About 1000 BCE, however, this began to change when, like virtually all of northern Africa, this area became in-creasingly dry. As a result, by the third century BCE, pastoralists and agriculturalists, driven from the once-fertile southern SAHARA DESERT, began to migrate into the region. Archaeological discoveries indicate that a settlement was founded at Jenne-Jeno sometime during this period. Evidence of crowded cemeteries indicates that a substantial town existed on the site by at least 400 CE.

The simplicity of Jenne-Jenno's buildings, which were constructed from sun-dried mud, may have contributed to the town's successful early urbanization, as well as to the development of the region as a whole. Nearby towns using similar building techniques dotted the middle Niger valley, especially at Timbuktu, about 300 miles (483 km) away.

Old Jenne was surrounded by smaller settlements. Although nothing is known of their early agricultural practices, it is very likely that the people there were growing their own FOOD. Unlike the arid conditions in that region today, rainfall was plentiful from about 300 to 1100. There was more than enough rainwater to keep the fertile floodplains around Jenne-Jenno well irrigated for crops.

Iron use existed in this part of Africa even before the beginning of the common era, and the inhabitants of Jenne-Jeno apparently were gifted metalworkers. Their products consisted not only of tools but also of JEWELRY. POTTERY was another local product, and artifacts have been located that indicate an ability to manufacture sophisticated, thin-walled pottery.

Jenne-Jeno was part of a well-developed West African trading system, and TRADE AND COMMERCE was an important part of its ECONOMY. Exactly how extensive this system was is open to some debate. But to some scholars, the absence of any local sources of iron ore for Jenne-Jeno's ironworking industry indicates a trade network

that must have reached well beyond local boundaries. The presence of Roman and Hellenistic BEADS also is indicative of at least some trading contact with peoples having links beyond West Africa.

See also: JENNE (Vols. II, III); JENNE-JENO (Vol. II); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

Further reading: Susan Keech McIntosh, *Excavations at Jenne-Jeno, Hambarkatolo, and Kaniaga* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1995).

jewelry With the advent of the IRON AGE in Africa, metal forms of jewelry gained an equal and sometimes higher place than the rocks, shells, or animal bones used by previous generations. Bronze, COPPER, GOLD, and silver reflected societal growth and served as an important medium for communicating social rank, marital status, and age. An expression of cultural affiliation, metal jewelry served as an important form of BRIDE-WEALTH.

The creation of metal jewelry fell within the domain of BLACKSMITHS, who were often associated with magic. Blacksmiths often learned such techniques as the lost-wax process from local or regional craftsmen. This process was used for thousands of years by such groups as the Baule and the Dan of IVORY COAST, who reportedly learned of this technique from the AKAN—workers in gold an early date. Other groups associated with the process from an early period were North African Tuareg BERBERS, and the Fang, Mum, and HAUSA of West Africa. Each of these regional groups refined their techniques of jewelry making over time.

In general the lost-wax process relied on beeswax obtained from honeycombs. The wax was crushed, boiled, and filtered through cold water until hardened. This wax, which served as a mold, was briefly placed in the sun in order to become pliable. Once it was given a form or design, *sprues,* or tubes, were attached to it. While heated metal was being poured into one side, gas and liquids escaped from the other. (Instead of wax, the Tuareg and Hausa used crucibles to obtain the same effect.) Other groups poured heated metal into preset molds and then hammered intricate designs into the finished product. Regardless of how it was created, once the metal jewelry cooled, it was usually given a final coating of wax or oil.

The most intricate and often the heaviest jewelry was cast as a sign of prestige for ruling chiefs or kings. These heavier pieces, which might weigh several pounds,

were also believed to be imbued with ritual power that protected the wearer. Heavy metal collars and necklaces, as well as ankle and arm bracelets, such as those made by the Fang, often required the assistance of the blacksmith since these items were made for permanent wear. Over the centuries metal crafting evolved to make these forms of jewelry hollow to provide more flexibility for the wearer.

Cultural motifs were engraved in most metalwork and consisted of ancestral figures, images of fish, animals, or birds that signified ritual meaning for both the wearers and their peers. The Mum used the image of a spider, for example, to symbolize attainment of inner wisdom. Upon entering adult society, Senufo initiates, of the Ivory Coast region, wore traditional "rings of silence," which were cast in the form of a buffalo head.

In Africa the type of metal chosen for jewelry was especially significant. The belief, for instance, that silver was "pure and blessed" made it the primary choice among the Tuareg and other Islamic groups of the SAHEL. In contrast, brass was preferred by the Baule, who patterned their jewelry by laying decorated strips of wax on a charcoal core. They then poured heated metal on top of it.

Trade imports and the presence of gold in Nubia accounted for the staggering array of jewelry and ritual objects recovered from the ancient kingdoms of EGYPT and KUSH. The Kushites, like their Egyptian neighbors, became experts at the forge, particularly after moving their kingdom to MEROË around 590 BCE. This may account for the high levels of craftsmanship and ornately designed jewelry found throughout the NILE VALLEY region. One of the oldest items that has been recovered is a diadem, a type of crown or headband, made during Egypt's Fourth Dynasty (c. 2575–2465 BCE). Decorated with an array of symbols, including PAPYRUS flowers and ibis, it may have belonged to a reigning queen or other high-ranking person.

In contrast, much of the jewelry of ETHIOPIA denoted Christian themes, including many variations of interlaced design. Like other regions, Ethiopians used the lost-wax process to create AMULETS as well as hand, neck, and processional crosses of brass, iron, silver, and copper. Some crosses were also covered in BEADS or precious stones.

See also: BODY ADORNMENT (Vol. I); LOST-WAX PROCESS (Vol. II).

Further reading: Mary N. Hooter, *Secrecy: African Art that Conceals and Reveals* (New York: The Museum for African Art, 1993); Laure Meyer, *Art and Craft in Africa* (Paris: Terrail, 1994).

Jos Plateau Centrally located Nigerian highland known for its association with the ancient NOK CULTURE. Measuring almost 3,000 square miles (7,800 sq km), the Jos Plateau has a tropical CLIMATE and is the origin of several rivers that feed the larger NIGER RIVER, Gongola River, and

BENUE RIVER. Parts of the plateau were once a vast forest but have since been turned into grasslands through human intervention.

Although other peoples such as the Biram, Numan, YORUBA, and IGBO have occupied the area, the Jos Plateau is historically known as being the dwelling site of the Nok people. From circa 900 BCE to circa 200 CE, the Nok inhabited the region and produced bronze castings, intricate terra-cotta POTTERY, and tools made out of iron and stone.

Juba I (r. c. 45 BCE) *Ancient king of northern African kingdom of Numidia*

The independent Berber kingdom of NUMIDIA, with its roots in the fourth century BCE, eventually extended from the eastern region of present-day ALGERIA to MAURITANIA. Populated by a mix of nomadic mountain pastoralists and coastal farmers, it became a frequent battleground as the Roman Empire attempted to secure its hold on North Africa.

Juba I was a descendent of a family dynasty that traced its roots to MASSINISSA (d. 148 BCE), who first took power in the neighboring region of CARTHAGE about 206 BCE. According to several legends, Juba, as a child, was publicly humiliated by Julius CAESAR (c. 100–44 BCE), an event that served as a catalyst for his lifelong opposition to Caesar.

During Rome's First Triumvirate, in which power was shared by Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar, Numidia was placed under the jurisdiction of Pompey, and Numidia's king, Juba I, became his ally. When Caesar defeated Pompey in 60 BCE, Juba seized the opportunity to resist the domination of Caesar. By 46 BCE, however, Juba was defeated by Caesar, and Juba's son, Juba II, was taken to ROME. Caesar then extended direct Roman rule over much of what had been the semi-independent kingdom of Numidia. Numerous forts and frontier zones, known as *limes*, were used by the Romans to systematically control both the former kingdom and the surrounding area. As a province of the Roman Empire, Numidia supplied grains and olive oil through enslaved LABOR.

See also: MAGHRIB (Vol. I); NUMIDIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Samuel Kasule, *The History Atlas of Africa* (New York: Macmillan, 1999); James L. Newman, *The Peopling of Africa: A Geographic Interpretation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995).

Judaism RELIGION and culture that encompasses the laws, customs, and practices of the Jewish people. The history of the introduction of Judaism to ancient Africa is not altogether clear. The oldest of the world's three major monotheistic religions (CHRISTIANITY and Islam are the others), Judaism arose in the Middle East, in the land of the modern-day state of Israel. In the view of the ancient

Israelites, God (*Yahweh* in Hebrew) rewarded his people with bountiful harvests. But, it was believed, Yahweh also punished wrongdoers with misfortune. According to the Jewish scriptures, the Israelites were descended from a single ancestor, Jacob, whose 12 sons became the progenitors of 12 separate but related Jewish tribes.

During a time of famine, about 1600 BCE, a handful of the tribes migrated to EGYPT, where they were eventually forced into slavery. Later the prophet Moses led them out of Egypt and into the so-called Promised Land. Following their conquest of the land of Canaan in Palestine, the early Israelites began to assert an influence over Egyptian culture. Under the leadership of King Saul in 1020 BCE, and later under King David, the Israelites were able to capture Jerusalem and establish a powerful kingdom. In 586 BCE, however, the Jewish people were conquered and exiled to Babylonia, where early Judaism started to take on some of the characteristics of modern Judaism. After the Persian conquest in 539 BCE, the Israelites were allowed to return to their homeland. Over the next 500 years Judaism was influenced by Greek, and later Roman, culture as these western empires conquered parts of the Middle East.

The basic doctrine of early Judaism centered on the belief that God created the universe and is its sole ruler. God's word and commandments were revealed to his people in the writings known as the Torah, the teachings of which had been revealed to the prophet Moses on Mt. Sinai when the early Semites migrated back from Egypt. The Jewish people believed that a covenant, or *berith*, existed between them and God that stemmed from a promise God made to their ancestors at Sinai. According to that covenant, if the Jewish people acknowledged God as their sole leader and obeyed his laws, he would make them his chosen people and watch over them. God also promised to send his Messiah to offer redemption and restore Jews to the Holy Land. Eventually, the concept of Messianic redemption led to the belief that individuals could hasten the Messiah's arrival by strictly adhering to God's commandments.

The first evidence of Judaism's spread toward Africa occurred in the fourth century BCE when it was established as a valid religion at ALEXANDRIA, the new Ptolemaic capital of Greek Egypt. An important Mediterranean trade center, Alexandria was influenced by all aspects of Greek society, and contact with other Greek trading centers in Egypt facilitated the spread of Judaism to the African coast.

However, the founding of present-day ETHIOPIA contends that Queen MAKEDA (the queen of Sheba), ruler of the kingdom of AKSUM, gave birth to a son, Menelik, who was fathered by King Solomon of Israel. MENELIK I interned with his father in Israel and then returned to Aksum with approximately 100 children borne by Israel's elite. The young Israelites are reported to have brought

with them the ARK OF THE COVENANT, which was pur-portedly kept at the church of St. Mary's of Zion in the city of Aksum.

Prior to this the PHOENICIANS established port towns along the African coastline as they joined the Greeks in de-veloping Mediterranean trade. Historical evidence indi-cates the Phoenicians originally may have come from Palestine, the land occupied by the Israelites, thus linking their ancestors to the Jews. Some of the larger Phoenician settlements were established in present-day TUNISIA, a fer-tile agricultural area inhabited by the Berber people. The BERBERS provided food for the Phoenicians in exchange for Mediterranean products, and, in the process of establishing this trade relationship, many of the Berbers integrated as-pects of the Phoenician's Semitic culture into their own.

By 65 BCE the Hebrew kingdom of Judea had come under control of the Roman Empire. Around the same time, the HORN OF AFRICA and southern Arabia emerged as important sources of frankincense and myrrh, aromatic resins that were important for Roman funeral pyres and perfumes. As Roman trade increased, Judaism spread through these coastal communities. In 70 CE the Romans destroyed Judea, forcing Jews to migrate to new lands. Many settled in Egypt and North Africa, allowing Judaism to penetrate as far inland as the Sahara Oasis. It was dur-ing this period that Judaism fully developed into its mod-ern rabbinic form, with emphasis on the role of study, prayer, and religious observance in personal salvation.

See also: BETA ISRAEL (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); CARTHAGE (Vol. I); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); ISLAM (Vols. II, III); MONOTHEISM (Vol. I); PTOLEMIES (Vol. I).

Further reading: Mark Juergensmeyer, ed., *Global Religions: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); David Klinghoffer, *The Discovery of God: Abraham and the Birth of Monotheism* (New York: Doubleday, 2003); Niels Peter Lemche, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Israel* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004).

Jugurtha (160–104 BCE) *Militant king of Numidia; grandson of Massinissa (c. 238–148 BCE)*

King Jugurtha struggled not only to gain the throne but also to free NUMIDIA from the Roman domination under which MASINISSA had placed it. After the death of Masinissa's successor, King Micipsa, in 118 BCE, Numidia was divided among his heirs, who included Micipsa's two sons and Jugurtha. Eager to gain even more power, Jugurtha soon managed to have one of his rivals, Hiempsal, killed. The other, Adherbal, was forced to take refuge in ROME. Swayed by a personal appearance by Jugurtha, the Romans divided Numidia between the remaining two heirs.

Mistakenly believing that he had Rome's full support, in 112 BCE Jugurtha attacked Adherbal, and, in the pro-cess of achieving victory, massacred a number of Roman citizens. Incensed, the Roman Senate declared war on Jugurtha. Jugurtha, however, proved himself an able mili-tary leader, using Numidia's desert terrain to avoid major pitched battles and, in general, humiliating the Roman forces. A peace settlement in 111 BCE that greatly favored Jugurtha failed to satisfy the Numidian leader, and war was resumed quickly. Once again, however, Jugurtha managed to defeat the Romans, effectively ending their control of Numidia by 110 BCE.

Ultimately Rome could no longer bear Jugurtha's re-bellion, and, under Gaius Marius, a new Roman offensive was begun in 107 BCE. Initially Jugurtha was able to re-peat his early successes against the Romans, but Marius eventually won the support of King Bocchus I of MAURITA-NIA, Jugurtha's father-in-law, whose betrayal led to Ju-gurtha's capture in 105 BCE. Taken to Rome, the Numidian king was subjected to a series of public humiliations and died there in 104 BCE.

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K

ka　In ancient Egyptian religion, the spiritual double of every person and the source of his or her life powers. Ancient Egyptian beliefs held that the spirit, or soul, of a person consisted of three parts: the *ka,* the BA, and the ankh. Egyptians believed that at each person's birth, the god Khnum created that person's *ka.* Upon death, a person was said to have "gone to his or her *ka."* The *ka* needed a body in order to survive, however. As a result, if the deceased was not mummified or if the deceased's mummy decomposed, the spiritual double was thought to die and the deceased lost the chance for eternal life. Egyptians saw the *ka* as the origin and giver of all that is desirable, especially eternal life. The *ka* also was believed to act as a protecting spirit, guarding the deceased against dangers found in the AFTERLIFE.

According to tradition, most mortals had a single *ka.* Kings, however, were thought to have multiple *kas.* The great pharaoh RAMESSES II (r. c. 1304–1237 BCE), for example, was reputed to believe that he had more than 20 *kas.* Gods also had *kas,* and Egyptians worshiped the deities' *kas* in order to receive favors. OSIRIS, for example, was known as the *ka* of the PYRAMIDS. In HIEROGLYPHICS, *ka* was represented as two raised arms bent upward at the elbow.

Kadesh　Ancient Syrian city on the Orontes River and, for many years, a major crossroads of the trade routes in western Syria. During the early 14th century BCE Kadesh was the scene of conflict between EGYPT and one of its main Asian rivals, the HITTITES. During the reign of the Egyptian pharaoh SETI I (r. c. 1318–c. 1304 BCE), Kadesh was captured and brought under Egyptian rule. The Hittites, however, soon advanced on Kadesh and gained control of the city, which they considered to be sacred. For the remainder of Seti's reign, Kadesh remained in the hands of the Hittites, whose home region was located in a region of what is today the country of Turkey.

Around 1300 BCE, just four years after succeeding to his father's throne, the young pharaoh RAMESSES II set out to reconquer Kadesh. However, misinformation from captured spies led the pharaoh into a trap. Ramesses II and a force of 20,000 Egyptian soldiers soon found themselves surrounded by a Hittite army. The rest of the Egyptian army arrived, however, and drove off the Hittites. Ramesses II claimed victory, even putting a victory inscription on the Temple of KARNAK. Historians, however, believe the battle actually ended in a truce.

Kalahari Desert　Arid desert region that stretches over the central plains of southern Africa, covering parts of BOTSWANA, NAMIBIA, and SOUTH AFRICA. The Kalahari region is mostly sandy and lacks surface water, but it is heavily vegetated with brush and low grasslands. The occasional rainfall creates viable grazing areas and collects in basins that support an abundance of wildlife, including wildebeest, ELEPHANTS, GIRAFFES, gnus, ZEBRAS, and springbok. For hundreds of years prior to the great BANTU EXPANSION (c. 1000 BCE–c. 500 CE), the inhospitable Kalahari was inhabited by the !KUNG San, a group of HUNTER-GATHERERS who called themselves the Zhun/twasi, or "the real people."

As the Bantu speakers migrated, the harsh environment of the Kalahari prevented easy passage through the region, and the !Kung therefore remained the sole inhabitants of its interior. They were masters of the desert environment, developing a thorough knowledge of the local

flora and fauna. Though they occasionally killed large mammals for their meat and hides, more often they survived on edible roots and berries, baobab fruits, and *mongongo* nuts. Their diet was supplemented with meat from birds, including FLAMINGOS and geese, and reptiles, including lizards and CROCODILES.

The Kalahari, which covers nearly 360,000 square miles (232,400 sq km), contains the Okavango Delta to the north and the Makgadikgadi SALT pans to the northwest.

See also: GEOGRAPHY (Vol. I); KALAHARI DESERT (Vol. II).

Further reading: Pieter Van der Walt and Elias le Riche, *The Kalahari and its Plants* (Pretoria, South Africa: Info Naturae, 1999).

kandake Title of supreme royalty held by the ruling queens of ancient KUSH. During its Meroitic Period, Kush had a number of queens who held the title of *kandake,* meaning "queen mother." Reigning by themselves or in conjunction with their husbands or sons, the *kandakes* ruled from royal courts at Napata or MEROË or from the temples established at Musawarat es-Safra. Shankiakhete (r. c. 170–c. 160 BCE) was one of the earliest known *kandakes.* She was followed by Amanishakhete (r. c. 45 BCE) and Amanirenas (r. c. 24 BCE). In addition to being rulers and warriors, *kandakes* often served as priestesses for the Egyptian god AMUN, as well as for the goddesses ISIS and Nut. In addition, the *kandakes* were highly influential in both local and national matters, and their duties even included presiding over coronation ceremonies.

Reliefs and sculptures give dramatic portrayals of the *kandakes*' role as warriors and military leaders. During Greco-Roman times, one of the most celebrated kandakes was Amanirenas. About 24 BCE, she led her soldiers against Kush's Roman overlords, engaging the enemy at ASWAN, 70 miles (112 km) north of Kush's border with EGYPT. There she defeated three units of the Roman army. In a symbolic gesture, she decapitated a statue of Augustus Caesar and buried the head of the statue in the doorway of a public building. After this act of defiance, Amanirenas supposedly led her troops further into the interior of Kush before finally being captured at Primis (Qasr/Brim).

Karnak, Temple of Modern Arabic name for the site of an elaborate series of temples, the largest and most spectacular of which was dedicated to the god AMUN. Karnak is located on the east bank of the NILE RIVER, near the ancient city of Thebes. Covering more than 200 acres (80 ha), the religious complex includes not only temples and chapels, but also obelisks, columns, and statues. Construction of the site was undertaken by a succession of pharaohs and went on for thousands of years. One of the many impressive features of the site's ARCHITECTURE is a series of monumental gateways called *pylons.*

Built during the MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 1991–c. 1668 BCE), Karnak was originally the site of a modest shrine to Amun. But the rulers of the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–1085 BCE) expanded the scope of the temple complex by enlarging it into three sections. The pharaohs who contributed to its basic development during the Eighteenth Dynasty were THUTMOSE I, Queen Hatshepsut, and THUTMOSE III. Their work was continued on an even grander scale by the Nineteenth Dynasty pharaohs SETI I and RAMESSES II.

The Temple at Karnak was at the heart of Egyptian RELIGION, and the ancient Egyptians regarded it as a national shrine, calling it *ipet-isut,* of "the most revered of places." They were dazzled by its magnificent architectural monuments and by the great wealth and power of the priests dedicated to the service of the supreme god Amun. The faithful made Karnak the focus of their devotion to the god. The Opet festival, a yearly celebration held in honor of Amun, was one of the most important religious events to take place there. During the festival, the image of Amun was carried in solemn procession from his great temple to the banks of the Nile. Amid much public rejoicing, the image was then transported on a barge to the temple at LUXOR, where it remained for several weeks before being returned to Karnak with similar solemnity.

Further reading: Alberto Siliotti, *Luxor, Karnak, and the Theban Temples* (New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2002).

Kash (Kasu) Name used for the ancient kingdom of KUSH and its inhabitants. Kash was the Egyptian name for Kush during the MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–c. 1820 BCE), when Kush was considered a province of EGYPT. *Kasu* was the term generally used by King Ezana of AKSUM, who sent armies to destroy the Kushites about 350 CE. It is widely assumed that the major battle of Ezana's invasion took place at the capital city of MEROË at the junction of the Atbara and Nile rivers.

Further reading: Derek A. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush: The Napatan and Meroitic Empires* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1998).

Kashta (r. c. 806–750 BCE) *Early king of Napata in the kingdom of Kush*

For hundreds of years KUSH had been dominated by EGYPT, but by the Twenty-first Dynasty (c. 1070–945 BCE),

Egyptian power had begun to decline. As time passed the Kush kingdom's trading links propelled it to economic prominence, and the area began to assert its autonomy. Ultimately an independent kingdom was established at Napata, and under King Kashta's guidance, plans were made to invade Egypt.

Just how successful Kashta's invasion was is unclear, but it was not long before Kashta's sons, PIANKHY (r. c. 750–c. 716 BCE) and Shabako (r. c. 716–c. 701 BCE), completed Kush's conquest of Egypt. After this, a succession of Napatan kings ruled in Egypt as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, holding power over the country as a whole for 50 years and over UPPER EGYPT for more than 100 years. This period represented the height of power for Kushite kings, who ruled a kingdom that extended from present-day KHARTOUM to the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. Beginning about 663 BCE, ASSYRIAN invasions forced a Kushite retreat, but it is clear that their occupation of the area left a mark on customs, RELIGION, and ARCHITECTURE in both lands.

Kei River River emptying into the Indian Ocean on the Eastern Cape of SOUTH AFRICA; also known as the Great Kei River. Although not a particularly large river, the Kei was important geographically to the region's IRON AGE residents. Since the weather north of the Kei River was far more suitable for agriculture than the climate to the south, the river formed a kind of southern border, separating one region from another. As a result the area north of the Kei, which was marked by summer rainfall, ultimately became the home of many SAN- and Bantu-speaking farmers and CATTLE herders.

Kemet Ancient Egyptian word for EGYPT. Ancient Egyptians called their land Kemet, or Kmt, which meant "black land," after the fertile, silt-layered soil left behind during the annual flooding of the NILE RIVER. Black land was distinguished from the surrounding red land (*DESHRET*), so-called because of the reddish-yellow color of the sands. By the time of the ancient Greeks, however, this meaning had been transformed, since, according to some authorities, the Greeks referred to Kemet as the "Land of the Blacks."

Kemet in 2000 BCE covered nearly 400,000 square miles (1,000,000 sq km). Districts were divided into *nomes,* and the entire region was divided into two halves: UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT. Upper Egypt, to the south, was also known as the NILE VALLEY, and it was made up of a narrow valley on either side of the NILE RIVER. Lower Egypt, located to the north and also known as the NILE DELTA, was the place where the Nile River split before reaching the MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

A vulture symbol was traditionally used to represent Upper Egypt; a COBRA symbol signified Lower Egypt. The

two areas were quite different; they were separate kingdoms before the reign of MENES about 3100 BCE.

Kenya East African country approximately 224,900 square miles (582,491 sq km) in size located along the Indian Ocean coast of East Africa and sharing borders with ETHIOPIA, the Republic of the SUDAN, UGANDA, TANZANIA, and SOMALIA.

Archaeologists have found evidence that supports the claim that Kenya and its neighbors along the RIFT VALLEY supported early hominids. Archaeological finds from the OLDUVAI GORGE on the present-day Kenya-Tanzania border show that hominids lived in the region more than 2 million years ago. Many of these discoveries were made by Louis Leakey and his family, who have served Kenya as archaeologists and museum curators.

Cushitic-speaking groups migrated into the area from 2000 to 1000 BCE and between 500 BCE and 500 CE, Bantu-speaking people such as the KIKUYU migrated into the area from West Africa during the BANTU EXPANSION. Also, peoples speaking NILOTIC LANGUAGES, such as the Luo and MAASAI, came to the area from the upper NILE VALLEY.

See also: LEAKEYS, THE (Vol. I).

Further reading: Robert M. Maxon and Thomas P. Ofcansky, *Historical Dictionary of Kenya* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2000).

Kenya, Mount At an elevation of 17,058 feet (5,199 m), the highest mountain in KENYA and the second highest in Africa after Mount KILIMANJARO, at 19,336 feet (5,895 m). The mountain is naturally divided into three zones: the peak, which is a volcanic plug and is covered with glaciers and snow; the alpine zone, with its distinctive rain forest VEGETATION; and the gentle lower slopes of mountain forests and bamboo jungle. Mount Kenya's vertical CLIMATE (the higher the elevation, the lower the temperature) leads to high amounts of rainfall and mild temperatures on the lower slopes, making lush vegetation possible. Going farther up the mountain, there is less moisture in the air, and Tussock grass and heath are found in the alpine zone up to the snowline.

Viewing the mountain from a distance, the ancient KIKUYU and Kamba thought that the peak resembled a black ostrich and thus named the mountain Kiinyaa, meaning "the area of the ostrich" in the Kamba language. European explorers used the same name to identify the mountain and the countryside where it was located: Kenya.

Kerma Chiefdom or kingdom that flourished in Upper Nubia from c. 2400–c. 1500 BCE; ultimately it became the capital of the kingdom of KUSH. Kerma, which traced its origins to people possibly related to the NUBIAN C-

GROUP, was marked from the first by a highly organized chiefdom or monarchy. Its early history, extending from about 2400 to 2000 BCE, saw the rise of the town of Kerma as a religious and governmental center. Protected by a sophisticated network of walls and ditches, it held not only a large mud-brick royal hut but also a massive religious structure that grew steadily over time.

From 2000 to 1580 BCE Kerma was in virtually constant conflict with its Egyptian neighbors, who called it *Kush*. This conflict, however, seems not to have lessened Kerma's considerable trade with EGYPT. An Egyptian trading post, built at Kerma during the early 1900s BCE, for example, showed signs of both Egyptian and Kushite artisans producing glazed POTTERY, BEADS and other JEWELRY, metalwork, and even cabinetry. For the most part these goods showed a basic functional Kushite style with an overlay of Egyptian influences.

As time passed, however, Kerma's aristocracy seems to have begun to adopt Egyptian styles, language, and customs. Eventually, Kerma's traditional ART and RELIGION also began to succumb to this Egyptianization. This process continued even during the disintegration of Egypt's MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–c. 1840 BCE) in the 18th century BCE. During this period the Kush kingdom centered in Kerma assumed control of the territories left behind by the retreating Egyptians. (Often, however, they left Egyptians in charge of the territories, allowing the Egyptians to rule on their behalf.) As it gained in power, however, Kerma became increasingly Egyptianized, with its royals and nobles adopting Egyptian-based religion, language, and customs on an even more widespread scale than before.

By the 16th century BCE Egypt began to emerge from the weakness of its Second Intermediate Period. At this time, c. 1660 to 1550 BCE, Egypt became strong enough to launch a number of successful military offensives against its Kushite neighbors, and it was not long before Kerma itself fell to Egyptian invaders.

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Khafre's Pyramid Second-largest pyramid complex at Giza. Khafre, also known as Rakhaef or Chephren, was the son of the pharaoh KHUFU. Khafre ruled EGYPT from c. 2520 to 2494 BCE and is most famous for building his pyramid complex, which includes the GREAT SPHINX, a mortuary temple, and a valley temple. Khafre's pyramid is smaller than his father's, but since it is built on higher ground and at a steeper angle, it appears taller. Khafre's pyramid stands 450 feet (137 m) high with a base of 704 feet (215 m). Its overall volume is estimated at 58.1 million cubic feet (1.6 million cubic m). The pyramid is also distinctive in that its topmost layer of smooth stones is the only remaining casing of stones on a Giza pyramid.

More than just a pyramid builder, Khafre also was renowned for the statues he ordered created. These works, which included the Great Sphinx, earned him the reputation as the greatest statue-maker of the Pyramid Age. As many as 58 statues have been found in Khafre's pyramid temples, including four gigantic sphinxes, each measuring more than 26 feet (8 m) long, 23 life-size statues in his valley temple, 19 large statues of himself in and around his mortuary temple, and another 10 colossal statues of himself in the sphinx temple.

See also: PYRAMIDS (Vol. I).

Kharga Oasis Largest oasis parallel to the NILE RIVER in EGYPT. Approximately 138 miles (222 km) long and 16 miles (25.7 km) wide, Kharga is the largest and most advanced of the five oases near CAIRO. The Bagawat Tombs, consisting of 300 painted Christian tombs dating back to the fifth and sixth centuries, are located in the Kharga oasis. The tombs are found in the Temple of Ibis, a sandstone temple supposedly built by the Persian emperor DARIUS in honor of the god AMUN. The al-Nadura Temple, which dates to Roman times, also is located in the oasis. At one time, Kharga was the only stop on the Forty-Day Road, the slave-trade route between North Africa and the tropical south.

Further reading: Gertrude Caton-Thompson, *Kharga Oasis in Prehistory* (London: University of London, 1952).

Khartoum Capital of modern-day Republic of the SUDAN and site of ancient Nubian communities. Archaeological excavations conducted near Khartoum offer strong evidence that the cultivation of crops and the domestication of animals occurred at an early date. In fact, GOATS, sheep, and CATTLE probably have been present in the area since at least the fifth millennium BCE.

Several different types of pottery have been recovered from the region around Khartoum. One of these, probably dating back 6,000 years or more, is distinguished by a basket-weave design made by catfish spines. Another design contains dotted, wavy lines virtually identical to POTTERY found in the Tibetsi region of the Sahara. The similarity of these two potteries has led some archaeologists to suggest that, as the once-fertile Sahara began to dry up, people may have begun migrating to the north and east. Eventually, according to the archaeologists, these people may have colonized EGYPT and, ultimately, the area around Khartoum.

The discovery near Khartoum of pottery dating back earlier than the fifth millennium BCE is another indication of the level of sophistication reached by the hunting and FISHING communities that inhabited the region.

See also: KHARTOUM (Vols. III, IV, V).

Khasekhem (Khasekhemwy, Khasekemui) (r. c. 2725–2705 BCE) *Last pharaoh of ancient Egypt's Second Dynasty*

Little is known about ancient Egypt's Early Dynastic Period (also called the Archaic Period), which lasted from about 3050 to 2705 BCE. It appears, however, that despite the refinement of Egyptian culture that took place during the First Dynasty, the end of the era was marked by civil strife. The main cause of this apparently was conflict between two religious groups, the cult of HORUS, which dominated the south, and the cult of SETH, which was the main RELIGION of the northern NILE DELTA region.

Struggles between adherents of Horus and Seth continued into the Second Dynasty, leading to a decline in the pharaohs' authority. This seems to have led to rival claims to the throne, each claimant allied with one of the DEITIES. Various rulers made attempts to resolve the conflict, most notably Hetepsekhemwy (also known as Raneb). His name, which means "peaceful in respect of the two powers," is probably a reference to his mediation of the strife.

Hetepsekhemwy, however, was unable to resolve the conflict permanently. The situation worsened, possibly even leading to a civil war between UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT. Although few details are known, peace seems to have been restored, at least temporarily, by Khasekhem, who reigned from approximately 2725 to 2705 BCE. His royal name translates as "the two lords are at peace in him," suggesting both a meeting of the gods, Horus and Seth, and a temporary resolution of the conflicts disrupting the kingdom. Khasekhem's tomb, the largest in ABYDOS, was discovered in the late 19th century.

Khoisan languages
Least widespread of the four major families of African languages. The Khoisan languages—including Nama and !KUNG—have nearly become extinct today and are kept alive primarily by the Khoikhoi and SAN peoples of present-day SOUTH AFRICA, whose origins apparently lie in prehistoric times.

Like many other African tongues, Khoisan languages use differences in tonality to distinguish meanings. Vocal inflection is employed, especially in the Khoikhoi and San languages, to indicate case, number, and gender. The unique feature of Khoisan languages, however, is the use of special consonants known as *clicks*. (Khoisan is also called the Click family of languages.) English speakers use similar click sounds in a very limited way: *tsk-tsk,* for example, or the *chk-chk* noises used to signal HORSES. In

Khoisan languages, however, these click sounds function not as words themselves, but only as parts of words.

Khoisan languages employ a wide variety of click sounds, all produced through a sucking action of the tongue. By altering the positioning of the tongue and the way one releases air into the mouth, a Khoisan speaker can create a great number of different click sounds. Khoisan speakers produce various clicks by placing the tongue against the teeth, the palate, the alveolus (the inner surface of the gums of the upper front teeth), the inside of the cheek, or the lips. Curling the tip of the tongue up and back so that the underside of the tongue touches the palate produces yet another kind of click.

San languages feature six different types of clicks—though no single San language employs all of them. The Khoikhoi employ four kinds: dental (with the tongue against the teeth), palatal (against the palate), lateral (against the inside of the cheek), and retroflex (with the underside of the tongue against the palate). Over time, the use of some Khoisan click sounds eventually spread to nearby BANTU LANGUAGES, including Zulu, Sotho, and Xhosa.

See also: KHOIKHOI (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SOTHO (Vol. III); XHOSA (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ZULU (Vol. III).

Further reading: Lars-Gunnar Andersson and Tore Janson, *Languages in Botswana: Language Ecology in Southern Africa* (Gaborone, Botswana: Longman Botswana, 1997); J. F. Maho, *The Few People, Many Tongues: Languages of Namibia* (Gamsberg, Namibia: Macmillan, 1998); Mathias Schladt, ed., *Identity and Conceptualization among the Khoisan* (Cologne, Germany: R. Köppe, 1998).

Khormusan
Early STONE AGE people from prehistoric Nubia. Fishers and HUNTER-GATHERERS, the Khormusan are believed to have settled in Lower Nubia's NILE VALLEY about 50,000 years ago, coming originally from the then-fertile area of the SAHARA DESERT. Excavations at Khor Musa, near Wadi Halfa, and other sites have revealed examples of Khormusan stone tools as well as remnants of the substantial settlements in which the Khormusan lived.

Khufu (Cheops) (r. c. 2550–c. 2523 BCE) *Pharaoh of ancient Egypt who had the Great Pyramid of Giza built*

Assuming the throne in about 2550 BCE, Khufu, also known as Cheops, was the second king of the Egyptian Fourth Dynasty, ruling ancient EGYPT for approximately 24 years. His most notable accomplishment was the construction of the GREAT PYRAMID of Giza, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

The construction of the Great Pyramid provides important insights into Khufu's rule, for he transformed the project into a great socializing force for the nation. By using workers who would otherwise have been idle during

the annual flooding of the NILE RIVER, Khufu provided his subjects with both employment and a unifying national goal. Beyond this, the pyramid's construction required major achievements in SCIENCE, ASTRONOMY, mathematics, and ART, all of which were direct results of Khufu's ability to inspire, mobilize, and organize his people.

Khufu's ability to lead, however, was not the result of any liberality or generosity on his part. Indeed, in contrast to his father, the benevolent King Sneferu, Khufu was reputed to be a cruel despot. In spite of this, however, Khufu was renowned throughout Egyptian history, and even as late as the Twenty-sixth Dynasty he was worshiped as a god.

A tiny statuette depicting Khufu, discovered in the temple of OSIRIS at ABYDOS, has become famous. In 1954 a funeral ship belonging to Khufu was also uncovered in a pit near the Great Pyramid. It is currently displayed in the Boat Museum on the site of the original pit.

Kikuyu Language and people of East Africa living in present-day KENYA. Although no exact dating of their arrival in the area is possible, the Kikuyu have long been a diverse mix of tribal peoples who trace their ancestry to the Thagicu, Igembe, Tigania, Gumba, Athi, and MAASAI people. According to Kikuyu oral history, the Kikuyu god (Ngai) commanded Gikuyu, the forefather of the Kikuyu, to build his home near Mount KENYA. The area was full of fig trees, so he named it Mukurue wa Gathanga (Tree of the Building Site). Ngai sent Gikuyu a wife, Mumbi. Gikuyu and Mumbi had nine daughters. Along with one other child, their daughters became the progenitors of the 10 ancestral clans of the Kikuyu.

The merging of multiple cultures produced an eclectic mix of Kikuyu rituals over the centuries. From the Thagicu people they adopted ceremonial dances and INITIATION RITES, and initiation ceremonies became a pillar in Kikuyu life. Young men and women were fully integrated into village life after CIRCUMCISION and clitoridectomy ceremonies. Males became warriors at this time, and female social responsibilities increased beyond the village proper.

See also: KIKUYU (Vols, II, III, IV, V).

Kilimanjaro, Mount At an elevation of 19,336 ft. (5,895 m), the highest mountain in Africa and the highest free-standing mountain in the world. Located in present-day TANZANIA, near its border with KENYA, just south of the equator, Kilimanjaro lies at the southern end of the RIFT VALLEY. It is the largest of an east-west belt of about 20 volcanoes. Kilimanjaro is a triple volcano, having three volcanic cones. The surrounding countryside testifies to the forces of nature and the movement of tectonic plates that created Kilimanjaro and other volcanoes in the region as well as the Rift Valley.

The mountain is divided into three natural zones: the peak, which is a volcanic plug and is covered in glaciers and snow, an alpine zone, with distinctive rain forest VEGETATION; and the gentle lower slopes, which are covered with mountain forests and bamboo jungle. Mount Kilimanjaro receives plentiful rainfall.

In Swahili the name of the mountain is Kilima Njaro, meaning "shining mountain." The MAASAI call it Kilima Dscharo, meaning "white mountain." The majority of the people living around the mountain are Chagga, a Bantu-speaking group.

See also: CHAGGA (Vol. III).

kola nuts Seeds rich in caffeine, chewed as a stimulant and used in various ceremonies in traditional African cultures. The kola, or cola, tree, native to West Africa, is related to the cacao tree, from which chocolate is made. Its seeds, called *guru* or *goora* nuts in West Africa, are about 1.5 inches (3.8 cm) long and are traditionally chewed as a stimulant. Kola nuts contain large amounts of caffeine as well as smaller amounts of other stimulants and may be mildly addictive. Like gum, they are chewed to quell thirst and refresh the breath. The nutritional value of the kola nut is negligible. Beverages made from kola nuts are prized by Muslims, whom the Quran does not permit to drink alcohol.

In western Africa the kola nut is less important as a crop with value in the ECONOMY than as a tool of communication and ritual. As a stimulant it serves the culturally important function of a social lubricant. Kola nuts have long been a core element in religious and magical ceremonies, used as offerings to DEITIES, to make love potions, and to foretell the future. The nuts also are used as symbolic currencies to pay off debts of a ritual nature.

From September to June the nuts are harvested by climbers. The seeds are extracted from their star-shaped pods and processed by sun-drying or piled into heaps for "sweating."

!Kung Ancient people inhabiting isolated areas of southern Africa for thousands of years; known among themselves as the Zhun/twas, or "the real people." Long subsisting as HUNTER-GATHERERS, the !Kung are believed to have lived in southern Africa for thousands of years before the BANTU EXPANSION began about 2,000 years ago. Over the centuries exposure to the easier lifestyle of their Bantu-speaking neighbors has led many !Kung to modify or even abandon their traditional way of life, although a few !Kung continue their ancient lifestyle, despite its difficulties.

For thousands of years the environment inhabited by the !Kung has been made up of harsh, semiarid areas in what is now BOTSWANA, ANGOLA, and NAMIBIA. Composed

of small hills and flat plains, even today the region's landscape is dominated by brush and grass. Trees and water have always been scarce. The area undergoes extreme temperatures ranging from below freezing in the winter to well over 100º F (38º C) in the summer.

For millennia the !Kung have lived in villages with populations ranging from approximately 10 to 30 people, and the ways of those currently following the !Kung's traditional lifestyle provide a good indication of how these people have lived since prehistoric times. The women spend two to three days each week foraging for FOOD in the desert. Given the nature of the land, this can be an arduous task, although it ultimately yields an apparently adequate supply of fruits, berries, nuts, and roots. !Kung men are responsible for hunting. Game is scarce, however, and the hunters often have to travel long distances before they can find and kill the wildebeest and other animals that are their prey. The hunt remains a communal activity, with the !Kung sharing whatever meat is obtained. Weapons include poison-tipped spears and arrows, which are made and maintained by the hunters themselves.

Traditional !Kung villages consist of an array of small grass huts arranged in a circle. The !Kung consider the middle of the circle to be common space, and it is in this central area that virtually all !Kung life—except sleeping—goes on. The !Kung play and cook here, as well as make the decisions upon which the village's survival depends. Unlike many other groups, the !Kung function without a chief or formal leader, governing, instead, by consensus. Agreement is reached by long discussions in which everyone is given a chance to voice his or her opinion.

The !Kung believe that the spirit world is active in daily events ranging from sickness and death to the presence of water or food. Ills and misfortunes, they believe, are caused by invisible arrows shot at the unfortunate ones by spirits. The !Kung maintain, however, that they can prevent, or even reverse, the action of these arrows through various activities. The most notable of these is the healing, or trance, DANCE. In it, dancers circle a fire until they reach a trance. There, it is thought, they come into contact with *n/um,* a powerful spiritual force that allows everyone gathered around the fire to be healed.

See also: KHOISAN LANGUAGES (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Further reading: Richard B. Lee, Irven DeVore, et al., eds. *Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers: Studies of the !Kung San and Their Neighbors* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); Marjorie Shostak, *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Kurru Part of the area known as Napata, capital of ancient KUSH, in what is now northern Republic of the SUDAN; renowned for the ancient burial grounds of the royalty of Kush (c. 900–c. 700 BCE). Kurru, also known as al-Kurru, was once the burial site of some of the great Kushite kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The Egyptian tradition of burying royalty beneath a pyramid was passed to the Kushites when they conquered EGYPT, and the first Kushite leaders to build pyramids did so at Kurru. The existence of the burial sites at Kurru is thought to be the first evidence of a Kushite state, though scholars have not confirmed that it is the only burial ground of the Kushites of the time.

Shabaka (also called Shabako or Sabacon), the founder of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty after EGYPT was conquered by the Kushites, and Shebitku (Sebichos), his successor, were both buried in PYRAMIDS at Kurru. A later pharaoh, Tunuatamun (also known as Tanutamon), who was defeated by the ASSYRIANS at MEMPHIS and Thebes, was also buried at Kurru.

Further reading: Lech Krzyzaniak, Karla Kroeper, and Michal Kobusiewicz, eds., *Recent Research into the Stone Age of Northeastern Africa* (Poznan, Poland: Poznan Archaeological Museum, 2000).

Kurundi People who have long occupied the area now known as BURUNDI; also the name of the language they speak. The Kurundi language, a Bantu language, is in the Benue-Congo branch of NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES.

The Kurundi people, also called Rundi or Kirundi, are made up of three Kurundi-speaking ethnic groups: the Twa, the HUTU, and the Tutsi. The Twa were probably the first Bantu-speaking people to come to the area. The Hutu made their living from AGRICULTURE, while the Tutsi mainly practiced PASTORALISM. The precise reasons for why and how these Bantu-speaking peoples began supplanting the native SAN people are not known. As a result the influx—and dominance—of Bantu-speaking peoples, which dates to the beginnings of the common era, has been attributed to everything from the Bantu speakers' skill at ironworking to their possible control of trade routes. It has even been associated with the Bantu speakers' successful cultivation of the newly imported banana.

Kush Ancient city and kingdom in Upper NUBIA, based between the first and second cataracts of the NILE RIVER. The term *Kush* was apparently first used by Egyptians during their Twelfth Dynasty to refer to the first Kushite kingdom established at the city of KERMA. The Egyptians also used the names *Kash, Kasu,* and *Khenet-hennferwere.* By the 18th century BCE the name *Ta-Seti* (Land of the Bow), was also used in recognition of the kingdom's famed archers known as LUNTIU-SETIU. Kush was actually a series of three major kingdoms that rose to prominence when left in isolation and declined when dominated by EGYPT.

Kerma Period (c. 2400–c. 1570 BCE) Situated between the Nile's third and fourth cataracts, Kerma was the earliest Kushite kingdom, and it went through several phases of development, beginning as an agricultural society that cultivated cereal grains (probably SORGHUM and MILLET).

As in much of the ancient world, these activities fostered Kerma's development and helped to establish a class structure of ruling elites, priests, craft workers, and laborers. Evidence also suggests that cultural practices in Kerma included sacrificial offerings and the use of burial tumuli, or grave mounds.

As time passed, trade relations elevated the Kush kingdom to an important position within the mercantile world of the RED SEA and the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. The kingdom's abundant resources included GOLD, semiprecious stones, livestock, EBONY woods, IVORY, COPPER, and quarried stones. Trade routes were apparently expanded, creating what some historians have labeled a "Nubian Corridor," which linked the NILE RIVER valley to both the Mediterranean and the southern regions of Africa. The Kushites accomplished this by laying a form of track, known as a *doilkos,* that allowed boats to be pulled on land.

Unfortunately for the kingdom of Kush, its resources and accessibility also provided strong incentives for Egypt to assert its trading interests in the border areas of UPPER EGYPT and Lower Nubia. Egypt repeatedly invaded and occupied Kushite territory, reducing it to the status of a province. Archaeologists and historians speculate that these periods saw a process of Egyptianization that was reflected in numerous Egyptian-made artifacts and religious icons.

During the fall of the MIDDLE KINGDOM and Egypt's subsequent evacuation of Lower Nubia, the Kushite kingdom absorbed the territory abandoned by the Egyptians. These lands included the towns of Buhen and Mirgrissa, which had once been held by the Egyptians and in which important trade relations were already in place. A second Kushite rise to prominence occurred when Egypt relinquished political control to the HYKSOS, during the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1820–1570 BCE).

Only after the influence of the Hyksos came to an end was Egypt able to resume its domination of Nubia. At this time it even launched a number of military strikes against the Kush kingdom, ostensibly undertaken in retaliation for trade and military alliances that the Kushite rulers had formed with the Hyksos. Kushite soldiers, mostly MEDJAY of the Eastern Desert, reportedly fought on both sides of the war.

Continued assaults against the Kush kingdom culminated in the destruction of Kerma (c. 1550 BCE). With their kingdom annexed and transformed into an Egyptian province, the former inhabitants of the Kush kingdom dispersed to outlying regions, including Napata, and Kush entered a lengthy period of decline. It was not until the end of the Egyptian NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–c. 1070 BCE) and the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty at Tanis (c. 1070–69) that Nubia regained independence and reestablished the Kush kingdom at Napata.

The Napatan Period (900–300 BCE) For more than 100 years, beginning around 900 BCE, the second Kushite kingdom grew in isolation. Although little is known of this transition between the Kerma and Napatan periods, the latter is generally considered to be a period of reconsolidation among the Kushite rulers. This reconsolidation, which took place in the wake of Egypt's internal wars and subsequent invasion by Libyan forces during the eighth century BCE, led to the emergence of a powerful Kushite family dynasty.

Historians speculate that, during the early Napatan period, at least seven generations of kings ruled Kush. Among the earliest of these was King Alara, whose son, King KASHTA (c. 806–750 BCE), was the first of this family dynasty to be documented fully in Egyptian and Kushite records and stelae, which are stone monuments with inscribed texts.

King Kashta was considered a notable leader, and he extended Kushite political control north through Lower Nubia and Upper Egypt. Kashta began his campaigns during a period in which Egypt was wrestling with political disruptions brought on by conflicts with independent nomes, or provinces, and Libyan chiefdoms. As a result he was able to achieve several important victories, which led Kush to reclaim Lower Nubia and to establish control over the outlying city of Thebes (or Waset, as it was sometimes called).

The battle for control of Kush's and Egypt's political structure was continued by Kashta's son PIANKHY (r. c. 750–716 BCE), who defeated an army of Libyans sometime between 750 and 730 BCE. Although Piankhy ruled from Napata, he exercised a strong measure of control over the Egyptian cities of Hermopolis and HIERAKONPOLIS, as well as over smaller nomes in the delta region. Under Piankhy, the Kushite kingdom eventually included a vast tract of territory that extended from its southern base at Napata to the northern NILE DELTA.

Under Piankhy's vigorous rule the Kushites engaged in numerous military expeditions and were prolific builders. Piankhy has been credited with introducing many architectural innovations and traditions at this time, including the development of Egyptian-styled PYRAMIDS for use as burial chambers.

Piankhy was also the first Kushite king to install his sister (in this case, AMENIRDIS I) as a priestess of AMUN. The tradition of creating women priesthoods was probably begun as a means of ensuring political loyalty to the king. It also represented a way to keep enormous wealth and property within the ruling family. In time, Amenirdis

even ruled from Thebes in place of King Piankhy. This, however, was an unusual situation for Kushite women, although they appear to have held other important positions. Royal installation ceremonies at Napata, for example, were generally conducted (or at least strongly influenced) by the *kandakes,* or queen mothers. Kushite women also participated in military campaigns and often served as corulers with their husbands or sons.

Piankhy's heirs ruled all of Egypt for approximately 50 years; they retained control of southern Egypt for another 50 years beyond that. During this time they engaged in strong military expeditions to quell rebellions. They also were known for their architectural innovations, including Piankhy's introduction of Egyptian-styled pyramids for burial chambers. Taharqa, (r. c. 690–c. 664 BCE) was perhaps the family's most prolific builder and religious visionary, and he is credited with building numerous religious temples at MEMPHIS, Thebes, Karnak, as well as in Nubia. He was also considered a model pharaoh, and by some accounts assisted Egypt in regaining its independence. During his reign, however, Assyrian armies sought to oust the Kushite rulers, and despite his skill as a military strategist, Taharqa was eventually defeated by the Assyrians.

Archaeological evidence supports the widely held view that Napata represented a materially wealthy capital city. Excavations of royal tombs at NURI, KURRU, and GEBEL BARKAL indicate that wealthy Kushites adapted many outward displays, emblems, and religious icons of Egyptian culture. These included both the WHITE CROWN and winged sun discs. Kushite nobles also began to use sacred barks for burials in place of their traditional tumuli (the circular structures used to cover burial pits and grave goods). Similarly, burials had formerly positioned the deceased in a fetal position; the deceased were now mummified and laid out in Egyptian-style coffins. Also, the Kushites adopted the use of canopic jars, AMULETS, and *ushabties*—small figures made in human likeness—that were traditionally used by Egyptians in place of the entombment of the royal family members buried with the king.

Speculation about the Kushites' outward displays of Egyptian culture has generated much discussion among historians. Some scholars believe that this Egyptianization represented an attempt, by these kings, to legitimize their rule over Egyptian territories. (Both King Kashta and King Piankhy, for example, used the royal title of King of Upper and Lower Egypt.) Other historians insist that, rather than being subsumed into Egyptian culture, Kushite culture coexisted with Egyptian influences.

The Meroitic Period While headed by King Tanwetamani, the nephew of Taharqa, Kush rule in Egypt finally collapsed about 664 BCE. By 590 BCE the Kushite kingdom relocated to Meroë in the southern region of Nubia.

This relocation brought the kingdom to an area between the fifth and sixth cataracts of the Nile and initiated what is generally known as the Meroitic Period (c. 500–c. 300 BCE). At this time access to the nearby Island of MEROË provided the kingdom with a primary source of forest land and iron ore, which helped make Meroë one of the earliest and largest sites of iron production in the region.

Napata, however, was not completely abandoned. In fact, it remained a holy city and place of burial. This was primarily because of Gebel Barkal and the Temple of Amun, both of which had been established by earlier Kushite kings. Napata was also the site of the royal installment ceremonies that were conducted (or at least heavily influenced) by the *kandakes*.

Among the traditions reclaimed by the Nubians when they reestablished the kingdom at Meroë was matrilineal succession, through which the crown passed from the king to one of his sisters' sons. Another example of the importance of women within the royal family was the fact that, from a religious perspective, the king and his mother personified HORUS and ISIS. As a result the queen assumed much of the king's power and visibility.

Under the reign of ASPELTA (r. c. 593–568 BCE), the Kushites expanded their territories further south and west, developing strong trading ties with both ROME and India. As time passed, its vast resources of gold, ebony woods, and iron-rich deposits helped make the Kushite kingdom in Meroë into a prosperous commercial power. For a period of several hundred years its wealth and power were recognized by traders in Egypt, the Red Sea, and in the regions south of the SAHARA DESERT. By the first century of the common era it had achieved recognition as one of the wealthiest trading cities in the ancient world. This period is also noted for a return to indigenous religious practices, which included the worship of APEDEMAK, a national deity whose origins most likely predated Egyptian rule. No sooner had it reached this peak, however, than the Kushite kingdom began to decline. A number of contributing factors have been cited, including the deforestation caused by the process of smelting iron. Also noted among the causes of Kush's decline are overgrazing and the development of alternative trade routes passing through AKSUM.

The final destruction of the Meroitic kingdom occurred, around 350 CE, when King Ezana dispatched Aksumite troops against the city. Although Ezana left records of his conquering Meroë, little is known of the

reasons for the invasion, the events leading up to it, and its aftermath.

See also: BALLANA CULTURE (Vol. I); KANDAKE (Vol. I); NAGA, TEMPLES AT (Vol. I); NUBIA, CHRISTIAN (Vol. II); NUBIAN X-GROUP (Vol. I).

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Derek A. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush: The Napatan and Meroitic Empires* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1998).

Kyoga, Lake Body of water located north of Lake VICTORIA in the Great Lakes region of central East Africa. Lake Kyoga is about 80 miles (129 km) long and is formed by the Victoria Nile in its middle course. The lake sits at 3,390 feet (1,033 km) above sea level and is shallow, with swampy sections and PAPYRUS reeds covering much of its shores.

See also: KYOGA, LAKE (Vol. II).

L

labor In ancient Africa people engaged in many types of labor, including hunting, gathering, FISHING, herding, AGRICULTURE, and trading. Cooking and other domestic arts were also undertaken. Traditional trades such as woodworking and healing were widespread. In EGYPT copying manuscripts and even library-keeping was necessary. Forced labor probably existed as well.

Hunter-Gatherers Before the advent of agriculture and the purposeful cultivation of FOOD, labor consisted of nomadic wandering in search of the food needed for subsistence. Success for HUNTER-GATHERERS required knowing where to find food sources and then moving on when those sources became depleted. Ancient Africans who hunted and gathered probably formed societies of families that moved around together and stayed in one place for a few days or several weeks. These societies mainly hunted game and gathered wild berries, roots, and herbs. Though hunting and gathering activities were dramatically reduced by the expansion of agriculture, some societies continued this way of life; a few such societies, including the Khoisan of the arid KALAHARI DESERT region in southern Africa, still exist today.

Historically the domestication of animals probably occurred before the cultivation of plants. DOGS may have been the first of these DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, being tamed perhaps as early as 10,000 BCE. In the Middle East the gazelle was probably one of the first grazing animals to be domesticated. Later came pigs, sheep, and CATTLE. Prior to 4000 BCE nomadic societies of cattle herders wandered the vast African savannas that provided pastures for their herds.

Agriculture Near the end of the Pleistocene glaciation, about 10,000 years ago, agriculture is thought to

have begun and, with it, civilization. The agricultural methods developed in early MESOPOTAMIA influenced other parts of the ancient world, including Egypt. Records of ancient agriculture in Egypt show that farming thrived along the NILE RIVER. Ancient Egyptians not only built irrigation and drainage systems employing the use of canals, they also advanced the use of tools for farming.

Agriculture simultaneously took hold in other parts of Africa, and people began to settle into communities, leaving behind their nomadic way of life and becoming full-time farmers. Successful societies raised animals that helped support both herders and farmers and created surplus crops. These surpluses allowed for trade, which helped cities prosper.

Urbanization Trade routes were developed from West Africa south to what is now the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and across the SAHARA DESERT to the coastal regions. Among the goods traded and sold were animal skins and leather, GOLD, ivory, and timber. The trading centers grew into great cities where governing bodies were formed to oversee trade, charge taxes, and control the land.

As farming methods began to produce reliable results, people no longer had to worry about their food supply in the same way they once had. When people had to rely strictly on hunting, gathering, and fishing, they were well fed when food sources were plentiful, but they went hungry when food was scarce. Most members of the hunter-gatherer societies spent their time looking for food. After successful herding and farming systems were invented, not everyone had to labor for subsistence. People then had time for other things, including observ-

ing, thinking, and experimenting. By 3500 BCE, following the example set by the farmers in permanent settlements along the Nile, many people were choosing to live in urban areas, working in a variety of trades. Over time this change in labor patterns allowed for the advancement of SCIENCE, ART, government, and RELIGION, forming the basis of modern civilization.

Some scholars believe that another result of the development of agriculture was the introduction of forced labor. Though forced labor takes many forms and the origin of owning or bonding people is not known, the most common form in ancient times and throughout history was SLAVERY, or the consideration of laborers as property that could be owned, sold, or traded. By the time of the Roman Empire of the second century, slavery had been legalized and was practiced in some North African cultures.

Labor in Ancient Egypt Our knowledge of ancient Egypt gives us insight into the labor trends of one early civilization. By about 1000 BCE most Egyptians lived in houses given to them by the state, for which they worked. Instead of receiving money for their work, they received rations in the form of food, animals, clothes, and other necessary items, and people often traded their extra food or other rations for luxuries.

Some of the male children of the upper classes attended school, but most boys became farmers. Some learned a trade, such as carpentry or POTTERY making, taught to them by a skilled craftsman. Other trades included mud-brick making—such bricks were typically used to build houses for the wealthy—and MEDICINE, which required years of training with a practicing doctor after a boy had completed a regular school career.

Though some Egyptian girls did attend school, most were trained to perform the labor of the home, such as cooking, which called for food to be baked in a clay oven in a kitchen yard. They also learned sewing and other domestic arts. In ancient Egypt, however, this did not seem to imply a lesser status. In contrast to women in other times and places, ancient Egyptian women were allowed to sell, buy, and trade goods, as well as to own property.

See also: LABOR (Vols. II, III, IV, V); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

Lahun, pyramid of With the pyramid of HAWARA and the pyramid of LISHT, part of the mortuary complex for kings of the Twelfth Dynasty of EGYPT (c. 20th century BCE). Lahun is the site of the ancient Egyptian pyramid built for King Sesostris II (also known as Senwosre II). As the fourth king of the Twelfth Dynasty, Sesostris II ruled Egypt from about 1950 to 1920 BCE. No one is sure why this king chose to build his pyramid 30 miles (48.3 km) from Lisht, where the first two kings of the Twelfth Dynasty built their PYRAMIDS.

Unfortunately, Sesostris II's pyramid, along with many others in ancient times, was repeatedly robbed, but an outstanding collection of JEWELRY was later discovered in the wall in the tombs of the princesses. Technically and artistically, the jewelry is among the best of the time.

Laikipia Escarpment Steep-sided cliff facing Lake Bogoria in present-day KENYA. Both the Laikipia Escarpment and Lake Bogoria are part of the Great RIFT VALLEY, the geological fault system that extends 3,000 miles (4,827 km) from the Jordan Valley in southwest Asia to MOZAMBIQUE in southeast Africa. The Laikipia plateau area leading up to the escarpment has been traditionally occupied by the MAASAI people.

lakes and rivers Lakes and rivers are found throughout Africa and serve as resources for FOOD, as means of TRANSPORTATION between regions, as natural boundaries between various ethnic groups, and, along their banks, as sites for AGRICULTURE.

Lakes are inland bodies of water, usually freshwater, that are formed by rivers, or glaciers. The main lakes of Africa are Lake CHAD of the central sudanic belt, Lake VICTORIA near present-day UGANDA, and Lakes TANGANYIKA and Malawi, found in the RIFT VALLEY of southeastern Africa. These lakes were the focus of several different populations because of the varied resources that the lakes provided.

A rivers is a natural stream of water that is larger than a creek, and its beginning, called its source, is usually found in highlands. A river's course flows toward its mouth, where it may empty into an ocean, a lake, or another river. Some large rivers have impressive deltas at their mouths, where they exit into an ocean.

The longest, and arguably most important, rivers of Africa are the NILE RIVER of EGYPT, the NIGER RIVER of West Africa, the CONGO RIVER of Central Africa, and the ZAMBEZI RIVER of southern Africa. These rivers create arteries for TRADE AND COMMERCE, provide food, and function as a means for the dissemination of ideas and goods by connecting disparate cultures.

Lamu Archipelago Small group of islands off the extreme north coast of present-day KENYA. The island chain includes Lamu, Manda, Pate, and Kiwayu Islands. As early as the 14th century each island was home to autonomous city-states that participated in trade along the East African coast. Lamu was considered a minor trading state. The real commercial powerhouse of the region, Kilwa, is now part of present-day TANZANIA.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); KILWA (Vol. II); LAMU (Vol. II); PATE (Vol. II).

language families Since prehistoric times Africa has seen wide linguistic diversity. In part, this is due to the ancient origins of many African languages. It also is the result of centuries of migration and dispersal, which have created a mosaic of languages and dialects that in no way reflects whatever national borders existed at various times in Africa's history. As a result no general linguistic feature can be said to characterize all, or even most, African languages. The languages spoken on the African continent—estimates vary from 700 to nearly 3,000—can be organized into four major languages family categories: Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Khoisan, Niger-Congo.

NILO-SAHARAN LANGUAGES in their earliest forms were spoken near the NILE VALLEY as early as 10,000 years ago. Languages of the Nilo-Saharan family, including Songhai, Saharan, Maban, Furian, Koman, and Chari-Nilebeena, are now spoken in nearly all parts of the continent.

Nearly 4,500 years ago the AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES were spoken throughout North Africa. Although ARABIC, an Afro-Asiatic language, is the original tongue of Islam, it did not become as widespread as the RELIGION on the African continent. By about 1000 CE the Afro-Asiatic languages were still largely confined to North Africa.

Four Major Language Families of Africa

Nilo-Saharan
Main Languages Chadian, Eastern Sudanic, Songhai
Where Spoken South of the Sahara, from the Nile to the middle of the Niger
Comments May have common ancestry with Niger-Congo Languages

Afro-Asiatic
Main Languages Afro-Asian, Amharic, Arabic, Berber Kushite
Where Spoken North Africa and eastward toward Horn of Africa
Comments Many African languages reflect hundreds, even thousands of years of trade and migration between Africa and the Middle East

Niger-Congo
Main Languages Bantu-Congo, Eastern Adamawa, Kwa, Mande, Voltic
Where Spoken Across much of Africa, from present-day Senegal to the Cape of Good Hope
Comments Bantu languages, in all their many forms, are the most commonly spoken on the continent

Khoisan
Main Languages Khoi, San
Where Spoken Southwestern Africa
Comments Distinguished by the use of "click" sounds

The Languages of Africa to 2500 BCE

BERBER?

EGYPTIAN

KUSHITIC

Niger-Congo
Nilo-Saharan
Afro-Asiatic
Khoisan
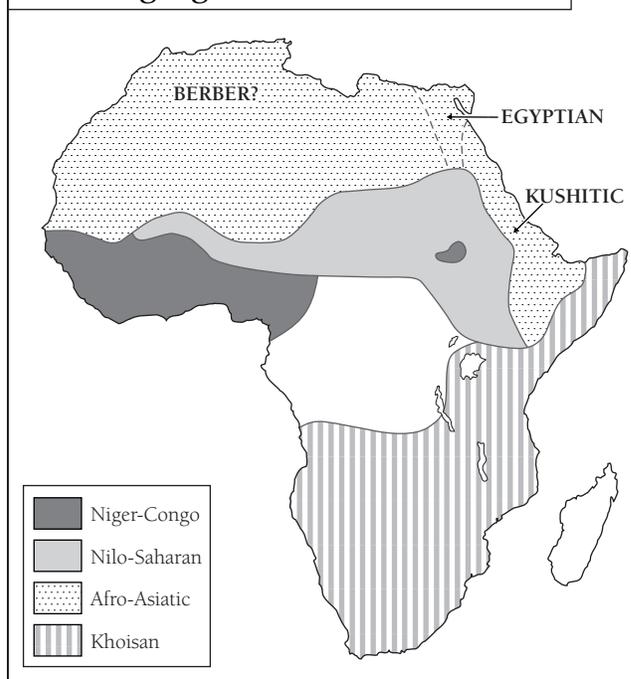
The map, based on the research of University of California–Berkeley anthropologist Joseph Greenberg, shows the languages of Africa before the expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples (C. 1000 BCE to c. 1500 CE). The Bantu languages, a branch of the Niger-Congo family, eventually reduced the range of the Khoisan languages to just the southern portion of the continent.

Perhaps the most significant change in the Afro-Asiatic languages during the first millennium of the common era was the development of Malagasy, the language of the people of the island of MADAGASCAR. Located in the Indian Ocean off the coast of East Africa, Madagascar was largely uninhabited as late as the seventh century, when Indonesian colonists arrived by sea. Malagasy, based on the Malay (Indonesian) language of the original settlers, also reflected the Bantu, Arabic, and Persian influences of the merchants who frequented the island.

The NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES, on the other hand, underwent their own remarkable change during the same period, in large part due to the great BANTU EXPANSION that took place between about 1000 BCE and 500 CE. Whereas the Niger-Congo languages were mostly confined to the southern coastal regions of West Africa circa 2500 BCE, by 1000 CE they had spread along a band that stretched from West Africa, through Central Africa, all the way to the southern coast of East Africa. During their southeastward migrations the Bantu-speaking peoples displaced Khoisan speakers, who had inhabited the area for thousands of years. As a result the KHOISAN LANGUAGES that had been spoken almost exclusively through-

out southern Africa and most of coastal East Africa were confined to a pocket in the southwestern corner of the African continent by 1000 CE.

See also: AMHARIC (Vol. I); FULA (Vol. I); GE'EZ (Vol. I); HAUSA (Vol. I); KISWAHILI (Vols. II, III); MALAGASY (Vol. II); SONGHAI (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: Derek Nurse and Bernd Heine, *African Languages: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

law and justice Prior to 500 CE the concepts of law and justice in Africa varied greatly from region to region and from group to group.

Ancient Egypt The laws of ancient EGYPT were based on MAAT, the Egyptian concept of right. They were founded on customary law and partially codified in HIEROGLYPHICS. Laws were interpreted and applied by councils made up of the pharaoh's trusted advisers—priests and oracles. The pharaoh himself, however, had the final say in all legal matters in his realm. One of the earliest legal systems in human history was drawn up by King MENES about 5000 years ago.

After DEMOTIC script became widespread in the seventh century BCE, legal contracts and deeds became more clearly stated, and legal systems became increasingly codified. Documentation of prior cases led to concepts of legal precedent and the standardization of a penal code. When ROME took control of Egypt about 30 BCE, Romans imposed their legal system on the Egyptians.

Customary Law Prior to the emergence of large, centralized kingdoms, traditional cultures outside of Egypt were governed by customary law. Under this system, customs and time-honored practices governed daily life and interaction. Strict adherence to verbal greetings, ritualized prayers, and public ceremonies all reflected the significance of customary laws within various societies. Generally unwritten, these laws were part of larger ORAL TRADITIONS that were handed down from generation to generation within each society. These oral traditions survived for many centuries, and if they had not survived, we would know almost nothing of the ancient legal systems outside of Egypt.

In traditional cultures the headmen of lineages generally exercised political and executive power over their groups. Their power extended to the areas of law and justice, as well. Typically, when a dispute developed between two members of the same LINEAGE, the arguing parties would appear before the headman, present their cases, and abide by the ruling that was handed down. To settle more complex legal disputes, the headman might confer with village elders, whose collective memory served as a repository of legal precedents.

If members of two different lineages had a quarrel, the individuals would ask the ranking headmen of their lineages to represent them and present their cases, some-

times before the king or chief, who held absolute executive power. In difficult cases a diviner might be called upon to consult the spirits of the ancestors, who were often viewed as the ultimate arbiters of justice.

Customary law was important in nomadic cultures, as well, since the question of the ownership of CATTLE and other animals was a common source of disputes. Little is known, however, of the legal codes followed in mobile, decentralized, hunter-gatherer societies, since there was little incentive for these groups to maintain a detailed oral history. We know that these societies had rules and customary laws of their own, although it is logical to assume that they had fewer causes for legal disputes.

The most serious offenses addressed by customary law included homicide, incest, and adultery. The punishment for these crimes could be the loss of an eye or limb, banishment from the group, or even death. Among groups like the MAASAI, death was preferred to the dishonor that came with being found guilty of the crime.

See also: CLAN (Vol. I); DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II); GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vol. II); LAW AND JUSTICE (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Hilda Kuper and Leo Kuper, eds., *African Law: Adaptation and Development* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1965).

Leakeys, the Family of anthropologists, archaeologists, and paleoanthropologists noted for their discoveries of early human remains in Africa. The son of missionary parents, Louis Leakey (1903–1972) was raised in KENYA and, despite a formal education in England, remained close to the local KIKUYU and other peoples of the area throughout his lifetime. At an early age Leakey began focusing on the study of early humans, and by the 1920s he had gained wide recognition for his discoveries of artifacts relating to HUMAN ORIGINS. Believing that the human race had its origins in Africa rather than in Europe or Asia, Leakey carried out extensive investigations in Kenya. In 1949 his discovery of a *Proconsul* skull helped establish a clear evolutionary link between MONKEYS and apes. Later discoveries, especially those at OLDUVAI GORGE, contributed to a clearer understanding of the development of early hominids.

Although Louis Leakey garnered the majority of the accolades and fame during his lifetime, his wife, Mary (1913–1996), was generally considered to be not only a better scientist but also a more significant contributor to

The excavations of anthropologist-archaeologist Louis Leakey, shown here in 1972, and those of his wife, Mary, and son, Richard, established that the first humans lived in East Africa rather than in Asia, as was previously thought. © *Hulton-Deutch Collection/ Corbis*

the knowledge of early human beings. After marrying Louis Leakey, in 1936, she carried out major excavations, both with her husband and on her own. Indeed, many of the greatest discoveries made at the Olduvai Gorge site, upon which so much contemporary knowledge of early humans depends, were the work of Mary Leakey. Her discovery of ZINJANTHROPUS (*Australopithecus boisei*) and 3.5-million-year-old hominid footprints preserved in volcanic ash not only brought her and her family fame but also helped revolutionize the way in which early hominids were seen.

It was Richard Leakey (1944–   ), Louis and Mary Leakey's son, however, who seemed destined from the very first to carry their pioneering work to new heights. Learning well from his brilliant and famous parents, Richard became a serious field anthropologist. In the late 1960s, he was working at sites in present-day ETHIOPIA when he began a series of discoveries that rocked the scientific world and did much to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of early hominids. In 1972 he found a fossilized HOMO HABILIS skull; in 1975 he discovered the skull of a HOMO ERECTUS; and in 1984, his team unearthed both a nearly complete *Homo erectus* skeleton (popularly known as TURKANA BOY) and the first skull ever found of the species *Australopithecus aethiopicus*.

Richard Leakey's wife, Meave Gillian Leakey (b. 1942), a trained zoologist, has also made several important discoveries, including an apparently new hominid species, *Australopithecus anamensis*.

In recent years Richard Leakey has focused his energies on both politics and animal conservation, but the Leakey scientific legacy has been ably carried on by both Meave and their daughter, Louise.

See also: LEAKEY, LOUIS (Vol. IV) LEAKEY, MARY (Vols. IV, V); LEAKEY, RICHARD (Vol. V).

Further reading: Virginia Morell, *Ancestral Passions: The Leakey Family and the Quest for Human-kind's Beginnings* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995); Martin Pickford, *Louis S. B. Leakey: Beyond the Evidence* (London: Janus, 1997).

Legba shrine Household altar in YORUBA and Yoruba-derived religions; said to protect practitioners' households. Over the years the deity Legba has been known by several names, including Eshu, Elegbara, and Elegba. Legba shrines generally are erected in front of the home or in an entry way. Usually made of carved wood, lacitrite, or stone, they vary in form and appearance. In some regions, a small head and shoulders are set within a dish or bowl. Elsewhere, other types of altars include a slender wooden statue sitting atop a mound (known as a *kpe*). The elements of the shrine, which are said to hold its protective powers, are often hidden in mounds of earth that contain a POTTERY jar. Inside that jar are

leaves, remnants of fabrics, grain, BEADS, or other natural materials.

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Further reading: William Bascomb, *African Art in Cultural Perspective* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973); Mary H. Foote, *Secrecy: African Art That Conceals and Reveals* (New York: Museum for African Art, 1993); Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* (New York: Random House, 1984).

leopards Solitary, nocturnal animals that live in Africa's bush and forested areas south of the SAHARA DESERT, leopards appear often in Africa's FOLKLORE and history. In ancient EGYPT, leopards were hunted and their skins were extensively traded. Leopards were also associated with OSIRIS, the god of the dead, and Seshat, the goddess who invented math and writing. Among the IGBO people, the leopard was associated with fertility.

In one Nigerian folktale a leopard entered villages disguised as a seductive man. One woman followed this leopard-man away into the forest, where he turned back into a leopard. The leopard then chased the woman, but could not catch her.

Lesotho Small mountainous country, 11,700 square miles (30,300 sq km) in area, that is wholly surrounded by present-day SOUTH AFRICA. More than 80 percent of the country lies at least 5,905 feet (1,800 m) above sea level.

The origins of present-day Lesotho (meaning "the country of the Sotho people") lie with the founding of the Sotho kingdom of Basutoland in the early 1830s, by King Mshweshwe (1786–1870).

Two-thirds of Lesotho is mountainous with highland plateaus. In southern Africa, the western plain gradually rises to form the foothills of the Maluki and the Drakensburg mountains, in the east. (The western side of the Drakensburg Mountains falls within Lesotho.) The monsoon patterns of the Indian Ocean send rain across the Drakensburg Mountains from the east to the west, watering prime grazing land and allowing for limited AGRICULTURE in the lowlands, where most of the population of Lesotho lives.

See also: BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); LESOTHO (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MSHWESHWE (Vol. IV); SOTHO (Vols. II, IV).

Further reading: Scott Rosenberg, Richard F. Weisfelder, and Michelle Frisbie-Fulton, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004).

lesser wives (junior wives) In many African societies, a term describing women who enter an existing marriage arrangement and share husband and household with other wives. In this type of arrangement, known as POLYGAMY, the oldest or senior wife usually acts as the dominant authority figure. Newly married or lesser wives are expected to defer to her age and experience. Often the senior wife is consulted in the selection of junior wives. It is important that the wives get along so that there is harmony in the FAMILY, since a common cause for divorce is that the wives do not get along.

The origin of this practice, widespread in much of ancient Africa, is not known. According to some theories, it may have been handed down by rulers who retained hundreds of wives for political power. It has been speculated that having more than one wife was practical and beneficial to the community. Since more girls than boys are born, there might otherwise be girls who could not find husbands, and this would be seen as a waste of human reproductive resources. Therefore, wealthy men in a community took more than one wife so that all women could marry. Other sources indicate that the practice may have evolved from religious beliefs.

See also: WOMEN IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I).

Further reading: Iris Berger and E. Frances White, eds., *Women in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1999); Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Woman: A Modern History* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997).

Liberia Independent republic on the Atlantic coast of West Africa that measures about 38,300 square miles (99,200 sq km) and is bordered by the present-day countries of SIERRA LEONE, IVORY COAST, and the Republic of GUINEA. Although Liberia was the only black state in Africa to avoid European colonial rule, from an African perspective, the creation of Liberia was very much a case of colonial conquest.

The land that became Liberia faces the Atlantic Ocean, with a shoreline covered in mangrove swamps. Behind the coast, however, lies forested land—both RAIN FOREST (part of a belt of tropical rain forests ranging from present-day Sierra Leone to CAMEROON) as well as forests with secondary growth. Prior to the founding of Liberia, the secondary growth forests were created by the timber exploitation of peoples living in the interior who used wood for cooking.

Farther inland, in what is called the hinterland, a grassland plateau stretches to the hills of the Nimba Mountain range. Liberia's tropical environment is ideal for the insects that are the vector species of diseases such as malaria, sleeping sickness, and yellow fever.

See also: LIBERIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MALARIA (Vol. V).

Further reading: G. E. Saigbe Boley, *Liberia: Rise and Fall of the First Republic* (New York: McMillan, 1983); D. Elwood Dunn and Svend E. Holsoe, *Historical Dictionary of Liberia* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1985).

The Roman Provinces of Africa, c. 300 CE

Rome

Ceuta
Utica
Tingi
Lixus
Caesarea
Icosium
Carthage
Hadrumetum
Rusaddir
Altava
Sala
Numerus
Volubilis
Syrorum
Lambaesis
Theveste
Mediterranean Sea

Tacapae
Leptis
Ptolemais
Apollonia
Oea
Magna
Sabratha
Arsinoë
Cyrene
Alexandria
Pelusium
Tripolitania
Thubactis
Barca
Mizda
Berenice
Memphis
Heliopolis
Macomades
Berbers
Arae
Hermopolis
Philaenorum
Magna
Garamantes
Red
Sea
Fezzan
Thebes
Appollinopolis Magna
Syene
Philae
Berenice
Nile

Map area

Legend:

- Roman territories
- ------- Province boundaries
- ● Roman colony
- **Numidia** Province
- *Berbers* People
- *Fezzan* Region

0 — 400 Miles
0 — 400 Kms

Provinces

1 Mauretania Tingitana
2 Mauretania Caesariensis
3 Numidia
4 Africa Proconsularis
5 Cyrenaica
6 Lower Egypt
7 Middle Egypt
8 Upper Egypt (Thebais)
9 Dodekaschinus

Libya North African country, approximately 680,000 square miles (1,761,200 sq km) in size, situated on the Mediterranean coast. Libya has a dry and often extreme desert interior and is bordered by TUNISIA, ALGERIA, NIGER, CHAD, the Republic of the SUDAN, and EGYPT.

Libya has a rich history dating back to the eighth millennium BCE; part of the SAHARA DESERT is located in Libya. Ancient farmers of the NEOLITHIC AGE likely occupied the plains of the northern coast from as early as 8000 BCE. Growing crops and raising CATTLE, this society was advanced in AGRICULTURE, More than 5,000 years ago the area that is present-day Libya was a great savanna, or grassy plain. But, except for a narrow strip of land along the Mediterranean coast, most of this area is now part of the Sahara desert. Nomadic people, called *savanna people,* hunted wild game and wandered the great plain with their herds. Some time after 2000 BCE the nomadic society began to fall apart as the desert advanced and other, horse-riding peoples began invading the area. Some of the savanna people moved south into the Sudan, while others became acculturated into the society of the indigenous BERBERS.

The Berber migration into LIBYA was recorded in inscriptions in EGYPT (c. 2700 to c. 2200 BCE). These inscriptions also comprise the first recorded history of Libya. Though the origin of the Berbers is not known, the remains of their culture and language support the idea that they may have come from southwestern Asia. They probably moved into North Africa sometime in the third millennium BCE, and over the next few centuries they migrated from Egypt all the way to the basin of the NIGER RIVER. Egyptians referred to the Berbers as the Levu, or Libyans. The Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties of Egypt, often called the Libyan dynasties, are thought to have been Berbers.

The GARAMANTES, who are the probable ancestors of today's TUAREGS, colonized the FEZZAN area circa 1000 BCE. From their capital at Germa, the Garamantes controlled several oases in the Wadi Ajal area. They also controlled much of the trade in the area, having been hired by the Carthaginians to carry GOLD and ivory on the trade route between the western sudanic region and the Mediterranean coast. It was at this time, too, that Libyans began to deal with Africans living south of the Sahara desert.

Known for their skill in breeding HORSES, the Garamantes also kept herds of longhorn cattle. They were able to cultivate part of their hot, dry land by developing an irrigation system that used *foggares,* a series of connecting underground tunnels that carried water.

Significant remnants of the Garamantes' culture and civilization have been discovered and examined, including more than 50,000 pyramid-like tombs and several cities built of stone, including Germa, the capital; Zinchera; and Saniat Gebril. Researchers also have found Garamante inscriptions in the ancient Berber writing called *tifinagh,*

which is still used by the Tuareg today. The power of the Garamantes was threatened by ROME, which launched several attacks against them. The Garamantes eventually allied with Rome sometime in the first century CE.

In the seventh century BCE Greeks moved into Cyrenaica on the Mediterranean coast of northeastern Libya and established CYRENE, which became known as a city of great ART and SCIENCE. It was to Rome, however, that Libya was most important, since it was situated just across the MEDITERRANEAN SEA from Italy (see map p. 151). Rome's first conquest was the northwestern region of Libya on the Mediterranean coast. Later called Tripolitania, this region became known for exporting olive oil as well as for the gold trade and the slave trade. In 74 BCE Cyrenaica came under the control of the Romans. This region was known for its wine and horses. Although the Romans ventured into the Fezzan and brought it under their control, they were mainly interested in the regions of Africa from which they had something to gain economically. They also sought regions in which local people could be used to defend the area from hostile forces.

Near the end of the first century CE Romans finally secured the route between Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, and for more than 200 years they protected the trade routes between them. With trade and communication guaranteed by Rome, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica generally thrived until circa 400. During this time, they used the same language and legal system as the Romans.

Evidence of Roman influence in Libya, as in virtually every part of the Roman Empire, included baths, forums, markets, and other familiar institutions of Roman urban life. Roman ruins discovered in Libya also show how much the area prospered under Roman rule. Scholars believe that the rich tradition of art and MUSIC that exists today in Libya is due in part to the influence of the Romans, who decorated temples and homes with such ornamentation as beautifully crafted mosaics.

Around 70 CE, after the Romans put down the Jewish revolt in Palestine and conquered the area, significant numbers of Jews made their way to Cyrenaica, where many Jews already resided. Then, in 115, Jews in Cyrenaica led another revolt against the Romans that was stopped within three years. Scholars now believe that perhaps more than 200,000 people were killed during that time.

The term *Libya* was first used as a name for the province by Emperor DIOCLETIAN about 300 CE, when he separated the area of Cyrenaica into Upper Libya and Lower Libya. When the Roman Empire was divided in 395, Libya was governed by the Eastern Empire, which ruled from Constantinople.

The VANDALS, a Germanic warrior people, entered North Africa from Spain and seized power in the regions of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in about 429 and attacked the city of Rome in about 455. After 100 years of rule in Africa, however, they became less interested in making war and were conquered by Byzantines (c. 533) on behalf of the Roman Empire.

See also: BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vols. 1, II); CARTHAGE (Vol. I); IVORY (Vol. II); LIBYA (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vols. I, III, IV).

Limpopo River River of southern Africa that measures approximately 1,100 miles (1,770 km) in length and empties into the Indian Ocean. Despite its length, the river is only navigable near its mouth. With its source near Witswatersrand, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA, the river meanders from South Africa to its mouth in present-day MOZAMBIQUE. The Limpopo River marks the border between South Africa and present-day ZIMBABWE and BOTSWANA.

The Limpopo's main tributary is the Olifants River, which flows into the Limpopo about 130 miles (209 km) from its mouth, just north of present-day Maputo, in Mozambique. The upper portion of the river is known as the Crocodile (Krokodil) River. The lower portion irrigates Mozambique's fertile agricultural region. The word *limpopo* may come from the Sotho word meaning "river of the waterfall."

Before the fifth century the fertile valley between the Limpopo and the Zambezi rivers was populated by the Khoikhoi, and later it became home to many other groups. In addition to providing the right environment for PASTORALISM and AGRICULTURE, the region was rich in mineral wealth such as GOLD.

lineage Basic distinction used in social grouping of most African societies. Lineage is a descent group determined through either patrilineal or matrilineal ancestry. The founder of a particular lineage is usually the child or grandchild of the founder of that lineage's CLAN. Though lineages serve as bridges between various segments of a clan, they, unlike clans, are smaller in the number of living members and the number of generations. A lineage represents a single body of members, but the members do not necessarily all share a common name. A lineage may hold property jointly, but a single leader often exercises authority over the members and serves as its representative. Lineages can be traced back for many generations, and, since lineages generally are considered permanent groups, the inclusion of different generations creates a more stable social structure. African lineages also function as basic political units if centralized authority—in the figure of a king or chief—does not exist.

According to a typical social model, various lineages live together as autonomous groups that make up a society. This type of lineage system, sometimes referred to as a "segmentary social order," is common throughout Africa.

It is particularly prevalent among pastoral peoples, who often lack a form of centralized political authority or government. The balance of power among these segmented social groups is usually determined through warfare, with the decision to engage in armed conflict usually made by a member of the group who is believed to possess ritual, or even mystical, authority.

lions   The power and grandeur of the lion has long been admired on the African continent. One of its earliest appearances in mythology occurs with the sphinx. According to Egyptian legend, sphinxes had the bodies of lions and the heads of humans. Lions were also associated with Sakmet, the Egyptian goddess of war and vengeance, and Mahes, the Egyptian personification of the summer heat.

> In GHANA, a popular folktale involved a lion and a clever rabbit. The rabbit overheard the lion saying he would eat him. But instead of running away, the clever rabbit went to the lion's cave and told him of another, more powerful lion. The rabbit led the lion to the lake and pointed to the water, and when the lion attacked his own reflection, he drowned, leaving the rabbit in peace.

Lions are social animals that live in prides with up to thirty members. They usually hunt ZEBRAS, wildebeest, and antelopes. Lions claim their territory by scent-marking and roaring.

Lisht, pyramid of   Along with the pyramid of LAHUN and the pyramid of HAWARA, part of the mortuary complex for kings of the Twelfth Dynasty of EGYPT. Lisht, also called *al-Lisht,* is the site of two notable pyramids that were built by Amenemhet I (r. c. 1938–c. 1908 BCE, also known as Amonhemet I), the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty.

During his reign Amenemhet I moved the capital of Egypt from Thebes to Lisht, where he built his pyramid from mud brick that was then covered with stone. Unfortunately, the pyramid did not survive the ages well and is in ruins. Though Amenemhet I was the first ruler of the MIDDLE KINGDOM period, the style of his pyramid resembled older pyramids.

Sesostris II (also called Senwosre II), the son of Amenemhet I, was the second king of the Twelfth Dynasty and ruled for 10 years with his father. Sesostris II built his pyramid next to his father's. The first layer of his pyramid was made of sand compartments covered with limestone.

Meri, the governor in charge of the construction of the pyramid, is remembered by a stele inscribed with a record of his accomplishments, which can be seen today in the Louvre Museum in Paris.

locusts   Locusts have been considered threats to agricultural crops since ancient times. The desert locust, which is found in EGYPT and other arid parts of Africa, probably formed the plagues that were described in ancient Egyptian records. In the book of Exodus, the Bible also mentions a swarm of locusts as the eighth plague that God inflicted on Egypt.

Logone River   Main tributary of the CHARI (Shar) RIVER, which empties into Lake CHAD. The river is 240 miles (386 km) long and is fed by the Mbere River and its tributary, the Vina, of present-day CAMEROON, and by the Pende. of present-day CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. During the rainy season the river becomes linked to the BENUE River system through the swamps of Lake Fiango and Tikem, and the Mayo Kébi River in Cameroon. The regular loss of water to the Benue system is detrimental to the dry region of the Lake Chad basin. Extensive PAPYRUS swamps line much of the river's course.

See also: LAKES AND RIVERS (Vol. I).

Lower Egypt   Delta land of the NILE RIVER; along with UPPER EGYPT, one of the two kingdoms of ancient EGYPT. The annual flooding of the Nile, which overflows its banks and deposits mineral-rich silt over 15,000 square miles (38,850 sq km) of land, turned this one-time swamp into the fertile soil that the Egyptians called *KEMET,* or the "black land."

The Nile River flows northward, and the distinction between the "upper" and "lower" Nile follows that flow. Thus, Lower Egypt refers to northern Egypt, where the river empties into the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. In ancient times, Lower Egypt stretched from just south of present-day CAIRO northward to the city of ALEXANDRIA, located at the NILE DELTA.

Lower Egypt was symbolized by a RED CROWN and had a bee as its emblem. The chief god of Lower Egypt was HORUS, the son of OSIRIS and ISIS. In Egyptian mythology, Horus eventually avenged the murder of his father at the hands of his uncle, SETH, who was the god of Upper Egypt.

Prior to unification with Upper Egypt, about 3050 BCE, Lower Egypt consisted of a great number of independent and autonomous Delta towns. Each one functioned as a trade center, a political center, and a center of cult worship. These towns eventually unified into the kingdom of Lower Egypt.

According to Egyptian legend, MENES (r. c. 2925–c. 2863 BCE) was the founder of the First Dynasty of Egyptian kings and the first king of a unified Upper and Lower Egypt. This unification resulted from Upper Egypt's victory in war in about 3050 BCE. The unification of the two kingdoms not only centralized authority but also facilitated massive administrative, building, and irrigation projects. Widespread FOOD distribution and the regulation of trade also were undertaken, leading to a rapid multiplication of Egypt's wealth.

See also: BADARIAN CULTURE (Vol. I), NAQADAH I AND II (Vol. I); NARMER PALLETTE (Vol. I).

Lualaba River Largest tributary of the CONGO RIVER, flowing over approximately 1,100 miles (1,770 km) and draining the CONGO BASIN while staying completely within the present-day Republic of the CONGO. Considered to be the upper Congo River, the Lualaba River rises in southeastern Republic of the Congo and flows north over rapids and falls to Bukama, where it crosses a large savanna and then pools in a series of marshy lakes. Another tributary, the Luvua River, meets the Lualaba at Ankoro, carrying water from Lake Mweru on the border with present-day ZAMBIA. A third tributary, the Lukuga, flows out of Lake TANGANYIKA and joins the Lualaba as it continues its flow north to Kisangani. From Kasongo to Kibombo the Lualaba River is navigable, but it then descends through a series of waterfalls to become the beginning of the Congo River, the second longest river on the continent and one of the longest rivers in the world.

Archaeological discoveries indicate that several IRON AGE groups had settled along the banks of the Lualaba toward the end of the first millennium. Excavation sites at Katoto and Sanga produced evidence of technologically sophisticated cultures that were involved in trade and small-scale mining.

See also: SANGA (Vol. II).

Lucy (Dinkenesh) Nickname for the earliest *Australopithecine* skeleton found in Africa.

See also: HADAR (Vol. 1).

luntiu-setiu Highly skilled archers of ancient KUSH (NUBIA), who played a prominent role in the military success of the kingdom. In ancient times, the Kingdom of Kush was widely known as Ta-Seti (Land of the Bow) in tribute to these highly trained soldiers who were even more famous for their mastery of the art of the bow and arrow than for their use of swords and javelins. The well-earned reputation of these soldiers was recognized by the ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as by the Arabs, whom they defeated in battle at Dongola (c. 652).

See also: WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Luxor Famous temple located in the southern part of the ruins of the ancient city of Thebes. The temple of Luxor was commissioned by the late Eighteenth Dynasty king AMENHOTEP III, who reigned from 1417 to 1379 BCE. Built close to the NILE RIVER, the temple runs parallel to the riverbank. Its entrance features a long colonnade of 14 pillars, each 50 feet (15.2 m) tall, which lead to a large court and a complex of halls and chambers. The temple was eventually completed by TUTANKHAMUN and HOREMHEB. RAMESSES II also made additions.

The temple was dedicated to AMUN, the king of the gods, his consort Mut, and their son Khons. The Luxor Temple is linked by an avenue of sphinxes to the Great Temple of Amun at KARNAK, the northern part of the ruins of the city of Thebes.

The peristyle court is one of the oldest parts of the Luxor temple in Thebes, which was built for Amenhotep III in about 1380 BCE. In the foreground is a relief carved for Tutankhamun. *© Roger Wood/Corbis*

M

Maasai African pastoralists named for the Maa language; they are known to have lived a nomadic life in the Nile Valley of Sudan as far back as 500 BCE. Historically, the Maasai people are a part of a larger group of ancient peoples known as the NILOTES (sometimes referred to as Nilo-Hamitic). All Maasai speak the same Nilotic language, which goes by various names— Maa, Ol Maa, or Masai.

Because the ancient Maasai did not leave written records, not much about their life is documented. According to ORAL TRADITION, the Maasai originated in the area near Lake TURKANA. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Maasai may have left the NILE VALLEY of present-day Republic of the SUDAN for KENYA around 500 BCE, probably moving first into the Great RIFT VALLEY, and then on to present-day TANZANIA, sometime in the first millennium CE. The Maasai inhabit areas of Kenya and Tanzania to this day, living a pastoral life rich in tradition, custom, and ceremony.

Much of what is known about the ancient Maasai and their way of life comes from 19th- and 20th-century observations. This is due, in large part, to the firm traditionalism of the Maasai themselves, who are a people with a deep respect for the past. Indeed, 75 percent of today's Maasai (who number between 250,000 and 350,000) continue to follow their indigenous social and religious customs.

The Maasai have a long tradition of religious beliefs and practices that includes many rituals and celebrations. An important part of this tradition is the *laibon,* who serves as a diviner or ritual leader. The *laibon* is expected to be a healer of body and spirit, a rainmaker, and a source of good pasture land.

Maasai mythology plays an important part in explaining the traditional Maasai way of life. According to one myth the Maasai people are divided into two main groups because a great ladder was built to enable the Maasai to climb up the long, steep slope leading to the Gishu basin. When the Maasai climbed the ladder, however, it broke, leaving one group on top of the plateau and the other at the bottom.

Several traditional Massai myths emphasize the importance of CATTLE. One such myth names the god Ngai (also called Nkai) as the creator and explains that his three children were given gifts. The third son, who was given a stick with which to herd animals, became the father of the Maasai. Another Maasai myth explains that when the earth and heavens split apart, the god of rain, Ngai, gave all cattle to the care of the Maasai. In yet another, Ngai uses roots of a holy, wild fig tree to help cattle make their way from the sky to the earth. To avoid harming the sacred root, the Maasai traditionally do not break the ground. In fact, it was not until quite recently that they began to cultivate the earth.

The Maasai have long honored cattle, having lived off them for thousands of years, wandering seasonally to more fertile grazing lands. Not surprisingly, a typical Maasai expression is "I hope your cattle are well." Among the Maasai, a large number of cattle signals wealth, and cattle are traded, sacrificed, used to pay fines, and given as dowry.

The Maasai are well-known for their beautiful ornamentation of beadwork, bangles, coils, and elaborate hair styles. The patterns of beads identify AGE-GRADES as do styles of hair. Hair is sometimes worn long and plastered with ochre; sometimes it is shaved. Another noteworthy Maasai art is dance, as the Massai are famous for their dancers' endurance and high jumps.

Known for being great warriors, Maasai boys pass through an age-grade system in which they go from junior

warrior to senior warrior (at which time they are allowed to marry). From there they pass to junior elder and then to senior elder. *Morans* are men between 14 and 30 who traditionally live alone in the bush, learning the traditional customs and ways of warriors. According to Maasai traditions, a warrior is expected to kill a lion using only his spear.

Young Maasai women typically are married to older men, and they are allowed to have sex prior to marriage (but not outside sex after marriage). In Maasai society, both boys and girls are thought to pass into adulthood around puberty by RITES OF PASSAGE that include CIRCUMCISION and clitoridectomy.

The traditional home of the Maasai is the *enkang* or *kraal*, a complex of 10 to 20 small mud-dung homes enclosed by a fence made from thornbushes. Each structure is built by women and may contain only two rooms with no window other than a small hole in the roof. Traditionally an *enkang* is used temporarily, and a new one built as the band moves on. In typical Maasai culture women tend the home and milk the cows, while the men herd the cattle and protect the home and herd.

Though it is not known for sure how many of the present-day customs and ways of the Maasai date back to ancient times, the Maasai have been resistant to change and modernization. Most prefer to live a traditional nomadic life of herding cattle, as their ancestors have done for thousands of years.

See also: MAASAI (Vols. II, III, IV, V); PASTORALISM (Vol. I).

Further reading: Elizabeth L. Gilbert, *Broken Spears: A Massai Journey* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003); McQuail, Lisa, *The Masai of Africa* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications, 2002).

maat   The ancient Egyptian concept of truth, justice, and cosmic order. Sometimes the concept was personified as Maat, the daughter of the sun god RA, and associated with THOTH, the god of wisdom. She was usually represented as a figure with a feather in her hair.

According to the RELIGION of ancient EGYPT, all people were judged upon their deaths. During the Judgment of the Dead, the deceased person's heart would be placed on a scale balanced by *maat,* represented only by an ostrich feather.

As a concept *maat* also played an important part in Egyptian understanding of kingship. The king, according to traditional Egyptian notions, was a representative of the gods. His duty was to follow divine will and establish *maat.* This concept was a central part of Egyptian religion and daily life.

Further reading: Maulana Karenga, *Maat, The Moral Ideal in Ancient Egypt: A Study in Classical African Ethics* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Macedonia   Ancient kingdom in the northeastern corner of the Greek penuisula. During the reign of ALEXANDER THE GREAT (c. 330–323 BCE), Macedonia extended its borders to EGYPT by liberating the North Africans from the Persians.

Macedonia was founded during the seventh century BCE. After 338 BCE, Philip II unified the Greeks and strengthened Macedonia, transforming it into an important kingdom. Macedonia was eventually expanded by Philip's son, Alexander the Great, into the Middle East, Egypt, and western India.

The people of Egypt welcomed Alexander, and he was able to take control of the country without a war. According to legend, Alexander traveled to the Oracle of AMUN, where he was told that he was the son of the god. This strengthened Alexander's claim to the Egyptian throne, since, for thousands of years, Egypt's rulers had believed themselves to be the descendants of the country's chief god, Amun. It also furthered Alexander's belief in his own divinity. Upon adding Egypt to the Macedonian kingdom, Alexander founded the city of ALEXANDRIA on the NILE RIVER.

Upon Alexander's death. in 323 BCE, his empire was divided, and Ptolemy I ruled Egypt as a civilian official. Ptolemy's rule continued even after a Macedonian general, Perdiccas, made an unsuccessful attempt to take Egypt from him a few years after Alexander's death.

Further reading: James R. Ashley, *The Macedonian Empire: The Era of Warfare under Philip II and Alexander the Great 359–323 B.C.* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1998); Richard A. Billows, *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1995).

Madagascar   Indian Ocean island country covering approximately 226,700 square miles (587,200 sq km), making it the fourth largest island in the world. It is located 242 miles (389 km) across the Mozambique Channel from present-day MOZAMBIQUE on the southern coast of East Africa.

The present-day country of Madagascar is made up of the island of Madagascar and several much smaller islands that surround it, including Juan de Nova, Europa, the Glorioso Islands, Tromelin, and Bassas da India.

Madagascar is the African continent in microcosm, exhibiting the vertical climate of Africa's volcanic mountains like Mount KILIMANJARO, with a RAIN FOREST, grassy savannas, and highlands that receive snow. Unlike Kilimanjaro, however, Madagascar was not formed by volcanic eruptions. The island is the product of the Graeben Fault, where tectonic plates are pulling apart. About 165 million years ago, Madagascar was part of the continent. Madagascar's present location in the Indian Ocean puts its population at risk during the Indian Ocean monsoon season. The extreme north and south ends of the island are frequently the sites of cyclones.

Although there is evidence of an older island culture, the majority of the population of the island has a strong Asian ancestry. Malaysians and Indonesians arrived approximately 2,000 years ago, their boats probably blown there by monsoons while participating in the Indian Ocean trade. The Malagasy language that developed has more in common with the languages of Indonesia than those of Africa.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); MALAGASY (Vol. II), MADAGASCAR (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Steven M. Goodman, and Jonathan P. Benstead, eds., *The Natural History of Madagascar* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Heather E. Heying, *Antipode: Seasons with the extraordinary Wildlife and Culture of Madagascar* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002).

Mafia Island

Island in the Indian Ocean, 170 square miles (440 sq km) and 10 miles off the coast of present-day TANZANIA. Mafia Island has been a stop on the African coastal trade route for possibly 2,000 years. Mafia is the largest island of an archipelago, or group of islands, in the Indian Ocean. Situated south of ZANZIBAR, the island lies close to the Rufiji River delta. The closest city on the mainland, Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, is 80 miles (129 km) away. The surrounding ocean area presents a variety of coral reefs and gardens that are home to a wide variety of fish. The many species of birds on the island differ from the mainland. The island's geography includes beaches, bays, and forests.

Scholars theorize that Bantu speakers were the first inhabitants of the island. An ironworking, agricultural Bantu culture is believed to have crossed from the mainland and settled the island from about 200 to 400 CE. Other inhabitants of the island included a group known as the Triangular Ironware culture. These indigenous people are thought to have come to the island at some time after the Bantu emigrants of 200–400 CE and before about 975, when Arab settlers from what is now Yemen took control of the island.

There are ome scholars who believe that the island called Menouthias, as described in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* written by PTOLEMY in 50 CE, is Mafia Island, while other scholars think the ancient writing describes Zanzibar or Pemba.

See also: MAFIA ISLAND (Vol. II).

Maghrib (Magrib, Maghreb)

Arabic word for the region in northwestern Africa that includes the areas of present-day TUNISIA, MOROCCO, ALGERIA, and parts of LIBYA. The Maghrib, which was not unified until Arab rule began in about the year 700 CE, was home to many prehistoric and ancient peoples.

Archaeological evidence shows that ancestors of present-day humans inhabited the central Maghrib as early as 200,000 BCE, and tools from Neanderthal people indicate that prehistoric humans were in the area by about 43,000 BCE. Some scholars believe that, by about 30,000 BCE, the population of this area had tools, tool-making methods, and craftsmanship that were highly developed for this era.

At Tassili-n-Ajjer, north of Tamanrasset in the central Maghrib, cave paintings give evidence of a group of prehistoric peoples who inhabited the area between about 8000 and 4000 BCE. These cave paintings depict vivid scenes of prehistoric life in Africa. Research indicates that a NEOLITHIC AGE people, the Capsians, who lived on the plains in the Maghrib region, conquered the original inhabitants.

In ancient times, the people in this region came to be known as BERBERS, and they have continued to inhabit the area since that time; in fact, about one-sixth of the people who live in the Maghrib today still speak a Berber language.

See also: MAGHRIB (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Makeda, Queen (queen of Sheba) (d. c. 955 BCE)
Powerful ruler who played a prominent role in the social and economic history of ancient Ethiopia

According to some sources, Queen Makeda was part of the dynasty originally founded by Za Besi Angabo in 1370 BCE, with her grandfather and father being the last male rulers of the royal line. The family's intended choice to rule AKSUM was Makeda's brother, Prince Nourad, but his early death led to her succession to the throne. She apparently ruled the Ethiopian kingdom for more than 50 years.

Biblical references and ancient texts have often cited the queen's inexperience as the basis of her relationship with King Solomon of Israel, explaining that a young Queen Makeda traveled to Israel seeking advice from the wiser, more experienced Solomon. The historical facts, however, indicate that Queen Makeda had become a well-respected administrator, empire builder, and international trader before her meeting with Israel's famous king. Exactly when she made that visit is uncertain, but it is clear that, while there, Queen Makeda adopted the Jewish faith and conceived a child with King Solomon. This child, named David, eventually was crowned king of ETHIOPIA as MENELIK I.

The empire that Queen Makeda controlled was extensive and encompassed all of present-day Ethiopia as well as parts of Upper Egypt, Syria, Armenia, India, and southern Arabia (where she was known as Belkis). Direct access

to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, as well as the many land-based caravans that passed through Aksumite territory, also gave Queen Makeda a vast and wealthy trade empire. For the most part, however, this was administered by specially appointed merchants rather than by the queen herself.

See also: ARK OF THE COVENANT (Vol. I); SOLOMONIC DYNASTY (Vol. II).

Further reading: Jean-François Breton, *Arabia Felix from the Time of the Queen of Sheba: Eighth century B.C. to First Century A.D.* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999); Joseph Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

Malawi Present-day southeastern African country about 45,700 square miles (118,400 sq km) in size, bordered by the present-day countries of TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, and ZAMBIA. Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa), which defines the northeastern border of Malawi, is a feature of the Great RIFT VALLEY, which stretches across East Africa. The waters of the lake empty into the Shire River, which joins the ZAMBEZI RIVER before emptying into the Mozambique Channel.

Malawi is the site of important discoveries related to early hominid activity and HUMAN ORIGINS. Areas within the region apparently were inhabited by early hominids about 2 million years ago. Recent studies have unearthed evidence of settlements inhabited by ancestors of the SAN people dating back almost 100,000 years. Much later, beginning in the first millennium BCE, the area came under the influence of the massive BANTU EXPANSION. During this period the indigenous peoples were, like others throughout this part of Africa, dominated by Bantu speakers, who possessed advanced ironworking and agricultural techniques. This pattern continued during the early centuries of the common era as other Bantu-speaking peoples came into the region from the present-day countries of Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

See also: MALAWI (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Owen J. M. Kalinga and Cynthia A. Crosby, *Historical Dictionary of Malawi* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2001).

Mali Present-day landlocked nation located in central West Africa and covering about 478,800 square miles (1,240,100 sq km), stretching north into the SAHARA DESERT, where it shares borders with ALGERIA and MAURITANIA. Other countries bordering modern Mali include NIGER, BURKINA FASO, IVORY COAST, GUINEA, and SENEGAL.

Until about 5000 BCE the Sahara was a great savanna on which the ancestors of West African populations hunted and gathered. After 5000 BCE a changing CLIMATE initiated a systematic drying of the terrain, causing it to turn to desert. About 3000 BCE those people who had turned to farming migrated to the tropical woodland savanna and rivers to be near a water supply for their crops of MILLET, rice, and SORGHUM. These farmers herded animals and engaged in trade for SALT and COPPER with the mines to the north. From about 700 to 300 BCE settlement size decreased as the desert encroached. The Soninke lived in this savanna between the headwaters of the Senegal River and the NIGER RIVER and developed the first of the West African Empires, GHANA.

See also: INLAND NIGER DELTA (Vol. I); MALI (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SONINKE (Vol. II).

mambas Venomous snakes belonging to the COBRA family, mambas are found in tropical and southern Africa and are among the swiftest snakes. The snake's venomous bite, if not treated, is often fatal to humans.

> The SAN people of southern Africa, who have long been familiar with the mamba, have a folktale explaining why the snake has no legs. Long ago, says this legend, there was a terrible drought, and all the people and animals had to move away; only the lazy and arrogant snake was left behind. Eventually, all the grass and food disappeared. The snake decided to leave too, but began to sink in the sand as soon as it started moving. The snake called out for help, and the Moon, taking pity on the snake, shrank its legs, which allowed it to glide on the sand.

Mande (Manding, Mandingo, Mandingue) Family of languages used by a number of diverse populations of some 46 language communities dispersed througout West Africa. While the term *Mande* represents a large number of languages, four of them are mutually intelligible: Mandinka, Maninka, BAMANA, and DYULA. The Mande languages appear to have originated in the region of the headwaters of the Senegal, Gambia, and Niger rivers. By the 10th and 11th centuries CE, Mande-speaking cultures were well-established in the region. Exactly when and how they first peopled the area, however, is unclear. It has been suggested that Mande speakers inhabited the upper NIGER RIVER valley between 5000 and 2000 BCE, but this is not a widely held view.

See also: MANDE (Vols. II, IV).

Manetho (305–285 BCE) *Egyptian author and priest; famous for his study of the history of ancient Egypt*

Manetho lived under Greco-Roman rule in Sebennytos, the capital of EGYPT during the Thirtieth Dynasty, and was a priest during the reigns of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II. A thorough knowledge of both Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS and Greek, as well as firsthand experience with Egyptian religious beliefs and customs, made him especially well-suited to the task of studying Egyptian history.

Commissioned by Ptolemy II to write *Aegyptiaca,* a collection of three books about the history of ancient Egypt, Manetho was given access to the archives of the temple in which he served as a priest. Ranging in content from mythological texts to official records, from magical formulas to scientific treaties, the archives were rich with sources needed to write the history of the country. Given the diversity of these sources, it is not surprising that in Manetho's account, myths and folktales are neatly interwoven with the facts of Egyptian history.

When complete, *Aegyptiaca* chronicled the kings of Egypt from the earliest times, when gods and demigods supposedly ruled, to the historical dynasties, from MENES down to ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE). Although many of the specific details—such as the names of kings and the exact dates of their reigns—are often incomplete and inaccurate, Manetho's work remains the basis for the conventional numbering of the dynasties of the Egyptian pharaohs.

Marra Mountains Mountains in the western region of the modern day Republic of the SUDAN. Located halfway between the NILE RIVER and Lake CHAD, the Marra Mountains once formed part of an ancient caravan route—winding northwest toward the Nile at DONGOLA BEND. From there travelers could continue north to EGYPT or south towards KUSH. Some historians believe this was the route known as the Forty-Days Road mentioned in the accounts of HARKHUF (r. c. 2290–c. 2270 BCE), an Egyptian governor who traveled from Egypt to KERMA, the Kushite kingdom.

See also: ELEPHANTINE (Vol. I).

masks Decorated coverings for the face, often worn at times of religious or social significance. Masks play important roles among many African peoples and are used in everything from agricultural festivals to funerals. They also are used in warfare and in ceremonies for curing the sick.

One of the earliest uses of masks was probably to discipline children. As an extension of a mother's habit of making nasty faces to frighten children into obedience, masks were used to instill discipline. Masks were also often worn by judges, generally either to show that they represented a spiritual or ancestral authority or else to

The Nigerian Epa festival, for which this contemporary Epa Society mask was created, honors the Great Mother, from whom all women and female sorcerers are traditionally said to be descended. The mask is 36.5 inches (92.7 cm) high. *© North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, N.C./Corbis*

protect themselves against reprisals by those they judged. For the same reason, they were worn by secret societies that punished malefactors.

As long ago as the time of ancient Egypt, masks were also an important part of funerals. From as early as 2000 BCE, the faces of the Egyptian dead were covered with

plaster-covered cloths that were painted with representations of the deceased. The funeral masks of important people—such as people of royal blood or very wealthy citizens—often were decorated with gold and silver. Elsewhere in Africa, masks frequently were made of wood and, as a result, archaeologists have found few examples surviving from ancient times.

The YORUBA peoples of present-day NIGERIA and Republic of BENIN are among the most famous African mask makers. Their masks often are used for ritualized reenactments of battles, especially ones featuring the deeds of legendary and heroic warriors. In the Oyo area, masks are also part of elaborate ceremonies honoring the peoples' ancestors. These brightly painted masks are covered with cloth, with a new layer of cloth added each year.

The Dogon of present-day MALI and BURKINA FASO are also noted for their elaborately carved masks. Their masks, some of which date back to the early common era, play an important role in funeral ceremonies. When a family member dies, the survivors make figures, which are intended to house the spirits of the deceased during the official period of mourning. When that time is up, masks are used to drive away the deceased's spirit. Dogon rituals also make use of a Great Mask. This mask is never actually worn. Instead, a new one is made every sixty years to represent the Dogon's primordial ancestor.

See also: DOGON (Vol. II).

Further reading: Carol Finley, *The Art of African Masks: Exploring Cultural Traditions* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Co., 1999); Frank Herreman, *Facing the Mask* (New York: Museum for African Art, 2002); Babatunde Lawal, *The Gelede Spectacle: Art, Gender, and Social Harmony in African Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996).

Massinissa (240 BCE–148 CE) *Ruler of the ancient North African kingdom of Numidia*

The son of a chief who headed the Massyli society of NUMIDIA, Massinissa was reared in CARTHAGE. Although his father militarily supported Carthage against ROME during their battles on the Iberian Peninsula (present-day Spain), Massinissa aligned himself with Roman forces after 206 BCE, when the Carthaginians were routed and driven out of Iberia. He is noted for assisting Rome in other territorial invasions of Carthaginian-held lands. In return, Roman officials helped him to achieve his goal of becoming the next ruler of Numidia. Syphax, his political foe, was chieftain of the Massaesyl and strongly favored Carthaginian rule. It was Massinissa who provided the cavalry of 4,000 men to the Roman army that brought about Syphax's defeat.

In 201 BCE a treaty drawn up between Carthage and Rome had several important aspects that increased Massinissa's power. It was decreed that Carthage relinquish its fleet and territorial lands and be forbidden to engage in any warfare without notification to Rome. Notably, a written clause within the treaty stipulated that any lands formerly belonging to Massinissa's ancestors could be reclaimed. As a result Massinissa was given the lands formerly held by Syphax, including Zama, which allowed him to extend his rule over both the Massyli and Massaesyl. He effectively organized the settlement of these nomadic societies by replacing early methods of cultivation with the more advanced agricultural methods used in Carthage.

Massinissa established his capital at Cirta, the present-day Algerian city of Constantine, where he ruled for approximately 50 years. Even then Cirta had the urban flavor of a growing city. Carthaginian language, religious rites, and art forms were in evidence, and greater emphasis was placed on limited trading. The coins minted at Cirta and used for trade appear to have been made from bronze, lead, and COPPER.

Massinissa is noted for developing and maintaining his political alliance with Rome, thus ensuring that his political goals and aspirations were met. However, in 155 BCE his power was checked when a Roman commission came to Numidia to settle disputes between Numidian- and Carthaginian-held territories. Over Massinissa's objections, the commission decided to destroy Carthage, and the Romans subsequently burned the city to the ground and performed ritual ceremonies to curse the land.

See also: JUBA I (Vol. I).

Matara One of three cosmopolitan centers in ancient AKSUM (c. 300 BCE–600 CE). Situated on the high plateau region near the present-day border between ETHIOPIA and ERITREA, Matara overlooks the RED SEA coast. Once a leading cosmopolitan city, Matara had trade markets that attracted a cross section of ethnic and religious groups, including Egyptians, Kushites, Arabs, Jews, and Indians. Testifying to Matara's wealth and success are the ruins of former structures, including a small palace complex used by the nobility and stelae, or stone monuments. The recovery of Roman and Byzantine objects further confirms Matara's role in Aksum's trade network, which linked the Nile, the Mediterranean, and the Indian Ocean.

Matsieng Figure in TSWANA creation mythology.
See also: BOTSWANA (Vol. I)

Mauritania Present-day country of northwestern Africa, some 398,000 square miles (1,030,800 sq km) in area and bordered by ALGERIA, MALI, SENEGAL, and WESTERN SAHARA. Similar to the populations living in Mali and NIGER, the early inhabitants of Mauritania migrated south

as the SAHARA DESERT expanded. Excavations at Dar Tichitt reveal that, about 1500 BCE, the inhabitants began moving from large unprotected lakeside villages to smaller protected hilltop ones as the climate continued to become increasingly arid.

See also: MAURITANIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Anthony G. Pazzanita, *Historical Dictionary of Mauritania* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996).

Mauritius Island nation in the Indian Ocean, situated approximately 500 miles (805 km) east of MADAGASCAR and made up of the inhabited island of Rodrigues to the northeast and other scattered coral atolls, such as Cargados, Carajos, and Agalega. Mauritius was formed 10 million years ago by an active volcano, as can be seen by its Trou aux Certs crater in Curepipe and the lava boulders strewn about the island. None are active today, however.

Mauritius has a tropical climate and a wide range of terrain rising from low-lying plains to forests to a central plateau. The island is surrounded by a coral reef that is punctured in many places by wave action and the surf. The island appears to have been uninhabited during prehistoric times, although with all the traffic in the Indian Ocean trade corridor it is possible that traders visited the island on the way to other destinations.

See also: MAURITIUS (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Mbuti (Bambuti) Group of peoples of the ITURI FOREST in present-day Democratic Republic of CONGO. They are among several peoples whose small stature has led them to be referred to as *PYGMIES,* a term that is no longer popular with anthropologists, who prefer to call them *Mbuti.* The Mbuti reach an average height of 4 feet 9 inches (1.4 m) and an average weight of 100 pounds (45 kg). They have long subsisted by hunting game and gathering fruit. The Mbuti are still masters of the jungle, hunting and gathering as they have for perhaps as long as 4,500 years.

One of the more unusual Mbuti customs is the practice of "sister exchange." In order to marry, a man must find a woman of his own clan to marry with a man of his prospective wife's clan.

The Mbuti peoples, whose groups include the Sua, Aka, Efe, and one called the Mbuti, are probably the original inhabitants of the great Ituri Forest. They are nomadic and territorial, with patrilineal clans of up to 100 members claiming segments of the forest. Clans migrate to new camps within their territory every three to four weeks to follow their herds and maximize their access to plant resources. Their beehive-shaped huts, made of phrynium leaves, require only a few hours to build, thus facilitating their nomadic lifestyle.

Traditionally, the Mbuti have maintained a symbiotic relationship with Bantu-speaking villages and agriculturalists of the southern sudanic belt. In exchange for crops, CLOTH, pots, axes, and SALT, the Mbuti hunt and gather FOOD for the villages, providing them with wild game, as well as honey, fruit, nuts, mushrooms, caterpillars, and termites from the forest. To the west the Sua and the Mbuti have aligned with the Budu people; the Aka live near the Mangbetu; the Efe inhabit the north and eastern areas of the forest with the Mamvu and Lese peoples; and the group that calls themselves Mbuti live near the Bila people in the heart of the forest. The Mbuti take up the languages of their village neighbors and try to stay within several hours' walking distance of them. Relationships between Mbuti individuals and their respective villages are common, and family ties between the two are passed from generation to generation.

The Mbuti were long thought to be only imaginary beings. Four thousand years ago, during ancient Egypt's Sixth Dynasty, an Egyptian expedition reported seeing "dancing dwarfs" in a "land of spirits." But even though the explorer Harkuf reportedly brought back an Mbuti for King Pepi II, these "dancers of god" were thought by most people to be imaginary. Later, tales of these small forest people appeared among the Greeks, Romans, and Arabs. However, since so many of the stories seemed too outlandish to be believed, smaller peoples generally were considered to be only a myth. It was not until the 1800s that the outside world finally had proof of the existence of the small-statured Mbuti.

Hunting techniques among the Mbuti vary. Some use bows and arrows or spears when they track large game, while others rely on nets to catch smaller animals like antelopes. Mbuti women often assist the villagers by tending the fields while the men hunt. Starchy foods like beans, YAMS, and squash acquired from the villages provide the bulk of calories in the Mbuti diet.

A formal political system or social hierarchy does not exist in Mbuti society. Instead, all disputes are settled by general discussions between the disagreeing parties. Music, song, and dance are important to Mbuti culture, particularly during INITIATION RITES or celebration of the gifts of the forest. They worship a forest deity but do not

seem to believe in an AFTERLIFE. The dead are buried near the temporary phrynium huts and are abandoned when the Mbuti move to a new location.

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medicine Medicine and the medical arts took many forms in ancient Africa, from simple herbal cures to procedures that were the result of many years of study and training on the part of the healers. As early as the Predynastic Period, the ancient Egyptians practiced medical arts of one kind or another. Indeed, the BADARIAN CULTURE, as well as the subsequent NAQADAH I and II cultures, all seem to have been adept at treating illnesses and other disorders with herbs, drugs, and flowers. By Egypt's Third Dynasty (c. 2700 BCE) the training of physicians had become formalized, and the Egyptian population was treated by the world's first trained, practicing physicians. These healers treated diseases, performed surgery, and prescribed medicines. In large part, this was due to the effects of the legendary IMHOTEP (fl. c. 2650 BCE), who is purported to have been an architect, royal adviser, and, in the eyes of many, the world's first physician. As a minister to King Djoser (r. c. 2630–2611 BCE), it is believed that Imhotep established schools for doctors and produced 20 volumes of medical texts that helped spread the use of medicinal herbs throughout Africa.

In general, ancient Egyptians believed that illness and disease were the result of the activities of the demon goddess Sekhmet. Cures, they believed, were aided by the healing deities RA, THOTH, and ISIS. Because of this, the sick were given a combination of spiritual and physical treatments that included everything from specialized incantations to the applications of herbs and other medicines. The incantations were employed in order to rid the patient's body of any evil demon or god that might be causing a particular ailment. Physicians also gave out prescriptions, set broken bones, and treated wounds.

Though the ancient Egyptians were advanced in the techniques of embalming and doctors were known to have various surgical tools such as forceps, drills, and hooks, they did not have extensive knowledge of anatomy. As a result, with the exception of trepanning, which involved creating a small hole in the skull of an ill patient for the purpose of allowing disease to break free of the body, they performed only a few, relatively minor surgical operations

Among the specialists in medicine in ancient EGYPT were dentists, veterinarians, and gynecologists. The *Kahun Papyrus* (also called the *Kahun Gynecological Papyrus*), which is dated circa 1825 BCE, provides evidence that Egyptian physicians were capable of a wide range of procedures, such as recommending birth-control methods, performing pregnancy testing, and diagnosing reproductive problems. (Sour milk, crocodile dung, and honey were among the contraceptives prescribed.)

A record of disease, deformities, and treatments has been collected from the remains of mummies, art, and medical texts. Two of these texts, the *Edwin Smith Papyrus* and the *Ebers Papyrus,* provide remarkable insights into Egyptian medical practices.

Egypt may have been home to the invention of medicine as a healing practice, but Egyptian medical practices spread to other parts of Africa and influenced the healing arts there. In addition, other traditions and systems developed on their own. One of the most important of these has been linked with the YORUBA people, whose roots can be traced to ILE-IFE and beyond. Primarily herbal and homeopathic in orientation, Yorubic medicine is part of a long line of practice that extends from Africa through the Caribbean to the Americas.

Of equal interest is the tradition of the Djembe, a sacred drum used in healing ceremonies and other important rituals. Dating back to at least 500 BCE, the Djembe has been called "the healing drum" because of its use in traditional healing rituals.

Medinet Habu See DJEME.

Mediterranean Sea Largest inland sea in the world. The Mediterranean borders Europe, Asia, and Africa, and covers an area of 965,000 square miles (2,499,350 sq km). It connects with the Atlantic Ocean through the Straight of Gibraltar, in the west. It is also connected with the Black Sea in the northeast through the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosporus. In the southeast, it is connected to the RED SEA by the Suez Canal. In addition to the NILE RIVER, other rivers that flow into the Mediterranean include the Po, Rhône, and Ebro.

Since ancient times cultures have flourished around the Mediterranean. Egyptian merchants navigated it as early as 3000 BCE. The Egyptians were followed by the Aegeans and the HITTITES. Around the 12th century BCE, the PHOENICIANS began to gain prominence in the region. They established trading posts along the North African coast, the largest of which was CARTHAGE. By the fifth century BCE, an entire trading empire, known as the Punic civilization, was based around that city. By the first century CE, however, the Mediterranean was almost entirely dominated by ROME. The Romans called it Mare Nostrum, meaning "our sea." By the fourth and fifth centuries the Byzantine Empire controlled the area, and

eventually, following the conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries, Arabic-speaking peoples controlled the Mediterranean.

See also: ALGERIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vols. I, II); MOROCCO (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); LIBYA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); SUEZ CANAL (Vols. IV, V); TUNISIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Medjay Mercenary troops and traders of the KUSH kingdom who served in the HYKSOS and Egyptian armies. The military relationship between Egyptian rulers and the Medjay appears to have begun sometime between 1700 and 1670 BCE, following the Hyksos invasion of EGYPT in the Seventeenth Dynasty. Based in KERMA in Upper NUBIA, some Medjay soldiers chose to join forces with the Egyptians in opposition to Hyksos rule. Ironically, it appears that the Medjay used many of the same superior weapons that initially led to the defeat of Egypt: bronze swords, powerful bows and arrows, and HORSES and chariots. These fierce Medjay warriors helped expand and develop Egypt's military power, enabling the Egyptian ruler Wadjkheperre (c. 1576–1570 BCE) to begin the process of dislodging Hyksos control. However, it was left to his brother, AHMOSE I (r. c. 1570–c. 1546 BCE), to finally end Hyksos rule and reunite Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1570–c. 1070 BCE). In retaliation against Medjay soldiers who fought against Egypt, Ahmose waged war on Kerma until about 1450 BCE, when the capital and the Kush kingdom were destroyed. Even this did not obliterate the Medjay's history—it lived on in Egyptian vocabulary in the form of a word that meant "policeman."

Memphis Capital city of ancient EGYPT during the OLD KINGDOM (c. 2705–2213 BCE). Memphis is located south of the NILE DELTA, about 12 miles (19.2 km) from the modern city of CAIRO. Memphis is also the site of a number of ancient necropolises, or cemeteries, including Giza and SAQQARA.

According to legend, Memphis was founded in 2925 BCE by MENES, the king who is believed to have first united UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT. Memphis was located on the boundary of these two lands and was determined to be a good site for a capital. Its primary god was PTAH, for whom a prominent temple was built. The city was originally named "the White Wall," possibly in reference to the king's palace.

Memphis reached the height of its dominance during the Third and Fourth Dynasties (c. 2705–2465 BCE). Some of ancient Egypt's most spectacular monuments were built during this time. Djoser, the second king of the Third Dynasty, constructed the impressive STEP PYRAMID OF DJOSER entirely of stone.

During the MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–c. 1840 BCE) and the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–c. 1070 BCE), Memphis's influence remained strong, even after Thebes was established as the new capital. Later, during Greek and Roman rule, Memphis was second in importance only to ALEXANDRIA. Memphis was abandoned after the Arabs conquered Egypt in 640 CE.

Further reading: Jill Kamil, *Sakkara and Memphis: A Guide to the Necropolis and the Ancient Capital* (New York: Longman, 1985).

Menelik I (c. 10th century BCE) *Ruler of ancient Aksum and the son of Queen Makeda and King Solomon*

Menelik was reared in the royal court of the Ethiopian kingdom ruled by Queen MAKEDA. His mother's adoption of JUDAISM led Menelik to observe the traditions of his mother's faith, and he journeyed to Jerusalem at the age of 13. It appears that Menelik may have rejected the opportunity to remain in Jerusalem, however. Instead, after being crowned king of ETHIOPIA by his father, Menelik left Israel, traveling with a number of Israelite nobles. According to the *Kebra Nagast,* Ethiopia's national epic, it was at this time that Menelik and the nobles stole the sacred ARK OF THE COVENANT from Solomon. This traditional account states that Menelik carried out the will of God by removing the Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem.

See also: SOLOMONIC DYNASTY (Vol. II).

Menes (Narmer) (r. c. 3050–2988 BCE) *Legendary first pharaoh of ancient Egypt*

Menes is thought to have ruled circa 3050 BCE and, according to Egyptian folklore, was responsible for uniting UPPER and LOWER EGYPT. He is also attributed with establishing the city of MEMPHIS, which served as his capital.

According to the third-century BCE historian MANETHO, Menes ruled for 62 years before being killed by a hippopotamus. Manetho also wrote that Menes originally came from THINIS, a province in Upper Egypt. Menes has been identified, if inconclusively, with ancient Egyptian kings known as Scorpion and Aha.

Menkaure (r. c. 2500–2480 BCE) *Fifth king of Egypt's Fourth Dynasty; son and successor of Khafre*

Although his pyramid is the smallest of the pyramids of Giza, it was made using costly Aswan granite. Inside the pyramid was a basalt sarcophagus and many fine, slate sculptures. These depicted Menkaure himself, his wife Khamerernebti II, and the god HATHOR. Menkaure's reign lasted about twenty years, and he was said to be a just and pious king. The epitaph on his pyramid—which

his son and successor, Shepseskaf, finished after Menkaure's death—noted that he was called *Man-kau-Ra*, or "the deified one."

Mentuhotep II (Nebhapetre) (r. c. 2040–c. 1957 BCE) *King of the Eleventh Dynasty who reunified Egypt*

Mentuhotep II, sometimes identified as Mentuhotep I, defeated Lower and Middle Egypt of the kingdom of HIERAKONPOLIS and became the first king of the MIDDLE KINGDOM. At the time of his ascension, Mentuhotep II ruled only UPPER EGYPT, which had been battling the kingdom of Hierakonopolis in LOWER EGYPT for about sixty years. During the 14th year of his reign, Mentuhotep II began a new military campaign against Hierakonopolis, and by 2000 BCE he had gained control of all of Egypt.

Once Egypt was unified Mentuhotep II established Thebes as his capital and built many monuments commemorating his military victories. His most memorable building is his funerary complex in Thebes.

Further reading: Dieter Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el Bahari* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979).

Meroë Capital of the Kush kingdom established between the fifth and sixth cataracts of the NILE RIVER. Meroë was founded circa 500 BCE and became one of the leading cities of the ancient world. Its growth and development were linked to international trade, iron smelting, agriculture, and the expansion of its territories. Recovered evidence suggests that between the third and second centuries BCE, MILLET served as a chief diet staple. Flax and COTTON were cultivated and spun on an early type of loom.

Archaeologists had hoped that the recovery of a written script would help to address many aspects of Kushite culture. Known as Meroitic writing, it had apparently been inscribed on various monuments and stelae. (Stelae are stone monuments, of various sizes, that usually bear inscriptions regarding important people and their deeds.)

The pyramids of the kings of Kush at Meroë (300 BCE–300 CE), in ancient Sudan, were built on a smaller scale than the pyramids in Egypt's Valley of the Kings. *© Jonathan Blair/Corbis*

However, archaeologists have not yet been able to decipher the texts. As a result their attention currently is focused on various art forms recovered in the region. Meroitic pottery, considered by some to be among the most well-made pottery in the ancient world, shows evidence of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman influences, along with distinctive Kushite motifs. Highly detailed wall reliefs confirm the presence of CATTLE and HORSES in Meroë, and there are also reports that ELEPHANTS were trained there for use in military battles. Archaeologists have also recovered the ruins of a temple dedicated to Meroë's national deity APEDEMAK, and the speculation is that this temple signals a return to traditional cultural beliefs after a period dominated by foreign influences.

Various ruins in Meroë have also provided a strong sense of the kingdom's prosperity, including the recovery of a royal palace and bathing compound. There also was a proliferation of pyramids used for royal burials. (Although created using the same principal as Egyptian pyramids, Meroitic pyramids were built on a much smaller scale.) The homes of the wealthy appear to have been built in fired red brick, while other homes were constructed of more modest materials.

Ironically, the destruction of the kingdom may have been hastened by the use of its iron foundries. Dependency on timber for fuel most likely resulted in deforestation, which in turn had a significant impact on agriculture. Little is known about this period or the events that led to repeated clashes with Ezana, the king of AKSUM. However, in 350 CE, the Ethiopian king dispatched armies to Meroë, and the kingdom was razed. Its inhabitants may have retreated from the Ezana's army or they may have been absorbed by other ethnic groups that overran the region. Because of the uncertainty about who occupied the region in the aftermath of its destruction, archaeologists collectively refer to this population as the Nubian X-GROUP.

See also: ASPELTA (Vol. I); ETHIOPIA (Vol. I); GEBEL BARKAL (Vol. I); MEDJAY (Vol. I); NAGA, TEMPLES AT (Vol. I); NUBIA, CHRISTIAN (Vol. II).

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Meroë, Island of   Part of the ancient kingdom of KUSH, with its northern end situated between the fifth and sixth cataracts of the NILE RIVER. Once the city of MEROË was established as the capital of Kush, the neighboring Island of Meroë became an important part of the kingdom's economic life. There, the combination of climate and fertile land produced a wealth of fast-growing agricultural crops, including tropical cereals such as SORGHUM and MILLET. The land also proved to be excellent for grazing CATTLE and other livestock.

Rich in hardwood timber, the Island of Meroë also contained numerous deposits of iron ore, and iron smelting flourished on the island. Axes and plows were produced for clearing and cultivating the land, while spears and arrows, used to defend the kingdom from invaders, were highly valued by traders. Resources and activities like these helped make Kush a major political and commercial competitor to both Egypt and the kingdom of AKSUM.

metallurgy   The art and science of extracting metals from ores and modifying the metals for use. Metallurgy has been practiced in Africa since ancient times. The early metalsmiths of SUMERIA, Babylon, and EGYPT were highly prized members of their society. These people were so valuable that invading armies made a special effort to capture them and carry them off.

At Gerza, on the NILE RIVER just south of the modern site of CAIRO, a civilization developed based on the metallurgy of COPPER. The people of this GERZEAN CULTURE had learned basic copper metallurgy from immigrants from MESOPOTAMIA by about 3500 BCE.

Copper was the basic metal used in ancient Egypt, as important to the ancient Egyptians as iron has been to the modern technological world. Early metal workers quickly learned that copper became less brittle and easier to shape if it was heated before hammering. Called *tempering,* this process put an edge on a tool or weapon that was both hard and durable. Tools made with this process were so strong that they were used to construct the pyramids and other great buildings of Egyptian civilization. The Egyptians also learned that copper was malleable, meaning that it could easily be hammered into useful and artistic shapes.

Copper was especially valued for its color and luster. As a result it often was used to create beautiful and intricate jewelry, such as rings, bangles, chains, necklaces, and hair ornaments. Copper was also used to decorate weaponry. Knife handles were inlaid with copper designs, spear shafts were bound with fine copper wire, and shields were embellished with burnished copper nails. The ancient Egyptians also used copper for more practical purposes, such as water pipes.

Many examples of copper craftwork were preserved in ancient Egyptian tombs. Most of the surviving relics are made of cast copper. The Egyptians are commonly credited with inventing the lost-wax method of casting metal, which uses as a mold a beeswax model of the object to be cast. Molten liquid copper is then poured into the mold, and the metal is allowed to cool and harden. The mold fi-

nally is broken away to reveal the cast metal object, which is finished with a chisel and other hand tools.

Iron was being worked in Anatolia as early as 2000 BCE, and it soon became a valuable commodity, both in wrought bars and in such weapons as dagger blades and spears. Iron technology spread across Africa along with the BANTU LANGUAGES, but it was not until the first century CE that the smelting of iron was common throughout the continent.

Around 1000 BCE, ancient Egyptians also developed the technology for making elementary forms of steel. Hot iron was hammered to expel impurities. Then it was broken into pieces and heated with wood chips in clay containers until the pieces of iron absorbed carbon and melted. This converted it into steel. The steel pieces could be reheated and forged into bars for later use. There is evidence that East Africans began producing steel in carbon furnaces around 1400 BCE.

See also: LOST-WAX PROCESS (Vol. II).

metals Various opaque, malleable substances used to create durable tools, works of art, and other goods. Metals, especially COPPER, bronze, GOLD, and silver, were an essential part of Egyptian culture from the earliest dynasties onward. To a large extent, the civilization of ancient Egypt depended on these metals.

Most copper is not found in a usable form. Instead, copper usually has to be extracted from ore, such as the mineral malachite. (Ore is a mineral or aggregate of minerals from which a substance, usually a metal, can be extracted.) The Egyptians mined malachite, preferring it over other copper ores like azurite and cuprite because of the ease with which usable copper could be extracted from it. The Egyptians mined for copper in the Sinai Peninsula on such a large scale that it can be considered the first real industry of the ancient world

The Sumerian city-states were the first great metal-using civilization. The Sumerians traded up and down the Euphrates River, transporting copper from Armenia to the north. The Sumerian word for copper, *urudu,* is also used for the Euphrates, which was their "copper river."

The process of extracting copper from ore is known as smelting, and it requires a fire that is much hotter than a normal cooking fire. In order to achieve this intense heat, early metalsmiths had to design intricate bellows systems and special ovens. Smelting was also used to make bronze, an alloy, or mixture of metals, made from copper and tin. Bronze appeared between 3000 and 2500 BCE, beginning in the Tigris-Euphrates delta. Although it is possible that independent development of bronze occurred in different regions, it is more likely that the bronze culture spread through trade and migration, beginning in the Middle East and then moving on to Egypt, Europe, and possibly China.

Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc without tin, did not appear in Egypt until about 30 BCE, when it was rapidly adopted throughout the Roman world. Brass was especially valued for making coins.

The ability to work iron probably first emerged in the Near East, in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Several drops, special forges used to harden metal, have been found in Egypt and have been dated to about 3500 BCE.

See also: BRONZE AGE (Vol. I); METALLURGY (Vol. I).

Middle Kingdom (c. 2004–1840 BCE) Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties of ancient EGYPT. Following the period of decline known as the First Intermediate Period (c. 2213–c. 2040 BCE), the Eleventh Dynasty emerged as a powerful and unified force under the leadership of MENTUHOTEP II.

Founded by Amenemhet I (r. c. 1991–1950 BCE) the Twelfth Dynasty continued this period of prosperity. The dynasty included such notable pharaohs as Sesostris II and Amenemhet II and III, who oversaw Egypt as it regained the wealth, power, and glory that it had once had during the OLD KINGDOM. A hallmark of the era was the Egyptian conquest of NUBIA (c. 2000 BCE). By the 17th century BCE, however, the kingdom was in decline. This culminated in what has been come to be called the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1820–c. 1570 BCE), an era during which Egypt was dominated by the HYKSOS.

See also: NEW KINGDOM (Vol. I).

Further reading: Ian Shaw, ed., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000).

millet Edible cereal grain widely cultivated in Africa; altnernatively called *gero* and *acha*. Easy to cultivate and quick to grow, millet seeds are extracted from Poaceane grass and its many varieties. Similar to SORGHUM, millet seeds were domesticated in various regions of Africa as far back as the late STONE AGE, circa 18,000 BCE, and even earlier.

Pearl millet (*Pennisetum*), which originated in the western Sahel, is one of the heartiest types of this grain, and it comes from a variety of grass known to grow as tall as 10 feet (3.05 m). The early cultivation of pearl and bulrush millet has been linked to the inhabitants living on the border areas of the SAHARA DESERT. Archaeologists

have documented its use as far back as between the second and third millennium BCE, at a site known as Dhar Tichitt, where these crops were likely to have been planted in response to the growing impact of desiccation. Another variety of millet is known as eleusine (*Eleuisine coracana*). Described as a type of finger millet, it is indigenous to eastern Africa, particularly ETHIOPIA, where archaeologists have identified its cultivation in the former kingdom of AKSUM.

Ground into flour by women using stones, or *kerns,* millet is rich in protein and has a bitter, nutty taste. It has been traditionally cooked as porridge or used as a side dish with meats and stews. It also was fermented to make beer. The enduring popularity of millet in Africa stems from the variety it provides and its ability to flourish under extreme environmental circumstances, including drought.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. I).

Mokele-mbembe Giant mythological animal believed to live in West Africa. Its name comes from a Lingala word meaning "one that stops water." According to MBUTI lore, Mokele-mbembe has the body of an elephant, a long neck, one horn, three-toed claws, and an enormous tail. Although believed to be a vegetarian, Mokele-mbembe has been purported to attack HIPPOPOTAMUSES and small boats.

Mokele-mbembe is said to inhabit the swampy Likouala region of the present-day Republic of the CONGO, going on land only to travel or eat. Although proof of its existence has not been confirmed, some believe Mokele-mbembe to be closely related to sauropod dinosaurs. In recent times, the native people of Likouala, a region that has not changed much since the age of dinosaurs, have identified Mokele-mbembe with pictures of sauropod dinosaurs.

Mokele-mbembe is said to be between 16 and 32 feet (4.9 and 9.8 m) long, not including a neck between 5 and 10 feet (1.5 and 3 m) long, and a tail that is also between 5 and 10 feet (1.5 and 3 m) long. It is reputed to have reddish-brown skin and a ruffled hood of skin on its neck, like the comb of a male chicken. According to the Mbuti, Mokele-mbembe feeds mostly on the malombo plant. In the 20th century, a number of scientists attempted to confirm Mokele-mbembe's existence but were unable to do so.

Further reading: Rory Nugent, *Drums along the Congo: On the Trail of Mokele-Mbembe the Last Living Dinosaur* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993); Redmond O'Hanlon, *No Mercy: A Journey to the Heart of the Congo* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997).

money and currency Money developed independently in different parts of the world, eventually replacing barter as the principal means of trade. In ancient Africa there were several driving forces that spurred the development of common currencies. For example, rulers imposed taxes, and prospective bridegrooms were required to compensate the head of the bride's family for the loss of their daughter's services (this was called the BRIDE-WEALTH). Also, payments of tribute or sacrifices of one kind or another often were made to fulfill religious obligations. Many societies even had laws requiring people who committed crimes of violence to compensate their victims (or victims' families) in one way or another.

Types of Money To accomplish all this, ancient Africans, like people all over the world, experimented with different types of money. At first, commonly desired commodities were used. This *commodity money,* as it is called, had value independent of its value as money. By around 9000 BCE, African people were herding CATTLE and growing crops, and various African societies began to use both cattle and grain as commodity money.

COWRIE SHELLS and manillas were other common forms of money in ancient Africa. A type of mollusk shell found in the shallow waters of the Pacific and Indian oceans, cowries are both rare and beautiful. As a result they acquired a value that often led to their use as decorations and ornaments. They also were used as money, and they represent one of the most widely and longest-used currencies in history. Manillas, which are ornamental metallic objects worn as jewelry in West Africa, also were used as money for thousands of years.

Since the domestication of animals generally came before the cultivation of crops in ancient Africa, it is likely that cattle are the oldest form of African money.

Precious METALS, which had ornamental uses before they were adopted for use as money, served as currency in many ancient societies. As early as 2500 BCE, for example, the peoples of Mesopotamia were using silver as a means of payment. Similarly, Egyptian tomb paintings show gold rings being exchanged according to weight, indicating that these were being used as a type of currency. Precious metals in weighed quantities were a common form of money in ancient times; there was a gradual transition to the use of quantities that could be counted (such as coins) rather than weighed.

Money in Ancient Egypt The monetary history of ancient EGYPT appears to be based on AGRICULTURE. Egyptian farmers deposited their grain in local warehouses for safety and convenience. This practice eventually led to a vibrant banking industry.

When Egypt came under the rule of the PTOLEMIES (c. 305–c. 30 BCE), the traditional system of warehouse banking reached a new level of sophistication. The Ptolemies linked the regional warehouses into a network and established a central bank in ALEXANDRIA, where all the accounts were kept. Farmers continued to deposit their grain in local warehouses, but payments were now transferred from one account to another all over Egypt without any paper actually changing hands.

Grain banks continued to enable local transactions even after coins were introduced. However, in an effort to economize on the use of the precious metals that went into coins, the Egyptians used coins primarily for foreign purchases and for activities involving the military. (This was also a tacit recognition that grain deposited in a bank in Egypt would be of little use to a third party in Asia Minor.) Eventually, however, a metal-based monetary system replaced grain as a medium of exchange.

The Use of Gold   Gold eventually emerged as the preferred money, with virtually a universal appeal to peoples across the world. In addition to its aesthetic beauty, gold resists corrosion and does not change color as it ages. There are other characteristics that make gold suited to monetary transactions, including its associa-

Cowrie shells, one of the earliest forms of money in ancient Africa, were valued because they were beautiful and difficult to obtain. *© Chris Hellier/Corbis*

tions with magic, divinity, and the sun. For these and other reasons, gold ultimately became a common denominator and was generally accepted everywhere, unlike cattle, grain, salt, or cowrie shells, all of which had limited value outside of the local areas in which these commodities had appeal. As gold (and silver) money grew in popularity, other types of money were used less frequently.

Money was one of several criteria, along with owning livestock and the ability to mobilize militias, that enabled societies to increase in size and complexity. In western Africa, a number of kingdoms emerged, including GHANA and MALI, that depended on their control of the gold trade routes linking the land south of the SAHARA DESERT to North Africa and the world.

See also: GHANA EMPIRE (Vol. II); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

monkeys   With their intelligence and resemblance to human beings, monkeys have often attracted the attention of people in Africa. As a form of tribute, ancient Nubians would give monkeys to the Egyptians, who viewed these animals with great respect. In their mythology, African peoples often portrayed monkeys as servant guardians. To make crops grow, for example, the BAMANA carved masks representing the monkey. Among the Baule people, the Gbekre, a figure that was half-man and half-monkey, was a spirit that protected good people in the AFTERLIFE and punished the wicked ones. The Gbekre was often represented in the carved sculptures made by the Baule.

Monophysite   Referring to a fourth- and fifth-century theological controversy based on the belief that Jesus Christ has a single nature, which is divine; it is also known as Eutychianist, after the Greek monk Eutyches (c. 378–c. 454 CE), one of its early proponents. The beliefs of Monophysite theology were declared heretical by the Council of Chalcedon but remained a central tenet of the COPTIC Church.

The word *monophysite* is from two Greek words meaning "one nature." Belief in the single nature of Jesus Christ was strong among Coptic Christians, whose church was governed by the Patriarch of ALEXANDRIA, in Egypt. However, at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE, church leaders from the rival partriarchates of ROME and Constantinople upheld the church's traditional belief in two separate human and divine natures within Jesus Christ and declared the Monophysite belief heretical. The declaration of the council caused a schism, or split, within the church; some Coptic Christians submitted to the council's authority, but many broke with the council and set up an independent Coptic church with its own bishops and

clergy. Monophysite congregations continued to exist thereafter in EGYPT, Syria, and Mesopotamia.

See also: CHRISTIANITY (Vol. I, II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. I)

Further reading: W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge, U.K., University Press, 1972).

monotheism   Belief in a single supreme being. Along with pantheism, monotheism is one of two critical elements found in indigenous African RELIGION, thought, and philosophy. Molded to fit cultural identity, place of origin, and language, the same supreme being that was known as OLORUN among the YORUBA was called Mwari among the SHONA, or Chukwu in Igboland (in present-day NIGERIA). Numerous origin myths surround the concepts of these supreme beings, providing an important way for religious beliefs to be passed from generation to generation. Rituals that were performed on a daily or seasonal basis by community-based mediums, prophets, or priests served to reinforce these beliefs and concepts. These rituals often called for the use of special shrines and altars.

See also: AFTERLIFE (Vol. I); AKHENATEN (Vol. I); PANTHEISM (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Further reading: David Klinghoffer, *The Discovery of God: Abraham and the Birth of Monotheism* (New York: Doubleday, 2003); Jacob Neusner, *Three Faiths, One God: The Formative Faith and Practice of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002).

Morocco   Present-day North African country, about 279,400 square miles (723,600 sq km) in size, that is bordered by ALGERIA, WESTERN SAHARA, and the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. The name *Morocco* derives from Marrakech, the first of four imperial capitals established by the Almoravids in the middle of the 11th century.

The original people of present-day Morocco were the BERBERS, who inhabited the region as long ago as the second millennium BCE. Like much of North Africa, the area fell under the influence of Phoenicia, when, as early as the 12th century BCE, the PHOENICIANS established trading posts along Africa's Mediterranean coast. From these posts there eventually developed an empire that stretched from North Africa to the Iberian Peninsula—an empire that was dominated by CARTHAGE (near present-day TUNISIA). The fall of Carthage in 146 BCE left the area under the control of ROME.

Roman rule lasted for more than 500 years, coming to an end when the VANDALS invaded North Africa in 429 CE. This was followed, beginning in 533, by a period during which Morocco was under the control of the Byzan-tine Empire. Ultimately, however, Morocco was swept up in the Islamic invasions of the seventh century, and the area fell to Arabic-speaking Muslims, in 682.

See also: ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vols. I, II); MOROCCO (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Thomas Kerlin Park, *Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996).

Mozambique   Country located in southeastern Africa bordered by SOUTH AFRICA and SWAZILAND to the south, ZIMBABWE and ZAMBIA to the west, and MALAWI and TANZANIA to the north. Mozambique covers 297,800 square miles (771,300 sq km) and has a 1,750-mile (2,816-km) coastline on the Indian Ocean. While the coastal regions are generally low-lying, the elevation in the central and northwestern areas of the interior rises to 5,000 feet (1,524 m), with several higher points. The ZAMBEZI RIVER and the LIMPOPO RIVER flow through Mozambique to the Indian Ocean, and Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa) forms the border with Malawi.

As early as 2 million years ago, HUNTER-GATHERERS were living in present-day Mozambique. About 2,000 years ago Bantu-speaking peoples began migrating into the area in small groups, intermarrying with the local populations amd bringing iron technology to the region. As the population grew and spread, coastal urban centers arose, eventually growing into trading ports like the one at Sofala. Merchants at these ports participated in the Indian Ocean trade.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); MOZAMBIQUE (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SOFALA (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: Mario Joaquim Azevedo, Historical Dictionary of Mozambique (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2003); Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1995).

mummy   For the ancient Egyptians, the mummification process, by which the body of a dead person was preserved prior to burial, was closely linked to their religious beliefs concerning the AFTERLIFE. The process began with the ritual cleaning of the corpse. An incision was made into the side of the corpse, and the vital organs were removed, treated with preservatives, and placed in special jars. The body was then placed on an embalming table and covered with dessicating (drying) preservatives. After 40 days the corpse was wrapped in linen bandages. In all it took 70 days for a body to be properly mummified.

Although some mummies of ancient EGYPT were destroyed over the centuries by robbers, many still exist, some dating back 5,000 years. The best-preserved mummies usually belong to pharaohs, who had elaborate funerals and burials. Mummies of some of the later

African music is often discussed in three broad categories by musicologists. Movement, for example, has always been an essential part of music, and in many societies, song is inseparable from DANCE. Timing is another category that has been discussed by musicologists because it provides African music with a distinctive flavor and a cohesive element that allows for the layering of complex polyrhythmic patterns. Tonality is the last category, and it includes natural harmony and pitch levels akin to human speech. The YORUBA of present-day NIGERIA, for example, use a polyphonic tone that reflects their own language patterns. The resulting sound has dual or overlapping melodies and is viewed as a unique art form. In some societies, music substitutes for speech and is punctuated by movement or facial expressions that may be used to educate or to entertain.

Evidence of how long music has been present in Africa comes from one of the oldest surviving relics from ancient times, a rock painting made in Tassili-n-Ajer in present-day ALGERIA. This painting depicts music and dance styles that some sources say are comparable to modern movements. Archaeologists note that this scene dates back to the time of Africa's Neolithic hunters (c. 6000 to c. 4000 BCE). An early form of a harp with six strings has been depicted on a rock painting, dated circa 700 BCE, uncovered in the SAHARA DESERT. The instrument was apparently in common use when the painting was made.

This harp and its many variations belong to the category of African instruments known collectively as *chordophones,* which included simple music bows in ancient times and, in later periods, harps, lutes, and zithers. Another category of instrument that is common in Africa but varies among regions is the *aerophone*. Included are such instruments as reeds, bullroarers, flutes, horns, and oboes. Their use is sometimes practical. In Lesotho, for example, herders use a *lesiba,* or mouth bow, to graze their CATTLE. *Membranophones* encompass primarily DRUMS in various forms, such as the ones depicted in terra-cotta in the ancient Yoruba city of IFE. Drums were often associated with the royal court and were used to accompany unique praise-songs. They were also used for announcements concerning the king or queen and the society over which they ruled. *Indiophones* are rhythmic instruments such as rattles or bells and include *lamellophones* like the *mbira,* or thumb piano, which was reportedly used in religious rites and SPIRIT POSSESSION dances, as well as for entertainment. The human voice has always been considered one of the greatest of all instruments in Africa.

Like instrumental music, songs have often been described as multilevel or polyrhythmic in structure. Some songs held central or controlling themes while relying on repetitive phrases. RELIGION undoubtedly influenced music since it has played an integral role in nearly all RITES OF PASSAGE from birth to the grave. Music was also influenced by community, and among the most notable features of

The mummified body of Ramesses II (r. 1304–1237 BCE) is located in the Mummy Room at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. © Richard T. Nowitz/Corbis

pharaohs are so well preserved that it is possible to determine some of the pharaohs' medical problems. For example, scholars have learned from the mummy of RAMESSES II that the king suffered from both poor circulation and arthritis. Originally, only kings were mummified, but later their courtiers were also preserved to serve the kings in the afterlife. Sacred animals, such as cats, DOGS, and hawks, also were embalmed.

music African music has often been described as highly innovative. Its wide diversity and inherent power reportedly stem from the keen ability of early societies to translate the sounds of the natural world into a vital social framework. These efforts form the underlying structure of African music and impart a unique vitality that lends itself to improvisational patterns.

African music are the call and response associated with vocal skills or instruments. This style of music may have derived from the simple "call and response" of pastoralists, agriculturists, or other workers in the ancient world.

See also: FUNERAL CUSTOMS (Vol. I); GRIOT (Vol. II); MUSIC (Vols. II, III, IV, V); THUMB PIANO (Vol. II).

Further reading: Robert B. Fisher, *West African Religious Traditions* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1998); Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., *The Power of Black Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

N

Naga, temples at Great center of worship in the steppe-country south of MEROË. Among the key figures in the construction of the complex were King Natakamani (r. c. 15 BCE–c. 15 CE) and his coruler Queen AMANITARE (c. 12 BCE–c. 12 CE), who were among the greatest builders in the Meroitic Period. Their names have been found on many monuments, including the eight temples they constructed at Naga. Among these is the Temple of AMUN, built for the high god worshiped by Egyptians and Nubians alike. This temple, despite its recognizable Meroitic features, appears to have been influenced by both Roman and Egyptian ARCHITECTURE, the latter of which is particularly evident in its decorated entrance.

The most famous temple at Naga, however, is the Temple of the Lions, with its impressive wall reliefs paying tribute to APEDEMAK, the warrior god of Kushite origin. (See photo on facing page.) Lions played an important, though presently uncertain, role in the religious ceremonies of royal officials at Meroë. Other Kushite gods were immortalized at Naga as well.

King Natakamani and Queen Amanitare's efforts resulted in the last of the great construction projects during the Meroitic period. Several of their temples have survived into the modern era.

See also: KUSH (Vol I.); NUBIA (Vol I.).

Further reading: Stanley Burstein, ed., *Ancient African Kingdoms: Kush and Axum* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1998); Pamela F. Service, *The Ancient African Kingdom of Kush* (Pelham, N.Y.: Benchmark Books, 1998).

Namibia Mineral-rich country located in southwest Africa on the Atlantic Ocean. The German colony of South West Africa from 1884 to 1915, Namibia measures 318,300 square mile (824,400 sq km) in area and has a mostly arid and semiarid climate. It is bordered by ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, and SOUTH AFRICA. The most influential groups in Namibia include the Ovambo (who make up about 50 percent of the population), the Herero, and Nama, as well as Afrikaner and German minorities.

The land of Namibia is dry because its weather patterns bring rain from the faraway Indian Ocean on the other coast. The monsoon patterns of the Indian Ocean send rain across the Drakensburg Mountains as they pass from the east to the west depositing rain in present-day South Africa. By the time they reach the western portion of present-day Botswana and Namibia, the rains are all but nonexistent. Consequently these lands are marked by the Namib Desert, on the coast, and KALAHARI DESERT, in the interior. The sand dunes of the Namib Desert rise 500 feet (152 m) over the beach and the coastline. Because of its forbidding coastline, early European explorers bypassed the region. However, they could not escape its dangers. The nearby Humbolt current parallels the coast, bringing icy water up from the Antarctic Ocean, producing fog along this coast. Later, the coast was called the "Skeleton Coast" because of all the shipwrecks caused by the fog.

The region's earliest inhabitants were probably the SAN, who settled in the area as early as 8000 BCE. The San extended family organization allowed them to adapt to the severe landscape. The San later converged with the Khoi peoples to form the ethnic groups known as the Khoikhoi. The Khoikhoi raised livestock and were pottery makers. By 500 CE Nama herders moved into the region, documenting their lives there with their ROCK ART.

On the wall of the first-century BCE Temple of the Lions at Naga, in present-day Republic of the Sudan, the lion-headed god Apedemak is depicted receiving offering. © *Paul Almasy/Corbis*

See also: KHOIKHOI (Vols. II, III); NAMA (Vols. III, IV); NAMIBIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SOUTH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Naqadah I and II Two early cultures of predynastic EGYPT dating roughly from 4200 to 3050 BCE; named for the town in UPPER EGYPT in which artifacts from these cultures were first excavated. Also known as the AMRATIAN and GERZEAN cultures, respectively, the Naqadah I and II periods followed the earlier BADARIAN CULTURE in Upper Egypt. Excavations have revealed advanced cultures that apparently possessed skills such as POTTERY making and mud-brick architecture.

The Naqadah I, or Amratian period (c. 4200 BCE), was clearly influenced by the Badarian culture, which was the earliest known Egyptian civilization to farm, hunt, and mine. Like the Badarians, the people of Naqadah I based their economy on AGRICULTURE, hunt-

ing, FISHING, and CATTLE raising. Unlike the Badarians, however, the people of the Naqadah I period lived in fairly large settlements, usually in homes made out of mud-brick.

The pottery of this era also was more highly developed, usually featuring black-topped red or dark red burnished ware. Whereas Badarian pottery was decorated with simple bands of paint, the Naqadah I artisans used geometric designs and pictures of animals on their ceramics, either painted on or carved into their surfaces. One well-known fragment shows a drawing of a RED CROWN, the earliest known representation of the red pharaonic crown of Upper Egypt.

The Naqadah II, or Gerzean, period dates back to 3400 BCE and was a further development of the Naqadah I period. This culture was based around Naqadah and HIERAKONPOLIS in Upper Egypt and Sayala in NUBIA. Artifacts from this period include pottery made from buff-colored desert clay decorated in dark red paint, a tube-shaped drill used for stonecutting, and flint knives. Naqadah II culture also developed irrigation systems and traded with people from other regions. The presence of foreign materials like lapis lazuli indicates that trade was conducted with places as faraway as present-day Afghanistan.

As the Naqadah II culture developed, displays of wealth increased. In particular, graves became increasingly elaborate and featured remarkable vases made of stones that came from remote areas of the Eastern Desert. The tombs also included large ceremonial knives as well as cosmetic palettes decorated with elaborate designs in the form of animals, birds, or fish.

Around this time, pictographic writing first appeared and was inscribed on pottery, slate palettes, and stone. These objects usually bore the iconography of the earliest known line of pharaohs. The pottery indicates that late in the Naqadah II period (c. 3200 BCE), a dominant political force was already beginning to form the first united kingdom of ancient Egypt. The resulting dynastic culture, which followed the Naqadah II period, was heavily influenced by its predecessor.

Narmer Palette Slate tablet dating from the First Dynasty (c. 3050–c. 2988 BCE) that depicts the legendary Egyptian king Narmer uniting EGYPT. The tablet, measuring about 25 inches (63.5 cm) tall, was discovered in HIERANKOPOLIS, the capital of Egypt during predynastic times. It is hypothesized that the palette was originally used as a table on which cosmetics were pulverized. The engraving shows Narmer defeating his enemies and creating one state from UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT. On one side of the palette, Narmer is shown wearing the WHITE CROWN of Upper Egypt and on the other the RED CROWN of Lower Egypt.

The palette depicts Narmer as a powerful figure. Near the top, he is associated with bulls. Further below he is portrayed in a procession, passing in front of the decapitated corpses of ten enemies, lying on the ground with their heads between their legs. Over the corpses, a ship is drawn that contains a harpoon and a falcon. These images are believed to symbolize a conquered region in Lower Egypt. On the back of the palette Narmer is shown ready to strike a foe, whom he is grabbing by the hair.

Some scholars believe that Narmer was MENES, the king traditionally associated with Egypt's unification circa 3050 BCE. Since the unification might have taken place over several generations, though, other scholars speculate that the figure of Narmer represents several kings, including his probable successor, Aha.

Nefertiti (Nefer-Nefer-Aten) (c. 1402–c. 1367 BCE)
Queen of ancient Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty and "Great Royal Wife" of Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV)

Nefertiti played a prominent role as Akhenaten's queen. Along with her husband, she frequently presided over the rites connected with the worship of the god ATEN. The Aten rites represented radical changes in Egypt's state religion of the time and are sometimes referred to, collectively, as the AMARNA PERIOD, or the Amarna Revolution. Depictions of Nefertiti participating in the cult's religious observances were part of the temples at el-Amarna, the new capital that Nerfertiti and AKHENATEN (r. c. 1379–c. 1364 BCE) established for the cult. In the service of the new religion, Nefertiti was renamed Nefer-Nefru-Aten, meaning "Beautiful is the Beauty of Aten."

However important a role Nefertiti may have played in the early years of Akhenaten's reign, it appears that, by the 12th year, she had fallen into obscurity or died. At that time, one of her daughters, Merytaten, assumed the role of Akhenaten's principal wife. There is evidence that Nefertiti was buried in the royal tomb at Amarna, but her remains have never been found.

Renowned as a great beauty in her own time, Nefertiti's fame grew with the discovery of a painted limestone bust that is now in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, Germany. Dramatically depicting Nefertiti's graceful and delicate features, the statue is one of the most familiar of the Egyptian art treasures to have survived from that period.

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Nekhbet Vulture-goddess of ancient Egyptian mythology. In Egyptian ART Nekhbet was often portrayed as a vulture or as a woman with a vulture's head, wearing the WHITE CROWN of UPPER EGYPT.

Nekhbet was the protector of the kings of Upper Egypt, often portrayed with her wings spread above the pharaoh, and she was often associated with the cobra-goddess, BUTO. Together they guarded the pharaoh and symbolized a united Egypt.

Nekhbet was also a goddess of childbirth and was said to be present at the births of gods and kings. In ancient times she was worshiped in al-Kab and in HIER-AKONPOLIS (also known as Nekhen), on the west bank of the NILE RIVER.

See also: VULTURES (Vol. I).

Neolithic Age Period that witnessed the advent of a series of sophisticated and specialized stone tools. The era most likely began shortly after the area comprising the present-day SAHARA DESERT began to dry up, beginning about 8000 BCE. In addition to stone-ground and polished tools, other innovations of the Neolithic Age included the invention of baskets and POTTERY, which took place by about 2000 BCE. These new creations allowed people to store and transport goods. Another innovation—permanent huts for shelter—came at about the same time. Perhaps the most important advance, however, was the discovery that animals could be domesticated and seeds could be planted and cultivated. This helped transform HUNTER-GATHERERS into herders and farmers.

As a result of these innovations, Africans were no longer limited to small bands that seasonally trekked through the wilderness in search of wild animals, wild plants, and water. Larger, more sophisticated and organized settlements could now be located close to bodies of water. Likewise, FOOD could be preserved both for human consumption and for the feeding of livestock. In short, life could be sustained year-round, usually without fear of drought or flood.

These changes led to larger concentrations of people, which meant that some people could be assigned to such tasks as producing pottery or baskets. Others could take on the jobs of making weapons and tools, administering justice, running the government, or making war. Along with the Neolithic invention of writing and the discovery of methods for smelting metal ores, these developments would forever change of mankind, allowing civilizations to emerge in Africa and in many other regions of the world.

See also: AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION (Vol. I); AGRICULTURE (Vol. I); STONE AGE (Vol. I).

Further reading: Felix Charmi, Gilbert Pwiti, and Chantal Radimilahy, *People, Contact and the Environment in the African Past* (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: DUP, 2001); Mike Parker Pearson, ed., *Food, Culture and Identity in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age* (Oxford, U.K.: Archaeopress, 2003); Konrad Spindler, *The Man in the Ice: The Preserved Body of a Neolithic Man Reveals the Secrets of the Stone Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994).

New Kingdom (c. 1570–1070 BCE) Following the glories of the MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–1668 BCE), EGYPT entered a period of decline and foreign domination known as the Second Intermediate Period, which lasted from approximately 1650 to 1575 BCE. The emergence of the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, saw the re-emergence of a revitalized Egypt, during which the Egyptians drove out the HYKSOS, who had dominated them since the end of the Middle Kingdom. This coincided with a realignment of the forces within Egypt's state religion that brought to the forefront the god AMUN. As the New Kingdom went on, Egypt expanded its territories in Asia, eventually, under the pharaoh Thutmose III, reaching the banks of the Euphrates River. The period also saw Egypt's renewed influence in the lands to the south, as it reestablished control over KUSH and Nubia.

The New Kingdom was also marked by what has become known as the AMARNA PERIOD, during which the pharaoh Amenhotep IV changed his name to AKHENATEN and attempted a wholesale transformation of Egyptian religious life. This included everything from the institution of an entirely new state religion based upon monotheistic principles to the movement of the seat of governmental power from Thebes to el-Amarna, 300 miles (480 km) to the north.

Akhenaten's actions, which took place during the mid-14th century BCE, plunged the nation into unrest, which, despite the era's many artistic achievements, doomed the Amarna experiment. The turmoil was quelled only upon Akhenaten's death and the succession of the young king TUTANKHAMUN, who began the process of reinstituting the traditional Egyptian religion. This process was continued by HOREMHEB, the last of the dynasty's kings.

The New Kingdom managed to survive for several hundred more years, flourishing under such noted rulers as RAMESSES II and the other warrior-kings and monument builders of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Ultimately, however, like the OLD KINGDOM before it, the New Kingdom fell victim to strife between ambitious officials and priests, and the nation fell into disarray.

Further reading: G. P. F. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration of the New Kingdom* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1988); Lynn Meskell, *Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002); Joyce A. Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2001).

Niger Landlocked country covering approximately 458,100 square miles (1,186,500 sq km) of mostly arid territory in eastern West Africa. Today Niger is bordered to the north by ALGERIA and LIBYA, to the east by CHAD, to the south by NIGERIA and the Republic of BENIN, and to the west by BURKINA FASO and the Republic of MALI.

Prior to the NEOLITHIC AGE (beginning c. 8000 BCE), the Niger region was relatively wet, very unlike the inhospitable climate that exists there today. Rock paintings and etchings of animals made by hunting and pastoralist peoples have been found at numerous sites in the desert areas of Niger. One expertly rendered sandstone engraving, discovered in 1997, is of a giraffe nearly 18 feet (5.5 m) tall, and more than 800 smaller etchings have been found, as well. In the first century CE, Roman expeditions from the northern provinces crossed the Sahara and explored the Aïr Massif region but did not develop any settlements. Since the Sahara was becoming increasingly dry, few permanent settlements were established until the fifth century CE, when TUAREGS probably began moving into the region. Within a few centuries the Tuaregs were dominating the emerging trans-Saharan caravan routes.

See also: NIGER (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Niger-Congo languages One of the four major families of African languages. Niger-Congo is comprised of more than 900 separate languages and is the most widely distributed of all the African LANGUAGE families and is spoken in all parts of the continent. Most of the indigenous languages of Central and southern Africa belong to the Niger-Congo family. Speakers of Niger-Congo languages cover an area that stretches through virtually all of West Africa south of the SAHARA DESERT—from SENEGAL to SOUTH AFRICA. In addition, migration of Niger-Congo peoples brought this language family as far as eastern and southern Africa. The Niger-Congo family includes six related branches: West Atlantic, Mande, Gur, Kwa, Benue-Congo, and Adamawa-Eastern.

Languages in the West Atlantic branch include Wolof, spoken in Senegal; Temne, a language of SIERRA LEONE; and FULA, a language spread by NOMADS south of the Sahara from Senegal to present-day CHAD, though primarily in present-day NIGERIA and GUINEA. The best-known Mande languages are Mende, a Liberian tongue, and Malinke, of MALI, as well as languages spoken along the valley of the NIGER RIVER and in Sierra Leone. The Gur, or Voltaic, branch of the Niger-Congo family includes Mossi, a Burkina Faso tongue, as well as Dagomba and Mamprusi, languages from northern GHANA. The best known of the Kwa tongues are YORUBA and ASHANTI.

The BANTU LANGUAGES, spoken throughout Central and southern Africa are the best known of the Benue-Congo languages. Others include Tiv, Jukun, and Efik, which is spoken in Nigeria and CAMEROON. The Adamawa-Eastern branch includes Banda, Zande, and Shango, spoken primarily in Nigeria and Cameroon.

Kordofanian, the primary group of languages of southern Kordofan (the central sudanic belt), is often classified as a seventh branch of the Niger-Congo family. Made up of about 30 languages, classified in five small groups (Koalib, Tegali, Talodi, Tumtum, and Katla), the Kordofanian is considered by some linguists to be a completely separate language family.

Like many African tongues, Niger-Congo languages employ different tones to indicate shades of meaning. Nouns are divided not just according to gender (masculine, feminine, or neuter), as in many Indo-European languages, but according to as many as twenty classes—for example, human beings, liquids, and animals. Each noun class employs a unique pair of affixes (i.e., suffixes or prefixes) to indicate singular or plural. Verbs consist of a verb root, which seldom changes, with attached particles or auxiliary verbs used to denote tense or mood. (The use of the infinitive, for example, indicates the future tense in many Niger-Congo languages.)

Like most African languages, the Niger-Congo group has maintained ORAL TRADITIONS. With the significant exceptions of Swahili (a major Bantu tongue) and Vai—a Mande tongue that developed an indigenous script during the modern era—the Niger-Congo languages remained entirely unwritten until quite recently. Similarities between the Niger-Congo tongues and members of the family of NILO-SAHARAN LANGUAGES suggest that these two families may share the same ancestor language.

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Niger Delta Largest river delta in Africa. Located in NIGERIA, the delta covers about 150 miles (241 km) of coastline and extends over about 14,000 square miles (22,531 sq km). The delta lies at an elevation of 500 feet (152 m) below sea level. It is made up primarily of mangrove swamps, which join with freshwater swamps to the north. It is through a series of channels in the Niger Delta that the Niger River flows into the Gulf of Guinea.

At the town of Lokoja the Niger merges with its main tributary, the BENUE RIVER. Together, they form a stretch of river measuring 2 miles (3 km) in width. At Aboh the river separates into a network of channels (known as rivers) within the delta. The Nun River is considered the Niger River's most direct link. Among other important channels are the Forcados, the Brass, the Sambreiro, and the Bonny. Sandbars block almost all the mouths of these channels. Because the palm trees that produce oil-bearing kernels grow abundantly in the region, the Europeans later referred to these channels of the delta as the "Oil Rivers."

A boat crosses the Niger River at the present-day town of Mopti in Mali. © *Nik Wheeler/Corbis*

Further reading: C. M. Sorgwe, *A Textbook of Niger Delta History: from Earliest Times to the Present* (Oyo State, Nigeria: Rescue Publications, 1997); E. J. Alagoa, F. N. Anozie, and Nwanna Nzewunwa, eds., *The Early History of the Niger Delta* (Hamburg: H. Buske, 1988).

Niger River Main river in West Africa and the third-longest river on the continent after the NILE RIVER and CONGO RIVER. It flows about 2,600 miles (4,184 km) through present-day Republic of MALI, NIGER, and NIGERIA to the Gulf of Guinea.

The Niger River flows in a northeasterly direction, rising in present-day GUINEA about 150 miles (241.4 km) from the Atlantic Ocean. It receives its upper tributaries—the Mafou, the Niandan, the Milo, the Sankarani, and the Tinkisso—before entering Mali. Past Bamako, Mali's modern capital, the river drops about 1,000 feet (305 m), within 40 miles (65 km), into a valley. The rapids of this section have been submerged in the backed-up waters of the Sotuba Dam near Sansanding.

From here the Niger flows about 1,000 miles (1,610 km) in an east-northeastward direction. At Mopti, it is joined by a main tributary, the Bani, then flows into a region of lakes and creeks known as the INLAND NIGER DELTA. The largest lake in this region is Lake Faguibine, which is almost 75 miles (121 km) long, 15 miles (24 km) wide, and more than 160 feet (49 m) deep in places.

The lake region ends at Kaburu, a major port in TIMBUKTU. Here the river runs in an almost eastward direction. It then narrows at a rocky ridge before moving in a southeastward direction and widening to a floodplain that flows through Gao. This is the northernmost bend of the river, running through the southern edge of the SAHARA DESERT.

From Jebba, in Nigeria, the river flows southeastward through a broad, shallow valley. Soon afterward it is joined by two important tributaries, the Kaduna River and the BENUE RIVER. Once joined with the Benue, the Niger opens to a 2-mile (3.2-km) wide stretch that is occasionally interrupted by small islands and sandbanks. At the city of Aboh the Niger breaks off into many branches, moving through the Niger Delta into the Gulf of Guinea.

The river passes through such diverse vegetation as grasslands, rain forests, and swamps. Among the wildlife living in and along the Niger are HIPPOPOTAMUSES, three

different types of CROCODILES, HERONS, and storks. The average rainfall along the Niger varies from more than 160 inches (406 cm) in the NIGER DELTA to less than 10 inches (25 cm) in Timbuktu. Depending on the region the annual flood season occurs at different times of the year. In upper Niger the river floods in June. In the middle Niger flooding first occurs between July and October, and is known as the "white flood" because of the light sediment in the water. The "black flood" occurs in December, when the water is carrying more sediment from upstream.

For thousands of years the Niger River has served as a key source of irrigation, fish, and transportation for humans. Between the fourth century BCE and the second century CE the NOK CULTURE, the earliest known people of Nigeria, lived on the JOS PLATEAU, the area above where the Niger and the Benue join.

See also: NIGER EXPEDITIONS (Vol. III); NIGER RIVER (Vol. III).

Nigeria Large West African country, some 356,700 square miles (923,900 sq km) in size, located on the Atlantic Ocean coast. Today Nigeria is bounded by CHAD, CAMEROON, NIGER, and the Republic of BENIN. The dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria are the Fulani-speaking Hausa in the north, the YORUBA in the southwest, and the IGBO in the southeast, near the NIGER DELTA.

The geography of present-day Nigeria varies from the tropical rain forests on the coast to forest, savanna, and an interior sahel. The area was sparsely populated by HUNTER-GATHERERS and farming peoples who had domesticated plants and animals by around 2000 BCE. From about 800 BCE to 200 CE the Neolithic NOK CULTURE lived on the JOS PLATEAU, where they left remains that included fine terra-cotta sculptures and remnants of an iron-producing culture. By the beginning of the second millennium the Nok had virtually disappeared.

See also: NIGERIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Nile Delta Marshy, alluvial plain in northern EGYPT where the NILE RIVER empties into the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. In ancient times, the Nile split into at least seven smaller channels just north of the city of CAIRO. As long ago as 4000 BCE farmers cultivated the borders of this marshland, which contained exceptionally fertile soil.

By pharaonic times (c. 3000 BCE) farming dominated the area, and, by the time of the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–c. 1070 BCE), the cultivated area of the delta exceeded the area of the entire Nile Valley. During ancient times, the arms of the Nile River were named the Pelusiac, the Tanitic, the Mendesian, the Phatnitic, the Sebennyic, the Bolbitine, and the Canopic. Today, because of heavy cultivation and a changing climate in the area, there are only two arms, the Damietta and the Rosetta.

Further reading: Robert O. Collins, *The Nile* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002).

Nile River World's longest river, located in northeastern Africa. Measuring about 4,150 (6,677 km) long, the Nile is one of only two rivers in the world that flow from south to north from twin sources: the WHITE NILE in UGANDA and the BLUE NILE IN ETHIOPIA. Described by geologists as an "exotic stream," the Nile travels for 2,000 miles (3,218 km) across the desert to KHARTOUM, where the two tributaries meet above the Shabluka Gorge. The Nile continues its route through present-day Republic of the SUDAN, where it is joined by a third tributary, the Atbara River. Eventually the Nile empties into the MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

Over thousands of years the erosion caused by the powerful ebb and flow of the Nile created the narrow corridor known as the NILE VALLEY. The rise of Nile Valley civilizations such as Nubia (KUSH) and EGYPT was largely documented in Egyptian sources and the writings of ancient Greek and Roman travelers. From a geographical perspective, Egypt's location between the Eastern and Western deserts made it the beneficiary of fertile alluvium carried by the river during its journey north. As early as 6000 BCE Nile Valley inhabitants were cultivating food crops, including SORGHUM, and MILLET. People planted seeds in the mud and dirt left behind when the floodwaters receded.

Over time the Egyptians experimented with other agricultural techniques, and their efforts led to the establishment of settled farms by 5000 BCE. This allowed people to supplement their hunting-and-gathering activities with the cultivation of other crops such as clover, wheat, beans, cotton, corn, and rice.

The Nile influenced the creation of the world's earliest CALENDAR. The first season of the year was called *akhett,* named for the floodwaters that began to rise and saturate the fields for four months at a time. The next season, *peret,* was named for the receding waters. The third and last season of the year was known as *shemou,* or the harvest.

The seasonal cycle of the flooding and receding of the Nile River repeated itself for thousands of years until the Aswan Dam was completed, in 1970. The dam allowed the flooding of the Nile to be controlled, assuring sufficient water for irrigation and other purposes in both Egypt and the Sudan.

Ancient Egyptians noted each year that Sothis, or Sirius—the largest star in the constellation Canis Major—would rise on the horizon just before Nile's waters would

swell. Therefore, the early study of astronomy was directed, to a great extent, toward predicting the timing and the causes of the rising of the Nile in order to prevent the disastrous effects of flooding.

Irrigation and Agriculture along the Nile In addition to the calendar and astronomy, life along the Nile prompted the development of other technologies and sciences. The Egyptians became experts in irrigation, building dikes, dams, and canals in order to protect and water their fields. Before the invention of irrigation, people typically gathered food as it grew in the wild. By about 5000 BCE, however, effective irrigation techniques were widespread. The river was particularly well suited to this since it descends at a gradual pitch of 5 inches per mile (13 cm/mi).

King MENES, the legendary Egyptian ruler who supposedly unified UPPER and LOWER EGYPT in about 3000 BCE, was credited with improving Nile irrigation with the construction of canals. According to tradition, he asked his engineers and laborers to redirect the course of the river and build his capitol of MEMPHIS on the land where the Nile River had run. By 2000 BCE, after more than a thousand years of developing basin irrigation, both sides of the Nile River featured intricate patterns of basins, dikes, levees, canals, and sluices.

Under this system the fields on the Nile floodplain were divided into great basins by earth embankments. The largest basin may have covered as much as 50,000 acres (20,235 ha). A system of high-water canalization carried the water from the Nile at flooding time to the basins through a series of dikes, levees, and feeder canals. Feeder canals connected the river to the basins, typically filling by mid-August, a few weeks before the river crested. After about 40 days of filling, the entrance was unblocked, allowing the water to fill the lower basins. The water soaked the ground and the rich layer of silt and soil from the river settled onto the land. In October, as the Nile floodwaters receded, water was drained out of the basins into discharge canals, which fed the water back to the river.

Drainage was important to Nile irrigation, and the Egyptians were known to have built underground drainpipes made of COPPER by about 2500 BCE. The refinement of drainage pipes led Egyptians to produce clay pipes that were used to drain the lower areas of the Nile valley.

As a result of irrigating the Nile River, Egyptians were able to support a growth in population, which led to the development of urban areas and civilization in general. Those areas of Africa that had not yet discovered irrigation, and where the climate or land did not lend itself to farming, experienced little population growth as people continued to hunt and gather for subsistence.

Other notable aspects concerning the Nile include its impact on religious belief. The deity HATHOR came to represent the rising waters of the Nile as a symbol of fertility;

Hapi represented the actual flood or inundation. Equally important was the Nile's role in international trade, linking Egypt and Nubia to the RED SEA trade and the lands to the south and east of the African continent.

See also: ASWAN DAM (Vols. IV, V); LAKES AND RIVERS (Vol. I).

Further reading: Haggai Erlich and Israel Gershoni, eds., *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000); P. P. Howell and J. A. Allen, eds., *The Nile: A Historical and Technical Review of Water Management and Economic and Legal Issues* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1994); A. Jeffrey Spencer, *Early Egypt: The Rise of Civilization in the Nile Valley* (London: British Museum Press, 1993).

Nile Valley   Region where the Egyptian civilization began to develop from aproximately 3500 to 3000 BCE. Because of the annual flooding of the NILE RIVER, the land on either side of the river is exceptionally fertile. Intensive cultivation of the Nile Valley has sustained the population of the Egypt for almost 5,000 years.

Further reading: Haggai Erlich and Israel Gershoni, eds., *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000); Béatrix Midant-Reynes, *The Prehistory of Egypt from the First Egyptians to the First Pharaohs* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); A. Jeffrey Spencer, *Early Egypt: The Rise of Civilization in the Nile Valley* (London: British Museum Press, 1993)

Nilo-Saharan languages   One of the four major African LANGUAGE FAMILIES. Nilo-Saharan has been spoken in nearly all parts of the continent, from the SAHARA DESERT southward to present-day Democratic Rebublic of the CONGO and TANZANIA, as well as among some pastoral peoples in eastern Africa. The wide dispersal of the speakers of Nilo-Saharan languages has made this family difficult to study and classify. Linguists have nonetheless identified six branches of the Nilo-Saharan family: Songhai, Saharan, Maban, Furian, Koman, and Chari-Nile.

Like the family of NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES, most Nilo-Saharan tongues traditionally use tones to differentiate meaning. Also like the Niger-Congo family, the Nilo-Saharan languages remained largely unwritten oral tongues (with the important exception of the Nubian language) until modern-day attempts at transcription using the Arabic and Roman ALPHABETS AND SCRIPTS.

These similarities to the Niger-Congo family of languages suggest that these two families may share a common ancestor language. Yet unlike the Niger-Congo languages, some Nilo-Saharan tongues use inflection to indicate the case of nouns, some have gender classifications for nouns, and many feature conjugation of verbs—characteristics that

mark the Nilo-Saharan tongues as unique among African language families.

Further reading: M. Lionel Bender, *The Nilo-Saharan Languages* (Munich: Lincom Europa, 1996); Christopher Ehret, *A Historical-comparative Reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan* (Cologne, Germany: R. Köppe Verlag, 2001).

Nilotes A people of the Late IRON AGE who were pastoralists in southern Sudan and who, beginning about 200 BCE, migrated to various areas of eastern Africa. There they mixed with the indigenous peoples and formed new cultural groups. The languages of the original Nilotes belonged to the Nilo-Saharan group, and they organized their societies on the basis of kinship. Nomadic pastoralists, they moved with their herds or flocks.

See also: NILOTES (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: Audrey Butt, *The Nilotes of the Sudan and Uganda* (London: International African Institute, 1964).

Nilotic languages Term used to describe the languages of the peoples originating along the NILE VALLEY in northeastern Africa. Nilotic language speakers were primarily CATTLE herders inhabiting the grasslands and plateaus of the Great Lakes region in central East Africa.

See also: LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I); NILO-SAHARAN LANGUAGES (Vol. I); NILOTES (Vol. I).

Further reading: Bureng G. V. Nyombe, *The Sudanic and Nilotic Languages* (Florida Hills, Fla.: Vivlia, 1998).

Ninetjer (Nynetjer) (r. c. 2765–2725 BCE) *Egyptian pharaoh and third king of Egypt's Second Dynasty*

Ninetjer ruled for almost 40 years and established MEMPHIS as his capital city. He was renowned for his festivals and temples. A military expedition during the 13th year of Ninetjer's reign is chronicled on the PALERMO STONE.

Little is known about the kings of the early Second Dynasty, but the name of Hetepsekhemwy, the first king of the dynasty, means "the two powers are in peace," which may suggest a reunification of EGYPT following the tumultuous First Dynasty. The Second Dynasty kings are believed to be of Lower Egyptian origin, as evidenced by the relocation of the capital to Memphis and placement of the royal burial grounds at SAQQARA, in LOWER EGYPT.

Nkisi (Nkondi and Nkongi) Power, or spirit, figures used by the Kongo people of what are today western Democratic Republic of the CONGO and northern ANGOLA. Their use is believed to date to ancient times. Generally carved from wood, the Nkisi, which were sometimes erroneously referred to as a "nail sculpture," are considered by many to be among the most complex ritual objects in Africa. Although the creation of the sculptures traditionally has been controlled by a ritual authority or priest, the work has often been based on specific requests by those who came for consultation. Made in the form of humans, they were considered spirits from the realm of the dead who would carry out specific assignments if the appropriate sacrifices were offered. The spirit could then be grounded or controlled when placed within a natural object, such as a special bag, gourd, or shell.

Several types of Nkisi figures have been used in this way to represent good or evil. Benevolent types have been said to embody ancestral spirits; when the nose or forehead of the figure was rubbed, it was comparable to praying or communicating with the dead. Smaller types of Nkisi have been used for healing or for overcoming personal difficulties; these contained bags of medicine and herbal remedies. Menacing figures armed with spears or knives have been used to represent opposing or malevolent forces of evil.

Opinions vary as to the function of these figures. There have been some reports that certain Nkisi figures have been meant to cause suffering or death, while others have reportedly been used to protect property. There are also those who believe that the primary function of the Nkisi was to destroy those who practiced WITCHCRAFT.

When the Nkisi were created to cause harm, mixtures known as *bilongo,* consisting of grave dirt, blood, gunpowder, and other potent magical substances, were inserted into open cavities of the wooden figure, usually in the abdomen or the back of the head. These mixtures were then covered with mirrors, COWRIE SHELLS, or clay and were activated by inserting metal blades or nails into the figure. Some believe that each such blade or nail was supposed to represent a specific request being made. It was not unusual for a figure to be almost completely covered by blades or nails, suggesting that numerous requests were being made.

See also: DIVINATION (Vol. I); MASKS (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

Further reading: Mary H. Nooter, *Secrecy: African Art that Conceals and Reveals* (New York: The Museum for African Art, 1993); William Bascom, *African Art in Cultural Perspective: An Introduction* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973); Benjamin C. Ray, *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual and Community,* 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000).

Nok culture Modern name given to the IRON AGE society whose sculptures, iron tools, and stone artifacts were found near the Nigerian town of Nok. The figures are the earliest known sculptures of a highly developed

people from sub-Saharan Africa and date from roughly 900 BCE to 200 CE.

The Nok culture, also called the Nok Figurine culture, was both highly skilled and technologically advanced. It is best known for its terra-cotta sculptures of humans and animals, which ranged from life-size to 1 inch (2.5 cm) tall. It also is known for its early use of iron. Nok sculptures are remarkable for their craftsmanship and intricate design. Heads are often long and tubular, an exaggeration typical of Nok style. It is thought that many of the surviving heads may have been part of life-sized sculptures. Faces were created with much care and detail, sometimes showing teeth, mustaches, curved brows, full lips, open mouths, delicate eyes with representations of eyelashes, and scars or tattoos.

Though the exact function of the sculptures created by Nok culture is not known, scholars speculate that the elaborate human figures may represent a god or a notable deceased person, while the plainer sculptures may indicate a person of lower social status. Some sculptures, in which the animal or person is supported by a round base, may have been used as decorations for the outside of homes, tombs, or shrines.

Most sculptures were formed from coarse clay, made by hand and covered with a mixture of finer clay and water called *slip*. The sculpture was then polished until the surface was smooth, giving the finished piece the appearance of a person with shiny skin. The large heads were hollow, with holes in them. Though scholars do not know the exact method used for firing these sculptures, today's firings in NIGERIA last about two hours, and the clay pieces are first covered with grass, leaves, and sticks.

The first sculpture was found in 1928 in Nok, a town in central Nigeria near the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers. Since the style of sculpture had never been seen before and nothing was previously known of the people who created it, the culture was named after the town. Since that time, hundreds of sculptures, tools, and other artifacts belonging to the Nok have been discovered in the area. The Nok figures are the earliest known examples of sculpture in Nigeria, but similarities to modern YORUBA art lead scholars to believe that the Nok tradition may have continued throughout the region for thousands of years.

Because of the discovery of iron-tool artifacts at Nok, scholars know that the IRON AGE was ushered into West Africa at least 800 years earlier than in the northern plains. The oldest known iron-smelting works is attributed to the Nok as early as the fourth century BCE. Scholars do not know if this Iron Age technology was brought to this area from outside or if the Nok discovered it themselves. It is believed, however, that the Nok, unlike most other cultures making the transition from the NEOLITHIC AGE to the Iron Age, did not first use bronze or COPPER, but progressed directly from stone to iron.

Further reading: J. F. Jemkur, *Aspects of the Nok Culture* (Zaria, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1992).

nomads   Also called nomadic pastoralists, wandering herders have lived in Africa for millennia, residing in the desert and semi-desert environments of the SAHARA DESERT in northern Africa and, to a lesser extent, the KALAHARI DESERT and Karoo Desert regions of southern Africa. Although semi-nomadic and nomadic cultures exist in present-day Africa, their way of life was much more common in ancient and prehistoric times. Prior to the development of towns and cities, nomads had to compete only with HUNTER-GATHERERS for resources. Today, however, their way of life is increasingly threatened on many fronts.

Spatial mobility has always been the key to the viability of the nomadic lifestyle, but in today's world, nomads often face unsympathetic states. This leads to their political marginalization and a lack of input into policies that affect their livelihood. Africa's recent population growth is also impinging on their pasture lands, as farmers push into these areas to bring new land under cultivation. Also, drought and desertification are taking their toll. In the past, nomads in regions such as the HORN OF AFRICA could survive such natural disasters by finding sufficient pasturage and water for some of their herds. Today, however, relief agencies working to alleviate famine and hunger in such situations seek to divert nomads to a sedentary way of life. Relief workers and the states and agencies they serve think in terms of modernization, and they thus view the nomadic way of life as out of place in the modern world. As a result of these many factors, nomadism is very much on the decline. With this decline comes the loss of distinctive and diverse cultures that were many centuries in the making.

Nomads wander, but their life is certainly not without direction. On the contrary, they have great knowledge of the land, seasons, CLIMATE, and habits of animals, and they use this knowledge to direct their movements. When AGRICULTURE became known, some nomads cultivated crops in one area, moving from time to time in order to find more fertile areas.

One of the earliest known nomad societies in Africa is that of the BERBERS, considered the original people of North Africa. Living there since about 3000 BCE, the Berbers occupied settlements west of EGYPT and south of

the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. Throughout their history they have been known as nomadic desert wanderers. Aided by CAMELS, many Berber merchants did indeed travel the Saharan trade routes to bring goods from the south to the cities of the north. The truth, however, is that most Berbers became settled farmers.

By the beginning of the first millennium, as cities and urban areas grew, settlers increasingly came into conflict with nomadic peoples. Berber nomads, however, never posed much of a serious threat to the settlers, although it took Roman governors years to suppress a rebellion that took place in an area that is within present-day ALGERIA, in 23 CE.

When ROME took control over most of North Africa, it opened up land, leading to the spread of urban life. During this time it is thought that as many as 80,000 people moved into Africa from Rome and its surrounding area. Only in such locales as the ATLAS MOUNTAINS did North African culture remain outside the sphere of influence of the new settlers. The influx of Roman conquerors forced more and more North African nomads to move into the Sahara to avoid the fighting and the accompanying turmoil. As a result, competition for resources became fierce and the desert oases increasingly came under attack by nomads like the Sanhaja, a Berber group that advanced by camel.

Evidence shows that as more people moved into an area, more interdependence was created, more trade occurred, and nomads were forced to become more mobile. Continued Roman expansion and urban settlements, along with advances in agriculture, irrigation, and tool making, led to a decline in the number of North Africans leading a nomadic way of life.

See also: PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); TUAREGS (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Anatoly M. Khazanov and André Wink, eds., *Nomads in the Sedentary World* (Richmond, Va.: Curzon, 2001).

nomarch Title assigned to rulers of small villages that became provinces of ancient EGYPT. In predynastic Egypt (c. 3500 BCE) a number of small villages cropped up along the banks of the NILE RIVER. Their rulers controlled and organized the villages' trade, which was based on POTTERY, alabaster vessels, and glass beads. The most successful of these villages developed into larger chiefdoms, which, after the Egyptian state became politically organized, were recognized as provinces called *nomes*. Their rulers were referred to as *nomarchs*.

Nuba (Noba) Agricultural ETHNIC GROUP indigenous to present-day southwestern Republic of the SUDAN. The Nuba have lived in the area since ancient times, appar-

ently subsisting on a diet based on SORGHUM and the meat from their domesticated CATTLE and GOATS. More than 100 languages have been attributed to the Nuba clans, which include such subgroups as the Anag, Karla, Tagali, Tumtum, and Temein. For centuries the Nuba's most significant religious rituals have been performed by the Kudjur, or priest, whose responsibilities include making rain and contacting departed ancestors.

Among the many unanswered questions about the Nuba is their exact origin. Various burial sites and artifacts have led some archaeologists to suggest that the Nuba were one of several ethnic groups (collectively known as the NUBIAN X-GROUP) who migrated to MEROË some time after its decline from power (c. 350 BCE). Later, they retreated inland, where the Nuba Hills formed a natural barrier that protected them from marauding NOMADS and Arab slave traders.

See also: AKSUM (Vol. I, II); NUBA (Vol. III); ZANJ (Vol. II).

Further reading: James C. Faris, *Southeast Nuba Social Relations* (Aachen, Germany: Alano, Edition Herodot, 1989); International Nuba Coordination Center, *The Right to be Nuba: The Story of a Sudanese People's Struggle for Survival* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 2001); George Rodger, *Village of the Nubas* (London: Phaidon, 1999).

Nubia Ancient region of northeastern Africa located along the NILE RIVER in what is now southern EGYPT and the Republic of the SUDAN. Nubia is divided into Upper and Lower Nubia for geographic and political analysis; due to the northward flow of the Nile, Upper Nubia is in the south and Lower Nubia is in the north. Before 500 CE this region was inhabited by various ethnic groups, and at times different sections of the region were ruled by large, politically complex kingdoms.

Major Nubian Civilizations and Kingdoms

A-Group	c. 3800–c. 3100 BCE
C-Group	c. 2300–c. 1550 BCE
1st Egyptian Rule	c. 2000–c. 1800 BCE
Kush Rule (Kerma Period)	c. 2000–c. 1550 BCE
2nd Egyptian Rule	c. 1600–c. 1000 BCE
Kush Rule (Napatan Period)	c. 1000–c. 500 BCE
Kush Rule (Meroë Period)	c. 500 BCE–c. 300 CE
X-Group	c. 300–c. 550 CE

The earliest Nubian culture was the NUBIAN A-GROUP (c. 3800–c. 3100 BCE). Located in Lower Nubia, the A-Group people lived primarily by farming near the Nile. In the 1960s, remains and artifacts were found in large tombs in a cemetery at QUSTUL. These finds demonstrated the A-Group's wealth and provided evidence that they were possibly ruled by early Egyptian pharaohs. The A-

Group traded copper, incense, gold, and semiprecious stones with the north for manufactured goods and agricultural products. The rise of the First Dynasty in Egypt (c. 3050 BCE) ended the A-Group's culture.

There are no archaeological finds from the area for the next 500 years, until the emergence of the Nubian C-GROUP culture (c. 2300–c. 1550 BCE). Lower Nubia was known then as WAWAT. The C-group settled along the Nile River from ASWAN to the second cataract, and they were highly dependent upon cattle. As Egypt began to fragment politically, the C-Group migrated to the north. Some members rose very high in Egyptian society, playing a pivotal role in the struggles that founded the MIDDLE KINGDOM around 2040 BCE.

About 2000 BCE Egypt conquered Lower Nubia, controlling the region for approximately 800 years. The C-group cultures remained culturally distinct under Egyptian rule, and in Upper Nubia the KERMA culture and the Medjay people of the Eastern Desert remained independent from Egyptian rule. (The city of Kerma was known as *Kush* to the Egyptians, and eventually this term became synonymous with the kingdom located in Kerma, even as the kingdom's capital moved to different cities.) During the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1800 BCE), when disunity threatened Egypt, the Kush kingdom took advantage of Egypt's weakness and claimed power over Lower Nubia as well, ruling over the C-Group populations and the Egyptian soldiers. Both Upper and Lower Nubia then looked to the ruler of the Kush kingdom as their leader, and he was represented as a pharaoh. The Nubian culture was greatly influenced by the ruling Egyptian in areas such as the arts, RELIGION, and language.

In the 16th century BCE Egypt launched military strikes against the Kush kingdom, culminating in the destruction of Kerma, circa 1550 CE. For several centuries after that, most of Nubia was under Egyptian rule. During the second period of Egyptian rule in Nubia (c. 1600–c. 1000 BCE), the C-Group people of Lower Nubia became increasingly Egyptianized, and their culture eventually disappeared. Little is known of Lower Nubia between 1100 and 750 BCE.

As Egypt's power waned at the end of the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1070 BCE), the Kush kingdom again began to gather strength. The capital of the kingdom was moved south, from Kerma to Napata. During the Napatan Period (c. 1000–c. 500 BCE), the Kush kingdom regained control of Lower Nubia and established control over the outlying city of Thebes (WASET). Notable kings of the period include Kashta (r. c. 806–c. 750 BCE) and his son PIANKHY (r. c. 750–c. 716 BCE), whose vast rule extended into much of Egypt.

In approximately 500 BCE, MEROË, in Upper Nubia, was founded as the new capital of the Kush kingdom. Although Nubia was independent of Egyptian rule, the Kush leadership was still pharaonic. Meroë was a wealthy city with large industrial complexes and enormous temples. A distinct Nubian language was used at the time, with a written language based upon Egyptian hieroglyphics. There is no known spoken version of this language today, and much of what is written in this Meroitic language remains unknown.

After battling the Romans in the north, the Meroites reached an agreement in 23 BCE, establishing Aswan in the north as a new home for their settlers. This event launched an age of prosperity for Lower Nubia. The wealth of trade created many achievements in art and architecture. Meroitic culture continued to dominate the region until around 300 CE, when it was subsumed by the Blemmyes of the Arabian Desert.

Around 300 CE the northern kingdom of Nobatia, also known as Ballana, was established, with its capital near the present-day Egypt-Sudan border. Evidence of this post-Meroitic culture, also known as the NUBIAN X-GROUP, was found in archaeological remains in cemeteries and villages along the Nile. The remains of the culture did not show a dramatic break with the Meroitic traditions, but the formal differences in the POTTERY—especially in its size, shape, and design—show the new characteristics of the X-Group culture. Great tombs with jewels, crowns, and weapons of the X-Group culture were found at Qustul. The iconography of these objects showed that the X-Group used pharaonic symbols and worshiped ancient gods, just as the Meroites did. The Nobatian kingdom ended around 550 CE with the rise of CHRISTIANITY in Egypt and Lower Nubia.

See also: NUBIA, CHRISTIAN (Vol. II).

Nubian A-Group

Nubian A-Group   Farmers and herders who established themselves, circa 3800 BCE, in the area south of GEBEL SILSILA in the lower NILE VALLEY, an area that was also known as Ta-Seti (the land of the bow). Many modern researchers believe that the politically centralized Lower Nubian A-Group was ruled by kings, making it the earliest kingdom in the Nile River basin. Before unification of UPPER and LOWER EGYPT, circa 3050 BCE, the Nubian A-Group civilization, which lasted from about 3800 BCE to 3100 BCE, evidently was a dominant power in Upper Egypt. Nubian A-Group burials and artifacts found upriver from the modern site of Aswan resemble those of the Upper Egyptian Amratian culture NAQADAH I.

While the Nubian A-Group apparently preceded the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt, archaeologists disagree over whether the Nubian culture developed independently or as an offshoot of the AMRATIAN CULTURE. Icons associated with the Nubian A-group's political elite, most notably the symbols of the HORUS-falcon and the WHITE CROWN, were later adopted by the rulers of the unified Egyptian state. Cave temples built at Gebel Silsila

by Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty ruler HOREMHEB depict his disputed claim of military victory over the Nubians.

Further reading: William Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977); David O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

Nubian C-Group   Cattle-raising PASTORALISTS of Lower NUBIA who established a culture that lasted from about 2300 to 1550 BCE. The C-Group, which apparently moved eastward into the NILE VALLEY circa 2300 BCE, was, like the earlier NUBIAN A-GROUP, organized into structured chiefdoms. Throughout their 700-year history they remained dependent primarily upon CATTLE herding, a fact that was reflected in their ART and POTTERY as well as in their leather clothing.

During the Egyptian First Intermediate Period (c. 2213–c. 2040 BCE) the C-Group was basically under constant threat from EGYPT, which used its military and economic might against the smaller culture. Despite frequent conquests by the Egyptians, however, the C-Group successfully maintained its own traditions well into Egypt's MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–c. 1840 BCE). As the Middle Kingdom came to an end and Egyptian power in the area waned, however, the C-Group fell victim to another invader, this time from the Nubian culture based at KERMA. In time the C-Group was absorbed into the kingdom of Kush and Egypt, and C-Group people began adopting Egyptian customs on a major scale. Eventually C-Group culture assimilated into that of the Egyptians.

Further reading: David O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

Nubian X-Group   Beliefs, ART, religious institutions, and behavior of the people who coexisted in ancient Ballana, a northern province of NUBIA. Although Byzantine texts referred to the inhabitants of Ballana as Nobatians, modern archaeologists generally use the term *X-Group* to describe them. This term suggests just how little firm information—either archaeological or historical—exists about the people who shared Ballana culture from approximately 300 to 550 CE.

The ancestors of the people of Ballana apparently were nomads pastoralists who migrated to lower Nubia from lands west of the NILE RIVER. Although this migration may have taken place as early as the third century, Ballana's royal tombs suggest that the Ballana kingdom was established sometime after the fall of MEROË, in the fourth century.

The way of life of the X-Group remains almost as mysterious as their origins. In part this is due to the inconclusiveness of archaeological findings at the site of Ballana itself. It is also because of the absence of historical records for the period following the destruction of nearby Meroë. Excavations of Ballana, however, do show that its culture combined elements from Byzantine, Meroitic, and Sabean societies.

According to some sources, after 250 CE Ballana burials offer the most obvious signs of this mixed culture. The kings of the region had long been associated with a tradition of burial in pyramids, much like Egyptian monarchs. During the Ballana period, however, ruling kings were buried in tumulus mounds. These mounds of earth were large enough to include the king and his various wives, servants, horses, camels, and household effects—all of which were deemed necessary for the king's journey to the beyond.

The inhabitants of Ballana gradually adopted CHRISTIANITY between the sixth and 13th centuries. Religious institutions unearthed in the region, however, confirm that the people infused their Christian faith with images and practices of their Nubian past.

See also: AKSUM (Vols. I, II); BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vol. I); GOATS (Vol. I); JEWELRY (Vol. I); KUSH (Vol. I).

Further reading: William Y. Adams, *Meinarti I: The Late Meroitic, Ballaña and Transitional Occupation* (Oxford, U.K.: Archaeopress, 2000).

Nuer   Seminomadic group that has lived for thousands of years in areas of present-day Republic of the SUDAN and ETHIOPIA. According to their own oral tradition, the Nuer originally made their home in Koat-Liece, a village west of Bahr al-Jebel. There, a sacred tamarind tree, its branches laden with offerings of bracelets and tobacco, was a living altar to the Nuer's supreme being, Kwoth Nhial. The Nuer traditionally have had no kings or chiefs. Instead, prophets and religious leaders were the most powerful and influential members of the Nuer communities, which usually consisted of several extended families or CLANS. These religious leaders frequently have been members of the Spear Master clans, a group that has long been deeply rooted in Nuer culture.

Considered sacred by the Nuer, CATTLE have played a number of roles in the lives and beliefs of these people. Ritual sacrifice of a cow, for example, has been an important part of Nuer RITES OF PASSAGE, including the birth of a child, the onset of puberty, marriage, and funerals. Cattle also have been considered a symbol of manhood, and, upon reaching the age of 16, Nuer boys have traditionally been given an "ox name" as part of their initiation ceremonies. Beyond this, however, cows have been important to the Nuer for their survival, especially for milk, which traditionally has made up a large part of the Nuer diet. Although cattle hides, bones, and internal organs have been used in the construction of beds, tools, weapons, and even musical instruments, there is some question about whether or not the Nuer consumed the meat.

See also: NUER (Vol. II); PASTORALISM (Vol. I); POLYTHEISM (Vol. I).

numeration systems

numeration systems Methods of numerical calculation. Traditional systems differed from group to group, expanding and evolving as mathematical needs changed. Although it is impossible to date the development of numeration systems, descriptions of finger counting, believed to be the earliest forms of reckoning, are found in the Egyptian BOOK OF THE DEAD. A reverence for the ability to calculate is described.

The most common numbering system is to express a greater number in terms of the sum of two smaller numbers. In the system that the Mawha language of MOZAMBIQUE uses, for instance, the word for six means "five plus one," the word for seven means "five plus two," the word for twenty means "two tens," and the word for thirty means "three tens." Some languages use a base-10 system; some use base-5; other languages, such as YORUBA, use 20 as a base for counting.

The Yoruba system perhaps originated from using the combined digits of hands and feet to count off. Numbers are more precisely defined by subtraction and, to a lesser extent, addition. For example, the word for forty means "two twenties," and the word for seventy means "four twenties minus ten." Sometimes smaller numbers from one to five are employed in the enumeration.

The subtractive system is thought to have developed from counting COWRIE SHELLS, an early Yoruba currency. Large bags of shells would be swiftly grouped by a counter into lots of 20, and these groups would then be reckoned into whatever amount was needed by subtracting shells from the nearest multiple of 10. As the economy and numbers developed, the system expanded to accommodate larger sums, with multiples of 200 forming the base. The Yoruba concept of infinity is illustrated by the image of countless swarming locusts.

Yoruba children still learn their numeration system in the traditional way, with their parents at marketplaces and through the use of mathematical games. The Yoruba language has adapted to the use of larger numbers.

The Bambara of present-day MALI and GUINEA have a 10–20 system that exemplifies the everyday origin of many traditional counting systems. The word for *twenty* means "one person" because one person has 20 digits in all; the word for *forty* means "mat" because, as it is explained, a husband and wife sleeping on a mat together have 20 fingers and 20 toes, 40 digits in all.

Gesture systems of counting are used by some peoples. The Yao people of MALAWI and Mozambique point to the first four fingers of their left hand to count from one to four and then make a fist to indicate five; to make 10, the fingers of both hands are raised and the hands are joined. In other gesture systems, a tap on the chin means ten.

The most elementary system of written notation is the tally mark. Use of this kind of notation, as shown on the ISHANGO BONE, dates as far back as 8500 BCE.

The Fulani people of West Africa measure their wealth in terms of the number of CATTLE or other animals they own. They place sticks in patterns in front of their houses to display their wealth to neighbors. Sticks placed in the shape of a V mean "100" cattle. Sticks crossed in the shape of an X mean "50." Placed flat, the sticks each stand for ten; placed upright, the sticks stand for ones. Thus, the owner of a house with sticks in the pattern *VVX——|||* in front of the house is telling neighbors that he or she possesses 273 cattle.

Numidia

Numidia Area in present-day ALGERIA that was part of the empire of CARTHAGE before the PUNIC WARS. During the second Punic War (218–201 BCE), the East Numidian king MASSINISSA allied himself with ROME; following the Roman victory over Carthage in 210 BCE, Massinissa was rewarded with the throne of a united Numidia.

For almost 150 years Numidians maintained their independence. King Massinissa's grandson, King JUGURTHA, however, engaged in several conflicts with Rome, the last of which led to his downfall in 105 BCE. Later, during the Roman civil wars of the first century BCE, Numidia's King JUBA I sided with Pompey against Gaius Julius CAESAR (c. 100–44 BCE), a decision that, following Caesar's victory, cost Numidia its independence. Numidia continued, however, as a subject kingdom and, under King Juba II, even enjoyed a period of revival that lasted until the invasion of the VANDALS during the fifth century CE.

Nuri

Nuri Ancient Kushite city on the NILE RIVER at the fourth cataract. Nuri is the site of the royal burial grounds of Egypt's Twenty-fifth Dynasty, also known as the Napata dynasty (c. 780–c. 644 BCE). The Napata kings battled with EGYPT over control of the NILE DELTA. Their culture was a unique fusion of African and Egyptian influences.

More than 20 generations of kings are buried in Nuri. The Napata tombs at Nuri feature stepped PYRAMIDS made of stone. Built against the eastern face of these pyramids were small chapels where priests could make offerings to the dead. Napata pyramids were much smaller than those built in Egypt. The pyramid of King Taharqa is the largest, measuring 90 feet (27 m) along the base. In contrast, the GREAT PYRAMID AT GIZA measured 750 feet (229 m). Napata pyramids were also steeper than their Egyptian counterparts. Each pyramid usually had two or three small rooms underneath it. The king's body was placed in the room directly below the pyramid. Like Egypt's pharaohs, these kings were mummified, and their bodies were placed in wooden or stone coffins. Napata

queens also had pyramid tombs, though they were smaller and less elaborate than those of the kings.

Although they have been looted by thieves, the tombs at Nuri shed light on the culture and history of the Napatan period. Many of the goods and inscriptions found at the tombs attest to the strong influence Egypt had on the culture.

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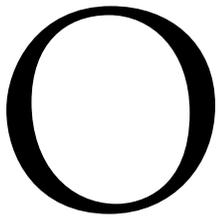
oasis Depression in the desert featuring springs, wells, and trees. The word *oasis* is derived from an ancient Egyptian word, *wah,* which means "a fertile place in the desert." Oases vary in size; small ones can support a few families, and larger ones can support whole villages. Scattered across the vast, dry landscape of the SAHARA DESERT, which receives annual rainfall of less than 8 inches, there are about 90 large oases in which people live in villages and grow crops. Most of these oases support populations of fewer than 2,000 people. Crops commonly grown in oases include figs, peaches, dates, barley, and wheat. The most significant oases in the Sahara are found in the Western Desert and include Fayyum, Kharga, Dakhla, Paris, Farafrah, Bahereya, Siwa and the QATTARA DEPRESSION.

Obatala In traditional YORUBA religion, the creator of the human body. Obatala, also known as the "owner of all heads," is among the most important Yoruba deities. According to lore, Obatala created the human body, and his father, the supreme being OLORUN, breathed life into it. Obatala represents purity, coolness, clarity of thought, and wisdom. He is depicted as an old man wearing white robes, and his priests and priestesses always dress in white. He is associated with white substances, including platinum, silver, white flowers, white meats, coconut, milk, rice, and cotton. Obatala is also the patron god of handicapped people, since according to tradition, he created them while under the influence of palm wine. Among the northern Yoruba, he is known as the god of the north.

See also: ORISHA (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Ogun (Ogoun) In traditional YORUBA religion, the god of iron and of war. Ogun is one of the earliest of Yoruba divinities. Two traditions exist regarding his origins. In one, he is a deified ancestor, a heroic individual who made important contributions to the people. In the other, more prevalent tradition, he is a primordial being who, when the gods first came to earth in the dawn of days, cut a path for the other gods through an impassible thicket by using his sharp iron machete. Thus, Ogun is associated with clearing away barriers, protecting against accidents, and opening a path for health and prosperity. He is the tutelary, or guardian, divinity of hunters, BLACKSMITHS, goldsmiths, and butchers.

In still other traditions Ogun reigned over a territory in Yorubaland. In one such telling (perhaps a myth for the origin of iron), Ogun is the first king of the town of Irè. On coming home from a battle, he discovers that empty kegs of palm wine, instead of being turned upside down as they should have been, were left standing upright. Ogun becomes enraged and slaughters many of his subjects until, realizing what he has done, he repents, dramatically drives his sword into the ground, and sits on it until both he and his sword sink slowly deep into the earth, promising to return when they are needed.

In modern times Ogun has become the divinity of truck drivers, mechanics, and others who work in or with iron and steel. In law courts, traditional believers swear on Ogun instead of the Bible or the Quran and kiss a piece of iron that represents him. Swearing falsely breaks a covenant with Ogun and can supposedly lead to ghastly accidents.

See also: CHRISTIANITY (Vols. I, II); EGUNGUN (Vol. I); *NUMUW* (Vol. II); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

okapis Cud-chewing, hoofed mammals belonging to the same animal family as GIRAFFES. Unknown to science until the early 20th century, the okapi, because of its stripes, was at one time thought by Europeans to be a kind of zebra.

Because the okapi seemed to be a combination of several creatures, the ancient Egyptians associated the creature with the god SETH, the troublesome deity who killed his brother, OSIRIS. Often depicted with a dog's body, a forked tail, and a long, pointy nose, images of Seth incorporated elements of several creatures. As a result, the okapi often was considered a kind of inspiration for the deity, as were similar creatures such as the aardvark and long-nosed mouse.

Okavango River Major river, with its source in the Bie Plateau of ANGOLA, where it is known as the Cubango River. The Okavango flows eastward and forms the present border between Angola and NAMIBIA. It then turns toward the southeast and runs across the Caprivi Strip before flowing into BOTSWANA. As it enters Botswana the Okavango River drops through a series of rapids known as Popa Falls. Unlike many rivers that empty into the ocean, the Okavango disappears into the sands of the KALAHARI DESERT, forming the Okavango Swamp and the Okavango Delta. The Okavango Delta consists of a maze of meandering channels, often choked with dense masses of PAPYRUS and other aquatic plants. Following flooding, the excess water drains into Thamalakane River. The Okavango River seasonally fills Lake Ngami in Botswana via the Okavango Delta.

Old Kingdom Period in ancient Egyptian history lasting from approximately 2705 to 2213 BCE. Following the initial unification of UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT, the nation was ruled, for a period of almost 400 years, by two royal dynasties. This period is known as the Early Dynastic Period and preceded the Old Kingdom. Early Egyptians not only developed their life-sustaining irrigation system but also constructed the first of their impressive architectural wonders, the PYRAMIDS.

The first pyramid ever built is thought to be the STEP PYRAMID at SAQQARA. Not long after this the great pyramids of KHUFU and Khafre were constructed at Giza. The organization necessary to perform these feats not only testified to the sophisticated level of Egyptian society but also helped create a social fabric that endured for several millennia.

By the beginning of the Old Kingdom, the Egyptian government had been centralized enough to take effective control of both public life and public works. The resulting burst of pyramid and monument building forever changed the social and physical landscape of the country.

The six dynasties of the Old Kingdom ruled relatively successfully for 500 years. Then, however, unrest and conflict among the ruling elite of priests and public officials led to a decline in royal power. By the end of the Eighth Dynasty, about 2213 BCE, EGYPT fell into the hands of several dynasties of weak, ineffectual rulers. As a result, the kingdom suffered a decline from which it did not emerge until the dawn of the MIDDLE KINGDOM, more than 200 years later.

Further reading: Michael Rice, *Egypt's Making: The Origins of Ancient Egypt, 5000–2000 BC* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Oldowan tools One of the oldest known sets of stone tools used in the Early STONE AGE, or Paleolithic period (c. 2.5 million years ago). Oldowan tools, named for their discovery at OLDUVAI GORGE, in KENYA, were used by inhabitants of the region at least 1.75 million to 2 million years ago. Sometimes described as Oldowan Technology, the tools represent an improvement over the earliest digging sticks and simple stones that gave the Stone Age its name.

The series of stones with flaked, or sharpened, edges made at Olduvai were used for cutting, scraping, and chopping food. Scientists have determined that to create a flaked tool, our human ancestors had to strike one stone against another repeatedly. Gradually pieces were chipped away until a sharpened edge was formed. About 1.5 million years ago, a more advanced set of instruments, called the acheulean toolkit, came into use.

Olduvai Gorge Area in the Great RIFT VALLEY that has been the source of many important discoveries in paleo-archaeology; located near Lake Eyasi in present-day TANZANIA.

See also: HUMAN ORIGINS (Vol. I); LEAKEYS, THE (Vol. I); OLDOWAN TOOLS (Vol. I).

Olorun (Olodumare, Oludumare) Creator deity in traditional YORUBA religion. According to traditional belief Olorun is present in all of creation as the intrinsic energy that brought about its being. In this view, the tree, the rock, and other aspects of nature are manifestations of Olorun's essence, and it is this essence that believers revere and worship, not their visible forms. Accordingly, Yoruba see the Creator in all things and see themselves as

part of creation, thus strengthening the connection between themselves and the world in which they live.

    See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Oludumare See OLORUN.

oracle Generally considered an oral response from a divine god accomplished through the use of human mediums. From ancient times oracles have served various populations in Africa, providing dire predictions, meting out appropriate justice, and offering solutions and guidance. These various oracles were believed to have been the embodiment of living gods, and they spoke at specially appointed sites or times through chosen mediums. Oracular predictions also occurred in dreams and as visions, or took place when individuals were in the throes of SPIRIT POSSESSION. In this way oracles represented a critical aspect of RELIGION in Africa and were honored with traditional rites, customs, and the observance of taboos. In ancient EGYPT and Nubia, the primary oracle shared by both regions was AMUN, who was believed to reside in the holy mountain of GEBEL BARKAL. Similarly, in what is now NIGERIA, the Arochukwu oracle represented an important divinity for the IGBO people.

    Although the traditions and rites of each region varied, the men and women serving as oracles usually received many years of training. In a number of societies, priests or priestesses served as the primary mediums and offered responses in everything from parables and riddles to symbolic figures. Many of the men and women who spoke on behalf of the gods also acted in the capacity of divine kings.

    Others, such as the priests and priestesses of GHANA, who were known as Okomfo, were community-based. Relying on the oracle for guidance, they were able to cure illnesses and to provide tangible, communal solutions to social problems. The Okomfo worked with attendants trained to interpret their words and remedies. In other communities, oracles were recognized as village elders, healers, or doctors.

Fossils 2 million years old have been dug from the walls of 25-mile-long (40 km) long Olduvai Gorge in the Great Rift Valley. © *Brian Vikander/Corbis*

The ORAL TRADITIONS of the Chwezi, from the region of Lake VICTORIA, relate stories of oracles in place prior to the advent of early kingdoms in the 15th century. The long-standing practice of Chwezi spirits reputedly was to enter the body of several women at a time. Members of the FAMILY then consulted these spirits about specific matters. In the past these mediums traveled widely through Chwezi territory, stopping at specific regional shrines. Others worked directly with the king.

One of the most notable aspects of oracular DEITIES was their choice of who would receive the gift of mediumship. In the society of the Lugbara, of present-day UGANDA, it was believed that a deity would choose a young girl to serve as a divine representative on earth. Once identified, the girl was left in the woods, where certain divine revelations or visions were revealed. After returning to her village she presided over a specially built shrine.

It appears that many societies commonly retained women as oracles, although the reasons are not completely clear. These women were often responsible for the upkeep of the religious site, which often meant performing purification rites, maintaining appropriate materials, and other sacred duties.

See also: AROCHUKWU ORACLE (Vols. II, III); DIVINATION (Vol. I); NKISI (Vol. I); RAIN MAKER (Vol. I).

Further reading: John R. Hinnells, ed., *The Penguin Dictionary of Religions* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995); John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Heinemann Education Publishers, 1999).

oral traditions The social values, guidelines, and history that form the spoken record of societies. From ancient times, oral traditions have enabled African societies to remain connected with their past as part of an endless cycle of regeneration. Belief in this cycle of regeneration (and the sense of community that it fosters) has shaped oral traditions into a relative chronology rather than a timetable of absolute dates.

In some African cultures, conveying knowledge about the past in spoken form was considered a sacred responsibility. Accordingly, there was an associated belief in the divinity of the spoken word. Among the Fulani, for example, it was believed that the spoken word, or *haala,* had the power to activate all things. Similarly, the Dogon tell of how the seventh of eight ancestral spirits became the architect of world order by weaving a cloth that conveyed the power of the word, known as *soy,* to humans. These examples underscore why oral tradition should be understood as encompassing a wide body of songs, folklore, myths, and proverbial wisdom, yet transcending each specific form.

One reason why oral traditions transcend each specific form is that traditions have the ability to make the distant past a present, living reality. Africanists and historians in general have remarked that oral traditions in African societies appear to embody three distinct forms. The first form of oral tradition has been linked to the creation myth. Many societies created these early traditions by using mnemonic devices to retain their founding histories, religious ideals, and other vital information. Mnemonic devices often contained formulaic words that, when combined in certain ways or repeated as an incantation, were known to bring about solutions or resolve hardships. This interplay of historical events and religious beliefs has led many historians to reduce to the level of myth the oral traditions associated with the ancient period, to question their historic validity, and to criticize their limited reality and "coded messages."

The second form of oral history is said to reflect the societal development and interaction of early city-state formation. These were the oral traditions that were not shared with outsiders. Early city-states had powerful political systems with accomplishments that its rulers sought to preserve through an organized system of oral history. The griot, or court historian, often served this purpose as a "talking mouth." These oral traditions, often set to MUSIC, incorporated the genealogy of early founders, the lives and exploits of kings, and the formation of dynasties. In societies where a high value was placed on such traditions, those entrusted with the position retained their knowledge by chanting or by undergoing a long period of memorization.

Oral traditions of this type are generally considered most reliable. Described by some historians as a fixed text, they cover up to eight centuries or more of a people's history. In this way, the epic deeds of kings such as Sundiata (r. c. 1230 CE) of ancient Mali were maintained and embellished, while keeping many historical details intact. The Kuba peoples of southeastern Democratic Republic of the CONGO can relate historical data that dates back more than 15 centuries.

The third form of oral tradition is based on the memory of the oldest living members of a population. These oral traditions, described as free texts, are not the responsibility of any single individual. In many instances, a council of elders might serve the purpose of transmitting oral traditions; this is an important way of maintaining many of Africa's oldest institutions, such as AGE SETS, SECRET SOCIETIES, and INITIATION RITES. Within this time reference, oral traditions also aided in settling property disputes and agricultural concerns and were significant in religious ritual, incantations, and prayers. Such traditions have also influenced the social aspects of courtship, marriage, and family life.

Because free texts often embody the personality of the teller, controversy continues as to their reliability or selective memory. These views have been challenged by African scholars who argue that the purpose of all history

is to select that which is most courageous, productive, or artistic about a particular society. They also maintain that written history has often been based on "firsthand accounts" supplied by the oral traditions of informants. While there are disadvantages in dealing with oral history—such as the oversimplification of ideas, the years it takes for outsiders to understand them, and concerns about the errors of informants—oral traditions represent an important source of historical information and cultural insights from a unique African perspective. These traditions have played a crucial role in leading archaeologists to ancient sites in East Africa and have been used to explain ruins in other regions. Although many historians have begun to see how well oral traditions work with written records and archaeological projects, holders of the oral tradition and their "living memories" are quickly vanishing from the cultural landscape of Africa.

See also: MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); SUNDIATA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

Orange River River in southwest Africa near the Cape of Good Hope. From an early date the Orange River aided in the migration and settlement patterns of the KHOIKHOI, the SAN, and other peoples. The lush landscape and wildlife along its banks offered a variety of food resources for HUNTER–GATHERERS, pastoralists, and farmers alike. The river and nearby pastures also supported livestock such as goats, sheep, and CATTLE, which were present in the region by about the second or third century BCE. However, it is not completely certain how they arrived there. Sometime later, pastoralist clans settled into community clusters around the springs and tributaries of the river. Later these communities were formed into the nation-states that eventually played major roles in the history of SOUTH AFRICA.

See also: ORANGE RIVER (Vol. III).

orisha In traditional YORUBA religion, forces in nature that act on behalf of humans. Believers in traditional Yoruba RELIGION use DIVINATION, prayer, DANCE, ritual, and sacrifice to ask the *orisha* to intervene in human affairs and correct or heal a bad situation. The *orisha* are part of nature, too, but they exist at a higher plane, closer to OLORUN, the Creator. They represent the ability of humans, through their powers of reflection, to enter into a consciousness of the divine. Worship of the *orisha,* it is said, leads to balance and harmony. Each of the some 400 *orisha* has its own cult and priesthood.

See also: ESHU (Vol. I); OGUN (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

Orisha Oko YORUBA deity associated with AGRICULTURE and general fertility; his emblem is an iron rod. The Yoruba, who have probably inhabited the savannas west of lower NIGER since the fourth millennium BCE, are largely dependent upon agriculture for their survival, and, not surprisingly, Orisha Oko is one of their primary DEITIES, honored by many temples and served by numerous priests. The most important festival in honor of Orisha Oko is celebrated at the time of the yam harvest. Beyond a general sharing in the harvest, in which virtually everyone eats YAMS, there is a general sense of freedom and license. In ancient times, it is believed, this even included a degree of sexual license that allowed men unrestricted access to women from certain groups or classes.

See also: ESHU (Vol. I); OGUN (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

Oromo (Galla) Cushitic people of ETHIOPIA, formerly called the *Galla* (a term now considered pejorative). Studies of ancient LANGUAGES show that the Oromo were one of several groups present in Ethiopia at least 7,000 years ago. Beyond that, the Oromo trace their origins to the dry savanna northeast of Lake TURKANA and to the southern highlands near the Shabeele and Juba rivers. For thousands of years, CLAN systems have been based on patrilineal descent, a system that helped maintain their ancient tradition of PASTORALISM. In Oromo society all male children of the same generation form an indissoluble group that moves through all the AGE SETS together. The Oromo also used this system, sometimes called the *gada* system, to address political, social, and economic issues within their society. Except for subgroups such as the BORAN OROMO, their way of life continued relatively uninterrupted until the Islamic-Ethiopian wars of the 15th and 16th centuries.

See also: OROMO (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Osanyin YORUBA deity presumed to be the younger brother of IFA, the god of DIVINATION. Osanyin is generally seen as being in control of the principles that govern Yoruba MEDICINE. For the Yoruba, medicine invariably involves an understanding not just of the human body but also of the patient's emotional and spiritual nature. For this reason, Yoruba healing traditionally is seen not simply as a matter of medical practice but also as a matter of RELIGION, involving the visible and invisible worlds. This results in a complex system governing everything from how certain herbs or other materials are gathered to how and when they are applied. Even the movements, gestures, and sounds of the healer are prescribed. It is this entire system that is seen as being controlled by the deity Osanyin.

According to an ancient and well-known Yoruba myth, as soon as Ifa entered the world, he wanted to have a slave to work for him. He sent the slave to work cutting grass. As the slave started to work, he noticed he was about to cut the grass that was used to cure fever, so he adamantly refused to destroy the useful grass.

Moving on to another kind of grass, the slave started to cut. But, as before, he noticed that he was about to destroy a useful grass. This one he recognized as the grass that was used to cure headaches, and again he refused to cut it. This continued with the next kind of grass as well, which turned out to be a cure for stomachaches.

Astonished at how much the slave knew, Ifa asked the slave, who turned out to be Osanyin, to teach him everything he knew about the uses of plants, herbs, and other materials.

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Osiris One of the major deities of the state RELIGION of EGYPT; the principal god of the dead and lord of the underworld. The cult of Osiris first began during the OLD KINGDOM, at which time Osiris became fused with the funerary god Khentimentiu, "Foremost of the Westerners," and became associated with the rebirth of the earth after the flooding of the NILE RIVER. The myth of Osiris relates that Osiris's parents were the earth god Geb and the sky goddess Nut. His brother was the god SETH, and his sister, the goddess ISIS. Osiris married his sister, and eventually they produced a son, the god HORUS.

According to the story Seth became so jealous of his brother that he drowned Osiris in the Nile. Isis retrieved the body of her dead husband, but the evil Seth intervened. Dismembering his brother's corpse, Seth scattered the pieces throughout Egypt. However, the resourceful widow managed to collect her husband's remains and put them back together again. Using her magical powers, Isis resurrected him and eventually became pregnant with Horus. Later, Horus went on to avenge his father's murder, defeating Seth in battle and establishing himself as an earthly ruler much like the pharaohs.

According to Egyptian belief Osiris began to rule the underworld once he was resurrected. Together with a tribunal of 42 other deities, he sat in absolute judgment over the souls of the departed. By the time of the MIDDLE KINGDOM, Osiris was firmly established as the most important deity associated with the cult of the dead. The cult was centered at ABYDOS, where, according to common belief, Osiris's head was buried.

Osiris's prominence was a constant throughout the history of Egyptian RELIGION. In fact, his position as "weigher of souls" and judge of all mortal beings lasted well beyond the rule of the pharaohs and traveled beyond the boundaries of Egypt.

Further Reading: Robert A. Armour, *Gods and Myths of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 2001).

ostriches Large, long-legged, flightless birds. Male ostriches, which can measure 8 feet (2.4 m) in height and weigh more than 300 pounds (111.9 kg), are the largest living birds in the world. The ostrich's powerful thighs have no feathers but instead help it to run up to speeds of 40 miles (64.4 km) per hour.

In prehistoric times ostrich eggs were used by ancient people for ornamentation. The SAN and Nubian peoples, for example, would engrave patterns and pictures of animals on these eggs. The ancient Egyptians made beads out of ostrich shells.

The San people of southern Africa were fascinated by the odd, flightless behavior of ostriches. According to one of their legends, the ostrich once held fire beneath its wings. Humans, however, tricked the ostrich and stole the fire. Afterward, the ostrich no longer flew and kept what little fire it still had tucked underneath its wings.

P

Palermo Stone Stone fragment from the Fifth Dynasty (c. 2465–2350 BCE) of ancient EGYPT that is inscribed with hieroglyphic symbols. It is a valuable source of information about Egypt's history during the first five dynasties (c. 3050–2350 BCE).

The Palermo Stone is made of black basalt and was once part of a larger stone that probably stood in an ancient Egyptian temple. The stone is inscribed on both sides with HIEROGLYPHICS, which are arranged in horizontal rows. At the top of the stone is a list of predynastic rulers followed by time lines for different kings that list the memorable events of that king's reign by year. It includes, for example, information about the extent of the flooding of the NILE RIVER under various rulers.

The Palermo Stone is a fragment of a larger original tablet that is thought to have measured approximately 7 feet (2.1 m) in length, 2 feet (0.61 m) in height and 2.5 inches (6.3 cm) in thickness. This larger tablet was probably a detailed chronicle of all of Egyptian kings from the First to the Fifth Dynasty. The last king mentioned on the Palermo Stone is Neferirkare, the third of nine kings of the Fifth Dynasty. Other, smaller fragments of the original monument are found in the Egyptian Museum in CAIRO and the University College of London. The Palermo Stone is named after the Italian city where it is kept.

pantheism Belief that the sacred essence of DEITIES is represented in all aspects of the natural world; a view found in virtually every region of the African continent. The term *pantheism* has been widely used to describe the way in which many African religions were organized around the natural cycles of their environment. During ancient Egypt's OLD KINGDOM (c. 2705–2213 BCE), for example, a family of nine deities represented every element of the universe. Known as the Ennead, this family included Atum, identified with the sunset; Shu, god of the air; and his twin sister, Tefnut, goddess of the dew.

Other aspects of pantheism can be seen in the beliefs of the AKAN farmers of present-day GHANA, who expressed their reverence for the earth in a myth in which the supreme deity, Nana Nyame, created the sky, the earth, order, and destiny. According to the myth, Nana Nyame completed the task in the northern region on a Thursday (Asase Yaa) and in the southern region on Friday (Asase Efua). It therefore was decreed that on those days the earth could not be plowed, defiled by the spilling of blood, or subjected to any other misuse.

See also: DOGON (Vol. II); NUER (Vols. I, II) POLYTHEISM (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

papyrus Common name for the *Cyperus papyrus* plant from which the Egyptians made their WRITING material. For centuries papyrus, which resembled parchment, was the main writing material of ancient EGYPT. Its use was probably widespread by about 3000 BCE, although the earliest known example dates back only to 2500 BCE. Eventually papyrus was also used in GREECE, the Middle East, and ROME. Books, as we know them today, are more closely related to the papyrus rolls of ancient Egypt than to any ancient writing material that preceded it.

The papyrus plant was cultivated along the banks of the NILE RIVER. According to Pliny the Elder, the paper was made by first removing strips of the pith from the stem of the plant. The strips were then laid alongside

each other, and another row of strips was placed crosswise over the first row. The two rows of strips were dampened with water and pressed together. The sap of the plant acted like glue and sealed the strips together into a sheet that was hammered before drying.

The result was a sheet of white material that, if all went well, had no marks or defects. The size of the sheet varied, but a typical sheet was 5 to 6 inches (12 to 15 cm) wide. The sheets were then pasted together to form long rolls. The length of the rolls varied, but usually no more than 20 sheets were pasted together into a roll. Sheets could be added to a roll as needed.

Perhaps the best-known use of papyrus was for the mortuary texts collectively known as the Egyptian BOOK OF THE DEAD. Egyptians, preoccupied with an interest in the AFTERLIFE, wrote texts that they thought would safely see the dead to another world. Many of these papyri remained well-preserved. Being an organic substance, papyrus was subject to gradual deterioration. Keeping the material out of the light and free of organisms helped to preserve it, as did the dry CLIMATE of Egypt.

Just as scribes working with clay tablets had previously created a decorative style of writing that incorporated HIEROGLYPHICS, papyrus inspired Egyptians to create new styles of handwriting. Two cursive styles were created, one considered priestly and called HIERATIC, and the other a more simplified style of hieratic called DEMOTIC. The actual writing was usually done by a SCRIBE, a well-respected government official who worked in the temples and PYRAMIDS. Papyrus was also used to write down prose, poetry, religious and scientific texts, myths, and stories.

Although the main use of the papyrus plant was to make paper, ancient Egyptians also used it to make sails, rope, mats, sandals, garlands, wreaths, and baskets. When dried, the roots of the plant were used for fuel. Caulk was derived from the pith of the stem, and the pith also was boiled and eaten.

The papyrus plant is a perennial and comes back year after year. An aquatic plant, it thrives in flowing water and has been described as grass-like and graceful. The common variety grows to approximately 15 feet (4.6 m) in height, although a dwarf variety is often used today as an ornamental plant.

pastoralism Way of life characterized by the upkeep of DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, including CATTLE, GOATS, sheep, CAMELS, zebus, and yaks. Pastoralists and their animals have a long history of mutual dependence. According to archaeological evidence, one of the earliest African pastoralist cultures dates back to the period 3800 to 3000 BCE (and perhaps to as early as 7000 to 5000 BCE). Excavations from Kadero and Esh Shaeinab in the NILE VALLEY suggest that these early pastoralists, generally known as the NUBIAN A-GROUP, migrated through this region with their herds, eventually encountering the STONE AGE Akban culture near the second cataract of the Nile.

Herds supplied many products for these and other ancient pastoralists. Meat, milk, and blood provided nutritional FOOD products. Animal skins were used for making clothing and tents, while bones were made into tools and other household items. Because their animals were so vital to their survival, it was important to early pastoralists to maintain the health and numbers of their herds.

The populations of the pastoralists' herds were maintained by the techniques commonly associated today with animal husbandry to control the breeding of the animals. Food supplies for the animals were equally important, and they often were maintained by a migratory process known as transhumance. In some areas transhumance was affected by seasonal changes. In wet seasons, for example, groups frequently remained sedentary, cultivating grains of various kinds. In dry seasons, however, entire communities often had to pack their belongings onto their animals and go in search of new pastures. The Fulani of the

This undated drawing from the tomb of Puimre shows papyrus plants being harvested in the time of Thutmose III (C. 1504–1450 BCE).
© Bettmann/Corbis

western SAHEL, the MAASAI, Turkana, and NUER of East Africa, and the Khoikhoi of the south all practiced forms of transhumance. Other forms of herding, usually described as nomadic, occurred in drier regions in or near the SAHARA DESERT. The TUAREGS, Moors, and Bedouin of these areas maintained herds that consisted mainly of camels and goats. These herds were successful because of these animals' ability to feed on tree leaves when pastures could not be located.

Over the centuries pastoralism determined where people lived and influenced their economic, social, and cultural outlook. Ownership of animals defined wealth and power, often causing local wars over pasturelands and water rights. From a social and cultural standpoint, herding became a tradition passed down from one generation to the next via RITES OF PASSAGE. Other traditions among pastoralists included celebrations, from sacrifices to dances, that acknowledged the importance of herds to the people's culture and survival.

See also: BORAN OROMO (Vol. I); GEBEL SILSILA (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Andrew B. Smith, *Pastoralism in Africa: Origins and Development Ecology* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1992).

Persian conquest

Persian conquest   Period during which EGYPT was conquered and ruled by Cambyses II of Persia; lasted from 525 BCE to 405 BCE. With roots in parts of present-day Iran and Afghanistan, ancient Persia became the center of a vast empire under its most famous rulers Cyrus the Great (r. c. 550–530 BCE), DARIUS I (550–486 BCE), and Xerxes I (r. 486–465 BCE). Cyrus the Great first vanquished the Medes, Persia's neighbors on the Persian Plateau. He then began a series of conquests that established the Persian Empire: Lydia fell around 545 BCE, and by 539 Cyrus had been named king of Babylon.

The Persian Empire soon included most of the known world, from North Africa and southeastern Europe in the West to India in the East. At the height of its power, Persia ruled an area almost as large as the continental United States.

Cyrus's successor, Cambyses II (r. c. 529–521 BCE), crossed the harsh Sinai Desert in 525 BCE and attacked Egypt, which was well into the 700-year-long period of decline and foreign domination that began in 1070 BCE, toward the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. Betrayed by the Greek mercenary soldiers they had hired, the Egyptians were defeated by the Persians in the battle at Pelusium.

Cambyses II was succeeded by Darius I and then by Xerxes I, who faced revolts in Babylon as well as Egypt. Egypt revolted against Persian rule in 405 BCE, during the reign of the Persian emperor Artaxerxes II, and remained an independent state until it was conquered again, first by the Persians in 341 BCE, and then, in 332 BCE, by ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE), the Macedonian ruler who added Egypt to his growing empire.

Phoenicians

Phoenicians   Ancient Semitic seafaring people who were noted as merchants, traders, and colonizers. They inhabited the area that is now Lebanon and part of Syria and Israel. Phoenician civilization flourished in the first millennium BCE. Little is known of the Phoenicians' roots, but the Greek historian HERODOTUS (484–425 BCE), among others, placed their original homeland in the Persian Gulf. The Phoenicians migrated to the Mediterranean region about 3000 BCE and soon began to extend their influence along the southeastern coast of Asia Minor, with settlements at Joppa (or Jaffa, now Yafo), Acre, Dor; at Ugarit, in EGYPT, where they carried on extensive trading; and the northern coast of Africa, where, between 814 and 750 BCE, they founded CARTHAGE. That city became a wealthy trading center, the head of a western Phoenician empire, and one of the most important cities of Africa.

Perhaps the most significant Phoenician contribution to culture and progress was the development of a 22-letter alphabet that became the basis of the Greek alphabet and the ancestor of the Roman alphabet, in which most European and African languages are written. The Phoenicians are also credited with using Polaris, the North Star, as an aid to navigation. Their name for themselves was the Kena'ani and they are probably the Canaanites of the Bible. Their chief cities or, more properly, city-states, exclusive of their colonies, were Tyre, Sidon, Byblos (now Jbail), and Berot (now Beirut), each of which had its own king. Sidon was famous for its embroideries; Tyre was well known for its fine cloth, dyed with Tyrian purple made from the snail *Murex;* and Byblos—the word *bible* is derived from its name—was a trading center for PAPYRUS. Ivory and wood carvings and metalwork became Phoenician specialties. It is thought that the Phoenicians originated the art of glassblowing, or shaping glass without the use of molds, during the first century BCE.

The Phoenician Homeland   Phoenicia's early history is intertwined with that of Egypt's. By the 16th century BCE, the two states were carrying on extensive TRADE AND COMMERCE. Egypt controlled the Phoenician city-states for a time, but by the 14th century BCE, Egypt had lost its hold over them, and the Phoenician city-states were independent once more. Their independence was threatened again in the ninth century BCE when they came under attack by the ASSYRIANS. In 868 BCE the Assyrian king Ashurnasipal II exacted tribute from the Phoenician city-states and began a pattern of Assyrian supremacy over and occasional collection of tribute from the Phoenicians that lasted almost 200 years. In 678 the city-state of Sidon rebelled against the Assyrians, but they destroyed the city and rebuilt it on the mainland. Tyre re-

sisted Assyrian sieges in 672 and 668 but succumbed toward the end of the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–627 BCE), the last great king of Assyria.

As patterns of dominance in the Middle East shifted, so did Phoenician independence. Nebuchadnezzar II, the king of the new Babylonian empire from 605 to 562 BCE, sacked Jerusalem in 597 and then besieged Tyre, which held out for 13 years before it finally fell. The Persians were next, capturing the Phoenician states in 538 and making them—along with Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus— a province of the Persian Empire. The ships of Tyre and Sidon were considered the finest vessels in the fleet that Persian emperor Xerxes assembled in 480 BCE to invade GREECE. They fought at, and were defeated in, the famous battle of Salamis, which helped end the Persian threat to Europe. In 345 BCE Persia quelled an unsuccessful revolt against its empire by Tyre and Sidon.

The pattern of domination by the major empires of the age continued unabated. ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE) captured Tyre in 332 BCE and brought Phoenicia under Macedonian rule. His successors fought among themselves for control of the Phoenician city-states and their commercial resources. At the same time, the cities prospered and became centers of learning as well as trade, and the distinctive Phoenician cultural identity began to disappear. Greek replaced Phoenician as the language of culture and learning, and Aramaic became the language of the common people. In 64 BCE the Roman general Pompey the Great made Phoenicia part of the Roman province of Syria, although Tyre and Sidon remained self-governing. Phoenicia and the rest of Syria fell to Muslim invaders in the seventh century CE.

Phoenician Colonies   The Phoenicians never developed any kind of central federation or common government. The city-states had their own kings, whose power always seemed to be limited by wealthy merchant families. Because their primary interest was commercial, the Phoenicians were not looking for lands to settle; instead, they were in search of anchorages and staging points from which they could mount trading expeditions. They often chose offshore islands and impregnable-looking promontories that offered maximum protection and safety.

The Phoenicians had settlements on the island of Cyprus in the Mediterranean in the ninth century and on Malta by the seventh century BCE. Both islands were stops on the route to Spain, an important source of silver and tin. Tradition has it that a Phoenician colony was founded at Gades (modern Cádiz) as early as 1130 BCE, but no Phoenician artifacts dating back earlier than the eighth century BCE have been found. Gades became one of the most important outposts of Phoenician power and, around 205 BCE, the Romans seized it from the control of the Phoenician colony of Carthage. Later, after the Muslim invasions of Spain, it became a Moorish stronghold.

The oldest Phoenician colony in Africa was Utica, founded in the seventh century BCE and located about midway between Tunis and Bizerte, TUNISIA. Utica and its neighboring colony of Carthage, which was founded around 750 BCE on a peninsula near modern Tunis, were almost equal in power. These colonies, along with Motya (now Mozia) in Sicily, gave Phoenicia practical control of the Strait of GIBRALTAR. Carthage itself established a number of settlements in what is now Tunisia, ALGERIA, MOROCCO, the Balearic Islands, and southern Spain.

Carthage was unique among Phoenician colonies because it was not politically dependent on the city-states back home. Babylonian pressure on the city of Tyre in the Phoenician homeland forced Carthage to act independently and respond to Greek pressure on the Mediterranean island of Sicily. The Carthaginians successfully defended their colonies of Motya and Panormus (now Palermo) and limited the Greek presence in Sardinia. An alliance in 450 BCE with the Etruscan cities on the Italian mainland successfully kept the Greeks from contact with Spain. The worth of the alliance was short-lived, however, as Etruscan power declined after 500 BCE. In 480 the Greeks vanquished a Carthaginian army at Himera, in Sicily. Because the Phoenician fleet, sailing in Persian service, was all but destroyed by the Greeks at the battle of Salamis that same year, the Phoenician homeland could offer no help.

Carthage's presence in Sicily began to increase about 410 BCE. Eventually Carthage came to rule much of Sicily, though the extent of their rule varied at different times. In the years following 265 BCE, however, an expanding ROME vied with Carthage for control of the island. Carthage lost the three PUNIC WARS fought against Rome from 264 to 241 BCE, from 218 to 201 BCE, and from 149 to 146 BCE. During the second Punic War, a daring invasion of Italy was launched by the famed Carthaginian general HANNIBAL (247–183 BCE), who almost won the war for Carthage. Hannibal led an army of 60,000 soldiers from Spain across the Pyrenees, into France, and across the Alps to invade the Italian Peninsula. In 216 BCE, at the battle of Cannae, he dealt the Romans their worst military defeat up to that time. Nonetheless, Carthage lost the second Punic War when its army was defeated at the battle of Zama, in North Africa. Totally destroyed at the end of the third Punic War but rebuilt as a Roman colony in 44 BCE, Carthage later became an important city in the Roman Empire. Punic, the last extant dialect of the ancient Phoenician language, was spoken in North Africa until the fifth century CE, when it, too, died out.

The city was overrun by the VANDALS around 430 CE. The final destruction of Carthage came in 698 at the hands of Arabs.

Further reading: Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Piankhy (Piye, Peye) (r. c. 750–716 BCE) *King of ancient Kush*

Piankhy appears to have inherited the throne of KUSH from his father, King KASHTA (c. 800–750 BCE), who first initiated Kush's invasion of EGYPT. A number of conflicting dates are given for Piankhy's continuation of his father's efforts, but it is generally believed that the Kushite conquest of Egypt was completed by around 750 BCE. In the course of this invasion, Piankhy had to rid LOWER EGYPT of the last of the ASSYRIANS, and he also quelled growing rebellions initiated by Tafnak, prince of Sais, in the northern delta region.

On a monumental stone stele now housed at the Cairo Museum, Piankhy left engraved details of both his life as a king and his many battles. The Stele of Victory, as it is known, contains a long description of Piankhy's martial achievements. Another stele describes the Kushite empire and proclaims the glory of the supreme being known as AMUN.

Despite his victories Piankhy did not remain and rule in Egypt (something his successors would do over the next 100 years). Instead, he and Kenensat, his "Great Royal Wife," ruled Egypt from Napata.

The kings who founded Egypt's Twenty-third Dynasty (c. 850–725 BCE) started a long-standing tradition of powerful women priests. Their purpose was to diminish the growing power of the priesthood by transferring the power held by the priests to the daughters of the royal house. The women acquired large estates, as well as political authority. Given the title "Divine Wife of Amun," they became priestesses, living only in Thebes and remaining celibate for life. They were attended by servants who also were expected to be celibate.

Images of the priestesses are prevalent in Egyptian artwork, where they generally are depicted making the ruler's ritual offerings to the gods. The tradition continued for 200 years, with each female successor symbolically adopting a daughter of the ruling king. When the priestesses died they were given royal burials, and memorial temples were established in their honor. This tradition was well established when Piankhy conquered Egypt. Adapting it for his own ends, he installed his sister AMENIRDIS I (r. c. 760–c. 747 BCE) on the throne as "Divine Wife Apparent." Amenirdis was then "adopted" by the priestess Shepenupet I and, in turn, adopted her own niece—Piankhy's daughter—Shepenupet II.

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polygamy

Generic term for plural marriage, or marriage to more than one spouse at the same time. The word *polygamy* refers to plural marriage in general. The marriage of a woman to more than one man is more specifically called *polyandry*. The marriage of one man to more than one woman is called *polygyny*. Of the two forms, domestic situations involving polygyny are far more common. It is said that about 80 percent of the world's societies recorded by anthropologists have practiced polygyny. Polyandry often takes the form of brothers sharing the same wife. Polygyny often takes the form of sororal polygyny, in which two or more sisters are married to the same man.

Historically, bigamy, or marriage to additional spouses, appears to be the most common form of polygyny, although Muslim law permits a man four wives, provided that he can support them. Hindu religious law and customary marriage, as practiced in Africa and other places, puts no limit on the number of multiple spouses.

Marriage patterns followed in remote rural areas may shed light on probable practices of centuries ago. In West Africa, where polygyny was common, families often consisted of a man married to several wives, each of whom was the head of a household that included herself and the children she bore. The children might address each woman as "mother," but everyone knew to which subfamily the children belonged. The first, or senior, wife in such circumstances often had some measure of primacy or authority over the other wives. Such ranking, which extended to LESSER WIVES as well, was an attempt to avoid or decrease the possibility of jealousy among wives. It was also intended to lessen rivalry between children, especially when there was something of significance, such as a royal title, to inherit. Traditionally, the oldest son of the senior wife was the heir apparent.

BRIDE-WEALTH, or a bride-price, was traditional among many African peoples, such as the matrilineal Makonde of what is now TANZANIA, as well as many patrilineal societies in sub-Saharan Africa. The bride-price involved the groom's giving items of high value to the bride's father. The practice, seen as an act of respect for the bride and her FAMILY, compensated them for the loss of her services and gave the husband the right to future children. (Wives and children were considered the property of the husband.) The CATTLE herders of East Africa paid their bride-prices in cattle. Among the MAASAI, the NUER, and the Turkana, the groom often had to borrow cattle from kinsmen to pay the bride-price and, as a result, stayed in debt to older male relatives for many years.

Polygynous marriages most often occurred among kings, chiefs, very wealthy merchants, and nobles. Concu-

binage was rare due to polygyny. Most males could afford only one wife, or, at the most, two wives.

In contemporary Africa polygyny in traditional societies is disappearing under pressure from church, governmental, and civil rights groups that are committed to protecting the rights of women and children.

See also: WOMEN IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I).

polytheism   In Africa, the sacred belief in lesser DEITIES as an extension of a supreme being. Many African religions observe both MONOTHEISM and polytheism. As recent studies have shown, throughout history a number of significant African religions have recognized a supreme being. Although not every group supported the idea of lesser deities, the groups who did appear to have been widespread. For example, the Dogon of present-day MALI, one of the more ancient ethnic groups of West Africa, recognized eight mythical ancestors, known as the Dyongou Serou (the Octad). The Dogon believed that, along with a supreme being known as Amma, these ancestors were the creators of civilization. In a somewhat different vein, ritual possession by the Mboatsia, or "little people" of the forest, was considered a high religious calling among the Fante of present-day GHANA. However, the Fante also acknowledged that the Mboatsia derived their power from the high god Nyame. Similarly, Wennam, the supreme deity of the Mossi, designated power to earth custodians known as Tenga Soba Nama. Through offerings, these custodians controlled the natural environment and enabled farmers to survive.

See also: FANTE (Vol. III); PANTHEISM (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); TOTEMISM (Vol. I).

Further reading: William R. Bascomb and Melville J. Herskovits, eds., *Continuity and Change in African Cultures,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959).

pottery   Vessels molded from wet clay and hardened by applied heat. Recovered pottery in Africa has been linked to the rise of early civilizations whose economies developed as a result of the mass production, storage, and trading of FOOD. The range of pottery types and sizes provides some idea of the variety of food grown and consumed in ancient periods.

The Process of Pottery Making   Some of the earliest evidence of pottery making comes from the fishing and foraging communities that inhabited the banks of the NILE RIVER near KHARTOUM, about 7000 BCE. Since the process of making pottery almost always begins with the collection of clay, it is not surprising that archaeologists recovered pottery shards, or fragments, in this region. Using digging sticks and hoes, the clay was collected from pits, transported to a designated site, and allowed to dry. Then it was pounded with mortars, cleaned of unwanted

particles, and left to soak in water for several days. Potters often used tempers to strengthen the clay, including straw, animal dung, chaff (grain husks), river pebbles, and old pottery. Adding this material also helped reduce shrinkage and avoid cracking during the firing process. For example, around 5200 BCE, inhabitants of Faiyum, 45 miles (72 km) southwest of present-day CAIRO, made pottery from coarse clay tempered with chaff. This community produced small bowls, cups, cooking bowls, and pots with knobbed feet or rectangular patterns.

Specialized techniques used to create pottery included the coil technique, which was developed by women potters along the West African coast. This technique involved adding and shaping a continuous roll of wet clay to the pot with one hand while it was rotated on a flat surface with the other. Other societies used a convex mold method. It involved pounding a flattened piece of clay on a rounded surface.

Adaptation to particular soils led to variations in these methods. When the clay achieved the desired shape, two final phases completed the process. During the pre-firing phase, the pots were turned down over small fires that helped dry out any remaining moisture from the clay. Direct firing was the final phase, usually taking place in wide-open areas. The clay pots were stacked over layers of fuel such as dried grass, MILLET chaff, or wood. Then, after being "fired" for a few hours, they became hardened, serviceable vessels.

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As the methods of pottery improved, distinctive styles and patterns were linked to specific societies. Archaeologists have been able to determine that these styles and patterns spread to neighboring regions. For example, during the Early IRON AGE, dimple-based pottery was first used along the northeastern shore of Lake VICTORIA and some time later in Urewe, KENYA, southern UGANDA, northwestern TANZANIA, RWANDA, BURUNDI, and the Kivu province of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Named for the thumbprint found on the base of recovered bowls and pots, dimple pottery was notable for its decorative patterns.

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Pottery-Making Cultures   Pottery shards found at archaeological sites generally indicates a settled farming community. IRON AGE farmers were skilled in making baked clay pots, which they decorated with patterns of grooves and other shapes. These pots were used to carry and store water and other liquids and to cook foods.

The region that is now NIGERIA is particularly rich in examples of pottery. Some of the oldest examples are from

the NOK CULTURE, which flourished from about 500 BCE to 200 CE. The Nok left behind many terra-cotta figures, some as large as 4 feet (1.2 m) tall, that show evidence of a highly advanced mastery of technique. Animal figures are presented very naturalistically, while humans are in stylized poses. Most of the Nok figures are heads, which appear to be parts of larger figures.

Examples of small, fine, thin-walled pottery dating from before 450 CE have been found at JENNE-JENO, an ancient city on the inland delta of the NIGER RIVER in the western Sudan region. Most of their ceramics have been dated from 1400 to 500 BCE, though this timeframe is questionable, since many of the items were not originally found by archaeologists.

Mbata pottery made by peoples living near Mabveni in southern ZIMBABWE date from the second century. Later pottery styles in the region are usually grouped as Gokomere-Ziwa ware and date from the third through the fifth centuries. Found near Lydenburg, SOUTH AFRICA, were a number of hollow ceramic heads dating from about 500 that historians think were used as religious or ceremonial MASKS.

See also: POTTERY (Vol. II).

praying mantis   Large, slender, slow-moving insect. The praying mantis measures between 1 and 5 inches (2.5 and 12.7 cm) in length. It has two large eyes and long, spiny front legs that it uses to hold the insects on which it preys. While waiting to feed, the mantis stands with these front legs raised, in a "praying" position. These insects are usually green or brown, which allows them to blend in among dried leaves and twigs.

The word *mantis* means "diviner" or "prophet" in Greek. The Greeks, however, were not the only people who thought these insects had supernatural powers. In southern Africa, the mantis is associated with Kaang, the creator god of the SAN people. Many myths are told about Kaang, including some in which he comes back from the dead.

According to one San myth, Kaang, a praying mantis, was eaten by an ogre, who then vomited him up. In another myth, Kaang was killed by thorns and had his bones picked clean by ANTS. Kaang then reassembled his skeleton and rose again. The San believe that Kaang created the moon from an old shoe.

prehistory   Time before recorded history. Africa's prehistory may be categorized as several linked phases including the Evolutionary Period, Early STONE AGE, Middle Stone Age, Origin of Modern Humans, Late Stone Age, Origin and Spread of Food Production, and the IRON AGE. The earliest phase of evolutionary history relating to primates dates back 80 million years. During this era primates went through changes that left them with an enlarged brain, improved vision, a better sense of smell, and more effective use their hands. Later, as they continued to develop, they spread to Asia, Europe, North America, and South America. From this group emerged a group that walked upright, *HOMO ERECTUS,* which is thought to be an ancestor of modern humans. Remains of such a group from 4 million years ago were found in the RIFT VALLEY in East Africa. In the Early Stone Age, which started about 2 million years ago, human ancestors began to make rudimentary tools from stones. Evidence relating to this period has been found in both East and South Africa. The Middle Stone Age, extending from about 200,000 to 100,000 years ago, showed greater advancement in tool production and subsistence patterns—including hunting, FISHING, and FOOD gathering. The period that followed, lasting from about 100,000 to 50,000 years ago, was one during which primates similar to modern humans inhabited Africa.

Ptah   Creator god of Egyptian RELIGION and patron of arts and crafts. Always depicted in human form, Ptah was especially venerated in MEMPHIS, the oldest and longest-lasting capital of ancient EGYPT and the city that, according to popular belief, owed its commercial success to the patronage of Ptah. Though supported by a strong and wealthy priesthood, his cult enjoyed little popularity throughout the rest of ancient Egypt. As a result, although there was a temple dedicated to him at Karnak, Ptah never attained the rank of a national god in the state religion in the manner of OSIRIS or AMUN-RA. In the myth of Ptah, the ideas of creation and creativity were closely linked. The theology developed at Memphis taught that the God had made the universe from nothingness by his thought and speech. He was believed to be the driving force behind even the most ordinary human activities, but particularly those of an artistic nature.

Ptolemies   Dynasty founded by loyalists to ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE) that ruled EGYPT from the fourth to the first centuries BCE. After Alexander's death, control of Egypt passed to one of his leading generals, Ptolemy. Assuming the throne, Ptolemy quickly launched a series of moves that in the following years effectively merged Egyptian and Greek cultures. Settlement by Greeks and Macedonians was encouraged, improvements in AGRICULTURE were made, and new industries were introduced. African trade with the Greek-oriented world increased, as did intellectual and literary ties.

Like the dynasty's founders, succeeding Ptolemaic rulers continued to balance Greek and Egyptian interests, leaning heavily, however, toward Greek culture. Nevertheless, during the Ptolemaic period, Egypt regained much of its lost splendor, if not its territorial and military power. The great Library of Alexandria became a center for learning and scholarship. Leading thinkers in everything from philosophy to mathematics to SCIENCE took part in the Egyptian revival.

In the end Ptolemaic Egypt lacked the military power to stand up to the growing influence of ROME. As a result, by the time the famous Queen CLEOPATRA came to the throne, she had to rely on political intrigue in order to maintain Egypt's independence. Eventually, about 30 BCE, a victorious Octavian claimed Egypt as a province of the Roman Empire.

See also: CAESAR, OCTAVIAN (Vol. I).

Further reading: Gunther Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Paul Edmund Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 2002).

Punic Wars   Series of wars, fought between 264 and 146 BCE, in which ROME vanquished the North African city-state of CARTHAGE. The first conflict (264–241 BCE) erupted over Carthage's attempt to exert its power in Sicily, just off the Italian coast. Rome, which had limited sea power at the time, was forced to develop its naval forces in order to meet the Carthaginian threat. However, after more than 20 years of primarily naval strife in which both sides suffered significant losses, Rome's fleet vanquished the Carthaginians and forced their retreat.

Barely 20 years later, in 218 BCE, war broke out again, this time over Rome and Carthage's competing interests on the Iberian Peninsula. During the conflict, Carthaginian forces, led by HANNIBAL (c. 247–183 BCE), succeeded in crossing the Alps and invading the northern and central Italian provinces, which they eventually occupied. Ultimately, however, Hannibal's forces were unable to subdue Rome, and their defeat in 202 BCE led to the end of the Second Punic War, in 201 BCE.

The peace terms that ended the second conflict exacted a great toll on Carthage in terms of monetary payments, loss of territory, and restrictions on its further development. In light of this, Carthage rebelled, sparking the Third Punic War (149–146 BCE). Once again, Carthage was defeated, this time even more soundly than before, and it never again became an force in the region.

See also: GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD (Vol. I).

Punt   Ancient trading region situated between the RED SEA and the Gulf of Aden in present-day coastal ETHIOPIA and DJIBOUTI. For centuries, Punt was a source of great wealth for EGYPT. Because of the abundant luxury goods they obtained there, including ivory, animal skins, and ostrich feathers, Egypt's pharaohs were in the habit of referring to Punt as "God's Land" and the "Land of Spirits."

Trading expeditions between Egypt and Punt began as early as the First and Second Dynasties, c. 3100–2686 BCE. The water route led traders first to ELEPHANTINE, then to the Red Sea ports of Koseir or Leucos Limen, and south to Punt. In contrast, trading caravans made their way from Punt to Egypt via overland routes along the BLUE NILE and Atabara Rivers. By the Fifth Dynasty (c. 2494–2345 BCE), local residents along the way were making such extensive demands for tax and tribute that traders abandoned the routes. They were replaced by direct sail, with most of the journeys being made during the summer months of June, July, and August.

Although others had journeyed there before, Egypt's King Sahure (r. c. 2708–2697 BCE) made the first recorded attempt to reach Punt by boat. Inscriptions tell how, during his journey, Sahure acquired vast quantities of myrrh, electrum (a natural alloy of GOLD and silver), and EBONY, as well as staves of wood for making storage containers. In return, the Egyptians supplied the Puntites with hatchets, daggers, and JEWELRY.

The HYKSOS invasion of Egypt, about 1700 BCE, temporarily halted expeditions to Punt, but trade resumed once the NEW KINGDOM was established, in 1570 BCE. One of the most famous expeditions of this era was made in 1495 BCE by Queen Hatshepsut. Images and inscriptions detailing that journey appear on three wall reliefs in Hatshepsut's temple of Deir-el-Bahri in Thebes. There, ships "journeying in peace to the land of Punt" are shown returning with myrrh resin, myrrh trees, ebony, ivory, "the green gold of Emu," and eye cosmetics. The reliefs also depict Puntites and their children being brought on board waiting ships, along with apes, MONKEYS, DOGS, and the skins of the southern panther.

Punt remained an unconquered region, and its trade with Egypt continued until the reign of RAMESSES II (r. c. 1304–1237 BCE. Punt's own trading networks eventually spread to AKSUM and East African ports. In time, these links extended to the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, Arabia, and Persia, as well as to India and the islands of the Indonesian archipelago.

Pygmies   Name, considered pejorative, for four small-statured, nomadic HUNTER-GATHERER societies, collectively called MBUTI. They have inhabited the ITURI FOREST in the northeastern part of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO for millennia. The word *pygmy* derives from the Greek word meaning "fist," which was used as a measure of length; the Mbuti were first described by Europeans in the writings of Greek authors.

pythons   Constrictor snakes found in warm, tropical areas. Pythons are not venomous. Instead, they usually kill by strangling their prey with their coiled bodies. The largest pythons have expandable jaws that allow them to swallow large prey, such as GOATS and pigs, whole.

The Naayire people of BURKINA FASO consider pythons to be sacred, noble animals. Long ago, according to one legend, a group of Naayire hunters decided to sleep in the jungle around a giant tree. During the middle of the night a python fell from the tree onto one of the hunters. The hunter woke up and discovered that a group of enemies was about to attack them. Because the python alerted the hunters to the attack, the Naayire decided never to hunt pythons again.

The African python, or rock python, often reaches a length of 21 feet (6.4 m). The 5-foot (1.5-m) ball, or royal, python lives primarily in equatorial western Africa. It curls itself into a tight ball with its head inside.

See also: COBRAS (Vol. I).

pyramids   Ancient stone structures that have a square base and triangular walls that meet at a point at the top. In the 27th century BCE King Djoser's architect, IMHOTEP, built Egypt's first step pyramid at SAQQARA, on the west bank of the NILE RIVER, near MEMPHIS. He built the pyramid by stacking six bench-shaped mounds, called *mastabas,* each smaller than the one beneath.

The largest pyramid in Africa, the GREAT PYRAMID at Giza, was constructed about 2540 BCE as a tomb for the Egyptian pharaoh, KHUFU. Rising to 481 feet (147 m), the Great Pyramid was the tallest structure on earth for more than 43 centuries. Two other major pyramids were built for Khufu's son, King Khafre, and a successor of Khafre, MENKAURE. Many smaller pyramids were erected over the millennium that followed the building of these massive structures. Pyramids were also built south of Egypt in ancient Nubia, north of present-day Republic of the SUDAN. In fact, there were more pyramids in ancient Nubia than in Egypt.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vol. I); KUSH (Vol. I); OLD KINGDOM (Vol. I); STEP PYRAMID OF DJOSER (Vol. I).

Further reading: Flora Simmons Clancy, *Pyramids* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), Edwards, I. E. S., *The Pyramids of Egypt* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1993).

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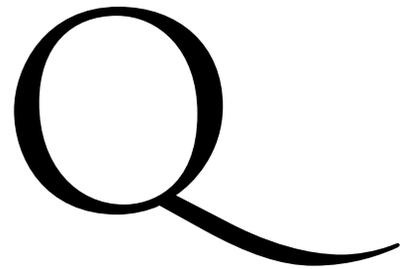
Qada culture Late STONE AGE culture that flourished in NUBIA from about 15,000 to 10,000 years ago. Made up of people who were HUNTER-GATHERERS, the Qada culture is the source of the earliest human remains recovered from the NILE VALLEY. These remains have been found in cemetery-like areas clearly separated from other settlement areas, with corpses carefully arranged in fetal positions.

Qattara Depression Low area in the SAHARA DESERT of the northwest EGYPT. It measures about 200 miles (322 km) long and 100 miles (161 km) wide at its widest point. Its lowest point lies 440 feet (134 m) below sea level. It is the second lowest point below sea level in Africa after Lake Assal, in DJIBOUTI. The Qattara Depression has uninhabited oases and a variety of landscapes, flora, and animal life.

See also: OASIS (Vol. I).

quartzite A commonly found rock made up largely of quartz; related to sandstone and granite. Quartzite comes from sandstone, which changes to quartzite when silica is deposited between the grains of quartz found in the sandstone. Quartzites are usually powdery white in color, although some forms are pink and gray. They are granular rocks that have smooth surfaces when broken. Many quartzites are ancient rocks, belonging to the Cambrian or Precambrian systems. Since they weather slowly and little soil accumulates on them, they are often found on the surfaces of hills or mountains.

In EGYPT, sandstone and granite—a rock that is also mainly composed of quartz—were often found in deposits above ground. Around the time of Egypt's Fourth Dynasty (c. 2575–c. 2465 BCE), cut blocks of sandstone and granite were used to construct temples and PYRAMIDS. Prior to that time, buildings were generally made of sun-dried mud bricks. Quartzite blocks were often used inside these sandstone monuments, and they have been found inside the burial chambers of Neferhotep and Ankh-Hor, in the city of Thebes. Quartzite blocks were also used in the LUXOR temple and in the shrine to RAMESSES II (r. c. 1304–c. 1237 BCE) in Tanis. The gold coffin of King TUTANKHAMUN (r. c. 1361–c. 1352 BCE) was placed in a quartzite sarcophagus, which was then enclosed in four gilt shrines. Quartzite was also used for carvings, including a large sculpture of Tutankhamun, a statue of Nedjem from the reign of Ramesses II, and a door lintel depicting Senwosret III between the minor gods Atum and Re-Horakhti.

Qustul Burial site of the rulers of the NUBIAN A-GROUP culture. Between approximately 3800 and 3100 BCE, Qustul was the center of a kingdom, known as Ta-Seti (The land of the bow), that was situated between the first and second cataracts of the NILE RIVER. Qustul was also the royal burial site of the later Nobatian dynasty.

The wealth and grandeur of the stone-lined pit graves in Qustul equal or surpass the Egyptian royal tombs found at ABYDOS, NAQADAH I AND II, and HIERAKONPOLIS. By about 3050 BCE the A-Group's kingdom was destroyed by a newly unified Upper Egyptian state based in Hierakonpolis. Then, during the First Dynasty (c. 3050–c. 2890 BCE), MENES conquered Lower NUBIA. It was probably about this time that the royal cemetery at Qustul was looted and destroyed.

Thousands of years later Qustul would again be a royal burial site, this time for the kings of the Nobatian dynasty. The Nobatians (also known as the X-GROUP) came from east of the Nile and took over much of Lower Nubia around 350 CE. The Nobatian kings used pharaonic symbols and worshiped ancient gods.

The Nobatian graves were made up of a collection of rooms with brick walls and vaulted roofs built inside a large pit dug into the earth. Aside from the body of the ruler itself, these rooms were filled with the furniture, POTTERY, FOOD, and weapons that kings believed they would need in the AFTERLIFE. Often animals were sacrificed at the tomb's entrance. The tomb would then be buried in a mound of earth.

The Nobatian dynasty ended around 550 CE, when they were defeated by the Nobatae, a group of recently converted Christian Nubians.

R

Ra Sun god and one of the most important of all DEITIES in the Egyptian RELIGION. Since Ra was worshiped in the city of Heliopolis, an ancient center of the cult of the sun, he is often referred to as "Ra of Heliopolis." The cult of Ra began in the early dynasties of the OLD KINGDOM, at which time he assumed many of the attributes of an earlier god, Atum. His prominence as the sun god is closely associated with the architectural development of the PYRAMIDS. Ra is depicted as a man with the head of a falcon, on top of which is a COBRA.

Ra is the god most closely identified with the pharaohs of ancient Egypt. About the time of the Fifth Dynasty (c. 2494–c. 2350 BCE) the concept that the pharaohs were the sons of the deity was firmly in place, and Sa-Ra, "Son of Ra," became part of the royal title. This divine claim continued throughout the rest of Egyptian history until the end of pharaonic rule.

Later, in the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–1070 BCE), Ra merged with AMUN, the sun god worshiped at Thebes. He thus become Amun-Ra, the supreme god of the state.

Further reading: Robert A. Armour, *Gods and Myths of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2001).

rain forests Regions in which heavy rain falls throughout the year, resulting in dense VEGETATION and plant cover. Tropical rain forests receive a minimum of 80 inches (203 cm) of annual rainfall. In addition they have warm temperatures of 70 to 80 degrees throughout the year. Rain forests are typically found close to the equator.

Contrary to popular belief Africa is not dominated by rain forests, which cover less than 7 percent of the conti-

nent. (The region with the greatest concentration of rain forests is Central and South America.) African countries with tropical rain forests include the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, GABON, CAMEROON, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, GHANA, NIGERIA, IVORY COAST, and TOGO.

See also: ECOLOGICAL ZONES (Vol. I).

rainmaker Ritual authority believed to hold the power of producing rain. Pastoral and agricultural societies look to the life-giving qualities of rain for their survival, since their lives are dependent upon crops and animal herds. Rain is considered a sacred occurrence, particularly in the arid eastern and southern regions. These societies center their beliefs and expectations around special intermediaries or ritual authorities who either acquire or inherit the appropriate knowledge and rites necessary to produce rain. Rainmakers perform annual public rites and lead FESTIVALS in order to focus community awareness. Privately they perform formulaic prayers, invocations, and sometimes even animal sacrifices in order to keep the proper balance between rainy and dry seasons.

Similar to the person chosen to perform as an ORACLE, a traditional rainmaker wields great power, serving alternately as a king or other ruling official. Rainmakers, for example, have been prominent among the Tonga, Bantu speakers of southern ZAMBIA, northern ZIMBABWE, and BOTSWANA, who have DEITIES that may be invoked to create rainfall. Similarly, the Lotuko of southern Republic of the SUDAN defer to the rule of rainmakers. Having inherited the title and ritual knowledge, Lotuko rainmakers traditionally preside over nine designated rain areas, and they also control the AGE SETS of their region.

Members of rainmaking castes often organize to regulate fees, notably among such peoples as the Mwari of SOUTH AFRICA and the Ibibio speakers of southeast NIGERIA. The rainmaking castes among the Fur people of Republic of the Sudan inherit their abilities and collectively carry out ritual sacrifice at designated shrines, including the tombs of their ancestors.

With few exceptions, rainmakers are men. The Lovedu of South Africa, however, traditionally chose a queen to perform the rainmaking rites. Their rain queen served as the political and divine ruler of the kingdom, with powers so closely tied to rainmaking that her death or anger could, according to the Lovedu, create a drought. The knowledge she used to make or stop rain was inherited from her predecessors and decreed by the gods.

In ETHIOPIA, Koma rainmakers take up residence in caves. Their rainmaking ritual calls for petitioners to bring gifts along with animal skins containing water. Ideally, once the water is consumed by the Koma in a public ceremony, rain follows. In contrast, the Udhuk, who also are from Ethiopia, use colored rain stones, which they maintain have fallen from the sky for that purpose. Other traditional practices include the burning of special leaves whose smoke pulls the rain down.

Aside from mystical rites associated with rainmaking, many of the ritual authorities traditionally relied more on methods involving the study of nature, the stars, the sky, and the habits of animals. Many were reportedly taught at a young age about the names and characteristics of leaves, roots, and tree barks in their surroundings. When coupled with ritual practices, their practical and esoteric knowledge created a formidable body of information. Occasionally, when such knowledge failed to produce rain, or to stop it, rainmakers were imprisoned or killed.

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Further reading: William R. Bascomb and Melville J. Herskovits, eds., *Continuity and Change in African Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959); John R. Hinnels, *Dictionary of Religions,* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995); John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Heinemann Education Publishers, 1999).

Ramesses I (Ramses I)   (r. c. 1320–1318 BCE) *Founder and first pharaoh of ancient Egypt's Nineteenth Dynasty*

Ramesses I came to the throne at a fairly advanced age, succeeding HOREMHEB, the last king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Like Horemheb, Ramesses I was a military officer, and he might have been favored by the heirless Horemheb because they had been comrades in arms.

Ramesses was not without experience when he came to power, however, having held a number of important government posts after leaving the army. Both his per-
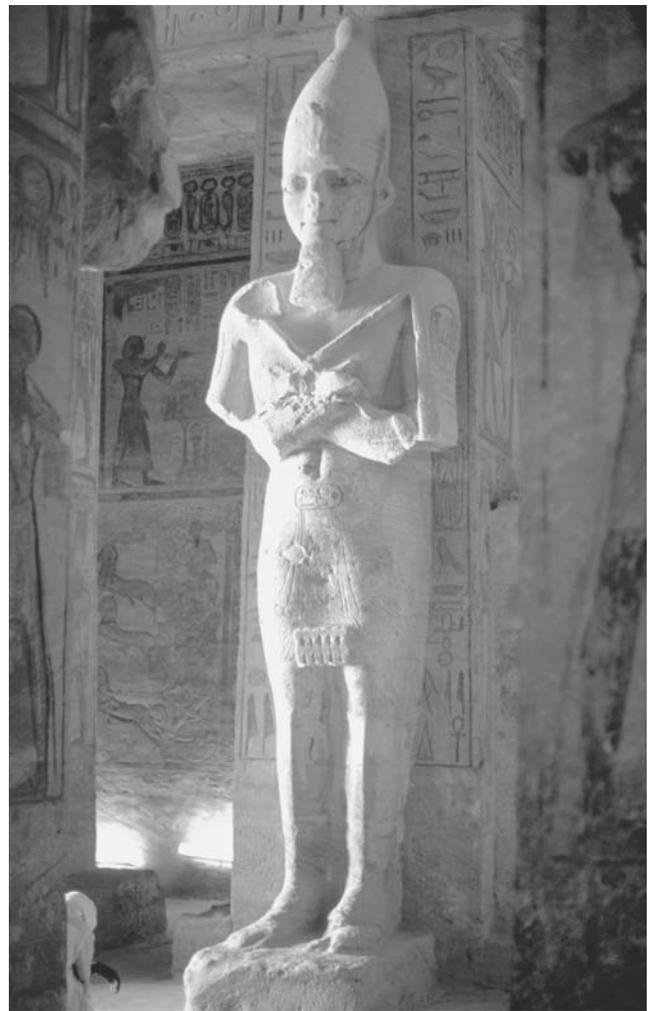
Ramesses II (r. c. 1304–1237 BCE) is depicted as the god Osiris in this 33-foot-tall (10 m) statue from the Temple of Ramesses II in Abu Simbel, Egypt. © *Gian Berto Vanni/Corbis*

sonal name (Ramesses, meaning "RA has fashioned him") and his royal name (Menpehtyre, meaning "Eternal is the power of Ra") emphasize his devotion to the traditional RELIGION of Egypt, rather than the newer cult of the AMARNA PERIOD. His reign lasted barely two years, and he was succeeded by his son SETI I.

Further reading: Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001).

Ramesses II (Ramses II, Ramses the Great, King Useraf, Ozymandias)   (r. c. 1304–1237 BCE) *The third pharaoh of ancient Egypt's Nineteenth Dynasty*

Ramesses II is considered by many the greatest pharaoh ever to rule ancient EGYPT, and he is surely the best known. The "Ozymandias" of the ancient Greeks, he

may also have been pharaoh at the time of the biblical exodus of the Jews from Egypt. The son of SETI I and Queen Tuya, Ramesses was co-regent with his father before becoming pharaoh in his own right at the age of about 25.

Ramesses was a great warrior whose victories over the HITTITES restored Egypt's supremacy over its neighbors. He resolved his final conflict with the Hittites with a masterpiece of diplomacy that is generally considered one of history's first international peace treaties.

Ramesses carried out building programs on a massive scale. The most impressive were his mortuary temple, the Ramesseum, at Thebes and Abu Simbel, a temple containing four gigantic seated figures of Ramesses. Another of his important constructions was a temple dedicated to OSIRIS, which was located at ABYDOS. A master in the art of self-promotion, Ramesses was not content with simple monument building. In his campaign to make his presence felt throughout his kingdom, he went so far as to put his name on the monuments built by other pharaohs.

In addition to having several concubines, Ramesses married many times throughout his very long life, fathering, it is reported, more than 100 children. His first and most important "Great Royal Wife," however, was Queen Nefertari. After her death, she was succeeded as queen by Istnofret.

Ruling for 67 years, longer than any other Egyptian pharaoh, Ramesses II lived to about the age of 90, outliving all but his thirteenth son, Merneptah, who succeeded him about 1237 BCE.

Further reading: Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001); Joyce Tyldesley, *Ramesses: Egypt's Greatest Pharaoh* (New York: Penguin, 2001).

Ramesses III (Ramses III, King Usermare-Meryamen)   (r. c. 1198–1166 BCE) *Second king of Egypt's Twentieth Dynasty*

The last great warrior-pharaoh and temple builder of the NEW KINGDOM and the son of Sethnakhte, the founder and first king of the Twentieth Dynasty, Ramesses III came to the throne after his father's short, three-year reign.

Ramesses III was eager to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor and hero RAMESSES II. Although he fell short of this goal, Ramesses III nevertheless managed several significant accomplishments during his 30-year reign. As a warrior, he waged two successful campaigns against the Libyans and defeated the confederation of invaders the Egyptians called the SEA PEOPLE. As a monument builder, his major achievement was the mortuary temple at DJEME (modern Medinet Habu).

Unlike many other pharaohs, Ramesses III lived well into old age. He not only survived a failed assassination attempt plotted by one of his minor wives, but he also outlived many of his sons and daughters. Ramesses III

was buried in the VALLEY OF THE KINGS and succeeded by his son and heir, Ramesses IV.

Further reading: Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001).

Ras Dashen   The highest mountain in ETHIOPIA and the fourth-tallest peak in Africa. Reaching 15,157 feet (4,620 m), Ras Dashen's nine jagged peaks and round craters tower above Ethiopia's northern landscape. Bordered by the Tacazze River to the north and south, the mountain is often capped by snow during the winter season. Ras Dashen is part of the Simien mountain range, which was formed more than 25 million years ago as a result of volcanic activity.

See also: RIFT VALLEY (Vol. I).

red crown   Crown of the ancient Egyptian pharaohs that represented northern or LOWER EGYPT, also called *DESHRET*. Until UPPER EGYPT and Lower Egypt were unified under one rule, c. 3050 BCE, each region had its own representative crown: red for Lower Egypt and white for Upper Egypt. The tradition of wearing both the red and white crowns is credited to MENES, or Narmer, founder of the First Dynasty.

Red Sea   Long, narrow waterway separating the Arabian Peninsula from the African continent. Measuring more than 1,400 miles (2,240 km) long and 220 miles (352 km) wide at certain points, the Red Sea reaches depths of an estimated 1,765 feet (582 m) to 9,974 feet (3,291 m). This waterway is part of the Great RIFT VALLEY system extending

Salt, one of the most important trade goods of ancient Africa, accumulates in deposits here along the shores of the Red Sea. © *Steve Kaufman/Corbis*

from eastern Africa to southwestern Asia. Geologists speculate that the Red Sea was formed millions of years ago, when Arabia and Africa broke apart as a result of great pressures within the earth's core. Its name comes from the unusual underwater algae found beneath its surface, which creates a reddish-brown appearance.

For centuries, scholars have debated whether the Red Sea might actually have parted during Moses' escape from EGYPT, as described in the Torah, Bible, and Quran. There is little doubt, however, that the Red Sea was one of the most active and important waterways of the ancient world. Its southern end was important to ancient expeditions from Egypt to PUNT, and sometime later, the trading ties between AKSUM and ROME, GREECE, and Asia. The Red Sea also provided a route for Egyptians, Romans, Arabs, BERBERS, and Turks to transport enslaved Africans from Nubia and the NILE VALLEY.

religion   Because of the various excavations in Africa, archaeologists have been able to formulate significant theories about the place that religious rites held for *HOMO SAPIENS* or *HOMO ERECTUS* prior to recorded history. Physical and cultural remains such as fossils, bones, and artifacts suggest that many early rites and worship practices were in place in this period.

In part the development of these religious practices may have been linked with the growth of hominid populations, as, apparently, a relatively large hominid population existed at the time. The size of this population may have generated the need for a social structure that formally recognized RITES OF PASSAGE such as birth, marriage, and death. Eventually, growing FOOD, raising animals, and other aspects of the struggle for survival also became part of these rites. Indeed, based on evidence found among the Samo in present-day BURKINA FASO and the IGBO in present-day NIGERIA, it is believed by some historians and archaeologists that early hominid settlements or villages were generally organized around a central altar.

Burial patterns have also helped archaeologists understand early belief systems. At sites located in ZAMBIA, ZIMBABWE, and MALAWI, archaeologists have identified scenes in which various kinds of funeral rites were being performed. Elsewhere, particularly in northern and southern Africa, excavations of mid-Paleolithic grave sites have uncovered stone tools that apparently were buried along with the remains of *Homo sapiens.* Caves located at Afalou-bou-Rhummel, in ALGERIA, and Taforalt, in MOROCCO, also show evidence of use as burial sites.

Excavations made at the NAQADAH I AND II sites, which date to the Predynastic Period (c. 4800–3050 BCE) of ancient EGYPT, also have revealed artifacts bearing directly on prehistoric religion. Archaeologists at the sites have unearthed engraved POTTERY, axes, stone pots, tools, and both arrow- and hammerheads, as well as COPPER objects, all associated with BADARIAN CULTURE. A number of the objects found in the graves at these sites contain drawn figures, and it is believed that some of these figures were used for ritual purposes. The exact meaning of these drawings—or exactly what those rituals were—is not clear. However, the rituals may be linked with the fact that a number of the graves, which generally are oval or circular in shape, contained multiple burials; beyond this, some of the corpses in these graves apparently had been deliberately dismembered.

Finally, there are many ancient megaliths in Africa, such as those found in present-day SENEGAL, The GAMBIA, and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. Many of these burial sites, which also apparently represented belief in the AFTERLIFE, date back to the NEOLITHIC PERIOD. Although much about these sites is not clearly understood, they may have been dwelling places for those buried within.

See also: FUNERAL CUSTOMS (Vol. I); RELIGION (Vols. II, III, IV, V); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

religion, traditional   Since ancient times, there have been literally thousands of religions in Africa, each shaped by the society that created it. The common thread that ties them all together is the underlying structure of social order they represent.

For centuries the interpretations of outsiders concerning non-Christian and non-Islamic worship practices in Africa have often been clouded by prejudice and ignorance because of the lack of comparable church structures, holy texts, or other sacred forms in Africa with which they could identify. This often led to a complete misreading of ritual devotion in the form of sacrifice, prayers, song, DANCE, artwork, myth, and ORAL TRADITIONS. Time-honored rituals were derided as well, including animal sacrifice, libations, and highly expressive forms of prayer.

For this reason, some ancient Greek and Roman travelers remarked that Africans had no RELIGION. This view has prevailed for many centuries, somewhat influencing even modern historians and anthropologists who attempt to establish interpretations or terms for aspects of religion they could not otherwise understand. For example, outmoded words like *paganism, fetish,* and *animism* were coined by anthropologists to describe highly complex and sophisticated concepts of deity, the physical tokens of this devotion, and the spiritual essence that animates the universe. These forms of expression have been passed down through generations, dating back to the prehistoric period.

Like the people of most ancient societies throughout the world, African peoples have learned how to make sense of the natural universe and its predictable and unpredictable attributes. Often, they did this by observing the cycles of night and day, plant life, the stars, and the phases of the moon. Such attempts to understand the

mysteries of the universe also meant learning to cooperate with the forces that ranged from life and death to the disastrous occurrences of floods, famine, and desertification. Cooperation and placation may have given way to forms of prayer incorporated into the routines of daily life in various forms of worship. These adaptations added a deeper meaning to life and attempted to answer essential questions about existence and purpose. Based on archaeological evidence of burials, remnants of offerings, and sacrificial remains, it appears that religion and religious rites were organized to depict the relationship between humans and the unknown.

Characteristics The term *traditional religion* generally refers to religious thought and philosophy that has its roots in African culture before and separate from contact with CHRISTIANITY or Islam. Traditional religion includes specific beliefs, ceremonies, and rituals carried out by designated ritual specialists, who include elders of the community, priests, RAINMAKERS, ORACLES, medicine men, and prophets. The values associated with these rituals are embodied in the presence of the ritual specialists and then passed down from generation to generation, during the process of which they are, of course, modified. It this way religion incorporates the history of the society through oral sources such as myths, proverbs, personal names, and language.

Rather than formalized patterns of liturgical prayer, the traditional worship that typified much of ancient Africa found expression in outward actions that included invocation, poured libation, offerings, prayer, and forms of MUSIC. (The latter usually called for drumming accompanied by song and dance.)

Ancient African societies generally made no distinction between sacred and secular activities; a devotional act was a vital force regardless of whether it was performed at designated shrines, in daily work chores, or in community FESTIVALS. Although no two societies worshiped in exactly the same way, there were many shared beliefs. Scholars find four common threads that are present in most traditional belief systems: believing in a Supreme Being, the religious pantheon, honoring ancestors, and believing in the afterlife.

Supreme Being Each ancient culture had a different name for the supreme being. In the IGBO language spoken in NIGERIA, the supreme being is called *Chukwu;* the AKAN of GHANA use the name *Onyame,* while the Ewe used *Mawu.* The YORUBA of Nigeria used the name *OLORUN,* or *Olodumare,* and the Mende of SIERRA LEONE refer to *Ngewo.* Considered the great creator, from time immemorial the supreme being has been viewed as omnipotent, omniscient, and compassionate—the highest form of life and the shaper of human destiny.

Many African societies, even in ancient times, have shared common myths that tell of the supreme being's omnipotence. These myths also explain that, while com-

munication between this being and humans continued, direct contact was somehow altered by the folly of humans. This contact was also affected by the fact that the deity placed intermediaries within the human sphere to meet the daily needs of people. The Mende of Sierra Leone provide an example of this pervasive belief, for, even in ages long past, they maintained that at one time Ngewo was close to humans. The Mende say that this changed when, after being given permission to ask Ngewo for what they needed, the people made so many requests that, in order to escape their demands, Ngewo retired to the heavens. In spite of the prevalence of such beliefs among ancient Africans, it was widely understood and accepted that the deity continued to be active in their lives but that divine intermediaries were the appropriate means through which people were to communicate their needs.

The Religious Pantheon The pantheon of gods represents various aspects of the natural world, and the gods serve as intermediaries to the supreme deity. The names of many gods and goddesses linked to the natural world have survived in traditional FOLKLORE and myths.

Annual FESTIVALS, many of which are still celebrated today, represent one of the earliest traditional forms of communal thanksgiving. These are especially common as expressions of gratitude to DEITIES for a successful or bountiful harvest of YAMS or other such crops. For the Mbaye of CHAD, for example, water, light, and the sun have long been considered powerful spiritual influences that require specific ritual offerings. In much the same way, the goddess Anuket, who personified the way in which the NILE RIVER nourished the fields in the regions bordering ASWAN, was honored in ancient EGYPT.

Sun and moon gods were worshiped by early Sabeans who crossed the RED SEA from Yemen, bringing their religious beliefs to the highlands of ETHIOPIA. It has been reported by some that MAKEDA, queen of Sheba, who ruled over AKSUM and the region of southern Arabia, was originally a sun worshiper. But following her involvement with Solomon and the embrace of his religious convictions, Ethiopia's unique form of JUDAISM came into being.

The *ORISHA,* who are associated with YORUBA religion, represent the most widely known intermediaries in Africa. Like other lesser gods or deities, each *orisha* has its own attributes of nature, as well as its specific favorite foods and taboos. There are also prayers, songs, and dances performed on certain days of the week. Generally, Yoruba devotees become aware of and familiar with the requirements of their own *orisha* through DIVINATION.

Ancestors The honoring of ancestors in Africa is not a religion in itself, nor is it a cult, as it has erroneously been portrayed by some historians. Instead, it represents a misunderstood aspect of African culture. In traditional African cultures, ancestors may personify the male and female founders of society. They also may be kings or even family members who provide a good exam-

ple of morality in their daily lives. As such they are viewed as important parts of the ongoing social structure.

Many forms of power have been attributed to ancestors, especially in ancient times, but this power generally lies within the scope of the society's needs and the ability to seek and receive help in a crisis. To offer the ancestral spirits both recognition and gratitude, certain types of shrines are erected at which prayers, animal sacrifices, masquerades, or similar ceremonies are performed.

In Chad the *qir ka,* for example*,* has long been regarded as a powerful ancestral male figure and plays a prominent role among the Sara people. Since theirs is a patrilineal society, legal rights, identity, and land are part of the power that is conferred to succeeding generations through links to this ancient individual.

Death, the Afterlife, and Burial Rites In Africa, death has always been considered the final of the RITES OF PASSAGE. Viewed as an act of inevitable fate from prehistoric times, the grave goods buried by early *HOMO SAPIENS* underscored an early belief in an AFTERLIFE. As time passed, these beliefs evolved, and the stone tools once found in prehistoric graves gave way to JEWELRY and to money for use in the afterlife. Belief in the hereafter, which often was held to be a replica of life on earth, sometimes supported the practice of human sacrifice, such as that carried out in CARTHAGE. It also spurred the construction of the burial tumuli of Nubia, which contained royal families, their close advisers, and their servants.

A number of ancient African societies also believed that, when death occurred, the deceased had to give accountings of their lives. This belief is reflected in ancient temples, most famously in EGYPT. There, wall paintings and other artifacts show the gods of the underworld waiting to devour the dead as their hearts are weighed on the sacred scales of justice by MAAT. Similarly, some societies, such as that of the Akan, believed in what they referred to as Asamando, the place at which the dead are judged for their past behavior. According to the Akan, this judgment was carried out by former kings, and wrongdoers were returned to earth, possibly to be born blind, lame, or deformed.

Many ancient African societies held two burial rites. The first was often done to remove the polluting presence and disruption caused by death. The second was to apply every possible ritual aspect to ensure that the spirit of the deceased had been satisfied. Because the second funeral often was one of extravagance, accompanied by appropriate displays of mourning, it was remembered long after by younger generations. In this way African religion was self-perpetuating, creating an endless cycle of birth and rebirth that affirmed the creative abilities of the deity.

See also: ANCESTRY (Vol. I); ARK OF THE COVENANT (Vol. I); BAOBAB TREE (Vol. I); CHRISTIANITY (Vols. I, II); CIRCUMCISION (Vol. I); DIVINATION (Vol. I); ISLAM (Vol. II); MASKS (Vol. I); MONOTHEISM (Vol. I); PANTHEISM (Vol. I); POLYTHEISM (Vol. I); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I); WITCHCRAFT (Vol. I).

Further reading: John R. Hinnells, ed., *The Penguin Dictionary of Religions* (London: The Penguin Group, 1995); John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Heinemann, 1999); T. N. O. Quarcoopome, *West African Traditional Religion* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Africa Universities Press, 1987).

rhinoceroses Large mammals found in Africa and Asia. In mythology, rhinoceroses served as inspiration for the unicorn, a mythical horned horse. Rhinoceroses are also associated with the ancient Egyptian mythological creature Amenti, a serpent that devoured sinful people in the AFTERLIFE. The rhinoceros was an exotic animal to ancient Egyptians. According to inscriptions, it was one of the prizes King THUTMOSE I brought back with him from an expedition in Nubia. Later, the people of AKSUM exported rhinoceros horns to lands as far away as China.

rhythm pounder Uniquely carved wooden figure used in funeral processions. Throughout the history of the Senufo people of IVORY COAST, the rhythm pounder has symbolized respect for the elders who were once important within the community. When these elders pass away, certain rites are needed to help them achieve the status of ancestor. As a rite of passage, this wooden carving, about 3 feet (1 m) high, is carried by a procession of mourners, who sway in accompaniment to the MUSIC of DRUMS and horns.

See also: AFTERLIFE (Vol. I); ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); FUNERAL CUSTOMS (Vol. I); SCULPTURE (Vol. I).

Rift Valley Geological fault system that spans 3,000 to 4,000 miles (4,828 to 6,437 km) from southwestern Asia to eastern Africa and was home to the earliest prehistoric people on Earth. The Rift Valley—*rift* meaning "depression," "trough," or "crack"—is also known as the Great Rift Valley, the Afro-Arabian Rift Valley, and the Eastern Rift Valley. It is one of the longest rifts on the planet. Geologists think the valley was created in a fault zone more than 50 million years ago. The Rift Valley has a wide variation in elevation, from around 1,300 feet (396 m) below sea level in the Dead Sea to about 6,000 feet (1,830 m) above sea level in KENYA. The width of the valley is 30 to 40 miles (48 to 64 km) on average. It measures only a few miles wide at its narrowest point and expands to 100 miles (160 km) at its widest point. From space, the Rift Valley in Kenya is clearly visible.

The Rift Valley enters Africa from the RED SEA, moves into ETHIOPIA, stretches southwest into Kenya, extends south through TANZANIA and MALAWI, and finally proceeds into MOZAMBIQUE, going through the lower ZAMBEZI RIVER valley to the Indian Ocean. The Rift Valley in Africa

is typically considered to be the main valley, with a western branch extending north along the eastern border of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Several freshwater and alkaline lakes are in the valley, the largest of which are in the western rift valley and include Lake Nyasa (also called Lake Malawi) and Lake TANGANYIKA.

Of the several Rift Valley lakes in Kenya, the largest is Lake TURKANA. It was along the shores of this lake that archaeologist Dr. Richard Leakey discovered hominid remains thought to be millions of years old. Using archaeological discoveries and oral history, scholars have gathered evidence that seems to support the theory that the human race originated in this area of Rift Valley. Evidence suggests that as early as the STONE AGE (c. 50,000 BCE) people lived near Lake Turkana and manufactured stone hand-ax tools. Then, around 10,000 BCE, the discovery of fire allowed for the invention of new ways of toolmaking. Cultures of hunting-and-gathering people developed in the area, and AGRICULTURE began around 1000 BCE in the Rift Valley, probably having been introduced by Kushites from Ethiopia.

Ancient irrigation systems have been discovered from this time, too. The Rift Valley is the location of an important IRON AGE site at Engaruka. This area in northern Tanzania was home to a large settlement of agriculturalists who irrigated the land for more than 1,000 years.

Several other lakes fall in the Rift Valley, including lakes Naivasha, Nakuru, Baringo, and Bogoria. Lake Naivasha is a freshwater lake and the highest of the Rift Valley lakes. Lake Nakuru is noted for the million or so pink FLAMINGOS that make their home there. Within the Kenyan part of the Rift Valley, animal life is abundant, including HIPPOPOTAMUSES, ZEBRAS, white and black RHINOCEROSES, LEOPARDS, GIRAFFES, buffalo, waterbuck, and several hundred species of birds.

See also: GEOGRAPHY (Vol. I); LEAKEY, RICHARD (Vol. V).

Further reading: V. Morell, *Ancestral Passions: The Leakey Family and the Quest for Humankind's Beginnings* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995); Anthony Smith, *The Great Rift: Africa's Changing Valley* (London: BBC Books, 1988).

rites of passage Term used by anthropologists to describe the special ceremonies that mark a person's development. Rites of passage occur in all societies of the world, the most common ones marking birth, the onset of adulthood, marriage, and death. Many of these rites have remained intact for thousands of years. Most have been carried out in culturally distinctive ways that include the use of ritual objects, feasts, song or DANCE, and special CLOTHING AND DRESS or JEWELRY.

Marriage in Africa offers a prime example of a series of smaller rites that culminate in a final ceremonial rite of passage. Some societies begin this process during early childhood. The Udhuk of ETHIOPIA, for example, traditionally marry at an early age, but individuals are permitted to choose their future spouses. After approaching their parents and gaining approval, the future bride wears BEADS, indicating that she is engaged. In contrast parents in the Kiga society of UGANDA make all the arrangements for marriage, and the young bride and bridegroom do not meet until the day of the wedding. Prospective husbands of the Wolof culture, in what is now The GAMBIA, ask intermediaries to carry KOLA NUTS, clothing, and other gifts to the FAMILY of the prospective bride. The presenting of gifts, known as BRIDE-WEALTH, is a crucial rite of passage that dates back to the times of Egyptian rule. The ruling elite, in particular, required that contracts be drawn between the groom and the father of the bride. It was generally held that the gifts strengthened the relationship between families united by marriage.

The actual marriage ceremony is the culmination of these rites and ranges from a simple act to highly demonstrative displays. Toro bridegrooms in Uganda carry their new wives on their shoulders to their new home in order to demonstrate to the community the high esteem that they have for their brides.

Funerals have traditionally been the most elaborate rite of passage performed in Africa, and they provide insight into the life of the deceased, while also affirming belief in the AFTERLIFE. For example, many societies bury their deceased with personal objects, a practice that dates back at least to the early Egyptian and Nubian kings who built lavish tombs to ensure a comfortable setting in the afterlife. In contrast, many nomadic hunting-and-gathering societies conduct a more simple form of burial, although it is no less significant to the living.

Among the lesser rites associated with funerals is the act of purification. In GHANA, when a married man or woman dies, the family of the deceased performs a traditional rite that simultaneously protects the surviving partner from the polluting effects of death and dissolves the marriage. When the period of mourning is completed, the former spouse is free to marry again.

See also: BURIAL RITES (Vol. I); CHILD REARING (Vol. I); FUNERAL CUSTOMS (Vol. I); INITIATION RITES (Vol. I).

Further reading: John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Heineman Educational Publishers, 1989); Gay Robins, *Women In Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

rock art Engravings and paintings, often in color, made by ancient peoples on stone surfaces. The earliest rock paintings date from the period 5000 to 2000 BCE and contain depictions of game animals. Some 30,000 examples of ancient rock art have been found in the SAHARA DESERT alone. Human figures, if shown, carry clubs, bows and ar-

rows, and other weapons for hunting. Rock ART is probably connected to the creators' religious beliefs or rituals.

Rock art in the Sahara, SOUTH AFRICA, and the NILE VALLEY offer strong examples of the relationship between the human and the unknown. In the Nile Valley, between Wadi Abbad and Wadi Hammama, for example, archaeologists have found evidence on rocks and POTTERY that show images and rituals that may preserve the roots of Egyptian RELIGION.

Early rituals are more clearly depicted in southern Africa, where paintings of the eland have been attributed to the SAN. In these drawings, the animals appear to symbolize prosperity, and the scenes generally include ritual DANCE that probably recognized this. Likewise, archaeologists have found rock art in the Congo region that dates back to the Late STONE AGE. Modern-day interpretations by people in the region indicate that one such rock bears moon and star symbols that have been in widespread use since ancient times.

A number of rock paintings with religious themes have been found in BOTSWANA, including scenes of a rainmaking ceremony in which a sacrificial animal is seen being led by what may have been priests. In caves found in Natal, South Africa, a rock painting of what is probably a religious scene shows women clapping for masked dancers. Elsewhere, in the Sahara region, including southern Oran and Tassili N'Ajjer, images have been found that show oxen with Egyptian-style discs, which many archaeologists believe predate the human form later assigned to the Egyptian deity HATHOR. Similarly, images of a ram with a sphere apparently predate the similar figure, but with a human form, later assigned to the Egyptian god AMUN.

In southern Africa, no site has been reliably dated to any time before the common era. The San, among others, continued the tradition of rock painting well into the 19th century, although some of these sites may contain the work of KHOIKHOI and Bantu-speaking artists.

See also: ENNEDI (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: David Coulson and Alec Campbell, *African Rock Art: Paintings and Engravings on Stone* (New York: Abrams, 2001).

Rome Italian city-state, republic, and empire that, by the beginning of the common era, ruled much of the European and Mediterranean world. The area of the Palatine Hills was originally settled by a people known as the Latins, who were inhabiting the area by about 1000 BCE. For a brief period the Latins fell under the dominance of a rival Italian people, the Etruscans, but they eventually freed themselves of Etruscan rule and, in 509 BCE, established the Roman Republic. Over the next 225 years, Rome gradually conquered neighboring peoples and territories until it had control of the entire Italian

Peninsula. Then Rome battled with CARTHAGE, its main rival in the western Mediterranean, in a series of conflicts known as the PUNIC WARS (264–146 BCE). In the ensuing conflicts, in which Rome defeated the powerful Carthaginian Empire in three separate wars, Rome came to dominate the islands of Sicily and Sardinia and, later, parts of Iberia and the North African coast.

By the end of the Punic Wars, however, the Roman republican system was crumbling. During the period dominated by Julius CAESAR (c. 100–44 BCE), Rome was caught up in turmoil that eventually brought an end to its relatively democratic form of government. Eventually, the republic was replaced by an empire in 27 BCE, when Octavian, the adopted son of Julius Caesar, assumed the name Augustus and became the first Roman emperor. During these years, c. 130–30 BCE, Rome expanded into northern Europe, Asia, EGYPT, and North Africa, forging an empire that controlled the region for almost 500 years.

Rome in Egypt As Rome expanded its power into Asia, it encountered the Egypt of the PTOLEMIES, the rulers who assumed control of Egypt after the death of ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE). Egypt finally fell securely into the Roman sphere of influence during the period of Queen CLEOPATRA (r. 51–30 BCE), who struggled to maintain her nation's independence by playing one side against the other in the dangerous game of Roman politics. She first sided with Pompey, an adversary of Julius Caesar, in their bitter and violent rivalry. Then, switching sides, she supported the victorious Caesar. Her subsequent affair with the Roman leader—and the birth of their son, Caesarion—helped her achieve an uneasy peace with the Mediterranean power, which gave Egypt a semblance of autonomy.

After Caesar's assassination, however, Cleopatra and her country were once again drawn into Roman politics. Marrying Caesar's protégé, Marc Antony, she set about trying to reestablish Egypt's full independence, as well as its position of power in Africa and Asia. The combined forces of Cleopatra and Antony, however, proved no match for Octavian, who defeated them at the famous naval battle of Actium, in 31 BCE. After his victory, Octavian assumed full control of Rome. Egypt became a Roman province, which it remained until the empire split into eastern and western spheres in 355 CE.

Rome in Kush and Nubia Once it was in control of Egypt, Rome began to exact tribute from the nearby kingdom of KUSH in Nubia. Despite this tribute, however, Roman forces repeatedly made advances into Kush territory, penetrating ever deeper towards Nubia. As a result Kushites began to attack Roman outposts, which led to quick retaliatory attacks by the Romans. Roman forces seized several Kushite towns and then marched on Napata, which they soon conquered and destroyed.

Although this three-year conflict resulted in a clear victory for Rome, the Kushites did benefit from the re-

sults. The KANDAKES, who played a major role in the Kushite military and government, appealed to the Roman leader, Julius Caesar, who, feeling that he was putting Rome in a tenuous position by overextending his troops, pulled back the Roman forces. He then restored the Egyptian-Kushite borders to their previous state, leaving Kush and Nubia relatively independent of Rome in the years that followed.

Rome in North Africa   Rome became a major power in North Africa as a result of its victories in the Punic Wars. Inheriting the power of the once-dominant Carthaginian Empire, Rome at first tried to rule northern Africa through a series of colonies—known as Africa Vetus—and client states, including NUMIDIA and MAURI-TANIA. For the most part, these client states, ruled by indigenous kings, enjoyed a great deal of autonomy, and they were able to prosper despite both the Roman presence and the occasional raids of indigenous BERBERS. However, JUGURTHA (160–104 BCE), one of the kings of Numidia, abused his power, angering the Romans and plunging Numidia into a six-year war that ended in Jugurtha's public humiliation in Rome. Later, in the turmoil that resulted from the conflict between Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus (c. 55–46 BCE), another Numidian king, JUBA I (r. c. 45 BCE), managed to consolidate power and establish a substantial degree of independence for his kingdom. The final victory of Julius Caesar in 46 BCE, however, marked the beginning of the end of this independence, as Juba's young son was taken to Rome to be raised, in Roman fashion, in Caesar's own household. As time passed, Caesar extended Roman rule, eventually transforming Numidia into what became known as Africa Nova. Later, in 33 BCE, the death of King Bocchus left Mauritania under Roman rule as well. Increased resistance to the Romans, which followed the death of Juba II, led to further Roman intervention. By 40 CE Rome had firm control of the region, retaining it until the empire crumbled in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Further reading: Susan Raven, *Rome in Africa* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Brent D. Shaw, *Environment and Society in Roman North Africa* (Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1995).

Rosetta Stone   Ancient stone bearing an inscription written in HIEROGLYPHICS, DEMOTIC, and Greek; it provided the linguistic clues that led to the first translation of Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Rosetta Stone was discovered by one of Napoleon's soldiers in August 1799 during the French military expedition to EGYPT. It was found near the NILE DELTA town of Rashid, whose ancient name was Rosetta. The stone itself is a slab of black basalt 46 inches (115 cm) high by 28.5 inches (72 cm) wide. The text of the stone is basically an inscription written in 196 BCE by the reigning king's priests. It honors the Egyptian
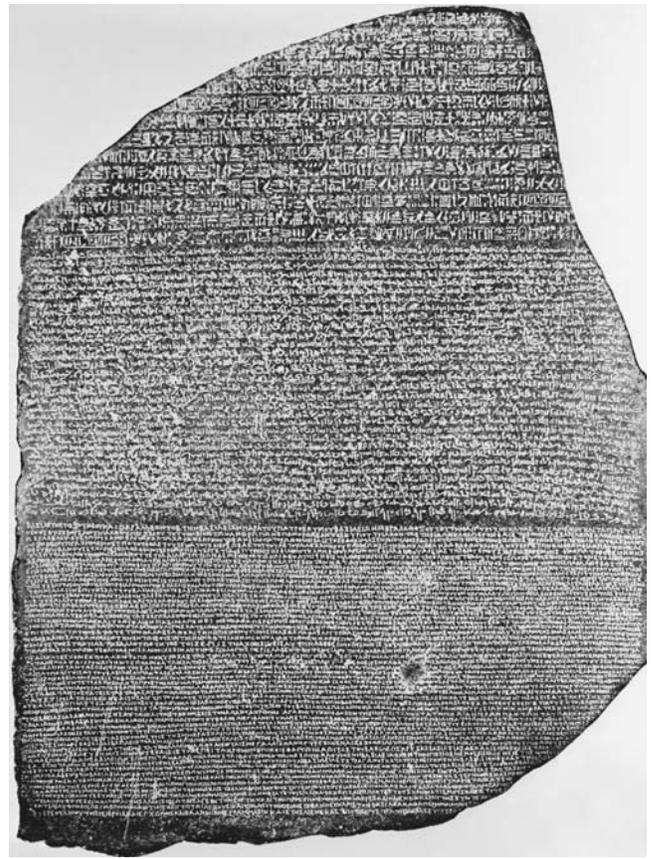
Because it provided the same text in three different languages, the Rosetta Stone enabled Champollion and Young to decipher the riddle of hieroglyphics. British Museum, London, England *© Bettmann/Corbis*

king Ptolemy V Epiphanes using three different writing systems—hieroglyphics, demotic (a simple version of hieroglyphics), and Greek. Through a comparison of the Greek and Egyptian texts, for the first time linguistic scholars were able to decipher ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics. From their study, they concluded that hieroglyphs are mainly phonetic, not the symbolic signs they previously were thought to be.

In 1802 Johan David Akerblad and the French scholar A. I. Silvestre de Sacy were the first to make headway in the translation of the markings on the stone. After identifying a few of the letters and some of the proper names in the demotic section of the text, the two scholars compared them with the same names found in the Greek section. Thomas Young, a British physicist, built on these findings by proving that proper names in hieroglyphics had phonetic value. Young also introduced the concept of *cartouches,* the writing of proper names enclosed by ovals. In 1814 Young further revealed that hieroglyphics should be read by studying the direction in which the bird and animal signs were facing.

The final breakthrough in the translation, which occurred in 1822, is credited to the French scholar Jean-François Champollion. Champollion recognized the signs used to write royal names such as Ptolemy. He then was able to draw on his knowledge of COPTIC Egyptian to unlock the phonetic values of the remaining hieroglyphs. One year later Champollion published his work in the famous *Lettre à M. Dacier.*

In 1802, under terms set forth in the Anglo-French Treaty of Alexandria, the Rosetta Stone was given to the British Museum in London, England, where it is still displayed.

Further reading: WRITING (Vol. I).

Ruvuvu River (Ruvubu)   One of the major rivers in the largely mountainous East African nation of BURUNDI. Fed by streams seeping from the plateaus east of Lake Kivu and Lake TANGANYIKA, the Ruvuvu originates not far from Bujumbura, the capital of present-day Burundi. The river, approximately 300 miles (483 km) in length, flows northeast across the country, forming a portion of the present-day eastern border with TANZANIA. After it joins with the Kagera River in RWANDA, the two rivers together form the southernmost source of the NILE RIVER and finally spill into Lake VICTORIA.

See also: LAKES AND RIVERS (Vol. I).

Ruwenzori Mountains   Mountain range in eastern Central Africa on the western branch of the RIFT VALLEY. The Ruwenzori Mountains stretch along 80 miles (129 km) of the present-day border between UGANDA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. The widest point spans 30 miles (48.3 km) and the highest point reaches over 16,700 feet (5,090 m) at Mount Margherita. Though this range lies just north of the equator, it has a permanent snow line at around 14,800 feet (4,511 m). The peaks typically lay under a blanket of mist or clouds. Several lakes, glacial lakes, and glaciers are found in the mountains. Ancient crystalline rock makes up the range, but the mountains contain substantial deposits of cobalt and copper. In ancient times these mountains were mistakenly thought to be the source of the NILE RIVER. Scholars think that the famous "Mountains of the Moon" described in the second century by Ptolemy are the Ruwenzori Mountains.

Ruzizi River (Rusizi)   River that marks part of the borders between the present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the west and BURUNDI and RWANDA to the east. The Ruzizi River traverses a 100-mile (161-km) course through the western RIFT VALLEY from Lake Kivu, the highest lake in Africa, south to Lake TANGANYIKA. Providing drainage for Lake Kivu, the river flows along the Rwanda-Congo border before entering the Imbo valley in Burundi. Forming the Burundi-Congo border, the Ruzizi River then enters Lake Tanganyika. Volcanic activity forces Lake Kivu's drainage to flow south through the Ruzizi River.

In Burundi the Ruzizi basin of the Imbo plains forms a freshwater system that includes 22 rivers and is one of the systems that contributes to the ample supply of freshwater in the area.

Rwanda   Landlocked country in eastern Central Africa covering approximately 9,600 square miles (24,900 sq km) and bordered by UGANDA, TANZANIA, BURUNDI, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Lake Kivu lies on Rwanda's eastern border. The first inhabitants of the area were probably the TWA people, short-statured HUNTER-GATHERERS who had settled there prior to the arrival of Bantu-speaking people early in the first millennium.

See also: RWANDA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

S

Sahara desert The world's largest desert and the only true desert found at 0° longitude. The Sahara, which means simply "desert" in Arabic, covers one-third of Africa, including most of North Africa, and extends approximately 3,320,000 square miles (8,598,800 sq km), an area roughly the size of the continental United States. The great desert measures 3,000 miles (4,827 km) from east to west and between 800 to 1,200 miles (1,287 to 1,931 km) from north to south. It stretches from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the RED SEA in the east. Its northern boundaries are the ATLAS MOUNTAINS and the MEDITERRANEAN SEA; its southern boundary lies along latitude 16° N and extends through parts of CHAD, NIGER, and the Republic of the SUDAN. The Sahara is one of the harshest environments on earth.

Geography The Sahara is crossed by the NILE RIVER and the NIGER RIVER, which sustain most of the region's human population. Only 2.5 percent (80,000 square miles/ 200,000 sq km) of the Sahara are oases, which are areas of farming and settlement. The water in an OASIS (which is almost always below sea level) comes from wells or springs fed by underground basins. The Sahara has about 90 large oases and many small ones that may support only one or two families. Some large oases have thousands of date palm trees planted, and farmers grow barley, wheat, and other crops. However, even the largest settlements on the oases sustain fewer than 2,000 inhabitants.

The main geographic features of the Sahara include shallow basins called *chotts* and *dayas;* gravel-covered plains called *regs;* rock-strewn plateaus; and sheets, dunes, and seas of sand, collectively called *ergs,* which cover about one-quarter of the desert's surface. The shifting, wind-blown sands in an *erg* can form dunes as high

as 600 feet (183 m). (Scientists have yet to explain the "singing" or booming of the sand dunes.)

Mountains and uplands cover the central portion of the Sahara. The plateaus of the Sahara, such as the Tademait Plateau in ALGERIA and the ENNEDI Plateau in Chad, are covered with angular weathered rocks. The Ahaggar Mountains in Algeria rise 9,573 feet (2,918 m) high. Mount Koussi in the Tibesti Mountains of Chad reaches a height of 11,204 feet (3415 m). The lowest point in the desert is Egypt's QATTARA DEPRESSION, 436 feet (133 m) below sea level.

Climate The highest temperature recorded is 136° F (58° C) at al-Aziziyah in LIBYA; yet in other places, frost can be seen in the wintertime. The annual rainfall measures no more than 0.08 inches (2 mm), and some areas may go for years with no rainfall at all. Due to ocean currents a narrow strip of the western coast enjoys a relatively cool, uniform temperature year-round. Most of the Sahara, however, experiences a cycle of extremely hot summers and mild to cool winters.

Climatologists estimate that the Sahara has been a desert since the Early Pliocene epoch, or for roughly 5 million years. It has been subject over time to a cycle of drier and more humid conditions, though for the past 2,000 years, its CLIMATE has been very stable.

Strong winds, given such names as *sirocco, khamsin,* and *shahali,* can blow unpredictably for days. They move vast amounts of sand and create an ever-changing landscape, burying everything in their path and decreasing visibility to hazardous levels.

Animal Life Most desert animals can go for long periods without drinking and are able to take some water from the plants in their diet. The smaller animals are noc-

Most Saharan oases, such as this one in Algeria, are large enough to support only a handful of families. © *Robert Holmes/Corbis*

turnal, staying in their burrows during the heat of the day and exiting during the cooler night to find FOOD. These animals include gerbils, snakes, lizards, and small foxes called fennecs. Among the larger animals living in the Sahara are white gazelles and a rare antelope called an addax, an extremely hardy animal that resembles its much larger relative, the oryx. Barbary sheep live in the rocky plateaus.

Archaeology and History   The region of Africa that includes the Sahara had a much wetter climate during the ice ages of the Pleistocene epoch, which ended about 9500 BCE. Archaeological evidence indicates that forests and grasslands covered the region, which was home to antelopes, ELEPHANTS, GIRAFFES, extinct buffaloes called bubaluses, RHINOCEROSES, OSTRICHES, and warthogs.

The widespread presence of stone artifacts, fossils, and ROCK ART gives evidence of human habitation throughout the region. Almost 30,000 engravings and rock paintings date from the fifth millennium BCE. Archaeologists have also found bone harpoons and accumulations of shells on the shores of long-dried-up Saharan lakes. Evidence of the presence of domestic livestock and

the associated lifestyle of nomadic PASTORALISM in the region can be traced as far back as 5000 BCE. Direct evidence of formal AGRICULTURE—the cultivation in EGYPT of barley and emmer wheat introduced from Asia—dates from as early as 4000 BCE. Native African plants were first domesticated by the Gangara people, ancestors of the modern Soninke, in roughly 1000 BCE.

About 4000 BCE the climate became more arid, and the region began to turn into a desert. At the same time, trade began between neighboring settlements and, eventually, between the Sahara region and the outside world. By 2000 BCE COPPER from MAURITANIA had found its way to the BRONZE AGE people of the Mediterranean. The people of CARTHAGE, one of the great cities of ancient times, apparently continued these Bronze Age trade relationships as their city rose to prominence after 600 BCE.

The growing aridity of the Sahara had its effect in the transition from CATTLE and HORSES to CAMELS, which were better adapted to life in the desert. Camels were used in Egypt by 600 BCE, although in other parts of the Sahara they were unknown until some 600 or more years later, when they were introduced from the Middle East.

Camels all but replaced cattle as the pack animals of choice on the trade routes.

The Movement of Peoples The North African city of Carthage, destroyed at the end of the Third Punic War in 149 BCE, later became an important city in the Roman Empire. After the city was overrun by the VANDALS, a Germanic people, around 430 CE, a major shift in population occurred. Various clans of BERBERS, camel-mounted nomads who lived along the northwest coast of Africa, entered the desert to avoid the anarchy and warfare following the defeat of the Romans and gradually became established throughout the Sahara. The clans often plundered caravans and attacked oasis dwellers. Later, other groups of Berbers—prompted by the rise of Islam—and Arab peoples who desired to maintain traditional beliefs also moved into the Sahara. Within 500 years Islam had spread to the southern borders of the Sahara, and Arabic became the main language of the desert.

Of the major black African kingdoms known to the Arabs at the beginning of the Islamic period, most were located north of Lake CHAD and the Senegal and Niger rivers, close to the southern edge of the Sahara. Historians speculate that these kingdoms found it more beneficial to locate themselves closer to the ends of the trade routes than in lands more suited to agriculture. In exchange for GOLD, ivory, foodstuffs, and slaves, these kingdoms could import luxury goods and, most important, SALT, a precious commodity readily available only on the coastlands.

There is archaeological evidence for a mixed pastoral and agricultural economy among an intermingled group of Libyan Berbers and black agriculturalists in the Sahara by 4000 BCE, about the same time Egypt began to flourish. However, the growing desertification of the Sahara region seems to have forced its black population to migrate to the more fertile and welcoming savannas of the SAHEL region south of the Sahara.

See also: SAHARA DESERT (Vol. II) TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Further reading: David Ball, *Empires of Sand* (New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell, 1999); Gianni Guadalupi and Paolo Novaresio, *The Sahara Desert: From the Pyramids of Egypt to the Mountains of Morocco* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003).

Sahel Hot, dry band of grasslands that lies south of the SAHARA DESERT. The Sahel, which means "border" in Arabic, extends through present-day SENEGAL, MAURITANIA, MALI, BURKINA FASO, NIGER, NIGERIA, CHAD, and Republic of the SUDAN. The area was initially populated by the southward migration of desert-dwelling black peoples in search of more hospitable living conditions. All the major black kingdoms of ancient West and Central Africa arose in the Sahel as way stations and terminus

points for the trade routes to northern Africa. The largest and the longest lasting was ancient GHANA, which originated in the late fourth century but did not reach its peak until about 1000 CE. Ancient Mali, the Songhai Empire, and Kanem-Bornu were influential Sahelian trading kingdoms that came into being after the decline of Ghana.

See also: KANEM-BORNU (Vols. II, III, IV); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); SONGHAI (Vol. III).

salt One of Africa's major natural resources and an item in great demand in trade in the ancient world; in ancient Africa, it was often used as a form of currency. Salt has been used as money and in barter for thousands of years in Africa. In fact, the word *salary* is derived from a Latin word meaning "salt." Like all things used as currency, salt was easy to distribute, readily transported, not perishable, and valuable beyond its use as money. In hot climates like that of western Africa, salt was used to season and preserve FOOD. Ingesting salt helped prevent a person from losing bodily fluids.

The rise of AGRICULTURE may have contributed to the increased use of salt. Nomadic people who lived off meat that was either raw or had been roasted to keep in the natural salt, had little need for salt. The proliferation of trade around the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, however, gave rise to settlements and urban trading areas, which led to an increase in agriculture. As agriculture increased, diets changed to include more vegetables, grains, and boiled meats, all of which required salt as a supplement.

In this way salt became a valuable item and one of the most commonly traded commodities in ancient times. In fact, to some ancient peoples, it was pound-for-pound more valuable than GOLD. It is believed that North African trade routes for salt and gold began crossing the SAHARA DESERT by at least the fourth century.

See also: MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vol. I); SALT TRADE (Vol. II).

In ancient times, because they valued salt so much, the people of West Africa frequently traded equal weights of salt for gold.

San (Bushmen) HUNTER-GATHERERS who probably were the original inhabitants of present-day BOTSWANA, NAMIBIA, and northwest SOUTH AFRICA. The San belong to the linguistic group speaking KHOISAN LANGUAGES, which includes the Khoikhoi, !KUNG, G/wi, and other speakers of "click" languages. Despite similarities in language and

appearance, the San and Khoikhoi represent two distinct ethnic groups who, at various periods of history, coexisted in the same regions. The name *San* reportedly comes from their word *sa,* which means "gatherers of fruit" or "harvest." As such, it is a better description of the San way of life than BUSHMEN, a term that is now considered to be derogatory and unsuitable.

The San's longevity in southern Africa ranges between 20,000 and 30,000 years, although the San actually may date back to an even earlier period. The complex nature of their society has been avidly studied and offers critical insights into the Late STONE AGE period. For instance, a recovered collection of tools associated with the San dates back some 15,000 years, and is known as the Wilton Stone Kit. The tools were named for the cave shelter in Cape Province, South Africa, where they were discovered. The kit demonstrates an advanced level of toolmaking ability, including scrapers, borers, and microliths, which are long, blade-like pieces of stone produced by striking a larger stone or core. These tools were probably used to butcher animals. Although the San hunted in small groups, they developed highly effective methods for bringing down animals like the eland, kudu, impala, and bushbuck using nets and animal traps, along with spears and arrows coated with a poison made from vegetables. After a successful hunt, every part of the animal was consumed, and the skin made into clothing and bags.

It remains uncertain how often meat could be made available by hunting, and women and children, who were primarily the gatherers, provided nearly 80 percent of the San diet. FOOD items that were probably consumed on a daily basis included honey, berries, *mongongo* nuts, insects such as grasshoppers, fruit, and smaller animals such as tortoises and mole rats. Recovered digging sticks and grinding stones suggest that women also obtained wild roots and plants from the more than 100 types available in the region. Adding further variation to their diet, San who lived closest to the coast caught fish, rock lobsters, seals, and mussels in reed baskets.

This cooperative system of hunting and gathering allowed the San to share food resources among the members of their FAMILY group or bands. These groups ranged from 10 to 60 people, but often shifted in size as a result of polygyny, as well as resettlement and natural loss from death or disease. San society has often been described as egalitarian because of their emphasis on shared work responsibilities and leadership chosen from a group of elders.

Between 20,000 and 15,000 BCE, San culture had developed to the point of burying the dead in accordance with specific rites. Their spiritual belief system centered around a single, all-powerful God as well as lesser DEITIES. However, notions of land ownership remain questionable since the San were a highly mobile society. Their homes,

made of interlocking branches and thatch, were designed for transport over long distances.

Because they applied time limits and organized efforts to their subsistence activities, the San were able to devote a generous amount of time toward developing their cultural practices. As a result their cave paintings and ornamental JEWELRY made from the eggs of OSTRICHES represent one of the most widespread forms of prehistoric ART in southern Africa. A variety of musical instruments have also been attributed to the San and may have been used in social or ritual practices. For example, the !Kung San who live in KALAHARI DESERT bordering Botswana, have been depicted in cave paintings as participants in healing dances performed as a safeguard against spirit-induced illnesses or similar misfortunes.

One of the questions that still remains about the San involves the recovery of their skeletal remains at sites as far away as TANZANIA, UGANDA, southern Republic of the SUDAN (called NUBIA in ancient times), ETHIOPIA, and SOMALIA. Archaeologists are uncertain whether these findings reflect forced resettlement following the BANTU EXPANSION into southern Africa some 2,000 years ago or whether it relates to hunting-and-gathering activities.

See also: SAN (Vol. III).

Further reading: Andrew Smith, et al., *The Bushmen of Southern Africa: A Foraging Society in Transition* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000).

São Tomé and Príncipe Present-day nation made up of two large islands, São Tomé and Príncipe, and a number of smaller islets located off the coast of GABON, in the Gulf of Guinea. Measuring about 390 square miles (1,010 km) in all, São Tomé and Príncipe is the smallest country in Africa. It is believed that São Tomé was uninhabited before the 15th century.

See also: SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Saqqara Site of an ancient burial ground, known for its elaborate private tombs from the era known as the OLD KINGDOM (c. 2705–2213 BCE). As the primary burial site of the ancient Egyptian capital of MEMPHIS, Saqqara was used by almost every dynasty at least through the First Intermediate Period. The most elaborate *mastabas,* or private tombs, at Saqqara were built as "houses of eternity." These structures sometimes contained more than 20 separate chambers, with numerous burial shafts for FAMILY members. Thousands of hieroglyphic inscriptions decorated the multicolored walls.

Private tomb ARCHITECTURE of the Old Kingdom culminated at Saqqara in the mastabas of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (2465–2250 BCE), in which the greatest variety of wall scenes may be found. These tombs were intended for such high-ranking administrators as Ti and Ptahhotep

The step pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara, dating from the Third Dynasty (2630–2611 BCE), is thought to be the first pyramid ever built. © *Richard T. Nowitz/Corbis*

and were dominated inside by large-scale figures of the deceased. On one level, these figures were meant to signify the importance of the deceased. On another level, these scenes of people, objects, and activities were believed to have been endowed with reality in the AFTERLIFE. Thus they offered provisions for the spirit of the deceased. Other scenes included craftsmen at work, herdsmen leading bulls, boating games, and ritual pilgrimages.

Mastabas at Saqqara have become a major source of information about the Old Kingdom, providing the opportunity to reconstruct a picture of daily life during the period. As a result the site remains a primary Egyptian tourist attraction.

Satire on the Trades　Name given to the ancient Egyptian text, written around 2000 BCE, that recorded the hard life of trade laborers, as well as the scorn with which the upper class regarded the laborers. Sometimes described as a poem and sometimes as a text, *Satire on the Trades* is thought to have been written by an aristocratic father who wanted to warn his son of the dangers of the trades and to persuade him instead to enter a training school for SCRIBES. According to the author of the satire, scribes remain free of an employer's control, are not subject to heavy or dirty LABOR, and want for nothing as members in the court of the king. As a scribe, the son is promised "life, prosperity, health."

The text describes the life of trade laborers as hard, dirty, miserable, and dangerous. The builder, for one, is portrayed as being covered with clay, physically battered, and miserable. The arrow maker is similarly miserable as he ventures into the desert looking for flint. The launderer, meanwhile, lives a dangerous life because this work is done on the riverbank where CROCODILES also reside.

This poem or text also shows the disdain that the ancient Egyptian upper class shows the working class, claiming that the people of the trades are thought to be "wretched through and through." The author of the satire speaks from his experience and seems to sum up his view of the tradesman when he writes, "I have seen how the belabored man is belabored."

See also: MERCHANTS (Vol II); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. I).

scarab beetles Large, heavy-bodied oval insects that often have colorful, metallic-looking bodies. In ancient EGYPT scarab beetles would occasionally appear in great numbers along the muddy banks of the NILE RIVER. As a result scarab beetles became one of the most sacred Egyptian religious symbols. They were associated with resurrection, renewal, and immortality. Re-Khepri, a form of the sun god Ra, was often depicted as a scarab or as a man whose head was surmounted by a scarab. According to tradition, Re-Khepri rolled the sun before him across the sky, carrying it safely to the other world after sunset in order to renew it for the next day. A probable explanation for this association between the scarab and the ball of the sun is the fact that scarabs are a kind of dung beetle, insects that roll balls of dung along the ground. They use the dung balls for food and also as a safe place to lay their eggs.

The ancient Egyptians used exquisitely carved and inscribed stone figures of scarabs as decorative pendants and also as seals to commemorate important events. Scarab figures have also been found buried with mummies. Roman soldiers often wore scarab rings as military symbols.

scarification Marking the body or face for the purpose of cultural identity, status, group affiliation, or as a health practice; also known as *cicatrix*. Although it has not been determined when the practice of scarification began, evidence of its antiquity has survived in an ancient terra-cotta recovered in the Fayum region of EGYPT. The SCULPTURE, which appears to have been made during Roman occupation of Egypt, is of a Sudanese woman whose cheeks bear distinctive scarring. It serves as an important reminder that scarifications appeared on many MASKS and human-like figures sculpted from wood, metal, or clay. Created to represent ancestors or DEITIES from the spiritual realm, these identity marks were also created in imitation of the living, whose incisions or burns of distinctive patterns on the skin raised keloid scars. The formation of keloids, part of the normal healing process for many dark-skinned populations of Africa, resulted from the re-growth of connective tissue. Some ethnic groups also practiced scarification in order to put MEDICINE directly under the skin.

When taken collectively, the scarifications displayed in representational ART and by particular groups offer a
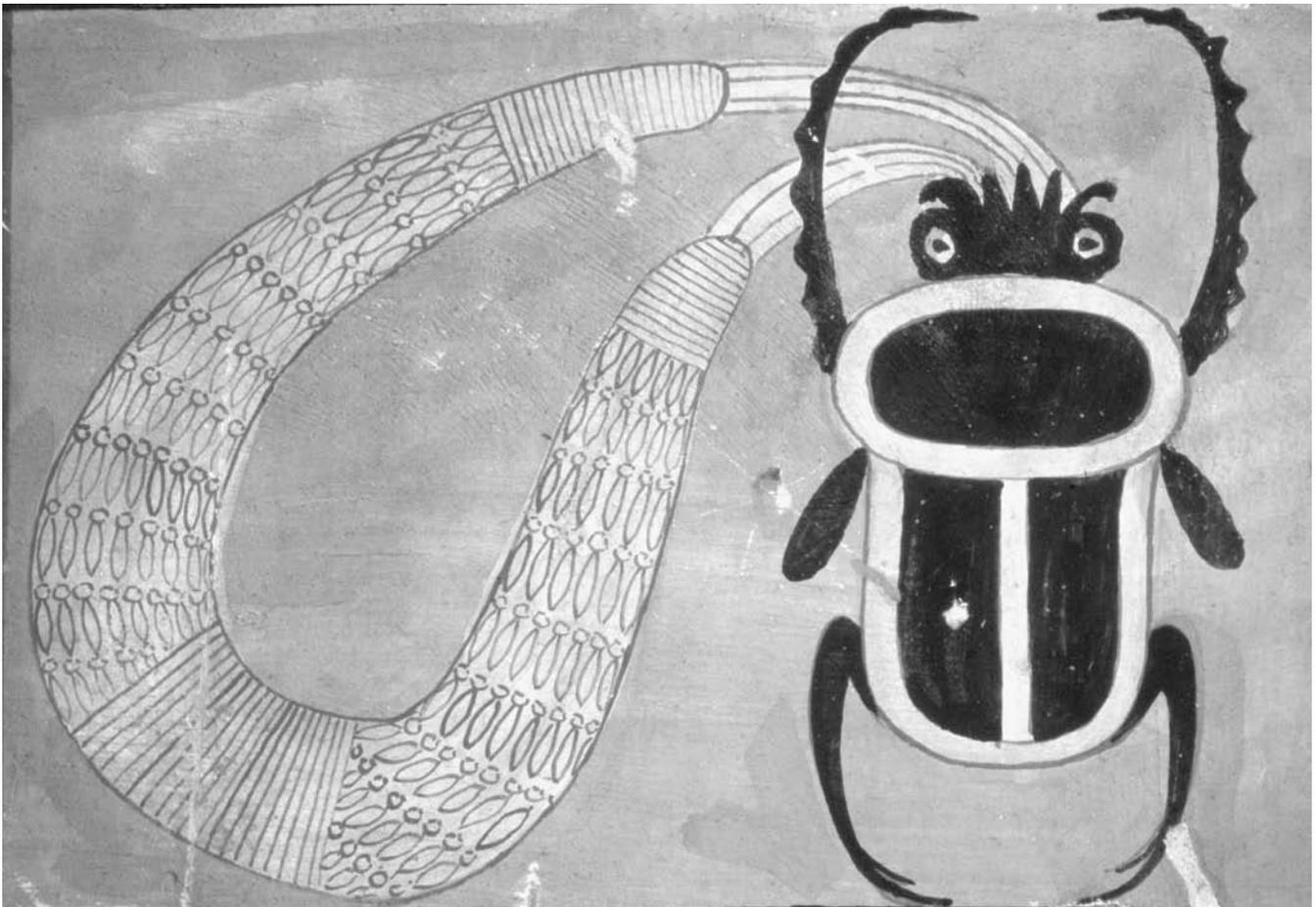
This undated ancient Egyptian fresco of a scarab beetle is from a tomb in the Valley of the Kings, Luxor, Egypt. *© Bojan Brecelj/Corbis*
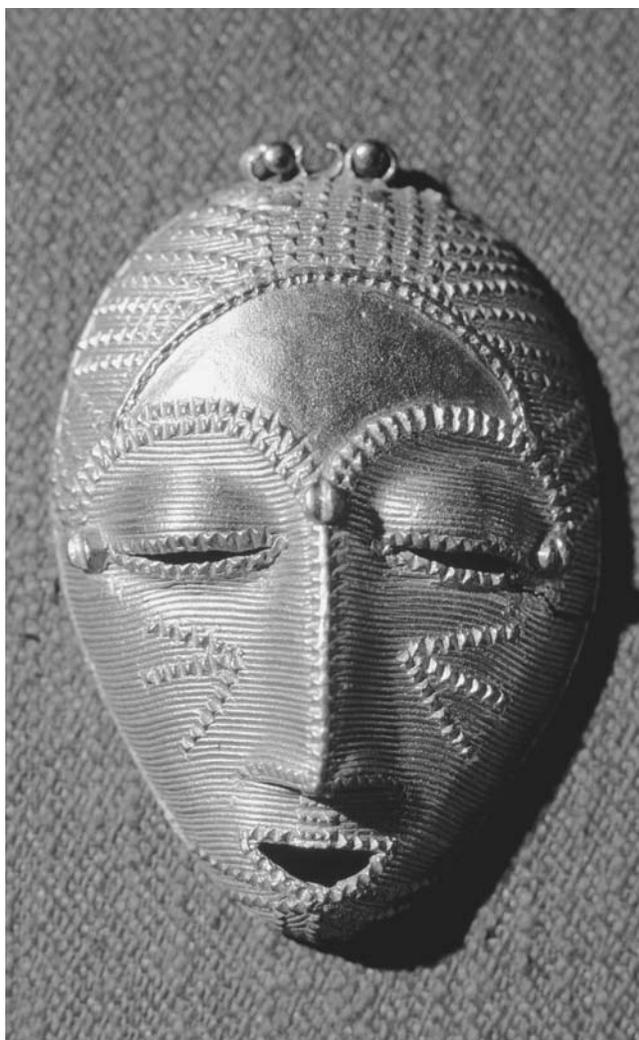
The cheeks on this gold mask of a queen mother, from present-day Ivory Coast, show a pattern of decorative scarification. Musée National des Arts Africaines et Oceaniens, Paris, France. © Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis

visual statement concerning spirituality, social origins, and a sense of community, past and present. For instance, the Sonjo of TANZANIA traditionally marked their left shoulders with an *ntemi* scar, a symbol representing their ancient founder. Although the exact reasoning behind this practice is unclear, it is known that one of the Sonjo's primary beliefs centered on the necessity of recognizing this being when he made his eventual return to earth. In a somewhat similar vein, the Lozi of BOTSWANA marked their arms and ears, apparently in order to gain recognition in the spiritual realm after death. Elsewhere, in societies in which infant mortality rates were high, children were given special identity marks that supposedly would change their appearance and prevent their return to the spirit world.

Over the centuries, scarification evolved into one of Africa's most widespread forms of BODY ADORNMENT. However, scarification clearly had more important roles to play than simple ornamentation, especially in the RITES OF PASSAGE undergone by the young men and women of many peoples. Such rites have often required some form of modification to the head, limbs, or torso. Initiation into adult society required Okiek women to have their heads and eyebrows shaved. Among the Mende of SIERRA LEONE, "teeth marks" of the Poro deity are made with a razor on the backs of male initiates. Tooth modification has also been associated with transitional rites and often involved the removal, chipping, or filing of incisor teeth. Both the NUBA of the Kordofan region of central Republic of the SUDAN and the Luo of KENYA traditionally removed the lower front incisors as part of initiation. Other forms of body modification have included the wearing of wooden plugs designed to stretch the earlobes. This has been a common practice among the MAASAI and Turkana of Kenya, as well as the Ndebele of SOUTH AFRICA, who begin to wear wooden earplugs at 10 years of age.

See also: CIRCUMCISION (Vol. I).

science The role of Africans in the history of the physical sciences has often been overlooked in modern academic studies; however, because it can be argued that the history of natural science begins with the dawn of humanity, it was likely that humans in Africa were the first to explore the laws of science and use their accumulated scientific knowledge to their advantage.

From the beginning, humans had to face the issues of subsistence—locating nourishment, building shelter, and manufacturing clothing—and the first pseudoscientific observations were likely made in conjunction with the development and utilization of tools for hunting. Humans probably came to understand the basic laws of physics and mechanics as they learned to manufacture weapons, shelters, and tools.

When AGRICULTURE developed in EGYPT nearly 17,000 years ago, knowledge of ASTRONOMY and mathematics, as well as the development of units of measure and time, became of paramount importance. In fact, the CALENDAR the Egyptians developed more than 6,000 years ago is a prototype of the one we use today.

Egypt was a highly advanced society thousands of years before the European civilization of ancient GREECE, so the Greeks considered Egypt the center of scientific study. Much of what the Greeks knew of astronomy and geometry was handed down from the Egyptians, and the most brilliant Greek scholars studied in Egypt.

The Egyptians also made advances in the fields of mining, METALLURGY, AGRICULTURE, SHIPBUILDING, and MEDICINE, and the extensive engineering knowledge of Egypt's pyramid builders still perplexes scientists today.

Due to adverse climatic conditions on the continent below northern Africa, there is a dearth of early archaeological evidence from these regions. It is difficult, therefore, to ascertain the scientific and technological advances made in those areas. However, discoveries such as the ISHANGO BONE in Central Africa have forced archaeologists to rethink prior theories regarding the scientific knowledge of ancient African peoples. This notched bone, which is thought to be an early calendar and counting tool, dates to c. 8500 BCE, suggesting that the peoples of Central Africa were capable of rather sophisticated mathematics during the Paleolithic era. The knowledge of mathematics and units of measurement that the Ishango Bone represents are the bedrock of scientific thought.

See also: FARMING TECHNIQUES (Vol. I); SCIENCE (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

scribes   Practitioners of the ancient profession of WRITING and transcribing records, letters, and texts of various kinds. Typically, in ancient EGYPT, scribes were highly respected priests or government officials. The scribe profession dates back nearly to the time that writing was invented, around 3200 BCE. According to Egyptian myth, the scribe of the gods, THOTH, invented writing and then gave it to the people. Though PAPYRUS is fragile, it revolutionized writing, and the earliest known example dates back to about 2500 BCE. Stone carvings show men carrying rolls, indicating that scribes may have been writing on papyrus even earlier. Although papyrus was the most common writing material of scribes, they also wrote on POTTERY, pieces of limestone, and wooden boards. Scribes used a pen or brush made of reed as well as INK made of various pigments. (Red and black were the most common colors.) More complex than alphabetic systems of writing, Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS contained approximately 700 separate signs that could be used individually or in combination with other signs. As a result the number of literate people in Egypt was low, and well-trained scribes were greatly respected.

The profession of scribe was thought to be a noble one, and individual scribes were often honored by representation in ART. Egyptians were generally aware that writing was a major aspect of the greatness of their civilization and so they respected their scribes. The School of Life, a training school for scribes, was so named because scribes achieved a sort of immortality through writing; it was thought that their books and records had the potential to last forever.

Scribes were required to pass through a difficult and laborious training. (In fact, the Egyptian word for teach was *seba*, which means "to beat.") After a long period of training and apprenticeship, scribes were certified to practice their profession. Some schools for scribes during the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–1070 BCE) were part of a government department. Having completed their training, scribes typically were employed as priests or officials of the government. They usually worked in temples, at PYRAMIDS, or in the service of the pharaoh. They were thought of as educated people, and they were allowed to advance in position, often obtaining important posts in government.

Scribes wrote or transcribed many different types of records, including letters, taxes records, legal reports, religious texts, hymns, poetry, stories, myths, medical and scientific texts, and official proclamations of the court. It is apparent that scribes were involved with written communications and records of almost every kind. Perhaps the most famous works of the scribes were the mortuary texts that are now collectively called the Egyptian BOOK OF THE DEAD. On tomb walls, coffins, and on papyrus, scribes wrote magical formulas and other texts intended to help guide the deceased safely to the AFTERLIFE. This funerary text writing is thought to have provided much work for the scribes at the time.

See also: ALPHABETS AND SCRIPTS (Vol. I); DEMOTIC (Vol. I).

sculpture   Human artistic expression using three-dimensional or relief forms; found in ancient Africa as early as c. 6000 BCE. Archaeological excavations so far have not told the entire story of ancient African sculpture. Evidence, however, suggests that sculpture was created far back in prehistoric times. Rock carvings of the Tassili and ENNEDI found in the SAHARA DESERT date to as early as 6000 BCE.

Other ancient African sculpture includes the small fired-clay animals found at Daima near Lake CHAD. These works, which were done by a NEOLITHIC AGE people, date back to the fifth and sixth century BCE. Many scholars believe that these suggest the existence of even earlier non-fired clay sculptures.

About the same time, in what is now NIGERIA, the Nok people, an advanced IRON AGE culture, were making their amazing terra-cotta figures. The NOK CULTURE produced hundreds of fired-clay figures ranging from pendant size to life size. Plain features and holes in the eyes typified these sculptures, which were masterful in technique and detail.

The ancient Sao culture of the Chari Valley in CAMEROON also sculpted human figures. These most likely were depictions of ancestors or gods and were made from about the fifth century BCE and continue to be made even today. Elsewhere, in the area near Lake VICTORIA and Lake TANGANYIKA in UGANDA, a sculpted head and torso are regarded as the earliest ART of this part of Africa. Although much of this ancient African sculpture proba-

bly was created at about the same time, each culture produced a distinct style.

Unfired clay was perhaps one of the earliest and most commonly used materials for sculpture in ancient Africa. Other media for sculpting included fired clay, wood, stone, and METALS such as GOLD, COPPER, and iron. Ivory and bone also were used. Ancient sculptors probably carved, cast, modeled, or built sculptures in ways similar to methods used by artists today, using tools such as hammers, gauges, chisels, and saws. Large stone carvings, sometimes created in pieces and fixed together, required additional support.

The people of ancient EGYPT were prolific in sculpture and other arts for at least 3,000 years before the common era. Egyptians sculpted monuments and portrait statues, as well as relief sculpture honoring the gods and royalty. Another common subject of Egyptian sculpture was the SCRIBE, usually depicted with PAPYRUS and pen in hand. Much of what is left of ancient Egyptian sculpture today is mortuary sculpture, originally created for tombs and temples. Relief sculpture in tombs dates back to the Third Dynasty (c. 2705 BCE). Egyptian sculpture is also known for the colossi, or larger-than-life sculpture, of which the GREAT SPHINX, and the mammoth portrait sculptures of RAMESSES II are perhaps the best known.

In ancient times, sculpture was not created for artistic expression alone and went beyond the simple function of decorating a house, building, or tomb. Portrait statues of rulers often were created to make a political statement that attested to the greatness of a kingdom. Honoring the dead was another common reason for sculpting, as was paying homage to a god. In Egypt, sculpting may have been thought of as an early recording of history, RELIGION, and culture, as kings, ancestors, and gods were sculpted in three-dimensional forms and in reliefs that often accompanied hieroglyphic texts. Sculpture was also thought to aid the deceased in making a safe journey to the AFTERLIFE, which was of particular concern to the Egyptians.

Ancient African sculpture ranged from simple, plain figures made from one medium by one artisan to the work of many highly skilled craftsmen assembling one mammoth piece. Though the creation of the colossal sculptures of ancient Egypt were unique to that time and place, many of the techniques used by ancient sculptors are still used today, and many of the traditions of early African sculpting continued into the common era.

See also: IRON (Vol. II); IVORY (Vol. II).

Sea People   Groups of forceful traders and explorers who roamed the MEDITERRANEAN SEA and Aegean Sea and warred with settled coastal peoples such as the HITTITES and the Egyptians. The Sea People generally wreaked havoc in the ancient world around the Mediterranean and the Aegean. Some scholars say that the Sea People were the ancestors of the PHOENICIANS, while others say they were Philistines from what is now southwestern Palestine. Still other scholars trace the origin of the Sea People by using Egyptian documents that may identify them as several different peoples, including Greeks, Sicilians, Sardinians, the Teresh (from whom the Etruscans in Italy descended), as well as the Philistines. Whatever their origin, they were widely known by the name "Sea People" in the ancient world.

During the NEW KINGDOM, EGYPT gained more territory than it had ever controlled before or after, and then it actively defended its borders. Two known wars between Egypt and the Sea People took place, one during the reign of King Merneptah and the other during the reign of RAMESSES III (r. c. 1198–1166 BCE) .

The Sea People were also known to have destroyed the great trading port of Ugarit, which Egyptian merchants and travelers often visited to trade. Also credited with the destruction of the Hittite empire, the Sea People were infamous in the ancient world. Their skill at sea was advanced, and some scholars even credit the Sea People with making the first trip around the African continent about 600 BCE. If true, this feat was not to be duplicated for another 2,000 years.

secretary bird   Bird indigenous to SOMALIA that is renowned for its ability to hunt reptiles. Except for their long, powerful legs, secretary birds closely resemble HAWKS or EAGLES. Standing taller than 4 feet (1.2 m) and having superior vision, secretary birds are able to stalk their prey from afar. The secretary bird's primary mode of attack is surprise. It grips its victim with its powerful, razor-sharp talons, flapping its wings after attacking to avoid getting bitten.

Ancient Egyptians who visited the land of PUNT, as present-day Somalia was known, probably observed the secretary bird's hunting skills. There is speculation that these visitors may have woven fables or myths about the creature's power. Primary examples of this are the Egyptian myths of HORUS, who was immortalized as a falcon hawk, and SETH, the serpent he successfully battled.

secret societies   Formal organizations united by an oath of secrecy. In Africa members of secret societies generally have come from a vast cross-section of age groups and regions. Since ancient times these groups have used distinctive symbols, language, CLOTHING AND DRESS, and

special rituals to reinforce group identity and to gain public recognition. Because of the secretive nature of these groups, little is known about their inner workings or when they first developed in Africa. Some groups may have been formed in response to adverse conditions such as war or its aftermath. They may have also developed to promote political goals, to maintain ritual activities, or to protect isolated communities. Like other independent groups, these societies found various ways to maintain themselves through monthly dues or accepting fees in return for special services.

The Mende people in present-day SIERRA LEONE in West Africa, for example, established two of the best-known societies. These apparently were created in order to strengthen the community, its traditional beliefs, and its way of life. Male members of the Poro society served as a judicial team, handling personal disputes or disagreements over land, property, and other aspects of Mende life. On the other hand, the women of the Sande society were responsible for the care and maintenance of ritual objects used in special ceremonies. Equally important, the women cultivated the herbs that were made into special medicines and sold to generate the group's income. Both groups played a traditional role in the INITIATION RITES of young boys and girls into Mende society.

See also: AGE GRADES (Vol. I); CIRCUMCISION (Vol. I); MASKS (Vol. I); MENDE (Vol. III); RITES OF PASSAGE (Vol. I).

Sed festival Celebration held by ancient Egyptian pharaohs symbolizing a renewal of their leadership of the world and a long reign in the AFTERLIFE. The Sed festival (also known as Heb-Sed) was usually held after a pharaoh's thirtieth year on the throne and repeated every three years thereafter. The festival was a joyous event that included ceremonies representing a ritual reenactment of the unification of EGYPT under MENES, Egypt's first pharaoh.

The ceremony began with the pharaoh's presentation of offerings to the gods. Then, sitting on a double throne, the pharaoh was crowned twice. His first crown would be white, symbolizing UPPER EGYPT; the second crown was red, symbolizing LOWER EGYPT. Finally, the pharaoh put on a short kilt with an animal's tail in the back and ran a ritual course four times. This race was held to prove the pharaoh's vitality. He was then carried away in a great procession to visit shrines to the gods HORUS and SETH. During the ceremony the pharaoh held an oar and a ritual object. The ceremony was also performed in front of a statue of Min, a god of masculine fertility.

Much of what is known about the Sed festival has been learned from wall-reliefs and paintings, including a large granite gateway found in Bubatis. Another source of information concerning the festival is the Heb-Sed court in the STEP PYRAMID OF DJOSER, in SAQQARA. The funerary complex was built during the Third Dynasty, in approximately 2700 BCE. Its design was credited to IMHOTEP, an adviser of King Djoser, who was later deified for his work as a doctor. The structure was a walled compound made from stone, rather than the mud bricks of earlier buildings; the roof was made of timber. A long colonnade led to a court that held two altars. It was in this court that the Sed Festival was held. Although the complex was in ruins for many centuries, it has been rebuilt in modern times.

Some scholars believe that the Sed festival was held in place of human sacrifice. Long ago, these historians believe, the pharaoh was killed during the prime of his life so that his virile power could be transferred to his successor. By dynastic times this custom was replaced by a ceremonial sacrifice—the Sed festival. Later, when Egyptian pharaohs were closely associated with OSIRIS, the periodic Sed festival apparently dramatized the pharaoh's death and resurrection, which echoed that of Osiris himself.

See also: FESTIVALS (Vols. I, II); FUNERAL CUSTOMS (Vol. I).

Semitic languages Group of languages spoken in northern Africa and in the Middle East. Semitic languages make up a branch of the AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES and are among the oldest languages in the world. The other branches of the Afro-Asiatic language family are Cushitic, Berber, Egyptian, and Chadic. The most widespread Semitic language in Africa is ARABIC, which is spoken throughout North Africa. Three other Semitic languages, AMHARIC, TIGRÉ, and TIGRINYA, are written in Ethiopic characters and are spoken in the HORN OF AFRICA. Tigrinya is derived from the old Abyssinian language. Amharic has the oldest literature among the living African languages. It is also the official language of ETHIOPIA.

Semitic languages spoken in Africa are divided into the South Central group (which includes Arabic), the Southern Peripheral group (which includes the languages of northern Ethiopia, including GE'EZ), and the North Central group (which includes Punic, formerly spoken in CARTHAGE in North Africa). The Semitic group also includes Hebrew and Aramaic. The Quran, the sacred book of Islam, is written in Arabic. During the spread of Islam following the seventh century, converts generally learned Arabic because it was the language of prayer and the scriptures, which even illiterate believers often committed to memory.

See also: LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I).

Semna forts Series of military forts established in southern EGYPT along the kingdom's southern border with NUBIA during Egypt's MIDDLE KINGDOM (c. 2040–c. 1820 BCE). To protect Egypt's trading interests, King Senwosret III (r. c. 1900 BCE) erected 11 mud-brick forts

at Semna, near the second cataract of the NILE RIVER. He also ordered a blockade of the Nile in order to restrict Nubian travel and limit trade to that designated by the king. Senwosret strictly enforced the complete subjugation of Nubia, leaving behind an inscription boasting of how he had established boundaries farther south than any other ruling pharaoh.

Senegal

Country covering an area of about 76,000 square miles (196,800 sq km) in West Africa. It is bordered by MAURITANIA to the north, MALI to the east, and GUINEA and GUINEA-BISSAU to the south. Its western border runs along the Atlantic Ocean. Dakar, located on the westernmost point of mainland Africa, is the country's largest city and its capital.

Senegal is largely a low-lying country, with semi-desert area in the north and northeast and forests in the southwest. Its principal waterways are the SENEGAL RIVER in the north and the Casamance in the south. Archaeological finds in the area indicate that Senegal was inhabited from prehistoric times, as discoveries have been made of the remains of Paleolithic and Neolithic civilizations. Ancestors of the Wolof and Serer peoples were among the first inhabitants if the region, migrating from the northwest about 500 CE.

See also: SENEGAL (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SERER (Vol. II); WOLOF (Vols. II, IV).

Senegal River

West African waterway that flows from the Fouta Djallon highlands in present-day GUINEA for more than 1,000 miles (1,610 km) north and west through the Republic of MALI, forming the border between SENEGAL and MAURITANIA before entering the Atlantic Ocean. One of the major African rivers, the Senegal River is the only permanent river between MOROCCO and Senegal. It empties into the Atlantic Ocean at St-Louis, on the border of Senegal and Mauritania. Its major tributary is the Falémé River, which forms the border between Mali and Senegal.

The river's seasonal cycle has had a strong impact on the AGRICULTURE of the area, with crops being produced only after the recession of floodwaters. For thousands of years, pastureland in the valley has been used by the CATTLE of NOMADS.

Since ancient times the bed of the Senegal River was known to contain great deposits of GOLD. The famous voyage of HANNO of CARTHAGE, who led exploratory trade expeditions in western Africa, may have been motivated in part by the knowledge of gold to be found in the regions between the Senegal River and NIGER RIVER. Scholars believe that Hanno probably explored the Senegal River around 500 BCE. In *The Periplus of Hanno,* Hanno writes what many scholars believe is a description of the Senegal River: "Sailing thence, we came to another river, very great and broad, which was full of crocodiles and hippopotami. . . ."

Well after 500 CE, the ancient empires of GHANA, Mali, and Songhai each controlled the local trade in the Senegal River valley.

See also: FOUTA DJALLON (Vols. II, III); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); SENEGAL RIVER (Vol. II); SONGHAI (Vols. II, III).

Seth (Set or Suetekh)

Ancient Egyptian god of chaos, war, deserts, and storms. According to the mythology of ancient EGYPT, Seth was the son of Geb and Nut, the gods of earth and sky. He also was supposed to be the brother of ISIS, Nephthys, and OSIRIS and the husband of both his sisters Nephthys and Taurt, the protectress of childbirth and fertility. He is most often represented as a dog-like figure, although he is sometimes portrayed as a pig, jackal, donkey, or hippopotamus. For almost 2,000 years Egyptians thought of Seth as a god of exclusively positive qualities, especially as a protector against storms and warfare. Many pharaohs even named themselves after him as a tribute and offering to his power.

However, after the unification of UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT, about 3050 BCE, the perception of Seth changed. According to mythology the god's predilection for causing trouble increased. He supposedly resisted the authority of his brother, Osiris, and ultimately murdered him. This in turn led to an 80-year war that pitted Seth against HORUS. Eventually Horus was victorious, emerging as the ruler of the unified kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt. By the Twenty-sixth Dynasty Seth's reputation among the Egyptian people had turned so negative that he was usually depicted with red eyes and hair, the embodiment of evil.

Further reading: Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003).

Seti I (Sethos)

(r. 1318–1304 BCE) *Second pharaoh of Egypt's Nineteenth Dynasty and a noteworthy warrior and monument builder*

The son of RAMESSES I and Queen Sitre, Seti succeeded to the throne after the end of his father's brief reign. Like Ramesses, Seti served in the military and held several prominent government posts before becoming pharaoh, or king, of Egypt.

Concerned with legitimizing his family's right to the throne, Seti sought to establish a link between himself and the pharaohs who preceded AKHENATEN (r. c. 1379–c. 1364 BCE, also known as Amenhotep IV). In what is called the King's List (also called the Royal List) at his temple at ABYDOS, Seti celebrated the memory of monarchs, from the beginning of dynastic rule in EGYPT to himself. King's lists were subjective. Often omitted were lesser kings, usurpers,

and those whom the current ruler considered illegitimate. Conspicuously absent from that list were those who had reigned during the AMARNA PERIOD (1379–1364 BCE), during which all gods but ATEN were banished along with Queen Hatshepsut (1504–1482 BCE).

Seti's military expeditions in foreign lands demonstrated his intent to restore Egypt to the glory it had seen before Akhenaten's reign. To reach this goal, he conducted several campaigns in Syria and Palestine, the last of which pitted the Egyptians against the HITTITES near the city of KADESH. Seti also waged war against LIBYA.

An impressive number of monuments were either built or restored during Seti's reign. Among the finest examples of these was the Hypostyle Hall, with its massive columns, in the Temple of AMUN at KARNAK. Other architectural achievements included the temple dedicated to

The temple of Seti I at Abydos, Egypt, commemorates the Nineteenth Dynasty (1320–1200 BCE) pharaoh, who was an important warrior and monument builder during his reign from 1318–1304 BCE. © Robert Holmes/Corbis

the god OSIRIS at Abydos and Seti's own tomb in the VALLEY OF THE KINGS at Thebes.

Further reading: Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001).

Seychelles Island country measuring approximately 180 square miles (470 sq km) located off mainland Africa, north of MADAGASCAR, in the Indian Ocean. Victoria is the capital and largest city. Seychelles is made up of at least 115 islands, of which Mahe, measuring about 60 square miles (155 sq km), is the largest. Other major islands are Praslin and La Digue. Most of the islands are granitic, with hills rising as high as 3,084 feet (940 m) above sea level. The remaining islands are coralline and are flat, with no fresh water.

Because of the southwest trade winds and equatorial currents, Seychelles has well-developed coral reefs on the east coast. Plant life abounds on the islands, and some local animals species are found nowhere else in the world. There are no records of human habitation on the island until the 16th century.

See also: SEYCHELLES (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Shango (Sango)   In traditional YORUBA religion, Shango is the divinity associated with lightning and thunder. Yoruba divinities are sometimes primordial spirits and sometimes deified ancestors—heroic individuals who made important contributions to the life of the people. In popular legend, Shango had human origins. He may once have been the fourth *alafin,* or king, of the town of Oyo, which much later became a city-state of some importance in the region. Shango discovered a charm that let him call down lightning and thunder but destroyed his own palace and family when he used it. The loss so horrified him that he hanged himself. As the god of lightning and thunder, Shango may have displaced worship of Jakuta, an earlier deity who hated immorality and would hurl stones of fire at those who ignored the will of OLORUN, the great creator.

Other versions of the Shango legend paint him in darker terms. In one version, he was a tyrannical ruler who abandoned his family. He was drawn up into the sky on a chain and had to express his godliness through lightning and thunder. In other versions, he was versed in magic and instilled fear in his subjects by breathing FIRE. Despite the stories, however, devotees revere Shango for his sense of justice and his hatred of sorcery.

Shango communicated by means of SPIRIT POSSESSION. The spirit of Shango was said to "mount" a human spokesperson as a person might mount a horse. The person lost consciousness, and the god spoke through his mouth. The one possessed became capable of performing

When crushed, shea nuts yield a waxy butter suitable for cooking. This material has also been used as a form of margarine and as a key ingredient in chocolate. For centuries it has been widely used in Africa and elsewhere as a remedy for dry skin. The ability to store shea butter over long periods undoubtedly made it a useful and long-standing export item. Women reportedly did much of the work involved in producing shea butter, and they have long regarded it as an important source of income.

Sheba, queen of See MAKEDA, QUEEN (QUEEN OF SHEBA).

shipbuilding Since ancient times various types of boats have been used for the transport of people and goods in Africa. The design of the first boats is a matter of speculation. They may have been constructed from single trees, hollowed out to form dugout canoes, or from logs crafted together to form rafts. The first paddles were probably human hands. Surviving Egyptian clay tablets record the use of boats for TRANSPORTATION as early as 4000 BCE. The earliest record of sailing ships is found on a Theban tomb painting from around 1400 BCE that shows a grain ship being unloaded in EGYPT.

Egypt, with its Nile-centered riverbank culture, is credited with many innovations in ship design. Since the NILE RIVER flows northward but the prevailing winds in the region blow south, these innovations allowed the Egyptians to take full advantage of the river in both directions for transportation and communication.

The oldest Egyptian boats were made from bundles of PAPYRUS reeds lashed together to form a spoonlike hull. Between 4000 and 3000 BCE the Egyptians discovered sails and used them to propel the boat. The first sails were probably leafy branches that caught the wind, but by 3500 BCE Egyptian boats had stronger, more watertight hulls made from planks of wood. These boats also featured square sails, probably woven from reeds, attached to a mast.

By 2500 BCE Egyptian ships made the transition from paddles to oars. A ship pushed by hand-held paddles requires a low waterline, limiting the size and displacement of the vessel, so that the paddles can reach the water. Oars, on the other hand, are attached to fixed points on the hull. This design allows the sides of the vessel to rise higher and lets the oars be longer, providing the additional leverage needed to move stone blocks and other heavy cargoes. Later, as vessels increased in size, multiple rowers manned each oar. A large steering oar was used at the stern of these vessels. The Greeks and Romans later improved on these designs by adding more banks of rowers, as many as 12, in cargo ships called GALLEYS.

This 20th-century Shango staff provides a depiction of the Yoruba god of lightning and thunder. It stands 13 7/8 inches (34.4 cm) high by 7 1/4 inches (18.4 cm) wide. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, NC © *North Carolina Museum of Art /Corbis*

preternatural and superhuman acts without getting hurt.

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Further reading: Omosade Awolalu, *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites* (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman, 1979).

shea butter Wax-like, fatty matter extracted from the nut of the shea tree. As long ago as prehistoric times, the shea tree (*Butyrospermum*) was present in West Africa as part of the continent's ecological mix. However, archaeologists have not established a starting date for either its economic value or its widespread use in cooking and as a cosmetic item.

A third major Egyptian innovation was the repositioning of the mast. By 1800 BCE the mast had been moved from its position at the bow of the ship to a more advantageous position amidships, where the sail could catch crosswinds, not just tailwinds, to push the boat forward. These sails still had booms, or long poles, at the bottom of the sail. By 900 BCE, the PHOENICIANS improved on these designs by using a loose-footed square sail, which was more practical for a seagoing vessel.

By the fifth century BCE merchant ships weighing 400 tons were carrying cargoes across the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. Heavier ships were not built in the West until the 19th century. The largest ship of ancient times was a 2,000 ton merchant ship built by Hiero II (270–215 BCE) of Syracuse to carry grain from Egypt.

See also: AGE OF DISCOVERY (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SHIPBUILDING (Vol. II).

shrine Sacred space or object utilized for spiritual observance. Throughout Africa there are many varieties of shrines constructed for personal or community worship. Some are built while others are simply a part of the natural physical environment deliberately chosen for its attributes.

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Sierra Leone West African country measuring approximately 27,700 square miles (71,700 sq km) that is bordered by GUINEA to the north and east and LIBERIA to the south. Freetown, located on Sierra Leone's Atlantic Ocean coast, is the largest city and capital.

The Portuguese named the country Sierra Leone, meaning "lion mountains," after the animals they found in the area. According to archaeological findings, Sierra

This 17-century BCE Egyptian sculpture of a funerary boat shows the positioning of the ship's mast at the bow of the ship. The Bowers Museum of Cultural Art, Santa Ana, California © *The Bowers Museum of Cultural Art/Corbis*

Leone has been inhabited for thousands of years, and the Bullom people are thought to have been the earliest inhabitants of region. Linguistic studies indicate that the coastal Bullom (also called Sherbro), Temne, and Limba peoples have occupied the area for a long time, with sporadic immigration by MANDE-speaking peoples from the east, including groups of Vai, Loko, and Mende.

See also: BULLOM (Vol. III); MENDE (Vol. III); SIERRA LEONE (Vols. II, III, IV, V); VAI (Vol. III).

sisal Plant grown for its strong fiber. Sisal is used to make twine, rope, doormats, and bags. The natural fiber is extracted from the long leaves of sisal plants by crushing the leaves. The green pulp is then scraped away to leave long fibers, which are then dried and prepared for weaving. Major producers of sisal in Africa include TANZANIA, ANGOLA, KENYA, and MADAGASCAR. It is grown both along the hot, humid coastal regions as well as in cooler, drier areas in the interior.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vols. IV, V).

Sirius The brightest star in the constellation Canis Major; noted by ancient Egyptians as rising just before the annual flooding of the NILE DELTA and so signaling the beginning of a new growing season and year. The rising of the NILE RIVER was an important event in ancient EGYPT, as it brought much-needed water and nutrients to the soil. It even brought new soil from the mountains to the plain for the start of a new growing season. As a result Sothis, as Sirius was called by ancient Egyptians, became associated with fertility and a prosperous harvest. The Egyptians believed that the star made the river rise, and according to at least one myth, Sirius was also known as the female god Sopdet.

Sirius, which is a binary star, is roughly double the size of the Sun. It also is relatively close to the earth and is the brightest star in the constellation Canus Major, which is located to the southeast of Orion's Belt. Many Egyptian temples were designed so that the inner chambers received the light of Sirius—evidence of the importance of this great star to the ancient civilization.

See also: ASTRONOMY (Vol. I); CALENDAR (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

slavery For many people the term slavery has come to be associated exclusively with the inhumane practices that characterized the transatlantic trade in human captives from Africa. Prior to this time, however, what we think of as slavery is more accurately called *servitude*. It is awkward to refer to a person as "one who is in a position of servitude," so the term *slave* is often used as a matter of convenience.

Servitude was rare among ancient HUNTER-GATHERERS because their societies generally lacked social or class distinctions among members, a key condition that allows slavery to flourish. Servitude among more developed societies in Africa has a long history. Individuals in positions of servitude—in other words, slaves—were used in ancient EGYPT and Nubia and are known to have been killed to accompany their owners into the AFTERLIFE and tend to their needs. The Old Testament Book of Exodus chronicles the end of the Egyptian enslavement of the Jews during the reign of the pharaoh RAMESSES II (r. c. 1304–1237 BCE), when the prophet Moses led his people to freedom. The tasks that slaves in Egypt performed are uncertain; it is now thought, for instance, that peasant LABOR, rather than slave labor, was used between growing seasons to build the PYRAMIDS.

CARTHAGE in North Africa, a Roman province after its conquest in the PUNIC WARS (264–146 BCE) and a major commercial center until its decline towards the middle of the third century, probably followed the Roman model and used slaves to row its GALLEYS and to tend its farms. It is thought that Carthage acquired at least some of its slaves through trade with sub-Saharan Africa, although most of the slaves were probably Nubians or indigenous black inhabitants of North Africa.

The extent to which slavery was practiced in sub-Saharan Africa is not known.

See also: SLAVERY (Vols. III, IV); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

Smendes (r. c. 1070–1044 BCE) *Founder of ancient Egypt's Twenty-first Dynasty*

The High Priest of AMUN who shared power with HERIHOR when the latter usurped the throne of Ramesses XI, Smendes ruled LOWER EGYPT during the earlier half of the 11th century BCE. He founded his capital at Tanis, a northeastern city on the NILE DELTA. A damaged inscription on a pillar found at Gebelen is the only record of Smendes' reign.

Smenkhare (Smenkhkared) (r. c. 1363 BCE) *The tenth king of the ancient Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty, and successor to Akhenaten*

Smenkhare married Merytaten, the daughter of AKHENATEN. Merytaten had succeeded her mother, NEFERTITI, as Akhenaten's Great Royal Wife, or principal wife. Evidence suggests that Smenkhkare was co-regent during the latter part of Akhenaten's reign and that he assumed the religious name, Neferneferuaten, of his mother-in-law, Nefertiti. This new name, which some scholars believe

means "Perfect One of the Aten's Perfection," seems to indicate that, during his two-year reign, he perpetuated the cult of the god ATEN at el-Amarna.

After the death of Merytaten, Smenkhare married another of Akhenaten's six daughters, Ankhesenpaaten, who later became the wife of Smenkhare's successor, TUTANKHAMUN (r. c. 1361–c. 1351 BCE). The condition of the royal MUMMY suggests that Smenkhare was in his early twenties when he died.

See also: EGYPT (Vol. I).

Somalia Country measuring approximately 246,000 square miles (637,100 sq km), located in northeastern Africa. It borders DJIBOUTI to the northwest, KENYA to the southwest, and ETHIOPIA to the west. Located north of the equator between the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, Somalia, together with Ethiopia and Djibouti, is referred to as the HORN OF AFRICA. Mogadishu is the country's capital city and main port. The country has also been known as Somaliland.

Somalians are part of the major language group of Eastern Cushitic speakers that includes the OROMO and AFAR of Ethiopia, as well as the Reendille and Boni of Kenya. Known for their vibrant poetry and verse, Somalians emphasize a shared identity borne of family clans. Their poetry reflects the freedom and hardships associated with being farmers and NOMADS. However, since the region's people have long made up a stateless society, much of Somalia's history is known from studying early patterns of migration and trade links in the ancient world.

Several theories have attempted to explain the origins of Somali peoples. Initially historians believed that they came from the west coast of Africa or southern Arabia. However, recent evidence suggests that they migrated from southern Ethiopia. When they began to migrate is not clear, but archaeologists generally believe that they settled along the Omo and Tana rivers, near Lake TURKANA, centuries before the common era. The Somali, known as the Samaale or Sam, reportedly migrated away from the main group in Ethiopia during the first millennium BCE. By the first century CE the Samaale had established communities along the Tana River as far as the coast of the Indian Ocean. It is also believed that, in this same period, segmented groups of the Samaale crossed the Ogaden Plain along the southern shore of the RED SEA.

The CLAN structure of the Somali appears to have been in place at an early period. Made up of descendants who traced their lineage to a common ancestor, Somali clans spoke a common language and maintained similar cultural and religious beliefs.

The region's dry, grassy plains undoubtedly influenced the tradition of nomadic herding. The mobility of animals like CATTLE, oxen, and CAMELS offered an escape during both catastrophic droughts and the rainy seasons,

which occurred from March to May and October to December. Other animals, such as sheep and GOATS, added important staples like milk products to the Somali diet. The maintenance of their herds was critical, and clans frequently clashed as a result of strong competition for grazing land and water.

Somalia's social and economic structure has long involved the widespread tradition of female CIRCUMCISION. Believed to date back thousands of years, the Somalian form of circumcision was one of the RITES OF PASSAGE for young women. A crude surgical procedure that altered the female genitalia, circumcision was intended to ensure sexual abstinence before marriage. It was also considered a sound economic practice that emphasized entitlement to BRIDE-WEALTH, a critical factor for prospective brides and their families.

Known to the ancient world as the Land of PUNT, Somalia was an important link to the Red Sea, MEDITERRANEAN SEA, and Indian Ocean TRADE AND COMMERCE. The recovery of Parthian coins from the first and second century, as well as Roman coins dating back to the third century CE, confirm the existence of widespread trading activities. Trade also encouraged the rise of Somalian civilization, whose economic advantages once rivaled EGYPT, KUSH, and its neighbor, Ethiopia. Expeditions from Egypt to Punt began as early as ancient Egypt's First and Second Dynasties (c. 3050–c. 2705 BCE) and initially consisted of caravans that followed overland routes through the NILE RIVER valley. These methods of TRANSPORTATION were abandoned by the time of the Fifth Dynasty, and King Sahure (r. c. 2458–c. 2446 BCE) made one of the first recorded attempts to reach Punt by boat. Egyptians grew dependent upon Somalia for its rare goods, including GOLD, ivory, incense trees, animal skins, and other rare items. In return Somalia received weapons, such as daggers and hatchets, and valuable pieces of JEWELRY.

A notable visitor to Punt in this early period was Hatshepsut (c. 1479–1457 BCE), whose tomb at Deir el-Bahri contained images of her journey. These scenes offer one of the few portrayals of the ancient world, with its inhabitants living in cone-shaped huts reached by ladder. A local chief, known as Perehu, and his wife, Ese, were also depicted. Centuries of trading also introduced elements of Egyptian culture into Somalia, including the worship of AMUN and the observance of an annual holiday known as the Feast of the Pharaoh.

Much later in history, Arabs who traded in Somalia established commercial ports there, exporting cinnamon,

tortoiseshell, ivory, rhinoceros horn, and palm oil. By the end of the fourth century these ports included Zeila and Berbera. Down the Indian Ocean coast, ports including BARAWA, Marka, and Kismayo had grown into thriving settlements.

See also: BENADIR COAST (Vol. III); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); OGADEN PLAIN (Vol. III); SOMALI (Vol. II); SOMALIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

sorghum   Cereal grain made from a domesticated plant indigenous to Africa. Sorghum is one of the most important cereal grains in Africa. Evidence of its earliest use has been traced to the Late STONE AGE. However, more is known about its use in various regions of the Sudan during the period between approximately 6000 to 5000 BCE. Sorghum initially grew in the wild, and its cultivation has been linked to the development of microlithic, or small, sharpened blades and grinding tools. It became domesticated over centuries of planting and harvesting and is therefore linked to the settlement and growth of sedentary populations.

The Sudan's regional variety of sorghum, also known as *durra*, was also popular further north, along the NILE RIVER, and it is known to have been a diet staple in EGYPT and the neighboring Kushite kingdom of MEROË.

A good source of carbohydrates, sorghum was made into porridge or served with fish, meat, or other vegetables. It was common for many families to consume this staple from a shared dish, a tradition reflecting the value of shared labor.

Sorghum plants were transplanted to other regions through trade, changing in form and texture in response to environmental conditions. Consequently, at least five different varieties flourished throughout Africa. The plant reportedly reached ETHIOPIA and regions bordering the SAHARA DESERT between 3500 and 2500 BCE. In East Africa sorghum was called *mtama*, while in West Africa it eventually became known as Guinea corn. Southern Africa was the last region of the continent to cultivate sorghum; it was probably transplanted there by migrating Bantu speakers. By 1000 BCE this popular African staple had been transported to India, where it was widely cultivated.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. I).

Further reading: J. A. Mann, C. T. Kimber, and F. R. Miller, *The Origin and Early Cultivation of Sorghums in Africa* (College Station, Tex.: Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas A&M University System, 1983).

South Africa   Country covering about 470,700 square miles (1,219,100 sq km) of southernmost Africa. South Africa is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Indian Ocean to the east and south, BOTSWANA and ZIM-BABWE to the north, NAMIBIA to the northwest, and MOZAMBIQUE and SWAZILAND to the northeast.

The oldest indigenous people in the region are the SAN, who occupied the area while it was still in the midst of the last Ice Age, some 20,000 years ago. Remnants of the San still live in the KALAHARI DESERT.

About 2,000 years ago, cattle-raising KHOIKHOI people migrated southward, perhaps from present-day Botswana, settling mainly in the southern coastal region. This Khoikhoi migration displaced the San, who were HUNTER-GATHERERS. Some San groups integrated into Khoikhoi society, but the majority moved into the surrounding deserts or mountains, areas where the difficulty of raising cattle precluded the Khoikhoi from settling. As Bantu-speaking peoples migrated into the region starting about the fifth century, the Khoikhoi began trading with them to acquire metal for tools and weapons.

See also: BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II); SOUTH AFRICA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

spiders   Spiders live in many different terrains and exist in more than 34,000 species. The spider is a common figure in African lore, and the Ashanti spider trickster ANANSI is especially well-known.

spirit possession   Condition of being physically and mentally controlled by spiritual entities. Although widely misunderstood, for centuries spirit possession has served as an integral component of African RELIGION. As such, it is a common feature and has existed in most societies from an ancient period. Individuals who have undergone possession have variously described it as being taken over, invaded, or displaced by an entity over which little or no control can be exerted. Some individuals in the throes of possession shake violently; others become sick and may faint. After the initial shock to the body, the person possessed serves as a medium for the spirit and often counsels those in attendance.

In Songhai society, in what is now NIGER, women traditionally served as mediums. Their ability to become a medium for the spirits was reportedly acquired from relatives or friends. Once chosen to perform this task, mediums were expected to pay homage to the spirit by performing helpful acts within their society.

There are a number of ways in which the spirits are "called" into action. The Songhai *godji* has long been considered a sacred instrument used for this purpose. Sometimes compared to a one-string violin, the *godji* is made from a calabash gourd covered with animal skin. When played, it produces a unique sound as a result of the tautness of the string, usually horsehair, and the empty cavity of the calabash. Some have even compared the sound produced by the wooden bow to a high-pitched cry.

Other groups, such as the YORUBA and Tiv of NIGERIA, have traditionally used DRUMS along with specific songs and DANCE to induce spirit possession among initiates and devotees. Sacred or ritual dance often involves complex movements, and the drum is said to create a higher awareness through its deeply rhythmic tones. The drum has traditionally offered many societies the ability to tap into an important source of mystical power.

These aspects, while highly significant, have always represented only a small portion of the concept of spirit possession. While in this state, individuals have been known to effectively heal infertility or cure bodily illness with a "laying on of hands" to specific parts of the body. Medicinal herbs and communal treatment might also be employed to correct personal or societal imbalances. Mediums usually maintain their ability to act as a voice for the gods by tending a special SHRINE and performing ritual offerings consisting of FOOD, cowrie shells, or other forms of currency, as well as sacrificial gifts of small animals.

See also: EGUNGUN (Vol. I); MASKS (Vol. I); ORACLE (Vol. I); ORISHA (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); WITCHCRAFT (Vols. I, IV); SONGHAI (Vols. II, III).

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step pyramid of Djoser   Built about the 27th century BCE, this large structure is considered to be the first pyramid in history and the earliest stone building in ancient EGYPT. Located in SAQQARA, commissioned by the pharaoh Djoser (r. c. 2630–2611 BCE), and designed by the architect IMHOTEP, it represents a dramatic and innovative departure in tomb ARCHITECTURE from the flat-roofed, mud-brick mastabas that preceded it.

Scholars believe that when Djoser, the second king of the Third Dynasty, ordered the building of his tomb at Saqqara, he intended to have a mastaba, which is a an oblong-shaped tomb. The royal tomb is in the original building and is found 90 feet (27 m) under the ground, with a vertical shaft leading to it—a design typical of previous mastabas. However, the architect Imhotep departed from the tradition of using mud bricks and constructed this building entirely of stone, which, as far as historians know, had never been done before. A block of granite weighing 3 tons (2.7 metric tons) was used to close the tomb, and the face was covered in Tura limestone.

The building was enlarged in the next phase of construction, and, in a third phase, a second tier was added. In addition to the innovation of stone as the sole building material, the shape became square instead of rectangular, and the tomb building no longer had the traditional flat top. Plans developed to add two more tiers, each one smaller than the one below it, thus creating a stepped building. Two more steps were added to the four that already existed, creating the final, six-stepped pyramid. When the six phases of building were completed, the pyramid rose to a height of about 200 feet (61 m).

Inside this great pyramid, passageways link several chambers, some of which are tiled in blue. The walls of the tomb chamber bear inscriptions stating that its intended purpose was burial use. Outside, white limestone temples and other buildings stood around the pyramid. Surrounding the entire area was a wall, believed to be a reproduction of the MEMPHIS walls.

Some of the casing blocks used to support the tiers of the pyramid are still intact today, but the outer limestone casing has disappeared, as has part of the stone structure. A statue of Djoser was found in the tomb chamber by excavators in the 1920s, and can be seen today in the Egyptian Museum in CAIRO.

See also: PYRAMIDS (Vol. I).

Stone Age   (c. 2.5 million–3200 BCE) Early period of human development characterized by the use of stone tools. Over the years Africa has been a significant source of information about both these tools and the early humans who created them. Many archaeological excavations have been carried out on the continent, and discoveries made in present-day KENYA, SOUTH AFRICA, TANZANIA, and ETHIOPIA added significantly to our understanding humankind's earliest ancestors. Thousands of fossilized remains have been found at these archaeological sites, some dating back more than 4 million years. From these discoveries, scientists have been able to establish that Africa is the probable birthplace of humankind. They also have been able to establish a clear chronology of human development during the period we now call the Stone Age.

Early Stone Age   The earliest known stone tools recovered with the *Homo* species have led archaeologists to determine that the Early Stone Age began about 2.5 million BCE and was divided into two parts. The first part is known as the Oldowan phase. It was named for the tools found at OLDUVAI GORGE in Tanzania and is linked with both *HOMO HABILIS* and *HOMO ERECTUS.* (Archaeologists have found examples of these tools among the fossilized remains of *Homo habilis.*) These tools signify a great advancement over the digging sticks and simple stone tools that first gave the Stone Age its name.

The tools made at Olduvai had flaked or sharpened edges and were used to cut, scrape, and chop FOOD. (The food was probably obtained through scavenging.) These tools probably were made by repeatedly striking one stone against another, gradually chipping away pieces until the tool was left with a sharpened edge.

Middle Stone Age (Acheulean Period)   This middle phase of the Stone Age lasted from c. 1.5 million to 40,000 BCE. This period is known for the widespread use of what has become known as the ACHEULEAN TOOL-KIT, a distinctive set of hand axes and scrapers. (The name comes from the region in southern France where the tools of this type were first discovered.)

Although these and other Acheulean tools have also been unearthed in Europe and Asia, the vast majority of the items have been recovered in Africa, particularly in an area spreading from the MAGHRIB to the Cape of Good Hope.

Regardless of where they have been found, however, these tools all exhibit a remarkably similar shape and rely on a similar method of construction. This has led some archaeologists to speculate that *Homo erectus*, the human species dominant in Africa through most of the Middle Stone Age, was the first human species to use the tools. These archaeologists also believe that *Homo erectus* later crossed early land bridges and migrated to places outside Africa.

In comparison to OLDOWAN TOOLS, Acheulean tools are sharper and heavier. They have chipped flakes on both sides as well as sharpened points. Some of these tools seem to have had religious or ritual functions, including the burial of the dead. But most of the tools were used, in one way or another, for preparing FOOD. The use of these tools allowed the diet of early humans to become more diverse, and there is evidence that *Homo erectus* consumed hares, warthogs, and antelopes, as well as fish and seals caught along Africa's western and southern coasts. *Homo erectus* also mastered the use of FIRE during this period and began moving in groups to specific sites or camps as the seasons changed. These camps often were located in wooded landscapes or in areas that allowed these early humans to take advantage of natural caves and rock shelters. Investigations at these sites have found signs of regular social activities, including cooperative food preparation, communal cooking, and providing protection from a dangerous environment.

Scientists use several dating methods to unlock the mysteries of the past. One of the most prominent methods is radiocarbon (carbon 14 or C14) dating. Radiocarbon dating can analyze evidence dating back to 40,000 BCE. This system is based on the radioactivity present in the atmosphere of the earth. All living matter ingests trace amounts of carbon 14. When death occurs, carbon 14 is released at a rate that can be measured in fossils, charcoal, burned bone, shell, hair, and other organic materials. Using this system, archaeologists have been able to reconstruct a chronology of human history starting with the Stone Age and progressing to the agricultural revolution and the Iron Age.
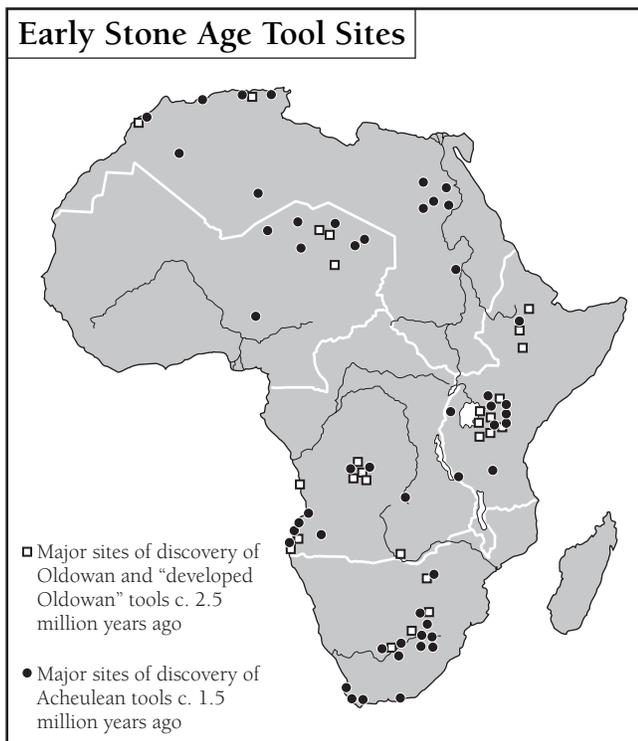
About 150,000 years ago, near the end of the Middle Stone Age, the hominid species we now know as *HOMO SAPIENS* emerged. *Homo sapiens*, the same species as modern humans, used an even more varied stone toolkit, all made from a prepared "core" or model. This form of tool production produced sharper knives and scrapers, as well as the spearheads they attached to wooden shafts using lashes and a kind of vegetable glue. Archaeologists speculate that during this period, *Homo sapiens* built the first houses, using such natural elements as branches, grass, and stones. In the cooler regions of northern and southern Africa, however, groups of *Homo sapiens* continued to live in rock shelters.

Late Stone Age   During the Late Stone Age, which lasted from c. 40,000 to 3200 BCE, *Homo sapiens* dominated the African landscape. Although the tools they used varied from region to region, *Homo sapiens'* use of microliths (tiny stones) marked the most advanced phase of stone tool production. Microliths, which archaeologists have found in savanna grasslands and dry woodlands, are stone flakes that have been refined into tiny points and blades, sometimes shaped into triangles or crescents.

One of the best-preserved Late Stone Age sites is found at Gwisho Springs in present-day central ZAMBIA. Microlith artifacts, along with the skeletal remains of ap-

Early Stone Age Tool Sites

□ Major sites of discovery of Oldowan and "developed Oldowan" tools c. 2.5 million years ago

● Major sites of discovery of Acheulean tools c. 1.5 million years ago

proximately 30 early humans, have been found in the waterlogged soil of Kafue Valley.

Late Stone Age hunters fashioned weapons with sharp rock tools, including, in the savanna regions, the earliest known form of the bow and arrow. The sharp stone tips were coated with a form of poison that slowly killed large animals. Other tools included decorated stones with bored holes designed to fit over digging sticks, harpoon barbs made of bone, awls, needles, fish-hooks, and an assortment of fine bone tools. In the woodland regions, people still used many of the Acheulean tools developed in the Middle Stone Age, including hand axes and spears. Late Stone Age hunters also set carefully concealed traps and pits to catch animals.

The widespread use of these and other tools by 10,000 BCE indicates a broad and well-defined range of human activity. It is probable that early humans lived in kinship groups, with men hunting wild animals to provide meat and women and children gathering wild fruit, nuts, melons, and edible insects like termites, CATERPILLARS, and LOCUSTS. They also used digging sticks to find roots and tubers beneath the soil.

Excavations have shown that, during the Late Stone Age, humans wore body ornaments made of eggshell, bone, or stones, and animal skins were used for clothing and shelter. Much about life at this time has been learned from ROCK ART, and various scenes of ancient life have been found in desert caves. These include images of animals, grain harvests, women performing ritual dances, and symbols whose meanings are not yet understood.

See also: HUMAN ORIGINS (Vol. I); NEOLITHIC AGE (Vol. I).

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Sudan, Republic of the Country measuring approximately 966,800 square miles (2,504,000 sq km) located in northeastern Africa. It is bordered by EGYPT and LIBYA to the north, ETHIOPIA and ERITREA to the east, CHAD and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to the west, and KENYA, UGANDA, and Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the south. Sudan is the largest country in Africa. The capital city of KHARTOUM is located at the confluence of the BLUE NILE and the WHITE NILE in the north-central part of the country. Among the earliest inhabitants of the region were the nomadic pastoralist BEJA people, in the east, and the seminomadic NUER, in the south.

Archaeological evidence indicates that, as early as c. 2400 BCE, the kingdom of KERMA was a regional trading center in Upper Nubia, territory that is now northern Republic of the Sudan. Located between the first and second cataracts of the Nile River, Kerma combined with other local kingdoms and evolved into the kingdom of KUSH. By about the eighth century BCE, the Kush kingdom dominated local trade and stretched from Khartoum to present-day southern Egypt. In fact, Kushite kings ruled a weakened Egyptian state from the ninth to the sixth centuries BCE.

A variety of goods, including metals, jewels, incense, ivory, weapons, human captives, and agricultural products passed through Kush's busy markets. Trade routes converging on the kingdom ran south to the African interior, north to Egypt and the Mediterranean coast, and east to AKSUM and the RED SEA coast.

About 500 BCE the Kushite kings were forced south to MEROË, where they established a powerful trading kingdom that also became known for its people's iron-smelting technology. For centuries, Meroë controlled trade in southern Nubia. However, in the fourth century CE, Aksum's King Ezana led an invasion from the east and quickly conquered much of southern Nubia, razing Meroë in the process. Ezana then controlled the flow of goods through the prosperous markets of most of Nubia, leading Aksum to supplant Meroë as the regional power. In the seventh century CE, Muslims from the Arabian Peninsula conquered Egypt and soon came to control Nubia, as well.

See also: DINKA (Vols. II, III); SUDAN, REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Sudd Vast swamp in southern Republic of the SUDAN, approximately 200 miles (320 km) long and 225 miles (360 km) wide. *Sudd* is an Arabic word that refers to the barrier created by floating water plants, dense PAPYRUS, VEGETATION, tangled reeds, and marshes. Although the swamp is fed by the tributaries of the WHITE NILE, the Sudd's floating matter forms thick, stagnant islands, due largely to the lower gradient of the land.

In ancient times the Sudd prevented the Egyptians from exploring lands south of the Nile. Later the Roman commentator Seneca claimed that the Sudd prevented Emperor Nero's Roman army from being able to penetrate ETHIOPIA. Infested with deadly diseases and inhabited by dangerous wildlife, including CROCODILES, HIPPOPOTAMUSES, snakes, and biting insects, the Sudd has, for centuries, been the homeland of the Dinka and NUER peoples, seminomadic pastoralists who inhabit the grassy plains between water courses.

See also: DINKA (Vols. II, III); GEOGRAPHY (Vol. I).

Suswa Ancient volcano located in western KENYA, near Lake Laivasha. Mount Suswa is located on the floor of the

Great RIFT VALLEY and is made up of two concentric craters. The outer crater has a diameter of about 6 miles (9.7 km), with its south and east sides eroded. The outer crater also contains numerous caves. The inner crater has a diameter of between 2 and 3 miles (3.2 and 4.8 km) and appears to be a sloping island surrounded by a sort of natural moat. No eruptions of Mount Suswa have been recorded, although geologists believe that the volcano may have erupted at least once during the past 10,000 years.

Swaziland   Present-day landlocked nation in southeastern Africa. The country measures approximately 6,700 square miles (17,400 sq km) and is bordered by present-day SOUTH AFRICA to the north, south, and west, and by MOZAMBIQUE to the east. Archaeological evidence of human habitation in the area dates back to the Early STONE AGE (c. 2.5 million BCE). Thousands of rock paintings have also been found throughout the area. Created perhaps as early as the seventh century, these paintings of animals and hunters are attributed to the SAN people.

T

Tallensi (Talis)   Sedentary agriculturists who have long been situated primarily in the northeastern region of present-day GHANA. The Tallensi appear to be one of the few peoples in Africa who have maintained an ancient way of life. As long ago as the IRON AGE, and possibly earlier, the Tallensi began to live in a highly organized CLAN structure, tracing their descent from a single male figure. Elected clan leaders rule the group.

One of the most important political institutions that developed in Tallensi society is called Tendana, which means the "custodians of the earth." This organization emphasizes the life-sustaining properties of the earth. Those chosen to serve as custodians inherit the responsibility from clan members. Traditionally, they are identified by the animal skins they wear, and they participate in rituals and work at special shrines to ensure the fertility of the earth. Priests and ritual specialists among the custodians also are supposed to mediate between earth and water.

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Ta-Meri   One of the original names for EGYPT; Ta-Meri means "beloved land" or "land of love." The name *Egypt* comes from the Greek word *Aigyptos*, the Greek misspelling and mispronunciation of *Hikuptah*, or the temple of Ptah in MEMPHIS. The people of Egypt also called their land *KEMET*, meaning the "black land," a term that describes the fertile black earth in the valley of the NILE RIVER. Egyptians referred to themselves as "people of Kemet." In contrast, *Ta-Meri* was used in a general way to describe one's homeland, much in the same way that people use the English word "country."

Tanganyika, Lake   Second-largest of the East African lakes, located on the border between present-day TANZANIA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO in the southern portion of the western RIFT VALLEY. Along with extensive mountain ranges and other lakes, Lake Tanganyika forms the boundary between West and East Africa. Tanganyika, at 440 miles (708 km) in length, is the longest freshwater lake in the world, as well as the second-deepest at 4,710 feet (1,436 m). The narrow lake is only 45 miles (72 km) across at its widest. Three large rivers flow into the lake (the Malagarasi, the RUZIZI, and the Kalamabo) and its only outlet is the Lukuga River, which flows into the LUALABA RIVER.

See also: TANGANYIKA, LAKE (Vol. II).

Tanite   The Twenty-first Dynasty of ancient EGYPT; seven Tanite kings reigned from about 1070 to 945 BCE. During their rule, Tanite kings maintained control over the priests at Thebes, but their power in areas like Palestine and Syria weakened.

The name *Tanite* is derived from the city of Tanis, which SMENDES, the first Tanite king, established as his capital. Located on the eastern part of the NILE DELTA, Tanis was a commercial center of Egypt. However, the accumulation of silt in the mouth of the Nile near Tanis diverted trade to ALEXANDRIA. Tanis was also the capital of the HYKSOS kings of Egypt in the 17th century BCE.

After a rebellion against ROME in 174 CE, Tanis was destroyed. The ancient city now sits in ruins, its site partly occupied by the fishing village of San. Studying these ruins, archaeologists have found the remnants of several temples, statues, and a royal necropolis.

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Tanzania   Country in East Africa covering approximately 342,100 square miles (886,000 sq km) and made up of a mainland portion and the offshore Indian Ocean islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia. Tanzania is bordered by UGANDA and KENYA to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, MOZAMBIQUE, MALAWI, and ZAMBIA to the south, and RWANDA and BURUNDI to the west. Tanzania also features shorelines of major bodies of fresh water, including Lake TANGANYIKA, Lake VICTORIA, and Lake Malawi.

The Tanzania region is generally considered the origin of humankind. It is known for the discovery of ancient remains dating back as far as 2.1 million years ago. Fossilized remains of HOMO HABILIS, a hominid that lived about 1.75 million years ago, have been found at OLDUVAI GORGE, in northeastern Tanzania, along with early stone
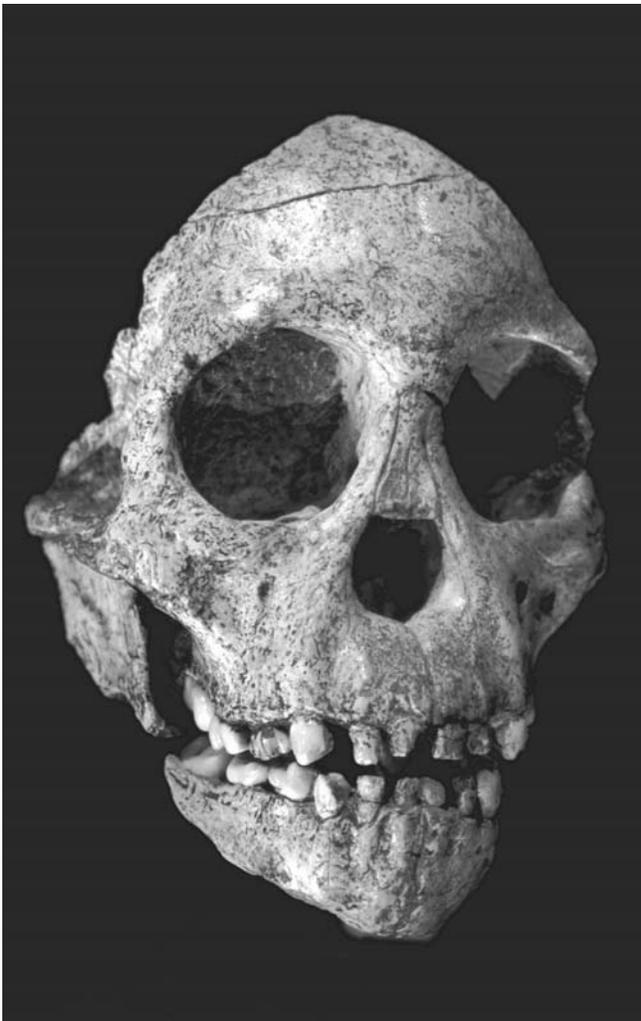
The skull of the 1- to 2-million-year-old Taung Child (*Australopithecus africanus*), uncovered in Botswana, fluoresces in black light during a 1985 research study at the National Physical Research Laboratory in Pretoria, South Africa. *© Jonathan Blair/Corbis*

tools. About 500 CE small groups of iron-working, Bantu-speaking agriculturalists entered Tanzania and other parts of eastern and Central Africa. By 1000 CE all of Tanzania was populated, however sparsely.

See also: TANZANIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Taung Child   Remains of a young *AUSTRALOPITHECUS africanus* discovered at Taung, in present-day BOTSWANA.

See also: HUMAN ORIGINS (Vol. I).

Tefnakhte (Tefnakht)   (r. c. 727–712 BCE) *First king of Egypt's Twenty-fourth Dynasty*

Tefnakhte has been variously described as a delta prince, a Libyan prince, a lord or chieftain of Sais, and a prophet. As ruler of LOWER EGYPT, Tefnakhte advanced south in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to capture UPPER EGYPT from PIANKHY, the king of NUBIA.

From his capital of Sais, in the NILE DELTA, Tefnakhte succeeded in gathering allies and claiming territory to the west and as far south as Lisht. He then turned his campaigns toward the east and conquered several towns on the eastern bank of the NILE RIVER. Looking to claim Upper Egypt for his own, Tefnakhte moved on and conquered the Middle Egyptian town of Hermopolis. Piankhy was stirred to action by this and quickly drove Tefnakhte's forces back to MEMPHIS.

At Memphis, according to historian MANETHO, Tefnakhte organized 8,000 soldiers for battle, while Tefnakhte himself rode north on horseback in an effort to rally other delta princes to his aid. Piankhy defeated Tefnakhte's forces at Memphis, after which Tefnakhte submitted and swore an oath to obey the king who had defeated him. Inexplicably, Piankhy returned to his home at Napata, and Tefnakhte then declared himself king of EGYPT.

Tetisheri   (r. c. 1600 BCE) *Queen of ancient Egypt's Seventeenth Dynasty*

Tetisheri paved the way for the powerful female rulers who succeeded her, including her descendant Hatshepsut (Eighteenth Dynasty), one of the few women pharaohs of ancient EGYPT. Unlike women in other ancient male-dominated cultures, Egyptian women, even commoners, had legal rights, could own and inherit property, and held public office. Tetisheri was one such non-royal woman who married Tao I and became queen in Thebes. During the late Seventeenth Dynasty, the role of the queen changed into a more powerful and influential position in which queen consorts like Tetisheri probably acted as regents, or members of a governing body. Tetisheri and the queens who succeeded her, Ahhotep II and Ahmose-Nefertari, all contributed to the general understanding of women as influential and capable rulers, paving the way

for Hatshepsut to become one of the most remarkable female pharaohs in the history of ancient Egypt.

Tetishiri lived to be 70 years old and was honored for her service to her country. She has been called the "mother of the NEW KINGDOM" due to her influential role and because of the importance of her son, Tao II, and grandsons, WADJKHEPERRE (also called Kamose; last king of the Seventeenth Dynasty) and AHMOSE I (first king of the New Kingdom). She was given an estate and a tomb, in addition to the monument that was erected for her at ABYDOS. Information about Tetisheri is known from a stele describing the words of King Amosis in which he speaks of the great deceased queen. Although two statuettes of Tetisheri are thought to have come from her tomb at Thebes, the one brought to the British Museum in 1890 was proved a forgery.

Thinis (This) Ancient town in UPPER EGYPT, south of CAIRO, long thought to be the origin or capital of the First and Second Dynasties (c. 3050–2705 BCE); most modern scholars now doubt the accuracy of this assertion. Excavations at ABYDOS, near Thinis, uncovered several mastabas, or open stone tombs, that were thought to be the burial sites of the Egyptian First Dynasty rulers. The historian MANETHO (c. 300 BCE) claimed that Thinis was the capital of both the First and Second Dynasties. However, larger and more elaborate tombs of the same period have been found elsewhere, as have other important mastabas. This has led scholars to question the claims that the early dynasties originated at Thinis. It is not known whether the mastabas near Thinis were used for burials or just for memorials.

Two notable figures from Egyptian history are often associated with Thinis. One was the mythical god of hunting and war, Anhur, whose cult began in Thinis. In addition, MENES (also known as Narmer), the figure who gained renown for uniting the lands of UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT, was reputedly born in the town of Thinis.

Thoth (Tehuti, Hermes) Greek name for the ancient Egyptian god of wisdom, WRITING, learning, and the moon. According to legend, Thoth invented HIEROGLYPHICS and possessed magical powers; also according to legend, he was present at the reckoning of the dead.

As a SCRIBE of the AFTERLIFE, Thoth was credited with writing the Egyptian BOOK OF THE DEAD. As the representative of the sun god, RA, Thoth used a balance scale to measure the heart of the deceased against the weight of the feather of Truth, supposedly in order to see if the heart was light. Thoth reported on the deceased to other gods who passed judgment.

The method of picture-writing called hieroglyphics is credited to Thoth, and he is often represented carrying a writing instrument and a scroll. Also, the moon is said to have come into being because of Thoth's desire to rid the nighttime world of darkness. Since he possessed magic powers and created the magical arts, Thoth is credited with inventing the tarot deck, which is sometimes called the Book of Thoth.

Thoth was typically pictured as a human with the head of an ibis, a bird that is a member of the stork family, although sometimes he was depicted as a baboon. According to legend, Thoth and MAAT, the goddess of truth, had eight children, including the god AMUN.
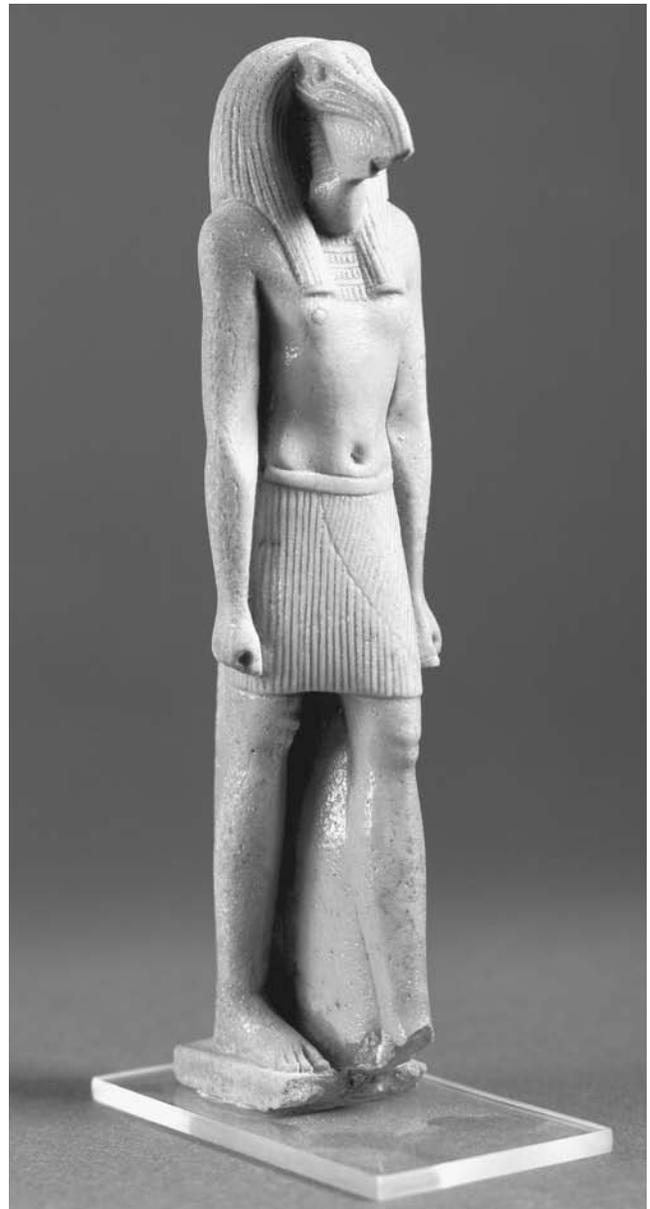
Thoth, the Egyptian god of wisdom, writing, learning, and the moon, is often depicted as a human with the head of an ibis. The Louvre Museum, Paris, France © *Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis*

Thutmose I (King Akheperkare Thutmose I, Thutmosis I) (r. c. 1525–1512 BCE) *Third king of the ancient Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty*

Thutmose legitimized his claim to the throne that his brother-in-law, AMENHOTEP I, had left him by marrying Amenhotep's sister, the princess Ahmose. Their marriage produced four children. One of the siblings, a daughter named Hatshepsut, later succeeded to the throne of EGYPT, following the reign of her half-brother THUTMOSE II.

A great warrior, Thutmose I conducted several military campaigns against Egypt's old enemies, the Nubians and the HYKSOS. The king's ferocity is immortalized in the story of his triumphant return from a Nubian campaign with the body of a Nubian chieftain hanging from the prow of his ship. Thutmose was so successful in waging war against the Hyksos in Syria that he extended his empire as far as the Euphrates River. Thutmose's empire building set a pattern that his successors emulated throughout the remainder of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Thutmose's two sons by Queen Ahmose both died before him. Thutmose II, the king's son by a lesser wife, succeeded his father to the throne.

See also: AHMOSID/THUTMOSID LINES (Vol. I); NEW KINGDOM (Vol. I); NUBIA (Vol. I).

Further reading: Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001).

Thutmose II (King Akheperenre Thutmose II, Thutmosis II) (r. c. 1512–c. 1504 BCE) *Fourth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt*

The son of THUTMOSE I and a wife named Mutnofret, Thutmose II married Hatshepsut, his half-sister. Their marriage produced no son to succeed him. Although it appears that Thutmose II suffered from poor health, he managed to oversee successful military campaigns in both Syria and NUBIA. He died at about the age of 30, leaving the throne to Hatshepsut, and THUTMOSE III, his son by a woman of his harem.

See also: AHMOSID/THUTMOSID LINES (Vol. I); NEW KINGDOM (Vol. I).

Further reading: Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001).

Thutmose III (King Menkheperre Thutmose III, Thutmosis III) (r. c. 1504–c. 1450 BCE) *Fifth king and great military leader of the ancient Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty*

The son of THUTMOSE II and a concubine, Isis, Thutmose III was not old enough to rule when his father died. As a result he shared the throne with his late father's queen, Hatshepsut, ruling with her for about two years until Hatshepsut abandoned the co-regency and seized the throne for herself. She pushed Thutmose III into the background, where he remained until her death c. 1482 BCE. When he finally regained the throne, Thutmose III sought to erase the memory of Hatshepsut's reign by destroying the monuments she and her supporters had built.

While Hatshepsut reigned as pharaoh, Thutmose III apparently spent his time in the army. Ironically, his military exile ultimately served him well: As soon as he became pharaoh in his own right, Thutmose III was faced with a Mitanni revolt in Asia Minor. The struggle with the Mitanni, one of Egypt's greatest enemies, continued throughout Thutmose III's reign. He is reported to have engaged in 17 campaigns before he conquered them. It was these military expeditions, more than any others he conducted, that established Thutmose's reputation as a great general.

Thutmose III was as enthusiastic about erecting buildings as about waging war. In the last years of his reign, during a period of peace and prosperity for Egypt, he built and transformed many splendid monuments. One of the most important of these was the Temple of KARNAK at Thebes, dedicated to the god AMUN.

Thutmose was succeeded by AMENHOTEP II, his son from his marriage to his second wife, Hatshepsut-Merytre. Well into his eighties when he died, Thutmose III was buried in a tomb in the VALLEY OF THE KINGS.

See also: AHMOSID/THUTMOSID LINES (Vol. I); RA (Vol. I).

Further reading: Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (Boston: Brill, 2003); Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001).

Thutmose IV (King Menkheprure Thutmose IV, Thutmose IV) (c. 1425–1417 BCE) *Seventh king of the ancient Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty*

Son of AMENHOTEP II and his sister, Queen Tio, Thutmose IV married Mutemwiya, who most likely was a Mitanni princess. The reign of Thutmose IV was for the most part uneventful, except for two military campaigns, one in NUBIA and the other in Syria. The Syrian campaign earned him the title "Conqueror of Syria."

Thutmose IV was succeeded by AMENHOTEP III, his son by Queen Mutemwiya. Buried in the VALLEY OF THE KINGS, the MUMMY of Thutmose was found in 1898 in the tomb of AMENHOTEP II, along with those of other pharaohs.

See also: AHMOSID/THUTMOSID LINES (Vol. I); NEW KINGDOM (Vol. I).

Further reading: Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Joyce Tyldesley, *Egypt's Golden Empire: The Age of the New Kingdom* (London: Headline Book Pub., 2001).

tigil   Ancient Ethiopian competition involving fists and wrestling positions. Hieroglyphic inscriptions in EGYPT give evidence that the sport had spread northward from Ethiopia through the NILE VALLEY as early as 4000 BCE. From Egypt the sport made its way to the Mediterranean world and sometime later became an essential part of Greek and Roman sport.

Tigil held a significant place in ancient Ethiopian culture because it provided an outlet for the aggression of young males. It also served as a source of entertainment at public celebrations, holiday events, and harvest FESTIVALS. Generally, young men were matched with opponents of the same age, height, and level of skill or strength. Winners were subsequently paired off to fight against competitors from other villages.

See also: SPORTS AND ATHLETICS (Vol. V).

Tigray   Remote highland region situated near the present-day border between ERITREA and northeastern ETHIOPIA; also the name of the people who live there. At least 4,000 years ago small communities of farmers and pastoralists dominated the mountainous landscape of Tigray. Primarily Cushitic speakers, they included the Amarar, the Hassaub, and the BEJA. By about 1000 BCE, these groups were joined by traders who crossed the RED SEA from southern Arabia. Centuries of intermarriage between these groups and others followed. The result was a culture that combined the traditions of many different groups and a WRITING script, known as GE'EZ, that grew out of such languages as TIGRINYA, ARABIC, and Hebrew.

Between 800 BCE and 300 BCE the cities of Damot, near present-day Eritrea, and Saba (Sheba), across the Red Sea in Arabia, flourished as centers of TRADE AND COMMERCE. The rulers of this trading network built temples with inscribed altars and stone sculptures. The Temple of Ilmuqah, considered the oldest building in Ethiopia, is one of the few surviving relics attesting to the former greatness of Damot and Saba. Eventually, Damot and Saba were supplanted as the Red Sea's most prosperous trading centers by the kingdom of AKSUM.

See also: BETA ISRAEL (Vol. I); DAMOT (Vols. II, III); TIGRAY (Vols. IV, V).

Tigre   A primarily Muslim, Tigré-speaking people who share a common heritage with the Christian TIGRINYA-speaking people called TIGRAY. Both the Tigré and the Tigrinya languages are related to GE'EZ, the ancient liturgical language of Ethiopia. The two peoples and the two languages are sometimes confused by outsiders. Thus, the Muslim Tigre are sometimes called the Northern Tigre in order to distinguish them from the Tigray who are the Tigrinya speakers living to the south. It is thought that the ancestors of the Tigre migrated into the region shortly before the first century. The nomadic pastoralist Tigre, however, were converted to Islam by Muslim traders who brought the religion to the lands bordering the Dahlak Islands and down the coast during the early eighth century. Politically, the Tigre are organized into clans based on FAMILY ties.

See also: PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV); ISLAM (Vol. II).

Tigrinya   Spoken in the highlands of ERITREA, a Semitic language belonging to the family of AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES. Tigrinya is spoken by the TIGRAY people, whose ancestors resulted from an intermingling of indigenous Cushitic speakers with Semitic immigrants who came to Africa from Arabia. The Tigrinya language developed from GE'EZ, the ancient Ethiopian written language that has been traced as far back as the kingdom of AKSUM. Unlike Ge'ez, however, Tigrinya is primarily a spoken language.

See also: ETHIOPIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Togo   Present-day West African country 22,000 square miles (57,000 sq km) in size, located on the Gulf of Guinea; Togo shares borders with GHANA to the west, Republic of BENIN to the east, and BURKINA FASO to the north. The southern parts of Togo are tropical and the CLIMATE is hot and humid year-round. The northern regions are higher in elevation and semi-arid. Areas of Togo were probably inhabited by at least 6000 BCE. However, little is known about the activities of people or where they came from. In the northern savanna woodlands, people probably hunted and gathered FOOD and cultivated YAMS. Along Togo's short Atlantic coastline, which measures 35 miles (56 km), archeological evidence indicates that people fished for food and traded simple goods with other coastal peoples.

See also: TOGO (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Tonga   Bantu-speaking ETHNIC GROUP living along the shores of Lake Malawi, in MALAWI, as well as in parts of MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA, and ZIMBABWE.

topography   Physical or natural features of a region. Africa is largely an ancient plateau. It has been a landmass for more than 500 million years. At about 2,100 feet (640 m) above sea level, Africa's average elevation is higher than those of the other continents.

Africa's highlands include the ATLAS MOUNTAINS in the north, the RUWENZORI MOUNTAINS in the east, the Cape ranges in the south, and a series of basins and plateaus in between. These are divided in the east by the RIFT VALLEY and its associated highlands, which include

Mount KILIMANJARO, the highest point on the continent. The Rift Valley also holds lakes VICTORIA, TANGANYIKA, and Malawi. To the east, in the HORN OF AFRICA, are the highlands of ETHIOPIA, ERITREA, and SOMALIA. Africa also contains immense rivers with huge river basins. These include the NILE RIVER, NIGER RIVER, Volta River, ZAMBEZI RIVER, and the CONGO RIVER.

The largest desert in the world, the SAHARA DESERT, stretches across northern Africa from the Atlantic Ocean to the RED SEA, covering almost 30 percent of the continent. The Libyan and Nubian deserts are minor continuations of the Sahara. The Namib desert, on the southwest African coast, and the KALAHARI DESERT receive less than 5 inches of rain per year.

Also considered part of the African continent are the offshore islands of Zanzibar, MADAGASCAR, MAURITIUS, Réunion, the SEYCHELLES, the COMOROS, the Canary Islands, the CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, and SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE.

More than three-fourths of the continent is situated in the tropics. Much of the variation in the CLIMATE is a result of the INTERTROPICAL CONVERGENCE ZONE, which affects the rain and wind patterns across the continent. The diversity of the topography and the climate results in a variety of VEGETATION and plant cover, including RAIN FORESTS, tropical savannas, scrubland, and mangrove swamps.

See also: GEOGRAPHY (Vol. I).

totemism   Ancient system of belief that recognizes divine spirits through symbols or objects associated with nature. For thousands of years the people of Africa have created totems representing animals, plants, trees, rivers, and even sacred sites. More than just symbols of the divine, these totems served as companions and guides. They also served to foster cultural identity among ancestral clans, and in this way they often played important roles in funerals, FESTIVALS, and other important events.

Totemism in Africa dates back at least to ancient EGYPT, where, prior to 3200 BCE, a number of Egyptian DEITIES were identified with various natural phenomena. In the NILE VALLEY, for example, OSIRIS originally was represented as a god of VEGETATION. Similarly, devotees of Sobek, the Egyptian water god, revered CROCODILES, and the goddess HATHOR was seen in terms of the sacred nature of cows. This totemism remained an important part of Egyptian religious and cultural life down through the Roman occupation.

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

towns and cities   Outside of EGYPT and NUBIA, the Mediterranean city of CARTHAGE (in present-day TUNISIA), was one of the largest cities in ancient Africa. When Carthage was founded in the ninth century BCE, African

settlements of more than 1,000 people were generally FISHING communities that developed on rivers and along the ocean coasts. The earliest of these were probably founded beginning about 7000 BCE.

Inland, until about 4000 BCE the people of Africa roamed across vast expenses with relatively few living in permanent settlements. Nomadic pastoralists, or NOMADS, wandered in search of pasture for their herds. Others, called HUNTER-GATHERERS, wandered in search of game and wild edible plants. However, when AGRICULTURE developed, many people began living a more sedentary lifestyle.

Northeast Africa   In UPPER EGYPT, where advanced FARMING TECHNIQUES allowed for larger settlements, the cities of Naqadah and HIERAKONPOLIS were founded in the Predynastic Period (c. 3050). About the same time, large settlements such as KERMA grew in Upper NUBIA, to the south of the Egyptian settlements. During the Dynastic Period (c. 3050–525 BCE), Egypt became more thickly settled, with people living in such towns as Giza, MEMPHIS, and Thebes. By about 1000 BCE the city of Napata had been chosen as the capital of the KUSH kingdom. Several hundred years later the capital was moved southward to MEROË. As social organization and irrigation and farming techniques improved, towns along the NILE RIVER were able to grow even larger.

In addition to farming, fishing and maritime trade also led to the development of African towns and cities. On the shores of the Mediterranean, the Greek-influenced settlement of CYRENE, in present-day LIBYA, was typical of the relatively dense cities of BYZANTINE AFRICA. Along the RED SEA, settlements included Suakin, ADULIS (a city within the kingdom of AKSUM), and Asmara. Ancient trading towns on the Gulf of Aden included Zeila and Berbera. Further south, on the Indian Ocean coast, settlements were growing at BARAWA, Marka, and Kismayo.

Western Sudan   Until approximately 200 BCE people living in the western Sudan (near present-day Republic of MALI) were largely nomadic HUNTER-GATHERERS scattered over vast territories. However, as the region became increasingly dry, both pastoralists and agriculturalists began to migrate closer to the NIGER RIVER bend. Evidence of crowded cemeteries indicates that a substantial town existed on the site of JENNE-JENO by 400 CE.

Similar to the agrarian cultures in northeast Africa, the dwellings and buildings at Jenne-Jeno were constructed from sun-dried mud. The growing Saharan trade city of TIMBUKTU, located about 300 miles (483 km) away, was also constructed of sun-dried mud.

Southern Africa   Large settlements came into existence somewhat later in southern Africa since agricultural production, and hence social complexity and settled populations in fixed locations, took place later in the south that it did in the north.

See also: TOWNS AND CITIES (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

trade and commerce Trade in Africa dates back to the earliest times, when HUNTER-GATHERERS of the STONE AGE simply exchanged tools, FOOD, weapons, livestock, and other items. In this type of trade, called barter, goods are exchanged for other items deemed to be of equal value. Barter probably has been practiced since humans first began interacting with one another, and long before the invention of MONEY AND CURRENCY people were exchanging items they had in abundance for items they needed.

In many parts of Africa, however, there soon developed more elaborate systems of exchange, and in some areas extensive trade routes emerged. Ancient EGYPT was in the forefront of this development, not only utilizing marketplaces but also sending out trading expeditions to faraway regions. These, as the records of the voyages of HARKHUF (c. 2290–c. 2270 BCE) make clear, ventured far down the NILE RIVER and into the region known to the Egyptians as PUNT.

Elsewhere, along the Mediterranean coast, Phoenician and Greek sailors and merchants established settlements in various locations. The most notable of these was CARTHAGE, which was founded about 800 BCE and which quickly developed into a regional economic and military power. By the sixth century BCE it was arguably the most influential city in the world, trading extensively in food, slaves, cloth, and metal goods. Its merchants also held monopolies in the trade in GOLD, silver, tin, and iron. Carthage ruthlessly maintained its monopoly of the barter trade, minting gold to pay its vast mercenary army and even sinking the ships of interlopers. Carthaginian sailors and traders led extensive expeditions along the Atlantic coasts of present-day Spain and Portugal, France, and MOROCCO, venturing, it is believed, as far south as present-day SIERRA LEONE.

In eastern Africa, Arabian hunters and traders began crossing the RED SEA to do business in present-day ETHIOPIA before 500 BCE. They traded with indigenous Africans at the settlements that became the trading centers of MEROË and AKSUM. Meroë served as a nexus for trade between the Roman Empire, other merchant towns, including those along the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and beyond. Merchants in the region that is now northern SOMALIA also participated in trade with Meroë. Somali and Arab traders bartered ivory, aromatic gums, slaves, and tortoiseshell for cloaks, tunics, COPPER, and tin from the Arabian peninsula as well as for COTTON cloth, grain, oil, and sugar from Asia.

The Meroë trading empire flourished for several hundred years before entering a period of decline around 200–300 CE. Later, during the Aksumite period, this northeastern trade became even more extensive. Aksumite traders ventured on a regular basis as far as Egypt, Persia, Arabia, India, and Ceylon. Their exports included obsidian stone and rhinoceros horn, while their imports came to include luxury goods such as wine, olive oil, and lacquerware.

The Aksumite economic empire was backed by force, and it conquered lands as distant as southern Arabia in order to maintain its domination of the trade between the Roman Empire and the lands to the east. These militarily protected trading routes were made until Aksum declined midway through the first millennium of the common era.

See also: TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Trajan's Kiosk Beautiful but unfinished building supported by 14 huge columns with carved tops; it was begun by the Roman emperor Trajan, the ruler of EGYPT from around 98 CE to 117 CE. Trajan's Kiosk was one of several buildings in a complex on Philae Island (or Pilak, in ancient Egyptian). Construction of the complex began at the time of Ptolemy II and extended 800 years, to the rule of the Roman emperors. Though simple in ARCHITECTURE and design, the 14 columns of the kiosk bear capitals of floral carving. Trajan is depicted in relief on the inside of the kiosk, where he is shown as a pharaoh, or king, making offerings to the gods. The island was often associated with the goddess ISIS, who, according to legend, left her sacred ship at the kiosk while on the island.

Tswana Bantu-speaking people whose ancestors migrated into the area of the TSWAPONG HILLS, near present-day BOTSWANA, during the first century CE.

See also: TSWANA (Vol. III, IV).

Tswapong Hills Area in present-day BOTSWANA that rises 980 to 1,300 feet (300 to 400 m) above the sand of the surrounding KALAHARI DESERT. The hills are a source of archaeological evidence regarding Bantu-speaking peoples who migrated into the area about the first century CE.

Tuaregs Subgroup of the Berber people. For centuries the nomadic Tuaregs have inhabited the SAHARA DESERT and SAHEL regions of North Africa. The Tuaregs' presence in northern Africa was noted as long ago as the fifth century BCE by the Greek historian HERODOTUS. Since then, much about these indigo-robed warriors has been shrouded in mystery. Despite pressures that have forced many Tuaregs to adopt a more sedentary way of life than their nomadic ancestors, many continue to follow traditions that were established thousands of years ago. They have remained fiercely independent.

Throughout most of their history, the Tuaregs' economic lifeblood depended on Saharan TRADE AND COMMERCE and running the CARAVAN ROUTES that stretched

across the desert between the MEDITERRANEAN SEA and the cities to the south. Carrying primarily luxury items (high-profit goods, including slaves, that could be easily transported by the caravans) these merchants brought items to the coast for distribution to the rest of the world. Many Tuaregs settled in the communities through which they passed, often serving as agents for the Tuaregs who continued to operate the caravan trade.

Traditionally the Tuaregs maintained a feudal society. At one end of the social order were the nobles and clergy, followed by the nobles' vassals and the craftspeople. At the lower end of the social hierarchy were the *iklan,* laborers who probably were former slaves. Tuareg society was divided into two groups: farmers and traders. Farming was regarded as lower-class work, while trading was reserved for the upper classes. Over the centuries, however, this distinction was blurred as many sedentary farmers accumulated a great degree of wealth and as the caravan trade lost its importance.

Although Tuaregs consider themselves BERBERS and not Arabs, most are Muslims, reciting daily prayers and observing the major feasts of Islam. Beginning at about the age of 25, Tuareg men begin wearing a veil, concealing all of their faces except for their eyes. In contrast to other Muslim populations, however, Tuareg women never wear veils.

See also: ISLAM (Vol. II); TUAREGS (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Tunisia North African country measuring approximately 60,000 square miles (155,400 sq km) that borders the MEDITERRANEAN SEA to the north and east, LIBYA to the southeast, and ALGERIA to the west. The earliest evidence of human habitation in Tunisia dates back 200,000 years and was discovered near the southern OASIS town of Kebili. Archaeological discoveries in the area include ancient stone tools belonging to *HOMO HABILIS* that were made more than 2 million years ago as well as tools made by the later *HOMO ERECTUS*. In ancient times the area was home to native BERBERS. Due to its proximity to Europe and the Middle East, Tunisia was dominated by a variety of people and kingdoms, including CARTHAGE, the Roman Empire, and the VANDALS.

The PHOENICIANS settled in the northern coastal areas of the African continent for purposes of TRADE AND COMMERCE, bringing with them new ideas and innovations about farming and city life that influenced the native Berbers. One of these ancient trading posts became Carthage, the capital and largest city of the Carthaginian Empire. Believed to have been established about 814 BCE under the rule of Queen Dido, Carthage was located near present-day Tunis.

The powerful Carthaginian empire came to rule most of the North African coast and a large part of Spain, as well as most of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia. The great empire ruled for centuries with no serious threats to its control. That changed, however, with Rome's rise to power.

Even though ROME had signed treaties with the Carthaginians, the Romans clearly were seeking opportunities to conquer their rival. The PUNIC WARS, a series of three epic struggles fought between the Roman and the Carthaginian Empires, began about 264 BCE and ended about 146 BCE. These conflicts resulted in the destruction of the great city of Carthage and the final conquest of North Africa by the Romans.

For the next several centuries most of Tunisia was known as the Roman province of Africa, or Africa Vetus, and Carthage became an important site of Christian learning and thought. The great Christian theologian St. Augustine, for example, is said to have been educated at Carthage.

As with other areas under Roman rule, Tunisia's natural resources were exploited and its land was cultivated by its overlords. Olive oil, wool, wood, and wheat were among the major goods produced in Roman Tunisia. The valley of the Majardah River was the location of an ancient Roman granary, and the area is still one of the largest producers of grain in Tunisia.

The influence of the Roman Empire began to fade by the fifth century, providing an opportunity for a foreign invasion. The Vandals, a Teutonic or Germanic people, ruled Jutland (now Denmark) and invaded lands on the Iberian Peninsula before conquering areas on the northern Mediterranean coast. In 533 CE, after 100 years of Vandal rule, the Byzantines, under the command of General Belisarius, again claimed Tunisia for the Eastern Roman Empire.

See also: TUNISIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Turkana, Lake Large body of water in northwest KENYA and southwest ETHIOPIA; also known in modern times as Lake Rudolph (see photograph on page 244). Covering an area of about 2,500 square miles (6,475 sq km), Lake Turkana is Africa's fourth-largest lake. HUNTER-GATHERERS are believed to have first inhabited the area surrounding Lake Turkana about 8000 BCE. Five thousand years later Cushitic peoples moved into the region, probably sharing it with the original inhabitants. Beginning in the first millennium BCE, Bantu-speaking people migrated into the vicinity, bringing with them both their iron smelting and more advanced FARMING TECHNIQUES.

The Lake Turkana area is rich in archaeological evidence of hominids. The LEAKEYS, a family of archaeologists and paleoanthropologists from Kenya, made some of their most significant finds around Lake Turkana. As recently as 2003 Louise Leakey (1972–), the daughter of renowned paleoanthropologists Maeve and Richard Leakey, was conducting digs around the Turkana Basin and making significant finds.

A Turkana man stands at the shore of Lake Turkana, Kenya, Africa's fourth-largest lake. *© Daniel Laine/Corbis*

Turkana Boy   Example of *HOMO ERECTUS* skeleton found in present-day KENYA in 1984. He probably lived approximately 1.6 million years ago.

See also: HUMAN ORIGINS (Vol. I).

Tutankhamun (King Nebkheprure TutbeAnkh-Amen, Tutankhaten, King Tut)   (r. c. 1361–c. 1352 BCE) *Tenth king of Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty*

Tutankhamun became pharaoh at the age of eight or nine and died at about the age of 18. He was married to Ankhesenamun, one of the six daughters of AKHENATEN and Queen NEFERTITI. Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun produced no male heirs.

The young royal couple began their lives in Akhenaten's new capital at Amarna. But, after Akhenaten's death, they fell under the influence of AY and HOREMHEB, Tutankhamun's successors, and moved to MEMPHIS. There Tutankhamun was crowned king, and steps were taken to reestablish the old RELIGION abandoned by Akhenaten. By changing their royal names so that they ended in -*amun* instead of -*aten,* Tutankhamun and his queen gave a clear sign of their dedication to the restoration of the traditional religion. It was during this time that Thebes once again became the religious capital of EGYPT.

There is a great deal of speculation as to the cause of Tutankhamun's death. It was once commonly believed that he had succumbed to tuberculosis, and it has also been suggested that he died of a brain hemorrhage. However, based on the examination of Tutankhamun's MUMMY, most scholars agree that he died as a result of a blow to the head. Whether this wound was caused by an accident, a blow sustained during battle, or was the result of an assassination remains a mystery.

After Tutankhamun's death, Ankhesenamun took the unusual action of seeking the help of the Hittite king, Suppiluliumas I. Without a son to succeed her late husband as pharaoh and continue the royal line, she asked to marry one of the Suppiluliumas's many sons. The king assented and sent one of his sons to Egypt. But the prince never reached his destination, as he was murdered just as he reached the border, possibly on orders from Horemheb.

Tutankhamun's reign was unremarkable. His most important legacy is his tomb, which British archaeologist Howard Carter discovered in 1922, practically untouched more than 3,200 years after his burial. Its contents included magnificent artifacts of GOLD and precious jewels, intricately carved furniture and weapons, luxurious clothing, and, perhaps best known to the modern world, the life-like gold mask that adorned the case of Tutankhamun's

This textile from the footrest of Tutankhamun (r. c. 1361–1352 BCE) shows conquered African and Asian warriors. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt © *Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis*

mummy. This tomb was probably not intended as Tutankhamun's final resting place. There is evidence to suggest that it was intended for his predecessor, SMENKHARE, or possibly his VIZIER and successor, Ay.

Further reading: Cyril Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Christine El Mahdy, *Tutankhamen: The Life and death of a Boy-King* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); John Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (New York: William Morrow, 1981).

Twa See HUNTER-GATHERERS (Vol. I); TWA (Vol. II).

U

Ubangi River   The main northern tributary of the CONGO RIVER system. The Bomu and Uele rivers meet to become the Ubangi River, which forms part of the present-day border between the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. The Ubangi River is also the present-day border between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of the CONGO. After a 1,400-mile (2,253-km) journey through equatorial RAIN FOREST, around river islands, and down rapids, the Ubangi enters the Congo River near Lake Tumba in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The river is navigable for roughly half its length, from present-day Bangui, the capital of the Central African Republic, to the confluence of the Ubangi and the Congo rivers. The land along its banks is equatorial rain forest and swamp. The MBUTI were the original inhabitants of this somewhat sparsely populated, tropical land. Starting 2,000 years ago other peoples, ancestors of the Kongo, the Teke, and the Sanga, began to migrate into the region to farm or fish.

See also: SANGA (Vol. II).

Uganda   East African country measuring approximately 91,100 square miles (236,000 sq km) that borders the Republic of the SUDAN to the north, KENYA to the east, TANZANIA and RWANDA to the south, and Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the west. Kampala is the largest city and capital.

The migration of Bantu-speaking people into the southwestern part of Uganda started about 500 BCE. Uganda, with its favorable CLIMATE and location in the East African RIFT VALLEY was suitable for herders as well as for people who cultivated crops. The farmers used their iron technology to make tools to clear the land. By 400 BCE a few groups in Uganda were involved in mining iron ore and producing iron implements. With the increase in the population due to the expansion of Bantu speakers, the people evolved patterns of governing themselves. This gave them an advantage over the more scattered HUNTER-GATHERERS, who were forced to move to higher altitudes where AGRICULTURE was more difficult. By about 1000 CE the Bantu speakers were organized into large political units.

See also: BANTU EXPANSION (Vol. I); UGANDA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Unas   (r. c. 2498–2323 BCE) *Last king of ancient Egypt's Fifth Dynasty*

Unas was the first pharaoh to inscribe the inner walls of his tomb with spells, formulas, and descriptions of rituals to aid him in the AFTERLIFE. This practice continued to be used in the tombs of the Sixth Dynasty. Called Pyramid Texts, these inscriptions were later transcribed onto PAPYRUS and became known as the Egyptian BOOK OF THE DEAD, which is considered to be the world's earliest preserved text.

The pyramid of Unas is located south of the great step pyramid of DJOSER, near MEMPHIS. Rather than signaling a new belief in helping the dead in the afterlife, the Pyramid Texts mark an evolution in the idea of WRITING. Scholars believe that many of the texts were old when they were first inscribed. According to myth, the Pyramid Texts show that OSIRIS, the god of the dead, aided the deceased in the journey to the afterlife. Osiris may have

been gaining in importance at this time over the sun god, RA, who was considered an important deity during the earlier part of the Fifth Dynasty. Magical or religious spells, offerings, hymns, and instructions were added to the tomb to help alleviate fears about the afterlife, to provide for a prosperous life after death, and to help a ruler find his proper place in the afterworld.

The autobiographical information found in these writings is the source of our modern knowledge of many ancient practices, beliefs, and ideas. The inscriptions in the tomb of Unas, for example, tell of trade with Middle Easterners, famine, and the TRANSPORTATION of granite for the construction of the temple. They also show the first battle ever to be recorded in HIEROGLYPHICS. Other inscriptions, which later were made not only in royal tombs but also in the tombs of administrators and officials, have led scholars to conclude that the power of the royalty was diminishing at the time, with more governance coming from nonroyal officials.

See also: FUNERAL CUSTOMS (Vol. I).

Upper Egypt   Land along the NILE RIVER south of the NILE DELTA region; along with LOWER EGYPT, one of the two kingdoms of ancient EGYPT. Upper Egypt was a plain surrounded by desert. For about two months every summer, when rains caused the waters of the Nile to rise above its banks, the floodplain of Upper Egypt lay under water. The receding waters, however, left a fertile mud that proved ideal for AGRICULTURE.

Although located south of Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt was so named because it was situated upriver, closer to the source of the Nile (which flows northward). It extended from just south of present-day CAIRO to Lake Nasser, which was formed by the construction of the Aswan High Dam in the 1960s.

Upper Egypt was symbolized by a WHITE CROWN and chose the sedge plant as its emblem. Its chief god was SETH, who, according to Egyptian mythology, killed his brother OSIRIS, father of HORUS (the chief god of Lower Egypt).

Upper Egypt has a rich cultural heritage. The Tasian culture and the BADARIAN CULTURE, both of which flourished in the late fifth millennium BCE, were pastoral people with little central political organization. Settlements in Upper Egypt became more concentrated with later predynastic peoples, including the AMRATIAN CULTURE and the GERZEAN CULTURE. Outside of the Nile River valley region, NOMADS roamed the desert, probably until the late third millennium BCE.

Not until late predynastic times did the settlements of Upper Egypt unify into a single kingdom. When, about 3050 BCE, King MENES is thought to have led Upper Egypt to defeat Lower Egypt in war, the two lands united, founding the first Egyptian dynasty. The combined resources of the two lands and the large-scale projects undertaken after the unification added greatly to the wealth of the Egyptian dynasty and its kings, known as pharaohs.

Userkaf (Useraf, Userkhaf)   (c. 2465–2435 BCE)
Founder of ancient Egypt's Fifth Dynasty

Userkaf is best known for enhancing the importance of the mythological sun god RA and for building the first sun temple. His marriage to Queen Khentkaues may have ended strife between two branches of the Fourth Dynasty.

Userkaf was responsible for significant changes in how ancient Egyptians thought about Ra. Usually depicted as a hawk or a man bearing the head of a hawk, Ra was thought of as a creator. According to legend, Userkaf was asked to be the high priest of Ra, and the term *Sa-Ra* (Son of Ra) was added to the titles of the kings.

Userkaf built the first of five or six sun temples, monumental obelisks erected to honor Ra. Userkaf's obelisk, a stone pillar rising from a square base in a fashion similar to a pyramid, was thought to have been modeled after an ancient stone in Heliopolis, the city of Ra, and was thought to represent the Sun's rays. The sun temple built by Userkaf at Abusir is one of only two remaining temples. It is in poor condition today due to its original construction of mud brick.

Though not much is known about the origins and reign of Userkaf, he was probably the descendent of a Fourth Dynasty king named Redjedef (r. c. 2530 BCE). Scholars believe that Userkaf may have married Queen Khentkaues, who was of royal descent, in order to gain prominence as a ruler. This marriage may have ended a period of disharmony between two factions of the Fourth Dynasty. Archaeological evidence suggests that Khentkaues may have ruled Egypt on her own for a time or may have been a co-regent with Userkaf.

Userkaf built his pyramid and mortuary temple at SAQQARA. Although it is smaller than the PYRAMIDS of the Fourth Dynasty, the splendor of his pyramid is an example of the artistic mastery of this period. Square granite columns, relief sculptures, busts, and a great red granite statue of Userkaf were known to have existed in the pyramid and temple. Though the pyramid complex is now in ruins, the head of Userkaf's statue is preserved in the Egyptian Museum in CAIRO.

V

Vaal River Longest tributary of the ORANGE RIVER, in SOUTH AFRICA. The source of the Vaal River is in the Drakensberg Mountains, east of Johannesburg. The Vaal flows southwest for approximately 750 miles (1,207 km) and marks the boundary between the provinces of Transvaal and Orange Free State before merging with the ORANGE RIVER near Kimberley.

Valley of the Kings Royal city of the dead, or necropolis, situated in the desert hills on the west bank of the NILE RIVER across from the ancient capital of Thebes. The Valley of the Kings came into existence at the beginning of the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570 BCE). THUTMOSE I (r. c. 1525 BCE), the third pharaoh of Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty, is credited with having erected the first tomb there.

Archaeologists divide the site into two sections, the East Valley and the West Valley. It is the East Valley that contains the most royal tombs, which were cut into the solid rock of the cliffs surrounding the valley's barren landscape. The interior of each tomb consisted of a series of complex passageways and rooms leading to a central burial chamber. The many decorations on the walls inside the tombs focus on the activities of the AFTERLIFE found in the texts of the Egyptian BOOK OF THE DEAD. The most elaborate tomb found in the valley is that of the Nineteenth Dynasty pharaoh SETI I (r. c. 1318 BCE).

The tombs in the Valley of the Kings represented a new approach to the construction of royal mortuary buildings. Prior to the advent of the New Kingdom, pharaohs were buried in PYRAMIDS, with attached temples in which funerary rituals were performed. In the new location at Thebes, the two buildings were separated, with the mortuary temple for each ruler built apart from his or her tomb and placed in a different part of the valley on a plain closer to the Nile.

The Valley of the Kings continued to be the traditional royal burial ground until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (c. 1069 BCE). However, by the time of the succeeding Twenty-first Dynasty, most of the tombs there had fallen prey to grave robbers who vandalized them and stole a good deal of their precious contents. The one notable exception to this plunder was the tomb of the boy-king TUTANKHAMUN, which was discovered almost intact in 1922. As a result of the widespread ravaging of the royal tombs at Thebes, pharaohs of later dynasties were forced to abandon the site, establishing their final resting places in other locations throughout EGYPT.

Further reading: John Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (New York: William Morrow, 1981).

Vandals Christian people of Germanic origin who conquered CARTHAGE in 439 and occupied North Africa. Vandals settled the province of Africa Proconsularis in Roman North Africa, part of present-day LIBYA.

In 429 King Genseric of the Vandals led 80,000 of his people across the Strait of GIBRALTAR on a quest to secure land and establish a kingdom. Within 10 years the Vandals had conquered Carthage, wresting power from ROME, and by 455 they controlled the eastern zone of Roman Africa. Eventually Vandal control extended westward into the region of Djemila-Cuicul. It is difficult, however, to determine precise boundaries for the Vandal empire, primarily because the Vandals seem to have been perpetually warring along their frontiers with the indige-

nous North African Moors for control of their southern and western borders.

Roman Africa was nominally Christian, but during the fifth century the Church was in crisis. Roman military might had declined in Africa, and local peoples had begun plundering churches and massacring clergy. This was compounded by the arrival of the Vandals, who practiced a form of CHRISTIANITY that had been officially branded a heresy by the leadership of the Church. Called Arianism, it had first been introduced to the Vandals by missionaries to the Danube River region.

Determined to establish Arianism in North Africa, Genseric embarked on a policy of political and religious persecution of Catholics. He exiled Catholic bishops and refused to allow the church to replace them. He also confiscated lands from the Catholic nobility. This policy was continued after Genseric's death in 477 by his son Huneric (r. 477–484), who shared his father's fierce determination to establish the Arian doctrine. Huneric gathered together all the Catholic bishops in his empire in 484 and imposed an ultimatum to convert to Arianism or face exile.

Ultimately, however, the Vandals were unable to impose the Arian faith on North Africa, in part because the Vandals were greatly outnumbered by the larger population of Romano-Africans. As a result, the actual administration of the Vandal territories was left to the local Catholic nobility. The failure also stemmed from the fact that Huneric's successors, Gunthamund (r. 484–496) and Thrasamund (r. 496–523), did not defend Arianism as vigorously as their predecessor.

The Catholic Church, however, did not benefit from the failure of the Vandals to impose their faith on North Africa. In fact, Catholicism fell from power, due in part to persecution by the Vandals and in part to the decline of the towns that were the centers of the church. One constant in the area, though, was the Latin language, which remained in use among the conquered people of North Africa in spite of the Vandal occupation. Examples of that language, in the form of the poetry of Luxorius and Dracontius, have survived into the modern era.

The Vandal domination of North Africa lasted about 400 years. But even before then, NOMADS from the desert to the south and southeast began making inroads into Vandal territory. During the latter part of the reign of King Thrasamund, the Vandal army was badly defeated by invading nomads known as the Louata. Independent kingdoms ruled by BERBERS also emerged, and by 533 the Byzantine general Belisarius finally destroyed the weakened Vandal kingdom.

While some historians insist that the Vandals had no lasting influence on North Africa, others argue that some modern Berbers with blond hair and blue eyes clearly are descended from these Germanic invaders.

See also: BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vol. II).

vegetation   Vegetation, or plant cover, is determined by climatic conditions. Regions of equatorial RAIN FOREST receive heavy rainfall throughout the year and have warm temperatures that create good conditions for the growth of dense vegetation. These rain forests cover most of the CONGO BASIN, as well as parts of the African west coast from SIERRA LEONE to the mouth of the CONGO RIVER, near Cabinda, ANGOLA. Rain forests have luxurious plant growth and develop only in areas that receive more than 80 inches of rainfall annually. Besides harboring numerous kinds of smaller plants such as ferns and mosses, rain forests also contain valuable hardwoods, including mahogany.

In eastern GHANA, TOGO, and the Republic of BENIN, the forests are occasionally interrupted by savanna. The most common types of vegetation in Africa are the shorter trees and shrubs found in the light woodlands and grasslands that cover the savannas. Vegetation there is less dense than that found in the rain forests.

In the Mediterranean climates of both northern and southern Africa, large trees such as oaks, pines, and cedars can be found. Due to the cooler temperatures, temperate prairie and grasslands are also found in southern Africa.

In the SAHEL region, a semi-arid belt located between the SAHARA DESERT and the tropical regions, trees and grasses receive 5 to 12 inches of rain annually, with some thicker vegetation growing along rivers and streams. In the desert proper, very little vegetation grows outside of the oases, where desert grasses, date palms, and fig trees are fed by underground springs.

Victoria Falls   Widest waterfall in the world, located on the ZAMBEZI RIVER, along the border between ZAMBIA and ZIMBABWE. Known by the local people as the Mosi-o-Tunya, meaning "the smoke that thunders," Victoria Falls measures about 1 mile (1.6 km) at its widest point and features cascading water that drops anywhere from 300 to 400 feet (91 to 122 m). The falls were formed by a deep rift in the rock below Zambezi River. In 1856 David Livingstone, the Scottish missionary and explorer, was the first European to see the falls, and he named them in honor of the British queen who had supported his expedition.

See also: LIVINGSTONE, DAVID (Vol. IV).

Victoria, Lake   Largest lake in Africa, located in present-day TANZANIA and UGANDA, and bordering on KENYA. Lake Victoria, also called Victoria Nyanza, is a freshwater lake and the chief reservoir of the NILE RIVER. The lake covers about 26,838 square miles (69,510 sq km), with its greatest length from north to south being 210 miles (338 km), and its greatest width across being 150 miles (241 km). Its basin area covers 92,240 square miles

(238,900 sq km). The lake sits at an altitude of 3,720 feet (1,134 m) above sea level in a shallow depression that lies between the western and eastern RIFT VALLEY; it reaches a depth of 270 feet (82 m). Victoria is fed by the Kagera and Katonga rivers on the western side, and its only outlet is the Victoria Nile, located to the north. The lake has three different gulfs: the Kavirondo, in the north; the Speke, in the southeast; and the Emin Pasha, in the southwest. At the lake's northwestern corner is the Sese Archipelago, which is made up of 62 islands. The lake holds more than 200 different species of fish, which have long provided food for the surrounding populations.

See also: VICTORIA, LAKE (Vol. V).

vizier   High official in the government of ancient EGYPT. The vizier was the head of Egypt's elaborate bureaucracy and reported directly to the pharaoh, or king. He held power as the chief justice, head of the treasury, and overseer of records.

The office of vizier dates back at least as early as the Fourth Dynasty (c. 2575–c. 2465 BCE). By the reign of Ses-ostris III (r. c. 1900 BCE) the vizier controlled the entire bureaucracy of ancient Egypt.

Below the vizier were the nomarchs, or governors, of the provinces of ancient Egypt. These nomarchs were appointed by the pharaoh and reported to the vizier. Later

on the term *vizier* also was applied to the high government officials in Muslim states.

See also: NOMARCH (Vol. I).

Volta River   River system in present-day GHANA. The Volta measures about 1,000 miles (1,610 km) and is formed by the confluence of the Black Volta and the White Volta rivers.

See also: VOLTA LAKE (Vol. V).

vultures   Scavenging birds of prey, related to HAWKS and EAGLES, found in temperate and tropical areas. Most vultures have dark feathers and bare heads. They are usually solitary animals, soaring in the sky on their broad wings. They have keen sight, which they use to locate dead or dying animals.

Northeastern Africa is home to the Egyptian vulture, which grows up to 24 inches (61 cm) long. In ancient times Egyptians associated the vulture with a number of DEITIES, including the goddess NEKHBET, the protector of UPPER EGYPT and its rulers. She is often depicted as a woman with a vulture's head and a white crown. Nekhbet is also the goddess of childbirth. She was worshiped in the towns of Nekhen (HIERANKOPOLIS) and al-Kab.

W

Wadjkheperre (Kamose) (r. c. 1576–c. 1570 BCE)
Son of Sekenenre Tao (Seqenenre), brother of Ahmose I, and the last king of Egypt's Seventeenth Dynasty

During his brief rule Wadjkheperre warred with both KUSH and the HYKSOS in an attempt to unify EGYPT under Theban control. The Hyksos had at first controlled the NILE RIVER delta from their capital at Avaris, but they later extended their territory. Some scholars believe that Sekenenre Tao was at war with the Hyksos when he died. Apparently his son, Wadjkheperre, continued this war upon his succession to the throne of southern Egypt. He also attempted to drive out the Kushites. In this latter campaign, Wadjkheperre forced the Kushites south, taking control of the Buhen fort. Wadjkheperre is also credited with regaining territory from the Hyksos, including the OASIS of Bahriya.

There is evidence that the Kushites and the Hyksos may have joined forces against the Thebans. Although Wadjkheperre sought to remove both enemies from Egypt, he died before he could accomplish this. Wadjkheperre's brother, AHMOSE I (c. 1570–c. 1546 BCE), succeeded him as king and reunified Egypt to begin the NEW KINGDOM.

Walls of the Ruler (Wall of the Prince)
Fortresses on the east bank of the NILE RIVER built to protect EGYPT from the threat of the Libyans, Asiatics, and the Nubian archers known as LUNTIU-SETIU. It is believed that the Walls of the Ruler were built during the reigns of Amenemhet I (r. 1938–1908 BCE) and his son, Sesostris I (r. c. 1950 BCE), about the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty (c. 1991–1820 BCE).

Amenemhet I led campaigns against the Libyans and Asiatics before taking over the rule of Egypt and establishing the Twelfth Dynasty. Some scholars believe that Amenemhet I envisioned ruling a great Egypt like that of the pharaohs of the OLD KINGDOM, but he seemed also to have considered his rule as the beginning of a new era. In an effort to guard the eastern borders, he built the Walls of the Ruler. Though the exact location of the fortresses is not known, it is believed that they were built on the eastern bank of the Nile. Amenemhet's son, Sesostris I (also called Senwosre I or Senwosret I), completed construction of the walls.

waret
Administrative department of ancient EGYPT created by Sesostris III (Senwosret III) during ancient Egypt's Twelfth Dynasty; warets served to strengthen Egypt's central government. Sesostris III ruled Egypt in about 1900 BCE. During this time he significantly reorganized the government of Egypt and created three or four *warets,* or districts, whose administrators reported to the VIZIER. In addition to the ministry of the vizier, Sesostris created departments for the oversight of war, LABOR, AGRICULTURE, and the treasury. This reorganization of the government of Egypt marked a strengthening of the main government and a rise of the middle class. It also added the administration of the KUSH kingdom to the central government of Egypt for the first time.

warfare and weapons
In ancient Africa peoples or rulers went to war for many reasons. They may have sought to add to their land or wanted a protective barrier

from a neighbor's attacks. They may have desired to gain wealth by collecting taxes and tribute from subject peoples, as ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE) did when he attacked the Persian Empire in 334 BCE. They also used warfare to increase their power in a region and dominate or destroy a rival, as was the case when ROME fought the three PUNIC WARS (264–241 BCE, 218–201 BCE, and 149–146 BCE) against CARTHAGE.

Early Warfare A few types of weapons, notably spears, stones, and clubs, are known to have been in use for many thousands of years, and it is probable that weapons used for hunting were used at times to kill other human beings during conflict.

The earliest archaeological evidence of warfare was discovered in the 1960s near Wadi Halfa in the present-day Republic of the SUDAN. A large burial plot, dating from c. 12,000 BCE, was found to contain 59 skeletons and a variety of stone projectiles. Projectile points located in the skulls, spines, pelvises, and limb bones of the skeletons indicated violent deaths. Scholars suggest this massacre was the result of an unstable agricultural system in the NILE VALLEY, where crop output varied. As a result, when any population increased or when crop yields decreased, there would be competition for FOOD. Thus the violence that led to the graves in the burial plot was probably the result of intense competition for the limited resources of the area. Whether the deaths were the result of an organized military campaign or a brutal skirmish between neighbors is unknown.

There is a difference between fighting and organized warfare. When groups of warriors fight, they often engage each other in individual combat with minimal regard for long-term strategy and tactics. Campaigns can end in a day or a few days once some goal has been met or vengeance taken. When larger groups of warriors band together, they may fight as an undisciplined hoard, swarming over and capturing or destroying whatever is in their way. True war requires a disciplined army of soldiers that can march in columns, take orders, and fight in line. A truism of military science says that a disciplined army always has the advantage over one that lacks military training and teamwork. When primitive societies began to transform themselves into states, armies became important organs of the state.

Early Weapons The first spears were made of fire-hardened wood and played an important role in both hunting and conflict between peoples. During the Late STONE AGE (c. 40,000–3200 BCE) stone spearheads were attached to the ends of spears, increasing their durability and lethality. The earliest spears were short—shorter, in fact, than the hunters and warriors who carried them. As the body armor of soldiers grew heavier, however, spears grew in size. By the time Alexander conquered EGYPT in the fourth century BCE, the spears carried by his soldiers had reached 18 feet (5.5 m) in length.

Evidence found near the MEDITERRANEAN SEA indicates that by 10,000 BCE the bow and arrow had been invented. The bow represented a major innovation in weaponry. It held an advantage over the throwing spear in both the distance it could cover and in the volume of fire an archer could produce as compared to a spear thrower.

Early hunting bows gave people the ability to surprise their prey and strike from a relatively safe distance. The first war bows did much the same, allowing archers to shoot high-velocity missiles with deadly accuracy and force. As time passed, more sophisticated bows were produced. The reflex curved bow, for example, concentrated the strength of the bow in its curved center. Later bows added a layer of bone or horn to the belly of the bone, reinforcing it and giving it even greater strength. The front of the bow was then overlaid with sinew to make it even more powerful. Bows like these were so highly stressed that, when unstrung, they unbowed and reversed their curvature.

By 7000 BCE the sling, a weapon more accurate than the early simple bow, had been devised. Projectiles from a sling were especially deadly when the stones used were the size of fists. The bow and sling were the weapons of choice in many parts of the ancient world even during the BRONZE AGE (c. 3500 BCE), until the mace was developed. This heavy weapon, which was of little or no use in the hunt, became the first tool designed exclusively for war.

The NARMER PALETTE is one of the most famous artifacts from ancient EGYPT. It contains the earliest known inscription about a historical person, describing the accomplishments of King MENES (r. c. 3050 BCE), also known as Narmer, the legendary pharaoh who unified UPPER and LOWER EGYPT. The palette's illustration of Menes ritually smashing an enemy's forehead with a war mace gives a glimpse of what warfare of the time was like. The palette also depicts Menes slaying his enemies and reviewing their headless bodies under the banners of his army.

The Size of Armies Despite the ancient world's significantly smaller populations, ancient armies could sometimes be quite large. The Egyptian army in the times of RAMESSES II (c. 1300 BCE) numbered about 100,000 men, mostly conscripts. At the battle of KADESH in 1303 BCE, the first battle for which historians have reliable troop-strength figures, an Egyptian force of 20,000 soldiers faced an army of HITTITES numbering about 17,000.

Ramesses II (r. c. 1304–c. 1237 BCE), riding a chariot, storms a Syrian fortress in this relief from the Great Temple at Abu Simbel. © *Roger Wood/Corbis*

The ASSYRIAN army of 800 BCE, the first in history to be entirely armed with iron weapons, numbered between 150,000 and 200,000 infantry and cavalrymen. At the battle of Cannae in Italy in 218 BCE, the Roman consuls Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Gaius Terentius Varro faced HANNIBAL (c. 247–183 BCE) of CARTHAGE with an army of 80,000 soldiers. Hannibal's victorious troops killed or wounded more than 50,000 Roman legionnaires in a single day of fighting.

The Bronze Age and the Chariot The Bronze Age (c. 3500–1000 BCE) saw the development of cast bronze weapons, which featured sharper cutting edges than earlier STONE AGE weapons had, and a limited introduction of body armor. At the same time, cities began to build defensive walls behind which the populace could protect themselves from marauders. Up to that time most combat took place at a sword's, spear's, or axe's length from one's opponent. During the third millennium BCE, on the plains between ancient Egypt and its Mesopotamian neighbors, a major advance in weaponry changed the face of combat when the bow and arrow, the wheel, and the domesticated horse were combined to create the war chariot. For the

first time soldiers could advance on a position in a surprise attack, deliver a deadly javelin or arrow attack from a mobile platform, and quickly race away to regroup or engage in lethal pursuit of a terrified and broken foe. Chariot-borne warriors became the elite strike force of the Egyptian army and gave Egypt a tactical advantage over its opponents.

The first chariots were four-wheeled carts with solid wooden wheels without pivoting front axles and pulled by onagers, fast-running relatives of DONKEYS. Over time the war chariot evolved into a lightweight car with spoked wheels and metal axles and pulled by three or four HORSES. The Persian army of Cyrus the Great used deadly scythed chariots, with sharp blades extending from the axles, in battle with Alexander the Great in the sixth century BCE.

The breeding of horses with sufficient strength and stamina to carry armed riders into battle led to the decline of the chariot as a weapon of war, starting at the end of the second millennium BCE. The Assyrians were responsible for the development of cavalry in the ancient world. Riders used their legs to control the animal, maintaining their seats on the backs of their horses with the aid of neck and belly straps. The stirrup, which allowed riders to stay in the saddle and deliver a strong blow from a lance or sword without being unseated by the movement, had not yet been invented. It would reach Europe from India by way of China during the Middle Ages and shift the balance in battle from infantry to mounted men, very often knights.

Iron Age Advances Bronze weaponry prevailed for centuries in much of the known ancient world until it was displaced by the superior edges and strength of iron weaponry. Not surprisingly, it was iron weaponry—as well as such new, sophisticated war machines as the catapult—that helped the Romans transform northern Africa into a Roman province.

The IRON AGE came to Africa at different times and in different places. In northeast Africa, by 750 BCE the Kushite kingdom of MEROË produced iron tools and weapons that contributed to that kingdom's regional dominance. The NOK CULTURE on the JOS PLATEAU of present-day NIGERIA was one of the first cultures in sub-Saharan Africa to produce and use iron. Evidence shows that these people used iron tools and weapons as early as 400 BCE.

The discovery of iron had an important impact on warfare. Iron weapons were forged, not cast like bronze, so that they were less brittle and more reliable than earlier weapons made from bronze. Furthermore, unlike bronze, which required hard-to-find tin to produce, iron was widely available, allowing armies to obtain a plentiful supply of inexpensive weapons. The Hittites were the first to make iron weapons, doing so about 1300 BCE. Within 100 years the technique had spread into Egypt

and Mesopotamia. Elsewhere, iron weapons aided the Bantu-speaking peoples as they expanded into sparsely populated parts of Africa during the last half-millennium before the common era.

Whereas for centuries the common people had been conscripted into the army only in time of war, the IRON AGE saw the growth of standing armies in peacetime and the resulting permanent corps of professional soldiers needed to train and lead them. Egypt was among the first to practice wartime conscription. In the Iron Age, conscription gave birth to the standing peacetime army.

Other Advances Perhaps the greatest advance in warfare in the ancient world was the Roman legion, which Hannibal faced in Italy and which was instrumental in the destruction of Carthage in North Africa. A legion was made up of ten 360-man units called cohorts, each of which contained up to three 120-man companies called maniples. A maniple, in turn, contained two centuries, each led by a centurion. (The 100-man century was eventually reduced to 60 men because it was judged easier to command.) The basic battle formation of the Roman legion had three lines. The first two were javelin-armed heavy infantry; the third was a mixture of light and heavy infantry and cavalry. The lines were staggered to allow for great flexibility and movement. Roman generals relied on massive frontal assaults that took full advantage of the soldiers' discipline and the power of the Roman short sword, or gladius, to inflict severe wounds in close, hand-to-hand combat. Legions were powerful but not invincible. At Cannae in 218 BCE, Hannibal capitalized on his cavalry and encircled the Roman legions from behind, annihilating them.

Warfare in Ancient Sub-Saharan Africa Very little is known of warfare in sub-Saharan Africa prior to 500 CE. Although foreign accounts and oral histories indicate that there were episodes of military strife prior to colonialism, virtually no archaeological evidence exists.

At the same time, a warrior tradition was part of many cultures. After growing up and gaining strength and skills, a young male often underwent INITIATION RITES, becoming an adult and a warrior. Ready to fight when the elders commanded, warriors were expected to protect their people and CATTLE from predators and neighbors as well as engage in cattle raids on other villages. The MAASAI have traditionally valued the stoic endurance of pain. In earlier times it was a custom for the warrior in training, armed only with a dagger, to prove his manhood by killing a lion.

The newly initiated warrior was given a sword and spear. He wore a special garment and let his hair grow long, braiding it and decorating it with ochre and sheep fat. His life was strictly governed by Maasai law and custom. A warrior drank no alcoholic beverages and ate only in the company of his age set. He also avoided sexual relations until 10 or more years after his initiation into

manhood, whereupon he was then promoted to senior warrior and allowed to marry. Throughout his term of service, until he became an elder, he served his people with honor. Little is recorded about the strategy and tactics that these warriors used or about the duration and the ferocity of the battles they fought.

See also: WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Waset   Centralized state in ancient EGYPT, also known as Thebes and LUXOR, founded during the Eleventh Dynasty (c. 2000 BCE). Waset, which means "scepter," was established by the pharaoh MENTUHOTEP II (r. c. 2008–c. 1957 BCE), as the MIDDLE KINGDOM began. This was following a period of widespread political upheaval among the lesser kings and regional rulers (called *nomarchs*) of UPPER EGYPT and LOWER EGYPT. By the Twelfth Dynasty and the reign of Amenemhet II (c. 1929 BCE), peace and stability had been restored, and Egypt entered what historians have called "the literary age." The realms of RELIGION and ART saw major achievements. Some of the literary works, usually written on PAPYRUS by SCRIBES, served to advertise the deeds of ruling kings or to garner support for the administration. Still others works, such as the classic tale called *The Story of Sinuhe,* were written simply to entertain.

During this period Egypt also returned to the practice of pyramid building. Sometimes this meant creating new structures from the ruins of old tombs at Giza, SAQQARA, and Dahshur. The white limestone pyramid built for Amenemhet II at Dahshur, standing 166 feet (55 m) high, was one example of this. A different style tomb was created for Mentuhotep II. He was buried in the cliffs at DEIR EL-BAHRI in what is known as a mastaba, usually a bench made of mud brick. His tomb was unusual in that it was surrounded by columns with a ramp at the entrance.

Over a period of 2,000 years, numerous temples were built in the former city of Waset. One of the largest of these complex structures was the sacred Temple of KARNAK. Few, if any, structures have been built with equal mathematical precision. It was even built on an angle that caught the first rays of the summer solstice and, like a telescope, projected them into the temple.

Waset's development came to an abrupt halt when HYKSOS invaders occupied the region from the Fifteenth through Seventeenth Dynasties (c. 1700–1570 BCE). Once Egyptian power was restored, however, Waset went on to evolve into a magnificent city of palaces and great temples. When the Greeks appropriated the city during the first few centuries of the common era, they renamed it Thebes. Later, the Arab name for the city, L'Ouqsor, evolved to become the westernized version, Luxor.

See also: GREECE (Vol. I); TETISHERI (Vol. I).

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water buffalo   Large mammal belonging to the same family as the cape buffalo and CATTLE. Water buffalo have been domesticated as draft animals since the beginning of history. Originally an Asian animal, the water buffalo was introduced into EGYPT relatively late, about 600 BCE. Egyptian farmers used the animals for plowing and also for milk, meat, and fertilizer.

Domesticated water buffalo are gentle, hardy creatures that rarely catch disease and can live up to 35 years, even under harsh working conditions. In the wild, water buffalo are fierce masters of their territory when threatened. Otherwise, they spend much of their time peacefully wallowing in mud and grazing on water plants.

Wawat   Ancient Egyptian name for a region in Lower Nubia. Beginning under Pharaoh AMENHOTEP I (r. c. 1546–c. 1525 BCE), EGYPT launched a series of invasions against the KUSH kingdom in NUBIA. The first of these resulted in Amenhotep's conquest of Wawat. As a result of this invasion and the ones that followed, the Kush kingdom was to pay Egypt yearly tributes of GOLD, ivory, EBONY, ostrich feathers, animal hides, grain, CATTLE, and enslaved laborers.

Western Sahara   North African country covering approximately 103,000 square miles (266,800 sq km) that borders on MOROCCO to the north, ALGERIA to the northeast, and MAURITANIA to the southeast. The entire western part of the country borders on the Atlantic Ocean. The largest city is Laayoune, which is the capital.

Evidence suggests that the people who first inhabited the Western Sahara region about 400 BCE were engaged in trade with European seafarers. The land is mostly low, flat desert with some small mountains in the south and northeast. Because of the desert environment, the introduction of CAMELS in the region about 50 CE made a great impact, facilitating travel and enhancing trade with the region's BERBERS and, later, Arabic-speaking NOMADS. The camels were used to transport goods including SALT, GOLD, and CLOTH AND TEXTILES.

See also: WESTERN SAHARA (Vol. II, III, IV, V).

white crown The crown of UPPER EGYPT (southern Egypt). One of the royal emblems of the kings of ancient Egypt, the white crown was cone-shaped and bore the *uraeus,* or the COBRA emblem, on its front. The cobra represented the fiery eye of RA, the Egyptian sun god, and was a symbol of protection. (The Egyptians believed that the cobra would spit fire at any enemy that approached.) When Upper and LOWER EGYPT were united, in about 3050 BCE, the white crown of UPPER EGYPT was joined with the RED CROWN of Lower Egypt to form a double crown that symbolized the union.

MENES (Narmer), who founded the First Dynasty (c. 3050 BCE), is the first pharaoh depicted wearing the double crown. Pharaohs are also shown wearing a royal headcloth called a *nemes.* The *nemes* was pulled tight across the forehead and had two broad flaps hanging at the sides. On the front were a cobra and a vulture, another symbol of protection.

White Nile Tributary of the NILE RIVER, flowing between the vast swamp known as the SUDD and KHARTOUM, in Republic of the SUDAN. Along with the ATBARA RIVER and the BLUE NILE, which it joins at KHARTOUM, the White Nile forms one of the Nile's three main tributaries.

witchcraft The use of ritual magic or sorcery to bring about a specific, usually negative, outcome. Still a powerful force in many African societies today, witchcraft was common throughout Africa's history and has been mistakenly linked to traditional African RELIGION.

Many African cultures maintain that very little happens by chance. In light of this belief, witchcraft has been associated with negative or opposing displays of power. It has been blamed for disasters, afflictions, declining health, and sudden death. Practitioners are thought to send harmful representations of their power, such as insects, animals, bats, or snakes. Among the Kuranko of SIERRA LEONE, witches were believed to shift form, becoming fearsome animals. Objects designed to cause harm were often found buried under the earth of failed crops, under doorways, or hidden in the houses of intended victims.

Attempts to answer the question of witchcraft's existence can be found among the YORUBA of present-day NIGERIA, who maintain the belief that humans were created with the power to select their destinies on earth and therefore have the power to choose to become witches. In contrast, the Manianga of the Congo region believe that witchcraft involves a secretive initiation process that begins at a very young age; it is, they believe, a fate assigned to children by their mothers.

Regarding witchcraft, especially in ancient times, each society formed its own recognition and language concerning magical power and those who wield it. The Manianga know this power as *kindoki.* The Ngombe—a Bantu-speaking people who have populated the northwestern regions of the Congo, RWANDA, and BURUNDI—call individuals with the ability to manipulate power the *bemba.* The practitioners of witchcraft may be male or female, but women are overwhelmingly identified as witches, particularly in matrilineal societies. In contrast, the use of witchcraft in other societies sometimes entails the participation of entire groups, such the elders.

Individuals can sometimes be accused of being witches because of their acquisition of ritual knowledge, wealth, or property. The jealousy of their accusers, often the younger members of a particular society, may be linked to larger social issues involving societal control and the maintenance of order.

The task of identifying witches is traditionally accomplished through the use of a human ORACLE or traditional ritual practices. Among the Azande of northern Central Africa, witches are tortured with poisonous bark to get them to confess; other groups subject suspected witches to public beatings or apply stinging ointments or herbs. Priests of the Fante people, who are a subgroup of the AKAN peoples of present-day GHANA, traditionally use the sacred *asfo* drum to extract confessions. Accused individuals, forced to drink a special mixture of herbs along with water used to wash the drum, are expected either to confess their actions or die. In contrast, the Vagala, a pastoral society of present-day BURKINA FASO, guard against the effects of witchcraft by drinking *tagdunna,* a protective potion. In other societies "witch cleansing" is accomplished by destroying medicines and associated ritual objects.

Witchcraft involves an awareness of the duality of power. Therefore, its practitioners usually acknowledge that the same ability to cause willful destruction can also be used to combat witchcraft and promote beneficial healing. For this reason the ritual knowledge acquired by priests, priestesses, healers, initiation circles, or village councils has often been cloaked in secrecy. But, despite widespread fear of witchcraft's disruptive and dangerous power and the occasional call for reform, the powerful magical arts are greatly respected and continue to exert influence in African society.

See also: DIVINATION (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

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women in ancient Africa   Recent scholarship concerning women in Africa has begun to examine the multifaceted role they play in economic, social, and cultural development. This interest is a reaction to a critical imbalance in earlier scholarship created by the absence of women in historical literature and too great a focus on royalty rather than on the day-to-day activities of average people. The large body of ORAL TRADITIONS, which includes myths, origin stories, and other forms of folk wisdom, has also sparked renewed interest in the role of African women. It appears that viewing women as universal mother figures and creators or co-creators of the universe and humankind was fairly widespread. The numerous examples of female divinities include Eka-Abassi among the Ibibio of NIGERIA and the dual creator god known as Mawu, the female who represents fertility, and Lisa, her male counterpart, among the Ewe of present-day GHANA and the Fon of what is now the Republic of Benin. In EGYPT, the numerous shrines and temples erected to ISIS, HATHOR, and many other female DEITIES help to confirm the Egyptians' traditional beliefs concerning AGRICULTURE, motherhood, fertility, and FAMILY.

Archaeologists in Egypt have discovered clay female figurines dating from c. 3000 BCE; similar figurines from between 3100 and 2780 BCE have been found in the graves of royal leaders in KUSH. These figures and the rock and cave images found in present-day ALGERIA and SOUTH AFRICA appear to support widespread reverence for agricultural or fertility goddesses. The evidence also confirms that in some regions, RELIGION and political leadership of women were once closely intertwined.

Women and Religion   Many religious systems appear to have been tied to agricultural LABOR, viewed as a form of regeneration. Female reproduction may have also shaped early forms of worship and in some cases allowed women to transcend traditional roles as mother and wives. This was true of the women related to the Nubian founders of Egypt's Twenty-fifth Dynasty (c. 750–663 BCE). Wives, sisters, and daughters served as priestesses of AMUN, gaining power, land, and wealth, and forming their own dynasty. AMENIRDIS I (r. c. 760–747 BCE) was among the first to adapt this long-standing Egyptian tradition. Women in ancient sub-Saharan Africa commonly functioned as priests, with a variety of ritual and judicial functions; as traditional doctors, often mistakenly labeled witch doctors, providing ritual cleansings and protection from evil forces; and as mediums and diviners, playing an essential, if secondary, role in facilitating SPIRIT POSSESSION and relaying messages from the other world.

Oral and historical accounts of women include some hints about the *negbe Sande,* the powerful rites and practices associated with Mende and Gola women who preside over the SECRET SOCIETIES known today as the Sande. Erroneously described as a cult, it is an age-old institution that embodies solidarity and social power.

Food Production and Early Societies   Until approximately the first millennium BCE, social organization revolved around the activities of HUNTER-GATHERERS. Studies of various Bantu-speaking farmers, Cushitic pastoralists, and other early groups have concluded that women worked longer hours than men as a result of agricultural work that involved the tending, harvesting, and preparation of FOOD along with child rearing and other duties that tied them to the home. Modern studies of the SAN, for example, have attempted to reconstruct what life was like in the Late STONE AGE. Although some questions have been raised as to how much the San's present-day subsistence lifestyle can be considered representative of the past, the studies generally surmise that women looked after their children's welfare, supplied the family with water and firewood, and maintained the family dwelling. They also contributed a large portion, possibly 60 percent, of daily subsistence in the form of wild plants. The men were primarily responsible for supplying the community with sufficient meat by hunting large game. There is ongoing debate as to whether men and women played equal roles in all decision-making processes.

Once various foods had been domesticated in approximately the second millennium BCE, the family became an essential unit in food production in many African societies. Women's labor and the future labor of her children shaped the various forms of BRIDE-WEALTH, or bride price, provided by the prospective groom. Designed to emphasize the value of women within the economy, bride-wealth might have taken the form of farming implements or CATTLE; among the IGBO of southern Nigeria and the NUBA of the Republic of the SUDAN. The groom might be expected to cultivate the land of the prospective bride prior to marriage.

Once married, a woman was assigned many prominent food staples for exclusive cultivation, harvesting, trading, or marketing activities, sometimes through organized trade collectives. The AMHARA women of ETHIOPIA owned, cultivated, and harvested their own plants for centuries. In regions of West Africa, the COCOYAM, a root vegetable, traditionally provided a notable source of income for women farmers.

Women in Africa also contributed to the economy through craftsmanship. In many societies, POTTERY, weaving, beaded JEWELRY, and numerous other crafts were considered women's work. In both Egypt and NUBIA, there have been conflicting reports concerning the division of labor in terms of pottery making, spinning, and weaving cloth. Although weaving appears to have been carried out primarily by women, some sources indicate that men also did some weaving. When they began to gain acceptance as commodities at trading markets, many of these crafts were shifted to the control of men. This was true among the Kono of SIERRA LEONE, where women were the spinners and men were the weavers of cloth. This was also true

among the Baoule of present-day IVORY COAST. Significantly, women of the Yoruba and Nupe peoples played an essential role in long-distance trading.

Consequently, the domestic economy—agriculture, pottery, textiles, and other forms of potential wealth produced by women—helped to build political power that was reinforced through marriage. Rulers often arranged marriage between siblings and first cousins in order to maintain this political control with the family.

Queen Mothers and Female Regencies A number of women were reigning queens, regents, or other high-ranking officials in the ancient world. They acquired power in at least three distinct ways. The first was the direct outgrowth of egalitarian societies and their beliefs. One example can be seen among the Lovedu, in what is now SOUTH AFRICA, who traditionally chose a rain queen as the political and divine ruler of the kingdom. Her powers were so great that it was believed that her anger could generate drought. The TUAREGS were also considered an egalitarian society, as the tomb of Queen Hinan attests. Her skeletal remains and the GOLD and silver jewelry archaeologists recovered from her tomb reflect the high regard Tuareg society had for her.

A second way in which women assumed power in the ancient world was through inheritance. In Napata and MEROË, queens, or *KANDAKES,* acquired power as the mothers or wives of kings, including Queen Shankiakhete (r. 170–160 BCE) and Queen Amanishakhete (r. 41–23 BCE). Queen Amanishakhete was in fact co-ruler at the height of the economic and social power of Meroë, which was built from its reputation as an international trading port. The queen's elaborate tomb still remains in the northern region of Meroë, although excavations have resulted in the removal of much of her elaborate jewelry and other artifacts. Nubian queens officiated at coronation ceremonies and provided invaluable counsel. They built numerous public works and, when necessary, engaged enemies of the state in battle.

The legendary Queen MAKEDA (queen of Sheba) was typical of many queens reigning in Ethiopia who inherited power through familial links. She was widely known for establishing important trade networks, commanding armies, and collecting vast wealth from the many regions she ruled over prior to her romantic entanglement with King Solomon. Queen Hatshepsut, who, along with THUTMOSE III (r. c. 1504–1450), ruled Egypt in the 15th century BCE, inherited her notable abilities as an independent ruler from her father. During her rule, she built numerous monuments and authorized many expeditions to the fabled land of PUNT; however, much of the evidence of her reign was destroyed after her death.

The rights of nonroyal women in Egypt are equally insightful. Among the numerous documents that have survived in Egypt are legal documents indicating that at times in Egypt's history, such as the NEW KINGDOM (c. 1570–1070 BCE), men and women lived as equals under the law. Women could own property, enter into business transactions, and arrange marriage and divorce contracts. There are even records that show women sued for monetary relief in courts. Problems associated with these laws can be seen in the fact that women were almost always the defendants in monetary claims of nonpayment or the wrongful sale of property. One case involved a woman named Heria of Deir el-Medina who reportedly stole tools. Although she denied it, the tools were later found in her house with other items. The fact that she was sent outside of the court's jurisdiction to another and perhaps higher court indicates that it was considered a highly unusual circumstance. Women typically received the same kinds of punishment for crimes as men, including being beaten.

A third way that women gained power was through matrilineal descent. Women in matrilineal societies could be "king-makers." It has been suggested that in some societies these powerful women were postmenopausal, since women were sometimes ostracized during menstruation or following childbirth because of taboos related to blood. This assertion, however, has not been conclusively proved, and evidence indicates that some titled women were young or married when they assumed power.

Societies south of the Sahara ruled by powerful female leaders included the AKAN of Ghana, whose royal line of queen mothers began as the State of the Elder Woman. Described as an *ohemma,* or female king, her divinity was linked to her ability to bring forth new life. As king she ruled over informal groups of family clans that eventually became city-states. Her symbol, a knotted cloth tied around a long staff, has also been noted among women rulers and goddesses associated with the Tuaregs and GARAMANTES.

See also: AMANITARE (Vol. I); CIRCUMCISION (Vol. I); TETISHERI (Vol. I); WITCHCRAFT (Vol. I); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL AFRICA (Vol. II); WOMEN IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III).

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writing In ancient Africa, EGYPT was probably the earliest society to develop writing. Recent archaeological discoveries, including the ones made during the 1980s at

ABYDOS, confirm that Egyptian writing began as early as the fourth millennium BCE and that it was a fully developed, highly sophisticated system by 3300 BCE. This dating challenges the long-held belief that the earliest writing was the cuneiform system invented by the Sumerians of ancient Mesopotamia, who used long sharpened reeds, called *calams,* to impress characters onto soft, wet clay tablets. When the clay hardened, the writing became a permanent record.

Similar to hieroglyphics but more abstract, cuneiform texts of Egyptian origin have been found in and around Egypt. In time, as they came to dominate Mesopotamia, the Assyrians and Babylonians transformed cuneiform into a syllabic alphabet, and the great ASSYRIAN king Hammurabi used it to compose one of the first legal codes in history. Cuneiform remained in use until the first century CE.

Given Egypt's frequent floods and droughts, it is believed that Egyptian writing began with basic forms of calendars. The need to collect and record taxes and keep accounts of commercial transactions also played a significant role in the development of writing. At first, writing was done on objects such as clay jars and vases, ivory, and even pieces of bone. Examples of these, marked with records of tax payments and with the origins of various goods, have been found dating as far back as c. 3200 BCE. Later, stone became a common medium for Egyptian writing, with the NARMER PALETTE, a stone tablet inscribed with the conquests of King MENES (Narmer), being one of the earliest examples recovered thus far.

In time, however, the Egyptians developed PAPYRUS, on which they wrote with INK using reed pens and brushes. Papyrus became so important that the Egyptians kept a carefully controlled monopoly on its production until the use of parchment became widespread some 2,000 years ago.

Called *medu netcher* (the words of the gods) by the ancient Egyptians, writing was considered a sacred gift from THOTH, the god of universal wisdom and intelligence. Priests, not surprisingly, played an important role in the writing process, writing prayers, burial rituals, magic spells, and formulas on stone tablets, as well as on the walls of temples, tombs, and monuments. Since the majority of the Egyptian population could not write, the priests and SCRIBES who could do so usually held high positions within the kingdom's government and courts.

With 24 picture-letters and syllables, Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS were made up of consonants rather than vowels. Words could be created using these phonograms,

ideograms (symbolic pictures), or a combination of the two. However, as time went on, the Egyptians developed three different scripts for writing. Of the three, the system of hieroglyphics was the oldest, dating back to before 3000 BCE. The later HIERATIC script was a type of shorthand that priests and scribes used for writing on papyrus. The third form of Egyptian writing, DEMOTIC, was a faster, cursive style that appeared about 600 BCE. Not as regularized as the traditional hieroglyphics, demotic varied greatly in appearance, depending on everything from geographical differences to the type of text being written (business letters, legal documents, religious texts, and so on), and even to differences in individual handwriting.

The neighboring kingdom of KUSH also developed a form of sacred writing. Known as Meroitic script, it was made up of 23 symbols used with colon signs separating the words. Religious themes have been identified on the temples at NAGA, and at GEBEL BARKAL, where inscribed stone monuments, called stelae, date back to at least the eighth century BCE. Researchers have been able to decipher and classify a number of recovered Meroitic scripts, but as many as 800 more still await translation.

Other ancient African systems of writing developed in what is now ETHIOPIA. For the most part, these can be traced to Arab settlers who crossed to Africa from the Arabian Peninsula about the fifth or sixth century BCE and founded the kingdom of Saba. The Sabaeans developed a script that, in time, evolved into the classic Ethiopian writing system, which has remained in use, in one form or another, until the 21st century.

Basically a syllabic system, the Ethiopic writing system had 26 letters, all representing consonants, which become syllables when vowel sounds are added. Sentences were written from right to left and then back to the right.

A form of writing that developed from Ethiopic, called Lessana Ge'ez (the language of the free), emerged centuries before the common era. GE'EZ is considered the classic script of Ethiopia, and is read left to right rather than right to left in the manner of other Semitic-based languages. Popular until the seventh century, Ge'ez was utilized for numerous Aksumite inscriptions on coins, stelae, and monuments. After the seventh century, the use of Ge'ez became less prevalent, primarily restricted to the religious writings of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Ancient Ethiopic writing had 26 letters. Twenty-four of these were derived from the Sabaean writing system. To these were added two other letters, representing the *p* sound, which was not represented in Sabaean.

Ethiopian scribes were required to rule the pages of religious books with a reed and awl. Ink was made from natural elements and dispensed from special cow horns, one with black ink for script and another with red ink for sacred names and references. While religious works were emphasized, especially the stories of saints, writing was also used to preserve poetry, law, MEDICINE, and rituals.

Other African societies placed greater emphasis on ORAL TRADITIONS, but, in many of these groups, SECRET SOCIETIES developed writing very early on. These "secret scripts," which documented rituals for priests, initiation ceremonies, and other RITES OF PASSAGE, were created to transmit cultural knowledge to future generations. Among the groups using these secret writings were the Vai, BAMANA, Benin, Kongo, Peul, and the AKAN.

See also: ALPHABETS AND SCRIPTS (Vol. I).

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X

X-Group See NUBIAN X-GROUP.

xylophone Percussion instrument built in rows and played with a stick. Made from wood or bamboo with resonating chambers fashioned out of wood, gourds, or even cow horns, the xylophone has been played for centuries in African societies. It is variously known as the marimba, *gyil*, and balafon.

See also: MUSIC (Vol. I).

Y

yams Tuberous roots grown principally in the equatorial forest regions of West Africa. Considered the foremost crop of West Africa, yams hold a special place in the region's economic and social history. There are two main varieties of yam grown in Africa. The yellow Guinea yam *(Dioscorea cayensis)* grows in the wild and may be toxic when it is either not fully mature or prepared improperly. The other type is the white Guinea yam *(Dioscorea rotundata),* which was probably first domesticated about 5000 BCE. Other varieties of yam in Africa evolved from various cultivating methods or were introduced from Southeast Asia during the second century CE.

In northern regions of present-day GHANA, yams were grown using early forms of hoe AGRICULTURE. Although they had little nutritional value, the yams were usually eaten with animal proteins. Yams could also be stored for long periods without spoiling. Archaeologists have discovered evidence of yam plantings in central Ghana and CAMEROON that date back more than 3,000 years. Farmers in these regions usually created numerous mounds, sometimes measuring 3 to 5 feet (0.9 to 1.5 meters) high. During January, small portions of the plant, used as seeds, were placed on either side of the mound to generate a new crop. This new generation matured in about seven months, depending on the quality of soil. Secondary crops such as MILLET were often planted between yam mounds. This method had many variations in western Africa. In central NIGERIA, for example, the Tiv people planted secondary crops at the bottom of the mound.

From an economic and cultural perspective, yams have long held an important place in many African societies. Some societies created myths and proverbs that emphasized their value, while others, such as the IGBO of Nigeria, held annual FESTIVALS that centered around yams and their cultivation. These festivals continue today.

Yoruba General term used to describe the language, peoples, and kingdoms of Yorubaland; also known as Nago. Occupying a region stretching from the savannas west of the lower NIGER RIVER to the forest regions near Africa's coast, the Yoruba can be found in present-day NIGERIA and Republic of BENIN, as well as parts of GHANA, NIGER, SIERRA LEONE, and TOGO.

From an ancient if undetermined period, the Yoruba labored as farmers, hunters, and traders and lived in small, scattered communities. The population grew as a result of long-distance trade conducted by inhabitants of the SAHARA DESERT. By about the middle of the IRON AGE (c. 500 BCE–1000 CE), the growing trade economy had caused Yoruba villages to expand. At the same time, cooperative work projects led villages to join together under the authority of a central ruler or king. As a result the region inhabited by the Yoruba became one of the earliest models for urban life in Africa.

By their own accounts, from ancient times most Yoruba people have followed a powerful and enduring religious tradition. Their creation stories trace human origins to the city of ILE-IFE, giving credit to the god Oduduwa for founding the city and, hence, the original Yoruba state. Although there are several versions of the tale, the basic story recalls how Oduduwa was lowered to earth by OLORUN, the god of the sky, carrying a snail shell filled with earth and a chicken to spread that earth over the waters. Oduduwa also carried a chameleon that tested the suitability of the earth for humans. Based on the chameleon's

positive response, he named the place *Ile-Ife, whihc is* loosely translated as "a home that is wide enough." Oduduwa represented divine kingship and so did his sons, who went on to found other Yoruba kingdoms. Reigning

Yoruba kings, known as *ooni,* claim descent from this first king.

See also: IFA (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); YORUBA (Vols. II, IV, V); YORUBALAND (Vols. II, III).

Z

Zambezi River (Zambesi)   Great river that flows from west to east across southern Africa to MOZAMBIQUE, draining the central plateaus before emptying into the Indian Ocean. Flowing nearly 2,000 miles (3,220 km), the Zambezi is the principal waterway in southern East Africa.

The Zambezi's headwaters flow along the border between present-day ANGOLA and ZAMBIA. The river snakes its way east through the dry central plateaus before entering present-day ZIMBABWE. The river is then joined by two of its largest tributaries, the Kafue and Luangwa, before flowing into Mozambique. There it is also joined by the Shire River before emptying into the Mozambique Channel.

Before being dammed in the 20th century, the Zambezi River carried so much silt and sand to the shore that its several mouths could shift drastically in a short amount of time.

See also: ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vol. III).

Zambia   Country in southern Africa covering approximately 290,600 square miles (752,700 sq km) and bordering the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and TANZANIA to the north, MALAWI and MOZAMBIQUE to the east, ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA and BOTSWANA to the south, and ANGOLA to the west. Lusaka is the country's largest city and is the capital.

Archaeologists trace the origins of humanity to the Great RIFT VALLEY, which extends from southwest Asia to the Lower ZAMBEZI RIVER, in southern Zambia. Artifacts unearthed at STONE AGE sites in Zambia suggest that early humans were present between 1 and 2 million years ago. The most significant of these sites are at Kalambo Falls in the north and VICTORIA FALLS in the south. Also, at Kabwe, north of Lusaka, archaeologists have found evidence of activities by *HOMO SAPIENS* that dates back 100,000 years.

Examples of ROCK ART are found in Kasama District, where some 700 of the more than 1,000 rock art sites in Zambia exist. The sites in Zambia lack the sophistication of comparable sites in Zimbabwe and SOUTH AFRICA, and the seasonally humid climate of Zambia has probably caused many rock paintings to fade and disappear. It is thought that Zambian rock art had religious or ritual uses; the eland, an animal sacred to Late Stone Age peoples in South Africa, appears in Zambian rock art as well.

Early IRON AGE peoples settled in the region with their AGRICULTURE and domestic animals about 2,000 years ago. By 350, COPPER came into use both for currency and for adornment. The Bantu-speaking ancestors of the present-day TONGA people reached the region between 800 and 1000 CE. These newcomers kept CATTLE, made POTTERY and metalwork, and lived in lathe and plaster houses. They totally supplanted the indigenous Stone Age peoples of Zambia, who probably resembled the SAN in appearance and lifestyle.

See also: ZAMBIA (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Zanzibar   Island in the Indian Ocean that is part of present-day TANZANIA. Made up of the two major islands of Unguja and Pemba, Zanzibar is famous for its spice plantations, which have produced cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, vanilla, and cardamom for hundreds of years. The name Zanzibar is of Persian origin and comes from *Zanjbar*, meaning, "country of the blacks."

See also: ZANJ (Vol. II); ZANZIBAR (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

zebras   Striped, hoofed mammals belonging to the same animal family as HORSES and DONKEYS. Most zebras live in the plains or brush areas of eastern and southern Africa, although one type of zebra, the mountain zebra, inhabits the rocky hillsides of NAMIBIA. Zebras usually live in small groups made up of one stallion (a male zebra) and several mares (female zebras) along with their (foals) offspring. Among the natural enemies of zebras are LIONS and LEOPARDS.

The zebra has long fascinated the people of southern Africa. One group, the MBUTI, even invented a myth to explain how the zebra got its stripes. Long ago, according to Mbuti legend, water was very scarce. A white zebra approached a pool of water guarded by a baboon, who was sitting by a fire. The baboon was unwilling to share his water and challenged the zebra to a fight. During their battle, as the zebra kicked the baboon into the mountains, he fell on the baboon's fire. This left the zebra with dark stripes across his white fur. While the baboon stayed in the mountains, the burnt zebra ran away to the grassy plains, where it has remained ever since.

Zimbabwe   Country in southern Africa measuring approximately 150,900 square miles (390,800 sq km) that borders on ZAMBIA to the north, MOZAMBIQUE to the east, SOUTH AFRICA to the south, and BOTSWANA to the west. Harare is its capital and largest city.

Archaeologists have found evidence of hominid activity at numerous stone age sites in the country. Some of the finds date back to approximately 500,000 years ago. The SAN people inhabited Zimbabwe as early as about 200 BCE. Evidence of their activity in the area includes ROCK ART, which can be found in high-elevation granite shelters throughout Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is also the site of IRON AGE archaeological finds dating from 180 CE. Later, about the fifth century CE, Bantu-speaking people settled throughout the area.

See also: BANTU EXPANSION (Vol. I); ZIMBABWE (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Zinjanthropus   Name once used to describe a certain fossilized human. Recovered in 1959 by archaeologists Louis and Mary Leakey, *Zinjanthropus* lived approximately 1.5 million to 1.75 million years ago. Archaeologists originally used the name *Zinjanthropus,* or "The Man of Zinj," after the Arabic name for the region in which the fossilized human was found. The current name used by archaeologists for this fossilized find, however, is *Australopithecus boisei* (*A. boisei*), which places him in the same scientific category as other australopithecines unearthed in the neighboring regions. Those regions include the Omo Valley in TANZANIA, Koobi Fora in KENYA, and Taung in the South African Transvaal. The size of *A. boisei's* skull indicates that he had a brain about one-third the size of that of modern human beings. Like other australopithecines, he was approximately 4 to 5 feet (1.3 to 1.6 m) tall, able to stand upright, and walked on two legs. *A. bosei* used chipped pebble tools, which were recovered as well.

See also: *HOMO HABILIS* (Vol. I) LEAKEYS, THE (Vol. I); LEAKEY, LOUIS (Vol. IV); LEAKEY, MARY (Vols. IV, V).

GLOSSARY

agriculturalists Sociological term for "farmers."

agro-pastoralists People who practice both farming and animal husbandry.

alafin Yoruba word for "ruler" or "king."

Allah Arabic for "God" or "Supreme Being."

Americo-Liberian Liberians of African-American ancestry.

ancestor worship Misnomer for the traditional practice of honoring and recognizing the memory and spirits of deceased family members.

al-Andalus Arabic term for Muslim Spain.

animism Belief that inanimate objects have a soul or life force.

anglophone English speaking.

apartheid Afrikaans word that means "separateness"; a formal system and policy of racial segregation and political and economic discrimination against South Africa's nonwhite majority.

aphrodesiac Food or other agent thought to arouse or increase sexual desire.

askia Arabic word meaning "general" that was applied to the Songhai kings. Capitalized, the word refers to a dynasty of Songhai rulers.

assimilados Portuguese word for Africans who had assimilated into the colonial culture.

Australopithicus africanus Hominid species that branched off into *Homo habilis* and *A. robustus.*

Australopithicus anamensis Second-oldest species of the hominid *Australopithicus.*

Australopithicus ramadus Oldest of the apelike, hominid species of *Australopithicus.*

Australopithicus robustus A sturdy species of *Australopithicus* that came after *A. africanus* and appears to have been an evolutionary dead end. *Australopithecus robustus* roamed the Earth at the same time as *Homo habilis.*

balkanization The breaking apart of regions or units into smaller groups.

barter Trading system in which goods are exchanged for items of equal value.

bey Governor in the Ottoman Empire.

Bilad al-Sudan Arabic for "Land of the Blacks."

bride price The payment made by a groom and his family to compensate the bride's father for the loss of her services because of marriage.

British Commonwealth Organization of sovereign states that were former colonies under the British Empire.

caliph Title for Muslim rulers who claim to be the secular and religious successors of the Prophet Muhammad.

caliphate Muslim state ruled by a caliph.

caravel A small, maneuverable ship used by the Portuguese during the Age of Discovery.

caste A division of society based on wealth, privilege, rank, or occupation.

circumcision The cutting of the clitoris (also called clitorectomy or clitoridectomy) or the prepuce of the penis; a rite of passage in many African societies.

cire perdu French for "lost wax," a technique used to cast metals.

clan A group that traces its descent from a common ancestor.

conflict diamonds Gems that are sold or traded extralegally in order to fund wars.

conquistadores Spanish for "conquerors"; term used to describe the Spanish leaders of the conquest of the Americas during the 1500s.

constitutional monarchy State with a constitution that is ruled by a king or queen.

customary law Established traditions, customs, or practices that govern daily life and interaction.

degredados Portuguese criminals who were sent to Africa by the Portuguese king to perform hazardous duties related to exploration and colonization.

dhow Arabic word for a wooden sailing vessel with a triangular sail that was commonly used to transport trade goods.

diaspora Word used to describe a large, readily distinguishable group of people settled far from their ancestral homelands.

divination The interpretation of supernatural signs, usually done by a medicine man or priest.

djembe African drum, often called "the healing drum" because of its use in healing ceremonies.

emir A Muslim ruler or commander.

emirate A state ruled by an emir.

endogamy Marriage within one's ethnic group, as required by custom or law.

enset Another name for the "false banana" plant common in Africa.

ethnic group Term used to signify people who share a common culture.

ethno-linguistic Word used to describe a group whose individuals share racial characteristics and a common language.

eunuch A man who has been castrated (had his testicles removed), generally so that he might be trusted to watch over a ruler's wife or wives.

francophone French speaking.

government transparency Feature of an open society in which the decisions and the policy-making process of leaders are open to public scrutiny.

griot Storyteller, common in West African cultures, who preserves and relates the oral history of his people, often with musical accompaniment.

gross domestic product (GDP) Total value of goods and services produced by a nation's economy, within that nation. GDP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

gross national product (GNP) Total value of goods and services produced by the residents of a nation, both within the nation as well as beyond its borders. Like GDP, GNP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

hajj In Islam, a pilgrimage to Mecca.

hajjiyy "Pilgrim" in Arabic.

hegira Arabic for "flight" or "exodus"; generally used to describe the move of the Muslim prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina.

hominid Biological term used to describe the various branches of the Hominidae, the family from which modern humans descend according to evolutionary theory.

ideology A coherent or systematic way of looking at human life and culture.

imam A spiritual and political leader of a Muslim state.

imamate The region or state ruled by an imam.

indigénat Separate legal code used by France in its judicial dealings with the indigenous African population of its colonies.

infidel Term used as an epithet to describe one who is unfaithful or an unbeliever with respect to a particular religion .

infrastructure Basic physical, economic, and social facilities and institutions of a community or country .

Janissary From the Turkish for "new soldier," a member of an elite Ottoman military corps.

jebel "Mountain" in Arabic.

kabaka The word for "king" in Babito and Buganda cultures.

kemet Egyptian for "black earth."

kora Small percussion instrument played by some griots.

kraal Enclosure for cattle or a group of houses surrounding such an enclosure.

lineage A group whose individuals trace their descent from a common ancestor; usually a subgroup of a larger clan.

lingua franca Common language used by speakers of different languages.

Luso-African Word that describes the combined Portuguese and African cultures, especially the offspring of Portuguese settlers and indigenous African women. (The Latin name for the area of the Iberian Peninsula occupied by modern Portugal was Lusitania.)

madrasa Theological school for the interpretation of Islamic law.

Mahdi Arabic word for "enlightened one," or "righteous leader"; specifically, the Muslim savior who, in Islamic belief, is to arrive shortly before the end of time.

mamluk Arabic for "one who is owned"; capitalized, it is a member of an elite military unit made up of captives enslaved and used by Islamic rulers to serve in Middle Eastern and North African armies.

mansa Mande term for "king" or "emperor."

marabout A mystical Muslim spiritual leader.

massif A mountainous geological feature.

mastaba Arabic for an inscribed stone tomb.

matrilineal Relating to descent on the maternal, or mother's, side.

medina Arabic word for the old section of a city.

megaliths Archaeological term meaning "large rocks"; used to describe stelae and such features as cairns and tumuli that mark important places or events for many ancient cultures.

mestizo Adjective meaning "of mixed blood."

mfecane Zulu word meaning "the crushing." When capitalized, the word refers to the nineteenth-century Zulu conquests that caused the mass migration of peoples in southern Africa.

microliths Archaeological term meaning "small rocks"; used to describe sharpened stone blade tools of Stone Age cultures.

Monophysite Related to the Christian tradition that holds that Jesus Christ had only one (divine) nature.

Moor An Arab or Berber conqueror of al-Andalus (Muslim Spain).

mulatto The offspring of a Negroid (black) person and a Caucasoid (white) person.

mwami Head of the Tutsi political structure, believed to be of divine lineage.

negusa negast "King of kings" in Ethiopic; traditional title given to the ruler of Ethiopia.

neocolonialism Political or economic policies by which former colonial powers maintain their control of former colonies.

Nilotic Relating to peoples of the Nile, or Nile River basin, used especially to describe the languages spoken by these peoples.

Nsibidi Secret script of the Ekoi people of Nigeria.

oba Yoruba king or chieftain.

pasha A high-ranking official in the Ottoman Empire.

pashalik Territory or province of the Ottoman Empire governed by a pasha.

pass book A feature of apartheid-era South Africa, pass books were identification documents that black Africans, but not whites, were required by law to carry at all times.

pastoralists People whose livelihood and society center on raising livestock.

patriarch Male head of a family, organization, or society.

patrilineal Relating to descent through the paternal, or father's, side.

poll tax A tax of a fixed amount per person levied on adults.

polygyny The practice of having more than one wife or female mate at one time.

prazeros Portuguese settlers in Africa who held prazos.

prazos Similar to feudal estates, parcels of land in Africa that were leased to Portuguese settlers by the Portuguese king.

primogeniture A hereditary system common in Africa by which the eldest child, or more commonly, the eldest son, receives all of a family's inheritance.

proverb A short popular expression or adage. Proverbs are tools for passing on traditional wisdom orally.

pygmy Greek for "fist," a unit of measurement; used to describe the short-statured Mbuti people.

qadi Arabic for "judge."

Quran (also spelled Koran) Arabic for "recitation," and the name of the book of Muslim sacred writings.

ras A title meaning "regional ruler" in Ethiopia.

rondavel Small, round homes common in southern Africa.

salaam Arabic for "peace."

sarki Hausa word for "king."

scarification Symbolic markings made by pricking, scraping, or cutting the skin.

secret society Formal organizations united by an oath of secrecy and constituted for political or religious purposes.

shantytowns A town or part of a town consisting mostly of crudely built dwellings.

sharia Muslim law, which governs the civil and religious behavior of believers.

sharif In Islamic culture, one of noble ancestry.

sheikh (shaykh, sheik) Arabic word for patrilineal clan leaders.

sirocco Name given to a certain type of strong wind in the Sahara Desert.

souk Arabic word for "market."

stelae Large stone objects, usually phallus-shaped, whose markings generally contain information important to those who produced them.

stratified Arranged into sharply defined classes.

stratigraphy The study of sequences of sediments, soils, and rocks; used by archaeologists to determine the approximate age of a region.

sultan The king or sovereign of a Muslim state.

sultanate The lands or territory ruled by a sultan.

syncretism The combining of religious beliefs to form a new religion.

taboo (adj.) forbidden by custom, usually because of the fear of retribution by supernatural forces; (n.) a prohibition based on morality or social custom.

tafsir Arabic for "interpretation," especially as regards the Quran.

taqwa In Islam, the internal ability to determine right from wrong.

taro Another name for the cocoyam, an edible tuber common throughout Africa.

tauf Puddled mud that, when dried, serves as the foundation for some homes in sub-Saharan Africa.

teff A grass native to Africa that can be threshed to produce flour.

theocracy Government of a state by officials who are thought to be guided by God.

ulamaa Islamic learned men, the inheritors of the tradition of the prophet Muhammad.

vizier A high-ranking official in a Muslim state, esp. within the Ottoman Empire.

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Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

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AND CULTURE

VOLUME II

AFRICAN KINGDOMS

(500 TO 1500)

Willie F. Page, Editor

Revised edition by R. Hunt Davis, Jr., Editor

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For my wife, Grace,
and my sons, Ed and Chris

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Africa and the Mediterranean Region: Major Empires and Kingdoms, 400–1500

Atlantic Ocean

ROME
*c. 200 BCE–
476 CE*

Constantinople

Black Sea

Caspian Sea

PERSIA

Euphrates

Tigris

**KINGDOM OF
THE VANDALS**
428–534

Al Maghrib

Tripoli

Mediterranean Sea

Alexandria

Byblos **SYRIA**
ISRAEL

Jerusalem

ALMORAVID
c. 1060–1147

FATAMID
969–1171

Cairo **JUDAH**

Memphis

ALMOHAD
1147–c. 1271

EGYPT

Thebes

Medina

Elephantine

Red Sea

Abu Simbel

Mecca

*Arabian
Peninsula*

KANGABA
c. 1000–c. 1230

NUBIA

TEKRUR
c. 100–c. 1100

**GHANA
EMPIRE**
900–1200

Timbuktu

The Sudan

Dongola

Gebel Barkal

Napata

SONGHAI
c. 1400–1591 CE

Senegal R.

Niger R.

Segu

WOLOF
c. 1050–c. 1500

MALI
1200–c. 1400 CE

BORNU
c. 850

*Lake
Chad*

**KANEM-BORNU
(KANURI EMPIRE)**
c. 1000–c. 1650

ETHIOPIA

MOSSI STATES
c. 1400–c. 1900

YORUBALAND

HAUSA STATES
c. 1000–c. 1700

GABU
c. 1250–1867

IFE
c. 1000–c. 1800

Benue R.

Igbo

AKSUM
*c. 500 BCE–
1000 CE*

OYO
c. 1300–c. 1800

BENIN
c. 1000–c. 1800

**BUNYORO-
KITARA**
c. 1500–c. 1900

Mogadishu

Congo R.

**LOANGO
KINGDOM**
c. 1500

*Lake
Victoria*

*Indian
Ocean*

Luba

*Lake
Tanganyika*

Malindi

Mombasa

**KONGO
KINGDOM**
c. 1300–c. 1700

Lunda

Fipa

Hehe

Zanzibar

Kilwa

*Lake
Nyasa*

Atlantic Ocean

N

Zambezi R.

**ARAB COASTAL
KINGDOMS**
c. 700–c. 1500

**GREAT
ZIMBABWE**
c. 1200–c. 1450

Sofala

Orange R.

Khoihoi

Nguni

	Byzantine Empire (330–1453), in c. 600
	Mamluk rule (1250–1717), in c. 1450

0   800 Miles

0   800 Kms

Political Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

MOROCCO

Canary Is. (SPAIN)

WESTERN
SAHARA

TUNISIA

Mediterranean Sea

ALGERIA

LIBYA

EGYPT

Red Sea

MAURITANIA

CAPE
VERDE

MALI

NIGER

CHAD

ERITREA

DJIBOUTI

SENEGAL

THE GAMBIA

GUINEA-
BISSAU

GUINEA

BURKINA
FASO

REPUBLIC OF
THE SUDAN

ETHIOPIA

IVORY
COAST

NIGERIA

SIERRA
LEONE

GHANA

CENTRAL AFRICAN
REPUBLIC

SOMALIA

LIBERIA

TOGO

BENIN

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

SÃO TOMÉ AND
PRÍNCIPE

GABON

UGANDA

KENYA

RWANDA

REPUBLIC OF
THE CONGO

DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF
THE CONGO

BURUNDI

SEYCHELLES

Cabinda
(ANGOLA)

TANZANIA

Indian Ocean

Atlantic Ocean

ANGOLA

MALAWI

COMOROS

ZAMBIA

MADAGASCAR

MOZAMBIQUE

MAURITIUS

NAMIBIA

ZIMBABWE

Réunion
(FRANCE)

BOTSWANA

N

SWAZILAND

SOUTH
AFRICA

LESOTHO

1 North Africa
2 East Africa
3 West Africa
4 Central Africa
5 Southern Africa

1
3
2
4
5

0		800 Miles
0		800 Kms

Physical Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

Mediterranean Sea

ATLAS MTS.

AHAGGAR
MTS.

LIBYAN
DESERT

Nile R.

Arabian Desert

Red Sea

S A H A R A   D E S E R T

TIBESTI
MTS.

Gulf of Aden

S A H E L

CHAD
BASIN

NIGER BASIN

Niger R.

*Cape
Verde Is.*

FOUTA DJALLON
HIGHLANDS

*Lake
Volta*

Benue R.

Niger R.

*Lake
Chad*

SUDAN
BASIN

Blue Nile

White Nile

*Lake
Tana*

ETHIOPIAN
HIGHLANDS

*Horn of
Africa*

OGADEN
DESERT

*Bight of
Benin*

*Bight of
Bonny*

Congo R.

*Lake
Albert*

*Lake
Turkana*

equator

CONGO
BASIN

▲ Mt. Kenya

▲ Mt. Kilimanjaro

*Lake
Victoria*

*Lake
Tanganyika*

⊢ Pemba I.
– Zanzibar

Atlantic Ocean

Indian Ocean

BIHE
PLATEAU

*Lake
Nyasa*

Zambezi R.

Mozambique Channel

NAMIB DESERT

KALAHARI
DESERT

Orange R.

GREAT
KAROO

DRAKENSBURG MTS.

Cape of Good Hope

N

Legend

■	Alpine and montane
▨	Tropical forest
▨	Savanna and steppe
⸭	Desert
▥	Temperate grassland
▤	Mediterranean vegetation

0   800 Miles

0   800 Kms

CONTENTS

LIST OF ENTRIES

HOW TO USE THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA

This encyclopedia is organized chronologically, dividing the African past into five major eras. This division serves to make it easier to study the vastness and complexity of African history and culture. It also allows students and general readers to go directly to the volume or volumes they wish to consult.

Volume I, *Ancient Africa,* deals with Africa up to approximately 500 CE (roughly, in terms of classical European history, to the Fall of the Roman Empire and the dissolution of the Ancient World on the eve of the emergence of Islam). The volume also includes articles on the continent's key geographical features and major language families. In addition you will find articles that deal with certain basic aspects of African life that, in essential ways, remain relatively constant throughout time. For example, rites of passage, funeral customs, the payment of bride-wealth, and rituals related to spirit possession are features common to many African societies. Although these features can evolve in different cultures in radically different ways, their basic purpose remains constant. Accordingly, rather than try to cover the evolution of these cultural features in each volume, we offer a more general explanation in Volume I, with the understanding that the details of these cultural touchstones can vary widely from people to people and change over time.

On the other hand there are entries related to key cultural and social dimensions whose changes are easier to observe over time. Such entries appear in each of the volumes and include architecture, art, clothing and dress, economics, family, music, religion, warfare, and the role of women.

Volume II, *African Kingdoms,* focuses on what may be loosely termed "medieval Africa," from the sixth century to the beginning of the 16th century. This is the period that witnessed the rise and spread of Islam and, to a lesser degree, Arab expansion throughout much of the northern and eastern regions of the continent. It also saw the flowering of some of Africa's greatest indigenous kingdoms and empires. Other Africans, such as the Maasai and Kikuyu living in and around present-day Kenya, did not live in powerful states during this time yet developed their own dynamic cultures.

Volume III, *From Conquest to Colonization,* continues Africa's story from roughly 1500 to 1850. During this era Africa became increasingly involved with the Atlantic world due to European maritime exploration and subsequent interaction through trade and cultural exchanges. This period also included the rise of the transatlantic slave trade, which in turn created the African Diaspora, and the beginnings of European colonization. As a result, it marks a period when the dynamics shaping African culture and society began to shift.

Volume IV, *The Colonial Era,* covers Africa during the years 1850–1960. This historical period begins with Europe's conquest of the continent, leading to the era of colonial rule. Political control enabled Europe to extend its economic control as well, turning Africa into a vast supply depot of raw materials. Volume IV also covers the rise of nationalist movements and the great struggle Africans undertook to regain their independence.

Volume V, *Independent Africa,* deals with the continent since 1960, when Africans began regaining their independence and started to once again live in sovereign states. (This process, of course, took longer in the southern portion of the continent than in other parts.) In common with the rest of the world's people, however, Africans have faced a host of new and challenging problems, some of which are specific to Africa, while others are of a more global nature.

In addition to the aforementioned cultural entries that appear in all five volumes, there are entries for each of the present-day countries of the continent as identified on the Political Map found at the front of each volume. Readers can thus learn about the key developments in a given country within a given time period or across the entire span of African history. There are also articles on individual ethnic groups of Africa in each of the volumes. Since there are more than a thousand identifiable groups, it has been necessary to limit coverage to the major or key groups within a given period. Thus, a group that might be historically important in one period may not be

sufficiently important, or may not even have existed, in a period covered by one or more other volumes. Likewise, there are entries on the major cities of the continent for given time periods, including, in Volume V, all the present national capitals. Another key set of entries common to all volumes concerns historically important persons. In general, historians are more readily able to identify these individuals for recent periods than for earlier times. As a result the latter volumes contain more individual biographical entries. An exception here is the case of Ancient Egypt, where historical records have enabled us to learn about the roles of prominent individuals.

In preparing these volumes, every attempt has been made to make this encyclopedia as accessible and easy to use as possible. At the front of each volume, readers will find an introduction and a timeline specific to the historical era covered in the volume. There are also three full-page maps, two of which appear in all five volumes (the current political map and a physical map), and one that is specific to the volume's time period. In addition the front of each volume contains a volume-specific list of the photographs, illustrations, and maps found therein. The List of Entries at the front of each volume is the same in all volumes and enables the reader to quickly get an overview of the entries within the individual volumes, as well as for the five-volume set. Entries are arranged alphabetically, letter-by-letter within each volume.

Entry headwords use the most commonly found spelling or representation of that spelling, with other frequently used spellings in parentheses. The question of spelling, of course, is always a major issue when dealing with languages utilizing an alphabet or a script different than that used for English. Changes in orthography and the challenges of transliteration can produce several variants of a word. Where there are important variants in spelling, this encyclopedia presents as many as possible, but only within the entries themselves. For easy access to variant and alternate spelling, readers should consult the index at the end of each volume, which lists and cross-references the alternate spellings that appear in the text.

Each volume contains an index that has references to subjects in the specific volume, and the cumulative index at the end of Volume V provides easy access across the volumes. A cumulative glossary appears in each volume and provides additional assistance.

The entries serve to provide the reader with basic rather than exhaustive information regarding the subject at hand. To help those who wish to read further, each entry is linked with other entries in that volume via cross-references indicated by SMALL CAPITALS. In addition the majority of entries are followed by a **See also** section, which provides cross-references to relevant entries in the other four volumes. The reader may find it useful to begin with one of the general articles—such as the ones dealing with archaeology, dance, oral traditions, or women—or to start with an entry on a specific country or an historically important state and follow the cross-references to discover more detailed information. Readers should be aware that cross-references, both those embedded in the text and those in the **See also** section, use only entry headword spellings and not variant spellings. For those readers who wish to research a topic beyond the material provided in individual and cross-referenced entries, there is also a **Further reading** section at the end of many entries. Bibliographical references listed here guide readers to more in-depth resources in a particular area.

Finally, readers can consult the **Suggested Readings** in the back of each volume. These volume-specific bibliographies contain general studies—such as atlases, histories of the continent, and broad works on culture, society, and people—as well as specialized studies that typically cover specific topics or regions. For the most part, these two bibliographic aids contain those recently published works that are most likely to be available in libraries, especially well-stocked city and college libraries. Readers should also be aware that a growing number of sources are available online in the form of e-books and other formats. The World Wide Web is also a good place to look for current events and developments that have occurred since the publication of this encyclopedia.

LIST OF IMAGES AND MAPS IN THIS VOLUME

Photographs and Illustrations

Maps

INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

There is no era in Africa's history that exemplifies its greatness and grandeur more than the medieval, or middle, period, from roughly 500 to 1500 CE. This period is, on the one hand, replete with activity, from the ongoing great Bantu expansion—possibly the largest and most prolonged dispersal of peoples in human history—to the development of centralized states. It is also an era that saw the rise of many of Africa's most noteworthy kingdoms and empires. Some, like Great Zimbabwe, Ghana, and Mali, are well known. Others, however, are less familiar but equally fascinating. There is, for example, Mapungubwe, the kingdom that preceded Great Zimbabwe, which, well before the 12th century, grew into an urban center with a population of more than 10,000. There also is the Kongo kingdom of the 14th century, with its complex system of royal rule that lasted for almost 200 years, and the Wolof empire, which maintain a rigid, autocratic caste system and a military so powerful that, by the 16th century, it could assemble an army of 10,000 cavalry and more than 100,000 foot soldiers. Even more remarkable was the Songhai Empire, which by the 15th and 16th centuries became the most extensive empire in West Africa, controlling even the states that made up the once-dominant empires of Ghana and Mali. This was also the era that saw the emergence and flowering of the city-states of the Swahili coast. There were also less dramatic but equally important developments such as the expansion and consolidation of the Akan in the West African forest zone and the emergence of the Luba chiefdoms in south-central Africa. Such developments led to the emergence of significant new states after 1500.

This period is also of great interest because of the further links that were established with the world outside of Africa. It was during these years, for example, that Islam spread through much of Africa, creating a bond between the continent and realms as far away as Spain, Turkey, and Persia. It was also during this medieval period that the great trans-African trade routes developed, carrying African products to the world at large but also bringing to Africa goods from lands as far away as China.

The rise of these trade routes also caused the growth of the fabled cities of Gao, Timbuktu, and Kano, which contributed to the mystique that came to surround much of Africa. North-south trade and Indian Ocean trade brought gold, and ivory and other trade goods from Africa to markets along the Mediterranean Sea and across vast oceans.

While iron, salt, copper, and other, more prosaic items were the major trade goods within the continent prior to the end of the 15th century, the major item sought from outside the continent was gold. Gold from the West African interior was the foundation of the trans-Saharan trade routes, and gold from the region of today's Zimbabwe helped fuel Indian Ocean trade. Ultimately, the presence of gold in Africa was a magnet that drew European explorers and merchants to the continent, an event that would change Africa forever. The 14th century pilgrimage to Mecca by Mali's Mansa Musa I attracted the attention of people throughout the whole world. It has been estimated that Mansa Musa assembled between 24,000 and 30,000 pounds of gold dust for his hajj, during which he dispersed so much gold that he almost ruined the gold market in Cairo. Tales about the wealth of Mansa Musa I circulated around Europe for more than a century before Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal commissioned explorers to find a route to West Africa's coast. The quest for African gold clearly was one of the primary motives behind this Portuguese exploration. The sheer volume of the gold acquired in this effort is staggering, with estimates running to as much as one hundred and 43 tons between the years 1472 and 1696—and that is for Portugal alone!

Gold, of course, was not the only magnet that drew Europeans to Africa. Another one—and the one that scarred the continent, its people, and his history more than any other—was the traffic in human beings. The domestic slave trade in Africa was almost totally overshadowed by the gold trade during the middle period. And while a thorough discussion of slavery in Africa during the middle period is not feasible in this introduc-

tion, a few words are necessary to clear up some misconceptions. The vastness of Africa and the diversity of its peoples make it impossible to list all the various forms of bondage and servitude that existed. However, scholars of African culture have isolated a few universal factors, most of which differed significantly from the brutal form of slavery practiced in the Americas from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

In Africa, slaves traditionally were not chattel, or property, and they enjoyed certain rights. (Among the most important of these rights was the right not to be separated from their families.) In general, slaves had been captured in war, convicted of a serious crime, or had been found guilty of defying or violating traditional mores such as disrespecting the ancestors. As Basil Davidson, the eminent scholar of African history, has noted, the bondage that was traditionally found in African societies involved a kind of enforced service, often by men captured in war or even by certain lawbreakers—something far different from the "plantation slavery" that was put into practice in the Americas. There even were individuals held in a kind of debt bondage, bound for a specified period of time in order to settle an outstanding debt of some kind. As a result, as Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff have found, in many African societies, the distinction between enslaved and free individuals was so fluid that, in some cases, people considered to be "slaves" owned slaves themselves, while some individuals considered to be "free" were able to be bought or sold.

Unfortunately, European observers—and even scholars—often did not see or even ignored these complex levels of social stratification. As a result, they lumped all traditional African forms of bondage under the convenient term "slavery," a misstatement as severe as a commentator on European medieval or Renaissance history overlooking Europe's complex social strata of serfs, peons, vassals, helots, and villeins and simply calling all of these individuals "slaves." Also ignored (or at least not widely acknowledged) is the fact that, because slavery was, in various forms, practiced throughout the world during this period, there actually was a slave trade bringing European and Asian slaves into both North and West Africa at this time.

While the topic of slavery is crucial to this era—and is virtually inexhaustible—it is not the focus of this volume. Instead, we have tried to present the full scope of African history and culture during this period. And it is our hope that in doing so we can help readers understand and appreciate the grandeur of the continent, its people, and its history.

TIME LINE (400–1513)

400–1400	Ga-Dangme people inhabit south-eastern area of present-day Ghana
	Hutu begin to migrate into area occupied by the Twa, around Lake Kivu
450	Jenne-Jeno becomes a major settlement
c. 500	Taghaza, in central Sahara, becomes major point on gold and salt trade routes
500	Byzantine emperor Justinian takes control of northern Africa
500–1000	Bantu speakers displace indigenous Twa people in Rwanda. Migrations of Bantu-speaking peoples continues through much of central Africa
541	Christian era begins in Nubia
c. 600	Aksumites relocate to Amhara and Shoa, in present-day northern Ethiopia
	Takedda, in present-day Mali, becomes the major trading center in western Sudan
622	The prophet Muhammad flees from Mecca to Medina; the Hejira (Hijra) marks the start of the Muslim calendar
c. 650	Muslim Arabs invade northern Africa

c. 700	Soninke people found al-Ghaba, the twin city to Kumbi
c. 700	After much resistance, the Berber people of North Africa begin to accept Islam
	Kaniaga flourishes in the area of present-day Mali
c. 800	City of Zeila serves as a trading nexus between Aksum and Arabia
	Songhai people found the city of Gao
	Beja people begin to take control of Eritrea from Aksumites
c. 800–c. 1846	Sefuwa dynasty rules in Kanem and, later, Kanem-Bornu
850	Bornu is founded in the area of present-day Nigeria
	Ile-Ife is established in the south-western region of modern-day Nigeria
900–1100	Audaghost flourishes as the terminus of trans-Saharan trade route
900–1240	Ghana Empire flourishes
900–1300	City of Sijilmasa flourishes as a trading center in Morocco
c. 900–c. 1700	Tekrur kingdom flourishes in western Africa

915	The Indian Ocean city of Sofala, the oldest port in southern Africa, is founded
c. 916–1270	Zagwe dynasty rules in Ethiopia
950	Karanga people establish their kingdom in eastern Zimbabwe
969	Fatimids take power in Egypt
	Cairo is founded
970	Mosque of al-Azhar is built in Cairo
c. 1000	Akan peoples migrate toward the Guinea coast.
	Bagauda founds the Hausa state of Kano.
	Legendary founding of Old Oyo by Prince Oranmiyan
	Four trans-Saharan trade routes carry goods across Africa
	Kangaba established in western Sudan; it becomes the foundation of the Mali Empire
1000–1200	Hausa states are established.
	Mombasa founded by Arab merchants
	Mining of salt begins at Idjil in modern-day Mauritania.
c. 1050	Barmandana brings Islam to Mali
	Sanhaja Berbers found the Almoravid empire; by 1150 it controls the Maghrib and Muslim Spain
c. 1063	Tunka Manin rules in the Ghana Empire
c. 1075	Mapungubwe is founded in southern Africa
c. 1085–1097	Mai Umme converts Kanem-Bornu to Islam

c. 1100	Tuaregs found a seasonal camp at Timbuktu
c. 1100	Bamako, in Mali, becomes an important center of Islamic learning
	The city-state of Kilwa is founded along the Indian Ocean
1100–1200	Golden age of Gedi, a trading city in present-day Kenya, begins
c. 1119–1159	Zagwe emperor Lalibela oversees construction of rock churches in al-Roha (Adefa)
c. 1133	Tuaregs under Chief Akil rule Timbuktu
1147	The Berber Almohad empire, inspired by Ibn Tumart and led by al-Mumin, supplants the Almoravid Empire in the Maghrib and Spain
c. 1150–1270	Jenne is founded near Jenne-Jeno
	Kilwa becomes a major trading port on the East African coast
	Sumanguru establishes the Kaniaga kingdom
1200–1500	Tutsi people migrate, possibly from the upper Nile Valley, into Hutu lands in present-day Burundi and Rwanda
c. 1221–1259	Dibbalemi rules as *mai*, or king, of Kanem-Bornu in West Africa
1230	Sundiata comes to power in Mali
c. 1235–1250	Sundiata conquers Ghana Empire and founds Mali Empire
1235–1400	Mandinka empire of Mali flourishes
c. 1250	Great Zimbabwe is established in southern Africa; the Hill Complex and the Great Enclosure are built
1250–1800	Gabu kingdom flourishes in West Africa

1270	Yekuno Amlak overthrows the Zagwe dynasty in Ethiopia
1270–1700	Solomonic dynasty rules Ethiopia
1275–1400	Sabbatarians are in conflict with the state in Ethiopia
1285–1300	Mansa Sakura restores lost glory to Mali
c. 1300	Husuni Kubwa Palace is built in present-day Tanzania; it is the largest building in sub-Saharan Africa at the time
	Tanga is established by Persian merchants as a trading port linking the interior of East Africa with lands as far away as China
	Wolof people migrate into the area of present-day Senegal and Gambia and establish the Wolof Empire
	Timbuktu in Mali flourishes as a center of the trans-Saharan gold and salt trade and as a Muslim center of learning
1307–1337	Mansa Musa I reigns in Mali
	Kongo kingdom is formed
1314–1344	Emperor Amda Siyon expands Christian Ethiopia
1324	Emperor Mansa Musa I of Mali begins his hajj to Mecca
1341–1360	Mansa Sulayman rules during height of Mali Empire's political and economic power
1349–1385	Sarki Yaji becomes the first Muslim Hausa king
c. 1350–1400	Chwezi dynasty rules Kitara Complex in East Africa
	Buganda founded; it eventually becomes the most powerful kingdom in East Africa

c. 1400	Kanem-Bornu enters a period of decline
c. 1400	Akan begin to develop organized states along the Guinea coast
	Bonny becomes an important Atlantic coast trading center
c. 1400–1590	Songhai Empire flourishes in present-day eastern Mali and western Niger
	Jenne-Jeno is no longer a functioning city
	The mines at Taghaza in the Sahara near Morocco become the main source of salt in West Africa
1404, 1433	Chinese admiral Cheng-Ho voyages to Africa
1434	The first Portuguese explorers sail past Cape Bojador in West Africa and began to exploit the region, especially for African captives
1441	Portuguese begin to enslave black Africans
1443–1468	Tuaregs regain control of Timbuktu.
1448	Portuguese build the Arguin trading fort off the West African coast
1448–1450	Bornu becomes a major gold-producing state
c. 1450–1470	Mwene Mutapa state founded in southern Africa
1450–1600	Lunda kingdom established in Central Africa
1465	Sarki Muhammad Rumfa makes Islam the official religion of Kano
1468	Sunni Ali captures Timbuktu for the Songhai Empire
c. 1475–1490	Sunni Ali expands the Sonhghai Empire

1473–1480	Ewuare the Great rules in the kingdom of Benin
c. 1480	Portugese explorers land on the coast of the Kongo kingdom
c. 1490	The Changamire empire, later the most powerful Central African kingdom until its fall c. 1830, is established
	Ouagadougou becomes the capital of the Mossi states
	Nzinga Mbemba, ruler of the Kongo kingdom, converts to Christianity and takes the name of Afonso I
1497–1498	Vasco da Gama of Portugal sails around the Cape of Good Hope, at the southern tip of Africa, on his way to India

1500	Queen Eleni dominates Ethiopian political and religious affairs
	Luo-speaking Bito clan founds Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom in East Africa
1502	Vasco da Gama establishes Portuguese presence in Mozambique and Sofala
c. 1505	Portugese take over Kilwa, the preeminent East African trading city for more than 300 years
1513	Askia Muhammad Touré of Songhai captures all the Hausa States except Kano. Songhai Empire reaches its fullest territorial extent

A

Aba A branch of the IBIBIO people and the city in present-day NIGERIA named after them. The Ibibio are the ninth-largest ethnic minority in Nigeria, and the members of the Aba branch share similar customs with the IGBO, one of Nigeria's ethnic majorities. The Aba are an agrarian people, but they are also known for their mastery of woodcarving. Their villages are organized around paternal lineages and individual spirits. Councils, made up of the heads of each household, dominate village life.

The city of Aba is located on the Aba River and was once a market town for the IGBO people. Excavations have suggested that the Igbo had settled in the area as early as the ninth century and remained active traders until the arrival of European explorers toward the end of the 15th century.

Abba Libanos One of 11 monolithic churches built in the 13th century at the city of al-Roha (later called LALIBELA) in the highlands of northern ETHIOPIA. The churches are clustered into two groups and are connected by elaborate underground tunnels and mazes. Along with Amanu'el (House of Emmanuel), Marqorewos (House of Mercurios), and GABREL-RUFA'EL (House of Gabriel), Abba Libanos is encircled by a 36-foot (11-m) trench and is partially detached from the volcanic tuff that surrounds it. Its four walls are freestanding and its roof is connected to a rock cliff.

King LALIBELA (c. 1119–1159) of the ZAGWE DYNASTY, for whom the city of al-Roha was renamed, is credited with commissioning these churches, which remain an archaeological wonder to this day. Tradition claims that it took Lalibela 24 years to build the 11 churches, although most archaeologists agree that, on the basis of the immensity of the buildings and the meticulous nature of the workmanship, it had to have taken much longer.

According to legend, Maskal Kabra, Lalibela's queen, built the church as a monument to Lalibela, following his death. The legend states that she, with the help of angels, completed the church in only one night.

Abd Alla ibn Yasin (Abdallah ibn Yasin) (d. c. 1059) *Founder of Almoravid reform movement of Islam*

Abd Alla ibn Yasin, a Muslim scholar from the SANHAJA BERBERS of MOROCCO, was sent by a religious leader to bring ISLAM to the BERBERS of northern Africa. There he met resistance to his insistence on the strict observance of Islamic law, and around 1042 Yasin waged an unsuccessful attack on the Berbers. By about 1050, Abd Alla ibn Yasin retreated to a *ribat,* or "fortified place of seclusion," that lay to the south. Followers who learned of the *ribat* and followed him to it came to be known as *al-murabitin,* meaning "the people of the fortress," or more commonly, ALMORAVIDS. Gaining strength as time passed, the Almoravids invaded Morocco around 1056.

Considered extreme by the Juddala Berbers, Abd Alla ibn Yasin later united these and other groups under Islam by declaring a JIHAD, or holy war, against both the non-Muslim SONINKE of the GHANA EMPIRE and a group of Berber Muslims whom the Almoravids considered to be heretics. By the time he died, Abd Alla ibn Yasin had laid the groundwork for the Almoravid empire that eventually unified the MAGHRIB area under Islamic Berber rule.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Abd al-Mumin (Abd al-Mu'min Ibn 'Ali) (c. 1094–1163) *Berber caliph and warrior as well as one of the great Almohad leaders of North Africa*

In 1117 the young Abd al-Mumin heard the founder of the ALMOHAD movement, MUHAMMAD IBN TUMART (1080–1130), preach at Mellala. In keeping with Almohad doctrine, Tumart urged his followers to adhere to strict Islamic law and to profess their allegiance to the doctrine of the oneness of Allah. Al-Mumin was so taken with the Almohad faith that he joined Tumart on his journey to MARRAKECH. Al-Mumin continued to follow Tumart when, sometime later, Tumart declared himself the MAHDI (the divinely guided one) and asserted his opposition to the ALMORAVIDS. So loyal a follower was al-Mumin that he became Tumart's second in command after the death of Al-Bashir, Tumart's designated successor. Upon Tumart's death in 1130, al-Mumin became the Almohad leader and assumed the title of *caliph.*

As the new Mahdi, al-Mumin gathered an army and attacked the Almoravids and the Christian knights who served them. Al-Mumin's forces gradually extended the areas under Almohad control, winning a major victory, in 1145, near TLEMCEN, a town on the eastern edge of the Moroccan kingdom.

By 1147 al-Mumin had conquered Marrakech and killed the Almoravid citizens. Rather than abandon the city, which had become a symbol of Almoravid power and theology, al-Mumin destroyed its palaces and mosques so that he could transform the city into the capital and center of his new Berber empire.

For the next few years, al-Mumin continued conquests across North Africa, capturing the city of Constantine and its surrounding areas in 1151. Seven years later, al-Mumin conquered TUNISIA and Tripolitania. This made him one of the most powerful rulers in North Africa and brought Berber power in the Muslim world to its peak.

Al-Mumin restructured the governments of his conquests, replacing the traditional Berber clan system with a *makhzan* (central administration) modeled after similar Muslim governments in al-ANDALUS (southern Spain). To supplement government revenue, al-Mumin established a land registry. Until his death in 1163, al-Mumin used this income to rebuild mosques in his newly conquered cities. Abd al-Mumin was succeeded by his son, ABU YAQUB YUSUF.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II).

Abdullahi Burja (r. 1438–1452) *Ruler of the Hausa kingdom of Kano*

Abdullahi Burja ruled the Muslim kingdom of KANO, in what is now NIGERIA, and was known for establishing trade relations with BORNU, a KANURI kingdom south and west of Lake Chad. Kano had become a tributary state of Bornu during the reign of Abdullahi Burja's predecessor, Sarki DAUDA (1421–1438).

See also: HAUSA STATES (Vols. II, III); KANEM-BORNU (Vols. II, III, IV).

Abu al-Hasan Ali (Ali al-Hasan)   (1297–1351) *Sultan of Morocco*

Abu al-Hasan Ali became king of MOROCCO after the death of this father, Abu Said. As king, he led armies into battle in al-ANDALUS (present-day southern Spain) and ALGERIA, winning important victories at Algeciras and Gibraltar, in 1333, and at TLEMCEN, in 1337. Ultimately, however, he was forced to retreat from al-Andalus, at which time he turned his attention to TUNISIA, where he extended his control by marrying the daughter of an important Tunisian ruler, ABU BAKR (r. 1274–1285). Abu al-Hasan managed to take more lands in Tunisia, including the city of TUNIS in 1347. But he soon suffered a major defeat at Kairouan at the hands of Tunisian forces. After this, Abu al-Hasan returned to Algeria, trying to maintain his rule. In 1351, however, he was forced to abdicate the throne in favor of his son, Abu Inan, and died soon thereafter.

See also: MARINIDS (Vol. II).

Further reading: Maya Shatzmiller, *The Berbers and the Islamic State: The Marinid Experience in pre-Protectorate Morocco* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2000).

Abu Bakr   (r. 1274–1285) *Grandson of Sundiata and ruler of the Mali Empire*

The great ruler of the MALI EMPIRE, SUNDIATA (r. c. 1235–1255) was succeeded by his son, Mansa Uli, who died in 1270. A dynastic struggle ensued, with the primary candidates for the throne being Sundiata's sons Mansas WATI and KARIFA, and his grandson, Abu Bakr. Eventually, both Wali and Karifa came to the throne, but neither proved to be either an effective or a long-term ruler. Ultimately, Abu Bakr assumed power, ruling until the throne was seized by SAKURA (r. c. 1285–1300). One of Sundiata's generals, Sakura went on to restore the empire to its former strength and prosperity.

Abu Salih (I) (eighth century) *Turkish-born governor of Egypt*

Appointed governor of EGYPT during the Abbasid period of Muslim rulers (c. 750–945), Abu Salih reported back to the caliphate in Baghdad. While the Abbassid caliphs turned their attention to the east and incorporated many non-Arab elements into the Islamic empire, Abu Salih and other Abbassid governors of Egypt set about emphasizing both law and order and

commercial and intellectual progress. Individual freedoms were restricted by new laws dictating ways of living, behaving, and dressing. (Doors were left open, for example, since people caught stealing were summarily executed.) At the same time, the Egyptian rulers of the Abbassid period, like those elsewhere, encouraged the study of MEDICINE, mathematics, and astronomy. Eventually, however, the introduction of non-Arab and even non-Muslim elements into the empire's armies led to a general weakening of the authority of the caliphate. In Egypt, this led to the rise of the MAMLUKS, who eventually seized power.

Abu Salih (II) (Abu el Marakim) (13th century)
Armenian author and historian

Although he was not a firsthand witness to the events he recorded, Abu Salih used existing documents to compile one of the few comprehensive texts of early North Africa history. His writings on Nubia, ETHIOPIA, and the ZAGWE DYNASTY provided the foundation for much of our present-day understanding of these regions.

Abu Yaqub Yusuf (Yusuf I) (r. 1163–1184) *Berber caliph of the Almohad dynasty and son of Almohad founder Abd al-Mumin*

In 1147 the ALMOHADS, who held a belief in the unity of God, succeeded the ALMORAVID dynasty, which controlled most of the MAGHRIB (northwestern Africa) and al-ANDALUS (southern Spain). Yusuf was appointed governor of al-Andalus in 1156 and succeeded his father, ABD AL-MUMIN (c. 1094–1163) as the Almohad caliph in 1163. By 1172 he had crushed the few Almoravid strongholds in al-Andalus that had managed to survive al-Mumin's reign. The Almohad conquest of the rest of Muslim Spain soon followed.

Intellectual activities thrived under Yusuf's leadership, and he supported the study of ART and SCIENCE. The renowned Muslim philosopher Ibn Tufail (d. 1185) introduced Yusuf to his student Averroës (Ibn Rushd) (1126–1198). So impressed was Yusuf with Averroës, that he elected him chief judge and physician. With Yusuf's help Averroës completed his celebrated commentaries on Aristotle (384–322 BCE).

Despite Yusuf's military achievements, he often had to deal with the opposition of MASMUDA chiefs, who resented the fact that al-Mumin had selected his son instead of their choice, Abu Hafs Umar (d. c. 1175), to be the next caliph. Yusuf's son, Abu Yusuf YAQUB AL-MANSUR (c. 1160–1199) led the caliphate upon his father's death in 1184.

See also: BERBERS (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Accra West African coastal city located on the Gulf of Guinea. As early as the 13th century, GA-DANGME people settled in the region after traveling down the VOLTA RIVER. Sitting on a high plateau rising approximately 40 feet (12 m) above sea level, Accra became a major settlement during the 15th century. In the 1480s, Portuguese merchants arrived in the area and began trading with its Ga-Dangme inhabitants. Accra has since become the largest city and capital of the present-day country of GHANA.

See also: ACCRA (Vols. III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Acholi (Shuli, Gang, Acoli) People of UGANDA and the region named after them; the Acholi also occupied parts of the modern-day Republic of the SUDAN. Located on a plateau, Acholi comprises nearly 11,000 square miles (28,490 sq km) of lightly wooded grasslands. The numerous rivers that divide the grasslands provide essential water in an otherwise dry climate. The Acholi peoples speak a language from the Nilo-Saharan family.

Information about the Acholi people prior to the 17th century is sparse. Their ancestors may have arrived as early as the 11th century, when the area's historically wet climate became dry enough to support AGRICULTURE. Riverbanks were natural settlement sites because they offered fish, rich farmland, a variety of native trees, and protection from invaders. The early Acholi may have faced devastating periods of famine because of the inconsistent rainfall in the area. Their region receives most of its rain from April to October, followed by a harsh dry season.

The ancestors of the modern Acholi were a mix of central Sudanic, eastern Nilotic, and western Nilotic LUO peoples. Each group retained its own language and established separate communities throughout the Acholi region. Evidence of early farming throughout eastern and central Sudan indicates that the central Sudanic speakers, some of the earliest of eastern farmers, probably settled in Acholi around the second or first century BCE. Eastern Nilotic speakers migrated to Acholi between 1000 and 1600, pushing the central Sudanic people further west. A limited number of Luo-speaking people probably arrived in Acholi in the early 15th century, settling on the outskirts of the region. These three groups of people settled into small communities throughout Acholi. While these peoples were politically and geographically independent of one another, the communities shared many economic and social practices. Collectively they became known as

the Acholi. Early Acholi settlers were farmers, growing millet, sesame, sorghum, bulrush millet, and vegetables.

The crops cultivated by the early Acholi, particularly eleusine millet (used for FOOD and for making beer), are still staples for the many Acholi who live in the region today.

The Acholi relied on two types of IRON hoes to work the land—a straight stake and an angled stick. The central Sudanic speakers, who were known as early ironworkers, probably introduced iron tools to the region. Without these implements farming the savanna would have been nearly impossible for the early Acholi. Cultivation required intensive LABOR, and Acholi men did most of the farming in small groups that worked large plots of land. The men would also do the fishing and hunting, relying on local wild game. Women gathered firewood, picked wild fruits and vegetables, prepared food, made beer, and cared for the children.

Early Acholi villages were small, lineage-based communities dominated by the senior paternal male. However, marriages were always conducted outside the lineage. Dowries given to the bride's family reinforced the paternal structure of the village. Evidence suggests that the Acholi had no formal political structure until the 17th century, when chiefdoms were introduced.

See also: LINEAGE (Vol. I); NILO-SAHARAN LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

Further reading: Ronald R. Atkinson, *The Roots of Ethnicity: The Origins of the Acholi of Uganda before 1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

Adal Eastern lowlands of ETHIOPIA bordered by Shoa, ZEILA, the Awash Basin, and Ifat, on the Harer Plateau. Recognized as an important trade center, the region was originally populated by agriculturists and nomadic cattle herders. Later, during the second millennium, it grew into a defined state inhabited by Muslim traders who controlled the trade routes leading from the port of Zeila to Ethiopia's central regions. By the early 14th century it had become an independent kingdom led by members of the Walashma dynasty who had rebelled against the leaders of HARER.

Ethiopian rulers had never been able to resurrect the level of trade experienced during the rule of AKSUM. It appears, however, that resumption of trade was a critical task for successive generations of Solomonic rulers aligned with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Their lack of success has been attributed to their decision to exercise indirect con-

trol rather than permanent occupation of rebellious Muslim-held territories. Therefore, the Walashma, the founding members of an Islamic dynasty created in the 12th to 13th centuries, continued to grow, moving from DAMOT to Shoa, then to Ifat, and ultimately to Adal. This resulted in a succession of raids, and border skirmishes that lasted from the 14th to 16th centuries.

By the 15th century Adal leadership had won many religious converts, which led to the establishment of a standing army made up of both SOMALI soldiers and AFAR cavalrymen. Under the leadership of Ahmad GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543), whose militant strategies were sanctioned by his belief in ISLAM, these troops engaged in battles with the forces of the Christian Ethiopian Empire. These conflicts lasted until 1445, when the Muslim army was routed by Ethiopia's noted emperor and military leader ZARA YAKOB (r. 1434–1468). Despite Zara Yakob's pursuing Adal forces as far as the Awash River, Adal continued to cause problems for Ethiopia for several more decades. During the reign of the Baeda Maryam (r. 1468–1478), for example, two of that Ethiopian leader's trusted generals were reportedly killed in Adal when they attempted to discourage a planned attack against Christian regions.

The matter was left unresolved by Maryam's death, and rulers of Adal attempted to create a new capital city near Dakar in the Ethiopian Lowlands. An ill-advised raid by Ethiopian emperor Eskender (r. 1478–1494), the son and royal heir of Baeda Maryam, led to the destruction of this capital city in 1478. A counter raid led by Sultan Shams al-Din ibn Muhammad (r. 1472–1487) immediately followed, resulting in the death or imprisonment of most of Eskender's army. Chronicles written about the young emperor's miraculous escape credited holy intervention and led to his building a church known as Debra Meshwa'e to commemorate the sacrifice of his men.

See also: ADAL (Vol. III); ADEN, GULF OF (Vol. II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands* (Lawrenceville N.J.: The Red Sea Press, 1997); Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2002).

Adefa See LALIBELA, TOWN OF.

Aden, Gulf of Body of water located between the Arabian coast and the Horn of Africa. The coastal region of the Gulf of Aden is known to be one of the earliest areas of Arab settlement in northeastern Africa. Even though the coastal peoples continued to follow their traditional religions into the 10th century, ISLAM probably was established in the gulf region as early as the eighth century. Little is known about the African peoples who migrated to the coast of the Gulf of Aden before Arab settlement oc-

curred, but it is thought that they spoke various dialects of the Eastern Cushitic languages. They may have been ancestors of the SOMALI peoples.

The most important port city on the Gulf of Aden was ZEILA (modern Saylac), located in the far northwestern area of present-day SOMALIA. By the ninth century Zeila had become an important Arab community for trade between ETHIOPIA and Arabia. CARAVAN ROUTES linked Zeila with the Ethiopian kingdoms of the region, including Shoa and Amhara. Traders exchanged IVORY, hides, incense, and captives from Ethiopia and its trading partners in the interior for metal products and CLOTH AND TEXTILES from the Arabian Peninsula.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV); ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

Adulis (modern Zula)

Important port city of the kingdom of AKSUM. The Aksumite kingdom reached the height of its influence from the fourth to the sixth centuries, but Adulis remained an important trade center well into the eighth century. Strategically located in the northeastern region of the Ethiopian Highlands, Adulis became the center of a network of trade routes emerging from the interior regions of the continent.

The fertile land in Adulis and the surrounding Aksumite kingdom was well suited for an agrarian ECONOMY. Its location, agricultural success, and diverse population that included Semitic immigrants from southern Arabia enabled the kingdom to grow rapidly after it was founded in the first century CE. A complex social system soon emerged that centered on a monarchy supported by three classes of citizens: the elite, the middle class, and the peasant class.

As a result of the thriving commercial activity in trading centers like Adulis, Aksum became the first African kingdom to mint coins of GOLD, silver, and COPPER.

Adulis's trade contacts extended from Rome to southern Arabia, and into SOMALI territory, Meroë, and India. IVORY, gold, emeralds, hippopotamus teeth, rhinoceros horn, animal hides, tortoiseshell, obsidian, and live animals were the chief exports. Imported goods consisted of metal, glass, and ceramic wares, cloth, wine, sugar cane, vegetable oils, and spices. The trade in human captives also played a significant part in Adulis's prosperity, with captives arriving from the Nile Valley, Mediterranean countries, the Horn of Africa, and the East African coast. Put up for sale in a carefully supervised market, the captives were shipped across the Red Sea to the Arabian Peninsula. Late in the sixth century the military activities of Sassinian Persians disrupted Adulis's RED SEA TRADE, leading to a decline of Aksumite influence and, therefore, Adulis's trading influence.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); ERITREA (Vol. II).

Afar (Denkel, Danakil, Adalis)

Ethnic group primarily inhabiting the arid coast and hinterland of the eastern Danakil province in ETHIOPIA, as well as most of ERITREA; also the language these people speak. The Afar have been described as sedentary pastoralists, and their history dates back to the prehistoric era. Their early settlements were established in close proximity to the region's limited sources of water. Over time, as their numbers increased from small, segmented groups to chiefdoms, diminishing water supplies led the Afar to repeatedly clash with neighboring SOMALI clans.

For much of the history of Ethiopia, the Afar remained beyond the sphere of Christian culture and influence. This was due to the independence they attained as suppliers of rock salt shaped into bars. Known as *amoles,* these rock salt bars were so valuable a commodity that they were often used as currency and in exchange for GOLD. Another important factor in the Afar's independence was their geographical distance from Ethiopia's seat of government.

The Afar eventually became embroiled in Christian-Muslim conflicts during the 14th century. At that time large segments of the population were organized under the central rule of Islamic sultans based in ADAL. Some Afar men, however, became a crucial part of the cavalry recruited by the Christian Ethiopian emperor AMDA SIYON (r. 1314–1344). In 1329 a Muslim-led combined army of Afar and Somali troops launched three successive assaults on Amda Siyon's forces, all of which failed. The Afar-Somali troops subsequently retreated to their region, where they were pursued and eventually conquered by Amda Siyon and his army.

See also: AFAR (Vols. I, III); SALT TRADE (Vol. II).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

Agaw (Agau, Agew)

An early Cushitic-speaking people who lived in parts of present-day ETHIOPIA and ERITREA. As the original inhabitants of the region, the Agaw are considered the ancestors of modern Ethiopians, along with the Amhara and Tigray. Their language, also called Agaw, contributed to the development of the AMHARIC language. Historically the Agaw were a distinct group of people living in the Amhara, Gojjam, and Shoa regions. After centuries of intermarrying with local people, the true Agaw largely disappeared (although a small group

still lives in Ethiopia today). Groups that trace their heritage to the Agaw people include the Aweya, Kemant, Kayla, Quarra, Kamta, Kharmir, and Bogos.

Historically the Agaw were small-scale agriculturalists who had little political influence over ancient Ethiopia until the early 12th century. Previously, the ancient Ethiopian kingdom of AKSUM had dominated RED SEA TRADE, but by the early ninth century the Aksumites, pressured by BEJA conquests from the north, were forced to migrate south into Agaw territory. These Orthodox Christians subdued the Agaw people, established military settlements, and implemented a feudal social order.

The Agaw were slow to integrate with the Aksumites, rebelling against Aksum during the 10th and 11th centuries. Aksum eventually quelled the Agaw insurgence, but its monarchy emerged from the conflict weakened. The waning of Aksumite power and the integration of the Agaw into the greater Ethiopian state continued. Between the 11th and 12th centuries the Agaw gained control of the Ethiopian royal line. Around 1137 Agaw monarchs known as the ZAGWE DYNASTY established a new Ethiopian capital at al-Roha (or Adefa), later known as the town of LALIBELA.

With a decline in Red Sea trade, Ethiopia became isolated from coastal ARABS as well as from inland trading groups. Ties with Egyptians, to the north, also were mostly severed. The Agaw did maintain ties with the Egyptian Church, though. Following the death of LALIBELA (r. c. 1119–1159), considered the greatest of the Agaw rulers, the Zagwe dynasty faced a period of gradual decline. Lalibela's nephew, Na'akuto Le'ab (r. c. 1159–1207), had to abdicate the throne when Lalibela's descendant, YITBAREK (r. c. 1207–1247), defeated him. This shift in power weakened the Zagwe dynasty, as did regional opposition from Tigray, Amhara, and Shoa; opposition within the Christian church caused further turmoil. In 1270 the Agaw were overthrown by YEKUNO AMLAK (r. c. 1270–1285), a claimant to the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY of Ethiopian rulers.

According to one legend, Yekuno Amlak murdered Yitbarek in a church in which Yitbarek sought refuge. Yekuno Amlak then proclaimed himself the emperor of Ethiopia, and, as a descendant of Solomon, the restorer of the "rightful" Solomonic rule. The Solomonic dynasty maintained the throne from 1270 until the country became a republic in 1974.

See also: AGAW (Vol. I); AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV); GOJJAM (Vol. III); SHOA (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994).

Agbor IGBO settlement located in southeastern NIGERIA. Little is known about the history of Agbor, although it is thought that its earliest inhabitants may have come from EDO territory to the west and settled in the region between 4,000 and 5,000 years ago. By the end of the 13th century Agbor was a collection of about 20 clans that were led by a chief and subsisted mostly through AGRICULTURE. By the beginning of the 16th century Agbor was part of a complex, MARKETPLACE economy that traded handicrafts, cloth, and beads with other Igbo villages.

See also: AGBOR (Vol. I).

Age of Discovery Period during which European nations launched expeditions in search of riches and territories beyond their immediate boundaries in continental Europe. During the 15th and 16th centuries, many European nations, beginning with Portugal, took part in these voyages, some of which were aimed at securing trade routes to the riches of either the Far East or Africa and some of which sought to explore the newly found lands of the Americas.

The initial phases of the Age of Discovery were fueled by the lucrative trade, in spices and other goods, that had developed between Europe and the Far East during the Renaissance. For many years this trade was dominated by such powerful, seagoing Italian city-states as Venice and Genoa. By the early years of the 15th century, however, other nations, most notably Portugal, began to look for ways to share in the riches offered by this trade. Also providing motivation to the Portuguese was their military victory at Ceuta, in MOROCCO, which by 1414 had made Portugal's leaders aware of the profits to be made in African trade. As a result the Portuguese, under the leadership of Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR (1394–1460), initiated a number of important voyages that greatly extended European knowledge of the world at large.

Early Portuguese Voyages of Discovery

1433 Gil Eannes sails around Cape Bojador, the "point of no return" for many early sailors.

1435 Gil Eannes finds evidence of human habitation in an area located 50 leagues (150 miles/241 km) south of Cape Bojador.

1436 Portuguese reach Río de Oro.

1441 Portuguese reach Cape Blanco, bringing two indigenous Africans back to Europe.

1445 Dinis Dias sails around Cape Verde.

Portuguese Exploration, 1434–1498

PORTUGAL
Valencia
Lisbon

Mediterranean Sea

Alexandria • • Cairo

Cape Bojador
(1434)

Cape Blanco
(1441)

Suakin

Aden
(1488)

Senegal R.

Timbuktu • **SONGHAI**
Gao •

Zeila
(1492, 1493)

Gambia R.

MALI

Niger R.

Yoruba
Ife • *Igbo*
Benue R.

Elmina
(1471)

Mogadishu •

Atlantic
Ocean

Cape
Palmas

Malindi •
Mombasa • ~ Zanzibar I.

KONGO

Kilwa •

Major Voyages:

◀—·—··—·· Gil Eanes 1434
◀——— Antão Conçalves 1441
◁════ Nuño Tristão 1441, 1443
◀—— Dinis Dias 1445–46
◀········ Alvise Ca' da Mosto 1455–56
◀··—··—·· Diogo de Azambuja 1471, 1482
◀—— Diego Cão 1482–84
◀—·—·—· Pêro da Covilhã 1487–92
    (approximate dates)
◀········ Bartolomeu Dias 1487–88
◀—— Vasco da Gama 1497–98
    (first voyage)

Angra Pequeña   Portuguese name
(Lüderitz Bay)   Modern name

Benguela
(1484)

Congo R.

Mozambique
(1498)

Quelimane •

Sofala
(1490)

Angra Pequeña
(Lüderitz Bay)

Indian Ocean

N

(St. Helena Bay)

0		800 Miles
0		800 Kms

(Cape of Good Hope)
(1488)

These Portuguese explorations began as relatively short voyages that grew in size and scope until they ultimately disproved most of the misconceptions Europeans had about everything from the distance to the Far East to the supposedly boiling temperature of the sea to the south. By 1418 the Portuguese had established forts, in-cluding the well-known Elmina, along the African coast, and by the 1440s they had initiated what became the trade in African captives.

These voyages continued after the death of Prince Henry and culminated in 1484 with the expedition of Bartolomeu Dias (d. c. 1500) expedition around the CAPE

OF GOOD HOPE and the successful round-trip journey of Vasco da GAMA (c. 1460–1524) to Calcutta, India. These 15th century voyages set the stage for the more extensive Portuguese explorations and settlements that followed in the next century.

For many years, European sailors were faced with a major obstacle to any long-range journeys. Their ships, which were equipped with square sails, performed well in fair weather. They sailed poorly, however, in bad weather and northward winds—precisely the kind of weather they would encounter when traveling back to Europe from a long voyage to the Far East.

The Portuguese eventually solved the problem with a new type of ship, called the caravel, created especially for these long-distance voyages. Small in size and light in weight, the caravel was fast. It also had three masts, each carrying a triangular, or lateen, sail. These sails, although not as effective in fair weather, were ideal for the winds and conditions that prevailed on the voyages home to Europe. So, by sacrificing some speed on the outbound journey, the caravels made it possible for Portuguese sailors to return home safely.

Although Spanish leaders were committed to their efforts to drive the last remnants of Moorish power from their country, they too saw the value in seeking direct trade routes to the East. Unable to afford the more extensive explorations of the Portuguese, however, in 1492, Spain ultimately dispatched Christopher Columbus in quest of a shorter, western route to the Far East. Columbus did not find that route, but he did open the way to the Americas. With Columbus's voyages Spain joined in the hunt for new routes and new lands to exploit, and by the early 16th century the English, French, and Dutch followed suit.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SHIPBUILDING (Vol. II); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Carl Hanson, *Atlantic Emporium: Portugal and the Wider World, 1147–1497* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2001).

agriculture Farming was the primary economic activity of most African peoples during the sixth through 15th centuries. Crops were principally grown for FOOD, and they were primarily the crops that had developed in Africa, such as sorghum, millet, cowpeas, teff, *enset,*

rice, and yams. In North Africa, on the other hand, farmers grew crops that included wheat, barley, and olives, all of which originated outside the continent but that had all become well established long before the fifth century. These crops remain widely cultivated today. In addition Africans grew crops such as COTTON and flax, which were cultivated for their fibers for use in the production of CLOTH AND TEXTILES. Raising livestock also was an important part of agriculture. DOMESTICATED ANIMALS included cattle, sheep, goats, camels, and fowl, again depending on the region of the continent. Agricultural patterns varied. Some people engaged almost exclusively in growing crops, and some were strictly herders. Other engaged in both growing crops and raising livestock.

The BANANA, an important new crop to Africa that originated in Southeast Asia, made its appearance on the continent during the second half of the first millennium and quickly spread across the tropical regions. In some areas it even replaced yams as the staple food, while in other areas it enabled farming to become established for the first time. Another important development was the further spread of agriculture in sub-equatorial Africa in connection with the BANTU EXPANSION. To a considerable extent this was a filling-in process and an expansion of nodules of agriculture that had been established by the fifth century. Overall, the history of agriculture in the 1000 years from the sixth through 15th centuries was largely one of already-established agricultural patterns and practices.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, III, IV, V); FARMING TECHNIQUES (Vol. I); MILLET (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV); SORGHUM (Vol. I).

Aïr Massif Mountain range located in present-day NIGER, long associated with the Tuareg ethnic group. With its tallest peak reaching 6,628 feet (2,020 m), the mountains of the Aïr Massif rise up in central Niger and stretch northwest toward present-day ALGERIA.

The French word *massif* translates as "massive" or "solid."

The mountains, oases, valleys (known as *koris*), and surrounding areas that make up the Aïr Massif region have been inhabited mostly by the pastoral Tuareg peoples from about the 14th century onwards. With their original kingdom of TAKEDDA located to the west of Aïr, the TUAREGS dominated the region by controlling the local TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES and COPPER MINES. The

copper trade was an especially lucrative business during this time, as copper was a common medium of exchange used throughout western Africa.

During the 15th century the Tuaregs conquered the trading city of Agades, located on the southern end of the Aïr Massif, and made the city the seat of their new kingdom. From Agades the Tuaregs held sway over CARAVAN ROUTES, along which commodities such as salt and GOLD were traded.

In 1496 the SONGHAI leader Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1528) displaced Tuaregs living around a large Aïr oasis and established a Songhai settlement. Even though the Songhai Empire later conquered regions around the Aïr Massif, including the city of Agades, Tuaregs continued to lay claim to the mountainous region and still remain in the area to the present day.

See also: AGADES (Vol. III); AÏR MASSIF (Vol. III).

Aja (Adja) Subgroup of the EWE group that established several powerful kingdoms, including DAHOMEY. Known for their expert ironwork, the Aja also engaged extensively in trade with the HAUSA STATES and the SONGHAI of the Niger River valley.

See also: AJA (Vol. III).

Akan People, region, and language of West Africa. The Akan speak numerous Akan languages, all of which belong to the Niger-Congo language family. The early Akan were agriculturalists. They lived in villages dominated by matrilineal clans headed by a senior male. The members of each clan traced their lineage to a common female ancestor. The head of each clan was responsible for maintaining peace in his clan and for connecting the earthly realm to the spiritual world. The early ancestors of the Akan migrated to the Guinea Coast over a period of several hundred years, beginning about the 11th century.

> Oral tradition says that the progenitors of the Akan were called the Nta (or Ntafo). These ancestors probably came from the north, but the various subgroups of the Akan do not agree on the exact location. Some groups, like the Akan residents of the present-day city of Hani, have origin myths that say that their descendants fell from heaven or emerged from a crack in the earth near Asantemansano.

Why the Akan came to the Guinea Coast is largely unknown. Most groups believe that they were forced to leave their homeland after an invasion, possibly by FU-LANI pastoralists. Others speculate that the Akan may have originally lived on the outskirts of the GHANA EMPIRE but left in the 11th century, when ISLAM spread through the region. A refusal to accept the new religion would have reduced the social position of the Akan in the region.

The majority of the early Akan peoples probably migrated in three phases. The first wave consisted of the Guan, followed by ancestors of the FANTE, and then by Twi-speaking people. The early Akan states founded by these peoples were established by the end of the 15th century. Akan traders established routes between neighboring villages and eventually formed a conglomerate of powerful states. Their kings pushed the Akan to the forefront of the GOLD trade. Indeed, when Europeans landed on the Guinea coast in the 15th century, the Akan were already established as successful traders.

Traditional Akan religion was centered on the worship of one god, Onyame, who created the earth and heavens, but each lineage also recognized lesser gods and ancestral spirits.

See also: AKAN (Vols. I, III, IV); AKAN GOLD WEIGHTS (Vol. I); *AKOFENA* (Vol. II); ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); BANDA (Vols. II, III); BONO (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: Ivor Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1993).

Akil, Chief (r. 1433–1468) *Tuareg ruler of Timbuktu*

The TUAREGS, descendants of the BERBERS, lived in the region between the trading city of WALATA and the Niger Bend, in the western SUDAN. They founded TIMBUKTU as a seasonal camp in the early 12th century.

> According to tradition, Timbuktu was named after an old woman who looked after the camp while the Tuaregs were traveling in the Sahara. Her name was Tomboutou, Timbuktu, or Buctoo, meaning "mother with a large navel."

During the 14th century, Timbuktu fell under the control of the MALI EMPIRE, and it soon became an important nexus for the trans-Saharan GOLD and SALT TRADES. As part of the Mali Empire, it also became an important center for Muslim learning and culture. In 1433, however, the city was recaptured by the Tuaregs under Chief Akil. Although Akil ruled Timbuktu from the desert, rather than from within the city itself, his conquest cost the Mali Empire control over important

TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES and helped contribute to the empire's eventual decline.

According to tradition, toward the end of the 15th century, Muslims of Timbuktu asked their SONGHAI neighbors for assistance in overthrowing Akil. With the assistance of Timbuktu's Muslims, the Songhai army, led by Sunni ALI (r. c. 1464–1492) conquered the city without a struggle, taking control of it in 1468. To the dismay of Timbuktu's residents, however, Sunni Ali proved to be an even more ruthless and oppressive ruler than Chief Akil, and one they were unable to so easily overthrow.

akofena A short sword used by AKAN people during ritual and political ceremonies. The Akan began to develop organized states along the GUINEA coast as early as 1400, and the *akofena* became the symbol associated with state authority.

The *akofena* was used in the oath-taking ceremonies of Akan kings and their subjects as well as on diplomatic missions. The purpose of the mission was designated by a symbol emblazoned on the knife's sheath. The *akofena* appears often as a symbol in Akan culture. Represented by a pair of crossed swords, it signifies state authority and the legitimacy of a ruler.

Aksum Kingdom and capital city in ancient ETHIOPIA that dominated RED SEA TRADE from the third to seventh centuries. The Aksumite kingdom reached the height of its power in the middle of the fourth century, under King Ezana (r. c. 320–350 CE). Ezana is remembered as the first Aksumite king to be converted to CHRISTIANITY. He later declared Christianity the official RELIGION of Aksum, in part to solidify relations with Constantine, the Christian emperor of Rome, who controlled trade throughout the Hellenic Empire. Several centuries after Ezana, Aksum aligned itself with the Egyptian Christian Church, but this alliance did not spare the kingdom from a decline in power that began when the Roman Empire began to crumble in the fifth century.

In the seventh century Muslim conquests of EGYPT and North Africa cut off Aksum from its trading partners. When the important trade center of ADULIS fell, the Aksumites were forced to abandon their trading lifestyle. Pressured by BEJA attacks from the north, they migrated south and settled in the Amhara and Shoa regions. There they met resistance from the AGAW, Cushitic-speaking people present in Africa from ancient times. The Aksumites gradually lost their power, and the Agaw became the new rulers of Ethiopia, probably as early as the 10th century, initiating the ZAGWE DYNASTY.

See also: AKSUM (Vol. I).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Akure Major YORUBA city in what is now NIGERIA. Although several versions exist, the most common account of Akure's early history traces its origins to ILE-IFE, a city probably founded during the 11th century (although perhaps as early as the ninth century). According to traditional sources the first Ife king, Asodeboyede, was given the title of *ajapada*, and it was under Asodeboyede's descendants that Akure was established. During a journey to the kingdom of BENIN, the seventh *ajapada,* Owa Atakunmasa, stopped in Akure and fathered a child. This boy, Ogunja, became the first ruler of Akure. Upon taking the throne, Ogunja was renamed Deji, which became the honorary title taken by all subsequent Akure kings.

Akure soon developed into the primary center for Benin trade. IRON casting, particularly of weaponry and tools, was an important aspect of Akure life. An annual festival in honor of Ogun, the iron god, is still held in the city today. Aside from trade, AGRICULTURE was an important means of subsistence for the people, and products included yams, cassava, corn, bananas, palm oil, okra, and pumpkins.

See also: OGUN (Vol. I).

Akyem AKAN people who are concentrated along the Guinea Coast, particularly in present-day GHANA and TOGO. The Akyem speak Twi, a language of the Niger-Congo family. The Abuakwa, Bosume, and Kotoku peoples are all members of the Akyem group. With their Akan relatives, the Akyem migrated to their present location beginning in the 11th century. By the 15th century they had established several cohesive, powerful states that thrived on AGRICULTURE and trade.

> **Akyem elders were elected to village councils and served as custodians of the sacred lineage stools. These stools were an important part of Akyem society, representing a symbolic link between the human and spiritual realms.**

Akyem social order was established by hierarchical clans that were organized into compact villages ruled by a chief. The importance of clan ties was underscored by the traditional religious beliefs of the Akyem, which centered on ancestor worship.

See also: AKYEM (Vol. III); ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); CLAN (Vol. I); LINEAGE (Vol. I); STOOL, ROYAL (Vol. II).

alafin Traditional YORUBA title of the ruler of the OYO KINGDOM. According to Yoruba mythology, the first *alafin*

was Oranmiyan, who supposedly was the grandson of Oyo's founder, ODUDUWA. Traditionally, the *alafin* was selected with the assistance of *obas* (chiefs) and the OYO *MESI*, or ruling council.

The *alafin*'s power, though great, was not absolute, and he could be deposed by the people. The exact mechanism for this is unclear, with some traditions stating that an *alafin* was informed of his fate by the delivery of an empty calabash or parrot's eggs, and others claiming that the prime minister, or *basorum*, of the Oyo *mesi* informed the deposed *alafin* with the words, "The gods reject you, the people reject you, the earth rejects you." At this point, the rejected leader was obliged to commit suicide.

The mechanism for succession to the throne is equally unclear. According to some traditions, when an *alafin* died, his eldest son, known as the *aremo*, was obliged to commit suicide. The Oyo *mesi* then chose a new *alafin* from a group of royal candidates. Other traditions assert that it was a member of the Oyo mesi, not the king's son, who committed suicide as a way to encourage the Oyo mesi to hesitate before making a decision.

See also: OYO EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Algeria Country in North Africa about 919,600 square miles (2,381,800 sq km) in size, bordering the MEDITER-RANEAN SEA to the north, the present-day countries of NIGER and the Republic of MALI to the south, MAURITANIA and WESTERN SAHARA to the west, TUNISIA and LIBYA to the east, and MOROCCO to the northwest. Over the course of its long and storied history, Algeria has fallen under the rule of various peoples, from the Phoenicians to the Romans to the ARABS.

From around the first century BCE to the fifth century CE, Algeria was controlled by the Roman Empire. With the decline of Rome, though, Algeria fell into the hands of the Vandals, a Germanic people. They, in turn, were overthrown in the sixth century by the Byzantine emperor Justinian (r. 527–565), who sought to restore the Roman Empire to its past glory. Justinian's dreams of a restored and revitalized Roman Empire, however, foundered not long after the establishment of ISLAM, as Muslim ARABS conquered Algeria in the seventh century. The Arabs had a profound influence on Algeria and its native BERBERS, many of whom married Arabs. Many Berbers also adopted Islam as their RELIGION and ARABIC as their language.

Some Berbers, like Queen DAHIA AL-KAHINA (d. c. 705), a high priestess of the Jawara Berber confederation, tried to resist the Arab invasion. But such efforts proved largely unsuccessful, and Algeria soon became an Arab-ruled province of the UMAYYAD caliphate. By the eighth century the Berbers of North Africa had formed Islamic governments in a number of kingdoms. These included both the Rustamids, who flourished at Tahert in central Algeria in the eighth and ninth centuries, and the FA-TIMIDS, who rose to power during the early 10th century in northeastern Algeria.

Between the 11th and the 13th centuries the AL-MORAVIDS and the ALMOHADS came to power. These Berber dynasties, which were centered around Morocco, controlled most of northwestern Africa, and their dominion spread across the Strait of Gibraltar to al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain).

The Almohad capital of TLEMCEN became the religious and academic center of the dynasty, while the Algerian seaports of Annaba and Algiers conducted trade with European cities. The main Algerian exports at this time included fine leather, fabrics, and the famous Barbary horses.

See also: ALGERIA (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Ali, Sunni (Sunni Ali Ber, Ali the Great, Sonni Ali, Sunni Ali Kolon) (r. c. 1464–1492) *Ruler who built the kingdom of Gao into the powerful Songhai Empire during the second half of the 15th century*

Sunni Ali's place in life began as a matter of chance. Two of the wives of his father, Za Yasiboi, gave birth on the same night. As was custom, the infants were not bathed until the light of the next day. Sunni Ali was the first infant to be washed, thereby gaining the rights of the eldest child. At some point in his youth he was taken to the MALI EMPIRE, apparently as a hostage. In 1464 he returned to the SONGHAI Empire as its ruler, initiating a period of great expansion for the kingdom.

A member of the Muslim Sunni ruling dynasty of the kingdom of GAO, in the western SUDAN, Sunni Ali was a good administrator. Backed by a strong CAVALRY and an organized fleet of ships to take control of the Niger River, he began to expand his native kingdom, filling the power vacuum left by the declining Mali empire.

According to the *Ta'rikh al-Sudan,* an Arab chronicle of the history of Sudan, Ali once demanded 30 virgin concubines from the port city of Kabara to be brought to him. The women were making the journey on foot, and, because they stopped to rest, Sunni Ali ordered that they all be executed.

A great conqueror with a brilliant military mind, Sunni Ali also was a ruthless despot. His reign was marked by a series of military campaigns as he expanded the Songhai Empire and united the western Sudan. In the meantime he also fended off incursions by the neighboring TUAREGS and Mossi and FULANI peoples. He repulsed

the Mossi in large part because of his strategic cavalry maneuvers. The Fulani DENDI region also fell to him.

In 1468 people of the prosperous Sudanese trading center of TIMBUKTU asked for Sunni Ali's help in overthrowing the oppressive Tuareg Chief AKIL. Ali took advantage of the opportunity to add Timbuktu to his growing empire. The city's residents found out too late that Ali's rule would prove to be even more oppressive than Akil's. In the process of liberating the city, Sunni Ali displayed a tyrannical nature, killing many of the Muslim residents who failed to fully support his efforts against the Tuaregs.

In 1473 Sunni Ali took the important merchant city of JENNE, located at the junction of the Bani and Niger rivers, after a protracted battle that, according to Arab histories of the region, lasted more than seven years. Sunni Ali continued to expand and strengthen his empire, failing only in his attempts to subjugate the Mossi people to the south of Gao. In 1492 Sunni Ali died, apparently by drowning, under uncertain circumstances. At the time of his death the Songhai Empire was the largest in West Africa.

The Muslim scholars and historians of the Sudan never forgave Sunni Ali for the devastation he wrought on Timbuktu or his treatment of the city's Muslim clergy. As a result many of the surviving accounts of Sunni Ali cast him as an unjust and capricious despot, and an impious and unworthy Muslim. In contrast, the Songhai viewed him as a nearly mythical warrior-king. They praised him for being both an inspiring leader on the battlefield and a strong political administrator.

Sunni Ali's importance in history was minimized by the scholars and historians of the time. One of the reasons may have been that the Muslim scholars probably did not look favorably upon a king who, although he professed to follow the ways of ISLAM, still clung to some traditional African ways, even incorporating elements of traditional Songhai RELIGION with Muslim rituals.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II).

Allada (Alladah, Arda, Ardah) Kingdom in present-day Republic of BENIN. Prior to being incorporated into the kingdom of DAHOMEY in the 18th century, Allada was ruled by the Agassuvi ("children of the Agassu") ethnic group. They probably migrated from present-day TOGO to the Allada region in the 15th century.

Oral tradition traces Allada's origin to the kingdom of Tado. Supposedly, the founder of the universe divided Tado into separate kingdoms, giving one to each of two brothers. The first brother established the kingdom of Ife, the home of the YORUBA people, while the other founded Tado. According to legend, the King of Tado had several daughters, one of whom was seduced by a wild panther and had an exceptionally strong son. His children tried to take control of the Tado throne but failed, so they migrated eastward and established Allada.

Allada became an important center for European traders, especially the Portuguese.

See also: ALLADA (Vol. III).

Almohads Muslim Berber dynasty that controlled North Africa and al-ANDALUS (Spain) during the 12th and 13th centuries. The Almohad dynasty began as a movement of religious and social reform led by MUHAMMAD IBN TUMART (c. 1080–1130). Under the leadership of Tumart's successor, ABD AL-MUMIN (c. 1094–1163), the Almohads dismantled the preceding ALMORAVID dynasty. Tumart's followers were known as Almohads (*al-muwahhidun*), meaning "unitarians," or "those who believe in the unity of God."

Tumart was a member of the MASMUDA, a Berber confederation of the Atlas Mountain region, in southern MOROCCO. After studying Islamic thought, Muhammad ibn Tumart came to the conclusion that the reigning Almoravid dynasty had strayed too far from traditional Islamic law. When he failed to win support in the important city of MARRAKECH, he returned to the Atlas Mountains in 1120 and began to gain a following among ARABS and Berbers. He proclaimed himself the MAHDI ("the one who is divinely guided") and created an advisory council made up of his 10 oldest followers. Later, ibn Tumart formed an assembly of 50 leaders from various North African groups. In 1125, under his leadership, the Almohads began to attack the Almoravids in such major Moroccan cities as Marrakech and Sus.

After Muhammad ibn Tumart's death in 1130, his successor, Abd al-Mumin, named himself caliph of the Almohads. Tumart had appointed many of his relatives to powerful positions and established the Almohad dynasty as a traditional monarchy. By 1147 Abd al-Mumin had successfully defeated the Almoravids, capturing most of the MAGHRIB, including Marrakech, the future Almohad capital. By the end of al-Mumin's reign, the Almohads had gained control of the entire Maghrib in

addition to conquering much of al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain and parts of Portugal).

Following al-Mumin's death in 1163, his son ABU YAQUB YUSUF (r. 1163–1184) and grandson, Abu Yusuf YAQUB AL-MANSUR (r. 1184–1199), controlled the Almohad dynasty during the height of its power. Under al-Mansur, the Almohads captured Seville and the rest of Muslim Spain. Then, during Yaqub's reign, the Almohads fought off Christian crusaders in Spain and put down rebellions in their eastern Arab provinces. In contradiction of the puritanical Tumart, Yaqub built a number of richly ornamented monuments. Eventually the Almohads put aside Tumart's teachings altogether.

By the early 13th century the strain of fighting both Christian crusaders abroad and Arab rebels at home proved too much for the Almohads. In 1212 the united forces of the Spanish kings of Castile, Aragón, and Navarre defeated the Almohad army in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. By 1232 the Almohads had lost control of Spain. Another group of Berbers, the MARINIDS, succeeded the Almohads in North Africa. The Marinids took the last Almohad stronghold, Marrakech, about 1271.

See also: ATLAS MOUNTAINS (Vol. I); CRUSADES, THE (Vol. II); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 1997); Julia Clancy-Smith, ed., *North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War* (Portland, Ore.: Frank Class, 2001).

Almoravids Muslim Berber dynasty that ruled MOROCCO and al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain) in the 11th and 12th centuries; the term *Almoravid* is Spanish for the ARABIC *al-murabitun,* meaning "monks" or "the people of the fortress."

The Almoravid movement developed early in the 11th century among the SANHAJA BERBERS of the WESTERN SAHARA, a confederation of the Lamtuna, Djodala, and Messufa peoples. The Lamtuna made up the ruling class within the clan and held all important administrative and military positions. During the 11th century, Sanhajan control over TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES was threatened from the south by the GHANA EMPIRE and from the north by the infiltration of Zanatah BERBERS into southern MOROCCO. About 1048 Yahya ibn Ibrahim al Jaddali, a leader of the Lamtuna people, returned from his HAJJ. Accompanying him back from this pilgrimage to the holy city of MECCA was a Moroccan scholar, ABD ALLAH IBN YASIN (d. c. 1059), who, he hoped, would institute religious reforms that would increase the unity and power of the Sanhaja people.

At first ibn Yasin focused on increasing the level of Islamic knowledge and practice among his followers. By

Almoravid Empire, c. 1060–1147

Barcelona
Badajos
Seville
Granada
Tangier
Ceuta
Tlemcen
Fez
Kerifelt
Marrakech
Sijilmasa
Atlantic Ocean
Canary Is.
Taghaza
Ribat
Tin Farilla
Audaghost
Timbuktu
Kumbi Saleh
Senegal R.
Niger R.
Gambia R.
Map area

0   300 Miles
0   300 Kms

Almoravid Empire 1060
Almoravid Empire 1147
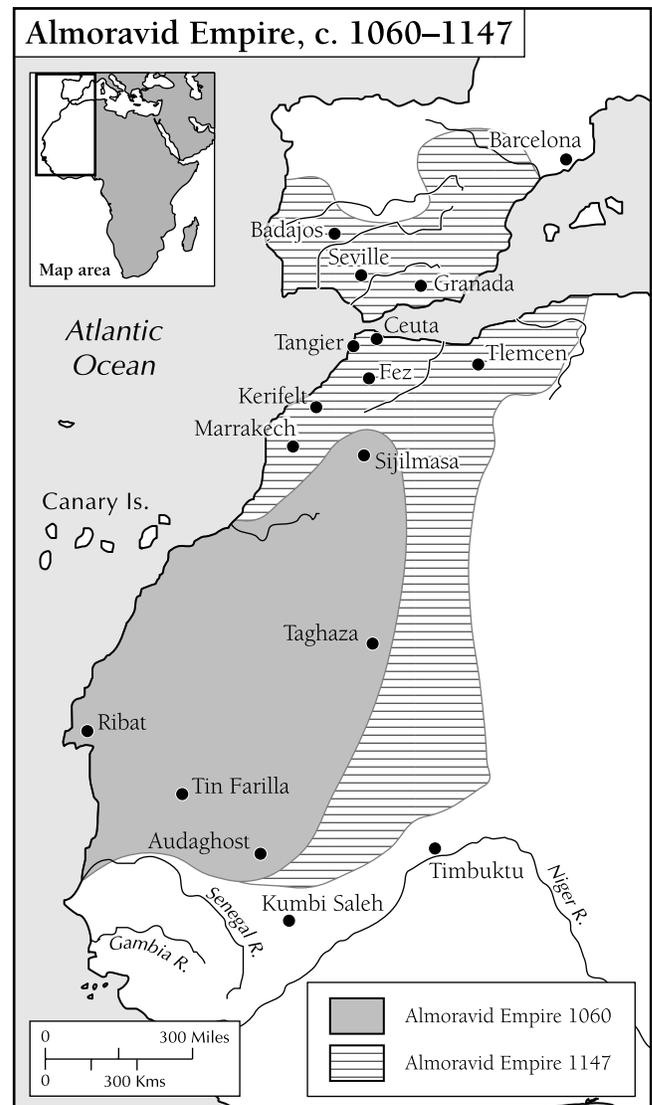
1054, however, the focus of the Almoravid movement shifted from religious reform to military conquest. After consolidating their control over SIJILMASA, in 1056, the Almoravids invaded Morocco. In 1059 ibn Yasin was killed during an attack on the Barghawata confederation on the Moroccan coast. Abu Bakr ibn Umar (d. c. 1087) became the new leader of the Almoravids. Military expansion continued, with Abu-Bakr and his forces pushing into the interior and those of Abu-Bakr's cousin, YUSUF IBN TASHBIN (d. c. 1106) moving north through Morocco and Spain.

Soon the Spanish Muslims appealed to the Almoravids for help in fighting off military advances by Christian forces. The efforts of the Almoravids were successful, and the Almoravids became masters of the whole of Muslim Spain up to the Ebro River. They also conquered Morocco and the MAGHRIB as far east as Algiers. They had religious influence over their territories and controlled

the region's lucrative GOLD trade. The capital of their expanded empire was MARRAKECH.

Although it was not an entirely peaceful time, North Africa thrived both economically and culturally during the Almoravid period, which lasted until 1147. The Lamtuna ruled forcefully, and as the empire grew, so did abuses of power, and many Berber groups resented the often oppressive dynasty. One of these, the Zenata Berbers of North Africa, unified and, calling themselves the ALMOHADS, declared a JIHAD against the Almoravids. In 1147 the Almohads took Marrakech, bringing an end to the Almoravid Empire, and by 1172 they controlled all of Muslim Spain.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publish-ing, 1997); Julia Clancy-Smith, ed., *North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War* (Portland, Ore.: Frank Class, 2001).

Alur Nilotic-speaking people related to the LUO. The Alur primarily inhabited parts of present-day UGANDA and Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Historians suggest that the Alur originally inhabited what is now the Republic of the SUDAN. Probably during the late 14th century, they migrated south, supplanting the rulers of the CHWEZI DYNASTY, who ruled over the KITARA COMPLEX of kingdoms and smaller chiefdoms. The Alur considered each individual household to be a self-sustaining economic unit. Although they were agriculturalists, the Alur relied more on raising cattle, bananas, and root crops than on seed AGRICULTURE.

Alwa (Alwah) Southernmost of the three kingdoms of Christian NUBIA, with its central area in the old heartland of Meroë, south of the sixth cataract on the Nile River. Its capital was Soba, which is near the modern city of Khartoum. Alwa came under the influence of CHRISTIAN-ITY when the Byzantine missionary Longinus baptized its king in 580 CE. Alwa continued as a strong state until the 16th century. Soba was also a bishopric, with six individual bishops having been identified by name. As late as the 10th century an Arab writer described Soba as a city with fine houses and buildings, including churches. The bishop reported to the patriarch of Alexandria. Alwa was a diverse city despite its Christian majority, and a number of Muslims lived in a separate quarter of the town. Alwa survived as a Christian island for centuries. Eventually, however, repeated Arab attacks weakened it until it collapsed. By 1523 a Jewish traveler described Soba as a city largely in ruins with its people living in huts.

See also: BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vols. I, II); CHRISTIAN-ITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Amda Siyon (Amda Tsyon) (r. 1314–1344) *Christian emperor of Ethiopia*

Emperor Amda Siyon was a celebrated Christian ruler whose reign in ETHIOPIA resulted in the expansion of the kingdom into the southern highlands and former AGAW strongholds near Lake Tana. He was also noted for using military force to subdue a number of rebellions that took place in the Muslim states of ADAL, Ifat, and Dawaro during the 14th century. These rebellions stemmed from Amda Siyon's demands for tribute from those Muslim states, in return for which he offered them a degree of autonomy.

Amda Siyon's policy toward these Muslim states often had disastrous results, however. One example involved an alliance that developed between Sultan Ad-Din II (fl. c. 1328) of Ifat and a government official named Haydara, who had been appointed by Amda Siyon and stationed in Dawaro during the latter part of the 14th century. The two plotted to topple Amda Siyon, going so far as to murder the emperor's servants and seize the expensive goods they were carrying. In retaliation, Amda Siyon torched Dawaro, killing the men and taking women and children as prisoners.

See also: SOLOMONIC DYNASTY (Vol. II).

Amharic Afro-Asiatic language of the Southern Semitic branch. Amharic is distantly related to the Cushitic languages and is the national language of ETHIOPIA. The predecessor to Amharic was GE'EZ, the original language of the Ethiopian Christian Church. Early Amharic, known as Agaw, emerged around the ninth century as the language of the AGAW people. Both the Agaw and their language combined Semitic and Kushite ancestral roots. Songs and poems, the first written records of the Amharic language, did not surface until the 14th century.

See also: AMHARIC (Vol. I); KUSH (Vol. I).

al-Andalus (bilad al-Andalus) Region of the Iberian Peninsula also known as Muslim Spain. Although the origin of the word *Andalus* is unknown, the name first appeared around 716. In the early eighth century Spain was a Visigoth kingdom, having been unified during the late sixth century when the Visigoths took control of the native Ibero-Celtic and invading Germanic peoples. This Visigoth kingdom was torn apart by constant feuds between the NOBLES and serfs and was ripe for conquest when Musa ibn Nusayr (c. 640–715), an Arab leader who had just captured parts of northern Africa, sent an army to invade the coastal kingdom. Beginning in 711 Musa was able to take most of the peninsula, securing Arab access to Spain. Within a few years he crossed the Pyrenees and also captured Avignon, Arles, Lyons, and Narbonne (areas in present-day France).

The eighth-century boundaries of al-Andalus ran all the way to Galicia in the northwestern part of the peninsula. Within the Arab army, made up of both ARABS and their African Berber allies, tensions began to arise. As more non-Arab BERBERS migrated to al-Andalus, the Arab position weakened. Internal conflict among rival Arab clans exacerbated the problem. Nonetheless, the Arabs managed to convert many of the native Andalusians to ISLAM, although the Arabs considered these new converts (*muwalladun*) inferior in social rank.

For 30 years the Arabs controlled al-Andalus under the authority of 30 short-lived emirs. In 755 the Umayyads, under the leadership of Abd al-Rahman ibn Muawiya (known as "The Immigrant"), overthrew the Arabs and established the UMAYYAD dynasty at Córdoba. The Umayyads would rule for the next 300 years. The only great leaders during this period were the founder of the dynasty, Abd al-Rahman (r. c. 756–788), Abd al Rahman III (r. c. 961–978), and al-Mansur (d. c. 1002). Arab, Berber, and peasant rebellions plagued the remainder of Umayyad rule. At the same time, the Christians (Mozarabs) who inhabited al-Andalus and neighboring areas offered minimal resistance to Umayyad rule.

In the 10th century the Umayyads had to confront the FATIMIDS, religious reformers who were advancing along the coast of MOROCCO. Despite internal conflict, the Berbers and Christians rallied to keep the radical reformers out of their country.

In 1031 the Umayyad reign ended with the death of Hisham III. Ruling regents divided al-Andalus into numerous city-states that remained intact for 60 years, albeit in a condition of constant disarray. By 1085 the Spanish king, Alfonso VI (1040–1109), had taken advantage of al-Andalus's weakened political position and began to reconquer parts of the country. At the same time, the ALMORAVIDS penetrated the area and recruited Berbers to join their cause. Under the leadership of YUSUF IBN TASHBIN (r. c. 1061–1106) they defeated King Alfonso, but the remaining Andalusians were slow to accept their new leaders. Ultimately, after 10 years of battle, the Almoravids conquered Muslim Spain.

Fifty years later the ALMOHADS, another Muslim group, conquered al-Andalus. The Almohads controlled al-Andalus until 1212, when the army of Pope Innocent III defeated them at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. By end of the 13th century Muslim Spain was confined to the southern kingdom of Granada, and the powerful Christian kingdoms of Aragón and Castile forced the Islamic inhabitants of al-Andalus to convert or be persecuted.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Angola   Southwestern African country some 476,200 square miles (1,233,358 sq km) in size that is bordered on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, to the north and east by the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, to the south by NAMIBIA, and to the southeast by ZAMBIA.

Archaeological discoveries in the Angolan region have been limited, but evidence suggests that people may have inhabited the area since the Late Stone Age (40,000 to 3200 BCE). Between 1000 BCE and 500 CE, Bantu-speaking peoples moved into the region. Historically the Bantu were fishermen and farmers, using IRON tools to clear forests and plant their traditional crops of yams and cocoyams. Limited livestock herding and POTTERY manufacturing soon spread throughout the region.

The inhabitants of Angola were isolated from the rest of world until the 15th century. The MBUNDU played a central role in the commercial development of the Angola region, building the kingdom of Angola on the southern edge of the KONGO KINGDOM. Prior to the 15th century the Mbundu were salt traders, but during the late 15th century they developed extensive commercial ties with the Portuguese, who had landed on the Angolan coast. Partly due to their early contact with the Portuguese, Angola became an important trading center in the 16th century.

See also: ANGOLA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Arab coastal trade   Trade between Arabs and coastal Africa, especially along the Red Sea coast, can be traced back to the first century bce. At first extensive, Arab coastal trade declined from the third to seventh centuries with the fall of Rome, warfare in ETHIOPIA, and internal conflict among African groups.

In the seventh century, Arab trade along coastal Africa increased dramatically with the rise of ISLAM. The decline of AKSUM as a trading center provided an open market for the renewed flood of Arab immigrants who settled in Ethiopia under the direction of the Muslim prophet Muhammad (570–632). He encouraged his followers to migrate to Ethiopia to avoid discrimination in MECCA. Many settled along the coastal regions and revived RED SEA TRADE and INDIAN OCEAN TRADE. Between 639 and 705, Muslim Arabs captured EGYPT, LIBYA, TUNISIA, and much of the African coastline along the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. During this period of increasing Arab dominance, trade between eastern Africa, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf increased. Some of the Arabs settled among the Swahili population of coastal trading towns and ZANZIBAR island. In this way, the SWAHILI COAST became an important center for Middle Eastern trade.

By the 11th century Islam had spread inland across the Sahara along the trade routes, which increasingly involved Arab as well as Berber merchants. These caravan routes transported GOLD, salt, honey, CLOTH AND TEXTILES, BEADS AND JEWELRY, and other goods from the African interior to the Arab-dominated coastal ports. Along the way, Islam spread to the HAUSA STATES, KANEM-BORNU, and

This illustration from a 13th-century manuscript owned by the sultan of Oman shows the kind of dhow, or ship, that Arab coastal traders used to sail up and down the Indian Ocean coast of Africa. © Arne Hodalic/Corbis

Arabic Semitic language spoken in much of North Africa and the Middle East. As the sacred language of ISLAM, it is a major unifying characteristic of the Arab people. Semitic languages have existed for thousands of years, but the widespread use of Arabic did not occur until the seventh century with the rise of Islam.

As the holy language of all Muslims, Arabic is spoken extensively in Islam-dominated regions like North Africa and the Middle East. According to Islamic doctrine, the QURAN was revealed to the prophet Muhammad (560–632) in Arabic. Prior to the Quran, Arabic had not yet developed into a standardized written form. Those who spoke the Semitic precursor to the Arabic language had not established a universal language, so several varieties of early Arabic developed simultaneously. As the Arabian empire expanded, the need to standardize the Arabic language became imperative, and, after the Arab conquest of North Africa in the seventh and eighth centuries, much of the region adopted classical Arabic as the dominant language.

During the first few centuries after the introduction of Islam, many non-Arabic languages in Muslim territories virtually disappeared. Arabic became the language of religious, political, and scholarly discourse. In EGYPT, Arabic had begun to replace the native Coptic language as early as the 10th century, and by the 14th century the only surviving Coptic speakers were limited to rural areas. As Arabic spread along the Nile from northern Egypt through the western SUDAN to present-day CHAD, four distinct Egyptian dialects emerged: Upper Egyptian, Middle Eastern, CAIRO, and Delta Arabic.

neighboring kingdoms of the interior. Over the next few hundred years, they incorporated the ARABIC language, particularly in terms of its connections with Islam, and Arab customs into their own cultures.

In the 12th century SHIRAZI ARABS, merchants from Iran, began mixing with indigenous Bantu-speaking peoples along Africa's eastern coast, thereby starting the Swahili culture. KISWAHILI, the language they spoke, incorporated many words from Arabic.

As Arab trade increased, knowledge of Africa's treasures expanded overseas, sparking interest from other countries. By the 16th century increasing competition from Portuguese traders ultimately led to the decline of Arab coastal trade in the Indian Ocean.

See also: ADEN, GULF OF (Vol. II); ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. I); PERSIAN TRADERS (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Spoken Arabic is more guttural than Western languages, with the words formed at the back of the mouth and throat. Like Hebrew, another Semitic language, Arabic is written from right to left. The basic sentence structure of Arabic presents a verb followed by its subject and object. The standard Arabic alphabet has 28 consonants and three vowels. Each consonant and vowel is written by placing dots above or below one of eight shapes that form the Arabic script. Simple nouns and verbs are typically represented by three-consonant roots attached to various vowels. The meaning of words is derived from a combination of vowels attached to any standard root. Prefixes or suffixes are attached to these basic root and vowel combinations to make more complicated nouns or verbs. Nouns and adjectives have multiple plural patterns with many irregular formations. Verbs are more standard, with simple alterations in stems used to conjugate and change their meaning.
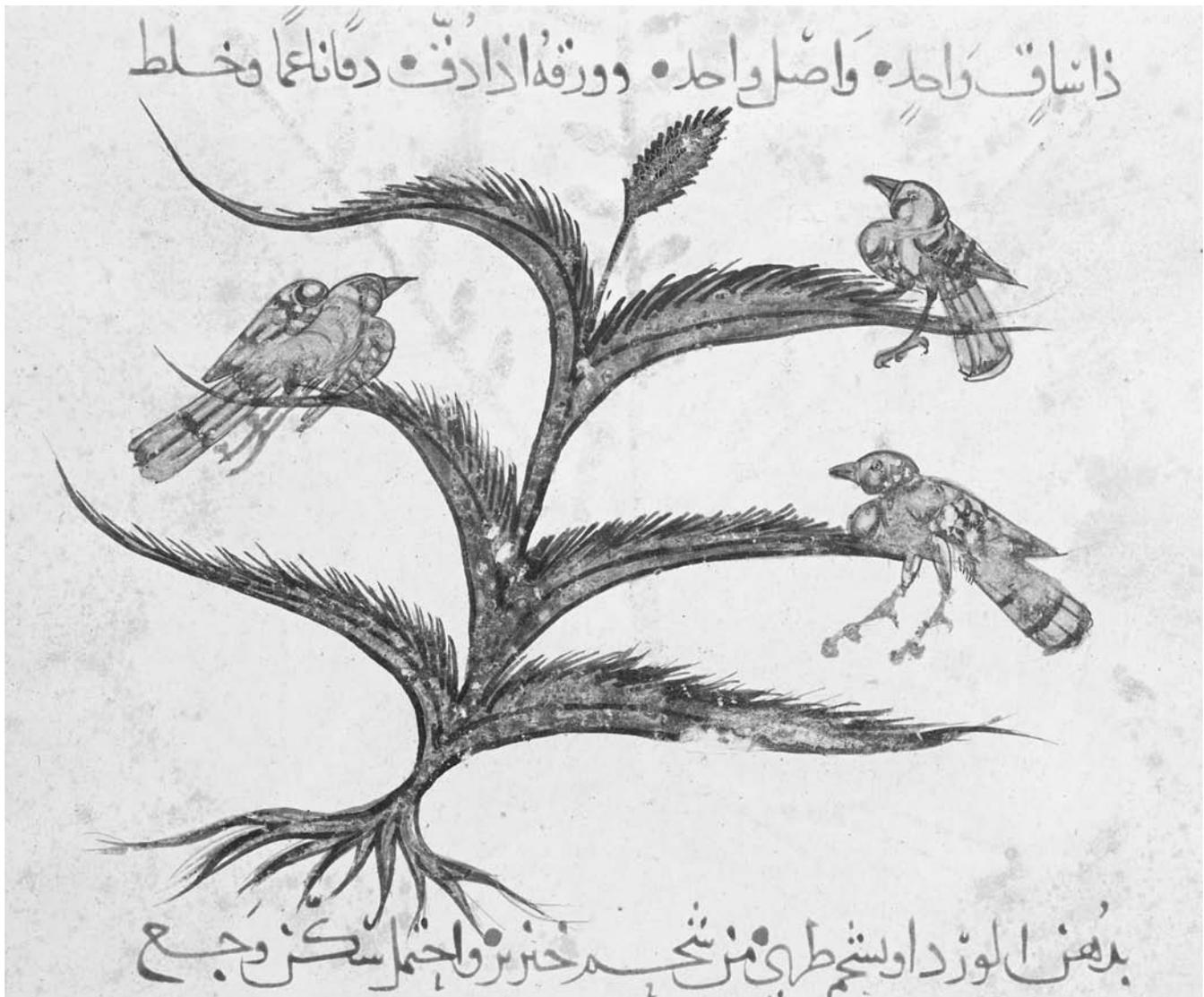
Arabic became the language of business and religion in Africa wherever Islam gained a foothold. This illuminated manuscript, *Plant with Birds*, by Abdullah ibn al-Fadl, was created in 1222. *© Burstein Collection/Corbis*

Arabic spread through Africa along trade routes and in conjunction with the spread of Islam. In many places Arabic coexisted with local languages; in other regions languages mixed to form new dialects. For example, the KISWAHILI language, spoken by traders along Africa's east coast beginning in the 12th or 13th century, has a Bantu structure but borrows many words from Arabic.

See also: ARABIC (Vol. I); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Arabs The ancient and modern peoples who inhabit the Arabian Peninsula; the name *Arab,* in ARABIC, means "speaker of Arabic," underlining the common bond and symbol of cultural unity Arab peoples share.

Before the rise of ISLAM the early Arabs were nomadic, Semitic pastoralists who herded sheep, goats, and camels in the harsh environment of the Arabian Peninsula. Islam brought together the desert-dwelling, nomadic Bedouins with the town dwellers and farmers who lived at the oases to form a missionary force of great fervor and purpose. These oases served as centers of commerce and trade. The caravan routes that brought GOLD and spices from Arabia to northern and southern Africa became conduits for the spread of Islam. Today, the word *Arab* may name any number of people from North Africa, EGYPT, the Republic of the SUDAN, the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, and Iraq who speak a common language and often share a common RELIGION, culture, and customs. Not all Arabs are Muslims; about 5 percent

are Christian, Jewish, animist, or Druze, which is an 11th-century offshoot of Islam.

Further reading: Gerald Butt, *The Arabs: Myth and Reality* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1997); Jan Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Arabs, influence of   ARABS came to the continent of Africa as early as the first century BCE. They crossed the Red Sea and established trading kingdoms along the eastern coast and Horn of Africa. These early trading kingdoms exported GOLD, IVORY, honey, and captives. In ETHIOPIA, Arab traders intermarried with the local inhabitants and a new race, the Aksumites, emerged to establish a powerful trading empire at AKSUM. Around the same time, other Arabs crossed the Red Sea at the Strait of Mandeb, where they settled farther south along the coast. The sub-Saharan coastal region was an ideal location to establish trade routes to the African interior. Despite substantial early Arab settlement along the east coast, few Arabs immigrated to the western coast, perhaps because BERBERS already dominated that region of Africa.

Like the Greeks and Romans before them, early Arab immigrants were actively involved in the slave trade. Nubian and Abyssinian captives were the most common, but various other captives were also sold abroad.

The impact of these early Arab traders on Africa was more than economic. Their native Semitic language and Sabaean RELIGION were gradually integrated into the local languages and religions. In many places they introduced basic WRITING and building techniques. Most early Arabs were nomadic pastoralists. This lifestyle, combined with a trade ECONOMY, hastened the penetration of the Arab culture to new areas of Africa.

Ties between Africa and Arabia increased in the sixth century when Aksum conquered the Christian Arab state of Yemen. By the end of the century a new wave of Arabs began to migrate to Africa at the recommendation of the prophet Muhammad (570–632). Around 615, Muhammad encouraged his followers, facing persecution in MECCA, to migrate to ETHIOPIA. Despite the domination of CHRISTIANITY in Ethiopia at this time, the Ethiopian king Ella Saham (r. c. early 600s) was receptive to the new immigrants, and the two religions were able to coexist for many centuries. For the most part the Christians remained in the central highlands, and the nomadic Muslims resided in the northern and western lowlands.

The seventh century brought a renewed influx of Muslim Arabs to Africa. They conquered EGYPT at the end of the century and incorporated high-ranking officials from the Egyptian court into their political system. Arabs entered the continent through Egypt and dispersed throughout the northern parts of Africa. By 705 they had

The Arab Conquest of North Africa, 640–711

0 _____ 800 Miles
0 _____ 800 Kms

Bordeaux
Genoa
Black Sea
Barcelona
Constantinople
Seville
Carthage
Sicily
Crete
Cyprus
Baghdad
Qayrawán
Mediterranean Sea
Damascus
Tripoli
Jerusalem
Barqa
Alexandria
Cairo
Red Sea
Medina
Mecca

Already established c. 632 (at the death of Muhammad)
Expansion by 640
Expansion by 650
Expansion by 661–711
Routes of invasion and conquest

Map area

overtaken LIBYA, Nubia, Northwest Africa, Byzantine North Africa, TUNISIA, the Mediterranean coast from the Gulf of Sirte to the Atlantic, and parts of the interior. The renewed interest in Africa also meant an increase in the number of African captives shipped abroad. Prior to the spread of ISLAM, the Arab slave trade was small. As Muslim power grew, the need for slaves increased, both on the African continent and abroad. Slaves were used for manual LABOR, domestic work, military conquests, and as concubines.

With control of Nubia (modern-day Republic of the SUDAN), Arabs were able to penetrate the African interior for the first time. The Baqt, a treaty signed in 651, established trade relations between Arabs and Nubians and ensured peace between the Muslims and Christians in the region. ARAB COASTAL TRADE continued to flourish, and by the 13th century many nomadic Arabs had penetrated inland to the Middle Nile Valley. By the 15th century powerful Muslim kingdoms emerged in the region, including Funj, Tagali, and DARFUR. As in other regions, a diverse culture developed as Arabs and Nubians intermarried.

Like the Nubians, the North Africans largely accepted their Arab conquerors. Ironically, Arabia had enlisted thousands of Africans to conquer North Africa. The Banu Hilal and Banu Salim, two of the larger Arab groups, ruled over the native Berber people by the eighth century and established the Muslim kingdoms of Idrisis, Murabitin, and Muahadin.

In West Africa, Arab MERCHANTS, scholars, and travelers from the seventh century onward led the formation of several powerful Muslim communities. Islam was first accepted by the upper class in this area, thus facilitating the spread of the religion to the rest of the population. By the 11th century Arab traders moving along TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES leading to the western Sudan had brought Islam to the Upper Niger, the HAUSA STATES, and KANEM-BORNU regions in the African interior. Between the 13th and 16th centuries the West African kingdoms of MALI and SONGHAI also emerged as Muslim states. Arab influence was increasingly evident in native literature and poetry. The first written forms of such languages as Hausa appeared in ARABIC script, and Islamic doctrine was integrated into traditional religious customs.

Despite this widespread integration of Islam into African culture, indigenous populations did not simply become Arab. Rather, they adopted the Arab religion and language for religious purposes and often for trade practices while retaining the core of their traditional system. In many areas Islam did not spread as quickly among people in the countryside, who held on to traditional beliefs long after town dwellers embraced Islam. The dominance of Arabs in the overseas trade markets soon sparked international interest in Africa. European traders arrived in the late 15th and early 16th centuries and took over much of the Arab territories in Africa.

See also: ALPHABETS AND SCRIPTS (Vol. I).

Further reading: Susan L. Douglass, ed., *Rise and Spread of Islam, 622-1500* (Detroit: Gale Group, 2002); Patricia Risso, *Merchants and Faith: Muslim Commerce and Culture in the Indian Ocean* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995); Elizabeth Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise: The North African Response to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1997).

archaeology Many of the most important African archaeological sites related to the medieval period are associated with the rise of powerful African states, which resulted from conquest, trade, and migration. Some of the richest archaeological deposits of the continent have been found in the YORUBA states of West Africa, where populations were densest. For example, ILE-IFE in southwest NIGERIA was one of the most formidable city-states in the region. It is thought that approximately 20 early city-states were organized and ruled by dynasties that traced their descent from Ife's founding hero, ODUDUWA.

Artifacts recovered from the Ife site suggest the extent of its role as both a governmental force and a center of industry and trade. As a center of government, for example, Ife controlled surrounding farming settlements, which provided the city with FOOD and other goods in return for governmental and military protection. Similarly, the city was an important location for the production of IRON and glass, examples of which have been found in abundance. Archaeological discoveries have also borne out traditional views that Ife was involved in the creation of brass and BRONZE, the most notable examples of which were produced at the important brass works during the 11th and 12th centuries.

Another important medieval site was Igbo Ukwu, also in present-day Nigeria. Items found there date back as far as the ninth century and have done much to add to the archaeological record. The excavation at Igbo Ukwu, which took place about 1960, was conducted at several compounds and led to the recovery of a royal burial site, the origins of which have largely remained shrouded in mystery. The individual recovered in a wood-lined chamber was seated and wearing a crown and beaded necklaces. Archaeologists have indicated that other items surrounding the figure—including a ceremonial staff—could be considered royal regalia.

Beginning in 1977 major fieldwork was carried out at the one-time trading center of JENNE, situated within the INLAND NIGER DELTA in the present-day Republic of MALI. This site has yielded innumerable artifacts—especially remnants of POTTERY and beads—and has the unusual distinction of having been built on a preexisting town, which is also known as Jenne or JENNE-JENO (Old Jenne). Although Jenne was abandoned in the 15th century, it is known to have been an important trading center at which

kola nuts and GOLD were frequently exchanged. Although work continues at the site, progress has been made difficult by annual flooding, which erodes the soil and washes away artifacts.

The recovery in Ife of *crucibles* (vessels used for melting materials at high temperatures) indicates that IRONWORKING was important to Ife even in the city's early days. Likewise, the discovery of molded glass beads, at the deepest levels of the archaeological digs as well as in burial sites, suggests the extent to which glass-making was a major activity of the city. Archaeologists have found evidence that these beads were traded both locally and in long-distance transactions.

Archaeological sites have also been explored in East Africa, where artifacts dating back to the ninth and 10th centuries confirm the rise of the city-states along the SWAHILI COAST, including the town of Manda in the Lamu Archipelago. Consisting of nearly 50 acres, Manda flourished between the ninth and 11th centuries. Its population of approximately 5,000 reportedly lived in houses made of blocks of coral solidified by lime mortar. Evidence of a surrounding wall and the recovery of glazed pottery give some indication of its wealth, derived from the INDIAN OCEAN TRADE.

One of the most prosperous of the Swahili city-states was KILWA, where archaeological excavations have unearthed evidence that COPPER coins were being minted there by the 13th century. Here, as in the Lamu archipelago, prosperity apparently was linked to merchant traders. Small CARAVANS carried trade goods—including COTTON cloth, glass beads, and luxury items—to the interior regions of East Africa. The trade caravans returned with, among other goods, gold dust and copper ingots. By the end of the 13th century Kilwa's ruling Hasan dynasty was replaced by the Mahdali dynasty, founded by al-Hasan ibn Tulut. This dynasty remained in power until the arrival of Portuguese traders late in the 15th century. Archaeologists have identified the Mahdali rulers' cliff-top residence, the HUSUNI KUBWA PALACE, that included a bathing pool, reception court, apartments, and a warehouse.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. I, III, IV, V); ARCHITECTURE (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); LAMU ARCHIPELAGO (Vol. I).

Further reading: Graham Connah, *African Civilizations: An Archaeological Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); David W. Phillipson, *African Archaeology* (2nd ed.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Thurstan Shaw [et al.], eds., *The Archaeology of Africa: Foods, Metals, and Towns* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

architecture   Precolonial Africa's traditional housing structures have been called the most complex in the world. Contributing to this complexity are the wide range of styles that were in common use and the various building materials that were employed by the hundreds of ethnic groups that populate the continent. Traditional building methods took into account a people's cultural and religious beliefs and needs. Other building styles developed as a result of migratory patterns or were influenced by interaction with other peoples through trade.

The earliest homesteads were often constructed in response to the environment. The materials used reflected harmony with nature rather than a depletion of natural resources. In CAMEROON, for example, the Mousgoum people living on the floodplains near the Shari River traditionally constructed houses with incised decoration, that resembled overturned mud pots. It is believed that this style and its design helped prevent erosion of the house. Similarly, in the grass valleys of Cameroon, the traditional homesteads of the Mileke people were made of square rooms with a peaked roof made of thatch or local grasses. Such houses were frequently built and rebuilt as needed and reflected the permanence of community among new generations.

Since the FAMILY unit was responsible for building the homestead, houses could be custom-built to place emphasis on cultural, social, and economic identity. A homestead, therefore, typically consisted of many buildings, with each building functioning as a kitchen, bedroom, storage hut, or granary. A fence or wall often surrounded the compound. Stylistically, however, homesteads varied greatly across regions, and at least 20 or more regional styles or categories have been identified. Noted differences included size and use of building materials. For example, the Nuba, who inhabit the hills of the Kordofan region of what is now the Republic of the SUDAN, once built traditional homesteads made of red clay and gravel with thatched roofs. Several buildings served as sleeping rooms, a storeroom with grinding stones, and enclosures for animals.

Similarly, the traditional cliff dwellings of the DOGON, who live in isolation on the Bandiagara Escarpment in present-day MALI, reflected their religious beliefs. Ancient and medieval Dogon villages were laid out in the form of a *nommo,* the ancestral "first humans" made by their creator god. The smithy and men's houses formed the head; the houses of clan leaders were the chest; the women's houses were its hands; its genitals were an altar and a heavy grinding bowl; and the feet were shrines to the gods. The elaborately carved doors on their buildings ritually protected community FOOD supplies and sacred objects.

Cultural identity was also important to the Batammaliba of TOGO, whose name literally means "people who are the architects." They decorated their houses with the same scarification patterns worn by Batammaliba women. The Pende people of the lower Congo River region placed carved figures called *tungunlungu,* representing the female ancestry of the clan, in front of the house of the chief, who succeeds to the throne by matrilineal descent.

Also prominent among the housing styles of Africa were circular designs, such as the ones used by the Somolo of the upper VOLTA RIVER. Their circular homesteads varied, but some were multilevel structures of mud, with a palm frond roof supported by posts. Each household had its own courtyard and a house or room for members of the extended family, as well as kitchens, storerooms, and grinding rooms. Other circular styles included the *domical,* or beehive, a cylinder-shaped house topped by a thatched cone roof, which, if wide, might be supported by surrounding poles. There were also long, gable-roofed houses with adjoining portions, which found most often in central Africa.

The rectangular building was present in Africa from an early period and often reflected the wealth or the high social status associated with urbanized areas. In the forests of GHANA and western NIGERIA various groups, including the AKAN, YORUBA, and EDO, constructed their houses as a type of rectangular compound. Houses with open doors faced a large courtyard with a number of other smaller intersecting yards to let in air and light.

A distinctive feature of these homesteads was the sunken courtyard known as an *impluvium.* This feature was also found in the excavation of ancient houses in EGYPT and Kush.

Quadrangular-style buildings made of mud housed the large extended family of the king or local chief and included rooms for wives and children and workrooms for making craft items. These buildings were surrounded by a continuous wall, important in the protection of the city. Islamic influences also accounted for the rectangular homes of 14th-century Mali. When Mansa MUSA I (r. c. 1313–1337) returned from MECCA with Abu Ishaq AL-SAHILI, a poet-architect from Grenada in al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain), he reportedly introduced the use of sun-dried or baked mud brick. These bricks made it easier to create and maintain rectangular buildings of several stories. Other rectangular housing styles influenced by Islamic techniques included the clay box with a dome structure found throughout the SUDAN. In the 15th century, in KANO, a city in northern Nigeria, the Hausa created many high-domed structures. Built without blueprints and with simple tools, such buildings used imported timber arches to buttress the high interior ceilings. Four distinctive spires marked the exterior.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vols. I, III, IV, V); BATAMMALIBA BUILDING TRADITIONS (Vol. III); GREAT ZIMBABWE
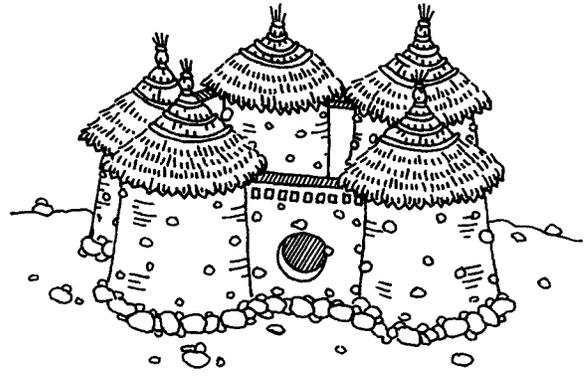
1. Nuba-style house
The Nuba of what is now the Republic of the Sudan traditionally built dwellings made of a number of buildings set in a ring pattern, with walls connecting the individual structures. The buildings provided living and storage space and sometimes pens for domesticated animals.
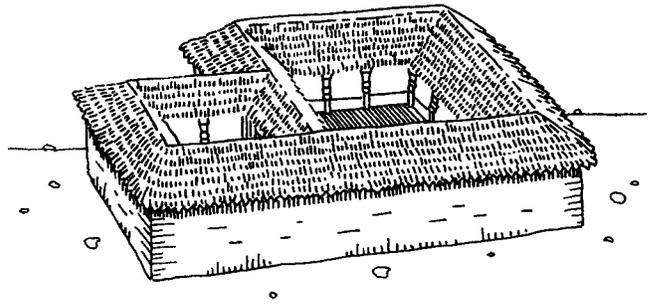
2. Yoruba-style house
The Yoruba people of what is now Nigeria traditionally built dwellings along one large courtyard and sometimes secondary courtyards. These courtyards let in light and helped to collect rainwater. Elaborately carved pillars served as roof posts. Rooms were used for living, storage, and cooking space.
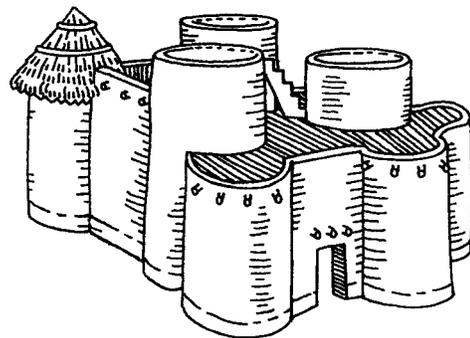
3. Somolo-style house
The Somolo of present-day Burkina Faso traditionally built multi-story houses with mud brick walls and roofs thatched with palm leaves. These dwellings had as many as 20 rooms, including living quarters, storage rooms, kitchens, and grinding rooms.

(Vol. II); HUSUNI KUBWA PALACE (Vol. II); LALIBELA, CHURCHES OF (Vol. II).

Further reading: Nnamdi Elleh, *African Architecture: Evolution and Transformation* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996).

Arguin trading fort   Fifteenth-century trading post built by the Portuguese off the Saharan west coast (present-day MAURITANIA). Portuguese traders had been active in the area as early as the 1440s, and they built the Arguin Island fort in 1448, hoping to capitalize on the West African coastal trade. The island was located in rich fishing waters that supported a large seal population. The Portuguese sent fish, sealskins, and oils back to Europe and simultaneously began to establish trade contacts with various Arab and nomadic peoples from the African continent.

Another reason for the choice of Arguin as the location for the trading fort was so that the Portuguese might intercept some of the goods carried by the GOLD caravans on their way to MOROCCO. Gold, however, was not the only reason for Arguin's prosperity. From the time they first arrived, the Portuguese raided coastal communities in order to secure African captives for the slave trade. By the end of the 15th century Arguin was a flourishing trading center at which the Portuguese exchanged cloth, luxury goods, and horses for gold and other items.

See also: AGE OF DISCOVERY (Vol. II); CARAVANS (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: D. Birmingham, *Trade and Empire in the Atlantic, 1400–1600* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

Arochukwu Oracle (Arochuku)   The authority through whom Chukwu, the supreme god of the Aro people, spoke. Well before the arrival of Europeans in the 16th century, Arochukwu was an Aro trading settlement, located about 60 miles (96.5 km) from the coast in what is now southern NIGERIA. The Arochukwu Oracle was established as the final judge in all disputes among the Aro, an IGBO subgroup. The oracle, therefore, provided the Aro with tremendous power, which they used to organize a lucrative trade network. Through their successful trading efforts, the Aro became the primary merchant class of Igboland, helping them to accrue wealth and power that continued to increase even after the arrival of Europeans. The process continued well into the 16th century.

art   During much of Africa's history, art, especially in the regions south of the Sahara, was designed to reflect all aspects of life. Many of these works were highly functional, including such items as BEADS AND JEWELRY, POTTERY, household furnishings, cups and spoons, CLOTH AND TEXTILES, and even certain types of weaponry.

Other works gained importance or value because they were created with certain methods of production or in accordance with particular religious beliefs, cultural practices, or inspirations. Products like these frequently are based upon societal myths as well as on both FAMILY and regional history. One of the best-known forms of such art is the various masks used for initiation rites and FESTIVALS, as well as for the ceremonies and activities of secret societies. Other such art forms include sculptured figures linked to ancestor veneration, ritual objects, shrines, and burial displays.

The LUBA people of the Congo traditionally made wooden memory boards, known as *lukasa,* whose shape, beadwork, and engravings were codes that expressed ancient myths, clan lineage, and medicinal formulas.

One of the most fascinating examples of this traditional art is produced by the BOBO people, in present-day BURKINA FASO, who still make traditional leaf masks based on ancestral practices and beliefs that regard leaves as a revelation of the creator god, Wuro. Similarly, KONGO groups like the Pende traditionally make small IVORY faces, which are worn as pendants and which represent venerated figures.

Archaeological excavations at Igbo Ukwu have unearthed a wealth of artwork associated with a former palace and adjoining temples. Of the nearly 800 bronze sculptures recovered at that site, many were naturalistic and stylized images of deities, ancestor figures, and totem animals. Others involved forms, symbols, and styles linked to the rituals of reigning kings and their lineage clans. Radiocarbon dating methods have dated some of this recovered art to the ninth century.

Wood, stylized with seashells, beads, or feathers, was by far the most widely used material for these works made in accordance with long-standing traditions. Styles varied greatly from region to region and were influenced by their intended use. Those objects associated with the DOGON of the MALI EMPIRE, for instance, have always been invested with symbols that convey the people's spiritual beliefs. These beliefs are extended to the Grand Mask worn at celebrations of renewal every 60 years. The making of the Grand Mask required appropriate prayers and

offerings to the tree that was used for the mask's wood, as well as protective measures taken by the individual who chopped it down. Another traditional art form of the Dogon involved the ancestor figure with raised arms. Preserved in the caves of the Bandiagara Escarpment, these figures have been dated by radiocarbon methods to the 15th century. The upraised arms on these figures have been interpreted by some to be either a symbolic appeal for rain or a gesture associated with rites of harvest.

Other artworks, and ones that are perhaps even more widely associated with the middle centuries, make up the body of art created to acknowledge the formality and rank associated with divine kingship. With the advent of the Iron Age, artists appear to have been supported and commissioned by the rulers of the state. These artists increasingly turned to IRON, BRONZE, and COPPER for their durability. These metals also were desirable because they potentially offered a number of different results, depending upon which methods were used. Bronze, copper, and brass were often melted and

These Ashanti fertility statuettes, now in the Musée Nationale des Arts Africains et Océaniens, in Paris, were created in a traditional Ashanti style. To enhance her fertility, a woman would carry one of these statuettes on her back, nurturing it and bathing it as if it were a real child. © Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis

shaped in casts, in open molds, or through the LOST-WAX PROCESS, also known as ciré perdue.

In addition, steel and iron were forged and hammered. As a result, in some regions, metalwork was placed within a ritual context, largely under the domain of local BLACKSMITHS. BAMBARA blacksmiths, or NYAMAKALAW, for example, were organized into special clans responsible for making iron sculpture. Their power, known as NYAMA, was associated with the gods. In order to harness nyama, the nyamakalaw fashioned small protective iron amulets, the creation of which became one of their specialities.

The YORUBA, considered by many to have been the most prolific producers of sculptured art in Africa, created works that honored their kings as well as the deities that were known as orishas. At ILE-IFE, the city-state associated with the beginnings of Yoruba culture, naturalistic sculptures in terra-cotta and bronze have been recovered. These sculptures appear to have been made between the 12th and 15th centuries. This Yoruba art influenced the neighboring kingdom of BENIN at some point during or shortly after the 15th century, leading to the production of a brilliant range of commemorative artwork in that state as well. Although numerous detailed plaques and naturalistic busts of human figures have been recovered from excavation of sites related to this former kingdom, little is known of these sculptures original context except that the busts likely represented former reigning kings, or obas.

See also: AKAN (Vols. I, II, III, IV); ART (Vols. I, III, IV, V); INITIATION RITES (Vol. I); MASKS (Vol. I); SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I).

Further reading: Rosalind J. Hackett, *Art and Religion in Africa* (London: Cassell, 1996); Laure Meyer, *Art and Craft in Africa* (Paris: Terrail, 1995); Jocelyn Murray, ed., *Cultural Atlas of Africa* (New York: Checkmark Books, 1998).

Ashanti (Asante) Subgroup of the AKAN people who have long lived in regions of present-day GHANA, TOGO, and IVORY COAST. The Kumasi, Mampong, Bekwai, Kokofu, Nsuta, Dwaben, Effiduase, Asokore, Ejisu, Bonwire, Assumigya, and Senfi are all Ashanti peoples. They speak a Twi subset of the Niger-Congo language family.

Ashanti life prior to the 16th century is known only through oral history. Several versions of their beginnings exist, but they all concur that the Ashanti were originally part of a unified Akan clan that included the FANTE, Wassaw, and other Twi-speaking peoples. It is probable that an invading group forced the Akan people to flee south toward the forest. They eventually migrated to the coast and settled in small villages.

Sometime along their journey to the coast, the Akan split into two groups, the Ashanti and the Fante. Accord-

ing to one legend, FULANI invaders destroyed their crop fields, forcing the Akan to forage for FOOD. They collected *fan* and *shan,* two types of edible wild plants. The two groups then separated and were henceforth called the *Fan-dti* and *Shan-dti* (*dti* means "to eat").

Another oral history attributes the splitting and naming of the Akan people to a dispute with a ruling king. According to this version, a group of loyal subjects offered the king some *fan* out of tribute, while a group of rebellious subjects attempted to poison the king with the deadly herb *asun.* The groups derived their names from their offerings to the king, *Fan-ti* and *Asun-ti.*

Still another version attributes the split to a dispute between two factions of the Akan. In this version, one group left the kingdom and became known as the *Fa-tsiw-fu* (people who cut themselves from the main body). The Akan who remained rejected a request by the king to restore peace among the two groups. As a result the latter became known as the *Asua-tsiw-fu* (people who refused to listen).

The Ashanti traditionally organized themselves into matrilineal clans. Their primary means of subsistence was farming, but they were also known as master weavers, potters, and metalworkers. They practiced ancestor worship, but the traditional religion centered on the worship of a single deity known as Onyame.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); GOLDEN STOOL (Vol. III); WASSAW (Vol. III).

Further reading: Ivor Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1993).

Asmara (Asmera)   City established as the capital of ERITREA during the 14th century. According to traditional folklore, the name *Asmara* symbolizes unity, a testimony to the efforts of local women who worked together to bring an end to the bloodshed among their warring villages. Historically, Asmara functioned as an important trading port during the time when it was part of the former kingdom of AKSUM. After that, Asmara may have declined for a brief period. It was later restored through the efforts of Emperor ZARA YAKOB (1434–1468), becoming a vibrant, cosmopolitan city that attracted traders from Arabia, Europe, and India.

See also: ASMARA (Vols. III, IV); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

Audaghost (Awdaghost, Awdaghust)   Important West African commercial center during the ninth through 11th centuries. Audaghost was a town bordering the southwestern SAHARA DESERT and was the terminus of one of the main TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. As a primary trade town within the GHANA EMPIRE, it attracted North African merchants, who took advantage of the lucrative GOLD trade controlled by Ghana's kings.

Despite its location, Audaghost had an abundant supply of water. This allowed for widespread AGRICULTURE and animal husbandry, enhancing its role as an important trade center. As a result Audaghost was a wealthy town whose residents lived in relative luxury. By the end of the 11th century, it had been incorporated into the Ghana Empire. During the 11th and 12th centuries, however, as Ghana's power was declining, new trade routes to the east diminished Audaghost's importance.

Augila (Aujila, Aoudjila)   North African commercial trading center that flourished during the height of ARAB COASTAL TRADE. Located near ancient Cyrenaica in LIBYA, Augila was a Berber settlement, largely shaped by the extensive Arab trade routes that passed through it over the centuries. Before the arrival of the ARABS in the seventh century, Augila supported traditional patrilineal clans (*qabila*). Clan leaders (sheikhs) served as the political heads of the villages. Although exposed to CHRISTIANITY in the sixth century, Augila was more extensively influenced by ISLAM. The first contact with Muslims probably occurred in 641 when Arab invaders conquered the North African coast. Islam quickly took root in places like Augila, thus facilitating Arab trade in these areas.

Augila was an important stop along the trade route connecting trade cities near Lake Chad, in the interior, to CAIRO, a central Fatimid commercial center. This same trade route also served as a Muslim pilgrimage road, which helped to spread Islam throughout North Africa. Through slavery, humans were the primary trade commodity, although cloth and leather were also sought from the Sahara interior.

See also: CYRENE (Vol. I); MEDITERRANEAN SEA (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

al-Azhar   Mosque and university in EGYPT and an ancient center of Islamic and Arabic studies. The mosque of al-Azhar was built in central CAIRO in 970, shortly after the FATIMIDS came to power in 969. Although the origin of the mosque's name is uncertain, it is believed to be linked to Fatima al-Zahra, the daughter of the Prophet MUHAMMAD (c. 570–632).

Al-Azhar was originally used as a place for religious worship and Islamic celebrations of the Ismaili-Shiite sect. Soon after its construction, however, the Fatimid caliph established a *halaqa,* or tutoring circle, which quickly became the basis for Azharite education at al-Azhar. Under Fatimid rule the university became a focal point for the teaching of Islamic law and theology, as well as of the ARABIC language. Al-Azhar was financially supported by the Fatimid caliphs, who were interested in spreading Ismaili-Shiite doctrine throughout Egypt. When the Ayyubids

took hold of Egypt, during the 12th century, al-Azhar's teachings were changed over to Sunni teachings, and it lost its importance as a place of learning in the Islamic world. After 1250, under the leadership of Mamluk vice-sultan Izz al-Din Aydmer, al-Azhar's importance was re-vived, and it attracted a large number of scholars, making the university a center of teaching for the Islamic world once again.

See also: ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. II.)

B

babalawo The highest ranking of the YORUBA priests. *babalawo,* who are known as "the fathers of the mysteries," are priests of the oracle divinity Orunmila in the Yoruba faith, which developed its recognizable forms by 500 CE.

The Yoruba practice Ifa is a divination system that utilizes priests like the *babalawo* to connect with different gods. As one of those gods, Orunmila is an important part of Yoruba daily life. He is consulted before an individual starts any major project. The Yoruba believe that only the *babalawo* can connect spiritually with Orunmila. Through the *babalawo* the Yoruba can ascertain Orunmila's wishes and act accordingly.

To become a *babalawo,* a Yoruba man must spend several years studying Ifa divination. During his apprenticeship, he learns the sacred chants and recitations that will be used to summon Orunmila and the other gods. A *babalawo* apprentice abstains from certain foods and lives an ascetic life to prepare for his role as priest. The Yoruba believe that purity allows the *babalawo* to connect with the divine through prayer. If the *babalawo* succumbs to evil, Orunmila may become angry and call for his death.

Once initiated, the *babalawo* traditionally dresses in white to symbolize his purity. He wears a palm-fiber charm and carries a fly whisk. For ritualistic ceremonies,he will also shave his head. At the beginning of a ceremony for a client, the *babalawo* sits on a mat in front of a traditional divining board. He then scatters a thin layer of special dust, *iyerosun,* on the board and invokes Orunmila by tapping on the tray and chanting. When the spirit has been summoned, the *babalawo* takes 16 sacred palm nuts (Ikin) in his left hand and passes as many as he can into his right.

Depending on the number of nuts remaining in his left hand, he will make a mark on the dusted board. The process is repeated eight times, until a pattern emerges in the dust. By reading the pattern, the *babalawo* interprets Orunmila's wishes and passes the message to his client. After he has interpreted Orunmila's message, the *babalawo* recommends the appropriate ritualistic sacrifice that will please the gods and solve his client's problem.

Bachwezi See CHWEZI DYNASTY.

Baganda See GANDA.

Bagauda (c. 1000) *Founder of the Kano kingdom*
Bagauda was the first in a long line of *sarkis,* or kings, who ruled the KANO kingdom and served as both political and spiritual leaders. According to lore, Bagauda's grandfather, Bayajida (or Bayajidda), was the common ancestor of the founders of the Hausa states. The traditional "Song of Bagauda" gives some insight into the history of the Kano kingdom, but most of what is known about Bagauda has been attained from the KANO CHRONICLE, which was written down in the Hausa language around 1890.

Baggara (Bakara, Baqqara) Pastoral group of people who have long inhabited the region from Lake Chad to the Nile River, an area that comprises the modern-day countries of CHAD, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, and Republic of the SUDAN. Baggara—from the Arabic *baqqara,*

meaning "cow"—is a collective term which describes the cattle-raising peoples who began migrating from the area near the Red Sea during the 12th and 13th centuries. As they migrated, the Baggara maintained their traditional nomadic way of life. Baggara peoples traditionally identified themselves as members of their subgroups before the collective group. Those subgroups include the Shuwa Arabs, the Hawazma, the Ta'isha, and the Habbania, among others.

See also: CHAD, LAKE (Vol. I); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

Further reading: Ian Cunnison, *Baggara Arabs: Power and the Lineage in a Sudanese Nomad Tribe* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1966).

Bagisu See GISU.

Bahinda See HINDA.

Bakongo See KONGO.

al-Bakri (c. 1094–unknown) *Arab scholar*

Al-Bakri was noted for his work in the fields of geography, RELIGION, philosophy, and botany. Best known for the work *Book of the Roads and Kingdoms,* which discussed the political, social, economic, and cultural environment of al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain) and North Africa through the middle of the 11th century. Although he never traveled abroad, al-Bakri meticulously gathered information from the personal accounts of those familiar with the region. The result was an amazingly accurate and detailed historical study.

Bali Southern Ethiopian state bordered by the Shebelle and Ganale Doria rivers. Originally inhabited by the SIDAMO people, who followed a traditional, animistic RELIGION, the area had been extensively penetrated by ISLAM by the 15th century. At that time the Muslim Walashma dynasty, which became a dominant force in the region, rebelled against the tributary rule imposed by Ethiopian emperor ZARA YAKOB (r. 1434–1468). Many smaller traditional societies followed suit, as did the Muslim chieftain Mahiko of neighboring Hadya. The combined forces of these groups attacked the indigenous Christians of the region. Conflict continued during the reign of Yakob's son, Baeda Maryam, who ruled from 1468 to 1478. Bali is also noted for its holy mountain, Abul Qasim, to which people made pilgrimages to pay homage to Muslim sheikh Hussein for the miracles he reportedly performed there.

Further reading: Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: The Red Sea Press, 1997).

Bamako Located on the Niger River, the capital and largest city of present-day Republic of MALI. From the 11th to the 15th centuries, Bamako was one of the important ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING of the MALI EMPIRE. When the Mali Empire fell in the 16th century, the town became a BAMBARA trading center.

Bambara (Bamana) MANDE people who settled in regions of present-day Republic of MALI. The Bambara were a part of the powerful MANDINKA empire (fl. 1235–1400). They speak Bamana, a language of the Niger-Congo family of languages. Prior to the arrival of Islam in the region, the Bambara were known as the Bamana. They rose to political prominence after 1600, when they established independent Bambara kingdoms at Segu and Kaarta.

Fashioned in the form of a woman, this 20th-century Bambara wood-and-metal door lock from Mali is 19 3/4 inches high and 15 1/8 inches wide (47.7 cm high and 38.5 cm wide). It utilizes methods, materials, and designs that are hundreds of years old. © *North Carolina Museum of Art/Corbis*

> **The people who make up the Bambara did not refer to themselves as such. The name *Bambara* means "infidel" or "unbeliever," reflecting the fact that they staunchly resisted ISLAM after the Muslim leader SUNDIATA (d. 1255) came to power in the 13th century. Though many were nominally converted to Islam, most Bambara continued to practice their traditional RELIGION based on ancestor worship. They also worshiped a creator god, Ngala (sometimes called Bemba), and several lesser gods related to air, fire, water, and earth.**

Early Bambara society centered on AGRICULTURE, animal husbandry, and trade. The Bambara are recognized as one of the first groups to develop advanced plowing techniques. Their staple crops included rice, millet, and sorghum.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); BAMAKO (Vol. II); BAMANA (Vol. I); BAMBARA (Vol. III); CHIWARA (Vol. I); KAARTA (Vol. III); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); *NUMUW* (Vol. II); *NYAMA* (Vol. II); *NYAMAKALAW* (Vol. II); SEGU (Vol. III).

banana   Vitamin-rich fruit that is a staple crop grown in present-day ETHIOPIA, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, CAMEROON, GUINEA, NIGERIA, and UGANDA, among other tropical countries. It is from the genus *Musa* and the family Musaceae. Native to India and China, the banana was introduced to Africa by East Coast traders—either by Indonesian MERCHANTS, or Arab merchants who had obtained it from the Indonesians—during the second half of the first millennium. By the 10th century it had spread to the African interior and replaced the yam in many areas as the staple FOOD. Knowledge of the banana presumably spread from the Pare Mountains to the eastern interior. In the West, it spread from MALAWI and the Zambezi River basin through the CONGO BASIN and West Africa.

Simultaneous with the spread of the banana, revolutionary agricultural techniques emerged to accommodate its production. Highland planting, used in places like eastern TANZANIA, was a system of regulated irrigation and manure fertilization that produced a superior banana crop. In other regions of Africa, agricultural techniques similar to highland planting were developed independently of the Tanzanian methods.

Several types of bananas have been cultivated in Africa since their introduction more than 1,000 years ago. The Cavendish, or dwarf, banana is found in southern Africa; the plantain is grown in warm coastal regions; and the common banana (*M. sapientum*) is found throughout the continent. The banana plant flourishes in loose, well-drained soil and humid climates like those of tropical Africa.

Growing up to 30 feet (9 m) high, the banana plant is a giant shrub with an underground stem called a rhizome. Above ground, the stem forms a false trunk of leaf-stalk bases and resembles a tree trunk. Towering 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m) tall, the trunk is topped by many large leaves measuring 10 to 11 feet long (3 to 3.5 m). A flower emerges from the top of the plant that bends to the ground, heavy with clusters of fruit. Each cluster, known as a hand, has 50 to 150 individual bananas.

The banana plant does not require pollination to bear fruit. Therefore, fruit production is essentially continuous after the first harvest. When the first crop matures, in 10 to 15 months, the plant is cut to the ground to regrow. The stem sprouts several new growths, some of which are pruned, while others are allowed to grow into mature plants. Within six months a new banana crop will be ready to harvest, and the cultivation process is repeated throughout the life of the plant.

When ripe, bananas are an excellent source of potassium, carbohydrates, and vitamins C and A. For this reason they were an important addition to the early African diet. Most varieties are eaten raw, except the plantain, which must be cooked. A plantain has the highest starch content of banana fruits because it does not become sweet when it ripens like other varieties. Today, most bananas are picked when green and sent to distribution centers for final ripening to ensure freshness for shipping throughout Africa and abroad. Although it has been grown in Africa for hundreds of years, the banana remains an important staple of African FOOD production.

Banda   AKAN trading state located in the forest zone of present day GHANA. Banda reached its height of influence in the 14th and 15th centuries. Banda was probably founded around the same time as the founding of the neighboring Akan state of BONO. Though little is known about the Banda kingdom before the 17th century, it is referred to in ARABIC texts from the 14th century, and it is likely that the kingdom emerged in the 13th century, along with development of the West African GOLD trade.

Banda was ruled from the city of Begho, a forest trade center located in the southern region of the kingdom. By the 15th century DYULA traders had established settlements in Begho to take advantage of the important trade routes between the Akan states and the MALI EMPIRE. During the 16th century the gold trade in the area was curtailed considerably and, though Begho would remain an active commercial center, the Banda kingdom no longer wielded influence in the area.

See also: BANDA (Vol. III); BEGHO (Vol. III); WANGARA GOLD FIELDS (Vol. II).

Banjul Present-day capital city of The GAMBIA, located at the mouth of the GAMBIA RIVER. Archaeological evidence suggests that the coastal area around Banjul was inhabited as early as 750. Portuguese explorers visited the area in the 15th century, and British traders followed soon after.

See also: BANJUL (Vols. III, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Bantu expansion Massive movement of Bantu-speaking peoples across subequatorial Africa. This process took place over a couple of millennia. The origins of Bantu-speaking people can be traced to the border region of present-day NIGERIA and CAMEROON beginning about 1000 BCE. At that time they began to migrate to the surrounding savanna regions and tropical rain forests. They settled along the GABON coast, where they initially split into two distinct groups, the Western and Eastern Bantu.

The reasons for the split and subsequent expansion are unclear. Early historians speculated that they coincided with advances in IRON technology, but new theories place more emphasis on the introduction of new crops. Other theorists believe that the Bantu expansion was driven by pressure from encroaching neighbors, or that they were forced to migrate in response to changing climatic conditions in the Sahara. The Western Bantu moved toward ANGOLA, while the Eastern Bantu headed southeast toward the Great Lakes region. The bulk of Bantu expansion occurred during the first millennium CE.

The Bantu-speaking peoples prospered in their new territories, adapting to the region and local customs. Although most of the Bantu dispersion had occurred by the 11th century, the Bantu speakers continued to merge with native groups. Organized Bantu towns and kingdoms began to emerge, replacing the early loose associations. In the Indian Ocean coastal areas, Bantu speakers developed more complex societies as they came in contact with Arab traders. Shungwaya, an extinct Bantu kingdom along the East African coast, reached its height from the 12th to 15th centuries. The success of the kingdom of Shungwaya indicates that the Eastern Bantu were prospering by the 12th century.

Three distinct Bantu groups emerged along the eastern coast: the Sabaki, Waseuta, and Ruvu. These groups, particularly the Sabaki, intermixed with and influenced the local hunters and gatherers. Farther to the south, the Waseuta were known for integrating Indonesian crops into their traditional planting techniques. The Ruvu split into two groups, the East Ruvu and the West Ruvu. The East Ruvu inhabited the lush lowlands, enabling them to grow the same Indonesian crops as their Waseuta neighbors. In contrast, the West Ruvu subsisted on grains and livestock due to the drier climate. At the same time several Bantu groups settled along the southern edge of the eastern coast near Lake Nyasa. Between 1100 and 1600,

the Kilapwa and Songea Bantu migrated throughout the region, absorbing local populations along the way. In the area around Lake Victoria, Bantu-speaking peoples settled between Mara and the Kavirondo Gulf. A second group settled further to the south, near Mount Elgon.

Further inland, in KENYA and TANZANIA, scattered Bantu groups had settled among the Nilotic and Southern Cushitic people by the 12th century. Their willingness to shift from traditional root crops to the millet and sorghum of the native inhabitants allowed the Bantu population to increase rapidly. By the 16th century major expansions and diversification in these areas occurred among the Takama Bantu. The Bantu in the mountain regions of Kilimanjaro and Kenya were responsible for the development of highland AGRICULTURE that could support an essential new crop, the BANANA. Closer to the Great Lakes, the Bantu intermixed with pastoralists.

The expansion of the East Bantu-speaking peoples continued pushing to the south. The Shona (or their immediate ancestors) were responsible for developing the major state centered at GREAT ZIMBABWE. Located on the central plateau inland from the coastal lowlands, it thrived from about 1100 until 1450. The southern-most Bantu speakers were the Nguni sub-group, with the Xhosa, who settled in what today is the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa.

The Bantu expansion came to a halt when it reached land that was unsuitable for rain-fed agriculture and insufficient to support grazing. It did not, for example, extend into the more arid regions of southern Africa such as Karoo and the Namib Desert.

There were too many Bantu-speaking subgroups to chart them all in detail. Each developed its own customs and traditions as it intermixed with local peoples. As a result, Bantu speakers are connected by the language they speak, and not by social, economic, or religious customs.

See also: BANTU EXPANSION (Vol. I); BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

Further reading: Christopher Ehret, *An African Classical Age: Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 BC to AD 400* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1998).

Banu Marin See MARINIDS.

Banyoro See NYORO.

Bariba (Borgawa) Ethnic group of the Borgu region in present-day northern Republic of BENIN and NIGERIA. In precolonial times Bariba was best known for its IRONWORKING. The Bariba are one of the three subgroups of the Bargu (the Borgo and Borgenci being the other two)

that speak a Voltaic dialect belonging to the Niger-Congo language family. Early Bariba people may have been the Wasangari. The Wasangari were precolonial raiders of Batonum, Mokole, Boko, and FULANI descent. Other theories attribute Bariba ancestry solely to the Batonum.

Traditional Bariba dwellings were mud-brick structures organized around a courtyard that served as the kitchen. The Bariba were accomplished CRAFTSPEOPLE, sometimes recognizable by their unique woven hats (which some older Bariba still wear today), but they were mostly known for their work with metal.

The Bariba ethnic group still has a presence in regions of Nigeria and the Republic of Benin and also in parts of BURKINA FASO and TOGO.

See also: BARIBA METALLURGY (Vol. II); NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

Bariba metallurgy Metalworking techniques of the BARIBA, an ethnic group that inhabited the Borgu region in NIGERIA and and present-day Republic of BENIN. Due to the abundance of IRON ores found just beneath the earth's surface in Borgu, IRONWORKING was common in traditional Bariba societies. For the Bariba, ironworking involved mining, ore preparation, fuel collection, furnace building, smelting, refining, and smithing.

Mining was a FAMILY affair that occurred over a period of several months in order to build a reserve large enough for smelting. The most common fuels used by the Bariba were slow-burning hardwoods, which were placed in termite clay furnaces where smelting techniques were used to separate the iron from slag. The iron was then worked by a smith, who was held in high esteem in Bariba culture.

Like other groups, the Bariba considered metalworking a sacred rite, so elaborate ceremonies accompanied the smithing process. They believed that knowledge of ironworking was passed to smiths from God through an earthly intermediary. This intermediary existed in the form of a sea crab, which the Bariba believed lived in the anvil of the smith's forge. The Bariba often sacrificed goats out of respect for the crab, and they believed that anyone who touched the smithing tools would be cursed with illness.

See also: METALLURGY (Vol. I); METALWORKING (Vol. I).

bark fiber The soft inside layer of the protective outer covering of trees. For centuries, it has been woven into a light, versatile cloth throughout Africa. The history of bark fiber production is not clear. Archaeological evidence suggests that it originated in Central Africa and moved east into KENYA, TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, and MALAWI. While it is unknown when bark fiber production began, the most prolific periods of bark cloth production on record occurred in the 18th and 19th centuries, before Europeans brought substantial amounts of their own cloth to Africa. By the mid-20th century bark fiber production had virtually disappeared in favor of more durable and easily obtainable European cloth.

Bark cloth was typically produced by harvesting the inner bark of *Ficus* and *Brachystegia* trees. Both of these trees could survive only in the wet regions of Africa, so bark cloth was not made in the desert regions. The trees were easy to cultivate and matured quickly. They were ready to harvest only three years after planting. The first harvest always yielded poor quality fiber, but by its fourth harvest, the tree reached its prime. Trees could be harvested for 20 to 30 years if the bark was stripped annually to prevent the healing skin from becoming too stiff.

Many African peoples practiced a bark harvesting ritual. Those who participated in the harvest had to abide by strict rules. For instance, the cutter was not allowed to drink anything or have any oil on his body before cutting. It was considered bad luck if he perspired on the bark, and he had to wash the bark in cold water if the tree had an unusually large amount of sap. To prevent the trunk from drying, the cutter worked in the early morning or late afternoon. He would cut a horizontal slash around the base and top of the trunk and then make a vertical cut down the length of the tree. He could then peel off the bark in large rectangular sections. In UGANDA, a harvester covered the tree trunk with animal dung and wrapped it in BANANA leaves to accelerate the healing process.

The harvested bark was soaked in water for several days until it was soft enough to remove the inner bark fibers. A wood mallet was then used to beat the bark pulp, which caused the fibers to intertwine. After folding and pounding the cloth numerous times, the cloth maker would wring out the excess water and set the cloth out to dry. The cloth would then be stretched and kneaded by hand for several hours, making it soft and pliable. The best cloths were thin, yet strong, and relatively free from holes or patches.

By the time the cloth was finished, the bark fibers had become tightly intertwined into the fabric. Although it was not particularly strong, good bark cloth could be used for a variety of purposes. Many peoples used it as clothing, particularly for cloaks. It was also used to make burial shrouds. For instance, the bodies of dignitaries in southern Uganda would be wrapped in 50 or 60 of the cloths in preparation for burial. It could also be sewn into sacks to store grain, salt, or personal belongings. Many groups made lightweight bedding or floor mats from the cloth. The European settlers used it to make cushion covers and roofs for temporary shelters. Today, with modern technology, the arduous process of turning bark fiber into cloth is a dying African ART.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Barmandana (Baramendena) (fl. c. 1050) *Muslim ruler who brought Islam to the Mali Empire during the 11th century*

Barmandana, a MANDINKA king, governed the MANDE-speaking peoples of the MALI EMPIRE as a *mansa,* or appointed caste leader. His position eventually evolved into that of a king.

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During Barmandana's rule, Mali suffered a debilitating drought. According to legend, a visitor to the Mandinka court advised Barmandana that his conversion to ISLAM would bring rain. So the *mansa* adopted the faith and, so the story goes, the rains fell, thus encouraging several of Barmandana's subjects to convert also. The *mansa* didn't force any of his subjects to accept Islam, however. Instead, many Mandinka maintained their old beliefs, enjoying a religious freedom that was maintained for hundreds of years.

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Mali, which during Barmandana's rule was a subordinate kingdom to the powerful GHANA EMPIRE, was served well by his conversion to Islam (even though most of the people of his kingdom continued to practice their traditional, non-Muslim RELIGION). Mali's status as a Muslim kingdom helped it to become incorporated into the developing Sudanic and TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES, which were controlled by Islamic interests. Within a few centuries after Barmandana's rule, Mali would be the most powerful empire in West Africa.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II, III, IV, V).

Basoga See SOGA.

Batoro See TORO.

beads and jewelry Items often used in Africa for trade and body ornamentation. Although many African groups used them differently, beads and jewelry were an important part of both special rituals and daily life. Beads often decorated clothing, jewelry, sheaths for staffs, masks, and various religious objects. Depending on custom, jewelry was made in a variety of styles and materials. Items made of GOLD, silver, COPPER, cowrie shells, IVORY, beads, and clay have been found in different parts of Africa. To gain a broader understanding of practices throughout Africa, the individual groups must be explored.

A rich display of bone, BRONZE, ivory, and gold jewelry as well as glass beads was found at archaeological sites of the IGBO culture in present-day NIGERIA, in West Africa. It is thought that these materials were imported in the eighth century from lands in the ancient GHANA EMPIRE Early Berber traders probably brought them to the area. The Ghana Empire, located in the western SUDAN, was a powerful and wealthy kingdom, with vast supplies of gold, ivory, and silver. Intricate bracelets, necklaces, and pendants have been found at early sites in the region. Stylistic similarities between early Ghanaian jewelry and that of neighboring kingdoms indicate extensive contact between early Sudanese civilizations.

The SAO people of the Chari Delta near Lake Chad got their inspiration from Mediterranean and Nilotic traders. Their copper, silver, and clay jewelry has an international flair that emerged sometime in the 10th century. In the region of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO, Bantu speakers made copper wire bracelets, copper beads, and ivory necklaces as early as the eighth and ninth centuries. For many of the semi-nomadic people of the African interior, jewelry was made from materials more easily obtainable like shells and beads. Although contact with coastal traders influenced the jewelry stylistically, it was not until ARABS penetrated the African interior in the ninth century that jewelry began to reflect external influences.

Around the same time, the ASHANTI of present day GHANA, along the Gold Coast, prospered as gold traders. Masks, pendants, and jewelry were produced in large quantities. They were primarily used in religious ceremonies and worn by royalty. Gold rings on chains were popular among aristocrats. Beads, prevalent in Ashanti society, decorated ceremonial items like masks and were even used as currency in the early SALT TRADE and other transactions.

Some African peoples like the FULANI of West Africa used decorative body painting as a form of jewelry. They also braided cowrie shells, silver, or beads in their hair and decorated their garments with chains. Copper anklets were worn to indicate the age and status of the wearer.

See also: COWRIE SHELLS (Vol. I); CRAFTSPEOPLE (Vol. II); MASKS (Vol. I); MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vol. I, II, III, IV, V).

Beja Ethnic group, also known as Hedareb nomads, located in the eastern Republic of the SUDAN, and parts of ERITREA, ETHIOPIA, and EGYPT. For much of their history, the Beja were considered "pagans," and they were one of the few groups to resist both CHRISTIANITY and ISLAM. However, as early as the sixth century, some Beja did become Christians when the regions of Ethiopia and Eritrea they inhabited made up the Christian kingdom of AKSUM.

When it was discovered that Beja territories held many GOLD mines, Muslim rulers in what is now Iraq dispatched troops to the region. After a few skirmishes, these troops subdued the Beja and forced them to pay annual tribute in gold. By the 14th century most Beja had been converted to Islam, primarily as a result of frequent intermarriage with the ARABS who settled in the region. Despite their embrace of Islam, however, many Beja groups continued to practice their traditional beliefs.

See also: BEJA (Vol. I).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *The History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1995); The Diagram Group, *Peoples of North Africa* (New York: Facts On File, 1997); Antonio L. Palmisano, *Ethnicity: The Beja as Representation* (Berlin: Arabische Buch, 1991).

Benin, Republic of Country in coastal West Africa measuring approximately 43,500 square miles (112,700 sq km) that shares borders with NIGER and BURKINA FASO to the north, TOGO to the east, the Atlantic Ocean to the south, and NIGERIA on the west. During the medieval period, the history of the northern regions of Benin was tied to the wider trends in the history of the western Sudanic belt. Northern Benin became a center of large-scale iron making because of its rich and readily exploitable deposits of IRON ore plus the large quantities of trees that made excellent charcoal for smelting. These resources led the BARIBA people to develop their renowned BARIBA METALLURGY.

Perhaps as early as the 12th century the AJA, who were an EWE-speaking people, moved from what is now Togo into the southern part of the country. Their principle village, ALLADA, emerged by the 16th century to become the capital of the area's most powerful state. That kingdom, also known as Great Arda, was ruled by a king aided by a body of elders, who wielded considerable political power. In the early 17th century a political dispute within the royal family led to the founding of the state that became DAHOMEY.

See also: BENIN, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Benin, kingdom of Ancient EDO state located in present-day southern NIGERIA. (The Benin kingdom should not be confused with the present-day country of the same name.) For nearly 3,000 years Edo peoples have inhabited a large area west of the Niger River in what is now the Benin province of southern Nigeria. Originally, single-family settlements dominated the area; however, about the fifth century, village communities formed to provide families with greater defense and allow them more efficient use of natural resources.

While these communities developed a network of trade routes, successful villages grew into towns. One such town, Benin, evolved into a hereditary monarchy ruled by a king, or OBA, and a court of hereditary chiefs, called UZAMAS. Benin remained a small Edo state until the 15th century, when, sometime after 1480, it was conquered by EWUARE (c. 1440–1480), a great warrior chief. Ewuare rebuilt the destroyed city around a centrally located grand royal palace. In the palace he housed the skilled artisans who created the ART for which Benin is known today.

During his reign Ewuare instituted the law of primogeniture, by which the son's reign would follow that of his father. Ewuare also expanded the borders of Benin, creating a sprawling kingdom by conquering neighboring peoples. There is some debate as to whether Ewuare was still *oba* when Portuguese MERCHANTS arrived late in the 15th century, but, in any case, Benin was powerful enough to maintain peaceful and cooperative trade with the Europeans.

This bronze head of an unnamed princess was made in the kingdom of Benin (c. 1360 to 1500). It is displayed at the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts. © *Burstein Collection/Corbis*

Benin art from the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries is widely regarded as some of the best African art from that period. Artisans and CRAFTSPEOPLE were commissioned by the *obas* to create detailed BRONZE castings in the likenesses of celebrated royal family members. These bronze sculptures also had distinctive markings that helped the royal FAMILY to record its history. Other interesting items made by Benin's artists included IVORY carvings, bronze bells, and special hip or belt masks, which were worn by the *obas* during special ceremonies.

See also: BENIN, KINGDOM OF (Vol. III, IV); BENIN, BIGHT OF (Vol. III); BENIN CITY (Vol. III, IV, V); NIGER DELTA (Vol. I); NIGER RIVER (Vol. I).

Benue River   Longest tributary of the Niger River, in West Africa. During the medieval period, the Benue was an important water highway for the TRANSPORTATION of trade goods and people. The Benue originates in the highlands of northern CAMEROON and flows into central NIGERIA. The fertile triangular region around the confluence of the two rivers has been home to a number of peoples, including the Nupe and Kwararafa (who established two of the minor HAUSA STATES), IGALA, Igbira, and Jukun. During the 14th and 15th centuries, these peoples were able to take advantage of the ideal farming conditions to carry on trade with the YORUBA states downstream and with the land CARAVANS that brought goods to and from the SUDAN to the north.

See also: KWARARAFA (Vol. III); NUPE (Vol. III).

Berbers   Ethnic group of northwest Africa and the Sahara who established ruling dynasties that controlled much of North Africa and southern Spain from the 11th century to the 13th century. In the fifth century the Berbers constituted two distinct groups: agriculturalists who settled along the southern coast of the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, and nomadic pastoralists who lived in the mountain passes and on the steppes of northern Africa. As early as the fifth century some of the Berbers who lived along the coast had become MERCHANTS and traded their agricultural goods and foodstuffs for manufactured Mediterranean goods.

The Berbers of the interior were largely assimilated by invading Arab Muslims beginning in the seventh century. By the 10th century Fatimid Berbers controlled much of EGYPT and the Red Sea coast, and the SANHAJA BERBERS controlled vast areas of the Sahara. By the 11th

century practically all of the Berbers of North Africa had converted to ISLAM. From the 11th to the 13th centuries these Islamic Berber clans dominated North Africa. Their most powerful ruling dynasties were the FATIMIDS, ALMORAVIDS, ALMOHADS, MARINIDS, Zayyanids, and Hafsids.

At the height of its power, the Berber empire included the African regions of MOROCCO, ALGERIA, LIBYA, EGYPT, and northern NIGER. They also controlled most of southern Spain, an area they called al-ANDALUS. Berber-controlled cities in Africa included TUNIS, MARRAKECH, TLEMCEN, and al-Qahira (CAIRO) in the north, and TIMBUKTU and AUDAGHOST, trans-Saharan trade centers of the western SUDAN. By the end of the 13th century Berber dynasties no longer held sway in the western Sahara, but the Berber people did assimilate into the Islamic Arab culture that assumed power in the region.

During the 14th and 15th centuries many of the trading routes in the Sudan were run by a semi-nomadic people called TUAREGS, who claim descent from the original Berber clans of North Africa.

See also: BERBERS (Vols. I, III, IV, V); NOMADS (Vol. I); SAHARA DESERT (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996).

Beta Israel (Falasha)   Ethiopian agriculturalists who long practiced the Jewish faith. The origins of the Beta Israel are unclear, and the many legends about their beginnings often conflict. However, it is clear that they were practicing their faith within various parts of ETHIOPIA well before the beginning of the Common Era.

The Beta Israel subscribe to religious and cultural practices similar to Judaism; their name, Beta Israel, means "House of Israel." They practice an ancient biblical form of Judaism, guided by the Orit (the Pentateuch, or first five books of the bible, translated into GE'EZ), but possess none of the post-biblical laws and interpretations collected in the Talmud. However, unlike conventional Jewish practice, they pray in Ge'ez, the ancient Ethiopian vernacular and liturgical language, and practice both male and female circumcision.

In the second half of the 12th century the legend of Prester John—a Christian priest who ruled over a vast empire in the East—began to circulate throughout Europe. In some versions of this legend, Prester John's kingdom is identified with Ethiopia (called Abyssinia at the time). Rumors based on these legends claimed that

the Beta Israel were at constant war with Prester John and that their armies were advancing on Rome.

Various traditions explain the origins of the Beta Israel. One holds that they are an AGAW people who were converted to Judaism before the ancient Ethiopian kingdom of AKSUM was Christianized in the fourth century. The contrary tradition holds that they are Jewish migrants from EGYPT, possibly connected to the house of Dan (the fifth of the Twelve Tribes of Israel descended from the 12 sons of Jacob) who entered Ethiopia early in the common era. The word *falasha* means "stranger," "exile," or "immigrant" in Ge'ez and characterizes the distinctiveness of the Beta Israel within Ethiopian culture.

Although there is evidence that the Beta Israel were persecuted for assisting the Agaw, who resisted the rule of AKSUM (c. 900–1000), few facts are known about the Beta Israel until the Christian emperors of the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY began persecuting them in the 14th and 15th centuries. They had begun to be regarded as an identifiable group during Ethiopia's Heroic Age that began c. 1270, when many legends about Ethiopia's past began to take form. In the following century they had grown into a populous and prosperous community numbering in the many thousands.

By the 15th century ruling Ethiopian monarchs such as ZARA YAKOB (r. 1434–1468) and his son Baeda Maryam (r. 1468–1478) were actively engaged in warfare against the Beta Israel. These organized massacres led to heavy losses among the Beta Israel.

See also: BETA ISRAEL (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: From Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1992).

Betsimisaraka Ethnic group of the island of MADAGASCAR, located off East Africa. Primarily fishers, traders and farmers, the Betsimisaraka lived along a narrow section of the eastern Madagascar coast. Their ancestors were a mix of African, Malayo-Indonesian, and Arab peoples who spoke the West Austronesian language of MALAGASY. This diverse group of people became known as the *Betsimisaraka,* which translates literally as "the inseparable multitude." Before establishing their own kingdom in the early 18th century, the Betsimisaraka were pirates, sailors, whalers, and fishermen.

See also: BETSIMISARAKA (Vol. III); INDONESIAN COLONISTS (Vol. II).

Bigo (Bigo bya Mugenyi) Archaeological site in present-day UGANDA, dating to the 14th and 15th centuries, known for its massive earthworks. Located on the Katonga River, Bigo was probably one of the capitals of the rulers of the CHWEZI DYNASTY, who ruled the KITARA COMPLEX of chiefdoms. Archaeological evidence points to its origins around the mid-14th century. Excavations revealed that the site's inhabitants raised a substantial number of cattle and abandoned the area in the mid-16th century when the Nilotic-speaking LUO people encroached on their territory.

Bigo is best known as the site of large earthworks built and occupied between about 1350 and 1550. The longest of these vast ditches stretch for approximately 6.5 miles (10.5 km). In many places carved from solid rock, the earthworks are up to 20 feet (6.1 m) deep and 30 feet (9.1 m) wide. The purpose for these earthworks is not fully understood, but they clearly required a large LABOR force to construct.

Further reading: J. E. G. Sutton, *Ntusi and Bigo: Farmers, Cattle-herders and Rulers in Western Uganda, AD 1000–1500* (Nairobi, Kenya: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2000).

Bilad al-Sudan Expression in ARABIC meaning "Land of the Blacks." Bilad-al Sudan was the term generally used by ARABS to describe the area south of the Sahara in western Africa and located above the forest belt. ISLAM came to Africa in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Dyago dynasty of the kingdom of TEKRUR converted to Islam in 850 and were the first black people to become Muslims. Their territory was given the name Bilad-al Sudan by Islamic geographers and historians.

In geography, the term *the SUDAN* refers to the strip of semiarid land between the lower edge of the Sahara and the equatorial rain forests, as well as the region south of the Sahara in the present-day Republic of the SUDAN.

The introduction of Islam led to increased trade, wealth, and literacy in western Africa. Within this dynamic setting, the three great empires of GHANA, MALI, and SONGHAI developed. The work of Muslim scholars of the time has allowed a great deal to be known about the history of Bilad-al Sudan prior to the era of European contact and exploitation that became prevalent after 1500.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II, III, IV, V); SAHARA DESERT (Vols. I, II).

Biram   One of the seven independent HAUSA STATES located between the Niger River and Lake Chad. According to Hausa oral traditions, Biram was founded and ruled by a man named Biram, the son of Bayajida and the princess Magira, of Bornu. As with the other Hausa states, Biram was an important trading center. It was also the original seat of the Hausa government.

Bissau   Important port city of the MALI EMPIRE from the 13th to the 15th centuries. Located at the mouth of the GEBA RIVER on the Atlantic Ocean, Bissau was populated primarily by the Balanta, Fula, and Manjaca peoples. Bissau's ECONOMY was based on AGRICULTURE because of its warm, rainy climate. Local crops included yams, beans, kola nuts, millet, rice, and other grains.

See also: BISSAU (Vols. III, IV); GUINEA-BISSAU (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations Along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400–1900* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2003).

Bito (Babito)   Nilotic people who established several East African kingdoms, including the influential BUNYORO state. The LUO-speaking ancestors of the Bito originally inhabited the southern areas of the present-day Republic of the SUDAN, living peacefully along the Bahr al-Ghazal tributary of the White Nile, where they grew millet and raised cattle.

During a period that extended from the seventh to the 11th centuries, some of these Luo-speaking pastoralists migrated toward the Agoro Mountains, where they intermarried with the local people and lived as hunters and farmers. After an outbreak of disease devastated their livestock, many Luo migrated across the Nile. According to oral traditions, it was these Luo who, in the latter 14th century, headed south to the Great Lakes region of interior East Africa. At that time the chiefdoms of the region, known collectively as the KITARA COMPLEX, were ruled by WAMARA, a king of the CHWEZI DYNASTY, who had only recently come to power. Despite attempts by Wamara to integrate them into the local governing structures, the Luo immigrants never fully assimilated. Political unrest between the people living in Kitara was exacerbated by a severe famine, leading to the end of Chwezi rule and the rise of the Luo.

According to some traditions, a military commander who was appointed to office by Wamara ultimately killed the Chwezi king. This commander, Kagoro, founded the new state of BUNYORO, also called Bunyoro-Kitara. Kagoro was followed by Owiny I and then by Prince Rukidi. Rukidi's ruling clan was probably the first Luo group to be officially recognized as Bito people, or Babito. The Bito rulers encountered much hostility from the Bantu speakers within their new kingdom and were eventually forced to move their capital to BUGANGAIZI. As their power increased, they expanded their territory south into TORO and even claimed parts of the HINDA states of NKOLE and RWANDA. In addition, Rukidi's brother moved east to found BUSOGA, thereby creating another Bito kingdom.

In Bunyoro, the people under Bito rule continued to practice agriculture and raise livestock. They were open to various forms of RELIGION and emphasized loyalty to the king above all else. At first, kings were given almost divine status and were freed from such traditional practices as appointing tribal chiefs according to heredity. Instead the kings were able to make autonomous decisions regarding the kingdom. However, before long, the Bito returned to their traditional government structures, relying more on hereditary rights and clan lineage than on a centralized political power.

See also: BITO (Vol. III); CLAN (Vol. I); LINEAGE (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

blacksmiths   See BLACKSMITHS (Vol. I); CRAFTSPEOPLE (Vol. II); IRON (Vol. II); IRONWORKING (Vol. II); *NUMUW* (Vol. II); *NYAMAKALAW* (Vol. II).

Bobo (Bwa)   Ethnic group of the Volta River basin in West Africa. The Bobo are a subgroup of the Mossi peoples who settled in areas of present-day BURKINA FASO and IVORY COAST. Prior to the 15th century the DYULA established a trade settlement in Bobo territory, south of JENNE. Called Bobo-Dioulasso, it was part of a network of trade routes that connected it with OUAGADOUGOU, the capital of the GHANA EMPIRE and the center of the West African GOLD trade.

> The Bobo have long been known as excellent CRAFTSPEOPLE and artists. Their traditional masks, some of which measure 6 feet high, are popular items on the modern African ART market.

Like other Mossi people, the Bobo lived in autonomous, village communities dominated by paternal lineages and maintained using a caste system.

See also: MOSSI STATES (Vols. II, III, IV).

Bonny   Atlantic port city located in NIGERIA. Bonny served as the capital of the kingdom of Bonny beginning in the 1400s, and it was the primary trading center of the

IJO people. In 1505 the Portuguese captain Pacheco Pereira reported a "large village of some 2,000 dwellings," which has been identified as Bonny. The name of the city is derived from *Ibani,* the local name of the area.

See also: BONNY (Vol. III).

Bono People and state located west of the VOLTA RIVER in what is now the country of GHANA. Bono was founded in the first half of the 15th century by the FANTE, a subgroup of the AKAN people, who occupied the forests of coastal Ghana. Bono contained numerous GOLD fields, and quickly developed into a major supplier in the trans-Saharan gold trade. Bono's capital, Bono-Mansu, was an active stop on the trade route from the northern city of JENNE.

The kings of Bono, and especially Obunumankoma, who reigned from 1450 to 1475, are thought to have increased Bono's gold production by introducing advanced mining technology to the Akan fields.

The original Fante founders of Bono were not converts to ISLAM. However, Muslim DYULA traders in Bono and the neighboring kingdoms of BANDA and Begho were instrumental to the prosperity of the region. During the late 15th and 16th century some rulers of Bono were Muslims.

See also: BEGHO (Vol. III); BONO (Vol. III).

Borkou (Borku) Southeastern SAHARA DESERT region located in CHAD, between the Tibesti Massif and the Ennedi Plateau. The most important settlement in the region is the oasis town of Faya. Although the harsh climate made life difficult, a small number of nomadic ARABS, BERBERS, and TEDA people populated the area, perhaps as early as the seventh century. By the 13th century Borkou was crossed by TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES that linked West Africa with Cyrenaica, in LIBYA. Muslim pilgrims en route to MECCA from West Africa also passed through the region.

See also: CYRENE (Vol. I); TIBESTI (Vol. III).

Bornu Early kingdom in present-day NIGERIA. Founded about 850 on the southwestern shores of Lake CHAD, Bornu was originally inhabited by the SAO, a group known for their trans-Saharan trading activities. As early as the 11th century, Bornu came under the control of the *mais,* or kings, of the SEFUWA dynasty from the neighboring kingdom of KANEM, with its capital at NJIMI, east of Lake Chad. Under the Sefuwa rulers, Bornu's borders expanded. Trade routes north brought great wealth to the kingdom, and the CITY-STATE of KANO, to the west, even payed tribute. By about 1240 both Bornu and Kanem had largely been converted to Islam, and the combined kingdoms became known as the trading empire of KANEM-BORNU. About 1488 the Sefuwa moved their capital from Njimi to NGAZARGAMU, in Bornu.

Botswana Present-day landlocked country of approximately 231,800 square miles (600,400 sq km) in southern Africa that is located on the African Plateau. Botswsana is bordered by present-day ZAMBIA, ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA, and SOUTH AFRICA. Botswana is mostly semiarid desert and sparse savanna. The terrain is dominated by the Okavango Swamp to the northwest, rocky hill ranges to the east, and the KALAHARI DESERT to the south. Other than the Chobe, Okavango, and LIMPOPO rivers, no other dependable water source exists in Botswana. Thus the country is sparsely inhabited, albeit by diverse groups of people. Approximately half of the population is ethnic Tswana, while the remainder is composed of Kgalagadi, Ngwato, Tswapong, Birwa, and Kalanga peoples.

The early inhabitants of Botswana were the nomadic San and KHOIKHOI peoples, both of whom were pastoralists whose ancestors lived in the region for thousands of years. Bantu-speaking people migrated to the area around the first century CE. Settling throughout Botswana, by the eighth century the Bantu speakers migrated as far east as the Kgalagadi region. By the 13th century new kingdoms had been established at Gabane to the south and in the Tsodilo Hills to the north.

The most numerous people in Botswana, the Tswana, migrated to present-day SOUTH AFRICA in the 11th and 12th centuries. They established dynasties near the Vaal River, where they farmed and raised cattle. These seminomadic people did not establish extensive permanent settlements in Botswana until the 18th century.

See also: BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II); BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); BOTSWANA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV); SAN (Vols. I, III); TRANSVAAL (Vol. IV); TSWANA (Vols. I, III, IV).

Brass (Nembe) Kingdom or chiefdom located in present-day NIGERIA at the convergence of the Niger and Brass rivers, in the Niger Delta. Originally a fishing village called Nembe, Brass was founded in the 12th century by NEMBE people (an IJO subgroup). By the middle of the 15th century, the Nembe people had a monarchy, and in the 17th century the port became a slave-trading center known to Europeans as Brass.

Brong West African ethnic group and the region that they occupy in present-day GHANA. A subgroup of the AKAN people, the Brong traditionally have lived in regions of present-day IVORY COAST and the Brong region of Ghana. Their language, Twi, belongs to the Kwa branch of the NIGER-CONGO family. Archaeological evidence suggests that the early inhabitants of the Brong region were pastoralists who also engaged in a limited amount of agriculture. The chief components of Brong civilization, which emerged from the sixth to 11th centuries, included METALWORK, urban development, long-distance trade, and the formation of a state-based political system.

See also: AHAFO (Vol. III); BRONG (Vol. III); PASTORALISM (Vol. I).

bronze Alloy of COPPER and tin used in metalworking throughout Africa. The use of copper alloys developed in the northern regions of the continent, but by the fifth century coppersmithing technology had spread into SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA via TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES.

Due to its softness and scarcity, copper was primarily used for decorative objects. Bronze, on the other hand, was a much harder metal, so it was often used to make weapons and tools. Bronze was not used exclusively for practical purposes, though. Archaeological evidence indicates that as early as the ninth century, peoples of GUINEA and CAMEROON were casting bronze ornaments using the LOST-WAX PROCESS.

See also: BENIN, KINGDOM OF (Vol. II); BRONZE AGE (Vol. I).

Buganda Early East African kingdom established by the GANDA people near Lake VICTORIA, in present-day UGANDA. Founded near the end of the 14th century, Buganda became the most powerful kingdom in East Africa in the 19th century.

Modern historians refer to the clans that settled in the Buganda area from the 13th to the 16th century as making up the Kintu complex, a collection of loosely aligned, multiethnic states that also included Busoga and Bugisu, on the western slopes of Mount Elgon. These peoples established settlements as they migrated southward from their homelands in what is now northwestern Uganda. According to Ganda oral tradition, the people of Buganda were first united under a *kabaka* (king) called SEKABAKA KINTU. However, some historians believe that the first Buganda king was a prince named Kimera (fl. early 15th century), a member of the LUO-speaking BITO aristocracy who was sent from the neighboring kingdom of BUNYORO, to the west.

Buganda social structure was based on paternal lineages. Regional chiefs served beneath the king, who acquired his wealth and power largely by raiding weaker neighboring kingdoms. The inhabitants of Buganda, sometimes called the Baganda, relied primarily on AGRICULTURE for their livelihood. They grew bananas, in particular, which were a major source of nourishment and were used to make beer. Buganda reached the height of its power in the 19th century.

Ganda oral tradition says that Sekabaka Kintu (a name meaning "First Man") and his wife, Nambi, not only founded Buganda along the shores of Lake Victoria, but also made the first cattle and BANANA plants in the region.

See also: BUGANDA (Vols. III, IV, V); BUSOGA (Vol. III).
Further reading: M. S. M. Semakula Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda from the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900* (New York: Africana Pub. Corp., 1972).

Bugangaizi Early kingdom of the Great Lakes region of East Africa. During the 10th and 11th centuries Bantu-speaking agriculturalists migrated to the region in large numbers, forming several small kingdoms, including Bugangaizi. By about 1250 several other small, Bantu-speaking kingdoms had emerged as offshoots of Bugangaizi. During the 14th century these small pastoral kingdoms were ruled by NDAHURA, the semimythical first king of the CHWEZI DYNASTY. Over the next half-century, he and his Chwezi successors united the region's many kingdoms into what is now called the KITARA COMPLEX. By the early 15th century, however, most of Kitara, including Bugangaizi, had fallen under the control of LUO-speaking pastoralists, who had invaded from the north.

See also: BANTU EXPANSION (Vol. I).

Bulala (Boulala) Nomadic people from the area around Lake Fitri, east of Lake CHAD, who invaded Kanem in the 14th century. The Bulala took advantage of Kanem's weakened SEFUWA dynasty, whose kings, or *mais,* had ruled the KANEM-BORNU trading empire since about the 10th century. Without a strong and unified military force defending it, the kingdom was especially vulnerable. Bulala attacks forced the Kanem *mai,* or king, Umar ibn Idris (r. 1382–1387), to abandon his capital at NJIMI, east of Lake Chad. He subsequently led his Kanuri-speaking Kanembu people to settle in Bornu, on the western shore of Lake Chad. After ousting the Sefuwa *mai*, the Bulala ruled Kanem into the early 16th century, when the Sefuwa rulers retook their original kingdom.

Bunyoro (Bunyoro-Kitara) Kingdom of the NYORO people in present-day UGANDA. The early Nilotic-speaking ancestors of the Nyoro probably arrived in the region during the eighth century. Once there they mixed with Bantu-speaking people who arrived from the west about the same time. The new groups that emerged from this cultural mix spoke Bantu and grew BANANAS as well as sorghum and other grains in their small villages. They also raised cattle.

Eventually the villages grew into a collection of small states. According to local oral histories, in the mid-14th century these states came under the control of rulers of the CHWEZI DYNASTY, who founded a loosely organized empire that became known as the KITARA COMPLEX. During the reign of the second Chwezi king, WAMARA, the Kitara complex was invaded from the north by Nilotic LUO-speaking pastoralists. Although the Chwezi and Nyoro traditions do not agree on exactly what happened next, it is clear that the Luo ultimately overthrew the Chwezi king and established their own monarchy in Bunyoro; some of the former Chwezi subjects were incorporated into Bunyoro. The Luo rulers of Bunyoro imposed many of their own traditions, but they did adopt the Bantu language spoken in the region.

By 1500 the BITO clan of the Luo was well established as the Bunyoro aristocracy. Bito members also left Bunyoro to conquer other settlements in the region and eventually founded the states of BUGANDA and TORO, as well as Buruli and Busoga.

See also: BUNYORO (Vols. III, IV); BUSOGA (Vol. III).

Further reading: David Lee Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, a Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1998).

Burkina Faso Landlocked West African country of some 105,900 square miles (274,300 sq km) bordered by present-day Republic of BENIN, IVORY COAST, GHANA, Republic of MALI, and TOGO. Lying on a sloping plateau, Burkina Faso's terrain includes extensive plains, low hills, and high savannas, as well as a northern desert. Apart from Stone Age axes that have been found in the north, the region's first inhabitants left few clues as to who they were and how they lived. The most widely accepted theory is that they were agriculturalists who settled the savanna west of the Mouhoun (Black Volta) River, perhaps around 1100.

By the 13th century the ancestors of the Mossi people began migrating into the area from the east. By 1500 they were joined by horsemen from the north who subjugated the peoples they found in the region. From these groups eventually arose the MOSSI STATES.

See also: BURKINA FASO (Vols. I, III, IV, V); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. II); UPPER VOLTA (Vols. IV, V).

Burundi Landlocked country in east-central Africa, some 10,700 square miles (27,700 sq km) in size, bordered by RWANDA to the north, TANZANIA to the east and south, and Lake TANGANYIKA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the west.

With its rich volcanic soils, Burundi saw a steady growth of AGRICULTURE as practiced by Bantu-speaking farmers in the years between 500 and 1500. The use of IRON for weapons and tools steadily increased among these people, who were the ancestors of the modern HUTU. With forests providing plenty of wood for making the charcoal used to smelt the iron, Burundi quickly was on the way to becoming one of the most densely populated parts of the continent. Paradoxically, the clearing of land for farming and the felling of the forests for making charcoal opened up the region for pastoralism. This ultimately paved the way for TUTSI pastoralists to move into Burundi with their herds. By the 17th century the Tutsi had established the Burundi kingdom with themselves as the ruling elite.

See also: BURUNDI (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Byzantine Africa Region of North Africa, including EGYPT and part of present-day LIBYA, that belonged to the Byzantine Empire from the third century CE until the rise of ISLAM, in the seventh century. Africa held an important place in the scheme designed by Byzantine emperor Justinian (r. 527–565) for reuniting the Roman Empire and driving out the Germanic Vandals, who had invaded Africa near the end of the fourth century. While Justinian's own invasion attempt was unsuccessful, his general, Belisarius, later succeeded. In 533 Belisarius landed in North Africa and within a year had destroyed the Vandal kingdom.

Justinian and his wife, Theodora (c. 502–548), were instrumental in the construction, and particularly the decoration, of churches in Byzantine Africa as well as in the reestablishment of Christian orthodoxy. Little is known of Byzantine Africa after the death of Justinian. The power of the military in the provinces grew, and between 585 and 591 a new official, the *exarch,* was placed in charge. The court of Constantinople tended to neglect Africa because of the more immediate dangers on the eastern and Balkan borders, and the *exarch* functioned as the court's deputy in Africa. In 610 Heraclius (575–641), son of the ruling *exarch*, sailed from Carthage to Greece in revolt against the unpopular emperor Phocas (r. 602–610). Heraclius succeeded Phocas the same year.

Africa still held some importance to the empire in the early seventh century. The Persians had overrun much of the eastern part of the empire, including Egypt, and at one point reached the walls of Constantinople. Only Africa appeared able to provide the resources and recruits needed to keep the empire secure. Heraclius briefly entertained

The Byzantine basilica called Hagia Sophia in Constantinople was once one of the premier churches in Christendom and the administrative headquarters of the Church in Africa. The building, which dates to around 535, became a mosque after the fall of Byzantium to the Ottomans. It is shown here in a lithograph by Louis Haghe (1826–1885), as based on a drawing by Chevalier Caspar Fussati. © *Historical Picture Archive/Corbis*

leaving Constantinople to return to Carthage but, heeding popular sentiment within the capital, decided to stay.

The rise of Islam, however, ended the Persian threat and also removed Egypt from Byzantine rule. Muslim Arab armies invaded Persia and defeated the Persian army in 637. In 639 Arab Muslims invaded Egypt, and by 642 they had captured Alexandria, the capital. Soon after losing Alexandria, the Eastern Roman Empire was no longer a force in Africa.

See also: BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vol. I); CAESAR, OCTAVIAN (Vol. I); CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II).

Further reading: Averil Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1996).

C

Cairo Capital of EGYPT and largest city in Africa. Cairo was officially founded in 969. Prior to this, the city had a variety of names—Memphis, Heliopolis, Babylon, al-Fustat, al-Qataei, and al-Askar being just a few of them. During its history it has been governed by an equally long list of rulers, from the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans to the ARABS, Turks, French, and British.

About 5,000 years ago, Menes, the legendary pharaoh who united the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt, supposedly founded the city of Memphis, approximately 15 miles (24 km) south of modern-day Cairo. In 525 BCE, invading Persians established a fort, called Babylon, north of Memphis, from which they controlled Egypt. Babylonian domination continued until the arrival of Alexander the Great in 332 BCE. The region later fell under the rule of the Romans. The arrival of Islamic Arabs, around 640 CE, led to the founding of the town of al-Fustat, the seed from which contemporary Cairo sprang.

In 969 the FATIMIDS invaded Egypt from what is now TUNISIA. A new walled city called al-Mansuriyah was established northeast of the existing settlements. In 973 the Fatimid caliph al-Muizz (c. 931–975) renamed the city al-Qahirah, or Cairo, making it the capital of a dynasty that lasted for 200 years. Al-Qahirah and al-Fustat coexisted until 1168, when al-Fustat was set on fire during the CRUSADES. Eventually the Crusaders were defeated by an Islamic army from Syria. Their commander, the famous SALADIN (1137–1193), founded the Ayyubid dynasty, which claimed Cairo for the seat of its rule.

Under Saladin, Cairo became a thriving metropolis. He constructed mosques, palaces, colleges, hospitals, and a fortress, named the Citadel, which has remained one of Cairo's most important landmarks. After his death, Saladin was succeeded by male family members until the rule of Shagaret-el-Dorr (c. 1250), a Mamluk who was the wife of the last Ayyubid sultan, al-Saleh. One of three women ever to rule Egypt, Shagaret-el-Dorr had a great influence on Cairo. After her murder in 1260, Cairo became the capital of the Mamluk empire with Baybars I as sultan.

By 1340 Cairo was at its height, with nearly 500,000 people living in an area five times larger than the original Fatimid walled city. Under the MAMLUKS, Cairo became the greatest city of Africa, Europe, and Asia Minor. The city's al-AZHAR University was the undisputed center of Islamic scholarship. Cairo also was an important link in the lucrative East-West spice trade. This was also the period during which many of Cairo's architectural masterpieces were built.

In 1348 Cairo's population was decimated by plagues, including the infamous Black Death that later swept across Europe. Decline set in soon after. Another blow came in 1497, when Vasco da GAMA'S (c. 1460–1524) voyage from Portugal to India broke Cairo's spice-trade monopoly. Then, in 1517, the Turks conquered Cairo.

See also: CAIRO (Vols. I, III, IV, V); MEMPHIS (Vol. I); OTTOMAN EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Further reading: André Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period: Cairo, Syria, and the Maghreb* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate/Variorum, 2002); André Raymond, *Cairo* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Cameroon Modern-day country in western Central Africa approximately 183,600 square miles (475,500 sq km) bordering CHAD, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, Republic of the CONGO, GABON, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, NIGERIA, and the

Gulf of Guinea. The region that became Cameroon was occupied by various peoples, including the Sudanic-speaking SAO and FULANI, and the Bantu-speaking DYULA, FANG, and Mileke, during the fifth through the 15th centuries.

Between the ninth and 15th centuries, the Sao established a kingdom that covered large parts of northern Cameroon and Nigeria. The Fulani, a Muslim people who first came to Cameroon in the 11th century, lived on the Adamawa Massif. They dominated the peoples inhabiting the valleys of the Logone, Kebbi, and Faro river valleys, converting many of them to ISLAM.

The Mileke lived in the area that is now western and southern Cameroon. They were mainly farmers whose staple crops include corn and taro. Like other Bantu-related groups, they migrated to Cameroon from equatorial Africa.

See also: BAMENDA GRASSFIELDS (Vol. III); BANTU MIGRATIONS (Vols. I, II); CAMEROON (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Mario Azevedo, ed., *Cameroon and Chad in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Lewiston, Me.: E. Mellen Press, 1988); Tambi Eyongetah and Robert Brain, *A History of the Cameroon* (London: Longman, 1974).

Cape of Good Hope Though not the southernmost point on the African continent (that honor lies with Cape Agulhas some 170 miles [280 km] to the east), the Cape of Good Hope was the point at which the cold waters of the Atlantic Ocean met the warmer waters of the Indian Ocean. The Cape received its name (Cabo da Boa Esperança, in Portuguese) in 1488, when the Portuguese explorer Bartolemue Dias (c. 1450–1500) rounded it on his search for a new sea route to India. Today, the Cape is part of a nature preserve and national park.

Cape Verde Islands Archipelago 1,560 square miles (4,040 sq km) in size, located in the Atlantic Ocean, 385 miles (620 km) from the coast of present-day SENEGAL. Consisting of 10 islands and five islets, Cape Verde is historically associated with the Portuguese olive trade to the Americas. Cape Verde was discovered, in 1460, by the Portuguese navigators Diogo Gomes and António de Noli. There is little evidence to support the assertion that the islands were inhabited before the European arrival, although it is believed that the Moors may have sought salt here in previous centuries. In 1462 the first settlers arrived and founded the oldest European city in the tropics, Ribeira Grande. A governor and bishop were installed on the island of Santiago to administer to political and spiritual affairs.

Under the Charter of 1466, Portuguese settlers were allowed to trade freely with the Upper Guinea coastal cities, from Senegal to SIERRA LEONE. After securing trading posts on the islands, settlers began to establish trading settlements on the African mainland. As a result, the settlers merged with the African societies with whom they traded, taking African wives and establishing trading alliances with the leaders and local traders. These alliances gave rise to a new society called *lancados,* European or half-caste traders, who became acculturated in the African communities.

Although fishing and cane farming were established as principle industries early on, Cape Verde's limited rainfall, frequent droughts, and significant soil erosion were, and are still, incompatible with large-scale crop cultivation. Instead, grazing, subsistence farming, and fishing supplemented a limited BANANA and SALT TRADE. Much more significant to the islands' economy was their location, which made Cape Verde a logical point of departure for trade between Africa and the Americas.

See also: CAPE VERDE, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, III IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

caravans Traders and others traveling together for mutual safety with their baggage and other goods through difficult or dangerous terrain. In Africa, the caravan is most often associated with trans-Saharan trade, although caravans were used on trade routes throughout Africa. Muslim pilgrims also traveled to MECCA in caravans.

The earliest animals used to cross the desert may have been pack oxen, as depicted in Saharan rock art, dating from before 4000 BCE, found at Tassili in ALGERIA. The record here is unclear, however, because many scholars question the validity of using those paintings to establish historical fact. Reliable sources indicate that the Arabian camel, introduced into North Africa in the first century CE, became, by the fifth century, the pack animal of choice among the Berber nomads. Although it could not carry much more than a pack ox, the camel could maintain a steady pace over longer distances and travel without water for up to 10 days. The camel's broad, splayed feet gave it secure footing when walking on shifting sand, and it was able to endure both the extreme heat of the desert day and the chilling cold of the desert night.

Loads of 350 pounds (160 kg) or more were equally divided and loaded onto a camel's back. Strings of 40 or more camels were tethered together by a rope from each camel's nose ring to the saddle of the camel in front. Commonly, three or four strings of camels traveled abreast, moving at a speed of 2 to 3 miles (3 to 5 km) per hour for 10 to 14 hours daily, often at night for protection from the heat. It was a two-month journey, under the direction of a caravan chief with the assistance of local guides, to travel the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTE from SIJILMASA in North Africa to WALATA in the MALI EMPIRE. Caravans taking this route often made a stopover at the Taghaza salt mines in the desert. Many caravans were lost

to raiders or the elements. Gaining or keeping control of the staging areas were important goals of all the trading empires of West Africa.

The size of the trans-Saharan caravans was significant. Caravans averaged 1,000 camels. The Tunis-born Arab historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), who wrote a definitive history of Muslim North Africa, records caravans of 12,000 camels between West Africa and Egypt. The largest caravans were involved in the all-important salt trade or in taking Muslim pilgrims on pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia, one of the most important spiritual duties of the observant Muslim. These pilgrim caravans had to arrive in Mecca on the prescribed eighth day of Dhu al Hijjah, the last month of the Muslim year.

See also: TRANSPORTATION (Vol. II).

Further reading: Edward William Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors: West African Kingdoms in the 14th Century* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968); Paul E. Lovejoy, *Salt of the Desert Sun: A History of Salt Production and Trade in the Central Sudan* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986).

Casamance River River located in the coastal floodplain region of West Africa between present-day countries of The GAMBIA and GUINEA-BISSAU. The river is 160 miles (257 km) long and flows to the west, emptying into the Atlantic Ocean. During the period prior to European colonization, the land on either side of the river was populated by the Balanta, the DYULA, and the Felupe peoples. During the 1500s Portuguese explorers sailed through the estuaries and inlets of the river to penetrate inland, thereby transforming the Casamance River into a thoroughfare for the exchange of goods and ideas between the two civilizations.

See also: GUINEA-BISSAU (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vol. III).

cassava Edible starchy tuber also called manioc, mandioc, and yucca. Along with maize (corn), tobacco, and peanuts, it originally came from the Americas and was introduced to Africa about 1500. Cassava is cultivated throughout SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA and is used to make flour, breads, and *fufu,* a gelatinous food common in West Africa. Cassava, which also is cultivated in East Africa, has long been a staple in the diet of African peoples.

Cassava, unlike millet and other grain CROPS, is easy to cultivate, which usually leads to a successful harvest. The plant itself is perennial and has palm-shaped leaves. It can thrive in dry areas and can grow in alkaline soil or in acidic mud banks along rivers. It is an extremely adaptable species and comprises many different varieties. Certain species produce a sugar derivative that contains cyanide (hydrocyanic acid). The poison, which is manu-

factured by a system of grating, pressing, and heating the roots, is used as the toxin on poison darts and arrows.

cavalry Military branch whose members ride horses in battle. In Africa, horses were traded via the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES from North Africa and the Middle East to the western SUDAN, where the region's empires and kingdoms used horses in their military conquests.

African cavalry units often came from the highest levels of society. The cavalry of the MALI EMPIRE, for example, was an elite corps of the military, and membership was reserved for the aristocracy. The members of the cavalry were called the *ton-tigi,* or "quiver and bow bearers."

The powerful SONGHAI Empire of the 15th century also possessed an impressive cavalry, with as many as 10,000 horse-mounted soldiers. Because of the high cost of the horses (each horse was equivalent in cost to 10 captives), the Songhai cavalry, too, was composed only of members of the aristocracy.

At the start of the 12th century, horses were brought from areas north of the SAHARA and traded for GOLD and IVORY. By the end of the century, however, they were being bred in the Niger River valley.

Near Lake Chad, in NJIMI, the capital of the kingdom OF KANEM-BORNU, North African merchants traveled to the city to trade for horses during the 15th century. These horses were referred to as "war horses" since they were larger and stronger than the ones owned and bred in other parts of the the empire. It is reported that the *mai,* or king, of Kanem had a cavalry of more than 40,000 horses, which illustrates the enormous impact of trade upon Kanem-Bornu's prosperity.

See also: HORSES (Vol. I); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. II).

Central African Republic Landlocked, equatorial, Central African country, some 240,300 square miles (622,400 sq km) in size, that is bordered on the north by CHAD, on the east by the Republic of the SUDAN, on the south by the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and the Republic of the CONGO, and on the east by CAMEROON. During the fifth through 15th centuries the population of the Central African Republic was made up of farmers who followed a shifting pattern of slash-and-burn AGRICULTURE. They belonged to extended family clans and

lived for the most part in isolated and small villages. Gradually trade linked these villages, leading to the larger states that began to emerge until the 16th century.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Tamara Giles-Vernick, *Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Central African Rain Forest* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 2002).

Chad Country in western Central Africa approximately 496,000 square miles (1,284,6000 sq km) in size. This region of Africa is marked by the Tibesti Massif to the north, Lake Chad to the west, the savannas of the Sahel to the south, and is separated into two distinct northern and southern regions by the Chari River. It is bordered by the modern country of LIBYA to the north, NIGER to the west, EQUATORIAL GUINEA to the southwest, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to the south, and Republic of the SUDAN to the east.

Because of the importance of Lake Chad, the region saw many kingdoms and conquests during its history. In the eighth century, BERBERS migrated into the area in order to escape the droughts of the Saharan borderlands. By the 11th century, Muslim ARABS from the north had begun regularly raiding the area for captives, establishing ISLAM as they came and went. As a result Arab culture gradually superseded the native African ones and undermined the autonomy of the local kingdoms.

Kanem, located to the northeast of Lake Chad, was a kingdom originally made up of nomadic peoples who spoke Nilo-Saharan languages and were dominated by the ZAGHAWA people. Local oral traditions say that the Arab Sayf ibn Dhu Yazan united these people and began the SEFUWA dynasty, which ruled Kanem, and, at times, the larger KANEM-BORNU empire, from the ninth century to the 19th century.

See also: CHAD (Vols. I, III, IV, V); CHAD, LAKE (Vols. I, III).

Further reading: Mario Azevedo, ed., *Cameroon and Chad in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Lewiston, Me.: E. Mellen Press, 1988).

Changamire (15th century) *Ruler of Mwene Mutapa state, located in what is now Zimbabwe*

During the middle of the 15th century the Bantu-speaking KARANGA people created a powerful kingdom that eventually came to include the majority of the southern part of present-day ZIMBABWE. The kingdom's ruling dynasty, the founding of which is variously ascribed to the warrior kings Mutapa or Nyatsimba, successfully dominated the region for a number of years. In the late 15th century King Matope expanded the kingdom significantly. By the time Matope's son Mokombo came to the throne in 1480, however, the MWENE MUTAPA, as the ruler was known, faced increasing unrest among the kingdom's various provincial governors and other vassals. The kingdom, too, became known as Mwene Mutapa.

Mwene mutapa, **the title used by Changamire's rulers, means "master pillager." Instead of being considered an insult, the term was thought of as a title of respect.**

Ultimately, in about 1490, one of Mokombo's governors, CHANGAMIRE, led a full-scale insurrection. According to various legends, Changamire believed that Mokombo wanted to kill him, and, in response, led a group of soldiers to Mokombo's capital, GREAT ZIMBABWE. There the majority of Mokombo's soldiers deserted him, leaving only a handful of guards and courtiers to defend him. Entering the royal quarters, Changamire quickly beheaded Mokombo with a single blow of his sword and proclaimed himself king.

Changamire then attempted to make his position more secure by trying to have all 22 of Mokombo's children killed. One of the princes escaped, however, and, four years later, led an army against Changamire. The battle that resulted apparently lasted for several days until Changamire was killed by the young prince.

Mokombo's son then became the *mwene mutapa*. While much of the country recognized Mokombo's authority, a number of Changamire's supporters resisted. Strife between the two factions continued for a number of years, with Changamire's allies eventually establishing a small, independent kingdom centered around the remnants of the city of Great Zimbabwe. During this period, both mining and the GOLD trade suffered significantly, which apparently led the Portuguese to take more direct control of the region. By the beginning of the 16th century, power had begun to pass to the Portuguese, and even the kingdom of the *mwene mutapa* fell under Portuguese domination.

See also: CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY (Vol. III); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); MWENE MUTAPA (Vol. III); ROZWI (Vol. III).

Further reading: David N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900–1850* (Gwelo, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press,

1980); Innocent Pikirayi, *The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins and Decline in Southern Zambezian States* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2001).

Chemama   Region and river valley on the northern bank of the SENEGAL RIVER in present-day MAURITANIA. It was part of the MALI EMPIRE during the 14th century, and later, in the 16th century, became part of the HAUSA STATES. A biologically diverse region, Chemama has a complex ecosystem created by the annual flooding of the Senegal River. Its land has rich alluvial soils that have long supported farming and herding.

Chinese trade   Despite reports of the presence of Chinese traders in Africa as early as the seventh century BCE, Chinese trade did not begin in earnest until the expeditions of Cheng-Ho (1371–1433) between 1405 and 1433. Cheng-Ho, a grand admiral of the Chinese navy, commanded a large squadron of ships that landed on the SWAHILI COAST at the port of KILWA in East Africa. The relatively late arrival of the Chinese to Africa is explained by the fact that it was not until after the 11th century that Chinese vessels sailed south or west of the Indonesian island of Java. Then, in 1402, a Korean map was published that included an outline of southern Africa.

The ships in Cheng-Ho's fleet were up to 500 feet long (152.4 m), making them five times larger than any of the Portuguese-made vessels that arrived at the same East African port in the early 16th century. The squadron was equally large in number. On previous voyages, which had gone to ports in Southeast Asia and the Red Sea, Cheng-Ho had commanded fleets of up to 62 ships, carrying as many as 27,800 men.

The African products that Cheng-Ho brought back—including GOLD, amber, IVORY, and captives—were highly valued in China. It is reported that in 1417 he returned with a delegation from Malindi who presented the royal court at Beijing with a giraffe.

Chinese trade was dominated by the import of porcelain in East Africa. Pieces created during the rule of China's Song dynasty have been documented through excavation in several homes of wealthy Swahili traders during the period. Bluish white, Ming porcelain arrived in the 15th century at the port of GEDI. Chinese trade—along with Persian, Arab, and Indian trade—contributed both to the cultural and economic development of Swahili civilization in the 15th century. By the end of the 15th century, however, China returned to a policy of isolation. From that time on, trade with Africa was curtailed.

Chokwe (Cokwe, Ciokwe, Bajokwe)   Bantu-speaking Central African people. A mixture of many indigenous and immigrant peoples, they trace their origins to the Mbuti, hunter-gatherers who came under the demonstration of agricultural by Bantu-speakers about the sixth or seventh century. Around 1500 the Chokwe came under the rule of the LUNDA KINGDOM when a disinherited Lunda prince moved west into the area straddling present-day ANGOLA, Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and ZAMBIA. Conquering the people in his path, the prince created a kingdom for the Chokwe people.

See also: CHOKWE (Vol. III); LUNDA EMPIRE (Vol. III); MBUTI (Vol. I).

Christianity   The religion based on the teachings of Jesus Christ; Judaism, Christianity, and ISLAM, are the world's three great monotheistic religions. Chapter 2 of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the first book of the New Testament of the Christian Bible, records the flight of the holy family from Judea in Palestine into EGYPT to keep the infant Christ from falling into King Herod's hands. Although this visit, otherwise undocumented, antedated Christian missionary activity by several hundred years, it points to the long-term connection between Africa and Christianity.

Doctrinal disputes were frequent in the early days of the Christian Church. Some, like Arianism, originated in Africa. Others arose elsewhere but soon engulfed the universal church. The patriarch of Rome, the pope, was beginning to emerge as the central authority of the church in the West, but patriarchates also existed in Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, and each patriarch, or bishop of the highest rank, jealously guarded his prerogatives. Dogma and doctrine were shaped and refined as church leaders convened in ecumenical councils, including the Council of Nicea in 325 (at which the Nicene Creed, or statement of beliefs, was developed), the Council of Constantinople in 381, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. These ecumenical councils, attended by the bishop from every local church, determined the official position of the universal church on the major theological disputes of the period.

Donatism and Pelagianism   The church in North Africa in the fifth century continued to be embroiled in its own internal disputes, some stemming from theology and others from juridical concerns that had originated in earlier centuries. Donatism and Pelagianism remained issues in the North African Church and in the church at large. The Donatist schism between Rome and large seg-

ments of the church in North Africa persisted until the rise of Islam in the seventh century effectively ended a meaningful Christian presence in the region. Many historians believe that these internal theological and political disputes turned the church's energies inward, not just in Africa but across the whole Byzantine Empire, and left the empire in a diminished position to temper the inroads made by Islam in the seventh century.

Donatism, which had persisted since the third century, was based on disagreements on the question of whether an unworthy minister may worthily administer the sacraments. The African Church took the position, condemned by the church at large, that the minister himself had to be holy. Rome's position was that the validity of the sacraments came from God, not man.

The Pelagian heresy, prompted by the teachings of the early fifth-century British monk Pelagius, centered on the more speculative matters of free will, predestination, original sin, and divine grace.

Arianism The Arian heresy, which arose in Egypt in the third century, dominated the Greek-speaking Eastern Church in the fourth century and then spread through the Western Church, remaining a force in Europe until the eighth century. The Vandals who invaded North Africa from Europe in the fourth century and captured Carthage were Arian Christians. The Visigoths who established a large empire in what is now Spain and France, were also Arian Christians as were the Germanic groups that sacked Rome in the late fifth century. Their cause was both political and theological.

Monophysitism The Council of Chalcedon of 451, which affirmed traditional beliefs in the dual nature of Christ as god and man, alienated Monophysite believers in Egypt and Syria, who held that Christ had a single, divine nature. During the next 250 years the Byzantine emperors and patriarchs sought to reconcile the Monophysites but in vain. The Armenian Apostolic Church, Coptic Orthodox Church, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and Syrian Orthodox Church were formed in schism with Constantinople, the city that was the center of the church in the Eastern Roman Empire, and were outside the mainstream of Christian thought.

From the seventh century on, many, but not all, members of the Coptic Church converted rather than suffer the periodic bouts of persecution waged by Islamic rulers. Nevertheless the Coptic Church has remained intact to modern times. Similarly, in Nubia, Christians were pressured to adopt Islam, but after a brief standoff they retained their right to Christian worship.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church The church in Ethiopia, though sometimes beset by its Muslim neighbors, kept its independence but became a church turned in on itself, with few influences from the outside world. Although its bishops were named by the Coptic Church of Egypt (a practice that ended in the 20th century), neither church was in communion with the main centers of Christianity in Rome or Constantinople because of their adherence to Monophysite beliefs. The Ethiopian Church's main contact with the outside Christian world was through the Ethiopian monastery in the holy city of Jerusalem. Since the late 1100s, this group has maintained control of a chapel in Jerusalem's Church of the Holy Sepulchre, thought by believers to be the burial place of Jesus Christ.

The kingdom of AKSUM established Christianity as its state religion in the fourth century. Surrounded by regions in which traditional African religion flourished, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church remained highly conservative. Christian beliefs won converts through interaction with local populations, and its rites and religious practices were infused with traditional African elements. For instance, many of Ethiopia's monasteries attracted priests who were highly politicized and outspoken advocates on behalf of the poor. The church celebrated the Virgin Mary in keeping with its belief in the divine nature of Christ but also recognized many martyred saints. Church officials were known for performing exorcisms to rid the population of evil spirits. A widespread belief held that these spirits were kept at bay by amulets containing prayers and formulas carried in little books or leather cases. These were worn around the neck or arms by local populations as well as by visiting Islamic merchants, who held similar beliefs. The observance of fasts, feasts, and Jewish practices related to diet were also among the Christian practices of Ethiopia. Ethiopia's imperial leadership resisted the advance of Islam through its powerful alliance and support by the church. After Aksum declined in the seventh and eighth centuries, subsequent leadership maintained Christian traditions in the face of repeated clashes involving the establishment of powerful Muslim states within its interior.

Christianity began to spread southward from Ethiopia in the 12th and 13th centuries, but only slowly, because of Arab naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean. It remained for missionaries from Europe to return Christianity to a greater level of importance, but that did not occur until the colonial era.

See also: CHRISTIANITY (Vol. I); COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); DEBRE DAMO (Vol. II); GUDIT (Vol. II); KONGO KINGDOM (Vol. III); LALIBELA (Vol. II); MONOPHYSITE (Vol. I); NINE SAINTS (Vol. II); NUBIA, CHRISTIAN (Vol. II); SABBATARIANS (Vol. II); ZAGWE DYNASTY (Vol. II).

This 10th-century fresco of Adam and Eve from the Old Testament is in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, Egypt. *© Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis*

Further reading: John Baur, *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African History, 62–1992* (Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines, 1994); Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1995); Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa: 1450–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1989).

Christianity, influence of Between the fifth and 15th centuries, the influence of CHRISTIANITY was strong in North Africa, EGYPT, Nubia, and ETHIOPIA until the rise of ISLAM and all but nonexistent in SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. Despite the decline of Christian influence during this period, many events that happened in the early centuries of the church in Africa had long-term repercussions for the Christian Church outside Africa.

Christian culture in the fifth century kept Africa in contact with the broader world of Mediterranean culture in the same way that Islam in the eighth century placed Africa in the cultural orbit of Muslim Baghdad and Damascus in the Middle East. In the fifth century, however, Rome and Constantinople were the dominant cultural and religious influences in the region. The major figures of the church in Africa in previous centuries, notably St. Augustine (354–430), the bishop of Hippo Regius (modern Annaba, Algeria), near Carthage, influenced religious thought throughout the Christian world. As the fifth century began, the church in Africa faced the same questions about its core beliefs that challenged the Church at large.

The Church in Sub-Saharan Africa Until Portugal's attempt to introduce Christianity into sub-Saharan Africa during the reign of Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR (1394–1460), indigenous Christianity existed primarily in North Africa and along the eastern regions of the continent—in Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia. Besides being motivated by religious zeal to Christianize the lands south of the Sahara, Prince Henry, some authorities conclude, may have been attempting to outflank ISLAM, Europe's main rival, from the rear as well as gain a political and commercial foothold in the region. These attempts at conversion, though successful in such places as the KONGO KINGDOM, had no long-term results, and Christianity vanished almost without a trace in these regions until missionaries returned in the 1800s.

The Church in North Africa From the end of the second century, Carthage had its own bishop, and North African Christianity was in the mainstream of the Western Church centered in Rome.

Throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, the North African Church was beset by Pelagianism and the schism caused in 311 by the Donatists, which was to last until Roman Africa fell to Islam in the mid-seventh century.

Pelagianism, the doctrine preached by the fifth-century British monk Pelagius, denied the orthodox doctrine of original sin and the need for God's grace. St. Augustine was its fiercest opponent. Pelagianism was condemned by the Council of Carthage in 418 and finally disappeared by 529.

At its height, Donatism, a separatist movement led by a North African bishop named Donatus (d. 355), held the allegiance of 500 bishops in North Africa; the Donatists successfully exploited the differences between the wealthy Latin-speaking peoples in the coastal cities and the poor Punic-speaking people in the hinterlands by, among other ways, celebrating the liturgy in Punic rather than in Latin. The Donatist schism survived into the seventh century.

The Arab invasions of North Africa (640–711) effectively ended the presence of Christianity in North Africa. Christianity had never taken root among the Berber peoples in the west, and Islam had no greater success at this time. Early Arab rulers in North Africa made few efforts to convert the hinterlands; it took more than a century for Islam to spread beyond the coastal towns. As long as they paid tribute to local Arab rulers, the BERBERS were left alone.

The Church in Egypt COPTIC CHRISTIANITY was strongly influenced by the Monophysite belief in the single divine nature of Jesus Christ. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon, a meeting of important church leaders, declared Monophysitism a heresy, leading the Coptic Church to break with Rome and establish the Coptic Orthodox Church, with the patriarch of Alexandria as its head. Popular feelings ran high. In Alexandria, a group of Monophysite monks was boiled in oil in front of the cathedral. There were bloody uprisings among the people, and the dispute about the single or dual nature of Jesus Christ raged on for years. These internal conflicts very likely weakened Egypt and the empire and left both less able to resist the single-minded threat of Islam. By the sixth century, three distinct Monophysite churches had developed, the Jacobite Church of Syria, the Orthodox Church in Armenia, and the Coptic Church in Egypt and Ethiopia.

After the Muslims invaded Egypt in 639, the Coptic Church used the opportunity to assert its independence from Constantinople, its rival, and set up an autonomous Monophysite Church under the patriarch of Alexandria. The Coptic Church, however, moved to the periphery of Egyptian life because the majority of Egyptians converted to Islam.

The Church in Ethiopia Ethiopia was converted in the fourth through sixth centuries by Monophysite missionaries from the Coptic Church of Egypt. When the power of AKSUM waned, other Ethiopian states arose in the highlands; of their history, little is known. Through their influence, some of the characteristic features of Ethiopian

Christianity began to emerge, including its emphasis on its alleged Old Testament roots and its strong identification with Zion. Like the Egyptian Coptic Church, from which it received most of its metropolitans, or heads of church, the Ethiopian Church had a strong monastic tradition, and its monasteries were centers of learning. Ethiopia's isolation at this point in its history, and not the traditionally held descent from a lost tribe of Israel, may be the factor that led the church to link itself so closely in life and worship to the Old Testament.

During the 11th and 12th centuries kings of the ZAGWE DYNASTY built many churches in honor of the Christian religion, the most famous of which are the underground stone churches at the capital city of al-Roha, later renamed the town of LALIBELA after the builder-king of the same name. The Zagwe kings traced their ancestry to the daughter of the last Aksumite king, from whom the Zagwe rulers usurped the throne. The church legitimized their seizure of power, it is thought, in return for sizable donations. Yemrehana Christos (r. c. 1039–1079), Lalibela (r. c. 1119–1159), and Na'akuto Le'ab (r. c. 1159–1207), three renowned church builders who were members of this dynasty, were canonized by the Ethiopian Church.

The Ethiopian Church traces its stewardship of one of the chapels in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the reputed burial site of Jesus Christ, in Jerusalem, to a gift from the Egyptian sultan SALADIN (c. 1137–1193) to King Yemrehana Christos and the Christians of Ethiopia.

The successor of Yemrehana Christos, his cousin Harbe I (r. c. 1079–1119), attempted to break the dependence of the Ethiopian Church on the Coptic Church by demanding that the Ethiopian bishop Abba Mika'el ordain more bishops, a privilege Abba Mika'el said was restricted to the patriarch of Alexandria. With more bishops, Harbe thought, the Ethiopian Church could consecrate an archbishop and free itself from Egypt. Although Muslim authorities in Egypt supported Harbe's move, the patriarch did not, warning that it could cause hostility between Muslims and Christians. The issue was dropped, and Egypt continued to name the head of the Ethiopian Church until 1959, when Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975) finally made the break.

The Church and the Byzantine Empire The Byzantine emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565), a strong defender of religious orthodoxy, attempted to unite the Church across the empire. Under his absolute power, the Church was to achieve its greatest influence in the East. Among his accomplishments in religious matters, he made sure that the bishops of all the major centers of Christianity—Rome in Italy, the empire's capital at Constantinople, Antioch in southern Turkey, Alexandria in Egypt, and Jerusalem in Palestine—were officially given the title of patriarch, with extensive privileges and an official income.

The rise of Islam in the following century, however, drastically lessened the authority of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem as centers of Christianity. With the loss to the ARABS of these patriarchates and the marginalization of their influence in the Christian world, religious power became more concentrated in the hands of their ancient rivals, Rome and Constantinople. Eastern Christianity centered ever more strongly on Constantinople as the church in the East and West drifted culturally and politically apart. As Europe drifted more deeply into its Dark Ages (c. 400–1000), learning and culture, at an ebb in Europe, centered on and flourished in Constantinople, which finally broke with Rome in 1054. The eastern portion became known as the Orthodox Church; the western branch, the Catholic Church.

The Church in Nubia Christian missionaries converted Nubia in the sixth century. Theodora (497–548), the wife of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I, was an outspoken defender of Monophysite doctrines, although the emperor himself was orthodox in his beliefs. In 543, at Theodora's request and at the request of the Egyptian Coptic Church, the monk Julian traveled to NOBATIA, one of the three kingdoms that made up the Nubia of the day. By 580 the last of the three kingdoms of Nubia were converted. Christian NUBIA left the world a substantial legacy of religious art and architecture from this period. The Nubian church, however, had little effect on the church at large.

By 652 a Muslim army captured the CITY-STATE of Dongola, the last Christian stronghold in Nubia, and forced it to pay tribute to Egypt. In a highly unusual move for the time, the Muslim conquerors and the Nubian Christians lived under a treaty, called a *bakt,* that guaranteed a strong measure of autonomy and religious freedom to Nubia. Dongola remained Christian until the 14th century, and another Nubian city, ALWA, remained Christian until the 16th century, when each fell to the Ottoman Empire.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV, V); BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vol. II); LALIBELA, CHURCHES OF (Vol. II); MAQURRAH (Vol. II).

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Chwezi dynasty (c. 14th–15th century) Line of semi-mythical rulers that came to prominence in the KITARA COMPLEX of chiefdoms, in present-day western UGANDA. According to oral tradition, the founder of the Chwezi clan was NDAHURA, the leader of the BUGANGAIZI chief-

dom. About the middle of the 14th century Ndahura came to rule much of the Kitara Complex by appointing local chiefs to represent him in the outlying areas.

The Chwezi dynasty was in power for a relatively short period. Its kingdoms were characterized by small populations with a sophisticated system of government. The elite class, mostly cattle-owning pastoralists, and the common people, mostly agriculturalists, were subject to different laws. The burden of tribute and taxation fell heavier on the farmers.

Although the oral traditions do not agree, Ndahura was probably captured while invading a neighboring territory and, upon his release, he migrated far from the kingdom to avoid disgrace. A second Chwezi ruler, Mulindwa, may have had a brief reign before Ndahura's son, WAMARA, was chosen to assume leadership of the Chwezi clan. Wamara attempted to integrate several migrating ethnic groups into his kingdom. However, these groups, especially the LUO-speakers from the north, never fully accepted Chwezi authority. This political unrest may have been exacerbated by severe famine and disease among the local livestock.

Chwezi tradition says that one of Wamara's military commanders, Kagoro, massacred Wamara and the rest of the Chwezi clan, bringing and end to the dynasty. (However, the HINDA royal clan of the future states of NKOLE, BURUNDI, and KARAGWE claimed that they descended directly from Wamara.) Soon the BUNYORO state, ruled by the pastoralist BITO clan, supplanted most of the former Chwezi kingdoms.

For their heroic qualities and their ability to unite the disparate kingdoms of the Kitara complex, Ndahura, Wamara, and other Chwezi chiefs are still much revered among certain ethnic groups living in present-day Uganda and TANZANIA.

city-state Political, social, and territorial system in Africa in which a city governs its surrounding regions; city-states generally are the smallest system of organization as compared to kingdoms and empires. In Africa, the populations of such cities and their neighboring regions usually were of a common culture and were united under the leadership of a sovereign king.

The HAUSA STATES of NIGERIA and the city-states of the YORUBA are among the most notable examples of this system. In each case the city-state was run by a sophisticated system of cultural and political codes. A mother city, DAURA for the Hausa city-states and ILE-IFE for the Yoruba, served as the locus for all activities.

Historically, city-states often evolved into larger kingdoms or empires by means of the acquisition of new territories. (This usually was accomplished through military conquest.) KANEM-BORNU in the land of present-day CHAD, for example, emerged from two independent city-states, KANEM and BORNU. The 13th-century city-state of GREAT ZIMBABWE in southern Africa is another example of a powerful city-state, although it was abandoned by 1450 and did not evolve into a larger political and social structure. The city-states of the SWAHILI COAST, united in culture and language but politically autonomous, are yet another example of the importance of city-states in African history and culture.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. II).

cloth and textiles Usually made by loom, cloth and textiles were used to make CLOTHING AND DRESS as well as for ceremonial purposes. In parts of Central and West Africa the finest cloth was even used as currency. Unfortunately, because of the climate and the fragility of cloth, few African textiles of any substantial age have survived to the present time.

All loom-woven cloth, no matter its origins, is created in similar ways. The long parallel threads that run lengthwise in a piece of cloth are called the warp. The warp threads are attached to both the base and the top of the loom. The warp is usually made up of two separate sets of alternating threads that are moved apart to allow a cross thread to be passed between them by means of a device called a shuttle. The cross threads are called the weft or the woof. Using different colors of thread in the weft creates a design. The development of the heddle is considered the most important single advance in loom technology. Its origin is not known. A heddle is a device that separates the warp threads so that the shuttle can be inserted and passed between them. The width of the cloth is determined by the width of the loom but, narrow strips of cloth can be sewn together to produce wider sheets.

Of the two main types of looms used in Africa, the oldest is the pit loom, which may have been used originally in Arabia. A pit loom utilizes a frame built over a pit, into which extend the treadles used to separate the warp threads. The weaver's hands are thus left free to operate the shuttles. The other common loom is called a heddle loom, which, in its earliest forms, used movable rods to separate the warp threads to either side of the main sheet of cloth. Both the narrow-strip loom and the vertically mounted, single-heddle loom were probably developed in Africa.

Some of the earliest fragments of pit-loom cloth date back to about the ninth-century and were produced by the

A weaver in the Royal Weavers Village of Bonwire, near Kumasi in modern Ghana, demonstrates how cloth was woven on the traditional heddle loom. The long threads are the warp. © *Owen Franken/Corbis*

IGBO people in what is now NIGERIA. Elsewhere, in parts of CAMEROON and throughout East Africa, simple ground looms were widely used. Vertical heddle looms were used in what is now the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. These were used to produce raffia cloth from palm frond fibers. In West Africa, in the area of present-day Republic of MALI inhabited by the DOGON people, fragments of loom-woven cloth dating from the 11th century were found in burial caves along the Bandiagara cliffs. Some historians think that the need to supply West African converts to ISLAM with appropriate religious attire helped spread weaving technologies throughout the region.

Some types of cloth were exchanged in internal trade with other African peoples, but most were kept to satisfy domestic needs. Fine cloth, including Chinese silk, was brought to North and East Africa by Arab traders and sold to inland peoples. In some cases the silk was unraveled and the threads were combined with local cloth to make the garments of a high-ranking individual.

Kinds of Cloth   Embroidered raffia cloth, made from the leafstalks of a number of varieties of palm trees, was once produced across Central Africa. For example, the Kuba people, who lived between the Kasai and Sankuru rivers in what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, produced long raffia dance skirts and embroidered cloth panels for court ceremonies and rituals. Generally it was only the Kuba men who were allowed to operate the looms to make raffia cloth. In other regions throughout Africa, grass cloth was handwoven into bold geometric patterns and used to make baskets, headdresses, and other objects.

In addition to raffia, cloth was made from other fibers. Prior to the advent of weaving, textiles were made from tree bark. Among the notable examples of barkcloth producers were the GANDA people of what is now UGANDA, who wore tree bark cloth during ceremonies to honor ancestors. COTTON, too, was grown locally and spun into thread for weaving. In North Africa and the Sahel, camel hair and sheep hair were spun and woven to make cloth. Jute and flax were used in West Africa.

Gender roles often defined weaving and other occupations. In SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, sculptors and blacksmiths were most often men, but potters were women. The weavers who used the double-heddle narrow strip looms and Central African raffia looms were men, whereas it is thought that female weavers, especially among the YORUBA and the Igbo peoples, most often used single-heddle looms, which were propped vertically against a house wall. The single-heddle loom was used to produce wider cloths. Among the Yoruba and the SONINKE, indigo dying was women's work, yet among the Hausa, males did the dyeing. There are also religious overtones to the work. Among the Yoruba, cloth was taken to a dyer called an *aloro,* who was believed to work under the protection of the ORISHA *(*minor divinity*)* Iya Mapo.

Designs   African weavers often wove intricately patterned fabrics, but they also made plain cloth for daily wear. The plain cloth was decorated in a variety of ways. The most common were dyeing, embroidering, or sewing on contrasting fabrics. Vegetable dyes were used as coloring agents. Indigo plants produced a deep blue color; kola nuts and the bark of camwood and redwood trees produced reddish brown colors. A variety of other plants and tree barks were used to produce greens, yellows, and blacks. Cloth was sometimes dyed by using a dye-resistant substance such as cassava paste or wax with which

to draw a pattern on the cloth. Then, when the fabric was dipped into the dye the treated portions did not accept the color, and the pattern emerged. Soninke women applied the paste with a comb to produce wavelike designs. The BAMBARA applied the paste to produce a speckled pattern. Other fabrics were colored by tie-dyeing, a process in which raffia thread was used to tie off patterned bundles of the fabric, keeping the dye from penetrating them.

In North Africa, Arab and Berber patterns appeared in textile designs. Sub-Saharan Africa had its own indigenous designs, the most famous of which was the richly textured *kente* cloth. It dates back to the 12th century and was first worn by the king of the GHANA EMPIRE. The name of this cloth comes from an ASHANTI word that means "basket," after its resemblance to the texture of a woven basket. *Kente* cloth was traditionally made of silk obtained in trans-Saharan trade and, later, in the Indian Ocean coastal trade. The traditional *bogolonfini* fabric, or mud cloth, made by Bambara women of ancient Mali used colors and designs seen also in TIMBUKTU and other cities of the MALI EMPIRE. Garments made of this cloth were worn in ceremonies marking birth, coming of age, marriage, and death. The first indigenous printed fabric, the *adinkra* cloth made by the Ashanti, was not produced until the early 1800s.

The Cloth Trade Between the fifth and 15th centuries, commercial cloth production was important in some parts of Africa. In fact, weavers and dyers formed guilds in TUNISIA as early as the 10th century. By the 15th century the Kofar Mata dye pits in the Hausa state of KANO, the oldest in Africa, were known to European traders along the Mediterranean coast. Their cloth was frequently transported along the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. The distinctive blue veil that male TUAREGS traditionally wore was made from cloth purchased from Hausa traders.

Kuba raffia cloth appeared in 16th-century European markets, brought there by Portuguese traders. In southern Africa the presence of imported cloth, probably the result of contact with Arab traders along the Indian Ocean, was noted at MAPUNGUBWE and GREAT ZIMBABWE prior to 1450. A local cloth-making tradition was likely, but few details exist. It is known that by the 1530s the Portuguese controlled all the trade exits to the coast at the mouth of the Zambezi River, on Africa's southeast coast. There, at trade fairs run by the Portuguese, large amounts of IVORY and GOLD from the interior were bartered for beads and cloth.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

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coffee Beverage brewed from the roasted and ground seeds of a tropical evergreen plant. Coffee is valued for, among other things, its stimulating properties, which are derived from caffeine, an alkaloid that is present in green coffee.

According to a popular legend, the stimulating effects of coffee were first discovered in ETHIOPIA when a goatherd observed the effects the plant's berries had on his goats. Although exactly when the plant and its effects were discovered is unknown, its origins are believed to lie in Africa, possibly in the city of KAFFA (hence, the word *coffee*). From there the plants apparently were brought to southern Arabia, where they were cultivated as early as 1200. In the years that followed, coffee was used as everything from a food to a medicine before it finally became a popular beverage.

See also: COFFEE (Vol. IV).

Comoros Volcanic archipelago in the western Indian Ocean, some 840 square miles (2,180 sq km) of land surface, that is located between MOZAMBIQUE and the island of MADAGASCAR off the southern East African Coast. The earliest human inhabitants were of Malay-Polynesian descent who settled on the islands by 500 CE or perhaps even earlier. Africans from the East African mainland subsequently settled on the islands, as did Arabs and people from Madagascar.

The Comoros, a group of islands that derive their name from the Arabic word *kamar* or *kumr,* meaning "moon," became a major center of trade and Islamic culture with the rise of the Shirazi dynasty in the 15th and 16th centuries. Legend has it that seven brothers set sail from the Persian town of Shiraz, perhaps as early as the 12th century, and landed at KILWA and PEMBA, on the East African coast, and on the islands of Njazidja and Nzwani. They encountered mangrove and palm-laden islands with diverse wildlife, including lemurs, tortoises, and whales, which were hunted for food and other uses. The Shirazi sultans established colonies, which they soon extended to include the other islands of the Comoros, Mwali and Mayotte. They also introduced to the islands Arabic techniques of cotton weaving, rice cultivation, and building with coral, as well as the Persian solar calendar. The Arab and African populations mixed to form the city-states on East Africa's SWAHILI COAST.

See also: COMOROS (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Congo basin Area in tropical wester Central Africa that is drained by the Congo River. The basin covers 1,600,000 square miles (4,100,000 square kilometers) and occupies most of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO and the Republic of the CONGO, as well as parts of northern ANGOLA, western ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, and

southern CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. The basin consists of an intricate system of tributaries and channels, which are surrounded by dense tropical rain forest. In ancient times, the area was inhabited by Mbuti people. Between 500 and 150 BCE, Bantu-speaking peoples brought IRON technology to the region and established fishing and farming communities along the river.

In the period prior to European colonization, the region was dominated by various empires, which often traded in goods such as COPPER and IVORY. The KONGO KINGDOM (after which the river is named) was founded in the 14th century, with boundaries extending over modern ANGOLA, between the Congo and Loge rivers and from the Cuango River to the Atlantic. This kingdom was led by a king elected from the descendants of Wene, the founding ruler.

See also: CONGO (Vol. III); CONGO BASIN (Vol. I); CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); MBUTI (Vol. I).

Congo, Democratic Republic of the (Congo-Kinshasa; formerly Zaïre)

Large country in western Central Africa measuring approximately 905,400 square miles (2,345,000 sq km). It is bordered by the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, the Republic of the SUDAN, UGANDA, RWANDA, BURUNDI, TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, ANGOLA, and the Republic of the CONGO. The country has a narrow outlet to the Atlantic at the mouth of the CONGO RIVER, which, along with the UBANGI RIVER, makes up the country's eastern border with the Republic of the Congo. The Mitumba Mountain Range runs along the country's eastern edge, bordering the RIFT VALLEY.

By the late first millennium CE there were agricultural settlements dotting the land throughout most the Congo. Although some new crops were later introduced, those associated with the BANTU EXPANSION constituted the basis of AGRICULTURE. The technique of shifting cultivation allowed fields to lie fallow for long stretches to allow the regeneration of the soil. As the size of the population grew, so did trade. By about 900, mining of the rich COPPER deposits of the Copperbelt that extends on both sides of the Congo-Zambia border began to get underway. Mining and its related commercial activity led to the appearance in the southern savanna of cowrie shells and other goods from the Indian Ocean. In the early centuries, the pattern was that of relay trade, that is from community to community. By the 14th century, however, a huge trading network linked the SWAHILI COAST with the Copperbelt region, which in turn was tied with a trading network stretching to the Atlantic coast.

With the growth of trade, the nature of the societies in the Congo began to diverge. People living in the tropical rain forest lived largely in small-scale segmentary societies structured around lineages or clans. Often the political organization did not extend above the village

level, but a powerful leader occasionally could group several villages together to create a small state. By contrast, states became the characteristic political system of the southern savanna.

About 1000 CE the technologically sophisticated Katoko and SANGA cultures emerged in the LUALABA RIVER basin in the Katanga region of southwestern Congo. Modern LUBA oral traditions see this as the ancestral area for the emergence of the Luba kingdom in the 15th century. By 1450 or so, along the upper Kasai River the LUNDA KINGDOM was taking shape. Along the Atlantic and astride the lower Congo River, the KONGO KINGDOM began gaining power after 1400. When the Portuguese encountered this well-organized state in 1483, it had a population of about 500,000 people and covered an area approximately 250 miles (420 km) wide and another 250 miles north to south.

See also: CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Congo, Republic of the (Congo-Brazzaville)

Equatorial African country, approximately 131,900 square miles (341,600 sq km) in size and occupying the northern portion of the CONGO BASIN. To its north are CAMEROON and the CENTRAL AFRICA REPUBLIC, while the UBANGI RIVER and the CONGO RIVER, which are major river highways, constitute its western and southern border with the Democratic Republic of the CONGO (except for the small Cabinda enclave inland from the Atlantic). The coastal Atlantic plain gives way to the southern or Niari River basin, which in turn rises to the sandy Central, or Téké, Plateau. The Central Plateau gives way to the Congo Basin, which constitutes nearly half of the country. Astride the equator, most of the country consists of tropical forests.

As with the dense tropical-forest regions of the neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo, the people of the tropical rain forest lived in small-scale segmentary societies structured around lineages or clans. Often the political organization did not extend above the village level, but at times a powerful leader would be able to group together several villages and create larger chiefdoms. In this way kingdoms eventually emerged in the areas closest to the Atlantic Ocean. The largest of these, the Tio kingdom, was located inland on the Central Plateau. Its origins lay in smaller chiefdoms that began to develop by about 1200. By the 15th century acceptance of a common kingship united the otherwise autonomous rulers over the various Tio territories. About the same time, the Loango kingdom was emerging among the Vili people stretching along the Atlantic coastal plain from the mouth of the Congo River northward into the area of present-day GABON. The KONGO KINGDOM was the third of the powerful kingdoms to emerge in the area, though its

core area was on the south side of the Congo River. It became the most centralized of the three kingdoms and evolved into a full-fledged state.

See also: CONGO, THE REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests* (Madison, Wisc.: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

Conical Tower
Stone structure located in the Great Enclosure of the GREAT ZIMBABWE ruins. Great Zimbabwe is a stone ruin located in the southeastern region of present-day ZIMBABWE on the Zimbabwe plateau. Lying to the south of the Hill Complex, the Great Enclosure is the largest single structure in ancient SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. Construction of the Great Enclosure and the Conical Tower began in the 12th century and took more than a century to finish. Both were built with mortarless stone construction. The Conical Tower is 33 feet (10 m) high and 16 feet (5 m) in diameter. One scholar has described it as one of precolonial Africa's most remarkable structures. Its purpose is unknown, but many experts have theorized that it was a symbolic grain bin or a phallus symbol. The Great Enclosure is made of an outer wall that is 820 feet (250 m) in circumference with a height reaching as much as 80 feet (25 m). An inner wall runs beside the outer wall, forming the narrow, long passage that leads to the Conical Tower.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vol. II).

copper
A reddish mineral that, when processed, is an extremely ductile metal. Copper is readily found in its free metallic state in nature and has a long history as a precious metal in Africa. Copper was mined throughout SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA in the medieval period in the kingdoms of the western Sudan, in the Hausa kingdoms of present-day NIGERIA, in the kingdom of GREAT ZIMBABWE in southern Africa, and in the region known as the Copperbelt of present-day ANGOLA and ZAMBIA.

Copper was used throughout Africa for making BEADS AND JEWELRY for the elites and for use as money in the form of small bars, or ingots. About 1000 CE the Copperbelt was the first place in Africa that circulated copper ingots as a form of money. Smaller pieces of copper served as everyday currency. In the 14th century, Mansa MUSA (c. 1307–1337) of the MALI EMPIRE mined red copper at TAKEDDA and then exported it to the south, where it was exchanged weight-for-weight for GOLD. Throughout Africa, copper was traded and exchanged for other goods, including salt and COTTON.

See also: AGE OF METALS (Vol. I); COPPER (Vols. I, IV); COPPER MINES (Vol. II); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Eugenia W. Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa: Copper in Pre-colonial History and Culture* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

copper mines
During the period prior to European colonization, copper was mined throughout Africa, from the MAGHRIB in the north to the northeastern Transvaal in southern Africa. In southern Africa there is evidence of copper mining from the eighth century at the site of Phalaborwa in the northeastern Transvaal. TAKEDDA was the main center of copper mining in the eastern Maghrib; its copper was exported to the MALI EMPIRE, HAUSA STATES, KANEM-BORNU, and central SUDAN. By the 14th century, Takedda was a thriving mining center for copper.

In southern Central Africa, the main mining center in the 15th century was Chedzurgwe, a site at the heart of the Copperbelt in present-day ZAMBIA. Another major copper mine of the region was Urungwe, which was worked by the people of Ingombe Ilede. Their copper was sold to people throughout the region from north of the Zambezi River to the peoples of the lower valley.

See also: COPPER (Vol. I,); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); INGOMBE ILEDE (Vol. III); MINING (Vol. III).

Coptic Christianity
The Christian Church in Egypt before and after the Arab conquest of the seventh century. Tradition has it that Mark, one of the four Evangelists, brought CHRISTIANITY to EGYPT in the first century during the reign of the Roman Emperor Nero (37–68 CE) and established the Patriarchate of Alexandria in 61. The Coptic Church (from the ARABIC word *qubt,* which means "Egyptian") expanded over the next three centuries, despite Roman persecution of Christian converts throughout the empire. The year 202 started almost a century of Roman persecution of Coptic Christians, culminating in a bloody massacre in 284 at the start of the reign of the emperor Diocletian (245–305). In 313, the emperor Constantine the Great (c. 288–337) granted freedom of worship to all religions in the Roman Empire. By the late fourth century, Christianity had become the official religion of the empire. Among the Coptic Church's contribution to the Church at large was the work of the theologians St. Athanasius (293–373) and St. Cyril the Great, who was patriarch of Alexandria from 412 to 444.

Monasticism Christian monks such as the Benedictines are credited with preserving Western civilization during the Dark Ages in Europe. The monastic movement got its start in Egypt in about 291 when St. Anthony of Thebes (251–356) went into the desert to live a life of prayer and fasting as a hermit. In 320 a Coptic monk named St. Pachomius organized the first monastery, eventually establishing nine monasteries for men and two for women. Among the most important are the monasteries of St. Catherine, St. Paul, and St. Anthony and those at Wadi Natrun and Sohaag. Pachomius's monastic regulations became the model on which all other monastic rules, especially St. Benedict's and St. Basil's, were modeled.

The Coptic Break with Rome Before the fifth century, a single Christian Church existed, with Rome as its epicenter but with many local differences in language, liturgy, and sometimes theology. Beginning in the fifth century, the churches in the Eastern Roman Empire began to drift away from the authority of Rome and the church in the West. The MONOPHYSITE beliefs of the Coptic Church led to the first schism between East and West.

Coptic Christianity emphasized belief in the single divine nature of Christ, as opposed to the more widely accepted belief that Christ had both human and divine natures. Adherence to this belief led to the persecution of the Copts by Roman authorities and eventually to the condemnation of Monophysite beliefs in 451 by the Council of Chalcedon, the fourth ecumenical council of the Christian Church. The Coptic Church broke with the authority of the Roman Church and established the Coptic Orthodox Church, its head the patriarch of Alexandria. The church in Ethiopia also adhered to Monophysite beliefs and split with Rome to form the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Apart from these differences, however, the Byzantine Empire's rule over Egypt remained relatively stable until the coming of ISLAM. In 639, Arab Muslims invaded; by 642 they had captured Alexandria, the capital. Islam transformed Egypt, which gradually adopted the Arabic language and converted from Coptic Christianity to Islam.

See also: BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vol. II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Jill Kamil, *Christianity in the Land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

cotton An important crop and trading commodity. In Africa, cotton has long been cultivated, primarily for making CLOTH. Cotton also was an important commodity that was traded among different populations, similar to the trading of COPPER or GOLD. In the MOSSI kingdoms (c. 1450–1500) south of the Niger bend in West Africa, weaving was an important economic activity that led directly to the development of trade with its neighboring kingdoms. In this case, cotton strips were used as freight merchandise between traders. Cubits of cotton also served as a standard of currency in trade between northern Africa, which supplied salt from the Sahara, and lands to the south, which supplied kola nuts and gold. The SONGHAI Empire (c. 1400–1591) also cultivated cotton. Because of the abundance of indigo in the savanna region, the Songhai were known for their dyeing techniques. The HAUSA STATES, in what is now NIGERIA, also used indigo dyeing techniques on the cotton fabrics they produced.

See also: COTTON (Vols. I, III, V).

craftspeople It is difficult to define a segment of African society as "craftspeople," because more often than not, the individuals who created handicrafts functioned also as artists, priests, historians, and storytellers. They created goods ranging from useful but unremarkable baskets and wooden cups to the sacred and mysterious masks and musical instruments that were used in elaborate ceremonies.

For many African peoples, like the ASHANTI, BAMBARA, and DOGON of West Africa, arts and crafts were considered a sacred means by which to express mystical power or religious belief, and craftspeople and their objects were seen as mediums for the messages of the gods and spirits. In these cultures, skilled artisans were highly regarded members of society.

In the kingdom of BENIN, the *igbesanmwan,* a guild of IVORY carvers, were given special quarters in the royal palace compound of King EWUARE (C. 1440–1480). Some groups, like the GANDA of BUGANDA, rewarded their craftspeople with government positions and large expanses of land.

Some African societies, however, did not hold their artisans in such high esteem. In parts of ETHIOPIA and among certain ethnic groups in West Africa, the highly stratified WOLOF society, for instance, craftspeople were relegated to the lower strata of society and were not allowed to marry outside of their castes. The Amhara of Ethiopia associate leather workers, weavers, and iron workers with the evil eye.

See also: ART (Vols. I, II, III); BARIBA METALLURGY (Vol. II); BARK FIBER (Vol. II); BLACKSMITHS (Vol. I); CASTE SYSTEM (Vol. I); IRON WORKING (Vol. II); LOST-WAX PROCESS (Vol. II); MASKS (Vol. I); *NYAMAKALAW* (Vol. II); SCULPTURE (Vol. I).

Crusades, the Christian religious and military movement initiated against Muslim rulers of the Holy Land between 1095 and 1291. This series of military expeditions sought to restore Christian control to lands important in the life of Jesus Christ. Although the Crusades, which occurred in eight successive phases, were a major preoccupation of the European monarchs and affected many parts of the Muslim world, they spent very little time on African soil. It was not until 1146, during the Second Crusade, that the Muslim city of TRIPOLI, in present-day LIBYA, was seized by a force of Sicilian Normans. (A crusader state called the County of Tripoli was established during this time period, but it was located in the Middle

East and not in North Africa, between the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem to the south and the crusader Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa to the north.) The occupation of Tripoli in North Africa lasted only until 1158.

Africa's major contribution to the Crusades was in the person of SALADIN (c. 1137–1193), the Muslim sultan of EGYPT before and during the Third Crusade (1191). His armies, fighting in the Middle East, captured Jerusalem in 1187, bringing to an end the Christian Franks' 88-year occupation of the holy city.

See also: CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II).

D

Daboya Important source of salt on the White Volta River in the region that is in northern GHANA. Near the end of the 15th century Daboya fell into the hands of the growing kingdom of DAGOMBA, whose rulers were eager to take control of the SALT TRADE from the DYULA, whose hold on trade from the area was weakening. In 1464, invasions by the SONGHAI Empire forced Dagomba to move its capital from near Daboya to a site further east.

da Gama, **Vasco** See GAMA, VASCO DA.

Dagomba Gur-speaking people of Dagbon, a kingdom that flourished in the northern part of present-day GHANA. The Dagomba people emerged after the local Gur people were conquered by horse-mounted invaders in the middle of the 14th century. According to tradition, a warrior by the name of Nyagse conquered the indigenous people and executed their priests (*tindamba*), religious leaders who had extensive authority. The new rulers adopted the native language, Dagbane, and called the kingdom Dagbon. Nyagse established an aristocratic caste system in which social status was acquired through competition, although children could not gain status higher than their father's. For the royal class, descent from a certain grandfather was most important. Thus, the royal lineage of the Ya-Na, or chief, was preserved in Dagomba society. The Dagomba royal line still hails only from the Ya-Na. The Dagomba retained much of the Gur culture. Like the Gur, their primary means of subsistence was farming, with millet, sorghum, peanuts, and yams their main crops.

See also: CASTE SYSTEM (Vol. I); DAGOMBA (Vol. III).

Dahia al-Kahina (Queen Dahia, al-Kahinah) (unknown–c. 705) *Seventh-century Algerian queen of the Jawara Berbers remembered for her strong resistance to invading Islamic Arabs*

Known by her Arabic name *al-Kahina* (the priestess), Queen Dahia ruled a Jawara kingdom located in the eastern regions of the Aurés Mountains of ALGERIA. Legend says that Dahia and her people had been converted to the Jewish faith, and it was due in part to this adherence to JUDAISM that she so intensely resisted the Muslim ARABS who invaded North Africa in the mid-seventh century.

Al-Kahina inherited the battle against Islamic rule from Kuseila (d. 688), or Kuysayla, the chief of the Awraba peoples, who was himself a leader of the SANHAJA BERBERS in the central MAGHRIB. The battle for the region began as early as 670 when advancing Arab armies invaded the northern region of the continent, then known as IFRIQIYA. Initially, Kuseila, like thousands of other BERBERS, embraced the Islamic faith, even assisting Muslim armies in their conquest of many local towns formerly governed by Berber chieftains. After an Arabic governor invaded and plundered Kuseila's homeland of TLEMCEN, however, Kuseila sought revenge. Taking the title of governor, he organized armed resistance against any further absorption into the growing Islamic empire.

By about 687, the Berber kingdom established by Kuseila bordered Queen Dahia al-Kahina's territory. Upon Kuseila's death, about 688, she joined the battle, and by 698 she had become a formidable force, successful at driving Arab armies from the region. After suffering a stunning defeat in 701, Arab forces regrouped, adding converted Berbers to their ranks. The Arab army, led by Hassan ibn an-Nu'man, advanced on northern Africa again. In 705, a

major battle took place near Carthage, in modern-day Tunisia, during which al-Kahina was killed.

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Queen Dahia al-Kahina supposedly used a "scorched-earth" policy in her efforts to resist the Muslim invaders. She ordered her capital, Baghaya, to be burned to the ground rather than let it be taken by Hassan and his forces.

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See also: ISLAM (Vol. II); CARTHAGE (Vol. I); QUEENS AND QUEEN MOTHERS (Vol. II).

Further reading: Ivan Van Sertima, ed., *Black Women in Antiquity* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1997).

Dahlak Archipelago   The largest of several islands situated off the Red Sea coast of MASSAWA in today's eastern ERITREA. Approximately 32 miles (51.2 km) long and 18 miles (28.8 km) wide, Dahlak's history as a commercial trading center extends back to the time of Roman occupation in Northeast Africa. The Dahlak Islands have also been cited as one of several trade routes that introduced Islam into the Horn of Africa. During the eighth century Arabian merchants dominated the markets of Dahlak, using religious ties to exclude Greeks and other traders. During this same period, Aksum's primary port of ADULIS was destroyed by ARABS in retaliation for raids that Aksumite rulers orchestrated in southern Arabia.

Noted for their pearls and exotic tortoiseshell, the Dahlak Islands were well known by the ninth century, when the Arabian geographer al-Yaqubi described the Dahlak Islands as the primary trading port of ETHIOPIA. However, by the 16th century intermittent skirmishes over the control of trade at Dahlak and other Ethiopian ports escalated between Muslims and the Amhara nobles of the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY.

See also: AKSUM (Vols. I, II); ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

Dahomey (Danxome, Danhome)   Kingdom of West Africa located between the Niger River and the Atlantic Ocean, in the southern part of the present-day Republic of BENIN. Little is known of Dahomey prior to the 17th century, but evidence suggests that the region was inhabited by the AJA people, agrarian EWE speakers who migrated there during the 12th and 13th centuries.

See also: ABOMEY (Vol. III); AGAJA (Vol. III); ALLADA (Vols. II, III); DAHOMEY (Vol. III, IV, V); PORTO NOVO (Vol. III); WHYDAH (Vol. III).

Dala Hill   Early capital of the KANO kingdom of NIGERIA. Dala Hill was the home of the Dala people, members of the Medi subgroup of the Kuri people. Although the date of the founding of Kano is unknown, Dala Hill served as its capital until about the year 1000. Kano was captured by the Habe people at the end of the 10th century and became one of the true HAUSA STATES. For a brief period the name Dala Hill was changed to Sheme, but by 1100 it had changed again to Kano City.

Damot   Kingdom originally located south of the Blue Nile River; until the late 13th century, the territory included Wolamo and the entire Shoa Plateau. Damot's most famous king was Motolomi, who ruled during the 13th century. The Damot monarchy was very similar to the kingdom of KAFFA. Its hierarchical structure included subordinate kings and other members of the royalty, as well as various palace officials and governors, all of whom answered to a king whose rule was supreme.

About 1316–1317, Damot was conquered by AMDA SIYON (c. 1314–1344) of the Christian kingdom, to the north. As a result, for the next two centuries Damot was part of this Christian Ethiopian kingdom, although it managed to retain much of its traditional RELIGION. The Damot kingdom fell into further decline towards the end of the 16th century when the OROMO forced the people of Damot across the Blue Nile. By the 17th century the kingdom was completely absorbed and became a sub-district of the region of Gojjam.

See also: DAMOT (Vol. III); GOJJAM (Vol. III).

Dangme (Adangme, Adangbe)   See GA-DANGME.

Darfur   Mountainous region in the modern Republic of the SUDAN situated between Wadai, to the west, and Kordofan, to the east. Darfur is populated by sedentary peoples and nomads of Arabian origin, including the BAGGARA. Prior to 1200, Darfur was fairly isolated from its neighbors, and there was an absence of trade. The region was governed by the Daju, who lived in the central Jebel Marra massif and established the first known dynasty in the area after dominating the local peoples. Though the Daju rulers had ARABIC names and came from the east, their tradition holds that they were not of Arab origin.

Migrations from the east began around 1350, along the Darb al-Arbin, or Forty Days Road. There is evidence that some trading took place at this time between Darfur and EGYPT. During the migrations, incoming Arab nomads brought new breeds of cattle and new pastoral practices. One group of people, the Tunjur, arrived in Darfur and pushed the Daju southward. The Tunjur assumed power in Darfur in a peaceful fashion. They may

have come from Nubia and been aided and influenced by Arab nomads, whose language the Tunjur adopted. Some historians believe that the Tunjur had come from TUNISIA.

Around 1450, the Tunjur ruler, Shau, was deposed by his half-brother, Dali, who made many political changes in Darfur. He instituted a new legal system, which was later recorded in the *Kitab Dali*, or "Book of Dali," and he divided Darfur into five provinces.

A visitor to the eastern SUDAN around 1500 wrote an account of the founding of a kingdom by a runaway slave that may be the story of Dali, the founder of the Kayra dynasty, or of his father. The account reports that in Gaoga, which some historians believe to be Darfur, a servant murdered his master, stole the master's goods and weapons, and ran away to be protected by his nearby relatives. The servant later acquired wealth through raiding and became a powerful ruler.

See also: DARFUR (Vols. III, V); NUBIA (Vol. I).

Further reading: P. M. Holt and M. W. Daly, *A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day* (New York: Longman, 2000); R. S. O'Fahey, *State and Society in Dar Fur* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980).

Dauda, Sarki (r. 1421–1438) *Islamic ruler in Kano*

During Dauda's reign, KANO became a tributary state of the BORNU kingdom. Unlike previous periods of Kano's history, Dauda's reign was characterized by an increase in commercial activities and trade. A newly established TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTE brought prosperity to the area, along with its CARAVANS of salt and agricultural products. This peaceful prosperity and the flourishing of Muslim culture contributed to the increasingly cosmopolitan population of HAUSALAND.

See also: KANEM-BORNU (Vols. II, III, IV); YAJI, SARKI (Vol. II).

Daura Ancient settlement in northern NIGERIA, ruled by queens during the ninth and 10th centuries. As a CITY-STATE, Daura became the first of the seven original HAUSA STATES. According to legend, Abuyazid, a prince of Baghdad, Iraq, became famous for aiding the sultan of BORNU and was given the name *Bayajida* by the people of Bornu. When the sultan became jealous and plotted against Bayajida, the prince fled and eventually came to the town of Daura. There he gained renown by slaying a snake that had prevented the townspeople from drawing water from a well. As a reward, he married Daurama, the queen of Daura, and ruled with her. Their son, Bawo, had six sons, who went on to found the Hausa people. These sons also founded the remaining six of the seven original Hausa states, which became emirates named BIRAM, GOBIR, KANO, KATSINA, RANO, and ZAZZAU.

Daura, whose name means "blacksmith," was peopled primarily with farmers and artisans. In addition, it was located on the savanna at the intersection of roads leading to Katsina, Kano, Zango, and territories in present-day NIGER. As a result it became an important center for trade, with salt and potash arriving from the SAHARA DESERT, and human captives, leather, and cloth coming from the south.

Further reading: M. G. Smith, *The Affairs of Daura* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1978).

Daza Saharan ARAB nomads who settled in the northwestern areas of present-day CHAD. These central African people are part of the Dazaga clan of the TEDA ethnic group. Due to the arid climate and sandy terrain of their homelands, the Daza are primarily nomadic cattle herders. Historically they relied on limited amounts of trade as well as village raids to supplement their nomadic lifestyle. In the 16th century they were forced by Ottoman rulers to give up much of their nomadic lifestyle, long before the arrival of the French and Italian colonists in the 19th century.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE (Vol. III); TIBESTI (Vol. III); TOUBOU (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Debo, Lake Body of water located in the central region of present-day Republic of MALI, on the Niger River between Mopti, to the south, and TIMBUKTU, to the northeast. Lake Debo is part of the network of lakes, creeks, and backwaters that join the Niger River. Lake Debo was one of the boundaries of the SONGHAI Empire, which prospered from the 14th to the 16th centuries.

Debre Birhan (Mountain of Light) Former kingdom in northeast ETHIOPIA associated with the medieval rule of ZARA YAKOB (r. 1434–1468). The kingdom reportedly gained its name from bright stars visible from its high perch on the Ethiopian plateau. During the 14 years Emperor Yakob lived at Debre Birhan, he transformed the isolated region into a renowned center of cultural and literary achievement. Much of this cultural renaissance has been attributed to Yakob, who wrote many religious texts during his reign. Historians also cite the infusion of culture generated by the building of the king's palace and

surrounding structures. Many artisans, both from within and outside Ethiopia, were attracted to the region. After Zara Yakob's death, in 1468, the site fell into disuse but was eventually reclaimed and restored by later successors of the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY.

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994).

Debre Damo Monastic region of ETHIOPIA situated east of Adowa, in the TIGRAY highlands. Founded during the fifth century by Abba Aregawi, one of the Syrian monks known as the NINE SAINTS, Debre Damo still remains an active place of worship. Access to the site is the same as in ancient times: monks and visitors use a rope to scale the steep cliff on which the original monastery was founded. Despite these limitations, over several centuries the positive efforts of the monks attracted to Debre Damo many devout Christians, who worked to establish a self-sustaining refuge by creating adjoining buildings and cultivating the grounds.

Debre Damo's remarkable architecture also provides an important glimpse of the distinctive style of the ancient kingdom of AKSUM. One of the earliest churches built in the region by King Gebra-Masqal during the sixth century was constructed of stone and wood with an interior ceiling pattern of cross-beams. The interior of this church and other churches in the region characteristically have small recessed areas, archways, and carvings of animals, plants, and abstract forms. Large crucifixes, complemented by intricate borders, dominate the church.

A feature of the old Aksumite churches is their patterned windows and doors, many of which recall the towering stelae of the region. This corroborates a general belief that Aksum's stelae were tombs or "spiritual houses" built for deceased kings.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCES OF (Vol. II); ETHIOPIA (Vol. I); GIYORGIS, ST. (Vol. II); ZAGWE DYNASTY (Vol. II).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994). Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270–1527* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Dendi Region in the northwestern part of present-day NIGERIA that is the original home of the SONGHAI people. Dendi also refers to the name of these people, a sub-

group of the Bariba people, and the language they speak. The Songhai people, who emerged from the Dendi region of Nigeria near the Niger River, are thought to have descended from the ZA kingdom of the eighth century. By about 800, and possibly earlier, the Songhai had moved north, establishing the prosperous trading city of GAO. Eventually, the MALI EMPIRE took control of both Gao and the Dendi region. When Sunni ALI (r. c. 1464–1492) began the great expansion of the Songhai Empire about 1465, he regained control of the Dendi region, and the Songhai people once again inhabited their homeland.

The SORKO people, who also speak a Songhai language, were known to have lived, fished, and traded in the Dendi region. The FULANI lived in the Dendi region during the time when Sunni Ali reconquered it for the Songhai Empire.

Diara (Zara) SONINKE kingdom of the ancient GHANA EMPIRE of West Africa. Diara was influenced by Muslim traders, known as the DYULA, as early as the eighth century, when it appears that many of the MANDE-speaking Soninke natives converted to ISLAM. In the 11th century the ALMORAVIDS gained control of Diara. They also took AUDAGHOST, a Saharan trade center to the north of Diara, and most of the Ghana Empire. Toward the end of the 15th century Diara fell to SONGHAI invaders.

See also: SUDAN, THE (Vol. II); SONGHAI (Vol. III).

Dias (Diaz), Bartolomeu (c. 1450–1500) *Portuguese navigator and explorer*

Dias is considered by many historians to be the most important of the Portuguese explorers who explored the Atlantic Ocean during the 15th century. His voyages took him along the coast of Africa and across the Atlantic to the coast of Brazil. Rounding the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa in 1488, he helped to open India to Portugal's commercial ventures by showing his king, John II (1455–1495), that a sea route to India was possible. Portugal then had the opportunity to control the shipment of trade goods from the East. These goods had previously been transported by caravan to Europe through Muslim-held lands.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Eric Axelson, *Congo to Cape: Early Portuguese Explorers* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973).

Dibbalemi, Mai (Dunama Dibbalemi, Dabbalemi) (r. c. 1210–1248) *Ruler of Kanem-Bornu*

The SEFUWA Mai (or King) Dibbalemi led the KANURI people, a nomadic group that had migrated into

KANEM, northeast of Lake Chad, around 1100. Born into Kanem's ruling dynasty, Dibbalemi, like other Kanuri kings, was considered divine.

Kanem means "south" in the Kanuri language.

Dibbalemi mobilized Kanem's considerable military forces, including more than 40,000 horses, in his efforts to establish a trading empire. Declaring a JIHAD, or holy war, against Kanem's neighboring states, he successfully conquered the surrounding areas and gained control of the lucrative TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES north of Lake Chad. As a result, CARAVANS traveling between the central SUDAN and North Africa had to pass through Kanuri territory. The commercial activity that developed from this transformed the lifestyle of the previously nomadic Kanuri. Becoming more sedentary, the Kanuri began to focus on trade.

These conquests also encouraged Dibbalemi to further increase his empire's territory through military action. Dibbalemi expanded his territory from east of Lake Chad to the north, adding Kawar and the FEZZAN region. He also expanded the empire eastward to Wadai, westward to Bornu and KANO, and south to the Adamawa grasslands, in present-day CAMEROON. At its height, Dibbalemi's territory, called the KANEM-BORNU or Kanuri empire, extended from LIBYA to Lake Chad to the HAUSA STATES.

Dibbalemi's reign was both long and effective. In addition to his military successes, he established diplomatic relationships with sultans in North Africa. A devout Muslim, he was concerned with promoting religious observances among his people and established a special hostel in CAIRO for those making the pilgrimage to MECCA.

To encourage and reward his military leaders, Dibbalemi gave commanders authority over the people they conquered. This system of power sharing, which helped motivate his armed forces, ultimately proved problematic because commanders attempted to pass their positions on to their sons. As a result these posts evolved into a new hereditary ruling class. Dibbalemi was able to control this during his lifetime, but after his death, dynastic feuds developed. These soon degenerated into civil war. People in the outlying districts stopped paying tribute, and the great empire Dibbalemi built began to break apart.

Further reading: Augustin F. C. Holl, *The Diwan Revisited: Literacy, State Formation and the Rise of Kanuri Domination (AD 1200–1600)* (New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 2000).

Dinka Pastoralist people, closely related to the Nuer, who since the 10th century have inhabited an area on both sides of the White Nile in what is now the Republic of the SUDAN. The Dinka speak a language of the NILOTIC subgroup of the NILO-SAHARAN family; they are subdivided into independent peoples, including the Agar, Aliab, Bor, Rek, and Malual, each of which is segmented into smaller political patrilineal clans with great autonomy. They are an intensely religious people whose rituals and practices permeate everyday life.

Dinka Religion The Dinka religious system is based on the pervasive relationship between the deity and humans, one that influences every facet of Dinka life. Among the Dinka, the deity is recognized as Nhialic or Nhial, which has been translated as "the sky." Access to Nhialic is accomplished through spirit possession.

Three primary ancestor figures also represent an important aspect of the Dinka belief system. One, known as Deng, is the founder of the Dinka nation. As in other religions that assign qualities of the natural world to specific deities, Deng is associated with thunder and lightning. He is also worshiped at a large shrine known as Luak Deng. Other important deities are Garang, who represents men, and Abuk, a female deity. These latter deities have often been compared to the myth of Adam and Eve associated with the Judeo-Christian tradition. In the origin stories of the Dinka, which were created centuries before the birth of Jesus, Nhialic warns the people about forbidden fruit and its consequences.

Many lesser deities are recognized by the Dinka and are divided into warrior or priestly clans. Described as totemic spirits, they included *ring,* or "flesh," the spirits that give voice to members of the priestly clans. These priests, known as Masters of the Fishing Spear, derive their powers from Aiwel, or Ayuel, or Longar, who was the heroic figure of Dinka myths. The priests are recognized by their symbolic fishing spears, which are considered the sacred tool of Longar, who, their myths explain, was conceived in the river. He was also credited with leading the Dinka to the site of their present nation.

According to Dinka origin myths, Longar, following a long period of drought, attempted to persuade the Dinka elders to relocate to new lands. Unfortunately, he failed. In retaliation, he refused to find more water sources and simply traveled away from the region. At some point the Dinka attempted to follow him, and, when they encountered obstacles such as mountains and rivers, they began to seek out his assistance. Longar apparently refused at first, even going so far as to kill several Dinka as they attempted to cross the river. Finally, however, a member of the priest clan wrestled his spear away. It was at this point that Longar began to stop fighting and started to help them across, giving his fishing spears to the first men to cross the river. These men formed the first members of the priest clan.

One of the most important elements of worship among the Dinka is the large number of animal sacrifices they dedicate to their gods. The Dinka view bulls or oxen as significant gifts from Nhialic, which are returned to him through the act of sacrifice. It has been said that each of their cattle receives a name and its memory is preserved in the naming process of newborn calves. Spear master priests are responsible for maintaining traditional acts of worship and prayer. They voluntarily relinquish their hold of the title when they grow too old to reign. Dinka traditions called for them to give a final consultation before being buried alive.

See also: NUER (Vols. I, III); PASTORALISM (Vol. I); RELIGION (Vol. I).

Further reading: Francis Mading Deng, *Africans of Two Worlds;: The Dinka in Afro-Arab Sudan* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978); Francis Mading Deng, *Dinka Cosmology* (London: Ithaca Press, 1980).

disease in medieval Africa In ancient Africa, where the majority of peoples lived at a distance from each other and were connected by trade only sporadically, disease tended to be local and seasonal. Parasitical infections caused by *Echinococcus* larvae in the feces of domestic animals, schistosomes from infected lakes, and *Leishmania* from sand flies were common; the sickness they caused very likely lessened during the dry season and during times of drought. However, as Africa became less local through trade contacts with other regions and the world outside, the migration of peoples inside Africa, and the development of larger communities, the diseases that people faced also changed.

North Africa In the sixth century bubonic plague, which existed in northern Africa as early as the fourth century BCE, swept from EGYPT through Syria and Asia Minor all the way to Italy. Records do not show if the plague penetrated SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA at this time. However, the sixth-century epidemic was the same highly contagious disease of the lymph glands, known as the Black Death, that originated in Mesopotamia and proved fatal to roughly 25 million people in 14th-century Europe.

Sub-Saharan Africa Beginning in the third century BCE and continuing through colonial times, migrations across the African interior broadened the scope of previously isolated diseases. The BANTU EXPANSION that began in the first millennium facilitated the spread of diseases to the susceptible inhabitants of central Africa. Some of these early African people acquired disease through contact with animals that were often their domestic stock. Called zoonoses, diseases spread by animals have been prevalent throughout the history of Africa. Rabies, trypanosomiasis, leishmaniasis, yellow fever, trichinosis, and anthrax are all spread via infected animals.

One of the most common parasite-caused diseases in Africa is trypanosomiasis, or sleeping sickness, an infection transported by the blood-sucking TSETSE FLY. This large fly thrives only in sub-Saharan Africa, where it feeds on wild animals, cattle, and humans. Living in the blood, lymph nodes, or cerebrospinal fluid, trypanosomiasis infects the host and usually causes death within a few days. For centuries, sleeping sickness has limited the amount of animal husbandry in sub-Saharan Africa, thus inhibiting the growth of both precolonial and colonial settlements in the area.

Changes in Lifestyle As peoples abandoned their nomadic lifestyle to live in settled, agrarian societies, disease became more prevalent. Prior to the emergence of AGRICULTURE, small nomadic groups of people helped keep disease at bay because a pathogen had fewer hosts to infect; an outbreak of a deadly virus was essentially restricted to the handful of nomads or animals it infected, and once the last surviving host died, so did the disease. As people became more settled, infectious parasites and microbes were able to reproduce at rapid speeds before killing their hosts and moving on to new, healthy victims. Thus, the natural balance between life and death was disrupted, and pathogens often emerged as the victors.

Malaria is a parasitic disease, transmitted by female mosquitoes, that has been common to Africa since precolonial times. It often results in kidney failure, coma, and death.

The malaria parasite (*Plasmodium*) has existed for millions of years. With the advent of agricultural societies, malaria was able to pass quickly throughout densely populated communities. In tropical Africa, the long history of the disease enabled the indigenous populations to develop a genetic mutation to combat the parasite. The sickle-cell gene, which emerged by the seventh century, provided protection against malaria, but was itself deadly. If inherited from both parents, the gene usually caused death from severe anemia. Those who have only one parent with the gene can survive with increased immunity to malaria. Thus, the sickle-cell trait emerged only in those parts of Africa where malaria was common, particularly the western parts of the continent.

Disease thrived in these close-knit communities, where viruses such as smallpox were spread by daily contact among their members. The increased population density had disrupted the natural cycle of life and death

between humans and diseases. Disease-carrying hosts, especially mosquitoes, multiplied as forests were cleared for crops. Outbreaks shortened the immediate labor supply, making simple but crucial tasks like clearing fields or harvesting the crops difficult. Adding to the devastation, a poor crop yield could cause food shortages, which in turn led to malnutrition and an increased susceptibility to new diseases.

Finally, the development of Arab and European trade provided new conduits for transmitting old and new diseases. Coastal people, who had the most contact with foreigners, quickly developed a tolerance for many of the new diseases, but those who lived further inland were devastated by unfamiliar pathogens. Foreign traders brought home with them diseases previously limited to the African continent, such as malaria.

A similar case of immunity among Africans can be found in a separate malaria strain that kills only children. Evolution has made adults resistant to the disease, but young children are very susceptible. However, after a prolonged period away from the infected regions, adults lose their immunity. These types of genetic evolution have been very important in shaping African civilization. Without immunity, Africans would not have survived in the areas where diseases were most common.

See also: DISEASE IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I) DISEASE IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD (Vol. III).

divine rule Practice of worshiping monarchs as gods. The concept of divine kingship, which existed as far back as the pharaohs of ancient EGYPT, was a popular form of government throughout Africa from the fifth through the 15th centuries

The ZANJ of southeast Africa called their king *WAQLIMI,* which means "son of the great god." Among the pastoral Shilluk of Malakal, located near the White Nile, the practice of electing kings who claimed divine rule was based on the moral order established by their mythic founder, Nyikang. It was believed that the spirit of Nyikang passed down from king to king. The YORUBA chose kings through Ifa divination because it represented the voice of their ancestors. Their kings were considered an essential link between the people, their ancestors, and their spiritual deities.

By the ninth century the practice of divine kingship was common among other African societies as well. The SEFUWA dynasty of KANEM-BORNU established the royal *mai* line of divine kings. To maintain their divine image, the *mais* always spoke from behind a screen to keep themselves from having direct contact with their people.

In the West African forest, the WOLOF and SERER people elected their kings to positions of divinity. Once they gained power, the kings were protected by tribal taboos.

Similarly, the Shona people of ZIMBABWE worshiped their kings like gods, bestowing elaborate gifts upon them. Among many Bantu-speaking peoples, divine kingship was closely intertwined with social and religious customs like fertility and ancestor worship.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); DIVINE RULE (Vol. I); GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vol. II).

Further reading: Basil Davidson, *The Lost Cities of Africa* (New York: Little, Brown, 1987); E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religions: A Definition* (New York: Orbis Books, 1973); Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* (New York: First Vintage Books; Random House, 1984).

diwan (divan, dewen) Islamic financial and administrative system first used in the seventh century during the Arab conquest by Umar I (r. 634–644), the second caliph to succeed the prophet Muhammad after ABU BAKR (r. 1274–1285).

Members of the *diwan,* mostly Arab rulers (including Muhammad's descendants) and warriors, were paid a share of the state's plunder and taxes (called *jizya*), in the form of a pension. The income was separated into two categories: movable and immovable. Movable funds were those distributed after setting aside 20 percent for the state's immovable reserve.

The *diwan* took on a bureaucratic significance in later years. By the end of the seventh century its meaning encompassed all levels of government infrastructure. The term was used similarly by Iranians and, in the 16th century, by Mughal Indians and the Ottoman Empire.

djallaba Word from ARABIC meaning "traders;" often used to describe merchants from eastern savanna regions of the SUDAN. The *djallaba* were instrumental in the development of trade with the Sultanate of Fur, one of the Islamic kingdoms of the Sudan.

See also: DARFUR (Vols. II, III, IV, V); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); FUR SULTANATE (Vol. III).

Djibouti Modern East African coastal country some 9,000 square miles (23,300 sq km) in size that is on the Strait of Mandeb. Djibouti was an important Arab trade state until the 16th century. Bounded by ERITREA, ETHIOPIA, Somaliland, and the Gulf of Aden, Djibouti is a small country populated by a diverse group of people. The majority of the native people were AFAR, or SOMALI of the Issa clan. The Afars, concentrated in the north and western parts of Djibouti, traditionally were nomadic people, as were the Somalis to the south.

The livelihood of Djibouti's inhabitants has been dictated by the area's dry climate and barren terrain. Saltwater

basins are found amid the arid, volcanic plateaus in southern and central Djibouti, lightly wooded mountains dominate the northern landscape, and coastal plains line the eastern shore. Temperatures rise to 106° F (41° C) in the summer, with lows of only 84° F (29° C) in the winter. With a scant 5 inches (12.7 cm) of rainfall each year, the climate is largely unsuitable for agriculture or animal husbandry. Less than 1 percent of Djibouti is arable, and only 9 percent can sustain livestock. Flora is limited to thorn scrub and grasses in the desert, although the mountains do support some date palms, castor-oil palms, tamarind, and euphoria. Fauna includes jackals, antelopes, hyenas, gazelles, and ostriches.

Strategically located at the junction of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, Djibouti has been an important link between Africa and the Middle East for thousands of years. The earliest SEMITIC speakers migrated from the Middle East to Ethiopia via Djibouti in prehistoric times. Even the primary occupation of the Afar and Somali people, nomadic pastoralism, was introduced to Djibouti via the Strait of Mandeb.

As an important access point to the Middle East, the Djibouti region was enticing to many early settlers. The Afar people first settled in the countryside around the third century BCE, although Somali Issa settlements would push them to the north in the ninth century CE. Prior to the arrival of Muslim missionaries in 825, an Arab and Persian trade town bordering present-day Djibouti was established. Called ZEILA, the town became a successful silver and slave export center. Its success gave rise to the extended Abyssinian kingdom of ADAL, which encompassed much of present-day Djibouti. Zeila was named the capital of Adal.

By the ninth century ISLAM had penetrated the African coast via Zeila. Muslim Adal eventually gained its independence from Christian Abyssinia, but it would face ongoing battles with the Christians for many years to come. From the 13th to the 16th centuries, this religious struggle weakened Adal and allowed western invaders to conquer the kingdom late in the 16th century.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); DJIBOUTI (Vol. III); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

Dogon West African people concentrated in southern MALI and northern BURKINA FASO; they speak Dogon, a Gur dialect of the Niger-Congo family of languages. Oral history suggests that the Dogon probably fled their original homeland between the 10th and 13th centuries because they refused to convert to ISLAM. However, archaeological evidence, coupled with the fact that they speak the Gur language, indicates that the Dogon had a much earlier presence in their current home.

Even today, the Dogon are primarily farmers and hunters. They settle in secluded areas and grow millet as

The cliffside village of Irel in the Bandiagara region of Republic of Mali shows the traditional dwellings of the Dogon people. The Dogon fled to the Bandiagara escarpment in 1490 to escape an invading army from the Mossi state of Yatenga. *© Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis*

a subsistence crop. These areas have historically been shared with FULANI pastoralists who exchange dairy products for Dogon grains and produce.

Dogon society centers around extended patrilineal families, with an occupational class structure that places farmers at the top of the hierarchy. In the absence of centralized authority, a *hogon,* or headman, provides religious and judicial leadership for the village. His authority is weak, however, as all decision-making power rests with a council of elders.

Traditional Dogon religion focuses on the belief in one creator—Amma. Ancestor worship also plays an important role in the Dogon faith. A comprehensive mythology dictates the order of the universe and the Dogon's place in that order.

While today nearly 35 percent of the Dogon people consider themselves Muslim, their isolated location has

left them relatively untouched by outside influences. Therefore, their cultural and religious traditions have remained intact.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I); ORAL HISTORY (Vol. I).

Further reading: Geneviève Calame-Griaule, *Words and the Dogon World* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1986); Stephenie Hollyman and Walter E. A. van Beek, *Dogon: Africa's People of the Cliffs* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001).

domestic animals Animals that are integrated into human society. The existence of domesticated animals in Africa can be traced to early Neolithic civilizations when the natural supply of wild animals became insufficient to feed local populations. Wild animals were subsequently bred in captivity to increase the food supply. The only animals actually domesticated on the African continent were the guinea fowl, cat, donkey, and shorthorn cattle. Other species, like the domestic dog, pig, and chicken, arrived in Africa from other countries.

In many areas diseases limited the spread of domestic animals. Trypanosomiasis, a deadly disease spread by the TSETSE FLY, limited the sustainability of domestic animals in much of southern Africa.

In order for an animal to be domesticated, it must submit to human ownership, and some animals adapt to captivity more easily than others. Thus, animals like antelope are difficult to domesticate, whereas fowl, cats and dogs, pigs, goats, donkeys, horses, and cattle have a high tolerance for humans.

Fowl Archaeological evidence indicates that domestic chickens from India and Asia were in Africa by 800 CE. They were probably bred from the red jungle fowl. Early Malaysian traders may have introduced the chicken to coastal Africa, where it was able to spread quickly throughout the continent. Although 16th-century Portuguese explorers named the guinea fowl, native peoples had domesticated them long before. In the western parts of the continent, the helmeted guinea fowl was bred in captivity, and peoples of eastern Africa raised a breed of guinea fowl as well.

Cats and Dogs Domestic cats were bred from the common wildcat that thrived throughout much of Africa. Even after domestication, the housecat would breed with the wildcat, making the separation of the species difficult. Dogs arrived on the African continent several thousand years ago from western Asia and Europe, where they were

bred from wolves. Dogs had many uses in traditional African societies. Although some dogs were human companions, others were eaten or used in ritual ceremonies. They were also raised for their hides or bred as hunters.

Goats Goats were also brought to North Africa from Asia and had dispersed throughout the southern parts of the continent by the fourth century CE. Dwarf goats, raised for their meat and hides, evolved in western Africa and the SUDAN, while short-eared varieties multiplied in semiarid zones. Other prominent domestic goat varieties include the red Sokoto, whose valuable hide is used to make Moroccan leather, and the small East African goat.

Pigs Descendants of the wild boar, pigs were popular in ancient EGYPT but never became major factors in the African ECONOMY. Although European settlers brought new varieties in the 15th century, African pig populations remained small because they were vulnerable to disease.

Donkeys, Horses, and Camels The domestic donkey was probably first bred by the Egyptians from its wild counterpart native to North Africa and Arabia, possibly as early as 4000 BCE. Domestic horses have long been present in Africa, but their numbers have been limited because—in contrast to camels—they do not adapt especially well to the arid Saharan climate, and they are susceptible to many diseases in SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

The lineage of camels is unknown because wild species have long been extinct. Domestic camels played an important role in making the previously uninhabitable desert regions suitable for limited agriculture and trade. The one-humped camel was probably brought to northern Africa from Arabia more than 5,000 years ago. With its tolerance for desert conditions, the camel thrived in the Sahel and northern KENYA. But due to the camel's susceptibility to trypanosomiasis, it was not able to survive in rainy climates where the tsetse fly thrived. Nonetheless, more camels are found in Africa than anywhere else in the world, and they have long been raised for milk, meat, and TRANSPORTATION.

Cattle Among domesticated animals, cattle, prized for their hides, meat, milk, and manure, have had the greatest social and economic impact on Africa. Domestic cattle in the arid North African regions include long- and shorthorn varieties as well as the Asian zebu, mostly found in ETHIOPIA. The Asian zebu interbred with local varieties to create the common sanga variety. Despite the presence of several deadly diseases in this region, more cattle are raised here than anywhere else on the continent. Several regional tribes, including the DINKA, Nuer, and Shilluk, virtually worship their cattle.

In western Africa, the large number of trypanosomiasis-carrying flies makes the area uninhabitable to many cattle breeds. The N'Dama and West African shorthair breeds were able to cope with the disease and made up most of the cattle population. Pastoralists and agriculturalists raised these and a limited number of dwarf cattle.

Cattle populations in the Sahel and central Africa are smaller in number. In the Sahel, a region including parts of the present-day countries of BURKINA FASO, CHAD, Republic of MALI, MAURITANIA, NIGER, and SENEGAL, the arid climate and frequent drought make the region unsuitable to many types of cattle. Zebu cattle are found in limited numbers, but camels are much more common. In central Africa, some zebu and sanga varieties were native to the area, but most cattle arrived much later with European settlers. A similar phenomenon occurred in the southern regions of Africa, where precolonial breeds were limited to sanga cattle. With the arrival of European coastal explorers in the late 15th century, new breeds were introduced and intermixed with indigenous herds.

Sheep Domestic sheep from Asia were abundant in ancient Egypt and early North African kingdoms. Next to cattle, they are the most important domesticated animals in Africa, although their lifespan is often abbreviated due to their susceptibility to disease. The three principal African sheep varieties are the thin-tail, fat-tail, and fat-rump. Thin-tailed sheep have been present on the continent for several thousand years. In the savanna regions dominated by cattle-herders, species of sheep called the Sudanese Desert, the FULANI, and the Tuareg prevail.

To the west, where agriculture is the primary economic activity, West African dwarf and Nilotic sheep are common. In the Sahel region, thin-tailed sheep thrive in the semiarid desert. This thin-tailed variety is prized not just for its coarse wool coat; it also provides an abundant supply of milk and meat to native pastoralists. The related fat-tailed variety has also inhabited the African continent for several millennia. They are used primarily for their milk, although their heavy tail has long been coveted as a source of thick, oil-like fat used in traditional cooking. The most common fat-tailed varieties are found in present-day Ethiopia and parts of East, central, and southern Africa. Fat-rumped sheep, prized for their fatty meat, as well as their hides and milk, are more prevalent in arid parts of the continent. They are also excellent sources of wool.

See also: CAMELS (Vol. I); CARAVANS (Vol. II); CATTLE (Vol. I); CAVALRY (Vol. II); DOGS (Vol. I); GOATS (Vol. I); HORSES (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vol. I).

Donatism North African theological position within CHRISTIANITY that held that the clergy who administered the sacraments had to be holy themselves. This doctrine was at odds with the Church in Rome that took the position that the sacraments came from God, not man, and thus God, not the individual administering the sacraments, made them holy. Rome considered Donatism as a heresy. This dispute, which erupted about 300 CE, led to a split between North African Christian BERBERS, who were the principal adherents of Donatism, and Rome. This religious schism weakened Roman North Africa in the face of, first, the Vandal invasion (c. 430 CE) and then the inroads made by ISLAM in the seventh century. Donatism disappeared from North Africa along with the disappearance of Christianity as the Berbers converted to Islam.

Dyula (Douala, Jula, Diula, Wangara, Kangan)

MANDE-speaking traders who prospered in West Africa from the 14th through the 16th centuries. Dyula trading activities go back as far as the GHANA EMPIRE (as early as the eighth century CE). The MANDINKA called them *Dyula*, which means "Muslim trader," but West African ARABS knew them as Wangara. By the 14th century the term *Dyula* was widely used to name the many different traders—Malinke, BAMBARA, and SONINKE—who were doing business across the African savanna. The Dyula held prosperous commercial trade routes from SENEGAL to NIGERIA and from TIMBUKTU to the northern IVORY COAST. Eventually they became agents, brokers, and financiers.

They primarily traded in GOLD, salt, and kola nuts, but, as their trading networks grew, the Dyula moved into goods such as livestock, cloth, COPPER, silver, IVORY, beads, and glass. They also played a significant role in the trade from the western SUDAN to northern Africa, and their commercial expertise allowed them to trade with European MERCHANTS, who arrived in the 16th century. Besides being excellent merchants, they excelled in the arts. In their communities, Dyula traders usually separated themselves from their peasant neighbors, although they were themselves often treated as second-class citizens in some of the towns in which they settled.

As converts to ISLAM, the Dyula spread their religion to the various communities in which they settled. These included the SONGHAI trade centers of Timbuktu, JENNE and GAO, as well as to many BARIBA and Hausa towns. As a result they contributed enormously to the expansion of Islam in West Africa.

See also: DYULA (Vols. I, III); GHANA, ANCIENT (Vol. I); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II).

Further reading: George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993).

E

economy Subsistence agriculture continued to expand in Africa in the 1000 years after 500 CE and came to constitute the basis of the economy for most African societies. Farming was the most important form of AGRICULTURE, but herding was also an important activity. The availability of water sources and grazing land determined whether a pastoral group pursued a stationary or a nomadic form of subsistence. Among many of these peoples, cattle raising became the dominant means of meeting their subsistence needs, while for others camels were the main animals. Sheep and goats were also important in some societies. In addition to providing meat and dairy products for human consumption, cattle were used as currency, as bridewealth, and as a means of settling debts. In this way cattle became a determining factor in social stratification.

Shelter Thatched-roof homes provided shelter for people in wetter, heavily forested areas; mud and clay structures did the same for people in more arid climates. Some Africans, however, had more elaborate buildings. In the trading cities of the SWAHILI COAST, for example, well-to-do merchants lived in fine houses and also helped finance elaborate mosques, such as the one in KILWA. Similarly, in JENNE, located near the Inland Niger Delta in present-day Republic of MALI, the local Muslim rule oversaw the construction of the Great Mosque, made from adobe, in the 13th century. About the same period, the MAMLUKS, who ruled over EGYPT from their capital at CAIRO, presided over a major expansion of the city's economic activity.

Natural Resources Settling in close proximity to fertile fields and mineral deposits often was the means for acquiring immense power. The GHANA EMPIRE was a perfect example of the exploitation of both types of re-sources. Because of its proximity to the WANGARA GOLD FIELDS and its taxation of commercial traffic on the trade routes, Ghana received immense revenues without any substantial capital outlay. This wealth facilitated the production of IRON tools, which in turn provided the kingdom with a distinct advantage in agricultural production. These high agricultural yields provided the GHANA EMPIRE with an additional source of revenue apart from the goods that flowed along the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES.

Trade The gold and SALT TRADE, which developed in later years between Sahara merchants and the empires of Ghana, MALI, and SONGHAI, was crucial for three reasons. First, it was the source of tremendous wealth for the rulers of these ancient empires. Second, because salt was scarce in the western regions of the SUDAN and gold was so abundant, salt assumed a higher value than gold. Third, due to the secrecy associated with the location of the Wangara gold fields, trade was conducted by dumb barter. In this process, merchants did not actually meet face to face but instead left appropriate amounts of goods in a prescribed place in exchange for the gold. In North Africa cities such as SIJILMASA became major economic centers as a result of the burgeoning trans-Saharan trade that expanded into other goods well beyond the trade in gold and salt.

Art and Crafts Artists, BLACKSMITHS, and other crafts-people and artisans increased their contribution to the African economy as the population grew and the economy expanded on the basis of trade and agricultural productivity. While the art and goods produced often had functional purposes, decorative aspects were also important.

See also: ECONOMY (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Ralph A. Austen, *African Economic History* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1987).

Edo (Bini) People of the southern part of present-day NIGERIA who once ruled the historic kingdom of BENIN from c. 1400 to c. 1800. Prior to the colonial era the Edo, also called the Bini, made their living from farming, hunting, and trading their wares, eventually becoming one of the first African groups to trade with the Portuguese. They were also known for their intricate IVORY and BRONZE sculptures and plaques, which adorned, among other places, the palace of the *oba,* or king, and portrayed Benin's distinguished history. Other traditional skills were passed down through the generations, such as woodworking, metal arts, and the weaving of ceremonial CLOTH AND TEXTILES.

The Edo speak the Kwa language of the NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGE family and have historically been ruled both religiously and politically by their *oba.* The first *oba,* Eweka, was the son of Prince Oranmiyan of ILE-IFE, who arrived during the 13th century to govern the Edo people. It is traditionally believed that the Edo became discontented with the ruling dynasty of the semi-mythical kings known as the *ogisos.* The most celebrated *oba,* however, was EWUARE (c. 1440–1480), who extended the power and size of the kingdom of Benin and introduced the idea of a hereditary line of succession to the throne.

While today many of the Edo practice either ISLAM or CHRISTIANITY, there are many who still practice the traditional religion, which is based on allegiance to their gods, heroes, *ogisos,* and spirits of the afterlife.

See also: EDO (Vol. I).

Further reading: R. E. Bradbury, *The Benin Kingdom and the Edo-speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria* (London: International African Institute, 1964).

Egypt Present-day nation in the northeastern part of the African continent approximately 386,700 square miles (1,001,600 sq km). Egypt is bordered by the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, the Red Sea, and the modern-day countries of Israel, the Republic of the SUDAN, and LIBYA. The character of Egypt changed radically with the rise of ISLAM in the Arabian Peninsula. Before the year 1000, Egypt had been both Arabized and Islamized.

For thousands of years, Egypt has been an influential force on the African continent, as its ancient history attests. With the division of the Roman Empire in the late fourth century, Egypt became part of the Byzantine Empire, and by the fifth century Egypt had been subdivided into numerous provinces under local authority. However, political unrest soon led to a more centralized, authoritarian government. At the same time, the rapid spread of CHRISTIANITY led to conflict with adherents of the traditional religion.

The tenuous Byzantine grip on power ended around 639. At this time Arab Muslims invaded Egypt and forced the Byzantine rulers to retreat from Egypt to Anatolia (present-day Turkey). The Muslim conqueror, Amr ibn al-As (d. 663), established the new Egyptian capital at al-Fustat. In general, non-Muslims were tolerated, although they were required to pay special taxes. Around 668 a new Muslim dynasty, the Umayyads, took the throne. During their reign, Muslim Arab immigrants arrived in large numbers.

Around 750 power in the region shifted to the Sunni Muslim Abbasid dynasty. From their capital in Baghdad, Iraq, the Abbasids ruled Muslim North Africa for more than 150 years. In 868 Turkish slaves united under Ahmad ibn Tulun (868–884) and overthrew the Abbasids. Tulun's reign was short-lived, as power shifted back to the Abbasids by 905. The FATIMIDS, a Shiite Muslim sect, captured Egypt in 969. They established their capital at CAIRO and conquered much of the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa.

Although the Fatimid rulers (969–1141) espoused an esoteric branch of Islam called *Ismaili Shiism,* the majority of Egyptians adhered to the orthodox Sunni branch and were generally tolerant of the dwindling number of Coptic Christians and Jews in the population. Ismaili Shiism was a religious and political movement that stressed esoteric knowledge and distinguished between the ordinary believer and the initiate. The Fatimid desire to propagate these beliefs and the development of al-Azhar mosque and university made Egypt a center of Islamic scholarship and missionary activity during this period.

Fatimid power in Egypt lasted more than 200 years until a Syrian army commander, SALADIN (c. 1137–1193), overthrew the dynasty in 1171. Saladin reestablished an Abbasid allegiance and formed the Ayyubid dynasty (1171–1250).

The Rise of the Mamluks The Ayyubid dynasty returned Egypt to Sunni Islam. Determined to build up Egypt's independent military strength, they took into their military service large numbers of Turkish slaves called MAMLUKS (from the Turkish word for "slave"). The Mamluks exploited a palace feud to put one of their own into power, and in 1250 began the Mamluk Period, which lasted until 1517. The non-Arab, non-Muslim Mamluks saved Egypt from Mongol attacks, defeating the invaders in 1260 at Ayn Jalut, near Nazareth in modern-day Israel. Mamluk strength made Egypt a stable country and an important center of the ARABIC-speaking world. Accompanying this growth, however, was a diminution of the rights of Coptic Christians, who were openly persecuted. Some historians believe that the Mongols' use of Christian auxiliaries in battle may have turned the Mamluks against Christianity.

Mamluk power began to decline after the plague, a disease known in Europe as the Black Death, beset Egypt in 1348 and often thereafter. Egypt's commercial rivals, the Portuguese, began to dominate trade with India in the early 1500s after a sea route around Africa to the Far East

was discovered in 1498. Even the strong Mamluk sultan Qait Bay (r. 1468–1496), who built a fort at Alexandria from the stones of the city's ancient lighthouse of Pharos, could not preserve Egypt's freedom. The land was beset by Turkish attacks from Anatolia and Azerbaijan near the Black and Caspian Seas.

By the end of the 15th century the Portuguese had displaced Egyptians as the dominant sea traders in the region. And, as internal conflict among the Mamluks increased, Turkish Ottomans easily conquered Egypt in 1517. Although the Ottomans retained ultimate authority over the Egyptian people, the Mamluks continued their administrative authority for the next 200 years.

See also: EGYPT (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Alfred Joshua Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion* 2d ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1978); Thomas Phillip and Ulrich Haarmaan, eds., *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Ekiti Ethnic group related to the YORUBA located in present-day southwestern NIGERIA and known for their frequent conflicts with the kingdom of BENIN. The Ekiti were an agrarian group who lived in a patrilineal society based on the *ilu,* or town, which was headed by various chiefs from each village. The kingdom was ruled by the *oba,* or king, who held powers such as the ability to administer punishment and give out honors to his people. The power of the *oba* was kept in check, however, by a council of chiefs who acted as advisers on both palace and village matters.

The Ekiti trace their origins to ODUDUWA, the founder of the first Yoruba city of Ife. They believe that one of Oduduwa's sons migrated from Benin and established their capital and first kingdom of Ado. In the 15th century the kingdoms of Oye, Ikole, Ido, Ise, Ijero, Otun, Emure, Obo, Itaji, Effon, Ikere, Okemesi, Ogotun, Ise, Ara, and Isan developed when competing ruling factions broke away from Ado to form their own settlements.

The Ekiti people began their long history with the kingdom of Benin when their kingdoms became tributaries during the reign of EWUARE (r. c. 1440–1480). Until the colonial era in the 19th century the kingdoms of the Ekiti periodically went back and forth between being ruled by Benin and regaining their independence.

Eleni (Elleni, Illeni, Ileni) (c. 1468–c. 1522) (r. c. 1507–1516) *Regent and queen mother of Ethiopia*

Born a Muslim princess in the Ethiopian town of Hadya, Eleni married Baeda Maryam (r. 1468–1478) and began to have an impact on ETHIOPIA when her husband came to power.

During her time as Baeda Maryam's *itege* (chief wife), she converted to CHRISTIANITY and wrote two works on the subject, all the while managing to continue good relations with the Muslim world. Known for her gentleness and intelligence, Eleni continued to be influential after the death of her husband and acted as either a respected adviser or a regent for the subsequent four young rulers of Ethiopia.

During the reign of Eskender (1478–1494), another Ethiopian faction under the rule of Amda Michael attempted to gain control of the country. They were overthrown, however, by Empress Eleni and some of her aristocratic allies. Eskender's son and successor, Amda Siyon, (not to be confused with the earlier emperor of the same name) was a young boy when he came to power and died after a reign of only six months.

After Amda Siyon's death, another of Baeda Maryam's sons, Naod (r. 1494–1508), came to power. When Naod died, Eleni was instrumental in securing the throne for her grandson, Lebna Dengel (r. 1508–1540), for whom she served as regent for about the first half of his reign.

Initially, Eleni was also a powerful force in the relations between Ethiopia and Portugal, sending envoys c. 1509 to King Manuel (1469–1521), laden with gifts and expressing her country's desire to form an alliance with Portugal to defeat the Moors. The party sent in return by King Manuel did not arrive until 1520, though, and by then Eleni's influence was fading. By this time Lebna Dengel had become known as a greedy and despotic ruler and, disregarding Eleni's prior call to action, he did nothing to ensure the alliance with Portugal, thereby diminishing the authority of Ethiopia's SOLOMONIC DYNASTY in the region.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II); LEBNA DENGEL (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270–1527* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Engaruka City in the northern part of present-day TANZANIA that, from the 14th to the 17th centuries, possessed one of the best systems of effective irrigation. Engaruka was originally inhabited by farmers who built stone houses and devised an intricate irrigation system. Using gravitational force, they directed the water of the Engaruka River into inland waterways. This irrigation system, the earliest of its kind so far discovered in Africa, was enhanced by highly advanced aqueducts, sluices, and trenches, some with slopes of 1 degree or less, which were used to help channel the water flow.

The builders of the irrigation system also constructed stone terraces to aid in the cultivation of their land. These terraces were used to prevent erosion by acting as a

break on the steep slopes, which lowered the amount of sediment the water would carry down to the farmland.

Little is known about the people of Engaruka, who probably spoke a Cushitic language. In time, a decrease in the annual rainfall led to deforestation and overgrazing, which changed the area in significant ways. As a result the land was no longer easily cultivated, and the inhabitants migrated from the area.

See also: FARMING TECHNIQUES (Vol. I); HILLSIDE TERRACING (Vol. I).

Ennedi Region in the northeastern part of present-day CHAD, known for its ancient rock art. Stone, cave, and cliff paintings dating back to as early as 6000 BCE have been found on the massif of the Ennedi region. The types of rock art have changed considerably over time, with different colors and styles used in the representation of animal species, dress, and weaponry, but they are generally classified into three periods: Archaic, Bovine, and Dromedary (or Equine).

The ART of the Archaic Period, which ended around 2000 BCE, consists mainly of depictions of animals and human figures wearing loincloths and jewelry and carrying clubs and sticks. Art from later in the Archaic Period also shows life scenes, including dancing, running, and women carrying baskets on top of their heads.

The Bovine Period, extending from 2000 BCE to 1000 CE, represents a significant change in the rock art of Ennedi. To a great extent this is due to the domestication of cattle and sheep as well as to the emergence of dogs as companions. Since these animals are consistently depicted as being healthy-looking and plentiful in number, it has been suggested by some scholars that the appearance of these domestic animals during this period is linked to climatic changes that brought about a general increase in prosperity in the area.

Human figures from the Bovine Period are shown as wearing more elaborate jewelry than the figures from the earlier Archaic Period. This ornamentation includes adornments for the ears and head as well as more extensive garments, such as headdresses, robes, and long, full skirts. Their weaponry also was more sophisticated, with spears, shields, and curved clubs all being depicted. The life scenes increased in scope as well, with depictions of containers filled from grain harvests, women in conversation or dancing, and musicians playing instruments.

The third period of Ennedi rock art ranges from the years 1000 to about 1700 and is called the Dromedary, or Equine, Period because camels, and later, horses, are widely represented. During this era, art initially was abundant, only beginning to decline with the introduction of ISLAM about the 11th century. The human figures from the Dromedary Period are less like hunters and more like warriors, using shorter spears and adding spikes to the bridles and tails of their horses. As the period went on, the art became increasingly stylized, losing the realism of the previous eras.

It has been estimated that, over the centuries, there have been 15 or more styles of rock art in the Ennedi region, each differing in its depiction of humans, animals, and daily life.

See also: ROCK ART (Vol. I).

Equatorial Guinea Country in tropical west-central Africa, some 10,800 square miles (28,000 sq km) in size that is made up of a mainland coastal enclave of Río Muni and five Atlantic Ocean volcanic islands. Rio Muni features coastal plains and interior hills, and it borders CAMEROON to the north and GABON to the east. The largest island is Fernando Po (now Bioko), which is about 780 square miles (2,030 sq km) in size and, along with the small islands of Corisco and Great and Little Elobey, lies in the Gulf of Guinea about 100 miles (161 km) northwest of the mainland part of the country. The present-day capital city of Malabo is on Bioko. The country's fifth island, Annobon, is also small and is 350 miles (563 km) southwest of mainland Equatorial Guinea.

As in the rest of tropical west-central Africa, the farming population gradually expanded between 500 and 1500 CE. A dramatic new development took place in the last quarter of the 15th century, when Portuguese explorers began working their way down the coast of the western side of the continent. In 1472 Portuguese navigator Fernando Po came upon the island that initially was called Formosa (beautiful) but eventually was to bear his name. He also explored the coastal mainland. Portugal gained formal recognition of its claims to the area through the Treaty of Tordesillas with Spain in 1494. In the meantime Portuguese planters had already established sugar plantations on both Fernando Po and Annobon, hoping to profit from the rich volcanic soils and the supply of slave labor from the mainland.

See also: EQUATORIAL GUINEA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); FERNANDO PO (Vol. III).

Eritrea Country some 46,830 square miles (121,200 sq km) in size located on the Red Sea, northeast of ETHIOPIA, in the Horn of Africa. Eritrea also shares borders with the Republic of the SUDAN, in the far northwest, and with DJIBOUTI, to the south. Southern Eritrea was the site of part of the Aksumite kingdom, which flourished about 400 to 600 CE. The most important Aksumite port, ADULIS (modern Zula), was located in Eritrea.

In the eighth century Muslim traders began to settle in Eritrea. From the ninth through the 13th centuries, Eritrea was controlled by the BEJA, a nomadic group also known as the Hedareb. During this time, AKSUM dimin-

ished in power and later came under the control of rulers of the ZAGWE and SOLOMONIC dynasties.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); ASMARA (Vol. II); BEJA (Vol. I); ERITREA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); GE'EZ (Vols. I, II); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II); TIGRAY (Vols. I, IV, V).

Ethiopia Country in northeastern Africa approximately 435,100 square miles (1,126,900 sq km) bordered by present-day ERITREA, SOMALIA, DJIBOUTI, KENYA, and the Republic of the SUDAN. Following the expansion of ISLAM in the seventh century, the Christian kingdom of AKSUM went into a decline, and by the middle of the ninth century Red Sea and INDIAN OCEAN TRADE had been taken over—initially by the Persians and later by Arabic Muslims. At that time, remnants of the kingdom regrouped in the southern interior, where a semblance of Christian rule continued until the 10th century. The kingdom was then destroyed by an alliance of Muslim, Bejan, and AGAW rebels led by Queen GUDIT (d. c. 970). Her open defiance of Christian rule was rumored to have culminated in the death of the last reigning king of Aksum.

Rise of the Zagwe Dynasty Few records are available to give a complete view of the disarray that followed. However, it is clear that a new ruling class, comprised primarily of Agaw-speakers who professed Christian beliefs, became known as the ZAGWE DYNASTY. The rise of this powerful ruling clan has been attributed to the value of the land they held and to their ability to create a FOOD surplus. Arranged marriages and tributary taxes added to the kingdom's wealth, which remained within the hands of the ruling elite. In power from as early as 916 to 1270, the Zagwe kings eventually established a capital city at al-Roha (Adefa). Located to the south, less than 240 miles (400 km) from the former kingdom of Aksum, this capital was later renamed the town of LALIBELA in honor of its most famous ruler, King LALIBELA (r. c. 1119–1159).

The Zagwe kings openly traded with Muslim MERCHANTS, but they reportedly set strict guidelines for those merchants' attempts to win converts to the Islamic faith. The groups most critical of the Zagwe were concentrated among the AMHARA, as well as in TIGRAY and the northern highlands of Eritrea. These groups were also the most resistant to Islamic conversion. The elite class that developed among these groups was extremely vocal in their condemnation of the Zagwe kings, whom they considered usurpers of the throne that they believed belonged to the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY traditionally thought to have been founded by Menelik I, supposedly the son of King Solomon and Makeda, the queen of Sheba (c. 10th century BCE).

Supported by the Ethiopian Christian Church, a powerful group of Amhara nobles seized the Zagwe throne in 1270. This restored the Solomonic Dynasty, bringing to power King YEKUNO AMLAK (r. 1270–1285) and helping the Ethiopian Church to amass both land and wealth. Considered a legitimate heir to the throne, Amlak reasserted the original Christian character of Ethiopia, ushering in a period that many historians describe as a heroic or chivalrous age of warrior kings that included AMDA SIYON (r. 1313–1344), Dawit I (r. 1380–1409), and ZARA YAKOB (r. 1434–1468).

Centered in the Amhara region in the central highlands, this imperial kingdom was ruled by the Ethiopian Church and men whose exploits were chronicled by their closest advisers and royal scribes. In many instances, references are made to their royal queens or consorts, who not only participated in warfare but also had highly visible roles as state diplomats and administrators, mediators, and writers. Many of these queens also were Christian devotees known for their piety and good works.

However, the Solomonic dynasty was not without internal problems. After Amlak's death in 1285, his royal descendants engaged in their own battles for control well into the 16th century. To control succession rights, all but duly appointed sons were permanently imprisoned within a royal prison situated on an inaccessible mountain. By some reports, this prison fortress also supplied potential candidates for the throne when an unexpected death occurred. Other problems of the dynasty included centuries of Christian and Muslim conflicts.

Christian-Muslim Conflicts As the first of the Solomonic rulers, Amlak was able to extend his direct control over the northern highlands, the outlying Muslim states, and traditional societies to the south and east by using what historians describe as a "mobile kingdom," or tent city. In each region he settled, Amlak was supported by tribute. This led to grievances among the growing number of Muslim settlements. As Muslim trading sites expanded into city-states, Islamic conversion grew stronger among the SEMITIC and Cushitic speakers. By the ninth century Islam had gained a solid foothold along the southern coast of ADEN, the East African coast, and neighboring societies. This was accomplished largely through the efforts of Arab merchants.

One of the most persistent problems faced by Ethiopian monarchs was the kingdom of Ifat, also known as Wifat or Awfat, which was reportedly ruled by descendants of the prophet Muhammad. Established in the 12th century, Ifat became one of the richest Islamic city-states because of its close proximity to the trade between the port city and the country's central regions. This position also allowed Ifat's rulers to incorporate many traditional societies, including pastoralists and nomadic herders. Ironically, the first sultan of Ifat was Umar Ibn Dunya-Huz (d. 1275), appointed by King Amlak.

Other Muslim strongholds included Dawaro west of Harer, Sharka in Arusi, as well as BALI and Hadeya. The conflicts which arose from these established sultanates, or Muslim kingdoms, was based in part on their objec-

tions to demands for tribute. However, because they generally were allowed to maintain their local chieftaincies and cultural religious practices, they inevitably attempted to organize rebellions against their Amharic overlords.

See also: ETHIOPIA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); HARER (Vol. III).

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Etosha Pan Extensive salt pan of approximately 1,900 square miles (4,920 sq km) located in northern NAMIBIA. By 1500 Etosha was inhabited by the HERERO and OVAMBO ethnic groups. The Herero were generally pastoralists, and the Ovambo were farmers and hunters. Bands of nomadic hunter-gatherers also roamed the area.

It is from the dry season that Etosha, meaning "place of mirages," gets its name. The intense heat reflects off the greenish white expanse of flat land and mirages make it seem as if the animals searching for water are iridescent and walking on air.

Consisting of both salt and clay that is hard but rich in minerals, the Etosha Pan harbors an abundance of fauna during both the dry and wet seasons, as well as relatively seasonal and area-specific vegetation. The animals, including roan antelopes, zebras, elephants, leopards and black rhinoceroses, use the outcroppings of mineral-laden clay as a salt lick to nourish themselves during the demanding heat of the dry season. During the wet season, however, the vegetation flourishes and a wealth of bird species, including the pink flamingo, flock to the Pan and add color to the extensive landscape.

See also: GEOGRAPHY (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vol. I); HERERO (Vols. III, IV, V).

Ewe Ethnic group located on the Guinea Coast in West Africa. The ancestors of the Ewe probably migrated from the OYO area of NIGERIA during the 15th century and set up villages in areas of modern-day GHANA, TOGO, and Republic of BENIN. These villages were based on the principle of *frome* (lineage), in which the eldest male in the

family acted as a judge, administrator, family representative to the village, and even the religious connection to the spirits of the dead. The power surrounding these communities remained decentralized, however, and the villages tended to band together only during a war or other intense strife.

While some of the Ewe who lived along the rivers and coastline were strictly farmers, historically many were known to use their crops for trade as well as for sustenance. The Ewe were also known to be skilled potters, blacksmiths, and weavers.

The Ewe traditionally have spoken variations of the Ewe language, which is a dialect of the Kwa language branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Their religion is based on allegiance to Mawa, their god of creation, and Trowo, a series of minor gods whom the Ewe worship and from whom they gain direction for their daily lives.

See also: ANLO (Vol. III); AJA (Vols. II, III); CLAN (Vol. I); DAHOMEY (Vol. II, III); EWE (Vol. III); LANGUAGES (Vol. I); LINEAGE (Vol. I); NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

Ewuare (Ewuare Ne Ogidigan, Ewuare the Great) (c. 1440–1480) *Oba, or king, of the West African kingdom of Benin*

Generally regarded as the most powerful and influential ruler of the kingdom of BENIN, Ewuare the Great was known as the *oba* who successfully expanded his kingdom's territory and created a hereditary line of succession to the throne. Ruling from about 1473 to around 1480, Ewuare built many roads and surrounded EDO, his capital, with an extensive arrangement of protective moats and walls. He also is credited with changing the political structure from that of the UZAMAS, a powerful group of chiefs based on heredity, to that of selected chiefs known as the "town" chiefs and the "palace" chiefs. Through their taxation of the towns within the kingdom, these two groups of chiefs supplied the *oba* with his income, which usually consisted of such provisions as yams and palm oil. Under Ewuare's new political structure, any free man could vie for titles of power and seniority.

In Benin oral tradition, Ewuare is a larger-than-life figure. He is associated with the leopard and the viper, two animals that he believed foretold his destiny as a powerful and opportunistic ruler.

Beyond his political stature, Ewuare was also known as one of the greatest warrior kings of Benin. According to legend, he won more than 200 battles and assumed control of

each town he captured. His stature was made even greater by his reputation as an innovator—or even a magician—in the use of herbs for medicinal purposes.

Ewuare was eventually succeeded by a long line of powerful *obas* including his son Ozolua and his grandson Esigie, both of whom continued Ewuare's tradition of strong central authority in matters of religion, politics, and economics.

See also: BENIN, REPUBLIC OF (Vol. I, III, IV, V); DI-VINE RULE (Vol. II); OZOLUA (Vol. III).

F

Fada-n-Gurma (Gurma, Fada Ngourma) King-dom considered one of the MOSSI STATES, located near the northern bend of the NIGER RIVER, in present-day BURKINA FASO. About the beginning of the 16th century Fada-n-Gurma came under the rule of the warrior Mossi people, along with the four other main states of YATENGA, MAM-PRUSI, DAGOMBA, and OUGADOUGOU. The Mossi were known for their cavalry forces and their resistance to Islam, which made them a threat to the surrounding Muslim kingdoms, such as the SONGHAI Empire, through-out the 16th century.

family As African societies continued to develop over the first and early second millennia CE, families both as-sumed new roles and continued familiar ones. These roles had to do with their social as well as their economic func-tions. In addition to providing comfort and support, fami-lies served to socialize children. Within these families children learned not only about the culture and values of their societies but the various forms of LABOR necessary for family continuity over the generations. For example, children in farming cultures learned good agricultural practices by working alongside their parents in the fields. The sons of blacksmiths, on the other hand, learned the skills and secrets of the profession. One reason that African societies placed great value on large families was for the labor they provided. Indeed, for most families the best way to insure a sufficient work force to meet eco-nomic needs was by producing a large number of chil-dren. Another way was through marriage, which brought both productive and reproductive labor into the family.

Because of the dual value of women, many societies practiced bride-wealth, which compensated the family of the bride for the loss of her labor. For wealthy and pow-erful families, polygamy served to expand a family's so-cial, political, and economic standing. The spread of ISLAM in Africa from the seventh century onward intro-duced some new elements into African families. For ex-ample, Islamic law allowed men to have up to four wives and gave full family recognition to the children of such marriages versus the children born outside legal unions.

The economic role of the family flowed readily out of its social role. As one author has written, "African fami-lies are family businesses." As businesses they could rely on members that had come to the family both by birth and through marriage. This dimension of African families greatly facilitated the expansion of TRADE AND COMMERCE on the African continent in the period following the fifth century. For example, families involved in trade stationed family members at key points on the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES to insure the safe purchase, sale, and trans-port of goods.

See also: BRIDE-WEALTH (Vol. I); FAMILY (Vols. I, III, IV, V); POLYGAMY (Vol. I).

Further reading: Mario Azevedo, "The African Family," in Mario Azevedo, ed., *Africana Studies: A Survey of Africa and the African Diaspora* (3rd ed.; Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic press, 2004).

Fang Bantu-speaking people living in parts of West Africa. The Fang inhabit the areas of CAMEROON south of the Sanaga River, mainland EQUATORIAL GUINEA, and

the forests of the northern half of GABON south to the Ogooue River estuary. The earliest Fang groups migrated to the area before the arrival of the Portuguese in the 15th century, but the history of these peoples prior to that time is unclear.

The Fang speak a Niger-Congo language. Among the various Fang groups, there are three main linguistic divisions. The first, the Beti, is found in the north of the area inhabited by the Fang, and is spoken by the Yaounde, or Ewondo, and Bene. The second is Bulu, which is spoken by the Bulu, Fong, Zaman, and Yelinda. The third group is known as the Fang, which is spoken in the south by the Fang, Ntumu, and Mvae.

Some groups of the Fang, including the Balu, have traditionally been nomadic farmers, rotating their crops and moving on an annual basis in order to avoid soil erosion. Their traditional farming implement is the hoe, and their staple crops have included cassava and corn.

The Fang traditionally lived in bark houses arranged in a pattern along a straight central throughway. The various Fang subgroups belong to patriarchal clans and share similar political systems. Each village has a leader who is a descendant of the founding family of that village. The leader often serves as a judge in disputes and leads religious rituals.

Traditional Fang religion involves the honoring of ancestors, who are believed to wield powers in the afterlife. Even the skulls and bones of deceased leaders are believed to influence the fortunes of the family.

Fang ART consists of simple masks and figures. Typical of this is a *bieri,* a carved box containing the skeletal remains of ancestors. Some authorities believe the figures to be abstract portraits of the deceased ancestors, while others suggest that they are meant to protect the ancestral spirit from evil. Fang masks are worn by entertainers, as well as by sorcerers involved in hunting and meting out punishment. The masks are painted white and are detailed with black outlines.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); FERNANDO PO (Vol. III); MASKS (Vol. I); NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

Fante (Fanti) West African ethnic group located along the coastal regions of present-day GHANA. The Fante and the ASHANTI are the major subgroups of the AKAN ethnic group, and both speak a Niger-Congo language called Akan. It is thought that the ancestors of most of the coastal peoples, including the Fante, migrated west from regions around Lake Chad and the BENUE RIVER. They first crossed the lower Niger River and the VOLTA RIVER, then moved through the forest into what is modern-day Republic of BENIN and TOGO before reaching the coast. The Fante migration through the forest is supported by the connection between Akan and the Twi language of the forest peoples. The final leg of Fante mi-

gration to the coast was probably from the north, near Tekyiman, in central Ghana. When the Portuguese arrived in the 1470s, the Fante were one of the established Akan kingdoms along the Guinea Coast, with their capital at Mankessim.

Like other coastal peoples, the Fante lived in an autonomous kinship society. Their kings and queen held centralized power with the help of a priest who oversaw clan rituals and ceremonies. In the 15th century Fante society was largely organized around the production and trading of GOLD, which was mined in the region. They also traded captives with the MANDE and HAUSA peoples to the north and east.

All able-bodied Fante men were expected to be members of their kingdom's *asafo,* a military group that defended against invasion. Organized by patrilineage, the *asafo* was a common feature of Akan societies. Fante women could also be members of the asafo, and some even were respected war captains.

See also: AKAN (Vol. III); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vol. III); FANTE (Vol. III).

Faras Settlement along the banks of the Nile River below the second cataract in Lower Nubia; it rose in importance during the period from the third century BCE to the fourth century CE. When Meroë ruled the region, Faras became the seat of one of the six bishoprics of Christian NUBIA and the site of a major cathedral. The list of bishops at Faras numbered at least 29, with the first dating from the third decade of the seventh century and the last to the end of the 12th century. The cathedral, which was begun in the second half of the seventh century, was built of stone. Even more remarkable than the construction were the 67 frescoes that decorated its walls. These unique pieces of art point to the existence of a well-developed school of Christian Nubian mural painters by the late eighth century. The last of the frescoes dates to the 14th century.

The site of Faras was inundated by Lake Nasser, which was formed in 1970 with the completion of the Aswan High Dam in upper EGYPT. Fortunately for posterity, a team of Polish archaeologists excavated Faras between 1960 and 1964. In the process, they uncovered the cathedral and its frescoes, which drifting sands had hidden from sight for centuries. The frescoes have thus been preserved in museums in Poland and the Republic of the SUDAN.

See also: NUBIA (Vol. I); ASWAN DAM (Vols. IV, V).

farim Titled leaders of the MALI EMPIRE, which flourished in West Africa from the 13th through the 15th centuries. *Farim*, meaning "ruler," refers to the representatives of the ruling power in the small states throughout the Mali Empire. *Farim* is equivalent to the title *farma* given to the leaders dispatched by Mali's *mansa,* or emperor, to represent his power in the widely dispersed outposts of the empire. The *farim* had power over the local chiefs in the states where they ruled. The decline of the empire in the 16th century increased the *farim's* autonomy, and they eventually ruled their states without allegiance to the *mansa.*

Fatimids Ruling dynasty of EGYPT from 969 to 1171. The Fatimids were Shiite Muslims who, early in the 10th century, came to the eastern MAGHRIB region of North Africa from Arabia. Claiming to be descended from Fatima, the daughter of the prophet Muhammad, they believed that they were the legitimate spiritual leaders of SHIISM, a sect of Islam that broke with the Sunni-led Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad, in present-day Iraq. The Fatimids converted many BERBERS during their conquests of North Africa and soon controlled most of TUNISIA and AL-GERIA. They also wrested Egypt from the rule of Baghdad. In 969, under Caliph al-Muizz, the Fatimids established their capital at al-Qahira (CAIRO).

Initially, the Fatimids enjoyed great prosperity in Egypt, especially as the country's ruling class. They controlled Egyptian AGRICULTURE and collected great revenue from taxes generated by Mediterranean trade and RED SEA TRADE. A major part of their success depended on a thriving textile industry that developed under the direct control of the caliphs. Through the extensive trade of COTTON and linen, MERCHANTS and caliphs alike grew wealthy.

Taxation was the main source of government income, but the Fatimid tax system was rife with corruption and contributed to the dynasty's downfall. By paying a certain sum to the caliph, for example, Fatimid Berbers were allowed to become "landlords" of the Nile Valley, with the right to institute unlimited taxes of their own. The Berbers frequently failed to pay the caliph, however, leaving him unable to pay for even the upkeep of his army. By the mid-12th century the situation had deteriorated to the point that soldiers were looting the countryside. At the same time, violence among MAM-LUKS, Berbers, and Sudanese disrupted trade and farming, leading to further weakening of Fatimid power. In the 1160s Christian crusaders from western Europe were on the verge of overrunning the Fatimids but were thwarted by SALADIN (c. 1137–1193), an army leader from Kurdistan. When the last Fatimid caliph, al-Adid, died in 1171, the vizier Saladin became ruler of Egypt and founded the Ayyubid dynasty.

Though devout Muslims, the Fatimids maintained peaceful relations with Christian and Jewish traders early in their rule. This contributed to their prosperity, as the riches that would be spent waging wars were used instead to glorify ISLAM. The situation changed, though, toward the end of the 11th century, when European Christians launched the first of several CRUSADES to reclaim the Holy Land.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II); MAHDI (Vol. II).
Further reading: Michael Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE* (Boston: Brill, 2001).

festivals Festivals are a long-standing tradition in Africa, and they often have been used to reinforce cultural values and to unify a community around common goals. Festivals have also served as traditional markers for significant rites of passage. The earliest festivals may have been initiated to mark the advent of agricultural seasons, including the success of a harvest or, as in ancient Egypt, to acknowledge the annual inundation of nourishing silt from the Nile River. In farming communities south of the Sahara, seasonal harvest celebrations like the new yam festivals, were held by many societies with widespread variation. These festivals frequently were marked by the wearing of specific colors and masks as well as by dance movements that were dictated by a specific tempo and style of drumming. Singing on the part of the spectators was another common feature.

The IGBO of NIGERIA, for example, traditionally incorporated many symbolic rituals into their yam festival, which marked the beginning of a new year. The festival, which dates back to antiquity, is still held yearly. In preparation, the homes of the Igbo are cleaned and painted in the traditional colors of white, yellow, and green, while the remnants of former harvests are discarded. One of the primary objectives of the festival is to honor the earth goddess Asase Yaa as well as the ancestors of specific clan lineages. As a result, the event begins with the sacrifice of the new yams to the regional deities and ancestors. This is followed by a feast that includes palm wine and the popular regional dish known as *yam foo-foo.*

Among the other societies with a long history of harvest festivals are the KAMBA and KIKUYU of KENYA, the Shilluk of present-day Republic of the SUDAN, the Shona of ZIMBABWE, and the Sonjo of TANZANIA.

Another type of festival was historically held in the ancient city of ILE-IFE, where special priestesses held a

time-honored festival that stretched over several weeks. Dominated by women, the celebration began with the decoration of a special shrine to the *orisha* of sickness and disease, Babaluaye. The painters of the shrine were women, and the special colors of the deity—red, black, and white—were applied. In addition, all objects within the shrine were thoroughly cleansed. The women then chanted, danced, sang, and painted in a sacred performance known among the YORUBA as *Oro*.

The FANTE of Cape Coast in central GHANA traditionally have held an annual Oguaa-Afahye festival that also is noteworthy. Meaning "the adorning of new clothes," this 17-day purification festival involves the ritual sacrifice of a cow to obtain the blessings of the 77 gods of Oguaa (the Cape Coast). Among the rituals is a procession (*durbar*) of the chiefs and major warrior societies.

Among the most important rites of many African festivals are those that honor the ancestors of a group. A long-standing tradition of offering gifts is maintained in many of these celebrations because this is believed to solidify the reciprocal relationship between humans and the spiritual world. In addition, festivals of this type often call for the reenactment of origin myths. Some of these festivals, like one celebrated by the EDO people of present-day Republic of BENIN, trace the arrival of the first inhabitants into the region. Other festivals, some of which involve animal sacrifice, honor specific deities. The Efutu, in present-day Ghana, have traditionally held a deer hunt as part of their annual festival. Their objective is to honor their most important deity, Penkye Out, who is considered to be the guardian of the people. Similarly, Ntoa, the spirit of Brong Ahafo, an AKAN state of West Africa, is honored at their annual Apoo festival through a special dance involving the use of ritual swords. This dance apparently symbolizes the origin of the nation's female founder, who is believed to have emerged from a cave near the Basuaa River. Other highlights of the festival include verbal dueling competitions between groups ordinarily divided by social rank or economic status.

One of the most important functions of festivals has been the recognition of divine kingship. Among the Akan, the Akwasidae festival honors the royal ancestors who were traditionally "enstooled," meaning that they were installed in the office of kingship. These stools, which came to embody the essence of the king, have been noted in rites of the *odwira* festival, which traditionally was held by the ASHANTI between August and September. In this festival, all the royal stools are purified, starting with the "First Paramount Stool" and proceeding until every stool, one by one, is purified. Specially inscribed brass bowls called *kuduo,* highly revered by the king, are also part of the festival activities. Believed to have first originated among the Akan during the 15th century, the *kuduo* most likely came from the northern Islamic cities

as a result of trans-Saharan trade. During the festival they hold water that is sacred and used to symbolically purify the souls of the reigning monarchs.

See also: DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II); MUSIC (Vol. I); ORISHA (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); STOOL, ROYAL (Vol. II).

Further reading: Anthony Ephirim-Donker, *African Spirituality: On Becoming Ancestors* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1998); Robert B. Fisher, *West African Religious Traditions* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1998); Mary H. Noote, *Secrecy: African Art that Conceals and Reveals* (New York: Museum for African Art, 1993); Benjamin C. Ray, *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual and Community* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1999).

Fetha Nagast (Judgment of Kings)   Codified laws developed in ETHIOPIA between the 14th and 15th centuries. The Fetha Nagast made up a body of laws adapted from the COPTIC CHURCH of EGYPT and modified for civil use during Ethiopia's medieval period. Judges were appointed by the ruling king or emperor and served under the direction of provincial governors. Responsible for cases involving civil suits, land disputes, and money debts, the defendants and their accusers usually sat on either side of the judge with an array of witnesses, jurors, and onlookers.

Local judges were sometimes passed over in favor of a higher court judge known as a *wambar*. These officials were capable of dispensing justice in the form of floggings, imprisonment, or when necessary, the death penalty. In the case of failure to repay debts, money lenders and those who owed them money were chained together and imprisoned until witnesses could be called to verify the facts or for terms of repayment to be arranged.

See also: LAW AND JUSTICE (Vol. II).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1995).

Fez   City in north-central MOROCCO, on the banks of the Wadi Fes River. The eastern bank was settled by Idris I, around 789, and the western bank was settled in 809 by Idris II. Idris I used a silver and gold pick axe, called a *fas* in ARABIC, to mark the boundaries of the city, hence the city's name. These two parts of the city were merged in the 11th century under the rule of the ALMORAVIDS.

Located on the trade routes that connected areas south of the SAHARA DESERT to the Atlantic Ocean, Fez had a busy market, or souk, and became an busy commercial center. There are more than 100 mosques in Fez, including some of the oldest and holiest shrines in North Africa. Pilgrims traveled long distances to visit the tomb of Idris II (r. c. 803–828). The al-Qarawiyin Mosque, the oldest and one of the largest mosques in northern Africa,

is located in the old city. Also in the old city, which is known as the Medina, is the mosque of Mawlay Idris, the city's founder, which is considered so sacred that non-Muslims and animals may not approach its entrance.

Residents during this period enjoyed a rich and varied existence. Scholars, for example, came to Fez to study at al-Qarawiyin University, which was founded in 859. It is one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in the world. A new section of the city, called Fes el-Jedid, was founded by the MARINIDS in the 13th century. They also built the Royal Palace and adjacent Great Mosque, known for its distinctive minaret. The Jewish quarter, called the *Mellah,* south of the Royal Palace, was home to the city's Jewish goldsmiths, silversmiths, and jewelers.

Traditional crafts flourished in Fez, including leather, POTTERY, jewelry, wrought IRONWORKING, and carpets. Different districts of the city became known for particular specialties, and professional guilds ensured that the quality of these goods remained first-rate. Up until modern times, this was the only place in the world to buy one of the most familiar items of Muslim dress in the Middle East: the brimless, round, red felt hat, known as a *fez.*

See also: FEZ (Vol. III); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II).

Further reading: Titus Burckhardt, *Fez: City of Islam* (Cambridge, U.K.: Islamic Texts Society, 1992).

Fezzan (Fezan) Saharan region of LIBYA. Fezzan is among the most scenic areas of the SAHARA DESERT. Known in ancient times to both the Greeks and Romans, it was conquered in 666 by the ARABS, under whom ISLAM replaced Christianity throughout the region.

Fezzan was on the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES that connected the MEDITERRANEAN SEA with the SUDAN. Caravans carrying GOLD, IVORY, and slaves from the western Sudan to markets on the Mediterranean regularly passed through Fezzan, stopping at the oases along the way. Arabs ruled Fezzan until the 10th century, when the region regained its independence under various native Berber dynasties, who were supported by the FATIMIDS in EGYPT. In the 13th century the king of KANEM-BORNU, an African Muslim trading empire in the Lake Chad basin, invaded Fezzan from the south, and the KANURI rulers of the Bornu kingdom maintained control over the important trade routes until the early 16th century.

Filippos (c. 1314–1341) *Abbot of the early Christian monastery of Asbo in Ethiopia*

As CHRISTIANITY expanded through ETHIOPIA in the 13th and 14th centuries, monasteries emerged as the primary vehicles for the expansion. One of the more important monastic groups was the House of Tekla Haymanot. Tekla Haymanot (c. 1270–1285) was a Christian reformer

who founded a monastic community called Asbo in his hometown of Shoa. (A famous 18th-century Ethiopian king was also named Tekla Haymanot.) Shoa had become an important center of the Christian state, so Asbo was able to win the support of both Egyptian bishops and the Ethiopian emperor, Amda Siyon.

Abba Filippos, the abbot of Asbo in the mid-14th century, led a revolt against two Ethiopian emperors, AMDA SIYON (r. c. 1314–1344) and his successor, Sayfa Arad, also known as Newaya Christos (r. c. 1344–1372). Although Christian, the emperors still adhered to the age-old practice of polygamy. Filippos won the support of a large number of Tekla-Haymanot followers, but he was soon captured by the emperors and sent into exile. With their leader in exile, Filippos's followers left Shoa and settled in surrounding areas in the central highlands with little Christian influence. In this way Abba Filippos's rebellion played an important role in the spread of Tekla Haymanot Christianity throughout Ethiopia.

Further reading: Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270–1527* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Fouta Djallon (Futa Jalon) Mountainous region in what is now west-central GUINEA, covering an area of more than 30,000 square miles (77,000 sq km), and the site of FULANI migration from the 13th to 15th centuries. The terrain of Fouta Djallon is mostly stepped sandstone plateaus with trenches and gorges. At 5,046 feet (1538 m), its highest point is Mount Loura (Tamgue) near the border with present-day Repbublic of MALI. The central plateau of the Fouta Djallon gives rise to the majority of the rivers of Upper Guinea, including the Gambia, the Senegal, and the Niger.

The region is named after the YALUNKA (Djallonke) ethnic group, its early inhabitants. The nomadic Fulani people, who had been moving south in search of grass and water for their cattle, settled in the region in the 13th century. In the 15th century, a second wave of Fulani, resisting assimilation into the sedentary peoples with whom they had been living in the GHANA EMPIRE and TEKRUR, began their great migration through the grasslands of the SUDAN, eventually reaching as far east as Adamawa in eastern NIGERIA. By the 15th century a large number of Fulani had settled in Fouta Djallon.

See also: FOUTA DJALLON (Vol. III); GHANA (Vol. I); NIGER RIVER (Vol. I).

Fulani (Fulbe, Peul, Pulo) West African people living in the sub-Saharan savanna and grasslands, from Lake Chad to the Atlantic Ocean coast. The Fulani were one of the few pastoralist groups of West Africa, and their lives were organized around their herds.

The ethnic group referred to here as the Fulani call themselves *Fulbe. Fulani* is the Hausa name of these people and the name by which they are known generally in English. In Fulfulde, the Fulani language, the singular of *Fulbe* is *Pulo.* Hence, the Fulani are called the *Peul* in French historical literature, which is abundant because of French colonization in West Africa in the 19th century.

Until the 11th century the Fulani lived primarily on the outskirts of the GHANA EMPIRE. As Ghana's power declined in the 12th century, some Fulani people merged with the local settled population who had formed a new Islamic state called TEKRUR. The union of these two groups, the Fulani and the people of Tekrur, formed the TUKULOR, who spoke Fulfulde, the Fulani language. However, a large segment of the population chose instead to preserve their pastoral and religious traditions and migrated east. By the 15th century, after years of migration to the south and east, the Fulani had settled in the FOUTA DJALLON massif, Fouta Toro, the Bundu region of present-day GUINEA, and MACINA in present-day Republic of MALI.

The Fulani then began intermarrying with the nomads and other herdspeople of the Sahel region under the rule of the MALI EMPIRE. The Fulani remained independent from the Mali Empire in terms of their social and political customs, but they were required to pay rent on their grazing lands and to render military services to the local authorities. By the beginning of the 16th century the Fulani migration had reached the region of the HAUSA STATES and KANEM-BORNU, in present-day NIGERIA.

The social organization of the Fulani was determined by each autonomous clan, which had a leader or headman. Descent was partrilineal, and these lineage groups formed the basis of social organization. Because the Fulani were nomadic, they lived in small populations throughout the regions of West Africa and were never a dominant population themselves. The Fulani merged with other populations during this migration and gave rise to the many different groups who were all known as Fulani. As a group, the Fulani displayed distinct physical similarities, such as lighter skin, long, straight hair, and aquiline features. They also shared a common moral code known as *pulaaku.*

See also: CLAN (Vol. I); FULANI (III, IV); FULFULDE (Vol. I); LINEAGE (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vol. I); TUKULOR EMPIRE (Vol. IV).

G

Gabon Coastal country in western Central Africa measuring approximately 103,300 square miles (267,500 sq km). Present-day Gabon borders CAMEROON, the Republic of the CONGO, the Atlantic Ocean, and the mainland of EQUATORIAL GUINEA. After the 12th century the Gabon area was extensively settled by Bantu-speaking groups, including the Mpongwe and the Orungu. Evidence of earlier settlers includes spearheads dating back to c. 7000 BCE. Little, however, is known about these early inhabitants.

See also: GABON (Vols. I, III, IV, V); MPONGWE (Vol. III); ORUNGU (Vol. III).

Further reading: K. David Patterson, *The Northern Gabon Coast to 1875* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1975).

Gabrel-Rufa'el One of 11 underground churches expertly carved out of rock in the mountain town of LALIBELA (originally called al-Roha) in north-central ETHIOPIA in the early 13th century.

See also: ABBA LIBANOS (Vol. II); GIYORGIS, ST. (Vol. II); LALIBELA, CHURCHES OF (Vol. II); MEDHANE ALEM (Vol. II).

Gabu (Kaabu, Quebu) Kingdom of West Africa, founded in the mid-13th century and lasting nearly six centuries, until it fell to FULANI attacks, in 1867. Gabu was founded by General Tiramakhan Traore, a subject of the famed MANDINKA emperor SUNDIATA (d. 1255) of the MALI EMPIRE. Gabu's first emperor, or *mansa,* was Mansa Sama Coli, who was said to be either Traore's son or grandson. Other historians credit Mansa Sama Coli himself, and not Traore, with founding Gabu.

The Mali Empire used Gabu to extend its influence into the SALT, GOLD, and slave trades along the coast. Gabu was well situated for this purpose. Kansala, located on the present-day border between GUINEA-BISSAU and SENEGAL, was the capital of the three royal provinces of Gabu. Pachana province bordered the headwaters of the Geba River. Jimara province was on the GAMBIA RIVER. Both of these rivers flow into the Atlantic Ocean. The third province, Sama, was located near the CASAMANCE RIVER in the southern region of what is now Senegal.

While Gabu was still a secondary kingdom of the Mali Empire, provincial governors had considerable local authority. Each had his own army and symbolic war drums. If there was no heir to succeed, a new king was chosen from the eldest leaders of these provinces. In time of war, command of these armies could be given over to the king. The *mansa* was considered sacred. In contrast to the system of inheritance that prevailed for people of lesser rank, the royal line of succession was matrilineal, or from a mother's side, rather than patrilineal, or from a father's side.

By 1500 most of the Mali Empire had come under the control of the SONGHAI Empire, which stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to what is now central NIGERIA. Despite its powerful neighbor, however, Gabu was able to maintain its independence and even expand.

See also: GABU (Vol. III).

Ga-Dangme (Ga, Ga-Adangme, Ga-Dangbe) Ethnic group located in the southern regions of the present-day countries of GHANA and TOGO. In the 13th century the closely related Ga and Dangme people probably

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migrated together from present-day NIGERIA, settling in small villages and subsisting mainly through hunting, foraging, and some AGRICULTURE. They eventually developed IRON technology, which helped them increase their crop yield. Villages subsequently became bigger, and by the 15th century the Ga-Dangme had developed complex social structures.

Recent archaeological finds suggest that, prior to 1400, the Ga-Dangme had settled in Accra Plains, Gbegbe, Little Accra, Lolovo, Ladoku, and Shai. They organized themselves into small states with the capital or controlling town, known as an *akutso,* situated on the coast. Village economy was supported by coastal fishing and, in the inland regions, by the cultivation of crops such as yams, oil palms, and plantains.

Ga-Dangme society reflected patrilineal kinship ties. Great emphasis was placed on the circumcision of boys, particularly the first-born male. In addition, each patrilineal group, known as a *we,* was considered a political group, ranking its members by birth order and generational standing. Ritual authority among the Ga-Dangme was embodied in the village priest and the council of elders, who represented secondary, but no less important, leadership to the reigning chief. Among their various responsibilities, these village leaders directed the harvesting of crops, officiated during the celebration of a successful year of fishing, and performed rites of passage, such as male initiation and ritual planting of millet. One of the most prominent of these public ceremonies was the Homowo Festival, which called for special rites and songs, both known as *kpele.*

Ga-Dangme women, who acted as trade intermediaries between the coastal and inland populations, held some rights in Ga-Dangme society. They were able to succeed to public office and own property based on inheritance. Marriage was traditionally initiated and negotiated by the male's family. After marriage, women lived in their own compounds, which generally belonged to the husband's *we.*

Within the framework of RELIGION, the Ga-Dangme recognized a supreme being, whose omniscient presence has been equated with a natural, unseen life force. A strong belief in life after death has always been an influential factor among the Ga-Dangme as well, and has traditionally been symbolized in lavish funerary customs, one of the most important rites in their society. Their belief system maintains that, after death, the deceased must successfully cross a river to reach the land of the departed. Reaching this goal is dependent upon the rituals performed by the living. In addition, male and female mediums are often "called" by the gods to channel divine communications. Suitable candidates were generally isolated from society to the point of dissolving marital ties. While in a trance-like state called spirit possession, Ga-Dangme mediums have been known to participate in extraordinary feats of endurance that could not be accomplished otherwise.

See also: ACCRA (Vols. II, III, IV, V); CIRCUMCISION (Vol. I); GA-DANGME (Vol. III); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

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Gama, Vasco da (c. 1460–1524) *Portuguese navigator who founded the colonies of Mozambique and Sofala in Africa*

In 1497 da Gama was commissioned by King Manuel I of Portugal (1469–1521) to sail from Portugal to India by way of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE at the southern tip of Africa. The purpose of the expedition was to establish a sea trade route from western Europe to the East. For hundreds of years, caravans from the East had brought the spices and riches of the Orient to the tables and fine houses of Europe, but these caravan routes across Asia were now a monopoly of the Muslims. In a first-of-its-kind voyage by a European, da Gama arrived in Callicut, the most important trading center in southern India, on May 20, 1498. His voyage made the small country of Portugal a major commercial power and initiated a period of extensive European exploration and expansion. Along his route to India, da Gama stopped in MOZAMBIQUE, MOMBASA, MALINDI, and ZANZIBAR. Unable to establish a trade center in India, da Gama returned to Portugal in 1499.

A second expedition was commissioned in 1502 with the goal of asserting Portuguese authority over parts of East Africa. It was on this journey that da Gama established Mozambique and SOFALA, which the Portuguese ruled until 1729.

After establishing Portuguese sovereignty in East Africa, da Gama continued his commercial efforts in India. In 1524, King John III (1502–1547) appointed him the Portuguese viceroy to India. He died three months after assuming his new position.

See also: AGE OF DISCOVERY (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Eric Axelson, *Congo to Cape: Early Portuguese Explorers* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973).

Gambia, The Small country in West Africa approximately 4,360 square miles (11,290 sq. km) in size, situated midway between the Tropic of Cancer and the equator. With the exception of its eastern coastline, The Gambia is completely surrounded by SENEGAL. One of the smallest countries in present-day Africa, The Gambia's terrain is a mostly flat. The country is essentially a nar-

row strip of land 15 to 30 miles (25 to 48 km) in width flanking the banks of the GAMBIA RIVER.

Scholars have long been puzzled by the hundreds of stone circles found in the area. Most of the circles are cylindrical in shape with flat tops, although some are square and taper upwards. Made from a relatively common stone known as laterite, they are remarkably uniform in size. Most circles are made up of 10 to 24 stones ranging from between 2 and 8 feet (0.6 and 2.5 m) tall and 1 and 3 feet (0.3 and 1 m) in diameter. The largest stones weigh about 10 tons (10.1 m tons) each.

Studies undertaken at Wassu and N'jai Kunda suggest that the GAMBIA STONE CIRCLES, which date to somewhere between 640 and 860, most likely were the burial mounds of important chiefs or kings. V-shaped stones, it is thought, indicate that two members of a family died on the same day and were buried together. A small stone standing close to a larger one possibly means that a child was buried with a parent.

See also: GAMBIA, THE (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

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Gambia River A 700-mile-long (1,126-km-long) river in West Africa that originates in the highlands of FOUTA DJALLON in present-day GUINEA and flows west to the Atlantic Ocean. It has two large tributaries, the Sandougou and the Sofianiama, and smaller creeks, or *bolons,* that include the Bintang, which joins the river at its southern end. In the middle region of the Gambia River, many small islands have formed, including Elephant and McCarthy islands.

In the period prior to European colonization, the pastoralist FULANI people lived near the Gambia River, having migrated to the area bordering the river around 1000 in search of grazing land for their cattle. In the 12th or 13th century the WOLOF people, whose language is in the same family as the Fulani's, migrated as far west as the Atlantic coast following the fall of the GHANA EMPIRE.

In 1455 Alvise Ca'da Mosto (1432–1488), a Venetian explorer and trader in the service of Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR (1394–1460) of Portugal, was the first European to visit the Gambia River. He sailed 150 miles (241 km) inland but turned back when he found the inhabitants hostile. The second European to investigate the Gambia River was Diogo Gomes (d. 1484), a Portuguese-born explorer whom Prince Henry sent in 1456 to explore the coast of West Africa. He sailed as far south as the GEBA RIVER. On his way home, he sailed 200 miles (322 km) up the Gambia until he reached the market town of Cantor (modern Kuntaur), which was under the rule of the MALI EMPIRE. The Portuguese closely guarded the information that Gomes's expedition reported regarding the area.

Geologists note that the high saline content of the Gambia's waters have contributed to the formation of 100-foot-high mangrove swamps in the lower inland regions of the river. These swamps have long been the home of diverse wildlife including hippopotamuses and crocodiles. Hundreds of wild birds, including the heron, sunbird, and hawk, also live within the swamplands, as does the deadly TSETSE FLY, which breeds in its waters. Some regions that border the Gambia have used its enriched silt, or sediment left by annual flooding, for the cultivation of rice and peanuts. Oil palm trees, an important dietary source and trade item, have also been found growing wild in the valley regions of the river as well.

The Gambia River has long been considered exceptional for its ease of navigation. Unlike other African rivers, which frequently hindered navigation with rock outcroppings, rapids, or waterfalls, the Gambia provided even large sailing vessels with a navigable waterway that allowed entry into the interior of the region. This proved advantageous to the other European traders who arrived in the 16th century.

Gambia stone circles Clusters of stone pillars found in the Senegambia region along Africa's western coast. The stone circles of Senegambia, which are located north of the GAMBIA RIVER, are actually a series of sites extending over more than 11,583 square miles (30,000 sq km) from Farafenni in the east toward Tambacounda in SENEGAL. Generally known as *megaliths,* Greek for "large stones," the circular clusters are most concentrated at Dialloumbere, where 54 circles consisting of two or three pillars each were erected. Some pillars measure 26 feet (8 m) across and 3 to 7 feet (1 to 2 m) high. At other sites, they stand nearly 10 feet (3 m) high. Many of the pillars have rounded tops, while others were sculpted with a cup-like shape, possibly created to hold offerings. The different shapes, sizes, and styles of the pillars, and the fact that some stones are *dressed* or worked, are what first led archaeologists to suspect that the megaliths were built by a number of different groups at various times.

Scientists at the University of Dakar in Senegal have confirmed this theory by using carbon-dating methods to

gain an approximate idea of the age of the megaliths. They have determined that the oldest stone pillars were located at Sine and Saloum in Senegal and date back to the fourth century. In the region of N'jai Kunda, in The GAMBIA, the stone pillars date back to c. 750, a time when IRON smelting was widespread. Since the stones are made of laterite, scientists have suggested a probable connection to iron making.

Based on archaeological evidence and recovered materials, the earliest burials within the stone circles may have initially been limited to the DYULA population, the most ancient inhabitants of the region, who may have been present when the circles were first created. Most archaeologists agree that the site became an exclusive burial ground for kings, chiefs, and priests at some point in history, with the sizes of the stones corresponding to rank. There is a possibility that some of the groups that built the megaliths to honor their rulers were linked by similar cultural practices regarding royalty. These grounds are believed to hold the remains of kings associated with the WOLOF or MALI EMPIRES, or the smaller coastal kingdoms established at Walo, Kayor, Baol, Sine, and Saloum. During the 11th century, when Islamic rulers governed the Senegambia region, they too were reportedly buried in this fashion. In some ways, the megaliths of Gambia compare with those types found in central Africa and the MAGHRIB. However, as Africa's smallest republic, Gambia is notable for having the greatest number of stone megaliths.

Ganda (Baganda, Luganda, Waganda) Bantu-speaking people who, today, are the largest ethnic group in UGANDA. According to oral tradition, the founder of the Ganda was a semimythical figure named SEKABAKA KINTU, a member of the BITO clan living in northwestern Uganda around 1400. When the Bito moved to the shores of Lake VICTORIA, they founded the kingdom of BUGANDA.

See also: GANDA (Vol. III).

Ganwa Ruling descendants of TUTSI royalty in BURUNDI; also known as the "ruling princes." Burundi was one of several lake-district kingdoms that existed between the 11th and the 18th centuries that included BUGANDA, BUNYORO-KITARA, RWANDA, Burundi, Buha, and Buzinza. Abundant rainfall and fertile soil led to ample harvests, and trade between the various kingdoms brought in additional wealth. As a result the region attracted one of the highest population densities of any region south of the Sahara.

Burundi, Rwanda, and their neighboring areas were originally inhabited by the TWA people, who are believed to have occupied the region for as long as 70,000 years. It is believed that Bantu-speaking HUTU migrated into the area later, perhaps as early as the fifth or sixth centuries.

Although it has not been possible to determine exactly when the Hutu arrived, it is clear that they certainly were in place by the 11th to 14th centuries, at which time the Tutsi also invaded Burundi. Subsequently, the Twa were effectively marginalized by both the Hutu and Tutsi, and the Tutsi eventually gained preeminence over both the Twa and Hutu.

Once they had settled in the area, the Tutsi established a well-organized feudal system, within which the Ganwa served as a political arm of the Tutsi royals. The Tutsi maintained social control by demanding cattle as payment for their field labor and agricultural products. This practice, which resulted in a highly complex society, ensured that the Tutsi would not be limited to the single—and socially inferior—role of farmers. Through their participation in this system, many Hutu rose in status to become healers or judges, positions usually held by Tutsi pastoralists. The interchangeable roles of the peoples created a common social identity, known as *kwihutura,* which was based on shared work patterns and religious worship as well as a shared language known as Kirundi. Intermarriage between the two groups also was common.

In spite of these interconnections, however, the wealthiest cattle holders were traditionally Tutsi. The royal title also remained in their hands, and a series of dynastic families developed that were ruled by the *mwami,* or king, and the queen mother. Under the Tutsi system, the Ganwa received their power directly from the *mwami,* who made them responsible for controlling the land and ruling the provinces. The Ganwa also served as military leaders. Because so much of their authority came directly from the *mwami,* competition among the Ganwa was intense, often leading to fierce power struggles.

See also: BURUNDI (Vol. III); TWA (Vol. I).

Gao (Kawkaw) Important city of the SONGHAI kingdom and empire, located on the Niger River at the southern tip of the SAHARA DESERT, bordering ALGERIA, BURKINA FASO, and TIMBUKTU. The development of Gao has been difficult to trace, and the historical evolution of the area is not clear. It is believed, however, that the city of Gao was founded as either a fishing center in the seventh century or by Berber traders engaged in the GOLD trade. In time, it became one of the first great trading bases in West Africa. By the early 11th century Gao had become an important city within the Songhai kingdom, as well as a thriving center for trans-Saharan trade. The Songhai continued to rule the city for almost 500 years, and it eventually became the Songhai capital.

In the early 14th century Gao was annexed into the MALI EMPIRE, only to return to Songhai rule less than 50 years later. When MOROCCO took control of Gao, in 1591,

the city permanently disengaged itself from Songhai control and fell into decline soon thereafter.

See also: GAO (Vol. III); NIGER RIVER (Vol. I); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Geba River A river situated at BISSAU, the coastal city and capital of present-day GUINEA-BISSAU. The Geba and its tributary, the Colufe River, are notable for having supported agricultural activities by groups such as the FULANI, MANDINKA, and Balanta in the period prior to European colonization. The river fostered the region's development as a center of trade because of its ease of navigation and access to the ocean. Following Portuguese exploration and settlement beginning around 1450, the river soon became the chief means of TRANSPORTATION for thousands of captives destined for overseas markets.

See also: GOLD (Vol. II); GUINEA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVERY (Vols. II, III).

Gedi Walled CITY-STATE situated along the coast of KENYA. Africa's eastern coast, also called the SWAHILI COAST, has been an active trading region for centuries. According to the Greek sailing guide, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,* written in approximately the second century CE, commercial trade in the region dates back 2,000 years or more. Commerce most likely began with indigenous inhabitants of the coast trading with those of the interior for items ranging from agricultural produce to salt and IRON tools. POTTERY also was apparently traded, and recovered remnants indicate that it was produced prior to the arrival of Arab settlers. Unglazed, with minimal decoration or color, these early forms of pottery have a marked resemblance to those types produced in various regions of central Africa as well as in ZIMBABWE and MAPUNGUBWE, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA. Cooking pots with distinct fingernail designs have also been recovered at Gedi and may have been an early trade item. Their designs were similar to those made by the GIRIAMA.

Between 500 and 800, trading had become well established within the interior. Seagoing trade, which was associated with MERCHANTS from Arabia, Persia, and India, also was well established. The latter merchants and traders, who came to refer to the region and its population as al-ZANJ, or "the Blacks," subsequently settled in the region. Glazed earthenware from as far away as China suggests that these people expanded their commercial trading links quite far. To support this expanding trade, hundreds of independent ports flourished along the 3,000-mile coastline that stretched from MOMBASA, in the north, to SOFALA in the south. Some of these ports, like Gedi, became permanent city-states, but many others lasted only a brief time before being abandoned.

During the golden age between the 12th and 13th centuries, Swahili traders exported a wide range of items that included GOLD, IVORY, ambergris, tortoiseshell, leopard skins, sandalwood, and hard ebony woods. These were traded with merchants from the Middle East, Greece, Asia, and Europe. Enslaved individuals were also part of the trade, destined for the overseas markets of the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, and India, where their labor was used for agricultural expansion.

A mere 10 miles from MALINDI, Gedi developed into a major city under Islamic rule. The cultural mix formed by ARABIC- and Bantu-speaking populations took many forms, including a distinctive language known as KISWAHILI. Although the word *swahili* is Arabic for "the coast," the language was primarily Bantu; however, it had strong Arabic elements, including its alphabet and many borrowed words and phrases. Swahili societies formed a class structure that consisted of ruling families of mixed Arabic and African ancestry. Within the main population were transient groups of merchants, buyers, and seamen.

Although largely in ruins today, the architectural style of Gedi was once a testament to a great culture. A large enclosing wall surrounded a former palace with courtyards, a large mosque, and many smaller ones, as well as many large houses and pillars said to be grave markers. These extensive ruins have contributed to the region's current status as a national monument.

Traditional forms of Swahili MUSIC have survived as well. One of the most distinctive forms is *taarab,* described as a poetic song that infuses Arabic and Indian melodies. Played on an *oud,* an Arabic type of lute, and the *darbuk,* a leather-topped drum with a pottery bottom, *taarab* was originally performed at such rites of passage as wedding ceremonies and male circumcision rites, as well as female initiation ceremonies.

After Vasco da GAMA (c. 1460–1524) arrived at the coast in 1498, a shift in power led to the Portuguese seizing Mombasa and establishing a monopoly over INDIAN OCEAN TRADE. As part of their conquest of the coastal city-states, they built Fort Jesus at Mombasa along with a customhouse on nearby Pate Island. Although Swahili trade merchants tried to resist Portuguese rule, they were forced to abandon their activities in many of the Swahili port cities for a period. Portuguese attempts to align themselves with the city of Malindi against Mombasa failed, but it was not until the late 17th century that Portuguese political dominance was broken, largely by a series of conflicts involving the imam of Oman.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); CHINESE TRADE (Vol. II); FORT JESUS (Vol. III); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); PERSIAN TRADERS (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vols. II, III); SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Further reading: Mark Horton and John Middleton, *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile So-*

ciety (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Michael N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Ge'ez (Geez) Afro-Asiatic language primarily associated with liturgical documents and literature of ETHIOPIA. Ge'ez is still used in liturgical celebrations of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Ge'ez, among Africa's earliest written languages, is the source of an extensive body of religious and historical writings. Sometimes identified as *Lessana Ge'ez* (the language of the free), Ethiopians consider Ge'ez a classical language because of its antiquity and the fact that it reflects the evolution of culture in the northern highlands. Although Ge'ez may have incorporated some indigenous elements of Cushitic speech patterns, its written form is largely attributed to Sabaean or Semitic ARABS who migrated from the southern Arabian Peninsula. Traders and agriculturists, the Sabaeans settled in the highlands during the first millennium BCE.

The early structural form of Ge'ez reportedly differed from other Semitic languages. It is written in a cursive script and is read from left to right. Ancient Ge'ez, like ancient Hebrew, had no letter forms for vowels; instead, it relied on small marks next to consonants to indicate the vowel sound to be used. By the second century CE, this script had developed sufficiently to include letter forms for vowels.

During the fourth century Ge'ez was largely associated with the Ethiopian Church. The resulting body of religious works emphasized stories of Christian saints, religious poetry, sacred law, and rituals. MONOPHYSITE monks translated the Bible into Ge'ez between the fifth and seventh centuries, and religious scholars note that the apocryphal books of the Bible—the Book of Enoch, Book of Jubilees, and others—were translated into Ge'ez as well. These translations may represent one of the few complete versions of these ancient texts in the world, an important contribution to biblical studies.

The language of Ge'ez also played an important role in the royal kingdom of AKSUM, appearing, for example, on numerous inscriptions, coins, stelae, and monuments created between the fourth and ninth centuries.

Ge'ez ceased to be used as a spoken language by 1200 but it was preserved until the 19th century as an official vehicle for religious writings. In addition, its widespread influence has had a direct bearing on the development of many of Ethiopia's modern languages including Tigrinya, Tigray, and AMHARIC.

See also: GE'EZ (Vol. I); WRITING (Vols. I, II).

al-Ghaba The non-Muslim section of KUMBI SALEH, which was the capital of the GHANA EMPIRE and location of the palace of the king. Sometimes referred to as one of the "twin cities" of Kumbi Saleh, al-Ghaba traces its history to about 700 CE and the arrival of SONINKE peoples under the leadership of a *kaya maghan* (lord of the gold). The twin to al-Ghaba, called Kumbi, was located more than 3 miles (4.8 km) away at the time Kumbi Saleh was first established.

Never intended as a commercial center, al-Ghaba boasted no marketplace but instead was comprised of the mud and thatch homes of non-Muslim residents of Kumbi Saleh and the grand timber and stone palace of the king. *Al-Ghaba,* a name that means "woods" or "forest," was indeed surrounded by woodlands. According to legend, the area was once prohibited to ordinary people because the forest was the provenance of the snake spirit OUAGADOU-BIDA. Each year, it was here that sorcerers would sacrifice a young virgin girl in order to appease the god. Al-Ghaba stood also as a symbol of religious tolerance: Although Kumbi Saleh was segregated along religious lines, native Ghanaians and Muslims peacefully coexisted here until about 1040, when a Muslim leader attempted to convert non-Muslims by force. After a decade of struggle the Muslims took control of the entire city.

Ghana Present-day coastal West African country, some 92,100 square miles (238,500 sq km) in size, that borders BURKINA FASO to the north, TOGO to the east, the Atlantic Ocean to the south, and IVORY COAST to the west. It has three distinct ECOLOGICAL ZONES—the coastal plains that give way to the rain forest that in turn give way to savanna woodlands in the northern part of the country.

By 500 CE the foundations were in place for the emergence of states and urban life in Ghana. The beginnings of the exploitation of the GOLD fields of central Ghana provided a new impetus for long-distance trade and contributed to the further development of TRANS-SA-HARAN TRADE ROUTE Around the middle of the first millennium CE the AKAN began moving from the savanna woodlands of northern Ghana deeper into the rain forest. By 1500 they fully occupied the rain forest areas, where they developed the gold fields. They also established states, the first of which was the city-state of BEGHO in their original woodland area. It was founded about 1000 CE and became a major hub for the trade routes that connected the forest Akan communities with the western SUDAN and the Sahara. A series of small Akan states centered on a large village began to emerge. Their economies were based on AGRICULTURE that now included the BA-NANA as a new FOOD crop and the production of kola nuts and gold for trade.

By 1200 CE or so, towns also began to emerge among the people along the lower reaches of the VOLTA RIVER, most notably among the GA-DANGME. Further north, new political developments took place in the 14th century.

Gur-speakers, who had earlier established Dagbon, fell to CAVALRY forces that established DAGOMBA, while MAMPRUSI also emerged in northern Ghana about the same time. ISLAM played an increasing role in the life of these northern Ghanaian states, and it also spread southward along the trade routes into the forest zone among the Akan.

The arrival of the Portuguese on the coast in the late 15th century provided new trade opportunities for both the coastal people and those of the interior. The Portuguese were particularly eager to obtain gold as well as ivory and pepper, and they had important trade items, including cloth, metal wares, and guns, to offer in exchange. Indeed, due to the plentiful trade in gold, the Europeans soon called the coast the Gold Coast. In 1482 the Portuguese began construction of a trading castle named Elmina, which means "the mine," to better tap this trade. During this early period, the Akan, who needed additional labor for clearing the forests, imported slave laborers, whom they purchased from the Portuguese for gold. The Portuguese also introduced important new crops from the Americas, particularly cassava, groundnuts (peanuts), and maize (corn), that were well suited for the agricultural conditions of the area.

See also: GHANA (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

ghana, the   Official title for the succession of ruling kings of ancient Ghana. Called Ouagadou by its people, the GHANA EMPIRE flourished from the seventh through the 13th centuries. Although the origins and use of the title are not definitely known, the term _ghana_ was a title of prestige that may have come from the MANDE language in which the word _ghana_ means "warrior king." Kingship in ancient Ghana was based on matrilineal descent and traditionally passed to the son of the king's sister. As a result, women were often referred to as "king-makers" because they were in full charge of rearing children. Successors were installed as kings following a number of prescribed ceremonies held in a specially appointed sacred grove.

Based on the descriptions of Islamic historians, including al-BAKRI (c. 11th century), as well as early travelers in the region, the _ghana_ ruled in sumptuous surroundings that included a domed palace that housed the royal family and members of the court. The king was reportedly adorned with golden bracelets and a gilded cap encased in a turban of the finest cloth. He was guarded by members of the state's large standing army, whose swords and shields were also trimmed in gold.

Both at court and in his travels the king retained a large entourage of official drummers, dancers, and jesters that served as a source of entertainment and as a means of heralding his appearance when he toured the kingdom. Among the king's many functions was the responsibility of serving as the nation's highest-ranking judge. He also created policy, presided over land disputes and capi-

tal cases, and addressed complaints. When necessary, the _ghana_ was also responsible for leading the nation in war.

Rulers in ancient Ghana were entombed within large earthen mounds in the same sacred grove in which they were officially installed. Prior to entombment, however, they apparently lay in state for several days on a large wooden bier lined with special carpets and cushions. One of the most important traditions surrounding the death of the _ghana_ was that all of the eating and drinking vessels used by the king during his lifetime were filled with offerings and placed by his side. Along with those were placed innumerable household comforts, including his servants. The traditional belief was that servants and household amenities should be made available to the king during his journey to the beyond.

See also: DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II).

Ghana Empire   (c. 900–1240) Ancient empire of West Africa that thrived, along with the empires of MALI, KANEM-BORNU, and SONGHAI, along the Niger River. The economic prosperity of the Ghana Empire was based on trade in, among other items, IVORY, GOLD, and kola nuts. The word _ghana_ means "warrior king" and was the title given to the rulers of the original kingdom whose SONINKE name was Ouagadou. _Kaya Maghan_ (lord of the gold) was another title for these kings. Ancient Ghana was one of the earliest Sudanic kingdoms of West Africa, with its original geographic borders established within the western part of present-day Republic of MALI and the southeastern part of MAURITANIA. The modern-day country of GHANA, situated 500 miles (805 km) to the southeast, named itself after ancient Ghana.

A great deal of mystery has surrounded the origins of ancient Ghana. Archaeological findings, oral traditions, and a thorough reassessment of accounts of the empire made by Arabic historians and cartographers have led to the current hypothesis that Ghana emerged as a CITY-STATE as early as the third century. It apparently was founded by SONINKE peoples as an arm of their extensive trading networks.

> **Ghana's original name, Ouagadou**, derives from the name of the ancient Soninke god, OUAGADOU-BIDA, who was considered the guardian of the nation. Bida took the form of a snake.

The Soninke established KUMBI SALEH, which was located at the edge of developing TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES, as the area's first capital city. Trade, along with a strong agricultural base, contributed to the early wealth

Empire of Ghana, c. 1000

0 ⊢——————⊣ 800 Miles
0 ⊢——————⊣ 800 Kms

Legend:
- Empire of Ghana
- Kingdom of Gao to c.1470
- ○ Possible capital
- ⊙ Gold field
- *Susu* People

Tichit
Arawan
Tadmakka
Audaghost
Walata
Timbuktu
Niger R.
Kumbi Saleh
Gao
Kukiya
Bassikinu
Nioro
Senegal R.
Bambuk
Falémé R.
Jenne
Bakoye R.
Segu
Susu
Kouroussa
Bure
Sankarani R.
Ouagadougou
Black Volta R.
White Volta R.
Map area
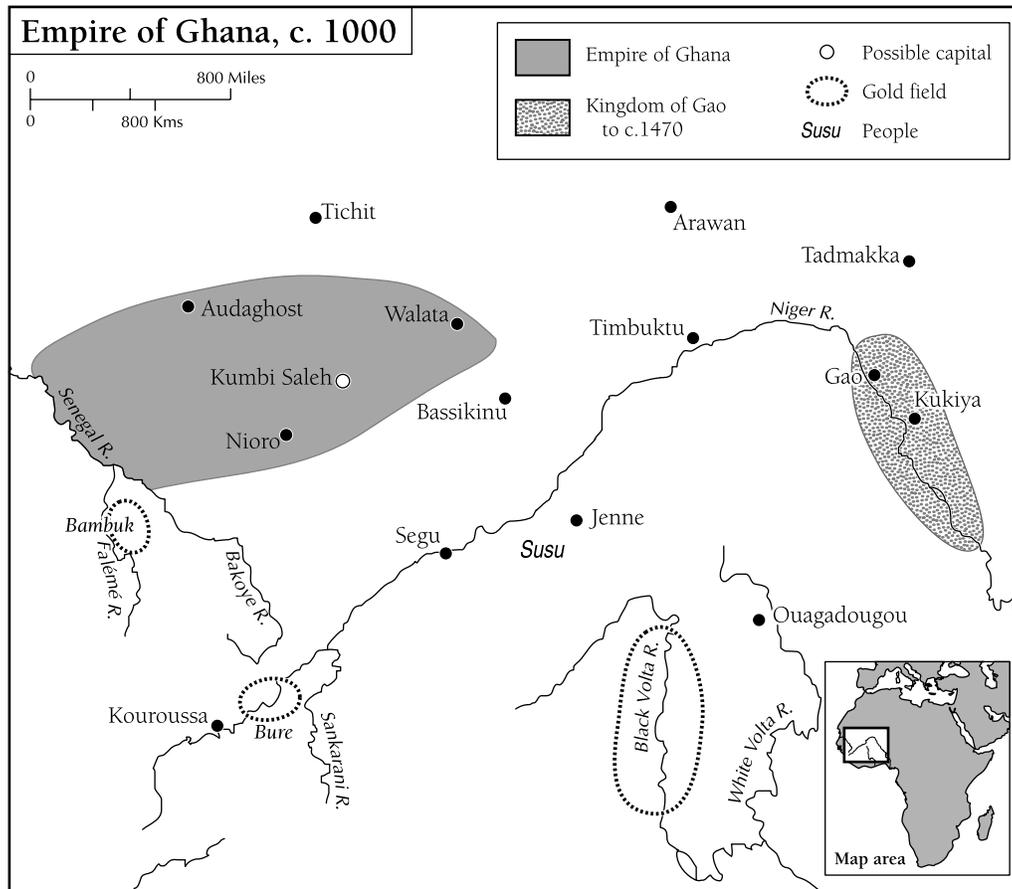
of the empire. A diverse number of ethnic groups existed within the capital, including BERBERS and, later, various Islamic groups. The EWE, MANDE, and ancestors of the GA-DANGME were also inhabitants of early Ghana.

By the eighth century North African traders had spread word of Ghana's prominence as the "land of gold" across vast international territories. Its reputation continued to grow after the 10th century, when the kingdom of Ghana conquered the important Saharan trading center of AUDAGHOST and began to emerge as an empire. Several small kingdoms to the north and south—including TEKRUR, SILLA, DIARA, and KANIAGA—also were conquered and became vassal states. The kings of these states were permitted to continue individual rule over their respective kingdoms, while the ruler of Ghana maintained centralized control over the empire.

At this point Ghana's wide-ranging trade network, which had been accumulating vast wealth from the caravan trade, expanded to include items such as salt, gold, COPPER, horses, and human captives. Many of these captives were enslaved and put to work in the gold mines that were located to the south. Slaves were also used for agricultural labor, which led to the production of even greater quantities of such crops as millet, sorghum, and COTTON.

Much of Ghana's wealth came from the taxes that it collected on trade. A donkey- or camel-load of copper, for example, reportedly was taxed at a rate of approximately half an ounce (14 grams) of gold. General merchandise apparently was taxed at the rate of 1 ounce (28 grams) of gold per load. These taxes made it possible for Ghana to maintain a standing army of as many as 200,000 warriors, which was used to provide MERCHANTS with security and safe passage along the trade routes.

Ghana's proximity to the gold-producing regions of Bambuk, Bure, and Wangara placed it in the unique position of controlling vast amounts of the gold being transported north by caravan. Although great amounts of gold were transported out of the region, there were also strict policies that helped reserve solid gold nuggets for the king. A certain amount of gold dust was also reserved for the regional population. In addition Ghana controlled the trade to the south, especially the trade in salt, which was a rare and highly prized item in West Africa.

By the 11th century Kumbi Saleh had developed to the point that the state was reportedly divided between traditional Ghanaian rulers and Islamic merchants who were invited to participate in the day-to-day affairs of the royal court. This era also saw the first stages of the crumbling of Ghana's infrastructure as a result of trading rivalries and internal conflicts. There is some speculation that because Ghana never fully embraced ISLAM, religious conflicts also had a role in this social disintegration.

However most of the causes and details of the final waning of Ghana's empire still remain unclear. It appears that Ghana's great wealth attracted competitors bent on loosening the empire's hold on trade. Led by a radically devout Muslim known as ABD ALLA IBN YASIN (d. c. 1059), BERBERS calling themselves ALMORAVIDS attacked Ghana's capital in the 11th century. Some reports claim that the Almoravids destroyed the Ghana Empire, while others assert that the Ghanaians converted to Islam and joined the Almoravid movement in order to spread Islam in Africa. It is not clear whether the Almoravids completely destroyed the capital or gained an appreciable measure of political and economic control over its inhabitants.

Ancient Ghana was rich in gold and blessed with an abundance of rain. According to Soninke legend, this prosperity was bestowed upon the land by the god Ouagadou-Bida, who took the form of a snake. In return for Bida's generosity, a virgin was sacrificed in his honor each year. The days of glory supposedly ended under the rule of ancient Ghana's seventh king, when the lover of the sacrificial virgin slaughtered the snake during the annual ceremony. In retribution, Ouagadou-Bida dried up the land and moved all the gold to Bure on the Upper Niger River. With the Ghana empire in ruins, the people were forced to leave their impoverished and barren homeland. Many Soninke clans trace their ancestry to this legend.

A number of feudal states rose within the void left by the Ghana Empire's demise, including the SUSU kingdom, in the northern part of the former empire, and the small KANGABA state, in the area that soon was part of the growing MALI EMPIRE. The Susu kingdom launched a second attack against Ghana about 1203. It has been reported that the Susu ruler, Sumanguru, successfully captured Kumbi Saleh, thus bringing a violent end to Ghana's economic and military power. Two decades later, in about 1240, SUNDIATA (d. 1255), the leader of the Kangaba, initiated a successful attack against Sumanguru and gained control of the area's gold trade. Remnants of the former kingdom of Ghana were then incorporated into the Mali Empire founded by Sundiata.

See also: GHANA, ANCIENT (Vol. I); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vol. II); WANGARA GOLD FIELDS (Vol. II).

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giraffes The world's tallest mammals. The giraffe's appearance has made it the frequent subject of comment, even among Africa's diverse and unusual animal kingdom. In the 14th century Arab historian and philosopher Ibn Khaldun (c. 1332–1400) documented the startled reaction of the royal court at TUNIS when a giraffe was presented to the ruling sultan from the *mai,* or king, of the KANEM-BORNU empire. The Chinese admiral Cheng Ho (1371–1433), who led a series of expeditions to Africa's Indian Ocean coast between 1405 and 1433, returned to China in 1417 with a delegation from MALINDI, who presented the royal court at Beijing with a giraffe.

See also: CHINESE TRADE (Vol. II).

Giriama Ethnic group of the northeast coast of KENYA. Inhabitants of relatively isolated areas, the Giriama reportedly have occupied this region of Kenya since the beginning of the common era. Primarily farmers who supplanted their ECONOMY by hunting, fishing, and raising livestock, they eventually played a prominent role in providing grain to the ships involved in the transatlantic slave trade.

Although this part of the African coast was strongly influenced by ISLAM in the 10th century, the Giriama apparently were less affected by this than were neighboring peoples. They retained many of their own linguistic forms and cultural modes of expression, including their distinctive POTTERY, which was decorated with fingernail designs. The Giriama were also noted for creating grave posts with intricately designed tops.

See also: GIRIAMA (Vol. III); KENYA (Vol. III); MOMBASA (Vols. II, III); SLAVERY (Vols. II, III).

Gisu (Bagisu) Bantu-speaking people of present-day UGANDA and KENYA; descended from the Luhya people, they speak a Western-Bantu language called Luluyia. From the time of the BANTU EXPANSION, the Gisu people, also known as Bagisu, have lived primarily around Mount Elgon, along the Uganda-Kenya border. While their society traditionally has been organized through paternal lineages, they generally have been less cohesive than the neighboring KARAMOJONG, Teso, and Soga peoples. The Gisu political structure is based on clans, with each clan

having an elder known as *umwami we sikoka,* or "chief of the clan." These leaders, whose job it was to preserve the clan and maintain law and order within it, generally were selected from among the richest members of the group. In spite of their fairly long history, the Bagisu remained divided, with no single clan or clan leader gaining any long-lasting prominence.

In Gisu culture the circumcision of young men remains one of the most basic rituals. Generally performed as part of an initiation into adulthood, the circumcision ritual also represents the young man's availability for marriage.

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); CLAN (Vol. I); LINEAGE (Vol. I).

Giyorgis, St. (St. George) Rock-hewn church situated at the town of LALIBELA (formerly al-Roha) in the Lasta Mountains of ETHIOPIA. The architectural splendor of St. Giyorgis Church has been credited to King LALIBELA (c. 1119–1159) of the ZAGWE DYNASTY. Lalibela's rock-hewn churches grew out of the king's religious visions in which, he claimed, he was instructed to build structures that represented a "New Jerusalem." He reportedly built two groups of churches, both considered to be monoliths, over a period of 25 years.

According to legend, after the completion of these churches Lalibela had a dream in which St. George, Ethiopia's patron saint, scolded him for not building a church in his name. Lalibela's promise to honor the saint resulted in a monumental structure that sources say was built by workers recruited from EGYPT.

The site where Beta Giyorgis (House of St. George) was built was first hollowed out in what has been described as a perfect cube. The three-tiered church was then sculpted from a rock pedestal within the center and shaped in the form of a religious cross. The church, measuring approximately 39 feet (12 m) high, had an adjoining courtyard surrounded by stone walls. In them are many small, sculpted caves, which over the centuries have served as homes to monks and priests as well as tombs for the dead.

See also: ABBA LIBANOS (Vol. II); ARCHITECTURE (Vol. II); GABREL RUFA'EL (Vol. II); GIYORGIS, ST. (Vol. II); LALIBELA, CHURCHES OF (Vol. II); MEDHANE ALEM (Vol. II).

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Goba Ancient site noted for its rock-hewn church, located within the southeastern state of Bali, or Bale, in ETHIOPIA. Ethiopian sources maintain that Goba's church was built in an ancient tradition that predates the rock-hewn churches credited to King LALIBELA of the ZAGWE DYNASTY (r. c. 1119–1159 CE). Similar rock churches have been found in such regions as AKSUM, TIGRAY, and ERITREA. The Ethiopian sources maintain that these edifices were built by Christian communities whose faith moved them to build churches able to withstand the ravages of time.

See also: LALIBELA, CHURCHES OF (Vol. II).

Further reading: Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: The Red Sea Press, 1997).

Gobir One of the HAUSA STATES established between the 10th and 13th centuries. In the Hausa-speaking regions of northern NIGERIA, several towns came to be the original Hausa settlements. These sites included Gobir, KANO, ZAZZAU, and KATSINA, among others. Most historical knowledge concerning these sites has come from the recorded observations of Islamic travelers in the region. According to their descriptions, Gobir and the other sites were part of a feudal system of walled towns called *birnis*. These *birnis* were regarded as ruling capitals governed by a *sirki,* a local ruler who controlled a number of armed horsemen. The towns were able to develop as a result of intensive AGRICULTURE that took place outside the walls. Crops probably flourished as a result of underground water sources. Within the walled town itself, marketplaces were established. There also were centers in which CRAFTSPEOPLE—blacksmiths, tanners, weavers, brewers, musicians, and ritual specialists—plied their trades.

The town of Gobir also has been mentioned in relation to the adaptation of Islamic teachings, which first began in the 14th to 15th centuries. Until that time the walled towns had continued to develop without interference but with a limited export market. By the 16th century trade routes established by TUAREGS had developed to such a degree that Hausa traders were able to incorporate their COTTON and leather goods into the North African and overseas trade markets. In addition, trading in the Sahara region led to a political alliance between the Hausa and the Tuaregs, who received a tax on trade items. In turn, the Tuaregs established a Gobir representative in their territory to serve as the sultan of Agades.

See also: AGADES (Vol. III); GOBIR (Vol. III).

gold Gold was obtained by mining or panning in several locations throughout Africa from ancient days through precolonial times. Gold was used by kings and traders to buy goods and services from other parts of the known world and was also used locally for adornment.

In EGYPT, gold was found in some abundance along streams in Nubia and Kush. Gold sources in non-Egyptian

Africa included the area of the headwaters of the Niger and Senegal Rivers, in what is now the countries of GUINEA and Republic of MALI. In the eighth and ninth centuries, gold was mined in southeast ZIMBABWE by means of excavations in the form of steps, or stopes. The ores were then crushed by pounding stones. Gold became important politically and economically in SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA as a trade item in the seventh century. African kings knew that their fame and wealth depended on precious metals, and they took measures to control the export of gold. Arab travelers and traders were forbidden to enter areas where gold was found lest they divulge the locations of the gold fields.

Located in the western SUDAN, near the great bend of the Niger River, the ancient GHANA EMPIRE became an important part of the trans-Saharan trade. The kingdom lay north of the region of WANGARA, which was rich in gold, and south of the salt mines of Taghaza. Ancient Ghana thus became the intermediary—the place where salt, rare in West Africa, was traded for gold.

In Ghana, by tradition all gold nuggets belonged to the king, and gold dust belonged to the people. The king

This 19th-century Ashanti gold plate is on display in a museum in Ghana. The plate gives testimony to the historical importance of gold in the African economy. Gold from the gold fields of Bure and Akan were important in trans-Saharan trade. © *Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis*

carefully controlled the flow of gold. Because the locations of the gold fields were kept secret, merchants from North Africa had to come to designated places on the border and leave their goods. Buyers of goods brought gold and left it beside the goods. The sellers returned and either took the gold or left it; if the gold was left, the buyers returned and added more gold. The process was repeated until the buyers accepted the amount offered by sellers by taking away the gold.

By about 950, Ghana's ruler was described as the richest in the world. He was known as the *kaya maghan*, or "lord of the gold." A visitor to court wrote that the emperor had a receipt for 42,000 gold dinars, obtained from trade. A dinar was a coin that represented the sovereignty of certain North African rulers. The gold from Ghana was one of the most prized forms of currency in trans-African trade.

The rulers of the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom, in present-day ZIMBABWE, also had titles related to gold. Named after its ruler, Mwene Mutapa controlled many of the mines supplying gold for the southern African gold trade. The title *mwene mutapa*, meaning "master pillager," was a reference to the king's ability to amass gold-wealth. The *mwene mutapas* used their gold to purchase Chinese porcelain, brocades, silks, and other luxuries for their courts. They also purchased fine weapons, which added to their stature.

Mansa MUSA I (r. c. 1307–1337), the ruler of the MALI EMPIRE, used gold to hire architects, writers, and priests. In 1324 he made a pilgrimage to MECCA, taking with him great amounts of gold, which he circulated so freely that the value of the Egyptian dinar was depressed for several years.

The gold of Africa became the lifeblood of trade, which brought new goods to sub-Saharan Africa from Asia and Europe. In the 14th century African gold became the basis for Europe's currency.

The Sources of Gold   Although gold was produced on a large scale to meet the demands of northern traders and overseas markets from an early period, it played a prominent role in local regions as well.

During the rule of Georgios I (c. 856–915), a Nubian monarch in the Dongola region in present-day Republic of the SUDAN, foreign trade included gold and IVORY. The gold was extracted from mines situated near Abu Hamed and became the focus of armed conflicts between Georgios's forces and Arab-led armies.

Among West African gold producers was the GHANA EMPIRE, where the metal was panned at the Bambuk and Bure gold fields, situated to the south of Ghana near the head of the Niger and Senegal rivers. Based on the written sources of early Arabic traders, gold was produced on a rather large scale during the eighth and ninth centuries. According to these accounts, alluvial panning was optimal between January and May.

Other gold mines in West Africa included Lobi, in present-day BURKINA FASO. The Lobi gold mine helped to establish JENNE-JENO as a prominent trading depot between the 14th and 16th centuries. The WANGARA GOLD FIELDS, located south of the MALI EMPIRE in a place not yet identified by scholars, was the source of the gold that helped SUNDIATA (d. 1255) enrich his growing empire.

The method of alluvial panning was common in areas where swollen rivers and tributaries would recede, leaving behind gold dust and nuggets. This practice, still in use today, was shrouded in mystery for centuries, and as a result, a number of erroneous myths circulated. There were beliefs that gold represented a type of agricultural product that grew as a result of rainfall. Others believed that the gold traveled underground with the help of ants. One official in the North African city of TUNIS even proposed that wells be dug from MOROCCO to West Africa to extract the gold there. Because mines were always subject to collapse or other dangers, it is thought that many belief systems and rituals developed in response. These rituals may in fact have been the actual mystery that the gold miners sought to preserve from outsiders.

Gold mining also took place in various regions of southern Africa. One of the largest producers of gold was GREAT ZIMBABWE, where the mines and methods of extraction were concealed from outside traders. The resulting myths generated by the Portuguese included the notion that a permanent labor force lived within the mines, including whole families that raised children there. While these accounts were highly exaggerated, entire families apparently carried out panning and working with the ore.

Gold ore was in fact very near the earth's surface in territories stretching from the Mazoe River, in the northeast region of Zimbabwe, to the LIMPOPO RIVER in the southwest. Alluvial gold was found in tributaries of the Zambezi River as well. Men were responsible for digging the gold ores retrieved, in some cases, from more than 100 feet (30 m) below the surface. A method of alternately heating and cooling the ore was then used to split it, at which point women were often responsible for extracting the gold from the ore. Combined techniques were used as well. For example, IRON picks could be used to collect ore, which was then crushed with a rock. The crushed rock could then be panned in order to retrieve the gold. Many historians surmise that these mining activities may have represented an alternative, seasonal means of supplementing family earnings.

The African Gold Trade   There is little doubt that gold was one of the most highly valued commodities in Africa. Between the eighth and 16th centuries, much of Africa's gold was produced in West Africa and was transferred to the ports of North Africa by means of camel CARAVANS. After leaving these northern ports, the gold figured prominently in the economies of India, Arabia, and the Far East. The archaeological finds in West Africa of Roman-era weights for gold confirms the prominence of the gold trade to Europe as well and dates it back as far as the fourth century CE. The use of gold within Africa also was significant, especially in the building of the Sudanic empires, such as Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and KANEM-BORNU.

Once gold was exchanged for goods, the important task of transporting the gold came next. The development of a complex set of procedures provided checks and balances for the gold-producing countries as well as northern MERCHANTS. One aspect of these procedures involved the use of standardized weights, reportedly introduced to West African regions by Arab traders. In later centuries the use of gold weights was subsequently adapted and developed by the ASHANTI, in present-day Ghana. They created highly distinctive figures and symbolic shapes to weigh gold. Significantly, it was also in this century that the Islamic world began to mint gold for currency. It was therefore necessary for men such the 10th-century Arab traveler el-MASUDI to make accurate maps of the locations of the gold-bearing regions along with the routes used by merchants. Two of the better known routes were the road from Taghaza-Timbuktu and the route that passed through Wargla, TAKEDDA, and GAO.

The TRANSPORTATION of gold was often a dangerous proposition. On the trade routes, the transporters were faced with both the possibility of robbery and the very real chance of being stranded without water in the desert. The difficulties associated with transporting gold were underscored by the archaeological discovery of an entire gold caravan that perished in the Sahara centuries ago. The demise of the transporters was possibly the result of a surprise sandstorm but could have been caused by any number of reasons.

There are many conflicting views as to the amount of gold carried by these caravans. On one hand, the archaeological evidence suggests that 30 to 40 camels at a time might have been used to carry between 2 and 3 tons of the unrefined gold dust that Islamic traders called *tibr*. On the other hand, many historians maintain that this figure is too low, given the documented significance of the gold trade. To facilitate the transfer of gold received from the inland caravans, the gold was usually converted into ingots, or solid bars, at the trade depots of Timbuktu or SIJILMASA. The gold was then ready for transport to northern ports such as CAIRO. Merchants who purchased

the gold in its refined state offered to the northern transporters a return trade of COPPER, brassware, sword blades, and textiles.

The gold trade also effectively linked the eastern or SWAHILI COAST with other parts of southern Africa. For example, the gold trade south of the Zambezi River reached its height between the 12th and 15th centuries. A reported one-and-a-half tons of gold were extracted from the gold-producing regions of Zimbabwe and made its way to KILWA, one of the numerous city-states that formed the trade network of the Swahili coast. By the 16th century, the gold trade in the region had shifted to Portuguese traders, who exchanged cloth, IVORY, and other items. For reasons that are not entirely clear, the gold trade declined in the area by 1500. It is possible that the mines had been exhausted.

Although it is impossible to determine the exact amounts of gold exported from Africa in the precolonial period, estimates of the gold traded during the first millennium of the common era range from around 7,000 pounds (3,175 kg) up to 18,000 pounds (8,165 kg).

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); CHINESE TRADE (Vol. II); GOLD (Vols. I, III, IV, V); KUSH (Vol. I); MINING (Vol. III); SOFALA (Vol. II); WANGARA GOLD FIELDS (Vol. II).

Further reading: Ralph Austin, *Africa's Economic History* (London: James Currey Ltd., 1996).

government, systems of   Contemporary Western-style governments, divided into executive, judicial, and legislative branches, did not exist in the Europe or the traditional African societies of the medieval period. Most European governments, including the government of Portugal, the country with the closest links to Africa in the 15th century, were monarchies headed by a king or an emperor. Sometimes they had a judiciary system, but rarely was there a formal or regularized legislature. In traditional African societies of the time, the governing of the kingdom was the duty of the chief or king. Islamic government inside and outside Africa was also monarchic, with no formal legislative bodies and with a system of religious law called SHARIA.

Non-Muslim Stateless Societies   Some traditional, non-Islamic African societies were loosely organized or had no defined governing bodies. Sociologists sometimes refer to these types of societies as *stateless*. The TWA of central East Africa, for example, lacked an organized government, making it impossible for them to defend their territory against the HUTU agriculturalists who moved into their territory in the fifth through the 11th centuries. The seminomadic Nuer of what is today the Republic of the SUDAN also maintained a society with minimal government. Their movement over vast areas and their constant struggle for subsistence left them little time to be concerned about a central, organizing body.

Such stateless societies were generally organized according to age sets and lineage, the latter being a system under which the older members of a clan established and maintained the rules of conduct between group members. The clan leaders were responsible for conducting ritual ceremonies, raids, and trade with other groups.

Non-Muslim Monarchies   When IRON tools became widespread in the early part of the first millennium, agriculturalist groups discovered that it was possible to occupy one area or region for an extended period of time. These settled, or sedentary, societies found it necessary to organize themselves in a more structured way than people who were (or had been) hunter-gatherers and nomadic pastoralists. Though they still relied on age sets and lineages, they also organized their groups into hierarchies that were most often led by a clan headman.

If the headman became powerful enough, he would assume the title of chief or king (the African title often meant the equivalent of "the head man of the men" in the local tongue) and the society took on the aspects of a kingdom with a monarch. Monarchies were widely distributed throughout Africa. Among the larger, better known examples were the ASHANTI, GANDA, and KONGO.

Though most African societies were run by kings, some kingdoms were run by very capable female monarchs, whose power was equal to that of a king. Examples of these include ELENI, of ETHIOPIA, and DAHIA AL-KAHINA, of ALGERIA. Other women ruled as regents, governing a kingdom until the male inheritor of the throne reached a suitable age.

The chief or king always had a number of associates who shared the role of ruling the general population; the bigger the population, the more associates he might have. These aides most often included relatives, respected headmen from other lineages, the primary wife, diviners, healers, and military advisers.

As the leader of his people, the king had certain responsibilities, which included settling disputes, leading the group in the planting and harvesting of crops, controlling the importing and exporting of economic goods (in societies that traded), and, of course, the important task of producing male heirs to the throne. For this last duty, a king would often take multiple wives.

Under a monarchy based on lineage, a king rarely had to worry about rebellions, or what we today would call coups d'etat, from within his own group. The methods of government in traditional societies did not change quickly. The standard hierarchy of governing monarchs

did change, though, when monarchies arose whose power was based on military might rather than lineage. This development caused tension between lineage head men and military leaders, since the military chiefs were a threat to the traditional authority of the patriarchs and clan elders, whose right to rule depended on their supposed connection to the spirits of their ancestors.

In the agriculturalist societies of much of SUB-SAHA-RAN AFRICA, it was the responsibility of the chiefs to distribute FOOD in their villages. As a result they usually maintained large stores of foodstuffs for themselves, even when food was scarce for the rest of the people. Corpulence, then, became a sign of prestige, and the fatter the chief was, the more powerful an image he was able to project to his people and to foreign visitors.

Whether military monarchs or lineage headmen, the kings of African societies could generally control the affairs of their kingdoms through the use, or even just the threat, of force. Many kings, even those who did not maintain a military, would surround themselves with loyal armed retainers. In non-Islamic African societies during this period, there are no examples of kingdoms that were governed according to a written body of laws, or constitution. Instead, the rules of government were based on convention, passed down by village elders.

Islamic Government   In Islamic societies of the time, the governments were theocracies rather than monarchies, run by religious leaders rather than kings. (Though non-Islamic kings commonly held their positions by rights of DIVINE RULE, their secular duties kept their kingdoms from being considered theocratic.) For Muslim leaders, the laws of government are to be found in the sacred writings of ISLAM: the QURAN and the *Sunna*.

The Quran leaves some rules of government open to interpretation, and, in practice, Muslim law is supplemented by regulations derived from local custom. Indeed, within the wider Muslim world, the Sunni branch of Islam, dominant in North Africa, often differed with the Shiites over matters of law and governance. These differing viewpoints meant that Muslim governments, though based on common principles, were not always consistent in their interpretations of the Quran, and the effects of local customs varied greatly.

The North African empires that were governed by Islamic BERBERS—including the ALMORAVIDS and ALMOHADS—were true theocracies. The conflicts among these groups were generally created by their different interpretations of Quranic law.

The Islamic kingdoms of Sub-saharan Africa were more diverse than the Saharan empires. Since Islam penetrated these kingdoms along trade routes, it was common for kings to convert to Islam primarily so that their kingdoms could participate in trade with Muslim traders. As a result, kingdoms like ancient Ghana were governed by kings who were avowed Muslims but ruled their subjects according to conventional, or customary, law.

The title *caliph* was given to the titular head of the entire Islamic world. Below the caliph were local sovereigns who, from the 11th century, in Africa as well as in other regions of Islam, generally bore the title *sultan.* Provincial governors and military leaders were given the title *emir,* a designation also sometimes adopted by rulers of independent states. *Sheik (sheikh)* is an Arabic title of respect accorded to chiefs, heads of villages, and males in other positions of influence.

See also: AGE SETS (Vol. I); GHANA, ANCIENT (Vol. I); GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vols. I, III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II); QUEENS AND QUEEN MOTHERS (Vol. II).

Further reading: Peter J. Schraeder, *African Politics and Society: A Mosaic in Transformation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

Great Kei River   River in the eastern Cape Province of present-day SOUTH AFRICA. The Great Kei River originates at the junction of the White Kei and Black Kei rivers southeast of Queenstown. From that point it flows nearly 140 miles (224 km) toward the southeast, eventually draining into the Indian Ocean. It has several tributary rivers, including the Tsomo. A number of early Xhosa-speaking chiefdoms, including the Galeka and the Thembu, developed in the 15th and 16th centuries.

See also: MPONDO (Vol. III); SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III); XHOSA (Vol. III).

Great Zimbabwe   City in the southeastern region of present-day ZIMBABWE that was the heart of a major trading empire between 1100 and 1450. Population estimates vary, but at its height, the people living in or around Great Zimbabwe numbered between 11,000 and 18,000. By 1450 the region could no longer support its population; the site was abandoned and now lies in ruins. Oral tradition refers to a shortage of salt, but it is thought that the land was no longer suitable for AGRICULTURE and sources of wood for cooking and building had dwindled.
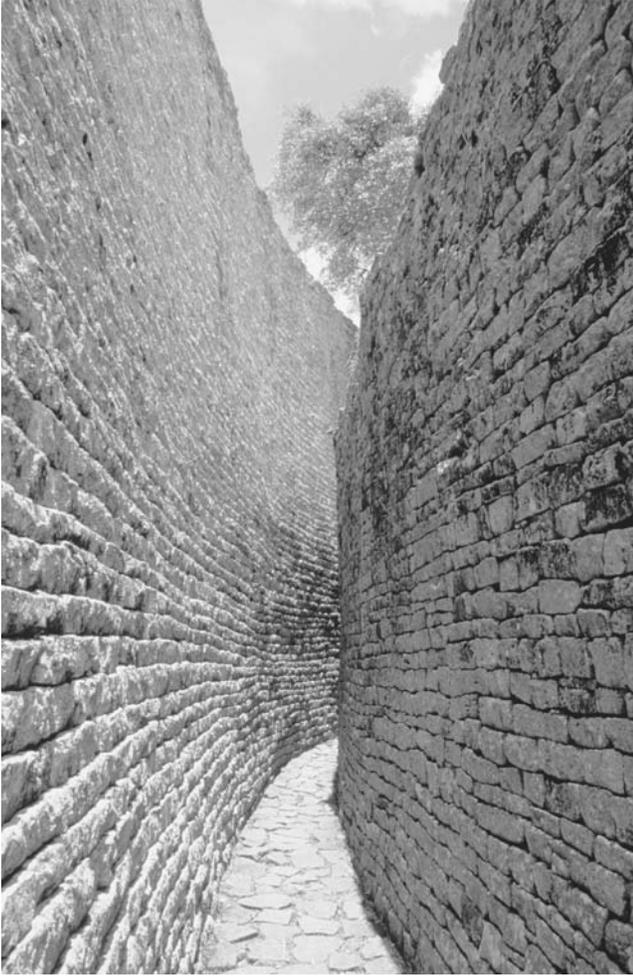
The wall of the Great Enclosure in Great Zimbabwe is 33 feet (10 m) high,16 feet (5.5 m) thick at its widest point, and more than 800 feet (244 m) in circumference. The tapered wall is broader at the base than at the top. © *Colin Hoskins; Cordaiy Photo Library Ltd./Corbis*

Built by the Late Iron Age ancestors of the Bantu-speaking SHONA people, Great Zimbabwe is one of some 300 known stone enclosure sites on the Zimbabwe Plateau. The name *Zimbabwe* in Bantu probably means "stone building," although it has also been taken to mean, very appropriately, "sacred house" or "ritual seat of a king." The ruins cover nearly 1,800 acres (728.5 hectares) and are divided into a hilltop complex and a valley complex. The site of Great Zimbabwe was well chosen to support a large city. The Zimbabwe Plateau offered a wide range of seasonal grazing land for the cattle that were the core of the region's economy. Game, especially elephants for the IVORY trade, was abundant; the soil was fertile and suited to AGRICULTURE; and timber, too, was in plentiful supply. From its location at the head of the Sabi River valley, the city could control passage between the gold fields of the western plateau and the trad-

ing city of SOFALA on the coast; in the 12th and 13th centuries, taxes levied on the trading CARAVANS were a major source of Great Zimbabwe's revenue. Its rulers ate from porcelain made in China and Persia. Its artisans produced fine GOLD and COPPER jewelry and ornaments for the king and royal court as well as for trade.

When, in the late 1500s, Portuguese traders began to hear rumors of Great Zimbabwe's existence, they thought it was a city of the legendary queen of Sheba or the biblical city of Ophir, from which the queen of Sheba raised gold for the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. Unwilling to admit the city's sub-Saharan African origin and arguing that these peoples had no history of building in stone, later visitors to the ruins surmised that Phoenicians, Arabs, Egyptians, or even the fabled Christian king, Prester John, had built Great Zimbabwe. The fact is, however, that unlike other regions of Africa where stone suitable for building is scarce, the Zimbabwe Plateau offers an abundance of stone outcroppings that have weathered into layers easily split into building blocks. The fact that Zimbabwean builders used no mortar to join the stone blocks indicates to archaeologists that these builders originated their own techniques for handling stone and are not indebted to Arab builders for their methods. Some 200 stone ruins can be found on the Zimbabwe Plateau, a memorial to these builders' craft. Stone was used whenever builders needed to create a structure of considerable size; ordinary dwellings were still made in traditional fashion of dried mud with a pole and thatch roof.

From its perch atop a granite dome, the Hill Complex, started about 1250, overlooks the rest of Great Zimbabwe. Construction of the Valley Complex began in the early 1300s, about the same time as construction of the outer wall of the Hill Complex.

All significant entrances and exits of the Great Enclosure were designed to ensure that access to and from the complex could be easily monitored. As a further security measure, the long, narrow passage to the Conical Tower allows only single-file movement.

Lying to the south of the Hill Complex, the Great Enclosure was the largest single structure in ancient SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. The Great Enclosure is made of an outer wall that is 820 feet (250 m) in circumference with a height reaching as much as 80 feet (24 m). An inner wall runs beside the outer wall, forming the narrow, long passage that leads to the Conical Tower. The Conical Tower is 33 feet (10 m) high and 16 feet (9 m) in diameter. Its purpose is unknown, but many experts have theorized that it was a symbolic grain bin.

Researchers theorize that the original structures in the Hill Complex may have been intended for defense, but they point out that the high walls of the later structures offer no access to the top from which to hurl weapons or repel invaders. The walls may simply have been meant to impress people with the prestige and power of the king. Inside the Valley Complex was the palace of the king, where he and the court lived in luxury. Inside both the Hill Complex and the Valley Complex, archaeologists have found remains of mud-brick structures that may have matched the stone buildings in distinction.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III).

Further reading: David N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900–1850* (Gwelo, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1980); Peter S. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe* (Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Pub. House, 1985).

griot Oral historian or "praise singer" trained to recite the history, myths, and cultural beliefs associated with a kingdom, village, or individual lineage. No one has been able to say with any degree of certainty when griots first came into being, but it appears that they were certainly present in many regions of Africa prior to the period of European colonization, perhaps associated with the rise of city-states.

One of the earliest references made concerning griots occurred in Mali. After traveler IBN BATTUTA (1304–1369) visited the royal court of the MALI EMPIRE in 1352, he wrote of the man known as Dugha, the king's royal griot. Wearing a symbolic bird mask, Dugha stood before the king and recited the story of his predecessors, their accomplishments, and family history. However, Battuta, a staunch Muslim, was unable to see past appearances or protocol to understand Dugha's actual function, which entailed lengthy recitations. Details concerning births, deaths, members of the royal family, the results of various wars, achievements of the king and his predecessors, and countless myths associated with the original founders of their society were also important aspects woven into the repertoire of the griot.

Counterparts of the griot in West Africa were known in the eastern SUDAN as *wali*. In some Islamized North African regions they were called *marabouts*. More often than not, griots were single men who traveled without restraint. Their freedom was often weighed against responsibilities that ranged from simple to extraordinarily complex. For example, some griots were relegated to the category of a public musician-singer and played the *kora,* a small percussive instrument. Griot styles varied from region to region and sometimes included background singers who also played musical instruments. In other regions such as present-day GAMBIA, griots performed special chants.

At public events griots often created songs designed to invoke memories and emotions surrounding specific incidents or circumstances of the past. At other times, songs were related to experiences unfolding at the moment, such as rites of passage including baptisms, initiations, and funerals.

The range of the griots' artistry often included audience participation, and many historians have likened the call and response between griot and audience to modern day African-American church traditions.

It should be noted that the griots who performed for the public were often denied recognition beyond their caste. Reasons for this are not fully understood but may have been influenced by the class stratification of West African kingdoms. Within the WOLOF and SERER societies, griots were among the lowest echelon, which also included blacksmiths, butchers, leatherworkers, and other CRAFTSPEOPLE. These individuals were never able to rise above their occupations, which were positions usually passed on from father to son.

In contrast, griots who were part of the royal kingdoms of West Africa gained recognition, fame, and wealth but had much more complex responsibilities. Among the BAMBARA, griots were known as *dyeli-faama* meaning "royalty." They were also considered custodians or "keepers of words." In addition to the ability to entertain, they served as court historians, teachers, and mediators during disputes and trading transactions. They helped to facilitate political marriages by bringing together not only bride and groom but entire families. They kept history alive for the king, members of the court, and royal descendants by narrating their entire genealogy. Among the AKAN, the griot performed for local inhabitants when a new king was installed. This enabled them to judge the king's abilities and virtues based on the oral recitation given by the griot.

Griots therefore embodied the entire history of a people and, when able to pass their craft on to younger members of the caste, formed a continuous oral tradition that could be preserved for many generations. In many instances, modern griots' presentations have aided archaeologists and historians in significant ways, helping them to interpret the reconstruction of physical remnants of the past or supplying missing aspects about the life and culture of ancient and medieval Africa.

See also: MUSIC (Vol. II); ORAL TRADITIONS (Vol. I).

Further reading: Robert B. Fisher, *West African Religious Traditions* (New York: Orbis Books, 1998).

Gudit (Judith, Yodit, Esato) (d. c. 970) *Ethiopian queen who seized the Aksumite throne*

Very little is known about Queen Gudit beyond scattered references in ancient texts and oral history. It is an accepted fact that she was violently opposed to the Monophysite beliefs of the Ethiopian Christian Church and orchestrated the destruction of the Aksumite kingdom in the late 10th century. Her followers razed churches and killed hundreds of Christian followers. Gudit's origins have been traced to the kingdoms in the country's southern region, specifically to DAMOT. It is believed that she was an AGAW speaker from the southwest whose reign either ushered in or influenced the rise of the ZAGWE DYNASTY (c. 12th century), who, like her, were originally Agaw speakers. She may also have been associated with the BETA ISRAEL (Falasha), since rumors persist that she was the daughter of their leader, Gideon.

Following the destruction of AKSUM, Queen Gudit maintained a 40-year rule over a region historians believe may actually have been Aksum. Islamic texts have reported how after claiming the throne, her co-ruler, known only by the title of Habani, was forced into exile in Shoa, where he died circa 970. Other sources that mention the queen include a letter sent by the last Aksumite king to church officials in Alexandria, EGYPT, that pleaded in vain for their intercession.

See also: MONOPHYSITE (Vol. I); QUEENS AND QUEEN MOTHERS (Vol. II); SHOA (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopians: A History* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

Guinea Modern-day country on the Atlantic coast of West Africa that is some 95,000 square miles (246,100 sq km) in size and is bordered by GUINEA-BISSAU and SENEGAL to the north, Republic of MALI to the north and east, IVORY COAST to the east, LIBERIA and SIERRA LEONE to the southwest, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The name was also used to describe the coast of West Africa south of the western SAHARA DESERT. Guinea once included what European traders labeled the Gold Coast (present-day GHANA).

The name *Guinea* is possibly derived from a Berber word meaning "land of the blacks."

Metal objects, especially IRON pieces from perhaps as early as 200 BCE have been found throughout Guinea, but it was GOLD that became the region's most valuable product, especially with the development of TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. Many peoples have dwelled within Guinea's boundaries, the largest groups being the MANDE-speaking MANDINKA and SUSU and the Fulfulde-speaking FULANI.

Geography and Peoples Lower Guinea makes up the alluvial coastal plain that borders the Atlantic Ocean from present-day Ivory Coast, across Ghana, TOGO, and the Republic of BENIN to NIGERIA. Its earliest inhabitants were reportedly the Baga and the Nalu peoples, who were later displaced by the Susu and the Mandinka. The forest region, nearest to the Sierra Leone and Liberia borders, was inhabited by the Kpelle (Grerz), the Loma (Toma), and the Kissi peoples, who lived in relatively small villages. The forested Guinea highlands, which peak at the Nimba Range, are approximately 5,780 feet (1,752 m) above sea level. The Niger River originates in this dense forest, where the region's heaviest rainfall occurs. Archaeologists believe that yams, oil palms, and other crops were cultivated in the southeast part of the highlands by 100 BCE. Rice was grown in the swampy areas; elsewhere, kola nuts, mangos, and COFFEE were grown.

Rising some 3,000 feet (914 m) above the coastal plains at the headwaters of the GAMBIA RIVER, the mountainous FOUTA DJALLON region of Middle Guinea became prominent during the 15th and 16th centuries. Although the Fulani appear to have been present in this region from an early date, by at least the 15th century they were joined by additional Fulani migrants, many of whom were converts to ISLAM from Senegal. In the 18th century the Fulani developed what has been described as a theocratic state steeped in Islamic RELIGION and culture.

Upper Guinea, or the northeastern plains, was largely inhabited by the Mandinka. This region's characteristic grasslands supported a number of income-producing trees such as the baobab and the shea. The central area of Upper Guinea gives strong evidence of millet cultivation as early as 1000 BCE. To ensure successful harvests, many regional farmers created ancestral stone figures in human and animal likenesses. These figures, known as *nomoli*, were sometimes made of steatite or granite and were associated with fertility rites. They have been recovered by archaeologists in open fields and at sites that may have once been family or community shrines.

Archaeologists have also been able to create a link between early forms of metallurgy and the growth of Guinea's early city-states. Iron-smelting appears to have been actively done from at least 200 BCE to create a wide number of tools and perhaps some ritual objects.

Political Developments Three gold-trading empires developed in the West African savanna and controlled much of Guinea: Ghana, Mali, and Songhai. The GHANA EMPIRE (c. 900–1240) dominated the region between the third and 11th centuries. It was succeeded by the MALI EMPIRE (c. 1235–1400), whose most prominent CITY-STATE in the northeast region was NIANI. A major trading center situated along a tributary of the Niger River, Niani engaged in the gold, salt, and kola nut trade.

The SONGHAI Empire (c. 1375–1591) was the third prominent kingdom that arose in the region.

By the 15th century word of Guinea's gold had attracted Portuguese traders. Their caravels—sturdy, oceangoing ships with high sterns and broad bows—enabled the Portuguese to overcome the complex navigational problems associated with the west coast of Africa, and they soon made contact with groups of the interior regions. The Portuguese found Guinea's rich resources and location highly advantageous to trade, and in the 16th century the region supplied them with many captives. In later centuries the French, English, and Dutch also participated in trade in the area.

See also: GUINEA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE LOWER GUINEA COAST (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II); KISSI (Vol. III); NIGER RIVER (Vol. I); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vols. I, III. IV).

Further reading: George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993).

Guinea-Bissau Small, tropical West African country, some 14,100 square miles (36,500 sq km) in size, that is made up mostly of a coastal plain that rises to the savanna in the interior. It shares borders with SENEGAL to the north and GUINEA to the east and south, while its western border fronts on the Atlantic Ocean.

A Growing trade, which evolved out of the expanding coastal farming population and the demand for salt in the interior, led to increased interaction with the wider world by the 13th century. One specific impetus was the break-up of the GHANA EMPIRE, which led to mass migrations from the interior to the coast. In the mid-1200s, under the influence of the expanding MALI EMPIRE, the kingdom of GABU was founded. Mali's control of Gabu helped it to establish control over the trade routes run by DYULA traders from the interior to the coast. These trade routes thus linked the people of Guinea-Bissau via the western SUDAN and the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES to the Mediterranean and to EGYPT, the Middle East, and beyond. In addition to facilitating the exchange of goods, trade also helped facilitate the introduction of new ideas, including ISLAM.

Guinea-Bissau had thus been in contact with the wider world via land routes for several centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese in the middle of the 15th century. Beginning in the 1440s, the Portuguese began to trade with Guinea-Bissau, opening up sea-borne trade. The Portuguese MERCHANTS were particularly interested in securing slave labor for the development of the CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, where they had established colonies. They also sought GOLD, IVORY, and pepper. Later they also sought skilled CRAFTSPEOPLE to develop a weaving and dyeing industry to take advantage of the COTTON and indigo that they were growing on the islands' plantations. On the mainland, a Luso-African population known as *lançados* emerged who facilitated trade between the Portuguese and the local population. The Portuguese did not establish trading posts as such until as late as 1600, when they began to face competition from other European powers.

See also: GUINEA-BISSAU (Vols. I, III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

H

hajj (hadjdj, hadj)   Pilgrimage to the holy city of MECCA located in present-day Saudi Arabia. The hajj is the fifth of the five pillars, or fundamental duties, of ISLAM; every believer, both male and female, who is physically and financially able is expected to make the hajj at least once in his or her lifetime. The leaders of the Muslim kingdoms in SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA were known to take this religious duty seriously. Mansa MUSA (d. 1332), who ruled the MALI EMPIRE from 1307 to 1332, undertook a famous hajj to Mecca in 1324 that had the further effect of bringing the wealth of Mali to the attention of the Muslim world. Similarly, Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1528), ruler of the SONGHAI Empire, made the hajj in 1495, two years after he ascended the throne.

The pilgrimage to Mecca—the city where the QURAN, the holy book of Islam, was revealed to the prophet Muhammad (570–632)—serves as a unifying force in the Muslim world. Rich and poor, ruler and ruled are expected to perform this holy ritual. The hajj begins on the seventh day of *Dhu al-Huijjah*, the last month of the Islamic year, and ends on the 12th day. According to tradition, the prophet Muhammad himself established the rituals the pilgrims follow.

The first part of the ritual begins when the pilgrim, or *hajjiyy*, is 6 miles (10 m) outside of Mecca. At this point, the pilgrim enters a state of holiness known as *ihram* and puts on an *ihram* garment made of two pieces of seamless white cloth, which will be worn for the rest of the journey. Until the second part of the ritual, pilgrims may not cut their hair or nails and must refrain from sexual activity and any impurity.

Upon entering Mecca, the pilgrims walk around the shrine in the Great Mosque, known as Kabah, seven times, and then, going inside, proceed to the Black Stone, which they must kiss or touch. The rituals commemorate Ibrahim and his son Ismail's rebuilding of a shrine first erected at the site by Adam, the scriptural father of the human race. (This story suggests the likelihood that the Kabah antedates Islam as a site of pilgrimage.) The pilgrims then bend down to pray in the direction of the Magam Ibrahim and the Kabah, after which they run seven times between two small hills, Mount Safa and Mount Marwah.

When Muslims pray, it is toward the Kabah that they turn. In 622 Muhammad fled from Mecca to Medina in present-day Saudi Arabia to escape persecution. Muslims date the start of the Muslim era from this event, called the *hegira* (ARABIC for "flight"). Muslim dates are often preceded by the initials AH, which stand for *Anno Hegirae*, Latin for "In the year of the Hegira." Muhammad died, for example, in AH 10, or 632 CE.

When Muhammad returned from Medina and captured Mecca in 628, he had the pagan idols in the building surrounding the Kabah destroyed. The building has been a major site of Muslim piety ever since.

The second phase of the ritual begins on the eighth day of the month and ends on the 12th day. During this

Engraved for Middleton's Complete System of Geography.

The March of the GRAND CARAVAN from Cairo to Mecca.

Making the hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, located in modern Saudi Arabia, is an important duty of every observant Muslim. Pilgrims on the annual Grand Caravan from Cairo to Mecca, shown here in a woodcut from 1779, often numbered in the thousands. © *Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis*

period, the pilgrims visit the shrines of Jabar ar-Rahmah, Mina, and Muzadalifah outside Mecca. On the eighth day they pass through Mina and Muzadalifah and end their day ascending the mountain named Jabar ar-Rahmah. On the ninth day, the pilgrims spend the day in prayer, performing the ritual of *wuquuf,* or "standing"; then they go to Muzadalifah and stay the night. On the 10th day, the pilgrims return to Mina, where they gather stones to be used in a later ritual. They sacrifice an animal to commemorate Ibrahim's sacrifice. The pilgrims' heads may then be shaved. They then throw seven stones they have gathered at the pillars (called Jamarat) of Mina, symbolically reenacting Ismail's stoning of the devil. Once these rituals have been performed, the hajj is officially over. At this point the pilgrims usually shave their heads, and then they return to Mecca, where they will once again circle the Kabah before returning home. A muslim who does the hajj is entitled forever after to add the title *al-hajj* to his name.

Further reading: F. E. Peters, *The Hajj* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Hambarketolo   City located in the upper Niger Delta in a region located in what is the present-day Republic of MALI. Based on archaeological evidence, historians believe that Hambarketolo was part of a 100-acre (40.5-hectare) town complex that included JENNE-JENO. Both of these sites show that by the fifth century the towns had rather developed societies, used cemeteries, used a sophisticated system of AGRICULTURE, and traded with other cultures. Excavations have uncovered beads from Rome and COPPER and GOLD imported from distant mines. The region had access to major river channels and possessed excellent soil for growing rice.

The excavations at Hambarketolo and Jenne-Jeno are important. Findings from these sites revealed that complex social structures, urban settlements, and trading economies existed at an earlier date than previously thought. Before these discoveries, it was believed that the ARABS brought this type of social organization and trading to the the Sahel during the seventh and eighth centuries as TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES developed.

See also: NIGER DELTA (Vols. I, IV, V).

Harer (Harar, Harrar)   Capital of ADAL, a Muslim state in ETHIOPIA. The market town of Adal was originally established during the seventh century by Muslim Arab migrants. Located atop a plateau in the Chercher Mountains, Harer thrived as the capital of the state until 1577, when it was overthrown by Christian Ethiopians.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); HARER (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Hausa States (Hausaland)   Collectively, the seven true Hausa States (Hausa Bakwai) and the seven illegitimate Hausa States (Banza Bakwai), in what is now NIGERIA and NIGER. Hausa villages in the region can be traced back as far as the fifth and sixth centuries, although it was not until about the early 11th century that they came together in states ruled by semidivine kings. Hausa legends trace the origin of the kingdoms to Prince Bayajida of Baghdad, but scholars believe that these stories are an attempt on the part of the Hausa, after ISLAM began to filter into the region in the late 1300s, to align themselves with what they perceived to be the mainstream of history.

Each Hausa state played a specialized role based on need and location. RANO and KANO, the "chiefs of indigo," grew COTTON and produced fine CLOTH AND TEXTILES for export to other Hausa states and regions beyond Hausaland's borders. Kebbi, one of the lesser Hausa states, was the original seat of government. ZAZZAU, the "chief of slaves," supplied LABOR. KATSINA and DAURA were the "chiefs of the market" because they were important stops for the CARAVANS that brought salt from the Sahara as well as cloth, leather, and slave traders from the south. GOBIR was the "chief of war," protecting the Hausa States from both BORNU and the neighboring states of the GHANA EMPIRE. Each of the Hausa cities was a walled city ruled by a king. A considerable rivalry existed among the states over land and control of trade routes, leaving them open to periodic attacks from KANEM-BORNU and SONGHAI.

According to Hausa oral history, Prince Bayajida journeyed from Baghdad (in what is now Iraq) to Bornu, near Lake Chad, at the request of its king. After a poor welcome, Prince Bayajida left Bornu and traveled west until he came upon a city ruled by Queen Daura. Prince Bayajida killed the snake that was terrorizing the city and then took Queen Daura as his bride. Daura bore him a son, Bawogari, whose six sons would become the chiefs of the first six Hausa states—Kano, Daura, Gobir, Zazzau, Katsina, and Rano. A son by another wife was the founder of the seventh Hausa state, BIRAM.

Islam came to Hausaland in the 1300s, but its progress was slow and mainly limited to the cities. Rural Hausa people maintained their traditional religion and their belief in a semidivine monarchy. However, in the 1450s, as a result of increasing desertification in northern Africa, large numbers of FULANI people began migrating into Hausa territory in search of land to support their cattle. Mostly Muslims, the Fulani set up Islamic schools throughout Hausaland and ultimately dominated their new territory. By the early 1800s all power was in their hands.

See also: AGADES (Vol. III); HAUSA (Vols. I, IV, V); HAUSA STATES (Vol. III); KEBBI (Vol. III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. I, II, IV); KWARARAFA (Vol. III); ZAMFARA (Vol. III); ZARIA (Vol. III).

Hedareb   See BEJA.

Henry the Navigator, Prince   (1394–1460) *Portuguese prince whose sponsorship of voyages of exploration began Europe's Age of Discovery and Portuguese expansion into Africa*

Portuguese maritime exploration began in 1420 with voyages along the Atlantic coast of MOROCCO and continued, after 1441, with voyages along the West African coast as far south as SIERRA LEONE. Henry himself never set foot in West Africa or sailed on one of the many voyages he sponsored, but he bears the title "navigator" in honor of the developments in SHIPBUILDING, cartography, and navigation that took place during his lifetime. The third son of King John, Henry never assumed the throne, mostly because he never wanted to rule. His eldest brother, Duarte, became king in 1433 and ruled until 1438. The voyages that Henry sponsored are often seen as part of a grand scheme to outflank ISLAM, one of the major religious political forces of his day, by establishing contact with lands below Muslim North Africa and also by establishing direct contact with Asia.

Early Portugal and Africa   Portugal, with its capital at Lisbon, is a small country along the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula, which it shares with Spain. Portugal became an independent monarchy in 1139.

Portuguese contact with Africa began early in its history. The region of the Iberian Peninsula that Portugal now occupies became Christian in the third and fourth centuries. In 406 it was captured by the Vandals, a Germanic people who were forced out in 416 by the Visigoths (another Germanic people) at the instigation of Rome. The Vandals fled to North Africa and established a short-lived Kingdom of the Vandals (428–534). When the Muslims invaded Spain in 711, Berber soldiers occupied central Portugal and Galicia to the north. The UMAYYAD dynasty under Abd ar-Rahman I (fl. 750–788) established its capital at Córdoba in Spain in 756. By

1037, following rebellions by local lords against the Córboba caliphate, about three-quarters of the Iberian Peninsula, including Portugal, was divided into 10 constantly feuding emirates. By 1142, during the reign of Ali ibn Yusuf (1106–1142), most of the Iberian Peninsula had been annexed by the expansionist ALMORAVID dynasty of Morocco, and the union between Spain and Africa was consolidated. The Almoravids, however, were being pressured on two sides: in the Iberian Peninsula by a period of Christian reconquest that began at Saragossa in 1118 and in North Africa by the revolt of the ALMOHADS in 1125. In 1139 Alphonso I (c. 1109–1185) became the first king of Portugal, winning independence from the kingdom of León in 1139 and capturing the city of Lisbon from the Muslims in 1147. In the rest of Spain, however, Muslim domination persisted. Under ABU YAQUB YUSUF (r. 1163–1184) and his successor, Abu Yaqub Yusuf al-Mansur (r. 1184–1199), Muslim Spain reached the height of its power. Muslim rule in Spain did not end until 1492, after a long period of conflict between Muslims and Christians.

The Development of Commercial Interests Acquiring direct control of trade was a major concern in the European nations of Prince Henry's day, since goods from the Far East usually passed through the hands of Muslim traders before reaching Western Europe. The famed Venetian trader, adventurer, and traveler Marco Polo (c. 1254–1324) had already traveled overland to China and India between 1271 and 1295 by way of the caravan routes across Asia. In 1428 Henry read a copy of *Il Milione* (The million), known in English as *The Travels of Marco Polo,* that his brother Pedro had brought back from a trip across Europe. By that time he had already begun his sponsorship of African exploration.

Prince Henry and Africa Henry's personal contact with Africa began in 1415 when, as a young man, he became governor of the city of Ceuta in Morocco after he convinced his father, King John, to attack it as a way for him and his brothers, Pedro and Duarte, to win their spurs as knights. In 1419 he returned home, retired from court, and formed a small princely court of his own at Sagrès, at the southern tip of Portugal, attracting seafarers, shipbuilders, and instrument makers. In 1420 he became Grand Master of the Order of Christ, a secular papal order that had replaced the Knights Templar. Funds made available by the Order of Christ for the conversion of pagan lands provided Henry with the monies he used to finance his expeditions; for this reason, the sails of his ships always bore a red cross. Starting in 1420, Prince Henry began to sponsor voyages along the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

By 1434 voyages sponsored by Prince Henry had sailed past Cape Bojador on the Atlantic coast of Africa, a point beyond which it had once been thought no ship could ever sail. After 1438, looking for additional sources of funding for his voyages and basing his hopes on information from the Muslims at Ceuta, Henry hoped to find a source of African GOLD. In 1441 one of his captains returned from West Africa with gold dust and captive Africans. By 1448 his ships had sailed as far south as the GAMBIA RIVER, and trade in the region had increased. Henry then ordered the building of Portugal's first trading outpost, the ARGUIN TRADING FORT, on Arguin Island off the coast of modern-day MAURITANIA. In 1450 the king of Portugal granted Henry the sole right to send ships and trade with the GUINEA coast. Despite this provision, so great was Henry's investment in his voyages that he died penniless.

See also: AGE OF DISCOVERY (Vol. II); CEUTA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Herero Bantu-speaking ethnic group that settled in regions of present-day BOTSWANA, southern ANGOLA, and NAMIBIA. Subgroups of the Herero include the HIMBA, Tijimba, and Mbanderu. Their oral tradition indicates that the Herero originated in the Great Rift Valley in East Africa. Cattle-keeping nomads and hunter-gatherers at the time of their migration, the Herero are unique among the peoples of southern Africa in recognizing both patrilineal and matrilineal descent. The roles of chief and priest, however, descended only through the male line. Traditional Herero RELIGION was based on animism and the honoring of ancestors.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II); HERERO (Vol. III, IV, V); PASTORALISM (Vol. I); RIFT VALLEY (Vol. I).

Hima (Bahima) Related to the TUTSI, the cattle-owning upper class in several Bantu-speaking states located in the southern part of present-day UGANDA. Originally the Hima's Nilotic ancestors were pastoralists who survived almost exclusively on the products of their cattle. However, between the 10th and 14th centuries, they slowly migrated south into the Great Lakes region and peacefully assumed political control of a number of widespread, agriculturally based, Bantu-speaking settlements.

The HINDA clan made up the ruling aristocracy of the Hima caste. By the end of the 15th century Hima groups had established several chiefdoms in the area that became known as the KITARA COMPLEX. Hima chiefs called *mugabes* maintained their power by collecting tributes from local sub-chiefs.

See also: PASTORALISM (Vol. I, IV).

Himba (Ovahimba) Bantu-speaking people who belong to the HERERO ethnic group. By the mid-16th century the Himba had migrated to the region known today as Kaokoland, in northwestern NAMIBIA.

The Himba are nomadic pastoralists who are dependent upon their cattle. They are a politically decentralized ethnic group that recognizes both patrilineal and matrilineal systems of kinship and descent. The RELIGION of the Himba centers around the god Nyadami (sometimes called Karunga or Huku). They believe that Nyadami is the creator of the world but does not interfere with human activities.

The Himba practice the divination of future or past events through the inspection of animal entrails.

The Herero believe in a spiritual force known as *makuru*, which leads the hierarchy of ancestors, who have the ability to make their presence felt in the lives of their descendants. Rituals revolving around sacred fire, which symbolizes the continuity between the dead (ancestors) and the living (descendants), are other important religious practices of the Himba.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II); DIVINATION (Vol. I); KAOKOLAND (Vol. III); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

Hinda (Bahinda) Royal clan of the cattle-owning HIMA caste of East Africa. As early as the 14th century Hinda aristocrats monopolized political power in a number of loosely organized states of the East African interior. The origins of the Hinda clan, also known as the Bahinda, are unclear. Their oral tradition claims that they descended directly from Wamara, the last ruler of the CHWEZI DYNASTY. In the latter half of the 14th century, Chwezi kings ruled the KITARA COMPLEX and dominated the surrounding Bantu-speaking chiefdoms in what is now western UGANDA. By the beginning of the 15th century, however, the Chwezi dynasty had been overthrown by LUO-speaking pastoralists. For years, Hinda and Luo rulers vied for political supremacy of the Kitara region. However the diversity of the inhabitants made the region difficult to control, and it was not until about 1500, with the rise of the Luo state of BUNYORO, that the region coalesced into a centralized state.

The ruling BITO clan forced the Hinda to move to the south, where they came to control a number of Bantu-speaking agricultural states, including NKOLE, BURUNDI, KARAGWE, Kyamutwara, and Ihangiro. In some kingdoms, including Nkole and Burundi, Hinda were also known as TUTSI. Hinda aristocrats also formed states in the northwestern regions of what is now TANZANIA.

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II); HAYA (Vol. III); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

Hombori Mountain range near TIMBUKTU in the southeastern region of the present-day Republic of MALI; also the name of a city in the Hombori Mountains. The highest point in Mali is Hombori Tondo, which has an altitude of 3,789 feet (1,155 m). It is a rugged and sparse landscape that gradually slopes westward toward the Niger River valley. To the southeast, the highlands end in steep cliffs.

The Hombori Mountains are home to the DOGON people who moved there sometime between the 10th and 15th centuries to preserve their culture and traditions in the face of advancing Muslim invaders. The Dogon cut homes and burial caves out of the cliffs and also constructed small huts at the base of the cliffs using stone walls topped with straw roofs.

See also: NIGER RIVER (Vols. I, III).

Husuni Kubwa Palace Immense palace built in KILWA, an Islamic CITY-STATE on the East African coast, in present-day southern TANZANIA. At the time of its construction in the late 13th or early 14th century, the Husuni Kubwa Palace, with more than 100 rooms, was the largest single building in SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

Husuni Kubwa Palace was probably built around the time that the Kilwa throne was taken by the Shirazi Arab leader Abu al-Mawahib. At that time Kilwa was the most prosperous of the trading centers on the SWAHILI COAST, trading cloth and glass, and controlling the GOLD trade with SOFALA, farther south along the East African coast. The city's riches were reflected in the splendor of its palace, whose design served as a model for the later dwellings of notables in Kilwa.

The ARCHITECTURE of the building was of an Arabic style and reflected a change in building materials in the 13th century from coral and mortar to stone. The palace had extensive ARABIC inscriptions and displayed new architectural features, including columns, cupolas, ornamental bas-reliefs, semicylindrical vaults, and carved wooden doors. The rooms in the palace were long, narrow, and parallel and did not have much light, since they lacked windows on the courtyard. There was a space that was probably a pool, and the back corner of the palace had indoor toilets.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II).

Hutu (Bahutu, Wahutu) Bantu-speaking agricultural people who live in RWANDA and BURUNDI. The Hutu first came to the Rwanda-Burundi area during the BANTU EXPANSION, which occurred mainly from about 500 BCE to 1000 CE. That they spoke Bantu indicates that they must have come from Central Africa. The Hutu, who were farmers, took over the land from the TWA, who were accomplished hunters and potters.

The Hutu's new land was temperate, with a year-round temperature of about 70° F (20° C) and above. Their settlements were mostly in the mountains near hills and fertile valleys that were good for growing crops. The only major drawback of this type of land was that rainfall was uncertain.

The Hutu worshiped clan deities, and their religious practices also included animism, the belief that natural phenomena have souls. The social and political structure of the Hutu was kinship-based. Large family clans were ruled by clan chiefs called *bahinza.* The Hutu formed small kingdoms around a hill or a group of neighboring hills. This system of government worked well for administering work and settling disputes at a local level.

Around 1400 the TUTSI moved south from the Nile River and invaded Hutu lands. A Nilotic-speaking people, the Tutsi were warriors and pastoralists who came in search of better grazing land for their cattle. The nonmilitant, agragian Hutu soon became vassals to the Tutsi lords, a social organization that used the strengths of each group. The Hutu cared for the Tutsi's cattle and used the manure to fertilize their fields. Tutsi military might protected both Tutsi and Hutu villages. The two cultures gradually became integrated, with the Tutsi adopting the Bantu language of the Hutu. Some historians believe that the Tutsi also adopted the clan system of government from the Hutu; others, however, assert that the Tutsi brought this type of government with them and introduced it to the Hutu system. Regardless, the Hutu were ruled by a succession of *mwamis,* or Tutsi kings. The social order included HIMA and IRU castes, with the mostly Tutsi Hima caste being socially and politically superior and having wealth and high status. The Iru caste, on the other hand, made up mostly of Hutu and Twa people, was socially inferior. By the 15th century larger states began to emerge, some of which eventually grew to include more than 1 million subjects.

See also: HUTU (Vols. I, III, IV, V); *MWAMI* (Vol. III).

I

Ibibio Ethnic group located in present-day southeast NIGERIA. The Ibibio speak Efik-Ibibio, a language belonging to the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family of languages. Different subgroups of the Ibibio include the Ibibio proper, Efik, Enyong, Eket, Andonio-Ibeno, and Annang. The first written records of the Ibibio date from the 1800s, but it is certain that they were present in the area before that time. There is no strong, single tradition of origin among the Ibibio, but Efik oral tradition asserts that the original home of all Ibibio people was the Akwa Akpa, or the western bank of the Cross River; the Andoni-Ibeno claim to have migrated from ancestral homelands in CAMEROON.

> **The Ibibio believe in an earth deity named Ala, who is celebrated during the Ogbom ceremony, which is performed for eight weeks in the middle of the year. The ceremony is supposed to encourage fertile crops and childbirth.**

The Ibibio are primarily agricultural people, cultivating traditional crops like yams, cocoyams, and cassava. They were also known as accomplished CRAFTSPEOPLE, sculptors, and wood carvers (especially for masks). Early Ibibio villages were ruled by village elders known as Ekpe Ndem Isong and the heads of extended family. Rich male members of the village could become members of the Ekpe society, which granted them social status and political power. Ekpe society members acted as messengers of their ancestors (*ikan*) and enforced the decisions of village leaders. The highest rank of Ekpe society, *amama,* often controlled most of a village's wealth. Ibibio people have long honored their ancestors, particularly those who achieve high social status during their lives.

See also: IBIBIO (Vol. III).

Ibn Battuta (Shams ad-Din) (c. 1304–c. 1369) *Arab traveler and author of the* Rihlah, *an important historical record of the Muslim world during his time*

The *Rihlah,* which translates as "Travels" or "Journey," chronicles the visits Ibn Battuta made, over a period of 25 to 30 years, to almost every Muslim country of his time as well as to many adjacent non-Muslim territories. Describing his adventures and brushes with death, it also includes details about the social, cultural, and political life of the places he visited, including China, Sumatra, Ceylon, Arabia, Syria, EGYPT, East Africa, and TIMBUKTU. Adhering to a self-imposed rule never to travel the same route twice, Ibn Battuta covered approximately 75,000 miles (120,700 km) by land and sea.

Abu Abdullah Ibn Battuta, also known as Shams ad-Din, was born in Tangier, in present-day MOROCCO. His well-educated family included several Muslim judges, and Ibn Battuta received a traditional juristic and literary education in his native town of Tangier. He left there in 1325, at the age of 21, to make his pilgrimage to MECCA and continue his studies there.

Instead of pursuing a career in the law, however, Ibn Battuta decided to see as many parts of the Muslim world as possible. Unlike his contemporaries, who traveled for such practical reasons as trade, pilgrimage, and educa-

tion, Ibn Battuta traveled for the pleasure of seeing new places, learning about new countries, and meeting new people. He made a living from his scholarly status and later from his increasing fame as a traveler. Thanks to the generosity of the kings, sultans, and princes he met on his travels, at times he lived surrounded by luxury. On more than one occasion, however, he lost everything he owned and had to survive on almost nothing until he could regain the favor of another ruler.

Toward the end of his travels, Ibn Battuta befriended Sultan Muhammad, the ruler of Delhi, who appointed him the *qadi,* or judge, of that city. He held the post for several years before finally returning to his native Morocco in 1353. Toward the end of that year, he dictated his reminiscences at the sultan's request. Ibn Battuta's story was introduced to the Western world in 1829 with a translation of an abridged text of the *Rihlah.*

Further Reading: Noel King, *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa* (Princeton, N.J.: Marcus Weiner Publishers, 1994).

al-Idrisi (Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn Idris al-Qurtubi al-Hasani) (c. 1100–1165) *Arab geographer, cartographer, and author of the most important geographical text written in the 12th century*

Al-Idrisi was born in Sabtah (present-day Ceuta), MOROCCO, to an aristocratic family that traced its ancestry to the prophet Muhammad. He was educated in Córdoba, in al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain), and traveled throughout Europe, England, and the Mediterranean. About 1145 al-Idrisi moved to Palermo at the invitation of Roger II of Sicily, himself an amateur geographer. It is believed that al-Idrisi spent the rest of his life in Sicily, working first under the patronage of Roger II and then under that of Roger's son, William I. Among al-Idrisi's accomplishments were the making of a world map that divided the earth into seven horizontal climate zones and the construction of a planisphere made of silver and engraved with a detailed map of the world. His masterwork, though, was the *Kitab nuzhat al-mushtaq,* also known as *Kita Rujar* (The book of Roger). The study was published in 1154, shortly before the death of Roger II.

Al-Idrisi's text is a unique combination of Islamic and European scholarship and the results of al-Idrisi's own travels and research. The book offers the era's most comprehensive look at the geography of the world and is especially accomplished in the study of the Mediterranean and central North Africa. *Kitab nuzhat al-mushtaq* is striking in its detail, derived in part from al-Idrisi's interviews with travelers, sailors, and fellow cartographers. Some scholars fault al-Idrisi for his weak handling of known scientific data and for his less-than-accurate description of the geography of the Baltic area. Despite these critiques, the treatise, with its rich descriptions and dy-

namic prose, is considered a classic. The world map it contained was used hundreds of years later by Columbus.

In addition to his groundbreaking work in geography, al-Idrisi was interested in the natural sciences, studied medicinal plants, had a familiarity with several languages, and wrote poetry.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II, III, IV, V); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II).

Ifriqiya Early name for the region of the MAGHRIB that includes present-day LIBYA, TUNISIA, and ALGERIA south of the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. Muslims invaded the region in the seventh century, calling their newly conquered land Ifriqiya. Over the next centuries, various dynasties ruled Ifriqiya, including the Aghlabites, the FATIMIDS, and the Zeirids.

See also: ARABS (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II).

Igala A people of present-day NIGERIA, related to the YORUBA who inhabit the left bank of the Niger River where it meets the BENUE RIVER. The Igala speak a Kwa dialect of the Niger-Congo family of languages.

> **Igala oral tradition tells of Ayagba, or Ajagba, an outsider of royal descent who was raised by a leopard and came to the city of Idah. Upon his arrival, he settled a heated dispute between two men and was immediately proclaimed the new *ata,* or king, of the region. Ayagba subsequently became the chief of the clan that would become the Igala.**

The Igala probably separated from the Yoruba people who lived across the Niger River, to the west. They were an agricultural people who cultivated crops such as yams, maize, cassava, millet, and beans in the fertile triangular region of the Niger-Benue river confluence. Some traditions, though, link the Igala to the IGBO and the Jukun

Between the 12th and 14th centuries nine Igala settlements, known as the Igala Mela, moved toward greater economic and military unity as the kingdom of BENIN began to make advances into their territory. The Igala *ata,* or king, was considered divine and held absolute power over the kingdom. Traditionally the Igala also ruled over two other peoples, the Bassa Nge and the Bass Nkome, who are found by the Benue River. The Igala traded along the Niger and Benue rivers, exchanging items such as IVORY, BEADS AND JEWELRY, and textiles. They fought and lost a territorial war against Benin in 1516, then made attempts to expand into Lokoja, Idoma, and Igboland.

See also: DIVINE RULE (Vol. II); JUKUN (Vol. III); NIGER CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I); NIGER RIVER (Vol. I); ORAL TRADITION (Vol. I).

Igbo (Ibo) People living chiefly in the southeastern region of present-day NIGERIA who speak the Igbo language. Archaeological evidence indicates that traditional Igbo customs and traditions are more than 1,000 years old. Considered one of the largest stateless societies, the Igbo did not unite into a single kingdom as many of their neighbors did despite plenty of FOOD, a dense population, and substantial trade. Instead, they lived in small autonomous communities scattered over a wide geographical area. There were five main cultural groups: the Onitsha (northern), the Abakaliki (northeastern), the Cross River (eastern), the Owerri (southern), and the Ika (western). The Igbo language evolved into several distinct versions among these various Igbo communities, some of which were far apart from each other.

The Igbo were independent and democratic, with no centralized government and no dynasties of hereditary lineages. Except for the eastern Igbo, who tended to form larger units, usually referred to as clans, their largest political unit was the village group, a federation of several villages, encompassing on average about 5,000 people. Each village group shared a common market and meeting place. The leadership of each village group was entrusted to a village council made up of lineage heads, elders, and other influential and wealthy men. With no hereditary aristocracy, any Igbo man could become council leader through personal success. All Igbo men participated in important decisions that affected the village group. Decisions had to be unanimous, so even the young men in the village group were empowered politically. Women were not included in this political arena, although they played an essential role in the Igbo ECONOMY, growing much of the food and participating in the commercial life of the village.

Except for the northeastern groups, most Igbo lived in rain forest country. They were subsistence farmers, and there was a distinct gender-based division of LABOR in the fields, with the men in charge of yam cultivation, which was the Igbo's staple crop. The yam harvest was a time for great celebration. The women grew all the other crops, including cassava, taro, melon, okra, pumpkin, beans, and, after the Portuguese introduced it from the Americas, corn (maize). The Igbo also kept some livestock, which was a valued commodity that added to the owners' prestige in the community and was mostly for ritual use in sacrifices. Land was owned communally by groups of kinsmen and was made available to individuals for farming and building. An Igbo village consisted of a cluster of huts belonging to individual household units, usually of the same patrilineage.

Traditional Igbo religion included belief in a creator god, an earth goddess, and many other deities and spirits. Most Igbo religious practices revolved around ancestor worship. The Igbo believed that their ancestors could protect and help them with everyday life, and they relied on oracles and divination to receive messages from the spirit realm. But if their dead ancestors were angry, the Igbo believed that these restless spirits could cause tremendous trouble in the village. The Igbo had secret men's societies, which were called *mmo* among the northern Igbo. (Other Igbo groups had similar societies, but with different names.) The *mmo* conducted many rituals to appease these spirits and held elaborate funeral ceremonies to show their respect for their more recently departed kinsmen.

See also: IGBO (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Ijebu The name of a people and their kingdom, found in southwest NIGERIA. The Ijebu are related to the YORUBA and, like other Yoruba people, are believed to have come from the central SUDAN in a series of migrations that began as early as 700. By the 16th century, when they first appear in written records, the Ijebu had for centuries dominated the trading routes between the ports of Lagos Lagoon and the area where Ibadan is now located. The Ijebu were renowned for their woven cloth, which they traded mostly with other Yoruba peoples.

The capital of the Ijebu kingdom was Ijebu-Ode, located between Benin City and Shagamu. Ijebu-Ode was the home of the *awujale,* the Ijebu spiritual and political leader. In the early 16th century a Portuguese sailor named Pereira described Ijebu-Ode as being "very large" and with "a great moat."

See also: ABEOKUTA (Vols. III, IV); IJEBU (Vol. III).

Ijo (Ijaw) Ethnic group found throughout the Niger River Delta region of NIGERIA. The Ijo speak a language that belongs to the Niger-Congo family of languages. The Ijo never formed a unified kingdom but rather settled in city-states, including BRASS (or NEMBE), BONNY, and Old Calabar. The Ijo occupied the forest around the Niger Delta but were widely respected for their mastery of the water. They were very capable boat handlers whose economy was based on fishing and some trade.

The original homeland of the Ijo people varies according to tradition. One claims that they are originally from Ogobiri and, hence, have always lived in the Niger Delta. Another tradition claims that they came from EGYPT. A third tradition, that of the Brass, claims that they migrated from kingdom of BENIN. According to the Brass tradition, a Benin king sent a group of soldiers on an expedition accompanied by the king's son. When the prince was killed, these soldiers were afraid to return and settled

in the delta. BRONZE objects found in the area support this claim.

Ijo clans were governed by village assemblies known as the *amagula,* which were led by the oldest member of the village, called the *ama-okosowei.* A younger man known as the *ogulasowei,* or spokesman, usually carried out the decisions of the assembly. Each clan had a high priest, known as the *pere*, who conducted rituals honoring a local deity. Among the Ijo of the western and central delta, a single common ancestor often unified clans. In the east, clans were linked more by language and culture.

Out of small settlements, the Ijo developed a number of city-states, each led by a different king. By around 1500, when the first European written records of the area appear, these Ijo states were thriving and conducting trade among themselves. Shortly after making contact with Europeans, the Ijo began trading with them as well, exporting products from the Niger Delta, including palm oil, for manufactured goods.

See also: CALABAR (Vol. III); CLAN (Vol. I); IJO (Vol. III); NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I); NIGER DELTA (Vols. I, IV, V); PALM OIL (Vols. III, IV).

This terra-cotta portrait head of an Ile-Ife king dates from be-tween the 12th and the 14th centuries. It is 10 inches (26.7 cm) high. © *Kimbell Art Museum/Corbis*

Ilebo Town and river port in the central western region of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO, lo-cated near the junction of the Kasai and Sankura rivers. Prior to the year 1000 the region to the east of the Kasai was inhabited by the TWA people. Between around 1000 and 1500, however, people from the KUBA ethnic group began to migrate into the area from their previous home-land north of the Sankura River. Eventually the Kuba people absorbed the Twa population and transformed their numerous small villages into an empire of sorts that would flourish in the 17th century.

The Kuba economy around Ilebo was based on fish-ing and farming, with their major crops being maize and millet. Ilebo was also an important trading center for high-quality Kuba cloth, especially raffia cloth, which was greatly valued throughout Central Africa and even used as currency in some villages.

Ile-Ife (Ife) City in southwestern NIGERIA that is recog-nized as the oldest settlement of the YORUBA people. It is thought that Ile-Ife was established around 850. Accord-ing to Yoruba tradition, Ile-Ife was founded by a legendary ancestor named ODUDUWA, who subjugated 13 nearby set-tlements and established a monarchy. Oduduwa's descen-dants would later leave the city to form Yoruba's six kingdoms—Ila, Ketu, Oyo, Owu, Popo, and Sabe—as well as the kingdom of BENIN.

By the 10th and 11th centuries Ile-Ife was a flourish-ing city with a lavish court for its ruler, who was known as the *oni.* In addition to his political leadership, the *oni* was also considered the spiritual leader of all the Yoruba. Although Benin and Oyo were more powerful cities, Ile-Ife was revered for its religious and cultural importance, especially its ART and sculpture. The artists of Ile-Ife were famous for their naturalistic terra-cotta sculptures of human heads, which were used to honor the *oni,* and are said to share traits with Nok sculpture, the work of a West African culture that flourished between 650 BCE and 200 CE. Ile-Ife was also renowned for its BRONZE castings, which were made using the LOST-WAX PROCESS, the same technique used by the ancient Greeks.

> According to tradition, Benin's king was over-thrown in a revolt and replaced by an Ile-Ife prince named Oranmiyan. Based on this story, a custom emerged whereby the king of Benin would be de-capitated after death and buried in Ile-Ife in a sa-cred enclosure known as the *orun oba ado.* A head sculpted out of brass would be sent to Benin, where it would be placed on the altar of royal ancestors.

Ile-Ife reached the height of its power early in the 14th century, but by the 15th century Benin and Oyo had begun to assume much of the commercial and cultural influence that had previously been Ile-Ife's.

See also: CRAFTSPEOPLE (Vol. II); ILE-IFE (Vol. I); NOK CULTURE (Vol. I); OLD OYO (Vol. II); OLORUN (Vol. I); YORUBALAND (Vols. II, III).

Indian Ocean trade Goods have long been exchanged across the Indian Ocean, the large body of water that borders the East African coast south of SOMALIA. Trade on the Indian Ocean allowed contact between the African cities and faraway places like Arabia, southern Persia, and India, whose MERCHANTS sailed on wooden vessels known as *dhows*. Items of trade included exotic goods such as IVORY, rhinoceros horn, and tortoiseshell, and also more utilitarian goods like tools, glassware, and wheat.

Beginning about 700, Arab traders arrived on Africa's east coast south of present-day Somalia. They named the land the "Land of al-ZANJ" (*Zanj* was a name given to the region's black inhabitants). In the 10th century Arab traders also shipped GOLD from SOFALA in MOZAMBIQUE. Excavations conducted in the town of Manda, near LAMU, on the coast of KENYA, revealed that people living there in the ninth century were prosperous and heavily influenced by Persian culture. There may have also been an IRON-smelting industry in Manda.

Indian Ocean trade resulted in human migration. Between the second and 10th centuries Indonesians settled in MADAGASCAR and brought to Africa bananas and a canoe known as the *ngalawa*. Meanwhile some Arab traders founded communities on the African coast or on nearby islands, bringing ISLAM with them. At ZANZIBAR an inscription describing the construction of a mosque by Sheikh as-Sayyid Abu Imran Musa ibn al-Hasan ibn Muhammad indicates the establishment of a large Muslim settlement by the early 12th century. During this time the Muslim traders intermarried more readily with the local populations of the trade centers that dotted the coast. KISWAHILI became the trade language along the East African coast. Kiswahili is the maternal tongue of the Swahili, a loose association of East African coastal ethnic groups. Swahilized ARABS who lived on the coast from the Horn of Africa to MOZAMBIQUE used Kiswahili as the lingua franca for trade. This present-day, distinctly Bantu language reflects borrowed words from Arab regions, Persia (present-day Iran), India, and China.

Other trading posts along the Indian Ocean included Rhapta and MAFIA ISLAND, in present-day TANZANIA, and MOGADISHU, in present-day Somalia. By the 13th century Mogadishu competed for trading dominance with KILWA, which was located in southern Tanzania and ruled by the SHIRAZI ARABS, a powerful trading dynasty that controlled Zanzibar and PEMBA ISLAND.

Arab Coastal Trade in 1000 CE
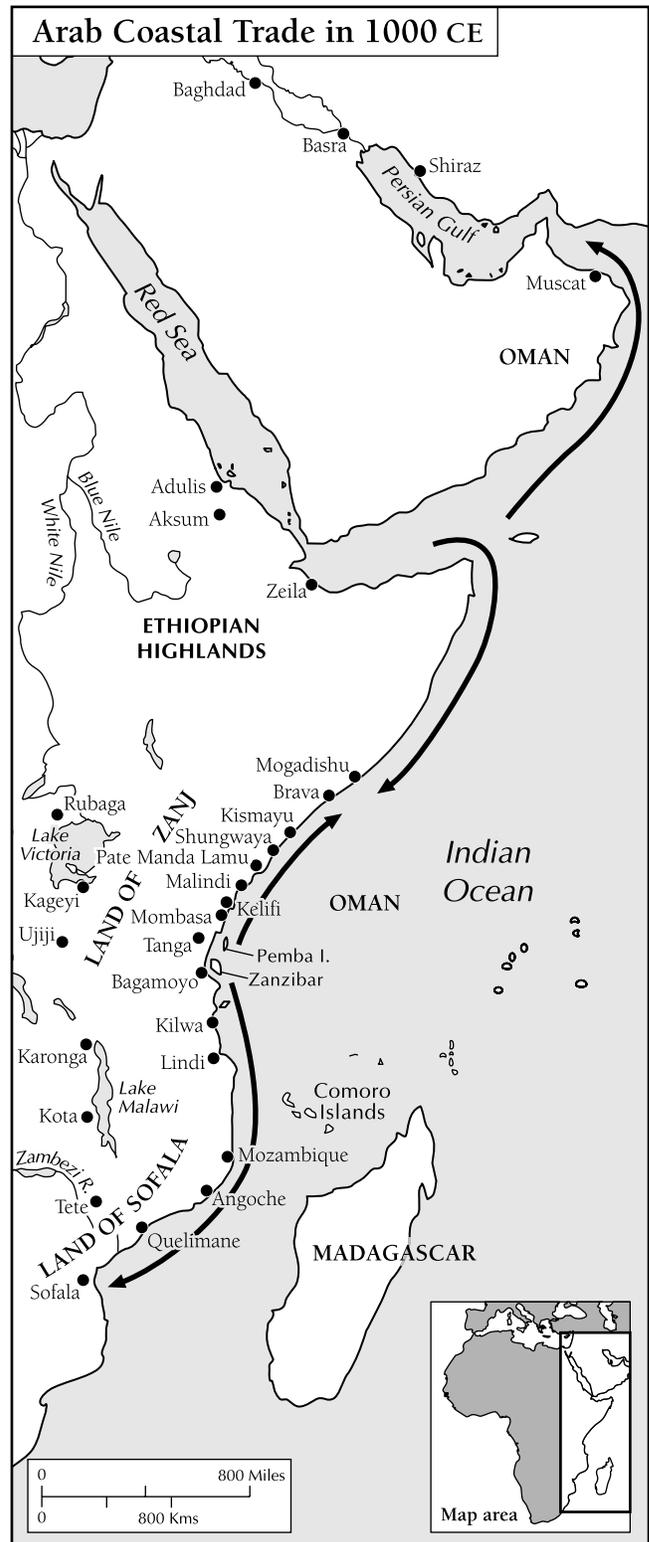
See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); CHINESE TRADE (Vol. II); INDONESIAN COLONISTS (Vol. III); OMANI SULTANATE (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Indonesian colonists People who settled the island of MADAGASCAR, off the southern coast of East Africa, during the first millennium. Although linguistic evidence suggests that they may have arrived several centuries earlier, it is clear from archaeological evidence that Indonesian colonists had arrived in Madagascar by the 10th century, at the very latest. How and when they came to the island is still a topic of debate among historians and scholars.

According to one theory, the Indonesian colonists stopped in India, Arabia, and eastern Africa along the way, absorbing local customs and traditions from all of these places. This resulted in a mesh of Indian, Arabian, and African cultures that helped shape the development of Madagascar. Other historians account for this mixture of cultures with the theory that the Indonesian migrations were followed by separate migrations from other regions.

The language spoken by most of the inhabitants is MALAGASY, a member of the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages and related to the Maanyan language of Borneo. Malagasy contains many loan words from Sanskrit, ARABIC, and Bantu that linguists believe have been part of the language for a long time. Their presence may indicate contact with the speakers of these languages while taking a coastal route from India, along the Indian Ocean, and along Africa, on their voyage to the island. Other researchers posit a direct route from Indonesia. However, the Bantu elements may also have entered the language because of an earlier Bantu presence on the island, perhaps as early as 700. Arab and African influences after the 14th century may also account for the presence of Arabic words. Supporting the two-route theory is the fact that the people of the interior plateau exhibit many Indonesian genetic traits, whereas the coastal peoples have more African and Arab traits.

See also: BANANA (Vol. II).

iron The production of iron implements, mostly weapons and agricultural tools, significantly affected many aspects of African AGRICULTURE and trade, as well as its ART, culture, and history. The archaeological discovery of slag heaps, the remnants of iron production, indicates that during the first millennium CE, iron was being used along IVORY COAST as well as in Bahili in present-day CHAD and in Koulikoro in the modern-day Republic of MALI.

Iron swords and spears were used in West Africa from an early date. The SONINKE people, founders of ancient Ghana and the eventual GHANA EMPIRE, probably had the benefit of an advanced iron-making technology, giving them the superior weaponry they needed to seize better grazing lands from neighboring peoples. By the 13th century southern Africa had developed a prosperous trade in iron ore, with raw iron being shipped from SO-FALA to locations as far away as India, across the Indian Ocean. Higher-quality Portuguese iron implements began arriving in Africa by the 15th century, however, and the more sophisticated products quickly transformed not only the native Africa iron industry but also the balance of power among many kingdoms.

See also: IRON AGE (Vol. I); IRONWORKING (Vol. II).

ironworking Ironworking was introduced into Africa at various times, beginning, in ancient EGYPT and elsewhere, as early as the second millennium BCE. Opinions vary among scholars as to whether ironworking was learned from other cultures or whether African ironworking developed without outside influence. Archaeologists long held that the smelting of iron spread by a process of diffusion from a single point, probably in an area located in present-day Turkey. Recent research, however, based on differences in the slag heaps found in Europe and in Africa, indicates that smelting may have occurred independently in Africa.

Generally the ironworking process began with the mined iron ore being heated to temperatures of 1470° to 1650° F (800° to 900° C). The shape of the actual furnaces varied widely in design and shape. The Chewa of ZAMBIA and the SHONA of ZIMBABWE both used furnaces shaped like domes. In East and Central Africa, however, ironworking furnaces generally were made with shafts or with open hearths. Regardless of their shapes, the ironwork often was done near forested areas, since trees were needed to provide the necessary firewood and coal for the flames of the furnaces.

The iron produced frequently needed to be hardened, and this generally was done by means of a complex process of hammering the raw iron and heating it with charcoal. The iron that was produced could then be forged into tools, weapons, or even ornaments by BLACKSMITHS, who, because of the importance of their jobs, held a high place in many iron-producing societies.

See also: BARIBA METALLURGY (Vol. II); NUMUW (Vol. II); NYAMAKALAW (Vol. II).

Iru (Bairu) Caste of agriculturalists in some states in the region west of Lake VICTORIA, in the southwestern part of present-day UGANDA. Mostly Bantu-speaking HUTU people, the members of the Iru caste were the subjects of the pastoralist HIMA caste in NKOLE society. Iru also served the cattle-owning royalty of BUNYORO-KITARA, the kingdom that dominated much of what is now Uganda, from the 16th century to the 19th centuries. Iru generally grew millet and lived in settlements of about 40 homesteads. In exchange for Iru services, Hima warriors defended the grazing land and protected Iru villages from attack by outsiders.

Islam   Religion based on the teachings of the seventh-century Arab prophet Muhammad (570–632). Originating in Arabia, Islam soon spread throughout northern and SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA (as well as the Middle East and Asia).

Islamic Theology   Islam, ARABIC for "submission to God," is one of the world's three major monotheistic religions. Muslims believe in a solitary, omnipotent God (in Arabic, *Allah*), who created and sustains the universe. Belief in more than one god is rejected. Allah's divinity does not extend to any person and, as a result, in Islamic theology Allah has no equal.

In Islamic belief, Allah plays four primary roles with respect to the universe and humankind: creator, sustainer, guide, and judge. As creator, Allah brought the world into being. As sustainer, Allah is obligated to maintain the world that he created. As guide, Allah teaches humanity proper moral and spiritual conduct. As judge, Allah will punish or reward individuals, communities, and nations on the basis of their actions.

According to Islamic thought, Allah created the universe as an act of mercy. Every element of this creation has been instilled with certain rules that govern its behavior. So while the universe is independent in that everything has its own inherent rules of conduct, it is not self-governing because the behavior has been set and limited by Allah. The universe, therefore, is harmonious and provides the ultimate proof of Allah and his oneness.

Violations in nature have occurred in the form of miracles. Allah, for example, saved Ibrahim from the fire, Noah from the flood, and Moses from the pharaoh. Islam recognizes these prophets and their miracles. However, Muhammad is considered to be the final and most perfect of the prophets. His miracle is the QURAN.

Although Muslims have developed sects that vary somewhat in their faith and practices, all Muslims adhere to certain central beliefs in addition to the belief in Allah. Most Muslims regard Muhammad as the last (and most perfect) of a line of prophets that includes Adam, Noah, Moses, and Jesus, among others. Muslims hold that God put humans—and especially Muslims—on earth in order to reform it. The struggle to do so, both individually and as a society, is known as JIHAD. Muslims stress the importance of FAMILY and fidelity in marriage, and consider it their duty to benefit humanity and improve human society. Muslims also believe in final judgment, a day when God will reward (through admission to the Garden, or Heaven) or punish (by consigning to Hell) individuals according to their deeds during life.

In order to keep central in their minds their obligation to serve Allah throughout their lives on earth, Muslims perform five duties, together known as the Pillars of Islam. A public profession of faith—using the words, "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet"—marks a Muslim's membership in the Islamic community. Every day Muslims say five prayers (known as *salah*), intoned at different times of day and according to strict observation of ritual (e.g., facing MECCA). Muslims also have a duty to pay ZAKAT to help the poor. (Originally, *zakat* was a tax on the rich used not only to relieve poverty but also to support efforts to gain converts and to wage holy war.) The fourth duty of all Muslims is to fast during the daylight hours throughout Ramadan, the ninth lunar month of the Muslim calendar. (Anyone who cannot fast during Ramadan—due to illness, pregnancy, military service, or other unavoidable reasons—must do so for a month at the earliest opportunity.) The fifth duty is a pilgrimage (HAJJ) to Mecca, which must be completed at least once in the lifetime of each Muslim.

Muhammad, a rich merchant in Mecca (in modern-day Saudi Arabia), believed himself to be chosen by Allah (God) as the Arab prophet of a new religion. Muhammad received revelation of Allah's word through the angel Gabriel. He began preaching in 610 but was scorned and ridiculed by Meccans. In 622 he left for Yathrib (later MEDINA, Saudi Arabia), where he was accepted as a prophet. The year 622 marks the beginning of the Muslim calendar. Islam rapidly attracted converts among Arab peoples. Growing in numbers, Muslims declared war against Mecca, conquering the city in 630. By the time Muhammad died two years later, he had built the foundations for a long-lasting Islamic Arab kingdom.

History of Islam   Within a few centuries after Muhammad's death, Islam had spread throughout North Africa, as well as sub-Saharan Africa, MADAGASCAR, and Asia. This expansion, which took place from the seventh through the 11th centuries, resulted primarily from three factors: Arab military conquests, the migration of Arab traders, and Sufi missionary work.

From the seventh to the 10th centuries Muslims from Arabia invaded and conquered lands throughout North Africa. The first Arab invaders conducted military campaigns from a base in EGYPT from 642 to 669. The first Islamic dynasty, the UMAYYADS (661–750), operating from their capital city of Damascus, later recognized the strategic importance of using the Syrian army to establish a Mediterranean presence. The Umayyads established a base in TUNISIA in 670 and launched many military expeditions from there. In 682, after establishing an alliance with Kusayla, the Berber leader in ALGERIA and a convert from CHRISTIANITY to Islam, the Umayyads conquered MOROCCO, where ARABS would remain in power for 150

years. By 711 the Umayyads controlled the MAGHRIB (present-day Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and LIBYA), establishing a new province they called IFRIQIYA.

By the middle of the eighth century Arabic Muslims had created a powerful empire that spread as far west as the Atlantic Ocean and into Morocco, MAURITANIA, and SENEGAL. In conquering African lands, the Muslim empire won many converts from both Christianity and indigenous religions, forcing both Islam and the Arabic language upon the vanquished. Arab Muslims treated these African converts to Islam poorly, imposing heavy taxes on all and enslaving some. Oppressed, the BERBERS eventually rebelled against Arab rule—but never against Islam. Around 740, Kharijites, an egalitarian sect of Muslims that believed that good works, rather than faith alone, defined Islamic life, led a revolt against the Arabs in the Maghrib. The Kharijites founded a number of short-lived Muslim tribal kingdoms before the Abbasids (750–1258), a second dynasty that succeeded the Umayyads, reestablished authority over Ifriqiya. West of Ifriqiya, the central Maghrib was ruled by the KHARIJITE Rustumid imams from 761 until the early 10th century.

The Spread of Islam throughout Africa In 909 FATIMIDS, leaders of a sect of Muslims called the Ismaili Shiites, conquered most of North Africa, imposing Shiite rule on Egypt and the Maghrib. The Muslim warrior SALADIN (c. 1137–1193), who deposed the Fatimid caliphs and founded the Ayyubid dynasty, in 1171, restored the supremacy of the more orthodox Sunni Islam throughout North Africa.

Beyond geographical and political conquest, another factor that helped spread Islamic influence through Africa was the spice trade. The Middle East had long been an important location along the trade routes from Africa to Asia. With the rapid spread of Islam, Muslims eventually controlled the spice trade. Breaking from the previous tradition of buying spices from local MERCHANTS and selling them nearby, Muslim traders eliminated the intermediaries by traveling the whole trade routes themselves. While traveling these routes, Muslim traders also spread the word of God as heard by Muhammad.

In East Africa, traders (as well as settlers and missionaries) from the Arabian Peninsula won many converts. Arab merchants also married into African families and began converting communities from within. In West Africa, Berber traders from the Maghrib, after converting to Islam, spread the religion south along the trade routes of the SENEGAL RIVER and the Niger River. By the beginning of the 11th century they were joined by the SONINKE people of Mauritania, who themselves had converted to Islam and then carried the word farther south and east.

The third influence that helped spread Islam was the movement of Sufi missionaries after the 12th century. The Sufis—Muslim mystics—won many converts to Islam as they moved westward across North Africa and later through sub-Saharan Africa. Since SUFISM tolerated the preservation of local religious customs and beliefs alongside the adoption of Islam, the Sufi vision of Islam seemed less threatening than that of Arab invaders. As a result Sufism spread quickly, and Africans, especially in the countryside, came to revere Sufi holy men, bowing to their moral authority and wise judgment.

The spread of Islam through military force, trade, and missionaries had a greater impact on North Africa than anywhere else on the continent. By the mid-11th century the Maghrib had been ruled by Muslims—either Arabs or Egypt's Fatimid dynasty—for 350 years, and the majority of indigenous North Africans had adopted this new faith. Islam became even more entrenched in North Africa with the rise of two major Muslim dynasties that ruled over a unified Maghrib from the 11th to the 13th century: the ALMORAVIDS (c. 1060–1147) and the ALMOHADS (c. 1147–c. 1271).

A militant Islamic movement, the Almoravids arose from the Saharan Muslims in Mauritania around 1035. The cause of religious reform helped unify the disparate groups. By 1042 Almoravids had launched a jihad against heretics and nonbelievers. The Almoravids invaded Morocco in 1056, founded MARRAKECH as their capital in 1062, crushed the GHANA EMPIRE by 1076, and established an Islamic empire that stretched from Mauritania to Algiers by 1082. Conquests north, east, and south enabled the Almoravids to gain control of the GOLD trade throughout the region and to force Islam upon its neighbors. By 1110 the Almoravids ruled all of al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain) as well. After gaining power the Almoravids set up a political state that strictly applied the principles of Islam in all judicial and ethical matters.

Yet the narrow and restrictive rule of these applications of Islamic law gave rise to revolutionary movements. The Almohads, Islamic reformers who stressed the unity of God and urged a return to the Quran and the traditions of the prophet Muhammad, began organizing in the Atlas Mountains around 1120. Within five years Almohads had begun attacking Moroccan cities under Almoravid control. Between 1140 and 1158, the Almohads wrested all power from the Almoravids and conquered Morocco and all of North Africa west of Egypt. Muslim Spain, too, had fallen under their rule by 1172.

The Almohad dynasty ultimately broke up into factions. By 1269 the Almohads had been ousted from Marrakech, ending the rule of a united Maghrib by a Muslim dynasty. The Maghrib was divided into three separate Muslim states ruled by Berbers: the MARINIDS in Morocco; the Hafsid in Tunisia, eastern Algeria, and Tripolitania; and the Zayyanids in western Algeria. Under these Muslim rulers, who no longer imposed a single dogma on the people, Islamic culture and religion flourished. The rulers erected new mosques and colleges in their capital cities, which quickly became renowned as places to study Islam.

Muslims have long emphasized the importance of education. Universities in both Africa and the Middle East, originally founded as places to study Islam and train religious leaders, soon became centers for the study of literature, philosophy, mathematics, MEDICINE, and SCIENCE as well. Al-AZHAR, for example, founded in CAIRO during the 10th century by the Fatimid dynasty, is still one of the most important centers for Islamic studies in the world.

Today, Muslims still make up the vast majority of Arabic-speaking people in North Africa, from Mauritania to Sudan. Islam remains the primary religion of the peoples of GUINEA, SENEGAL, The GAMBIA, Mauritania, Morocco, Republic of MALI, Algeria, Tunisia, NIGER, Libya, Egypt, Republic of the Sudan, DJIBOUTI, SOMALIA, and the island of ZANZIBAR. In addition, large populations of Muslims reside in GHANA, NIGERIA, CHAD, ERITREA, ETHIOPIA, and Tanzania.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II).

Further reading: John L. Esposito, ed., *The Oxford History of Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Islam, influence of ISLAM held great political, religious, and social prestige in Africa from the seventh through the 15th centuries. After the death of the prophet Muhammad in 632, Islam became highly influential in Africa. The traditions, or *Sunna,* of the prophet formed the cornerstone of Islam, governing worship, the law, education, and the promotion of a worldwide Islamic community. The mission to spread the truth of Islam began in the seventh century, the century of the *hijira,* or flight from Mecca, by Muhammad. *Dar al-Islam,* or Islamic expansion, became a holy obligation and the religion spread from Arabia to the Atlantic coast of MOROCCO and Spain.

Arab trading communities gathered significant knowledge about the interior regions of Africa. In the territories where the message of Islam was carried, Arab proselytizers encountered ethnic groups with deeply entrenched traditional beliefs as well as others who were Christians or Jews. The primary reasons given for the widespread appeal of Islam included its simple teachings, identification with the ruling class, and relief from forced tribute in exchange for the less burdensome taxation levied by Islam conquerors. Non-Muslims were forced to pay a *djizya,* or poll tax, which built the newly installed Islamic state treasury. This in turn supported those carrying the word of Islam.

Egypt and Nubia In 642 Egypt became the first African country to convert to Islam. Egypt may have been especially susceptible to conversion because the rule of the Byzantine Empire in Africa was oppressive and corrupt. The ARABS established the capital city of CAIRO near the ruins of the ancient city of Memphis, although not without some resistance from the departing Byzantine

government. The resulting influx of Arabic Bedouins into the region led to intermarriage and the dominance of ARABIC culture and language. However, small groups of Coptic Christians and Jews have been able to retain their religious practices up to modern times.

Islam spread from the north into Nubia where, in the eighth century, nomadic Arabs settled between the Nile Valley and the shores of the Red Sea. Attempts to conquer Nubia were militarily rebuffed. The *bakt,* or treaty, of 652 stabilized social and trade relations between Islamic Egypt and the Nubian regions of Noba (Nobatia), Makurra (Makouria), and ALWA (Alodia), collectively known as Christian NUBIA. In the neighboring BEJA region, a stronghold of traditional religion, intermarriage among Arab and Beja ruling families created powerful lineage networks known as the *hadariba* and *ababda.* Most Beja converted to Islam by the 14th century but maintained their traditional practices as well.

North Africa In the MAGHRIB Arabs met renewed resistance from the Byzantine forces as well as the BERBERS. They entered into extended battles, defeating the Byzantine navy and combating various Berber groups, such as the Jarawa, led by legendary DAHIA AL-KAHINA (575–702). Some Berber peoples along the coast openly adopted Islam but reverted to their original religion many times—a recurring theme in Africa. To solidify the religion among the Berber population, imprisoned young NOBLES were reportedly freed and encouraged to embrace Islam and join the Arab army. By the eighth century Islam and Arabic culture was widespread. This Islamized Berber army was reportedly responsible for the Arab conquest of Spain in 711.

However, even when the tenets of Islam were observed, Arab domination did not necessarily follow. The Islamized Berbers in regions including IFRIQIYA and Morocco cultivated KHARIJITE doctrines, which, although Islamic, espoused democracy along with puritanical and fundamentalist practices. The Berber belief in frugality gave religious authority to their opposition to the luxury of the Arabic overlords. By the 10th century the Islamic FATIMIDS had destroyed many of the Kharijite states and established an empire in Egypt.

Sub-Saharan Africa At approximately the same time, Islam spread to regions south of the Sahara. Long-distance trade forged commercial contacts between the MERCHANTS of the north and the rulers of kingdoms, TOWNS AND CITIES of the SUDAN and West Africa. After initial exposure to Islam, Africans from these regions often transmitted the teachings of Islam to members of their population. The primary converts at these early urban sites were members of the royal hierarchy as well as traders exposed to the outside world. Other converts were attracted by Islamic rites that seemed similar to their own religious practice, such as belief in divination, use of charms and amulets, and praying to bring rain.

The coexistence of Islam with traditional African religion occurred in the ancient GHANA EMPIRE and its successor empires of Mali and SONGHAI. It was long thought that the Almoravid conquest in 1076 resulted in Ghana's forced adoption of Islam. However some historians now suggest that Islam was introduced through a social alliance rather than conquest and even then only to the Ghanaian ruler and not the entire population. This view is based on Ghana's long-standing trade contacts with North Africa and the fact that they were among the first to establish separate quarters for Islamic merchants in their city. It is also believed that the Islam first brought to the Ghana Empire was of the Kharijite type established centuries earlier in the Maghrib. However, these theories throw large-scale migration and resistance by groups of SONINKE into question. It is known that the Soninke who embraced Islam were largely from the merchant class known as the Wangara (or DYULA). They spread the religion further into the Sudanic savanna regions by establishing commercial networks in the Sahel and tropical forest regions.

In the MALI EMPIRE, Islam was first practiced among the rulers who descended from SUNDIATA (d. 1255) during the 13th century. Sundiata's son Mansa ULI (d. 1270) was the first known member to have journeyed to MECCA and established the pilgrimage as a yearly tradition. The building of mosques and schools proliferated under the rule of Mansa MUSA I (r. c. 1307–1337) and Mansa SULAYMAN (r. c. 1341–1360). Returning from his HAJJ (pilgrimage) to Mecca in 1324–25, Mansa Musa I visited al-AZHAR University in Cairo to convince Islamic clerics to join him in instituting the new Sankore University of TIMBUKTU. As a result, the region generated Islamic religious leaders known as the Torodbe. Another group to embrace the religion included the Hausa, who became actively involved in commercial trade and, along with the Dyula, carried Islam west, to the Gold Coast regions.

However not all African kingdoms south of the Sahara embraced Islam. From the lower SENEGAL region to Lake Chad, and particularly among the BAMBARA of Mali and the MOSSI STATES situated near the Niger bend, resistance was strong. After the Mossi, centered in what is now BURKINA FASO, began to expand, they incurred the wrath of Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (1493–1528). A devout Muslim, Touré made annual pilgrimages to Mecca and used Islam as a unifying force in his vast kingdom. Already angered by the refusal of the Mossi to convert, in 1497 he launched an unsuccessful JIHAD, or holy war. The Mossi, however, maintained their traditional practices until the 17th century.

See also: ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); ARCHITECTURE (Vols. II, III, IV, V); CHRISTIANITY (Vols. I, II); GOLD TRADE (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Ali A. Mazuri, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986); Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

Islamic centers of learning   While Europe was emerging from its Dark Ages (c. 400–1000), Muslim culture and scholarship were rising toward their height. The major centers of learning in the Islamic world were at Baghdad in Iraq, CAIRO in EGYPT, and at Córdoba and Toledo in Spain. The Moorish kingdom of al-ANDALUS ruled large territories within the Iberian Peninsula from 711 to about 1492. (*Moor* is from the Latin word *Maurus,* meaning "inhabitant of Mauritania" or "Moroccan.") There are scholars who believe that the European Renaissance of the 14th–16th centuries had its roots in the Moorish renaissance in Spain. Islamic scholars in Spain and the Middle East made significant contributions to astronomy, MEDICINE, mathematics, and other secular fields. Islamic scholars in West Africa were more religion-directed and contributed to the development of Islamic law.

The major centers of Islamic learning in Africa were at Cairo and at TIMBUKTU, GAO, KANO, and KATSINA in West Africa. Centers of trade often became centers of learning. Funded in the 10th century by the Fatimid dynasty, the university of al-AZHAR, which is attached to the al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo, may be the world's oldest institution of higher learning; it is still in operation today, as it was in the 10th century, as a major Muslim theological school. Al-Azhar first taught Shiite doctrine, but when the Ayyubid dynasty came to power in Egypt in the late 12th century, al-Azhar became a center of the more traditional Sunni doctrine, which the vast majority of observant Muslims follow.

The regular subjects of study in the 10th to 15th centuries at al-Azhar University included grammar (*nahw*), literary style and rhetoric (*balaghah*), logic (*mantiq*), and the study of the QURAN. The latter included study of the Sunna, the body of traditional Muslim social and legal custom and practice, and *fiqh*, or jurisprudence, considered the most important subject in the curriculum. In classic Islamic thought, the four sources of Islamic law, or SHARIA, were called the *usul al-fiqh.* These were the Quran; the Sunna; *ijma*, or the consensus of scholars; and *qiyas*, or finding analogies with past practices and beliefs as guides to solve a present problem.

Ever since Islam's first appearance in West Africa, the *ulama*, or religious scholars, the leaders of prayer in the mosques, and the reciters of the Quran have been indigenous Africans. Thus, the mosque and the school attached to it, with living quarters for resident and itinerant scholars, was an important feature of a major Islamic African city and a point of contact with the Muslim world out-

side. The university at the Sankore Mosque in Timbuktu on the Niger River became second only to al-Azhar as the most important center of Islamic learning in Africa. Its cadre of clerics had been drawn for al-Azhar University by Mansa MUSA (r. c. 1307–1337) in 1325. This university attracted the sons of the local elite and scholars reputedly from as far as the Arabian Peninsula. Its graduates were widely respected and influential.

As was true of other Muslim universities, Sankore was made up of several independent schools, each run by a single master, or *imam.* Students associated themselves with a single teacher and studied with him in the open courtyard of the mosque or at a private residence. As the number of students increased, topics of study extended beyond the Islamic sciences of Quranic interpretation (*tafsir*), doctrinal theology (*tawid*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and the sources of the law (*usul*) to include secular studies also.

It is thought that at its height, as many as 25,000 students studied at the Sankore Mosque in a 10-year program

This manuscript illumination of a clock-making system from Al-Dzajari's *Book of Knowledge of Mechanical Processes,* created in 1206, is on display at the Topaki Library in Istanbul, Turkey. It gives evidence of the flourishing of Islamic science after the year 1000 and shows the type of books that would have been available to scholars throughout the Muslim world. © *Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis*

that covered astronomy, medicine, history, cartography, mathematics, and Islamic sciences. Visiting non-Muslim traders and travelers were encouraged to meet the scholars in residence and were often converted to Islam.

The fortunes of the school depended on political realities. The SONGHAI leader Sunni ALI (r. 1464–1492), reviled as a tepid Muslim, almost an infidel, by the Muslim clerics of Timbuktu, persecuted the scholars of Sankore when he wrested Timbuktu from the MALI EMPIRE early in his reign. Under his successor, the fervent Muslim Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1538), Sankore once again thrived. When the northern Muslim kingdom of Morocco captured Timbuktu from the Songhai Empire in the early 1590s, however, Sankore's best scholars were deported, and the school never regained its former importance. Around the same time, the Moroccans also took control of Gao, the capital of the Songhai Empire.

Traders brought Islam to Kano, one of the HAUSA STATES, in the 14th century, during the reign of Sarki YAJI (r. 1349–1385). A mosque was built and a court established to hand down judgments in religious matters. By the time Sarki RUMFA (1463–1499) came to power, Islam was firmly rooted in Kano. Scholars connected with Sankore are thought to have opened schools in Kano to teach and preach Islam.

The Hausa state of Katsina had become a seat of learning in the 1400s. Both Katsina and Kano were known to have been visited by the famed 15th-century Muslim theologian al-MAGHILI from Tuat, in present-day ALGERIA, who wrote his influential treatise about Islamic government, *The Obligation of Princes,* during his stay at Sarki Rumfa's court late in the 15th century.

Itsekiri Ethnic group and kingdom located in what is today southern NIGERIA. Legend states that the kingdom of Itsekiri was founded by a former prince of the kingdom of BENIN named Ginuwa (or Iginua), who moved to the Niger Delta area of WARRI in the 15th century after being passed over as a potential OBA (king) of Benin. Evidence suggests, however, that the precursors to the Itsekiri peoples were of YORUBA origin and had already established a society based on AGRICULTURE and fishing by the 11th century.

By the time the Portuguese came into contact with Itsekiri in the 15th century, the inhabitants were skilled in trading their coastal wares with their inland neighbors. The kingdom thereafter became a significant center for European trade—even surpassing the powerful kingdom of Benin in importance—with commodities such as fish, palm oil, salt, and slaves.

The kingdom of Itsekiri was ruled by the *olu,* or king, who exercised priestly functions and headed a centralized government with a large governing council. The council, which included an *ologbotsere,* or military com-

mander, and an *iyasere,* or prime minister, acted in conjunction with the *olu* to decide important legislative matters. Succession to the throne could be from either the matrilineal or patrilineal side, so long as descent from Ginuwa could be claimed, therefore ensuring descent from the original *oba* of Benin as well.

The Itsekiri people, who share their origins with other groups such as the Yoruba and EDO, mainly practice a traditional religion based on worship of a creator-god, Ortise, and other lesser gods such as Umale Okun, the god of the sea.

See also: ITSEKIRI (Vol. III); LINEAGE (Vol. I); NIGER DELTA (Vols. I, IV, V); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

ivory   Dentin harvested from elephant tusks that has long been prized for its color, texture, and durability. Ivory has been an important trade commodity throughout much of African history. It has been considered a luxury item since ancient Egyptian times, when it was carved into small sculptures, jewelry, and a variety of other decorative items. As Muslim ARABS began settling in northern Africa during the seventh and eighth centuries, the ivory trade continued to flourish. Arab MERCHANTS obtained ivory from sub-Saharan market towns such as KUMBI-SALEH, the capital city of the GHANA EMPIRE, as well as from TIMBUKTU and GAO. In exchange for this prized item, peoples from south of the Sahara were able to obtain salt, silk, COPPER, and weaponry from Arab traders.

By the 12th century a renewed demand for African ivory developed in Europe. Ivory was exported to Europe via North African port towns, and later, along the western coast by Portuguese traders. At the same time, the ivory trade developed along the SWAHILI COAST in eastern Africa. The Swahili coast received its ivory supply from the interior, particularly from kingdoms in present-day KENYA, TANZANIA, and MOZAMBIQUE. The primary recipient of East African ivory was India.

See also: ELEPHANTS (Vol. I); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III, IV); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire)   West African country, approximately 124,504 square miles (322,465) sq km) in size, that is bordered to the east by GHANA, to the west by LIBERIA and GUINEA, to the north by the Republic of MALI and BURKINA FASO, and to the south by the Gulf of Guinea. Although reports of North African trade CARAVANS operating in the area of Ivory Coast date to Roman times, little is definitively known of the original population of the region. According to some scholars, the earliest inhabitants were probably small-statured peoples who were eventually pushed out or absorbed into subsequent populations. By the second millennium, however, the area had come under the partial control of various Sudanic empires, particularly the MALI EMPIRE, which occupied the northwestern corner of the region during the early 14th century. Searching for IVORY and African captives, Portuguese explorers began visiting the region by the 15th century.

See also: IVORY COAST (Vols. I, III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV, V).

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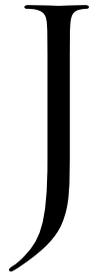
Jenne (Djenné) City between Mopti and Segu in present-day Republic of MALI; it replaced the nearby ancient city of JENNE-JENO as a commercial center when the latter city went into decline and was abandoned around 1400. Jenne is located near the Niger and Bani rivers, its location providing a direct connection by water to the city of TIMBUKTU. This geographical placement attracted traders from throughout West Africa as well as the SUDAN. It was at the head of the trade routes from the GOLD mines at Bitou, in present-day IVORY COAST, and was an important center of the SALT TRADE.

The often-photographed Great Mosque of Jenne, is not the original one. The first Great Mosque was built in the 13th century by Koy Konboro, Jenne's first Muslim ruler, who erected the mosque on the site of his former royal palace. This building fell into ruin and was replaced in the early 19th century.

Jenne was captured by SONGHAI emperor Sunni ALI (r. c. 1464–1492), who transformed Songhai from a kingdom to an empire. A Muslim city since its foundation, Jenne became an Islamic center of learning in the 1600s.

See also: ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); JENNE (Vol. III).

Jenne-Jeno Ancient African city, inhabited from around 200 BCE to 1400 CE, located in the western SUDAN, in what is present-day Republic of MALI. Jenne-Jeno is a mound, located about 2 miles (3 km) from the modern city of JENNE. According to oral tradition, Jenne-Jeno was the original settlement of the town of Jenne. Excavations of the mound in the 1970s and 1980s have provided information about life in Jenne-Jeno.

By around 450 Jenne-Jeno had grown into a settlement that covered about 62 acres (25 hectares). The excavations indicate that the houses of this time were built on foundations of puddled mud, or *tauf.* There were also organized cemeteries, with human remains buried in urns as well as in simple pits.

From 450 to 850 much painted POTTERY was made at Jenne-Jeno. The population grew during this period, and Jenne-Jeno expanded to cover an area of about 82 acres (33 hectares). This expansion was probably due to the development of trade routes along the border between the dry savanna and the region to the south. The success of both the COPPER and GOLD trades in and around Jenne-Jeno probably led the city to become the center of the local government. One of the neighboring towns, HAMBAR-KETOLO, was connected to Jenne-Jeno by means of an earthen dike, and the two towns may have functioned as one. In the ninth century cylindrical bricks replaced the *tauf* foundations. The cylindrical bricks were also used to construct a city wall 12 feet (3.7 meters) wide and more than a mile (1.6 km) long that surrounded the town.

The presence of rectilinear houses and brass suggest that Jenne-Jeno had contact with North African Muslims in the 11th and 12th centuries. The people of Jenne-Jeno probably converted to ISLAM in the 13th century, but urn burial continued into the 14th century, suggesting that not all the residents had embraced the Muslim faith.

Excavations of Jenne-Jeno reveal that IRON, copper, and BRONZE adornments were produced in the area by middle of the first millennium. The absence of natural iron ore deposits in the INLAND NIGER DELTA region indicates that Jenne-Jeno was involved in long-distance trade long before the arrival of Muslim traders in the eighth century.

In the 13th century the nearby town of Jenne, (modern Djenné) was founded and became a center of trade between the central and western Sudan and the tropical forests of GUINEA. Jenne became a great center of trade in gold, slaves, and salt. The city was conquered in 1468 by SONGHAI and later became a center of Muslim learning.

Jenne's rise seems to have coincided with Jenne-Jeno's decline. By 1400 Jenne-Jeno was completely deserted. One theory to explain the desertion is that the dry climate started to become even drier around 1200, and there was no longer enough water for crops and herds. Another explanation is that people converted to Islam and moved to neighboring Jenne. Whatever the reasons, the decline of Jenne-Jeno was gradual and took place over a period of about 200 years.

See also: JENNE-JENO (Vol. I); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Jeriba Ancient city in the western SUDAN. Jeriba was the location from which SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), the 13th-century MANDINKA ruler, established the MALI EMPIRE.

jihad (jehad) Muslim holy war or struggle against those labeled "infidels." In North Africa the religious reformer MUHAMMAD IBN TUMART (d. 1130) proclaimed himself the MAHDI, a messianic leader expected to initiate a period of righteousness, and called for moral reform and a return to fundamental Muslim beliefs. Ibn Tumart then waged a series of military campaigns that led to the fall of the ALMORAVIDS, the ruling dynasty of a Berber state in present-day MOROCCO and the establishment, in c. 1120, of the ALMOHAD dynasty. In earlier years an Almoravid jihad against nonbelievers within the GHANA EMPIRE, located across the desert to the south, led to the capture in 1076 of Ghana's capital city of KUMBI SALEH. The fall of Kumbi Saleh initiated the period of Ghana's decline.

The concept of jihad is rooted in the QURAN, the holy book of ISLAM, and its practice goes back to the seventh century and the earliest days of Islamic conversion and expansion. The laws defining jihad are laid out in the Quran and the Hadith (sayings), which instruct Muslims to wage war on nonbelievers who refuse to convert to Islam. One of the most important of the laws is that a *shahid,* a Muslim who has perished during combat, is considered a martyr. It is believed that the *shahid* is revered in paradise for sacrificing his life for Islam. Because jihad is a religious struggle its laws forbid unnecessary pillaging or the slaughter of women, children, religious leaders, the sick, the elderly, and anyone else not directly involved in the war.

After the death of prophet Muhammad in 632, the first jihad was launched by Muhammad's successor and father-in-law, Caliph ABU BAKR (c. 573–634), also called *as-Siddiq* (the Upright). During this period the major targets of the jihad were polytheists. (Because Jews and Christians were monotheistic and were considered to be people of the book, they were given a certain amount of immunity by early Islam. Instead of being killed, they were allowed to convert or at least submit to Islamic rule and pay a tax, called the *jizya.*) During the next two years the jihad became a war of conquest. Arab forces under the second caliph, Umar I (c. 586–644) the Caliphate spread into Mesopotamia and Syria and began the conquest of Iran and EGYPT.

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); SOKOTO CALIPHATE (Vols. III, IV); USMAN DAN FODIO (Vol. III).

Judaism See BETA ISRAEL (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); JUDAISM (Vol. I); MONOTHEISM (Vols. I, II).

Juhaynah (Juhayna, Juhaina, Djoheina) Large group of pastoralist peoples of present-day CHAD and eastern parts of the Republic of the SUDAN. The Juhaynah come from the upper portion of the eastern Sahara, near Aswan. By the 1400s they had migrated south into the the eastern Sudan, introducing ISLAM as they mixed and intermarried with local Nubians. Later the Juhaynah spread around the Nile River valley, converting local peoples they encountered as they moved.

The northern Juhaynah consider themselves ARABS, since they speak ARABIC, and they practice Islam almost exclusively. Some groups inhabiting the portion of the Sudan farther to the south, though, prefer to be called Africans and are either Christian or remain faithful to their traditional African religions. Primarily a nomadic people, the Juhaynah are divided into subgroups, including the Kababish, BAGGARA, Kawahla, and Shukriyah, who make their living herding either cattle or camels.

See also: ASWAN (Vol. I); DARFUR (Vols. II, III); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); NOMADS (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

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kabaka Title given to the king of the GANDA people of BUGANDA. According to Ganda tradition, in the 14th century the legendary ruler SEKABAKA KINTU became the first Ganda *kabaka.* As *kabaka* he held supreme authority. However, he was not considered divine or sacred, nor was he associated with any gods. He was, instead, simply a monarch who reigned over his people in a feudal-like system of government.

Chiefs appointed by the *kabaka* ruled over the various regions of the kingdom, and the *kabaka* had full authority to dismiss, promote, or transfer these chiefs. Chiefs, therefore, tended to remain extremely loyal to the *kabaka*. However, the *kabaka* did not rely on this loyalty alone. Rather, he appointed another group of officers, the *mutongole,* as lesser chiefs, who were given authority over large estates and their people and who were used by the *kabaka* to spy on the greater chiefs.

Because the Ganda people did not practice primogeniture, an elder senior counselor selected the *kabaka* from among men whose father or grandfather had been a *kabaka*. Once selected, the *kabaka* ruled for life, since the system provided no way to depose him.

See also: GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vol. II).

Kaffa (Kafa, Kefa) African kingdom established in the forested mountain range of southwestern ETHIOPIA. Kaffa, known for its abundant rainfall, lush vegetation, and unusual animal species, is probably the area where COFFEE was first cultivated for export.

It is thought that Arab farmers first cultivated the coffee plant and brewed a beverage called *qahwah,* which became so popular that the plant and its beans quickly became lucrative export items. Other trade items in Kaffa included cattle, horses, musk, and IVORY, along with manufactured cloth, IRON spears, and daggers.

The discovery of coffee's stimulating effects have been explained by a popular Ethiopian legend involving a young goatherd named Kalid. The story tells how Kalid observed the animated behavior of his goats after they consumed the red berries of a plant that grew on the mountain slopes. When the young boy tasted the plant, he also became animated, so he brought the beans to a nearby monastery. The monks there discovered the invigorating properties of a brew made from the roasted beans and felt that it could help them stay alert during the long hours that they spent praying. One of the monks then took a coffee plant to Lake Tana, where it was cultivated and came into widespread use by local people.

The indigenous people of Kaffa, believed to have been the Minjo, relied on hereditary rule to establish their kings, who took the title *tato.* One of their earliest known rulers was Minjo Tato, who became king in 1390. Crowned rulers in Kaffa were reportedly subject to the control of the Mikrichos*,* a council of governing priests who controlled succession to the throne. From the capital city situated at Andrachi, the *tato* and council of priests dominated the border states, eventually establishing an

empire made up of the regions of Jimma, Kulo, Konta, Koshya Mocha, and Enareya. These states were populated by ethnic groups that included the SIDAMO and OROMO. Forced to pay tribute to the *tato,* these groups eventually initiated widespread rebellion in the region. During the 15th century Emperor ZARA YAKOB (r. 1434–1468) promoted CHRISTIANITY in the region, but after his death the influence of the Christian faith diminished and traditional religious practices were restored.

See also: KAFFA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994).

Kalahari Desert Vast, arid region located in present-day BOTSWANA, NAMIBIA, and SOUTH AFRICA inhabited by the !Kung San people and by Bantu-speaking peoples since the first millennium. The Kalahari lacks permanent surface water, and the only landforms that rise above the uniformly level plain are occasional outcroppings of old rock that form hills in the northwest, southeast, and southwest regions.

While technically not dry enough to be classified as a desert, the Kalahari is largely unsuitable for any form of AGRICULTURE. Its early inhabitants subsisted by hunting, foraging, and some herding of cattle. Due to the severe climate, little has changed in the Kalahari since before the period of European colonization. In the late 1400s and early 1500s the Kalahari was a barrier to the eastward expansion of the pastoral HERERO people and the agriculturalist OVAMBO people. The increasing competition for arable and grazing land between these peoples would lead to a series of bitter wars between them during the 1800s.

See also: !KUNG (Vol. I); LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I); SAN (Vols. I, III).

Further reading: Jurgen Schadeberg, *The San of the Kalahari* (South Africa: Protea Book House, 2002).

Kamba East and Central African Bantu speakers who have long inhabited the highland regions of KENYA. The Kamba are related to the KIKUYU ethnic group, and they trace their ancestral homeland to the plains below Mount Kilimanjaro. In the 16th century the powerful MAASAI people forced the Kamba to flee and settle in their present location. Traditionally agriculturalists, the Kamba have also maintained substantial herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. They were also shrewd MERCHANTS, later controlling the coastal trade of Kenya for many years because of their access to IVORY from the interior.

Kamba society is patrilineal, with extended families living on large homesteads. Several homesteads form a village. No chieftains dominate Kamba society; rather, individuals are organized into age sets with the eldest members forming village councils. The traditional religion of the Kamba people focuses on the belief in a supreme god and ancestral spirits.

See also: AGE SETS (Vol. I); ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); KAMBA (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

Further reading: Mwikali Kieti and Peter Coughlin, *Barking, You'll be Eaten: The Wisdom of Kamba Oral Literature* (Nairobi, Kenya: Phoenix Pub., 1990); Joseph Muthiani, *Akamba from Within: Egalitarianism in Social Relations* (New York: Exposition Press, 1973); D. J. Penwill, *Kamba Customary Law: notes taken in the Machakos District of Kenya Colony* (Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1986).

Kanajeji (r. c. 1390–1410) *Ruler of the Kano kingdom*
From around the end of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th centuries, Kanajeji was *SARKI,* or king, of KANO, one of the prominent HAUSA STATES. Under Kanajeji the inhabitants of Kano were a mixture of both converts to ISLAM and adherents of the local indigenous religion. Kanajeji is best known for introducing IRON helmets, chain mail, and *lifidi* (protective armor for horses) to the Kano armies, all of which aided them in their aggressive southward expansion of the kingdom during his reign.

See also: CAVALRY (Vol. II).

Kanem Kingdom centered on Lake Chad. Originally founded by Duguwa and Zaghawa people, with their capital at Manan, Kanem came under the rule of the SEFUWA *mais,* or kings, in the early 11th century. The *mais* ruled over a mostly KANURI-speaking population from their capital at NJIMI, east of Lake Chad. By the middle of the 13th century, Kanem controlled most of the Lake Chad area. Kanem's traders worked TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES to the FEZZAN, in present-day LIBYA, as well as routes to the GOLD-bearing forest regions to the west. In the 14th century the BULALA people invaded Kanem, forcing the Sefuwa *mai* to move his capital to BORNU, southwest of Lake Chad. In the 15th century, still under Sefuwa rule, Bornu and Kanem essentially constituted one large trading empire known as KANEM-BORNU.

See also: ZAGHAWA (Vol. III).

Kanem-Bornu Large trading empire that was made up of the separate kingdoms of KANEM and BORNU and was centered on Lake Chad. At various times during their histories, Kanem and Bornu were separate states; at other times they were merged. In general, the histories of the countries are so closely aligned that they are usually discussed together.

The Kingdom of Kanem, c. 1230

Kanem c. 1150	
Kingdom of Kanem c. 1230	
○	Capital
Bulala	People

Ghadames

Waddan • Zillah • Aujila

Fezzan

Jarma • Zawila
Murzuk • Traghan
Ghat •

Kufra

SAHARA DESERT

Teda

Jado •

Zaghawa TIBESTI MTS.

Bilma •

Agades •

Kanuri

Hausa

L.Chad Njimi *Bahr el Ghazal R.*

Katsina •

Kano • *Hadejia R.* *Bulala*

Zaria • *Sao* *Chari R.*

Niger R.

0 — 300 Miles
0 — 300 Kms

Map area
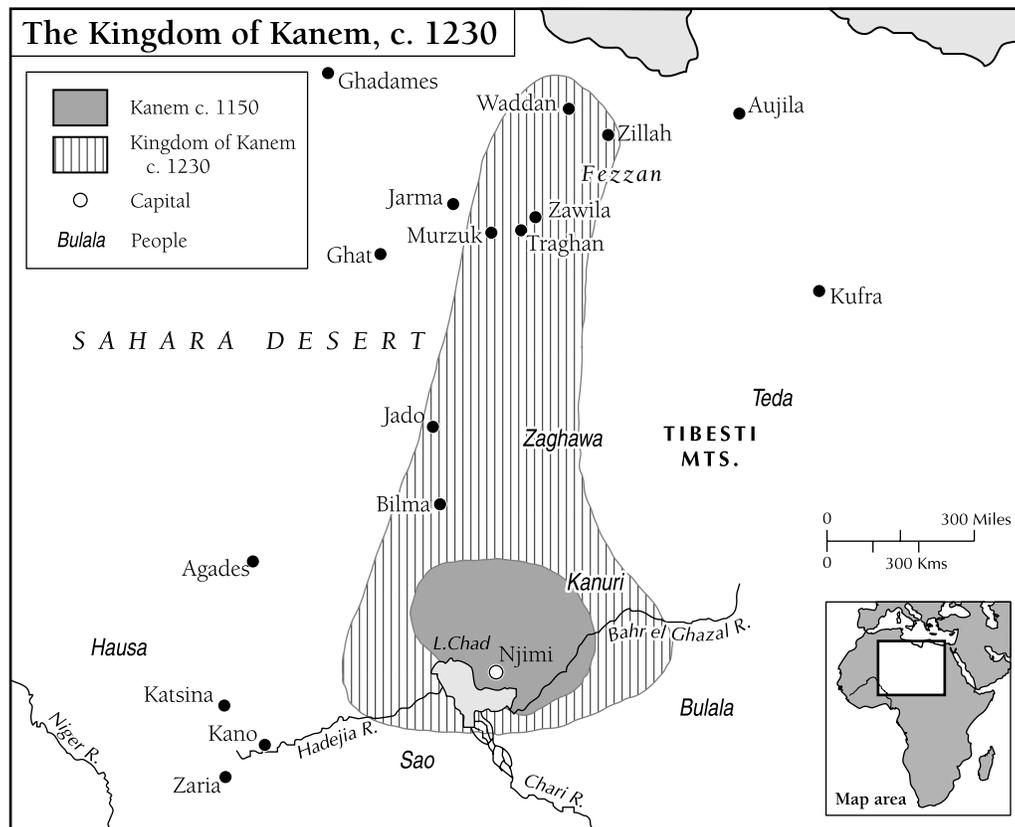
According to records kept by Arab scholars, the kingdom of Kanem existed prior to the ninth century. Originally confined to the northeastern shore of Lake Chad, its subjects were a mixture of pastoral TOUBOU, Berber, Duguwa, and Zaghawa peoples. The kingdom of Bornu, on the other hand, was located southwest of Lake Chad. Founded by about 850 CE, Bornu was dominated by the SAO people, who were trans-Saharan traders.

The kings, or *mais*, who led Kanem ruled with the help of a council of peers, although the people apparently considered their kings to be deities. According to the kingdom's oral traditions, the *mais* were descendants of Sayf Ibn Dhu Yazan, a charismatic Arab who migrated to Lake Chad from the Sahara. He is generally considered the first ruler of the SEFUWA dynasty, which soon established dominion over the Lake Chad region, including most of Bornu. From the start, however, Kanem-Bornu was based more on trade than on military might. Its original capital was NJIMI, located northeast of Lake Chad. With its strategic location, Njimi became a crossroads for trade routes passing from North Africa, EGYPT, and the Nile Valley to SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

About the 10th century, ARABS brought ISLAM to the area, and by the end of the next century Kanem's Sefuwa Mai UMME (r. c. 1085–1097) had abandoned his people's indigenous RELIGION and converted to Islam. This association with Islam brought Kanem-Bornu into contact with the Arab world and its ideas, but the extent of this influence was limited, as the KANURI people under Sefuwa rule refused to completely abandon their ancient beliefs.

For the next two centuries Kanem's kings enlarged the kingdom through warfare, using NOBLES and slaves trained as soldiers to do the fighting. Mai Dunama DIBBALEMI (r. 1221–1259), also of the Sefuwa dynasty, oversaw the greatest growth of Kanem. Dibbalemi's reign marked the beginning of diplomatic ties with North African kings, and it also saw the establishment of lodgings in CAIRO for Kanem's Muslims traveling to MECCA. In addition, Dibbalemi declared jihads in order to subdue neighboring states.

Eventually Kanem's empire extended as far west as the Niger River, east to Wadai (now part of eastern CHAD), and north into the SAHARA DESERT. This huge area, from Lake Chad to the HAUSA STATES, was directly in the path of those wanting to trade in North Africa, an enormous strategic advantage to Kanem. Another result of this accumulation of land and power was that the local Kanembu people became increasingly settled, exchanging their nomadic lives for sedentary ones. In time, however, dynastic disputes and other problems caused a decline, and by the late 13th century the Kanem-Bornu empire had begun to lose control of much of its territory.

Dibbalemi's death about 1259 also brought into the open a struggle for control among his sons, eventually

leading to armed strife. The peoples in the outlying kingdoms of Kanem-Bornu saw no reason to continue to pay taxes to a preoccupied and chaotic government, and the power of the *mai* dissipated.

In the late 1300s, with Kanem waning, the empire's internal struggles escalated. Around 1380 the BULALA people, who had chafed under the control of Kanem, rebelled. They fought aggressively until Kanem's leader, Mai Umar ibn Idris (r. c. 1382–1387), had no choice but to leave his capital at Njimi and move to the western shore of Lake Chad. The Bulala killed five of the six *mais* between 1376 and 1400, leaving the kingdom in disarray. This period also led to warfare between the armies of the leaders who hoped to ascend to the throne.

This internal strife marked the emergence of Bornu as the region's primary power. For the next several centuries, Bornu dominated the Kanem-Bornu alliance. Bornu rulers, like those of Kanem, were converts to Islam. Also like the Kanem *mais*, the Bornu leaders retained some indigenous practices. In the Bornu culture women had significant power; the queen mother, for example, advised the sitting king and enjoyed chief-like status. *Mais*, for their part, were elected by a group of elders and given divine status, an indigenous system that predated the people's conversion to Islam. Like Kanem before it, Bornu thrived on trade. Among Bornu's exports were slaves, eunuchs, livestock, saffron-dyed cloth, and salt.

The early years of the 15th century saw yet more turbulence in the kingdom. Between c. 1400 and 1472 there were at least 15 different *mais*. Finally, Mai Ali Gaji (r. late 15th century) stabilized the Kanem-Bornu region and solidified control of the outlying areas. He also established a new capital in NGAZARGAMU. Located west of Lake Chad, it was the first real capital of Kanem-Bornu since the Bulala captured Njimi.

See also: CHAD, LAKE (Vols. I, III); NILE VALLEY (Vol. I); NIGER RIVER (Vols. I, III) KANEM-BORNU (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Ronald Cohen, *The Kanuri of Bornu* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1987).

Kangaba Ancient city in the western SUDAN, believed to have been established before 1000, that became part of the great MALI EMPIRE. Located on the Upper Niger River, Kangaba was inhabited by the MANDINKA (also called Mandingo), a West African people who spoke a MANDE language and who acted as mediators in the GOLD trade of the area. In the 13th century SUMANGURU (d. c. 1235), the ruler of neighboring KANIAGA, invaded Kangaba. Mandinka oral tradition says that Sumanguru killed all of the royal heirs but one, SUNDIATA (d. c. 1255), who could not walk and was not seen as a threat. Sundiata, whose name means "hungry lion," went into exile, where he learned to walk and became an expert hunter and horseman. He then returned to Kangaba. Aided by a coalition of Mandinka

chieftains as well as by the support of his people, Sundiata won the Battle of KIRINA in 1235 and restored Kangaba to its people.

In the coming years, Sundiata and his successors expanded the region they ruled, which came to be known as the Mali Empire. Ultimately, it comprised most of present-day SENEGAL, The GAMBIA, and Republic of MALI. Parts of modern BURKINA-FASO, GUINEA, NIGER, and MAURITANIA also fell within his empire's borders.

The Mali Empire remained strong until it grew too large to be controlled by its military resources. GAO rebelled around 1400, TIMBUKTU was taken by the TUAREGS, and the MOSSI STATES, in the southern reaches of the empire, refused to obey the Mali ruler. As a result, by about 1550 Mali had declined as a political power.

Kaniaga (Diafunu) Kingdom of the SUSU, a sub-group of the MANDE-speaking SONINKE, located in present-day Republic of MALI. Kaniaga was a thriving chiefdom by the eighth century, and it remained a major power as the trans-Saharan trade ECONOMY reached its peak after the ninth century.

In the 13th century Kaniaga was ruled by SUMANGURU (d. c. 1235), a despotic leader who lost his kingdom to SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), the MANDINKA warrior and chief. Kaniaga was then incorporated into the MALI EMPIRE.

See also: KIRINA (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Kano Capital of the Kano state in present-day northern NIGERIA; historically one of the larger and more powerful of the ancient HAUSA STATES. An 11-mile (17 km) wall encircled the city of Kano. The wall was from 30 to 50 feet (9 to 15 m) high and up to 40 feet (12 m) thick in some places. Along the wall there were 13 gates with entrance towers that served as portals into the city within, which included the town, the palace, fields, and a pond. The town was divided into 14 neighborhoods of various ethnicities each with its own leader.

The Kano area boasts a rich past dating back hundreds of years. According to tradition, Kano was probably founded in the late 10th century by BAGAUDA, a descendant of Bayajida, the legendary Hausa forefather. Growing trade in the area quickly helped Kano become an important commercial center. ISLAM, introduced to Kano by way of the MALI EMPIRE, was adopted in the mid-14th century and has remained the dominant religion.

Kano's prosperity sparked long-lasting rivalries with other Hausa states, particularly with neighboring KATSINA, which was the largest and most politically influential state in Hausaland. As a result of the rivalries, throughout its history Kano was forced to become a tributary

state of several regional powers, including BORNU, of the KANEM-BORNU empire, to the west, as well as the SONGHAI Empire.

See also: CITY-STATE (Vol. II); JUKUN (Vol. III); KANO (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: M. G. Smith, *Government in Kano, 1350–1950* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997).

Kano Chronicle Document that traces the history of the Hausa State of KANO, an important CITY-STATE and emirate in present-day northern NIGERIA. Many historians consider the chronicle to be not only a critical account of Kano itself but also the most important native history of the Hausa people. Written during the 19th century, it is believed to be the oldest written record of the area, and it is said to document the ancient kingdom from about the year 1000 to the early 20th century.

The chronicle follows the developments of Kano, from its founding as one of the Hausa Bakwai (the seven true HAUSA STATES) in the 10th century by its first king, BAGAUDA. It traces the growth of the kingdom, its dealings and competition with the other Hausa city-states, and the introduction of ISLAM to the city by 14th-century religious scholars from the MALI EMPIRE.

Kanuri People who have lived in the Lake Chad region for about 1,000 years; also the language spoken by this group. Languages related to Kanuri include TEDA, Daza, and Kanembu. By 1100 the Kanuri were settled throughout the KANEM kingdom. During the 13th century Kanem was led by Mai Dunama DIBBALEMI (r. c. 1210–1259), who converted the kingdom to Islam.

Much of the commercial traffic that went to northern Africa passed through Kanem. In light of the military and commercial activity in their territory, the Kanuri subsequently abandoned their nomadic lifestyle to adopt a more sedentary one based on trade. Near the end of the 14th century, however, Kanem was invaded from the east by the BULALA people. The Kanuri subsequently abandoned their capital at NJIMI and moved in large numbers to BORNU, on the western shore of Lake Chad. About 1488 the SEFUWA king, or *mai,* Ali Gaji (r. c. 1473–c. 1503), established NGAZARGAMU, in Bornu, as the new Kanuri capital. At the peak of its success, the Kanuri trading empire of KANEM-BORNU dominated the territory from present-day southern LIBYA to Lake Chad and as far west as the HAUSA STATES.

See also: KANURI (Vol. III).

Further reading: Ronald Cohen, *The Kanuri of Bornu* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1987); Agustin F. C. Holl, *The Diwan Revisited: Literacy, State formation and the Rise of Kanuri Domination (AD 1200–1600)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000);

Karagwe East African chiefdom located west of Lake Victoria, near the modern border of UGANDA and TANZANIA. According to oral histories, in the 14th century the Bantu-speaking Sita clan ruled Karagwe (then called Bunyambo). At that time, the kingdom was considered part of the KITARA COMPLEX, a collection of chiefdoms ruled by kings of the CHWEZI DYNASTY. At the beginning of the 15th century, however, the Chwezi rulers were overthrown by invading LUO-speaking pastoralists. Displaced by these Luo newcomers, the royal chiefs of the HINDA clan, former Chwezi subjects, moved south and took control of a number of kingdoms, among them Karagwe. According to oral history, Ruhinda, a wealthy Hinda chief and, by some accounts, the brother of WAMARA, the last Chwezi king, founded Karagwe. The kingdom became a regional center of Hinda culture by the 17th century.

Karamojong (Bakaramoja, Ikaramojong) Nilotic pastoralists from East Africa whose lineage can be linked with the Jie, Teso, Dodoth, Labwor, and Turkana peoples. The seminomadic Karamojong are one of the largest ethnic groups in UGANDA. From about 1000 to 1600 their ancestors migrated south from areas in present-day southern ETHIOPIA and Republic of the SUDAN. The exact origins of the Karamojong are unknown, but their oral tradition points to either KAFFA or possibly the Omo River valley as their original homeland. They first moved toward a plateau in western KENYA that they called Moru Apolon and then continued on to locations north of Mount Elgon. The area in which they subsequently settled became known as the Karamoja region.

For centuries the Karamojong have engaged almost exclusively in cattle herding, the traditional form of subsistence. Despite drought and disease, over the centuries the Karamojong have been able to raise substantial herds for their milk, meat, and blood. Their entire culture centers around these prized animals that not only provide nourishment but also serve as a symbol of social status.

See also: PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

Further reading: Bruno Novelli, *Karimojong Traditional Religion: A Contribution* (Kampala, Uganda: Comboni Missionaries, 1999).

Karanga Bantu-speaking people who have lived in the eastern region of present-day ZIMBABWE since around 950; the rulers of the great MWENE MUTAPA empire, which flourished from c. 1450 to c. 1650, were SHONA peoples, a subgroup of the Karanga. Beginning about the middle of the 10th century, the Karanga inhabited the area long known as the Acropolis, supplanting the indigenous Khoisan-speaking peoples. In time the Karanga established trading networks that reached as far as the Indian Ocean. Their trade items included GOLD, IVORY, and salt.

The center of the Karanga empire was located in the valley below the Acropolis known as the Great Enclosure or GREAT ZIMBABWE, meaning "stone dwelling." This massive compound, which was built about 1200, included the CONICAL TOWER, small houses, and a surrounding wall of granite block that measured 32 feet (10 m) high and 800 feet (244 m) long.

About 1420, however, the Karanga abandoned Great Zimbabwe, probably because the city had grown so large that the surrounding land could no longer support it. By the beginning of the 16th century the Karanga empire had moved north, toward the Zambezi River, and had evolved into the MWENE MUTAPA state, which dominated the region for the next 200 years.

See also: CHANGAMIRE (Vol. II); ROZWI (Vol. III).

Further reading: Aenease Chigweder, *The Karanga Empire* (Harare, Zimbabwe: Books for Africa, 1985); Michael Gelfand, *An African's Religion: The Spirit of Nyajena; Case History of a Karanga People* (Cape Town, South Africa: Juta, 1966).

Karifa, Mansa (Khalifa) (c. 13th century) *Minor king of the Mali Empire*

Karifa was one of several sons of SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), the founder of the MALI EMPIRE, and the brother of Mansa ULI (r. 1255–1270), Sundiata's successor. After the death of Mansa Uli, Karifa and his brother WATI (also known as Wali) fought for control of the empire. Both had short reigns that left the empire weakened and in disarray. After Karifa's death power eventually passed to ABU BAKR (r. c. 1274–1285), Sundiata's grandson, who ruled until being overthrown by SAKURA (d. c. 1300).

Kasonko Site along the Katonga River, in the grasslands of what is now western UGANDA, known for its ancient ditches, or earthworks. The earthworks at Kasonko were dug by people under the rule of the CHWEZI DYNASTY. Like the neighboring BIGO and Munsa earthworks, which also date from the 14th or 15th centuries, the Kasonko ditches measure more than 10 feet (3 m) deep. Due to the absence of archaeological evidence at Kasonko, the purpose of the ditches remains unclear. However, excavations at Bigo and Munsa suggest that the structures there served some sort of agricultural or pastoral function. Some speculate that the earthworks formed a monument around which the local people would gather to worship hero spirits.

Katsina City and emirate in present-day north-central NIGERIA, near the border with NIGER; one of seven major HAUSA STATES, dating back to the 11th century. For hun-

dreds of years, Katsina played a vital role as a center of trade, culture, politics, and RELIGION.

Katsina's history can be traced to the 10th or 11th century, when it was founded and named after Kacina, a princess of the CITY-STATE of DAURA, some 50 miles (80 km) to the east. Katsina began as a walled-in community that, over time, added other walled-in sections for new arrivals. This gave the city a unique architectural structure that reflected its growth and diversity.

See also: KATSINA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Gretchen Dihoff, *Katsina: Profile of a Nigerian City* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970).

Keita clan Traders from the upper Niger Valley who ruled over the West African MALI EMPIRE. The Keita, originally from lower Niger, were MANDE-speaking traders. In 1235, under SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), they defeated the armies of SUMANGURU (d. 1235) of KANIAGA and gained control of the newly formed kingdom of Mali. Over the next 200 years the Keita-led Mali Empire expanded eastward, conquering the important trans-Saharan trade cities of TIMBUKTU, JENNE, and GAO. At the height of its power the empire expanded over much of present-day SENEGAL, The GAMBIA, and Republic of MALI, as well as parts of MAURITANIA, NIGER, BURKINA FASO, and GUINEA.

One of the clan's best known members was Sundiata. A MANDINKA warrior known as the "Lion Prince," Sundiata was the founder and first ruler of the Mali Empire. According to legend, Sundiata miraculously overcame a childhood disability that made him unable to walk. He later became one of the most powerful princes in the Keita clan.

The Mali Empire flourished under the rule of Sundiata's descendants, who continued the Keita clan's dominance. Mansa MUSA I (r. 1312–1337), one of Sundiata's relatives, encouraged the institution of ISLAM as the imperial religion of Mali. Musa was recognized as the Islamic ruler, or caliph, of West Africa, and he used his power to consolidate Mali's imperial authority. Under Musa's influence, trade flourished, new GOLD reserves were discovered, and Timbuktu became an important center for Islamic education.

By 1430 Keita control over Mali began to decline. When the autonomous kingdoms in the Mali confederacy asserted their independence, Mali's armies were unable to bring them back under control. By the close of the 15th century the kingdom of SONGHAI had captured what remained of the Mali Empire.

Kenya East African country approximately 224,900 square miles (582,488 sq km) in size, bordering the Indian Ocean and sharing borders with ETHIOPIA, the Republic of the SUDAN, UGANDA, TANZANIA, and SOMALIA.

Present-day Kenya has been home to more than 30 different peoples. One of the earliest groups to inhabit the region were the KHOIKHOI, who subsisted primarily by hunting and foraging. Other early residents included Cushite agriculturalists and Nilotic peoples, who migrated to areas in western Kenya from their homelands in the SUDAN. Kenyan chiefdoms prior to the era of European colonization were largely decentralized, with most groups practicing AGRICULTURE and animal herding, although both internal and coastal trade played an important role. FOOD, cattle, salt, IRON tools, and POTTERY were common trade commodities.

Limited commercial activity along the Kenyan coast greatly expanded with the arrival of Arab traders, who came in greater numbers beginning in the 11th century. IVORY, GOLD, beads, cloth, rhinoceros horns, tortoiseshell, and slaves were valued export items at Arab markets.

As the ARABS intermarried with the coastal people, a new ethnic group, the Swahili, emerged. Beginning in the 12th century the Swahili dominated Kenyan coastal trade, and by the 15th century the port town of MOMBASA was one of the most important trading centers along the East African coast.

When Portuguese merchants arrived in the late 15th century, they aligned themselves with the Swahili in an attempt to gain control of coastal trade. However, tension between the Portuguese and Swahili soon developed, and in 1529 the Portuguese gained autonomous control over this portion of the East African coast.

The word *swahili* is derived from the ARABIC word *sahel*, meaning "coast." The Swahili, then, were known as the "people of the coast." The same Arabic word is used to name the southern border of the Sahara, the Sahel.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); KENYA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV, V); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

Further reading: Karega-Munene, *Holocene Foragers, Fishers and Herders of Western Kenya* (Oxford, U.K.: Archaopress, 2002); Robert M. Maxon and Thomas P. Ofcansky, *Historical Dictionary of Kenya* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2000); Robert Pateman, *Kenya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1998).

Keta Coastal town located on the Gulf of Guinea in present-day GHANA, between the mouth of the VOLTA RIVER and the border with present-day TOGO. As early as 1475 Keta was an important trade center of the Anlo people, a subgroup of the EWE. When European traders arrived in the latter half of the 15th century, Keta, which means "head of the sand" in Ewe, was a prominent Atlantic coast market for the trading of GOLD, silver, IVORY, and spices.

See also: ANLO (Vol. III); KETA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong, *Between the Sea & the Lagoon: An Eco-social History of the Anlo of Southeastern Ghana, c. 1850 to Recent Times* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2001).

Kharijite Fundamentalist Muslim sect to which many North African BERBERS converted during the eighth century. Originally the Kharijites, or Khariji sect, supported Ali (r. 656–661), the fourth caliph and son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632). This was during the civil war in Arabia between Ali's supporters and the Umayyads over control over the Caliphate, often called the Arab Empire. Unlike Shiites, the Karijites held that anyone, even a servant, rightfully could be elected caliph if he was pious and morally pure. For their fanatical devotion to Ali's cause and puritanical, deeply fundamentalist beliefs, the Kharijites have been called the earliest Islamic sect. The movement was suppressed in its native Abbasid Caliphate, in present-day Iraq, during the seventh century but, in more moderate forms, it spread to eastern Arabia, North Africa, and eastern Africa—carried by missionaries and believers—where it survives even today.

Kharijite doctrines were appealing to the non-Arabic-speaking Berber peoples in North Africa because they seemed to offer alternatives to Arab political domination of the Muslim world and allow rebellion against a ruler when the ruler acted in an unrighteous manner. Berber resentment against the ARABS stemmed in part from the way Berber warriors were treated when they served in the Muslim armies that invaded Spain in 711. They were treated as *malawi*, or clients, of the Arab states, paid less for their services, not allowed to share in the spoils, all of which went to Arabs, and forced to offer human tribute—slaves, especially female slaves—to the Arab rulers.

In 740 the Berbers rebelled against Arab rule in Tangier, in MOROCCO. By 742 they had taken all of present-day ALGERIA. At the same time, all of Tripolitania, in present-day northwest LIBYA, was won over to Kharijite control by the conversion of the Berber peoples who lived in the region.

In 750 the Abbasid dynasty (r. 750–1278) overthrew the reigning UMAYYAD caliph in Damascus, moved the capital to Baghdad in present-day Iraq, and turned the focus of the Caliphate eastward, toward Persia. For the first time, the Caliphate did not rule over the entire Muslim world. In EGYPT, North Africa, and Spain, local dynasties claimed the status of caliph, or ruler, of the local Muslims. In North Africa four separate Muslim

states claimed power, one of which nominally accepted Abbasid authority and three of which rejected it outright. The only state in Berber hands was the relatively insignificant state of the Banu Midrar, in Morocco. Their principal town, SIJILMASA, was primarily a trading community. The Banu Midrar fell to the FATIMIDS in 909.

See also: ANDALUS, AL- (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Aziz A. Batran, *Islam and Revolution in Africa* (Brattleboro, Vt.: Amana Books, 1984).

Khoikhoi (Khoe Khoe, Namaqua, Khoi, Hottentots)

Khoisan-speaking pastoralists of southern Africa. Seminomadic herders, the Khoikhoi have inhabited present-day NAMIBIA for the majority of the second millennium. Descendants of an ancient Ethiopian people, the Khoikhoi migrated south to what is now Namibia in the 14th century, later moving on to the Cape of Good Hope, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA. They subsisted by hunting, gathering, and raising sheep, cattle, and goats. Their handicraft skills included POTTERY, basketry, weaving, and metalworking.

When the Portuguese arrived in 1488, the Khoikhoi responded aggressively, killing dozens of the foreign invaders. In retaliation the Portuguese slaughtered the Khoikhoi in large numbers several years later. By the mid-17th century European settlers had forced the Khoikhoi from their Cape homeland.

See also: KHOIKHOI (Vol. III); KHOISAN LANGUAGES (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Alan Barnard, *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa: A Comparative Ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Emile Boonzaier, et al., *The Cape Herders: A History of the Khoikhoi of Southern Africa* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1996); Richard Elphick, *Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa* (Johannesburg, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1985).

Kigali

Capital city of present-day RWANDA, located in the rural highlands along the Ruganwa River. During the late 15th century Kigali served as a major trade center of the separate TUTSI monarchies that soon unified as the Rwanda kingdom.

Kikuyu

East Africa people living mostly in present-day KENYA; also the language these people speak. Today numbering 4 million, the Kikuyu make up the largest percentage of Kenya's population. Although a well-defined Kikuyu ethnic group emerged only in the 17th century, it is theorized that the clans that made up the Kikuyu peo-

ple began moving into present-day Kenya from present-day southern SOMALIA during the great BANTU EXPANSION of the first millennium. The merging of multiple cultures produced an eclectic mix of Kikuyu rituals over the centuries. From the Thagicu the Kikuyu adopted ceremonial dances and initiation rites, which became common in Kikuyu culture. Young men and women were fully integrated into the social circles of the village, called *itura*, after circumcision and clitoridectomy ceremonies. After their initiation males became warriors, and the females' social responsibilities increased to include duties beyond the village proper.

According to oral tradition, Ngai, the Kikuyu god, commanded Gikuyu, the forefather of the Kikuyu, to build his home near Mount Kenya. Gikuyu settled in the center of the land. It was full of fig trees, so he named it the Tree of the Building Site (Mukurue wa Gathanga). Ngai sent Gikuyu a wife, Mumbi, who bore Gikuyu nine daughters. Along with one other child, these women became the progenitors of the 10 ancestral clans of the Kikuyu.

As early as the eighth century the proto-Kikuyu groups practiced clearing their woodlands for AGRICULTURE. Preparing land to sustain a single FAMILY required approximately 150 days of LABOR, so groups of men joined together to accelerate the process. These small groups (*mbari*) would clear a large plot of land and then divide it among themselves. Once the land was cleared, the *mbari* served as the political leaders of the area. The revered elders in each *mbari* were given the most power. Subsequent settlers (*ahoi*) could not become members of the ruling *mbari* council.

Famine was often a major problem in East Africa. Kikuyu agriculture suffered from the arid climate, and regular harvest failure affected the local *mbari* communities. Approximately every 70 years a major catastrophe struck that extended beyond the local *mbari,* and these severe famines resulted in massive death throughout the Kikuyu lands.

From the Thagicu the proto-Kikuyu learned irrigation techniques that became vital to their expanding agricultural ECONOMY. Combined with their enterprising spirit, irrigation allowed them to produce enough FOOD to sell to neighboring people, such as the KAMBA and MAASAI. They initially grew bananas, yams, millet, and sorghum. (Maize, cassava, and rice became important items in the 19th century, when the Kikuyu traded with European MERCHANTS.)

See also: KIKUYU (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: E. N. Mugo, *Kikuyu People: A Brief Outline of their Customs and Traditions* (Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1982); Godfrey Muriuki, *People round Mount Kenya: Kikuyu* (London: Evans Bros., 1985); David P. Sandgren, *Christianity and the Kikuyu: Religious Divisions and Social Conflict* (New York: P. Lang, 1989).

Kilwa (Kilwa Kisiwani) One-time trading center on the East African coast. ARABS and MERCHANTS from the Iranian plateau established Kilwa as a trade center in the late 10th century. Spurred by a demand for GOLD and IVORY, Kilwa became the preeminent coastal trading city in eastern Africa by about 1200. Kilwa was able to gain control of the gold exports from SOFALA, a port city south of the mouth of the Zambezi River, through which MWENE MUTAPA gold flowed. By the end of the 15th century a series of internal struggles had greatly weakened the city's economic power. When the Portuguese seized Kilwa in 1505, Swahili traders responded by using other ports; within 10 years the city's role as a principal gold-trading center was greatly diminished.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); HUSUNI KUBWA PALACE (Vol. II); KILWA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SHIRAZI ARABS (Vol. II); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

kingdoms and empires Historical records and the archaeological study of the ruins of palaces, mosques, royal cemeteries, and walled enclosures indicate that a substantial number of kingdoms and empires flourished in Africa between the fifth and the 15th centuries. A kingdom is a large territory or political unit that has a monarchical form of government usually headed by a king or queen. An empire, on the other hand, consists of a number of states or territories united by conquest or by diplomatic means and ruled by a central sovereign authority. Before the period of European colonization, Africa had many kingdoms, some large, most small, but usually inhabited by a single people or by a dominant cattle-raising people and a subject agriculturalist people. The major indigenous empires of West Africa encompassed vast territories and many different peoples under a single ruler.

In the lands of North Africa, collectively known as the MAGHRIB ("West," in ARABIC), empires flourished between 534 and 1554: first Byzantium and then, after the rise of ISLAM, the Caliphate, the empires of the AL-MORAVIDS and the ALMOHADS, and the Ottoman Empire. In SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, both kingdoms under local rule and empires under central rule flourished. By the 11th century ancient Ghana had transformed itself from a kingdom into an empire and began the process that culminated in 1464 with the rise of SONGHAI, the largest in-

digenous empire in the history of Africa. The kingdoms and empires of Africa were often highly complex and stratified societies that developed from modest beginnings as obscure villages, as commercial centers or depots established along trade routes, or as agricultural settlements. Although each was governed by its own political, social, and cultural beliefs, interregional trading probably exposed groups to different practices.

Dynastic rule was a feature of some African kingdoms. A dynasty is a series of rulers from the same FAMILY or a select group that maintains ruling authority over several generations. The royal line of the Christian kingdom of ETHIOPIA offers one such example. Known as the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY, it dates back allegedly to the marriage, about the 10th century BCE, of the Jewish king Solomon and the mythical Queen Makeda (queen of Sheba). According to Ethiopian legend, the son of this union, Menelik I, was considered the first dynastic ruler of the nation. The rulers of the ZAGWE DYNASTY gained control beginning in the 10th century, but they were violently overthrown by the Solomonic warrior king YEKUNO AMLAK (r. 1270–1285), who restored the dynasty to power.

The Importance of Diversification and Specialization Many kingdoms evolved because, once populations became self-sustaining, areas of specialization could be developed. One segment of the population would serve as an agricultural LABOR force to raise crops for sustenance and trade while others developed specialized skills and thus generated additional sources of income to bolster the ECONOMY. Specialists often included CRAFTS-PEOPLE, artists, and ironworkers, who all produced articles for trade. Specialized skills might also include the ability to perform religious rites as a way to reinforce ancient moral codes and religious values. Armies capable of defending the kingdom's resources represented another form of specialization. The kingdoms of ILE-IFE, GREAT ZIMBABWE, and KONGO show the effect of diversification and specialization on the development of kingdoms.

The 12th-century YORUBA kingdom of ILE-IFE in present-day NIGERIA was noted for its agricultural success in producing yams and oil palms and in raising livestock. Ile-Ife expanded as a result of cooperative work and the joining of villages. It had a central ruler or king and a profoundly important religious focus that fostered many areas of specialization, including the production of artistic metalwork. The layout of Ile-Ife, which included a royal compound on the city's interior and the farming

community on the outskirts, served as one of several early models for the cosmopolitan CITY-STATE.

The kingdom of Great Zimbabwe (c. 1100–1450) in southern Africa developed in a way similar to that of Ile-Ife, with farming serving as an important base. Although MAPUNGUBWE was the first kingdom in the region, Great Zimbabwe was the most notable, spread over 2.8 square miles (7.2 sq km) of open woodland and encircled by hills. Like Ile-Ife, the city of Great Zimbabwe was enclosed by a large wall, known as the Great Enclosure, which measured nearly 40 feet (12 m) high and had a circumference of approximately 800 feet (244 m). Equally notable were the odd shaped boulders that marked Great Zimbabwe's Hill Complex as a site of religious activities.

During the 15th century the KONGO KINGDOM grew even larger than Zimbabwe. The Kongo kingdom had landholdings of approximately 200,000 square miles (517,997 sq km) and a population estimated at between 4 and 5 million people. This large region was made up of six small states, each headed by a chief, who in turn was governed by the king, known as the *manikongo*. The Kongo people were primarily an agricultural society, but they also developed many diversified specialties that included weaving, ironwork, and the LOST-WAX PROCESS of casting metal. The goods they produced became valuable trade items.

The Importance of Trade The ability to engage in large-scale trade was also a common factor in many self-sustaining nations. The empire that began as the kingdom of KANEM, for example, was directly impacted by TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. In the early 1200s it developed lucrative trade networks that included sending large shipments of salt from Bilma, Agram, and other neighboring regions into the Sahel. Kanem also supplied alum to EGYPT and countries in the Maghrib, along with elephant tusks, ostrich feathers, live GIRAFFES, embroidered garments, and IRON weapons.

The most expansive trade links usually developed within regions that were in close proximity to the coast. Trade explains the rise in eastern Africa of the SWAHILI COAST region, which included approximately 170 city-states. These states extended along the coast from the southern region of present-day SOMALIA to present-day MOZAMBIQUE.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF EASTERN AFRICA AND THE INTERIOR (Vols. II, III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE LOWER GUINEA AND ATLANTIC COAST (Vols. II, III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE MAGHRIB (Vols. II, III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF SENEGAMBIA (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II).

Further reading: G. T. Stride and Caroline Ifeka, *Peoples and Empires of West Africa* (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1971).

kingdoms and empires of eastern Africa and the interior There are two parts to the story of East Africa. One part traces the development of the Swahili trading states along the Indian Ocean coast that developed as a result of pre- and post-Islamic Arab trade. These mercantile city-states were wholly directed toward the sea and commerce and, until the 19th century, had little direct political impact on inland peoples; they were mainly transfer points for IVORY, GOLD, and other trade goods to their final destinations outside Africa. The second part records the rise of the inland kingdoms that resulted from the migration of Bantu-speaking peoples into the region.

Arab Coastal Kingdoms The East African coast was known to Greek and Roman traders of the first centuries CE. Arab traders settled in the region and intermarried with the local peoples, but there is no record of their living anywhere but in existing fishing and trading communities. The rise of ISLAM in the seventh and eighth centuries helped boost INDIAN OCEAN TRADE and the Arab presence along the coast. In the eighth century Shiite refugees from the Arabian Peninsula who were fleeing persecution by the dominant Sunni sect settled along the East African coast. They also intermarried with the local peoples, learned their language, and began trading with the rest of the Muslim world. Arab writers of the time called this portion of the coast the "Land of ZANJ." By the 13th century ARABS had also successfully established colonies along the eastern coast, including MOGADISHU, LAMU, MOMBASA, KILWA, PATE, and SOFALA, where they traded slaves, ivory, and gold.

> African ivory, easier to carve than ivory from India, was especially prized in China and even in India, where it was used to make ceremonial objects and sword hilts.

The city-states along the coasts were commercial rivals but rarely military rivals. One historian notes that until the Portuguese arrived in the 15th century, there is little record of piracy. Relations with the inland peoples were generally good, as well, since it was to the advantage of the commercial states to stay on good terms with those who provided the goods that made their cities prosperous. There were occasional attacks from inland, often in retaliation for cattle raids or slave raids staged by rulers of the coastal cities, notably the sultans of Kilwa. These sultans gained their wealth from the Sofala gold trade to the south, and they did not fear risking a small portion of their wealth if it might eventually return greater gains. Leaders of other coastal cities were more cautious.

The Arab coastal cities never developed any kind of central authority or transformed themselves into a united kingdom or trading empire. They maintained their independence until the early 1500s when the Portuguese began a systematic conquest of the East African coast.

Linguistic and archaeological evidence and the oral traditions of the modern peoples of the region provide most of the information available about the kingdoms of the interior before the 19th century.

Kingdoms of the East African Interior With some exceptions, the East African interior is the story of peoples rather than kingdoms. Governance was local—by clan or village—rather than by central authority. In northwestern TANZANIA, for example, the Bantu-speaking Sukuma and Nyamwezi peoples were governed by chiefs called *ntemi,* whose duties were as much religious as political. This style of governance spread southward to include the Nyamwaga, the Hehe, the Safwa, and other peoples of the region. The other inhabitants of the region were the Nilotic, or Nilo-Saharan-speaking, peoples who moved into the northern and northwestern parts of East Africa under pressure from the Cushitic OROMO peoples from the Horn of Africa. They, as well as the Oromo, lacked a tradition of kingship; individual leaders were less important than the elders of the clans. Exceptions occurred where Nilotic peoples established dominance over peoples who previously evolved a form of political leadership. Such a kingdom was founded by the LUO people at the beginning of the 15th century, displacing an earlier kingdom ruled by the CHWEZI DYNASTY that had flourished in the lake region.

The lake region, Great Lakes region, and interlacustrine (meaning "between the lakes") region are the names given to the area of land between Lakes Albert, Victoria, Tanganyika, Kyoga, and Edward.

The Chwezi rulers were known for their development of several sites, including KASONKO, Mubende, BIGO, Bugoma, Kibengo and Munsa, in what is now western UGANDA. At Bigo are the remains of an extensive earthen and stone channel network more than 6 miles (9.6 km) long that is thought to have encompassed both the capital and an ample grazing pasture for herds of cattle. These ditches also indicate that the Chwezi were sufficiently well-organized to field large teams of laborers to construct such a system.

In the early 15th century, Nilotic LUO-speaking people from present-day Republic of the SUDAN took over most of the KITARA COMPLEX, a region first unified by the Chwezi Dynasty during the 15th century. As the Luo in-

vaders established a new kingdom called BUNYORO-KI-TARA, HINDA clan leaders, who claimed to be direct descendants of the Chwezi rulers, moved south to establish TUTSI monarchies in regions already inhabited by Bantu-speaking HUTU farmers.

Further south are the ruins of an extensive city called GREAT ZIMBABWE, after which the present-day country of ZIMBABWE is named. At its peak between the years 1100 and 1450, Great Zimbabwe supported a population estimated between 10,000 and 20,000 people in the city and the surrounding valley. Built by the Bantu-speaking SHONA people and supported by a local economy based on AGRICULTURE and cattle, Great Zimbabwe was the center of a flourishing trading empire that sent gold and other trade goods as far east as the Arab trading towns on the Indian Ocean coast. There is some speculation based on the monoliths and sculptures found in the ruins that the city was also a religious center. By about 1450, however, the balance of trade had shifted to the north, and the city was abandoned. It is thought that local resources, including salt, had dwindled to dangerously low levels.

South of Great Zimbabwe, on the borders of present-day ZIMBABWE, BOTSWANA, and SOUTH AFRICA, lay the city of MAPUNGUBWE, claimed by some to be South Africa's first urban center. Having started as a large village, it rapidly developed into a town of perhaps 10,000 people. Mapungubwe was abandoned during the 12th century, very possibly because trade routes to the coast shifted northward and became dominated by Great Zimbabwe as that city grew into its prime. Both Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe, like other settlements of the Bantu speakers, were generally ruled by chiefs who had considerable power but who had to consult the elders on matters of importance. These settlements were highly stratified according to age, wealth, and gender.

Further south, in the Transvaal region of present-day South Africa, the Bantu speakers called Sotho-Tswana began to gather into larger settlements in the 13th and 14th centuries. The Fokeng and the Rolong were two of a number of powerful dynastic chiefdoms that started to emerge in the region. The Fokeng chiefdoms spread southward, and the Rolong chiefdoms spread over lands controlled by peoples of the KALAHARI DESERT, who either accepted Rolong rule or moved further west across the Kalahari. The Rolong cities developed as centers of farming, cattle raising, and commerce and featured a strongly hierarchical social structure. At its height in the late 16th century, Taung, the capital of the Rolong chiefdoms, had a population of as many as 15,000 to 20,000 people. The great kingdom of the Zulu peoples, so closely associated with this region in the popular mind, did not rise until the 18th century.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF EASTERN AFRICA AND THE INTERIOR (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

kingdoms and empires of the Lower Guinea and Atlantic coast

In West Africa the Lower Guinea coast was home to several important kingdoms. Below the GAMBIA RIVER lived the MANDE, among the last people to settle along the coast. The kingdom of GABU, which they founded around 1250 in what is now GUINEA-BISSAU, was originally a tributary state of the MALI EMPIRE and provided Mali, which controlled the GOLD-producing regions of the upper SENEGAL RIVER and the upper Niger River, with access to the sea. The Gabu kingdom held power over various indigenous, non-Mande chiefdoms, such as the Kokoli, the Biafada, the Niumi, and the Badibu, that it conquered and reduced to servitude. Contributing to Gabu's autonomy in the late 15th and early 16th centuries was the weakening of Mali by attacks from the growing SONGHAI Empire. The Gabu state survived until the 19th century.

Farther down the Lower Guinea coast were the kingdoms of BIGO, BONO, BENIN, ILE-IFE, OYO, Nri, Ganeboafo, and AKAN. They evolved from the cultures of coastal peoples such as the Akan, the BRONG, the GA-DANGME, the EDO, and the peoples of YORUBALAND, whose success was intrinsically linked to the development of IRON technology. This technology enabled them to produce more crops and the appealing trade goods that brought them prosperity.

The Brong developed a site at Bigo between 965 and 1125 along the coast of what became modern GHANA. Bigo was a trading center from the 11th century onwards and reached its peak in the 14th century. At its height, 5,000 people lived in the compounds within the settlement. Archaeological evidence indicates that the city was divided into five different districts soon after the establishment of the permanent trade route to JENNE in the first half of the 15th century. Little else is known about Bigo other than that leadership fell to clan leaders rather than to any central authority. Trade was more important than political life.

Bono, located where the forest and the savanna meet, was a center of trade for the region, especially for gold and kola nuts (prized as a nonalcoholic stimulant by Muslims), which Mande traders from the north sought out for the Arab trade. Bono quickly dominated nearby settlements. Bigo and Bono gave rise to the Akan kingdoms of the 15th century.

Prior to 1400 the Ga-Dangme settled such sites as Gbegbe, Little Accra, Prampram, and Lolovo. These settlements supplanted Ladoku and Shai, which had emerged between 600 and 1400. Life in these newer settlements revolved around pastoralism, fishing, the production of salt, and the cultivation of crops.

The YORUBA people established both Ile-Ife and Oyo. According to tradition, Ile-Ife was ruled by ODUDUWA, who founded it in the 11th century. Ile-Ife became one of the first kingdoms south of the Sahel. The sovereign power of the king was based on common territorial residence, common law, and his authority over the various Yoruba-speaking states. The city-states that made up the kingdom were organized around one city and its surrounding villages. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Ile-Ife dynasty was overthrown in the 16th century. This evidence includes the disappearance of potsherd floors—found throughout the kingdom from the 12th to the 16th century—that suddenly vanished from the local ARCHITECTURE.

The Oyo kingdom, which is believed to have evolved at approximately the same time that Oduduwa founded Ile-Ife, was another major center. There the Yoruba traded with peoples of the Sahel and the forest region. It became a substantial city by the 14th century but did not reach its zenith of imperial power until the 17th century.

The other major kingdom, Benin, was located southeast of Ile-Ife and became a kingdom in the 12th century. In the 14th century the people of Benin asked the king of Ile-Ife to send them a prince. The rule of the prince, who was named Oranyan, was limited by the powers of the local chiefs, known as UZAMAS. It is not clear whether or not the *uzamas* were allies of the king of Ile-Ife because the fourth ruler of Oranyan's dynasty battled with the *uzamas* to gain more power. He ultimately succeeded and upon his victory built a palace in his own honor and established titles as grants rather than birthrights. The *uzamas* did not concede, however, and still exercised their power until the 15th century, when an autocracy was installed under the leadership of EWUARE (r. 1440–1480).

Under Oba (King) Ewuare, the city of Benin was renamed Edo. During his rule, which lasted from 1440 to 1473, the political organization of the empire was created. Three groups of titled chiefs—the *uzamas,* the palace chiefs, and the newly created title of town chiefs—were responsible for Edo's leadership. During this period, Ewuare conquered the eastern and southern Yoruba territories, thereby consolidating the neighboring regions into his empire. Ewuare maintained Edo's independence from European control and established a peaceful relationship with the Portuguese upon their arrival to the region in 1472.

By the end of the 15th century at least 12 small kingdoms of coastal peoples, including Afutu and Gomoa, could be counted among the major kingdoms of Benin and Oyo. These major kingdoms held the reins of trade with other states in the region, a factor that made it very easy for the Portuguese to tap into the vast trading net-

work by establishing an economic relationship with a few major kingdoms.

Atlantic Coast Kingdoms Kingdoms south of the equator on Africa's west coast originated with Bantu speakers and flourished between the 13th and 17th centuries. The kingdoms of Loango and KONGO had governments that were generally built on clan structures. AGRICULTURE, cattle-raising, and trade were the important elements in their economies. Toward the end of the 15th century, the kingdom of Loango, north of the Congo River, was settled by the Bantu-speaking Vili people.

To the south of the Congo River lay the KONGO KINGDOM, which was formed by Bantu-speaking peoples in the 14th century. It occupied an area stretching into what is now ANGOLA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

The Kongo kingdom was ruled by a king, the *manikongo,* who was elected by a council of the ruling elite and presided over lesser kings and local hereditary governors. The *manikongo* ruled over a network of settlements spread out over a large geographical area. By the 14th century a sophisticated trading system with widely accepted currencies, including raffia cloth and shells, gave the various settlements of the Kongo kingdom a sense of unity.

See also: GOLD COAST (Vol. III); GABU (Vol. III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV, V).

kingdoms and empires of the Maghrib

kingdoms and empires of the Maghrib The history of North Africa is almost entirely that of empires rather than kingdoms. From 428 until 534, the Kingdom of the Vandals, founded by invading Germanic warriors, supplanted the Western Roman Empire in the lands bordering the MEDITERRANEAN SEA. In 534 present-day ALGERIA and TUNISIA were subsumed into the Byzantine Empire, whose dominion lasted until 675, when all of North Africa fell to Muslim invaders and became part of the Caliphate, or Arab Empire. This included the Berber kingdoms of FEZZAN and LIBYA, in central North Africa. In 909 Algeria and Tunisia came under the control of the FATAMIDS, who ruled the region until 1015, and then the Hammadid dynasty, which ruled from 1015 until 1152. The empires of the ALMORAVIDS, centered in present-day MOROCCO, and the Berber ALMOHADS contended for dominion from 1152 until 1360, when the Almohad empire gained firm control and united the MAGHRIB for the first time under a single ruler. The region remained under Almohad control until it became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1554.

From the fifth to 14th centuries and later, the cities of the Maghrib were the African end points of the vast trans-Saharan networks of trade routes that brought GOLD, foodstuffs, and METALWORK from SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA for shipment to Europe, the Middle East, and other lands that ringed the Mediterranean. The African goods were traded for European textiles, COPPER, beads, jewelry, and other items.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE (Vol. III); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

kingdoms and empires of Senegambia

kingdoms and empires of Senegambia Arab historians of the 10th and 11th century writing about the SENEGAL RIVER mention a number of black African states along its banks, the most important of which were TEKRUR and SILLA, just up river from the salt-exporting coastal town of Awil. It is thought that Tekrur, founded by the ancestors of the TUKULOR people, was established as early as the first century CE. By the 10th and 11th centuries it had become an orderly kingdom with a large army and an important commercial center, shipping GOLD and salt to North Africa in exchange for wool, COPPER, and BEADS AND JEWELRY, among other items. The local ECONOMY depended on farming, raising cattle, camels, and goats, and weaving the cloth that gave Tekrur considerable fame. Tekrur was one of the first kingdoms in western Africa to accept ISLAM and became for a time the staging area for a JIHAD, or holy war, against non-Muslim elements of the SANHAJA BERBERS, who were persecuting Muslim missionaries.

By the 11th century the GHANA EMPIRE, located further inland between the Niger and Senegal rivers, was the most important power in West Africa and had incorporated Tekrur as a semi-independent state within its empire. Eventually Tekrur joined forces with the militant Islamic force later known as the ALMORAVIDS in a war that led to the conquest in 1076 of Ghana's capital at Kumbi Saleh. Ghana's fall, however, did not increase Tekrur's power. The FULANI and WOLOF peoples, among others, carved kingdoms from Tekrur territory and weakened it. The WOLOF EMPIRE, originally a confederation of small, independent village-states in Walo, eventually consisted of the states of Kayor, Baol, and Walo and the former SERER states of Sine and Saloum, the rulers of each acknowledging kinship with the Wolof ruler, known as the *burba jolof.*

The Wolof system of government, based on individual wealth and the preservation of personal privilege and power, became one of the most autocratic systems of government in West Africa. Hereditary griots sang the praises of the divine leader and their aristocratic masters and transmitted the history of the people from generation to generation. A rigid caste system was in place, made up of royalty, nobility, free persons, and a class of forced laborers. Military service was an important element in Wolof life. In the early 16th century the Wolof empire could field an army of 10,000 CAVALRY and 100,000 foot soldiers. Islam made almost no inroads in this society, which

owed its achievements to few outside influences. The empire began to decline in the 16th century when Kayor, one of its constituent states, asserted its independence.

The former Serer states were similar to the Wolof empire in their deification of the king, or *bur*, and their rigid class structure. At the top was an influential warrior class from which rulers, soldiers, judges, and tax collectors were selected; at the bottom were those bound to domestic and agricultural service. The underclass did contribute to the growth of the Serer states, though, through their advanced farming techniques, which included crop rotation and the swampland cultivation of rice. The Serer states vigorously resisted conversion to Islam.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); SENEGAMBIA REGION (Vol. IV).

kingdoms and empires of the West African savanna
The West African savanna was home to the three great empires of Africa before 1450 (GHANA, MALI, and SONGHAI), as well as numerous smaller, often tributary, kingdoms.

Ghana Empire   One of the oldest states in West Africa, founded according to some scholars as early as 300 CE, ancient Ghana was a powerful GOLD-trading kingdom situated between the SENEGAL RIVER and the Niger River, 500 miles (805 km) northwest of the present-day nation of GHANA. Originally called OUAGADOU by its SONINKE founders, the kingdom later adopted the name *Ghana,* or "war chief," after the title of the ruler, who enjoyed semidivine status as both king and chief priest of all the traditional cults.

By 1068 Ghana was the largest and wealthiest state in West Africa. The capital, KUMBI SALEH, was the most important trading center of the region, where salt, horses, and luxury goods from North Africa were exchanged for gold, ostrich feathers, IVORY, and other goods. The GHANA collected customs duties on all these goods. Kumbi-Saleh was actually two connected towns: Kumbi-Saleh proper was the Muslim section, with commercial areas, 12 mosques, and many North African merchants and Muslim scholars in residence. Set apart from this was the royal city, where the palace of the *ghana* was located. Buildings there were constructed in the traditional mud-and-thatch style, in contrast with the stone buildings of the Muslim quarter. Between these two were the houses of Soninke commoners. ISLAM was the religion of the commercial class, but, as commonly happened in many African societies, most Soninke practiced their traditional religion.

To govern the empire, which included many non-Soninke peoples, two types of provincial governments were used. In Soninke regions, the governor was often a close relative or friend of the *ghana;* in non-Soninke provinces, the governor was the local ruler selected according to local custom and confirmed in office by the

ghana. In return, after mutual exchanges of honors and expensive gifts, the *ghana* provided protection, the rule of law, and opportunities for trade. An important factor that enabled ancient Ghana to extend its borders was its military prowess. In the 11th century Ghana could field an army of 200,000 infantry and CAVALRY. The Soninke probably learned early on how to work IRON. Their well-equipped army carried metal swords and hurled iron-tipped spears and arrows at foes armed sometimes only with wooden war clubs and stones.

The rituals of the royal court were both splendid and rigid. The *ghana* held audiences inside a magnificent pavilion of state, which was guarded by armed warriors bearing shields and swords decorated with gold and by the king's constant companions, dogs in collars made from gold and silver. No petitioner was allowed to address the *ghana* directly. Non-Muslim petitioners approached the *ghana* on all fours, with dirt sprinkled on their shoulders. On tours of his kingdom, wild animals were driven into a town in advance of the *ghana's* arrival, to signify his power over man and beast.

Ghana fell in 1076 after a 14-year JIHAD, or holy war, led against it by the SANHAJA BERBERS, Muslim neighbors to the north who founded the Almoravid empire and were bent on purifying the "pagan" Soninke people of Ghana. Undoubtedly they were also interested in gaining control of the gold trade. Although this takeover was temporary and Ghana reasserted control over the empire at the beginning of the 12th century, Ghana never fully recovered from the Almoravid invasion. Internal discontent, fueled by rivalries between client states as well as the desire of local chiefs to stop paying tribute to the central government may have been contributing factors. This was compounded by the fact that during the 11th and 12th centuries new gold fields and trade routes made Ghana less important to the gold trade. By the 13th century Ghana had lost its trading power and dispersed into small states. The power vacuum in the region was filled by the rise of the SUSU kingdom, also a warrior state ruled by a high priest-king. Susu acquired much of the territory of Ghana and existed until it fell, in 1235, to the rising power of the MALI EMPIRE.

Mali Empire   Mali, founded in the 13th century by the MANDINKA prince SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), became heir to the Ghana Empire and the largest empire in West Africa up to that time. While Ghana was supreme, the Mandinka lived in scattered settlements between the upper reaches of the Senegal and Niger rivers. The Mandinka city

of KANGABA was founded in response to the despotic rule of the Susu king SUMANGURU (r. c. 1220), whose tyranny forced merchants to flee from Kumbi, thereby ruining the former capital of Ghana as a trading center. Sundiata's forces crushed the Susu at the battle of KIRINA, razed Kumbi, and destroyed all resistance within the kingdom of Susu. Sundiata then molded the conquered lands into an empire by restoring them to the rule of their rightful kings, not as independent monarchs but as sub-kings under his authority. In this way Sundiata became the first *mansa* (king) of Mali. He built up the region as an agricultural center, with COTTON as the prime crop. He captured the WANGARA GOLD FIELDS and diverted the gold trade through the city of NIANI, which attracted merchants from North Africa. The gold trade, plus the reputation Sundiata built for law and justice, made Mali prosper.

A *mansa* of Mali was expected to give expensive presents to his followers. Victorious warriors were given anklets, bracelets, necklaces, and other gifts and ornaments. The most distinguished received an enormous pair of trousers—the wider they were, the more esteemed was the wearer.

Dynastic disputes and power struggles following the death of Sundiata's son Mansa ULI (r. 1255–1270) left the kingdom in disarray until the most important ruler of Mali, Mansa MUSA I (1312–1337), came to power. He restored order and, because of his famed pilgrimage, or HAJJ, to MECCA (1324–26), he advertised the power and extent of his empire throughout the African and Muslim worlds. Mansa Musa was a strict Muslim who established ISLAM as the religion of the nobility and commercial class. Under his rule, the city of TIMBUKTU became an important center of trade as well as Muslim scholarship and law, adding further to the renown of Mali. This adherence to Islam also helped Mansa Musa consolidate his empire. Although his position as a semidivine priest-king of the Mandinka people might have worked to his disadvantage in the many non-Mandinka areas of Mali, when the rulers of those areas converted to Islam, they had a religious obligation to obey him as long as he acted justly. Thus he achieved unity and extended the greatness of his empire.

Mali's decline was gradual and was brought on by a combination of weak rulers and frequent struggles for power. By late in the 14th century, however, Mali had suffered substantial blows from which it never recovered, first at the hands of the MOSSI STATES, which captured TIMBUKTU in the late 1330s, and then from SONGHAI, which rebelled and gained its independence in the 1460s.

The BERBERS and TEKRUR nibbled at its western flanks. After 1464 all that remained was the Mandinka homeland. Songhai became the dominant power in the region. The Mali Empire continued its gradual decline until the mid-17th century.

The Mossi States The Mossi states were located to the southeast of Mali. By the 16th century five Mossi states had formed in the region of the upper VOLTA RIVER. These included OUAGADOUGOU, YATENGA, Nanumba, MAMPRUSI, and DAGOMBA. Ouagadougou became the Mossi capital about 1495, when the first king, called the *mogho naba,* reigned. These states managed to maintain their independence until the 19th century when they fell to French colonial forces.

The Songhai Empire After Songhai declared its independence from Mali, it rapidly surpassed Mali in size and became the largest empire of West Africa. The original peoples of the area were the Da, who were farmers, the Gow, who were hunters, and the SORKO, fishermen whose boats gave them great mobility along the Niger River. The Sorko established a tyrannical dominance over the Gow and the Da that lasted until sometime between 690 and 850, when nomadic Zaghawa invaders from the Lake Chad region overran the Sorko, established the ZA dynasty, and began the Songhai state. The first important Za ruler was KOSSOI (r. c. 1000), who converted to Islam and moved the capital to the city of GAO, which was closer to the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. Gao gradually attracted merchants from North Africa and became a major commercial center. The success of Gao made it attractive to Mali, whose army captured the unfortified city during the 13th century.

Not yet a military power, Songhai chafed under Malian rule. It gained its independence after the death of Mali's Mansa Musa I (d. 1337) but was mainly involved in fending off attacks from neighboring Mandinka, Mossi, and Tuareg peoples. The kingdom expanded slowly until the reigns of the warrior Sunni ALI (c. 1464–1492) and Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. c. 1493–1528), who usurped the throne in 1493 and ruled until 1538. It was under Sunni Ali and Askia Muhammad that the Songhai Empire acquired most of its vast territory.

By all accounts Sunni Ali was a tepid Muslim, a fact that incurred the wrath of the *ulama,* Timbuktu's religious leaders, who considered him an infidel. However, as a semidivine king in the minds of traditional believers, Sunni Ali was all-powerful. Sometimes arbitrary or savagely cruel, he was also an outstanding soldier and strategist. His cavalry, according to Songhai oral tradition, never lost a battle. His large fleet of war canoes both protected the empire and helped it expand along the Niger. Sunni Ali captured JENNE in 1473, giving Songhai access to the gold resources of the region. In 1483, at the battle of Jiniki To'oi, he shattered the power of the Mossi but never incorporated them into the empire. Perhaps to

break the Muslim hold on trans-Saharan trade, he opened the empire to the Portuguese, allowing them to set up a trading outpost at Wadan, near the Atlantic coast.

Askia Muhammad, in contrast, was a devout Muslim. To solidify his power, he won the loyalty of his fellow Muslims with royal patronage and attention to their religious needs. To gain the support of the rural Songhai people, he made no attempt to convert them to Islam and allowed the Songhai chief priest to hold a high office in his government. He reorganized the government, deftly combining decentralization and strong central control and encouraged trade and education. In 1499 he began to send his armies westward. By 1507 his territorial conquests extended as far as Galam, at Mali's westernmost border, near TEKRUR. By 1513 he had marched southeast into the HAUSA STATES and plundered all its major cities except for KANO, which offered fierce resistance. He attacked the sultanate of Aïr (on the AÏR MASSIF) in an attempt to defeat the TUAREGS and control Hausa trade. His success did not last, however. His allies, especially the Hausa state of Kebbi, rebelled, and the Hausa states once again became free.

Hausaland, located to the southeast of Songhai, was a group of large and small city-states that arose between the 10th and 11th centuries. Kano, KATSINA, Kebbi, Kwararafa, Nupe, and ZAZZAU (with its capital of Zaria) were among the most notable. Although these states were unified culturally, they never established themselves as a kingdom or empire. When Kebbi broke free from Songhai in 1516, it assumed control over most of Hausaland.

In the last decade of Askia Muhammad's life and for the 50 years that followed, Songhai was shaken by dynastic struggles. By 1591 it was past its prime. That year, the Songhai army was defeated by the firearm-bearing forces of MOROCCO at the battle of Tondibi, near the Songhai capital of Gao. The collapse of Songhai was immediate. Moroccans occupied Gao, Timbuktu, and Jenne and established a local government at Timbuktu. The Moroccan victories all but destroyed trans-Saharan trade. Law and order in the region collapsed. The Tuaregs, the Mandinka, the Fulani, and the Mossi raided the lands of their former overlords, and the Moroccans themselves were more interested in taking what gold they found in Songhai cities than in developing large-scale commercial ventures. In this way, the fall of Songhai caused the economic collapse of the region.

Kanem-Bornu The empire of KANEM-BORNU (sometimes called the KANURI empire, after its founding people)

lay to the east and north of Songhai. Kanem-Bornu established its own sphere of influence to the north, across the Sahara, far distant from Mali and Songhai. The kingdom of KANEM, founded by the nomadic Kanuri people, emerged around 800 CE and built its wealth on its domination of the trade routes to FEZZAN and Tripoli on the Mediterranean coast, to CAIRO in EGYPT, and to the Arab traders of East Africa. It exported gold, ivory, and other products in exchange for, among other items, salt, COPPER, and horses. It is thought that by the 11th century Kanem had largely converted to Islam. By 1230, led by *mais* (kings) of the SEFUWA dynasty, it had expanded its territory as far north as Waddan, more than 1,000 miles (1,610 km) from its capital at NJIMI.

Pressured for years by attacks from the nomadic BULALA people to the east, the people of Kanem fled west, abandoning much of their Saharan territory. The Sefuwa *mai* founded their new capital in BORNU about 1386. For a time Bornu and Bulala-dominated Kanem were separate states, but in 1526 Bornu regained control of its former lands. One can properly speak of the trading empire of Kanem-Bornu after this time. Kanem-Bornu forged trade links with its neighbors, once again dominated the trade routes to North Africa, and competed with Songhai to expand into the Tuareg sultanate of Aïr and into the Hausa States. When Songhai collapsed in 1591, Kanem-Bornu was the most powerful empire in West Africa.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. II, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF WEST AFRICA (Vol. III).

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Kinshasa Important trading center, located on the Congo River about 320 miles (515 km) from the Atlantic Ocean, in present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Although little is known about the early settlement of Kinshasa, by the 14th century it had become one of the most important ports of the KONGO KINGDOM.

See also: CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); KINSHASA (Vols. III, V); CONGO (Vol. III).

Kirina Ancient MANDE city in present-day Republic of MALI. In the 13th century Kirina was the site of an important battle between the SUSU and Mande. The early Mande inhabitants of southwestern Mali united under central rule in the 12th century. In the early 13th century, however, Mande peoples, including the Camara, Keita, Konate, and Traore clans, were confronted by Susu invaders. Under the leadership of SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255),

the united Mande defeated the Susu, who were led by SUMANGURU (r. c. 1220), at the Battle of Kirina. The victory not only became a symbol of ancient Mali's emerging power but, since the Susu leadership had been anti-Muslim, it also enabled ISLAM to spread southward into the SUDAN.

See also: KEITA CLAN (Vol. II); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II).

Kiswahili Language spoken among the various groups along Africa's Indian Ocean coast in regions of present-day SOMALIA, KENYA, TANZANIA, UGANDA, MOZAMBIQUE, and the COMOROS (countries whose shores collectively make up the SWAHILI COAST). Though it is difficult to ascertain information on the early development of Kiswahili, language historians believe that a form of proto-Kiswahili may have been spoken by trading communities in the region as early as the ninth century.

True Kiswahili did not emerge until the 13th century, when extensive coastal trade between Arab and African MERCHANTS required a common tongue in which to conduct business. Early Kiswahili was a Bantu-based language that had many borrowed words—up to 50 percent in some poetic forms—from the ARABIC language. The earliest written forms of true Kiswahili are probably East African folk tales written in Arabic script in the early 17th century.

Kiswahili stands out among African languages because it appears as a written language a few hundred years prior to the arrival of Europeans.

In many East African coastal communities, Kiswahili served as the main language or, at the very least, as a second language. Today, it is considered one of the 12 major languages of the world.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); KISWAHILI (Vol. III); LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I).

Further reading: Rocha Chimerah, *Kiswahili: Past, Present, and Future Horizons* (Nairobi, Kenya: Nairobi University Press, 2000).

Kitara Complex Collective name for kingdoms and smaller chiefdoms located in the Great Lakes region of present-day northwest UGANDA. The term *complex* is used to emphasize the multiethnic nature of the region as well as to point to the varied traditions, both ritual and political, that characterized the region. Sometimes referred to as an empire, the Kitara Complex traced its roots to the

middle of the first millennium CE, when Nilotic peoples migrated to the region from what is now the Republic of the SUDAN. During the 10th and 11th centuries large numbers of Bantu-speaking agriculturalists began moving into the region from the west, joining the Nilotic pastoralists. The mixing of these cultures led to the rise of the Tembuzi kings, who reigned until the middle of the 14th century. Tembuzi rulers were succeeded by a new line of rulers, the CHWEZI DYNASTY, which established the first semi-centralized system of government in the Kitara Complex.

According to oral tradition, the greatest ruler of this period was the semimythical warrior king, NDAHURA. Ndahura eventually expanded his holdings and transformed them into an empire extending over much of the Great Lakes region of East Africa, as far south as present-day RWANDA. However, Ndahura had difficulty maintaining control over his empire. He was succeeded by his son WAMARA, who endured an equally unstable reign. For Wamara, the biggest obstacle to stability was the massive immigration into the Kitara Complex of LUO-speaking pastoralists from the north. Striving to appease them, Wamara gave many high-level posts to the leaders of the new arrivals. The immigrants were not satisfied, however, and they ultimately rose in rebellion, overthrowing the Chwezi aristocrats. Soon the Luo, led by their own aristocratic BITO clan, founded Bunyoro (also known as BUNYORO-KITARA), as well as a number of other states, including TORO and parts of NKOLE and BUGANDA. For their part the HINDA, a clan of aristocrats from the former Chwezi states of the Kitara Complex, moved south to found new states.

See also: BUNYORO (Vols. III, IV).

Kongo (Bakongo) Bantu-speaking people of present-day ANGOLA, Republic of the CONGO, and Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Several groups, including the SUSU, Pombo, Solango, and Ashiluanda make up the Kongo people. They all speak the Bantu language of Kikongo.

Kongo ancestors lived in the Congo forest, in Central Africa. In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Kongo developed a loose confederation of local states that would become the KONGO KINGDOM. The coastal Kongo region was sparsely populated, but the central area was lush with rich soil and was densely populated. AGRICULTURE became the predominant subsistence activity of these early Kongo people.

See also: KONGO (Vols. III, IV).

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Kongo kingdom Bantu-speaking state in western Central Africa that became a powerful trade kingdom in the 15th century. At the height of its influence, the Kongo kingdom covered much of the area along the Atlantic coast to the south of the Congo River and spread east as far as the Kwango River. In the 12th century the area that would become the Kongo kingdom was settled by agriculturalists. By the beginning of the 15th century many of the small, loosely organized farming communities had formed a cohesive kingdom. The settlement of MBANZA KONGO, located on the Congo River, became the center of this early kingdom.

The Kongo kingdom was strategically located at the junction of several West African trade routes. This enabled the Kongo king, known as the *manikongo,* to secure adequate wealth to dominate neighboring peoples. The *manikongo's* means of conquest were generally peaceful, relying more on alliances and intermarriage than on warfare, and he increased his kingdom's wealth by levying taxes on the surrounding provinces. The *manikongo* managed a delicate balance of complex alliances in the king-dom through his distribution of prestige items to his supporters. One such prestige item was captives. All captives from conquests belonged exclusively to the *manikongo,* who then redistributed them.

The ECONOMY of the early Kongo kingdom was based on trade and subsistence farming. Women typically tended the fields, while the men were responsible for more LABOR-intensive tasks, such as clearing forestland and building homes. The men also tended to the palm-tree crops, which were valuable sources of wine, fruit, oil, and raffia.

The Kongo kingdom was exposed to European culture around 1483, when Portuguese explorers landed on the coast. The Kongo people, also known as Bakongo, were surprisingly receptive to the Europeans, and a number of Kongo emissaries even returned to Portugal along with the explorers. In 1491 the Portuguese returned to Kongo, but this time with Christian missionaries. Shortly thereafter the reigning *manikongo*, Nzinga Mbemba, converted to CHRISTIANITY. (He later renounced the religion.) After a period of civil strife Nzinga Mbemba's son, a con-
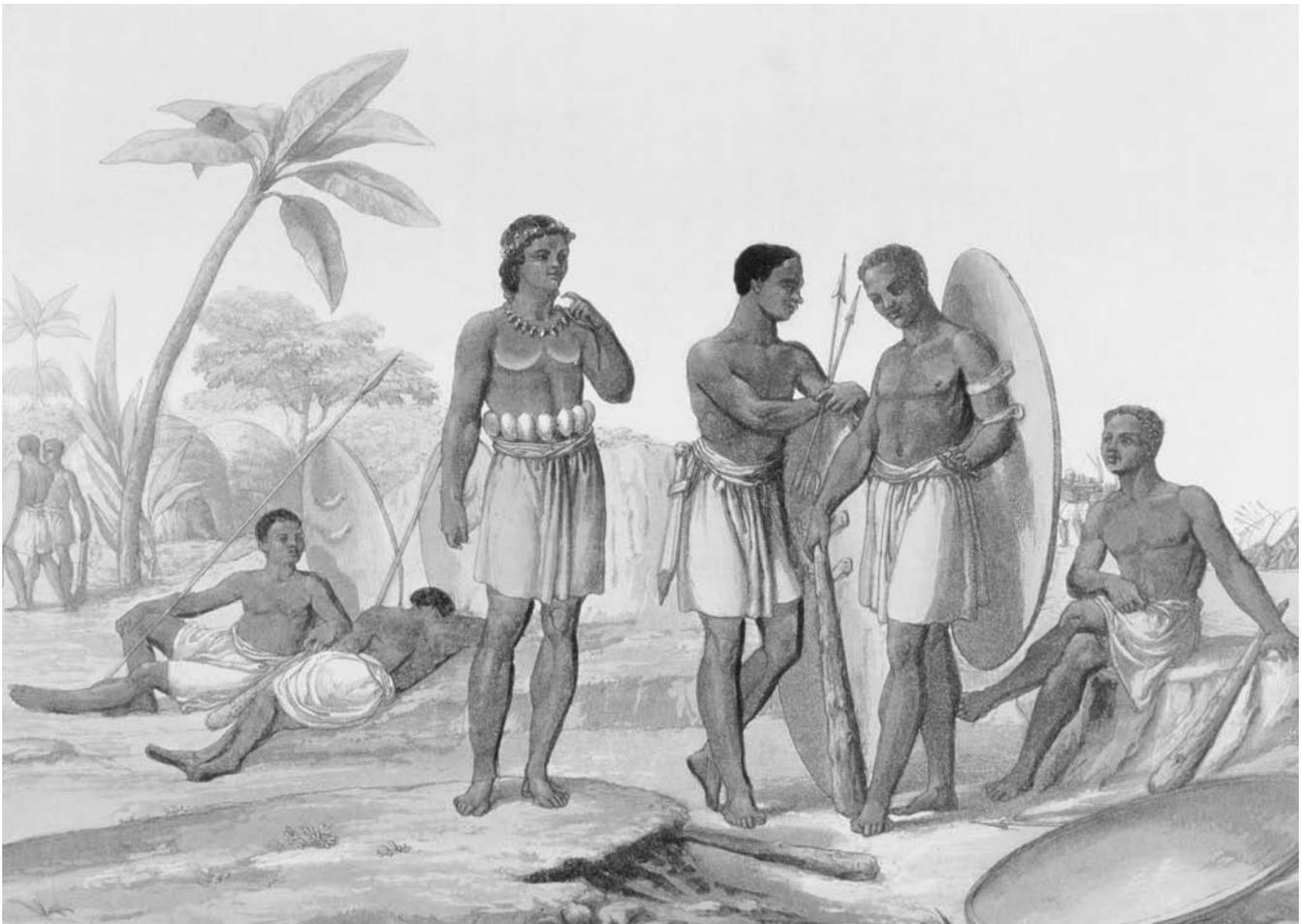
This nineteenth-century illustration of Kongo people shows African peoples through European eyes. © *Leonard de Selva/Corbis*

vert who adopted the Christian name Afonso I (1506–1543), came to the throne. Admiring Portuguese material culture, especially firearms, Afonso requested that the Portuguese king send him firearms, mercenaries, teachers, and artisans to teach the Bakongo their European trades. During Afonso's reign, the Portuguese took advantage of their friendly relationship with the Kongo kingdom, trading extensively at Kongo markets up and down the Atlantic coast. In time they were able to undermine the *manikongo*'s ability to distribute prestige goods by directly trading such goods at the local markets. In this way the Portuguese destroyed the alliances that the *manikongo* held in balance.

By the beginning of the 16th century Portugal had begun pressuring the people of Kongo into supplying them with captives taken from surrounding villages. In return, the Portuguese traded firearms, and they also assisted the Bakongo in the continuing warfare that stemmed from the raids that they instigated.

See also: AFONSO I (Vol. III); KONGO KINGDOM (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

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Kono People who have long occupied eastern regions of present-day SIERRA LEONE; their language belongs to the family of Niger-Congo languages. Primarily rice farmers, the Kono also have grown palm oil, cassavas, millet, and groundnuts (peanuts), among their subsistence crops. For centuries, they have practiced a form of AGRICULTURE known as slash-and-burn, or shifting, cultivation. This involves establishing new farms every year between December and March, when hot, dry winds blow from the SAHARA DESERT. By cutting the brush of their former homesteads and burning it, the Kono create a thin layer of ash that fertilizes the land for future crops. These practices also helped bring the forest environment under their control by scaring off wild animals and, according to Kono belief, placating unseen forces.

Along with farming, raising livestock and producing such traditional handicrafts as woven cloth, leatherwork, baskets, and POTTERY supplemented the ECONOMY. Age and patrilineal ties have been two important elements of Kono society. Traditionally, only a select number of married men could receive farmland from village elders and rise to a position of social recognition.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vol. II); FARMING TECHNIQUES (Vol. I), NIGER–CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

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Konso Cushitic-speaking ethnic group of present-day ETHIOPIA, KENYA, and UGANDA. Related to the OROMO, the Konso are made up of Garati, Takadi, and Turo peoples, all of whom have long inhabited the Ethiopian Highlands. The group's patrilineal society is largely egalitarian. AGRICULTURE historically has been the traditional means of subsistence, but they also raise cattle and goats.

Traditional Konso RELIGION centers on Waga, the sky god, who supposedly manifests his authority through village elders. Konso woodworkers are known for their statues, called *waga*, that commemorate the deeds of Konso warrior heroes.

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Kossoi (early 11th century) *Early ruler of the Songhai Empire in West Africa*

Little is known about Kossoi, the *dia* (king) of the early SONGHAI kingdom. He is thought to have converted to ISLAM in 1009 or 1010, becoming the first in a line of Muslim Songhai rulers. Although Dia Kossoi converted, the customs of the royal court remained traditional and therefore non-Muslim. During his reign Kossoi moved the capital of his empire to GAO. Gao then became an important city for both Muslims and the Songhai people, serving as an Islamic center of learning and a major commercial center, especially for GOLD and the SALT TRADE.

See also: ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II).

Kotoko Ethnic group of West Africa that is descended from the SAO ethnic group. Mostly Muslims, the Kotoko ruled a large kingdom in present-day CAMEROON and NIGERIA until the 15th century. After that, they became subjects of the KANURI trading empire of KANEM-BORNU.

Kukiya (Kukya, Kaw Kaw) Earliest city of the SONGHAI people. Located on the Niger River, Kukiya eventually

became the capital of the Songhai Empire. Kukiya was located in what is presently NIGERIA, down the Niger River from the city of GAO. Kukiya was the Songhai people's first major city, existing well before they acquired more territory and became recognized as an empire. When it became the capital of the Songhai Empire, Kukiya prospered as the rulers acquired more and more territory. Between 1000 and 1100, Songhai's rulers moved the capital to Gao, but when the MALI EMPIRE conquered Gao about 1300, the weakened Songhai moved back to Kukiya. They remained there until the 1400s, when the Songhai recaptured Gao after the fall of the Mali Empire.

Arab reports of Kukiya dating back to around the year 1000 CE state that COTTON, millet, and wheat were grown in the area. The land was said to be so fertile near the river that farmers could plant and harvest twice in a growing season. The catches of the SORKO fishermen were also known to be significant to the city. GOLD was found in the area around this time as well.

Kumbi Saleh (Koumbi Saleh, Koumbi Salih, Kumbi Salih) Capital of the GHANA EMPIRE, the first great trading empire in West Africa. Kumbi Saleh was located 200 miles (322 km) north of the city of BAMAKO, in present-day Republic of MALI.

During the 11th century Ghana was widely known as the "land of GOLD," and Kumbi Saleh—sometimes called simply Kumbi—was the empire's capital. The most important desert trading town of the time, Kumbi Saleh became a commercial and intellectual center. Its population grew to between 15,000 and 20,000 people, making Kumbi Saleh perhaps the biggest West African city of its time.

Like other cities of its era, Kumbi Saleh was made up of two towns. One town, called al-Ghana (the word *ghana* being the king's title), was the home of the king. Al-Ghana was fortified with strong walls that enclosed the king's palace. The MANDE-speaking SONINKE people, who founded the Ghana Empire in the sixth century, lived away from the king's royal quarters in Kumbi's second town. This second town, which was larger, was home to Muslim traders and included as many as 12 mosques. About 6 miles (10 km) apart, the two towns were surrounded by farms that provided FOOD for the large population.

Trade was the lifeblood of the city, and gold was the empire's principal commodity. Ghana's MERCHANTS brought gold from the southern part of the empire to Kumbi, where it was traded, often for salt, which came from the SAHARA DESERT to the north. CARAVANS traveling along the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES also brought food, which was exchanged for such locally produced goods as COTTON, cloth, metal ornaments, and leather products. Regardless of the commodities involved, however, the king

taxed trade, which brought the empire enormous wealth and great quantities of natural resources.

> **With an abundance of wealth, Ghana's rulers could indulge themselves. TUNKA MANIN, for example, who was caliph of Ghana from about 1065, put glass windows in his palace. He even maintained a private zoo stocked with elephants and GIRAFFES.**

Attacks from the ALMORAVIDS, a militant Muslim religious group from present-day MOROCCO, began to weaken the empire during the 11th century. In order to expand their territories and convert the indigenous peoples to ISLAM, the Almoravids declared a JIHAD, or holy war, against their neighbors. Led by Abu Bakr (d. c. 1087), the Almoravids invaded Ghana, seizing Kumbi in 1076. The Almoravids forced many of the SONINKE to convert to Islam, but the Soninke's military and religious activities disrupted trade, making the Almoravid empire difficult to control. In 1087 the Soninke regained control of Kumbi. They tried to rebuild their empire, but a number of states had adopted Islam and others were forming separate kingdoms, all of which prevented the empire from being reestablished. By 1203 Kumbi Saleh was under the control of one of these kingdom-states. King SUMANGURU (r. c. 1220), chief of the KANIAGA people called the SUSU, overthrew the Soninke king and ruled Kumbi Saleh for a short time. The city finally was destroyed by the Mande emperor SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), in 1240.

Kuranko (Koranko, Kouranko) West African ethnic group of MANDE descent. Related to the MANDINKA, the Kuranko were, and still are, a mixed group in a religious sense, with some converting to ISLAM, and others practicing non-Muslim religions. They were a loosely organized group who had settled in the forests of present-day GUINEA. Beginning in the 15th century, however, they, along with the neighboring VAI and Kano peoples (not of the Hausa confederation), were driven from their homeland by migrating Mandinka traders and warriors; they eventually settled in the forests of present-day SIERRA LEONE.

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Kurmina One of the two provinces, along with DENDI, that comprised the SONGHAI Empire, which flourished in the 15th century. Kurmina, the western province of the

empire, was considered more important than southeastern province of Dendi. The ruler of Kurmina, called the *kurmina fari* or *kanfari,* was second in power to the Songhai emperor. The *kurmina fari* was generally the crown prince of the region and ruled the territory west of TIMBUKTU. Kurmina was very important because of the many trade routes that crossed it, and its administration required strong leadership. To that end, the *kurmina fari* maintained a powerful army that not only kept peace in the region but also was used to keep the power of the Songhai monarch in check.

Kwahu (Akwahu, Kwawu, Quahoe) Ethnic group of present-day GHANA; also a plateau region in that same area. The Kwahu, a Twi-speaking subgroup of the AKAN people, inhabited Ghana's Kwahu Plateau as early as the 11th century. Archaeological evidence from the area suggests that these people hunted, fished, and raised some cattle. It is known that most Akan groups were involved in the West African GOLD trade, as well. Archaeologists also have found items that indicate that Kwahu artists were skilled woodcarvers and made elaborate funerary ceramics.

Kyoga, Lake Body of water located in present-day central UGANDA. Between the 11th and 14th centuries, the KITARA COMPLEX, one of East Africa's earliest state systems, formed in the area between lakes Albert, Kyoga, and Victoria.

See also: KYOGA, LAKE (Vol. I).

L

labor From the sixth through 15th centuries patterns of labor in Africa continued along previously established lines. Africans were increasingly farmers and herders, for the most part producing their own FOOD through AGRICULTURE.

While growing crops and raising livestock provided Africans with greater control over their food supplies than did the preceding hunting-and-gathering modes of existence, agricultural labor was in many ways more demanding. Indeed, the biggest constraint to agricultural production was a shortage of labor. Partly for this reason and partly because of the nature of the soils and rainfall patterns, African agriculture was extensive rather than intensive in nature. Except in highly favored environments like the Nile Valley, in most regions there simply was not enough labor available to engage in intensive agricultural practices.

In addition to agriculture there were more specialized forms of labor. As IRON metallurgy continued to expand during this era, blacksmiths became increasingly important in many African societies. Other crafts such as basketry and POTTERY making were important at the local level. States such as GREAT ZIMBABWE, with its massive stone walls, and the kingdom of BENIN, with its extensive system of earth walls, engaged in major building projects of a "public works" nature. Such projects required skilled artisans as well as a large number of unskilled laborers. Likewise, the fine houses, mosques, and other buildings of the cities of the SWAHILI COAST required both skilled CRAFTSPEOPLE and builders.

The Swahili cities were built around trade. The ships that carried the INDIAN OCEAN TRADE required large numbers of sailors and supported a merchant class, while the trade CARAVANS into the East African interior required large numbers of porters. Similarly the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES depended on the skills of those who managed the camels that were the beasts of burden for the desert. This trade connected with the shipping of the Mediterranean, which again employed large numbers of sailors as well as stevedores to load and offload the ships in North Africa's port cities.

Although warfare was a feature of African political relationships, most African states in this period did not deploy professional armies. The states of North Africa, however, were an exception. During the Abbasid era, which lasted from about 750 to 945, rulers employed rigorously trained professional soldiers knows as MAMLUKS. These continued as the professional soldiery after the end of the Abbasid caliphate, and in the 13th century they seized control of EGYPT to become that country's rulers.

See also: LABOR (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Lalibela (c. 1119–1159) *Ethiopian king known for directing the construction of the stone churches at the town that bears his name*

Lalibela was the most famous king of the ZAGWE DYNASTY, which ruled in northern ETHIOPIA during the 10th through the 13th centuries. His reign was marked by several accomplishments, including the construction of a series of churches carved out of volcanic rock.

The Zagwe kings were devout Christians who claimed to be descended from biblical ancestors. They identified themselves with Moses, who, according to them, came into Abyssinia and married the king's daughter, an Ethiopian woman.

Lalibela, like many other famous rulers the world over, is surrounded by legends of all kinds. One such legend tells how Lalibela came to have his name. According to it, a cloud of bees swarmed around the newly born Lalibela. Seeing the bees, the infant cried out: "Lalibela!" which means "the bees know he will rule."

Another legend tells of Lalibela as a youth, at a time when Lalibela's brother was king. Knowing of the legend surrounding Lalibela's name, the king was afraid that the bees' prophecy would come true. So the king poisoned the young prince, sending young Lalibela into a coma that lasted three days. During that time, says the legend, Lalibela was in Heaven, where God told the youngster that he would indeed survive to become king; God also commanded Lalibela to construct a series of unique stone churches. Lalibela survived and eventually came to power. The new ruler immediately started work on the churches, helped, according to the legend, by angels who had been sent by God to make sure that his command was carried out quickly and precisely.

The Church of St. Abba Libanos in Lalibela, Ethiopia, and its sister churches nearby are carved from solid rock. © *Roger Wood/Corbis*

Under Lalibela's direction, 11 churches were carved out of pinkish rock at the Zagwe capital of al-Roha, about 435 miles (700 km) from present-day Addis Ababa. Until this time, there had been very little Christian influence on African ARCHITECTURE. Because Jerusalem had fallen under Muslim control, Lalibela made every effort to recreate the Christian Holy Land of Jerusalem, hoping that his new city of churches would become a major place of pilgrimage, since journeys to Jerusalem had become difficult. As part of this, he even gave biblical names to places in the city: A local hill, for example, was called Calvary, and a stream was renamed Jordan. After Lalibela's death, the city of al-Roha was renamed in his honor.

See also: CHRISTIANITY (Vols. I, II); LALIBELA, CHURCHES OF (Vol. II); LALIBELA, TOWN OF (Vol. II).

Further reading: Ralph Shepherd, ed., *Invisible Africa: Contributions to a Coming Culture* (Cape Town, South Africa: Novalis Press, 1996).

Lalibela, churches of Group of churches carved out of the rock in the Lasta Mountains of ETHIOPIA, probably during the ZAGWE DYNASTY (c. 916–1270). So far, 11 churches have been discovered, built over a series of passages and tunnels that form an elaborate maze. Though the exact purpose of the churches and the dates of their construction remain a mystery, Ethiopian tradition asserts that they were built during the reign of King LALIBELA (r. c. 1119–1159), who ruled from his capital, al-Roha, in the 12th century.

Ethiopian legend says that King Lalibela was magically transported to Jerusalem, where he was instructed to build the churches out of the rocks of the LASTA MOUNTAINS. Upon his return to al-Roha, Lalibela instructed his men, who were supposedly aided by the angels sent to help, to build the churches.

Lalibela's 11 churches were hewn out of solid rock entirely below ground level. To build these churches, trenches were dug in rectangular shapes, leaving isolated blocks of granite. Carvers worked from the top, carving both inside and outside the rock. There are two main clusters of churches, and they are linked by underground tunnels. One group of churches is surrounded by a trench that is 35 feet (11 m) deep and includes the House of Emmanuel, House of Mercurios, ABBA LIBANOS, and the House of Gabriel. All of these churches were carved from the same hill. Nearby, the House of MEDHANE ALEM has an external colonnade of pillars on all four sides. Medhane

Alem is also the largest church, measuring 109 feet (33 m) long, 77 feet (23 m) wide, and 35 feet (11 m) deep. The House of St. GIYORGIS is shaped like a cross, while the House of Golgatha is thought to contain Lalibela's tomb.

Recent archaeological excavations of the site indicate that the style of the construction is very similar to ancient Aksumite ARCHITECTURE, which would date the construction of the buildings to centuries before the Zagwe dynasty. An earlier construction date is also suggested by the architectural anomaly of the churches, which are not facing east, as would have been customary of religious architecture. This detail suggests that the buildings might not have been places of worship at all, and were perhaps palaces or royal residences for people of the Aksumite culture. However, the site was revered as a religious one, so much so that it was referred to as "New Jerusalem" after Lalibela's death.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Irmgard Bidder, *Lalibela: The Monolithic Churches of Ethiopia,* Rita Grabham-Hortmann, trans (New York: Praeger 1959).

Lalibela, town of (Adefa, Edessa, al-Roha)
Ethiopian town that was the capital of the ZAGWE DYNASTY for 300 years. Lalibela was originally called al-Roha, but the town was renamed after the famous 12th-century Zagwe king who oversaw the construction of 11 massive rock-hewn churches there. Al-Roha was also known to some as Adefa (sometimes spelled Edessa) because of its proximity to that nearby city. The remarkable rock churches made al-Roha a religious center and a place of pilgrimage over the centuries.

The Zagwe dynasty (r. c. 916–1270) was made up of a line of fiercely Christian kings who ruled most of northern and central ETHIOPIA from the 10th through the 13th centuries. Their capital city, al-Roha, was nestled safely in the LASTA MOUNTAINS. The Zagwe were descended from the AGAW people and led nomadic military lives. Their strong belief in CHRISTIANITY led them to erect many churches and monasteries. An early Zagwe king, Yemrahana Christos (c. 1039–c. 1079), built one of the finest cave churches of Lasta. But of all their buildings, the monolithic churches of Lalibela remain the most impressive. The Zagwe dynasty had come to an end by the close of the 13th century, replaced by the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY, a line of rulers who claimed to be descendants of King Solomon of Israel and Makeda, the queen of Sheba.

See also: LALIBELA, CHURCHES OF (Vol. II)

Lamu
Oldest town in present-day KENYA, as well as a port, island, and archipelago in the same region. Known as a distribution center in the GOLD, IVORY, spice, and slave trades, the area was settled by immigrants from Arabia in the late 12th century.

By the 15th century the islands of the archipelago, particularly PATE, had become centers of trade between Asia and Africa. Portugal, seeing the area's strategic economic value, began to exert influence over the islands. By the end of the 15th century Portugal had a firm grip on commerce in the region and continued its dominance until the 17th century.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); LAMU (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

Further reading: Patricia Romero, *Lamu: History, Society, and Family in an East African Port City* (Princeton, N.J.: M. Wiener, 1997).

Lango
Large ethnic group of that, during the 15th century, settled in what is now UGANDA; also the language of these people. Unlike their Bantu-speaking neighbors, the Lango were part of a Nilotic migration and spoke LUO, a language that evolved into Lango.

Lango society was very decentralized, and conflicts were settled by a council of elders from the various clans. Traditionally the Lango were governed by nonhereditary chiefs, called *rwot,* who oversaw the hereditary chiefs. Relations between different groups were controlled by kinship, and descent was patrilineal. Typical Lango villages were small, and the villagers practiced pastoralism and also grew millet and sorghum.

Traditional Lango RELIGION revolves around a creator whom they call Jok. They practice ancestor worship and believe that every person has a guardian spirit that must be ritually freed from the body after death. They also believe in a shadow self or soul, which is thought to join the creator after the person dies.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); CLAN (Vol. I); GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vol. II); LINEAGE (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vol. I).

Lasta Mountains
Range located in southern ETHIOPIA that was the site of al-Roha, the capital of the ZAGWE DYNASTY, which ruled from the 10th through the 13th centuries. Al-Roha, renamed the town of LALIBELA in the 13th century to honor the great Zagwe emperor of the same name, is known for its monolithic churches, which were carved out of the rock in the mountains' highlands.

See also: LALIBELA, CHURCHES OF (Vol. II).

law and justice
The concepts of law and justice varied greatly from group to group in Africa between the fifth and 15th centuries, but all societies had rules that its members thought it right to obey.

Non-Muslim Law and Justice in Traditional Societies In most traditional societies of non-Muslim Africa, the responsibility for maintaining the rules of conduct and the right to exercise judgment in disputes were assumed by the headmen of the social group. Laws were never preserved in written form but instead were incorporated into the social customs through example and practice.

Sometimes, as in the case of the Kuba, an ethnic group of Central Africa, the headmen constituted a kind of court whose job it was to examine disputes, recall customary law, and then make rulings based on consensus. The IGBO, who have inhabited parts of present-day southern NIGERIA for more than 1,000 years, long had a similar system. The *okpara,* or oldest male member of a lineage group, conferred with other lineage headmen and then exercised the authority of his judgment over younger, lower-ranking individuals.

The KAMBA people carried out a judgment called *kingolle,* whereby a member of the society would be condemned to death by the ranking elders who reviewed his case. In most instances, the offending individual was accused of a heinous crime like homicide or incest. However, there are cases of *kingolle* in Kamba lore that tell of a man who failed to pay back his debts, and another of a man who was remiss in his duties as a father and husband. Usually a close relative of the offender would approve of the *kingolle* judgment and promise not to avenge the death.

Among societies that were large enough to constitute kingdoms, judging disputes was one of the prerogatives of the chief or king. In cases in which the king held his power through military might (rather than through lineage ties), he might designate a special judge to help him settle disputes. This judge usually would be a wise, respected elder whose authority was based on his age and experience. Despite his position, though, the judge typically did not have the power to exercise the punishment he recommended. Instead, he would give his opinion, and the ultimate decision was left to the king.

The concept of an organized "police force" to enforce the laws was foreign to most traditional societies. Still, some chiefs employed armed retainers who kept them safe and maintained peaceful relations in the kingdom. Usually the mere presence of a chief (or one of his family members or wives) would be enough to keep the peace. For this reason many chiefs who practiced polygamy would install a wife in a village that was in upheaval.

Among pastoralists like the Nuer of the Republic of the SUDAN, the judgment in homicide cases might be paid in heads of cattle. Generally the person who owed the debt did not volunteer the cattle, but when the cattle were taken by the representatives of the offended, the theft would not be contested.

Muslim Law and Justice Prior to the spread of ISLAM, ARABIC-speaking North African peoples did not have a formal legal system, but they did have long-standing customary laws that guided their actions. After the seventh century CE, the concept of law and justice in many areas of North Africa was defined by the religious tenets of Islam, a religion that spread westward from Arabia. The system of Islamic law, called *SHARIA,* is based on the QURAN and the Sunna, texts based on the words and deeds of the prophet Muhammad. Since Muhammad was an Arab, the *sharia* actually incorporated many tenets of Arab customary law. In this way, the law that came to rule Muslim theocracies in parts of North Africa and the SUDAN was not that different from the law that was already in place. With Islam's emphasis on literacy, however, it became much more highly codified.

Eventually, differing interpretations of the Quran and Sunna led to the division of Islam into its major sects. For members of the Maliki Sunni sect of Islam, the most important legal interpretation of the Quran was presented by their founder, MALIK IBN ANAS (c. 715–795), a great jurist (legal scholar) and Islamic holy man. Differing interpretations of the Quran also led to the North African reform movements that created the dynasties of the ALMORAVIDS and ALMOHADS.

In the West African Muslim states, Islamic law had a different aspect. Often peoples in these states would nominally convert to Islam, which would allow them to participate more actively in the lucrative GOLD trade, which was also tied into the region's crucial SALT TRADE. These commercial ventures were run mostly by Muslim traders, such as the DYULA.

See also: CLAN (Vol. I); DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II); GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); LAW AND JUSTICE (Vols. I, III, IV, V); MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. II).

Leopard's Kopje See MAPUNGUBWE.

Lesotho Small, mountainous country, 11,716 square miles (30,344 sq km) in area, that is wholly surrounded

by present-day SOUTH AFRICA; more than 80 percent of the country lies at least 5,905 feet (1,800 m) above sea level.

The origins of present-day Lesotho (pronounced *lesutu* and meaning "the country of the Sotho people") lie with King Mshweshwe (1786–1870) and his founding of the Sotho kingdom of Basutoland in the early 1830s.

Until the end of the 16th century the region was populated by Khoisan people. At that time the Sotho migrated into the region seeking the high grasslands for their herds. The Sotho intermarried with the Khoisan, formed small chiefdoms, and began trading grain and hides for IRON tools.

See also: BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); KHOISAN LANGUAGES (Vol. I); MSHWESHWE (Vol. III); SOTHO (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Peter Becker, *Hill of Destiny: The Life and Times of Moshesh, Founder of the Basotho* (Harlow, U.K.: Longmans, 1969); Scott Rosenberg, Richard F. Weisfelder, and Michelle Frisbie-Fulton, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004).

Liberia   Independent republic on the Atlantic coast of West Africa 43,000 square miles (111,370 sq km) in area, bordered by the present-day countries of SIERRA LEONE, IVORY COAST, and GUINEA. Although Liberia was the only black state in Africa to avoid European colonial rule, from an African perspective, the creation of Liberia was very much a case of colonial conquest.

There were 16 ethnic groups that made up Liberia's indigenous population, including the Kpelle, Bassa, Gio, Kru, Grebo, Mano, Krahn, Gola, Gbandi, Loma, Kissi, VAI, and Bella. While the early settlers in the area were probably Mel-speaking relatives of the Kissi, Kruan, and Gola groups, the 15th century saw migrations into the region by members of such MANDE-speaking peoples as the Loma, the Mende, and the Bandi. The Kpelle, who settled in central and western Liberia, make up the largest ethnic group today. They moved into the region from the African interior in the 16th century. The Vai, who began their migration from the MALI EMPIRE, arrived about the same time, displacing Grebo people as they made their way to the coast. The Vai moved into the Cape Mount region, residing among the existing Gola inhabitants. Coastal peoples like the Bassa and the Kru were there to meet European explorers and traders when they first arrived. In fact the Kru became involved with European trade both as traders and as sailors.

In 1461 Portuguese sailor Pedro de Sintra was the first European to explore the Liberian coast. From that time forward the peoples of Liberia engaged in trading with Europeans for goods such as GOLD, spices, IVORY, dyewoods, and Malaguetta pepper, the highly prized commodity that became a major trade item and gave Liberia its nickname of the Grain Coast. However, the Mande- and Mel-speaking chiefdoms in the northern part of the region sought to profit from the slave trade and conducted raids into the interior to trade for firearms, knives, jewelry, and liquor. In 1602 the Dutch and the English established trading ports around Cape Mount.

See also: LIBERIA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); MALAGUETTA PEPPER (Vol. III); GRAIN COAST (Vol. III).

Further reading: G. E. Saigbe Boley, *Liberia: Rise and Fall of the First Republic* (New York: McMillan, 1983); D. Elwood and Svend E. Holsoe Dunn, *Historical Dictionary of Liberia* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1985).

Libya   North African country located on the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, that is approximately 680,000 square miles (1,770,000 sq km) in size. It is bordered by present-day TUNISIA, ALGERIA, NIGER, CHAD, the Republic of the SUDAN, and EGYPT. Between the fifth and 15th centuries the strategic geographical location of Libya between the Mediterranean to the north, the Sahara to the south, and its eastern border with Egypt, made it an important trade region, as well as a key entry point for the dissemination of ISLAM into SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

In the seventh century, Arab armies brought Islam to North Africa with the objective of conquering the vast continent. By the middle of the century ARABS controlled Tripolitania, the ancient Roman province on the Mediterranean coast, and proceeded to extend their influence westward into the region they called IFRIQIYA. During this period Libya was controlled first by a Muslim dynasty of emirs called the Aghlabids, and then by the Fatimid dynasty, which ruled from CAIRO. The region of Cyrenaica came under the control of the Arabs at this time as well. Despite the Arab dominance, Cyrenaica maintained its close political and economic ties with Egypt. (The Egyptian influence had begun in the fourth century when Christians in Cyrenaica came under the influence of the Egyptian Coptic Church.) It was Bedouin Arab chiefs, however, who maintained real political and economic control over Cyrenaica by taxing the CARAVANS of pilgrims and MERCHANTS on their way to Egypt.

Islam arrived at FEZZAN, located in the interior of the country, 20 years after it had reached Cyrenaica. The peoples of this region lived in oasis communities developed along the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES between the central SUDAN and the Mediterranean Sea. The Islamic KHARIJITE rulers established an Islamic theocracy at the oasis city of Zawilah, which guaranteed Islamic control of an important arm of the trans-Saharan trading route.

During the 11th century a massive influx of Hilalians moved into Tripolitania and Cyrenaica after being forced out of Egypt by drought, famine, and the political turmoil caused by the FATIMIDS. One Bedouin Arab group, the Banu Salim, resided in Tripolitania for the next two centuries. These migrations marked a linguistic shift for the

BERBERS, who had previously maintained their linguistic and cultural autonomy but now began to adopt the language of the Arab-speaking Muslim elite.

In the 13th century the Muslim Hafsids established a dynasty that would last three centuries. Under their rule, Tripolitania developed into a thriving Mediterranean trading center. This period of prosperity lasted until Christian and Muslim powers began to compete for control of the important Libyan seaports.

By the 14th century the Fezzan region was the northernmost boundary of the kingdom of KANEM-BORNU, which stretched as far as Wadai in the east. By controlling Zawilah in the Fezzan, Kanem-Bornu was guaranteed an important route to the Mediterranean coast for the SALT TRADE.

See also: CYRENE (Vol. I); LIBYA (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Ronald B. St. John, *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1998); Christides Vassilios, *Byzantine Libya and the March of the Arabs Towards the West of North Africa* (Oxford, U.K.: J. & E. Hedges, 2000).

Limpopo River   A 1,100-mile (1,770-km) river located in southeast Africa that passes through the present-day countries of SOUTH AFRICA, BOTSWANA, ZIMBABWE, and MOZAMBIQUE before emptying into the Indian Ocean. The word *Limpopo* may come from the Sotho word meaning "river of the waterfall." Its main tributary is the Olifants River, which flows into the Limpopo about 130 miles (209 km) from its mouth, just north of Maputo, in Mozambique. The upper portion of the river is known as the Crocodile (Krokodil) River. The lower portion waters Mozambique's fertile agricultural region.

As early as the eighth century the Limpopo was an important artery connecting trade routes between the interior of southern Africa and the towns on the SWAHILI COAST. These connections made it possible for peoples of the interior to participate in INDIAN OCEAN TRADE. For instance, Africans brought IVORY, animal skins and, later, GOLD and COPPER from the interior and traded these goods for Arab wares. Archaeological finds at interior sites—in Botswana, GREAT ZIMBABWE, and present-day South Africa—attest to the vast distances traveled by Indian Ocean trade goods.

Before the fifth century the fertile valley between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers was populated by the KHOIKHOI, whose culture did not reach its zenith until between the 11th and 15th centuries, after they converted to pastoralism from being nomadic hunter-gatherers. About 1100, Bantu-speaking peoples, including the Sotho, Chopi, and Tsonga, moved into the lower valley of the Limpopo. The SHONA, VENDA, and Shaba peoples also populated the region between the middle Zambezi and the Limpopo before the 15th century.

In 1498 Portuguese explorer Vasco da GAMA saw the Limpopo River for the first time and renamed it the Espiritu Santo (Holy Spirit) River.

See also: LAKES AND RIVERS (Vol. I); MAPUTO (Vols. III, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III); ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vols. I, III).

lost-wax process   Method of hollow metal casting that dates to approximately 3000 BCE. Also known by the French term *ciré perdue,* this type of casting was used in Africa during the 13th and 14th centuries, most notably by the YORUBA of present-day NIGERIA and the inhabitants of the kingdom of BENIN. Art historians consider the BRONZE sculptures of these peoples to be masterpieces. The strikingly realistic Yoruba and Benin sculptures portrayed kings and other members of the aristocracy, in whose tombs many of the sculptures were placed. Images of nature were also important subjects for the Benin and Yoruba sculptors

The lost-wax process, still in use today, begins with a wax mold that is encased between two heat-proof layers. The wax is melted and drained off, and the resulting hollow form is filled with molten metal, which assumes the desired form of the original wax mold. This process is also used to cast bronze sculptures using clay models. In this case a figure or shape is made out of beeswax and then covered in liquid clay and cooked over a fire. The heat of the flames dissolves the wax, and the wax is then replaced by empty space. At this point, tin and COPPER, which are the alloys used to make bronze, are melted and then poured into the cavity of the hardened clay. Once the object has cooled, the clay is knocked away from the metal and the bronze sculpture is cast.

See also: ART (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); CRAFTSPEOPLE (Vol. II); METALLURGY (Vol. I).

Lualaba River   Headstream of the Congo River, located entirely in present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO. The river is about 1,100 miles (1,770 km) long. Archaeological discoveries indicate that several Iron Age groups had settled along the banks of the Lualaba toward the end of the first millennium. Excavation sites at Katoto and SANGA produced evidence of cultures that were involved in trade and small-scale mining.

The lakes formed by the Lualaba River created an important link for trade between the Shaba peoples of the savanna with peoples of the LUBA and LUNDA kingdoms, located to the west of the Lualaba. The region between the Lualaba and the Luapula rivers contained salt mines and COPPER deposits, which were mined, refined, and exported to the coastal regions by the kingdoms.

See also: CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); LAKES AND RIVERS (Vol. I); SALT MINING (Vol. II).

Luba (Baluba) Ethnic group of present-day ZAMBIA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. The Luba are regarded as one of the earliest peoples to practice IRON-WORKING in Central Africa. Their ancestors were farmers who, as early as 400 CE, inhabited the Lake Kisale region in what is now Katanga Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Oral tradition mentions Luba chiefs in MALAWI and Zambia, but very little is known about their early history. The area in which the Luba lived was well suited to the growth of powerful chiefdoms. The COPPER mines of the Katanga region were nearby; the soil was fertile and good for growing crops, especially cereals; nearby woodlands provided hunting grounds; waterways were an excellent source of fish; and ease of movement through the savanna stimulated trade. The Luba were an agricultural people whose communities slowly grew into small trading and farming chiefdoms. Between 1300 and 1400 they came under the sway of the Nkongolo dynasty, which, in turn, was conquered in the early 1400s by Ilunga Kalala, whom oral tradition describes as a fierce hunter. Ilunga Kalala expanded the kingdom's boundaries and took control of the Katanga copper mines and the trade routes to East Africa. Later in the 15th century, members of the Luba aristocracy left the kingdom and moved west, where they centralized their power among the Lunda people, beginning the ascendency of the LUNDA KINGDOM.

See also: LUBA EMPIRE (Vol. III); LUNDA EMPIRE (Vol. III); MINING (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Thomas Q. Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings: A History of the Luba Empire to 1891* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1981).

Lunda kingdom Monarchy in Central Africa on the upper Kasai River. The area is within the boundaries of present-day ANGOLA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Some histories place the foundation of the kingdom of the influential Bantu-speaking Lunda around 1450, when members of LUBA aristocracy—disappointed in their failed attempts to gain power in their own land—moved southwest into Lunda territory. Other histories suspect an earlier starting date for the kingdom but note that the Lunda state remained a loose confederation and did not develop strong centralized government until about 1450.

The Luba newcomers married into the families of the Lunda chieftains. Initially they made no major changes in Lunda political structures; they simply collected tribute from their Lunda subjects. In time, however, the Luba chiefs began centralizing their authority, paving the way for the emergence of the Lunda empire that became a major regional trading state from the 16th through the 19th centuries.

The Lunda kingdom practiced "perpetual kingship," whereby a new king assumed the identity of the one he replaced. In essence, the successor to the title became the previous king. Through perpetual kingship, alliances and agreements could remain in force from generation to generation because they were made by the "same" king.

See also: BEMBA (Vol. III); BISA TRADING NETWORK (Vol. III); KASANJE (Vol. III); KATANGA (Vols. IV, V); KAZEMBE (Vol. III); LUBA EMPIRE (Vol. III); LUNDA EMPIRE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Luo (Lwo, Lwoo, Dholuo, Kavirondo) Pastoralist people of the Great Lakes region of East Africa who steadily migrated there from the Nilotic SUDAN, perhaps as early as the late 14th century. Their language, Luo, belongs to the Chari-Nile branch of the family of Nilo-Saharan languages.

Luo society, governed by clan leaders and bound by ties of patrilineal kinship and marriage, was traditionally decentralized. The people lived in scattered homesteads and survived by hunting, fishing, farming, and cattle herding. Unlike many of their neighbors, they did not practice circumcision or group themselves in age sets. Their traditional RELIGION, still practiced by some today, is animist.

As they moved into what is now western UGANDA, the Luo displaced the people living in the KITARA COMPLEX of states, who were under the rule of the CHWEZI DYNASTY. The Luo reorganized Kitara as the kingdom of BUNYORO-KITARA, and, led by the aristocratic BITO clan, they established a number of kingdoms north and west of Lake VICTORIA, including Buddu, BUGANDA, Buruli, and Busoga.

See also: AGE SETS (Vol. I); BUNYORO (Vols. III, IV); LUO (Vols. III, IV, V); NILO-SAHARAN LANGUAGES (Vol. I); NKOLE (Vols. II, III); PASTORALISM (Vol. I, IV).

M

Maasai (Masai) Nomadic people of present-day central KENYA and northern TANZANIA. The Maasai ethnic group emerged around 500 BCE along the Nile River; however, it was not until the 16th century that they migrated into Kenya and Tanzania. As the Maasai moved through the Great Rift Valley of Kenya, they found the highland region inhabited by numerous pastoral groups. In order to open up pastures for their herds, the Maasai forced the local peoples from their lands. As a result they became a feared group that ultimately gained control over much of East Africa's best grazing lands.

Maasai society was based on age sets, which were established for military purposes. In the system of age sets, children, young adults, and elders each had their own duties and responsibilities. Young boys were given extensive military training because they were expected to serve as soldiers during their young-adult years. Their job was to guard the herds and secure grazing lands. Unlike many other African societies, Maasai society did not operate under a centralized authority, such as a monarch. Instead, it were organized into villages made up of several extended families and governed by a council of elders.

See also: AGE SETS (Vol. I); MAASAI (Vols. I, III, IV, V); PASTORALISM (Vols. I. IV); RIFT VALLEY (Vol. I).

Madagascar Indian Ocean island country of 226,700 square miles (587,200 sq km), the fourth-largest island in the world, located 242 miles (390 km) across the Mozambique Channel from present-day Mozambique, on the southern coast of East Africa. The present-day country of Madagascar is made up of the island of Madagascar and several much smaller islands that surround it.

Although significantly closer to Africa than to Asia or the islands of the Pacific, the first inhabitants of this mountainous island were probably INDONESIAN COLONISTS, who arrived by sea between 400 and 900. To account for the Bantu influence on the island, anthropologists theorize that en route to Madagascar in the ninth or 10th centuries, a second wave of Indonesian emigrants picked up Bantu-speaking peoples along the East African coast. It is also possible that the country's Bantu influence came with the arrival of Antalaotra traders in the 11th century. These ARABS, Bantu speakers, and Persians, (a cultural mixture known as MALAGASY), engaged in extensive trade with Arabia and the African coast.

Portuguese traders arrived in 1500, but they were not successful at colonizing the islands. By the middle of the 16th century three Malagasy groups, the Antemoro, Sakalava, and Merina, had developed monarchies. None of these groups, however, was able to dominate the greater part of the country until the Merina, operating from the central highlands, conquered many of the neighboring kingdoms almost 200 years later.

See also: ANTALAOTRA (Vol. III); ANTEMORO (Vol. III); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); MADAGASCAR (Vols. I, III, IV, V); MERINA (Vols. III, IV).

Mafia Island Island located off of TANZANIA on the East African coast, south of ZANZIBAR. For centuries, possibly as long as two millennia, ARABS and Persians traded from the port of Mocha, which is now located within present-day Yemen, down the African coast as far as MOZAMBIQUE, and including MADAGASCAR, ZANZIBAR, and Mafia Island. Though KILWA was the major port on the

Indian Ocean, Mafia Island was an important stop on the trade route.

According to the *Kilwa Chronicle,* the Mwera people lived on the island but were ruled by Muslim settlers from Songo Songo before Arab rule. This chronicle also records that the SHIRAZI ARABS bought the island of Kilwa around 975. The reigning sultan sent his son Bashat to rule Mafia Island. Kua and Kisimani, two ancient towns built around 1000 that are now in ruins, may have been founded by Bashat. For centuries the Shirazi were powerful in this area at the same time that ISLAM was being introduced throughout eastern Africa.

As was the case with much of the East African coast, the first Europeans to arrive were the Portuguese, led by explorer Vasco da GAMA (c. 1460–1524), in about 1498. Within seven years Arab control was minimized, and the Portuguese claimed Mafia Island, along with much of the coast, as their own. The ARABIC name for the island, *Morfiyeh,* or *Manifiyah*, meaning "archipelago," remained in use. Scholars speculate that the name *Mafia* could also be derived from the KISWAHILI words *mahali pa afya,* meaning "healthy dwelling place."

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); MAFIA ISLAND (Vol. I).

Maghan, Mansa (r. 1337–1341) *Son of Mansa Musa I and short-term leader of the Mali Empire*

Son of empire builder Mansa MUSA I (r. 1307–1337), Mansa Maghan assumed control of the MALI EMPIRE after his father's death. Little is known about Maghan's rule, but at the time he came to the throne, Mali was a powerful and prosperous nation. Brief references to Maghan by scholars make it clear that he was not able to lead with the same ability as his father, which led to invasions of Mali's territories, including GAO.

al-Maghili (late 15th century) *Arab cleric from the Saharan oasis region of Tuat, in present-day Algeria*

As a young man Muhammad al-Maghili was a North African Muslim scholar known for persecuting Jews. Around 1490 he left Tuat and traveled south to Agades, TAKEDDA, KANO, KATSINA, and GAO, where he converted many people to ISLAM. His primary goal was to get Muslim rulers to apply the teachings of Islam to state rule. He stressed the need for a militant foreign policy, limited or nonexistent taxation, and a good advisory board. During this time sharifs gained social prominence in Muslim society because al-Maghili adamantly encouraged states to respect them and compensate them generously. (*Sharif*, an ARABIC word meaning "noble" or "high born," is a title of respect given to members of the prestigious Hashim clan, of which the prophet Muhammad was a member.) Al-Maghili's work played an important role in shaping the early HAUSA STATES, particularly the areas from Lake Chad to the middle Niger River.

In his *Obligations of Princes,* al-Maghili outlined his teachings. This work was commissioned by Sarki RUMFA (r. 1463–1470) of Kano, one of the first rulers in early Hausaland to accept Islam. Rumfa commissioned al-Maghili to write guidelines for princely behavior so that he could better serve his people. A few years later Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. c. 1493–1528), a Muslim leader who took control of the SONGHAI Empire at the end of the 15th century, also called upon al-Maghili for guidance. For Askia Muhammad, al-Maghili wrote a treatise called *Answers to the Questions of the Emir al-Hadjdj Abdullah ibn Abu Bakr.* Askia Muhammad commissioned al-Maghili to help him face the challenge of ruling a largely non-Muslim population, although it seems he did not heed much of al-Maghili's advice.

Despite al-Maghili's efforts, Islam did not penetrate more than a handful of small states, and it was almost 100 years after his death that al-Maghili's teachings reached the height of their influence.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: John O. Hunwick, *Shari'a in Songhay: The Replies of Al-Maghili to the Questions of Askia Al-Hajj Muhammad* (Oakville, Conn.: David Brown Book Company, 1985).

Maghrib (Maghreb)   Region of Northwest Africa along the MEDITERRANEAN SEA; it extends from the Atlas Mountains to the coast and includes present-day MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and part of LIBYA. The Maghrib was originally inhabited by BERBERS. However, after the ARABS conquered EGYPT in 642, they extended their military campaign west into the Maghrib, which they also referred to as Bilad al-Maghrib, or "Lands of Sunset." The first capital of the Maghrib was Al-Qayrawan (Kairouan), founded just south of TUNIS by Uqbah Ibn Nafi (Sidi Okba), who was in charge of the Arab army that occupied TUNISIA in 670. Uqbah's successful military campaigns and dramatic death in battle made him a legendary hero of the Muslim conquest of the Maghrib.

The Maghrib became a province of the Arab Muslim empire in 705. ISLAM spread rapidly among the Berbers, and by the 11th century it had replaced CHRISTIANITY in almost all of the Maghrib. But the Berbers were not content under Arab rule, which was often oppressive and benefited only the Arab ruling class. The Arabs took Berber captives, especially women, which further infuriated the population.

In the ninth century the Berbers rebelled against the Arabs, fragmenting the Maghrib into separate Muslim states. The uprising was not a total success, however. In the end, only the small principality of SIJILMASA, in south-

ern Morocco, was ruled by Berbers, who came from the Banu Midrar confederation. The other states remained under Arab rule.

This changed during the 11th century, when the AL-MORAVIDS came to power. This Muslim Berber dynasty ruled Morocco and al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain) in the 11th and 12th centuries and unified the Maghrib for a second time. The Almoravids were succeeded by the AL-MOHADS, Zenata Berbers who declared a successful JIHAD, or holy war, against the Almoravids, ending their empire.

See also: MAGHRIB (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Maguzawa   Ethnic group that has long inhabited the region south of KANO, one of the HAUSA STATES. Also called the Maguje, the Maguzawa probably settled in the area even before the founding of Kano by Sarki (King) BAGAUDA, around 1000. Though the Maguzawa share the Hausa culture and language, they historically have distinguished themselves from other Hausa people by rejecting ISLAM. In fact the name Maguzawa probably evolved from the ARABIC word *majus,* meaning "pagan."

Mahdi   According to Islamic prophesies dating to around 680, the Mahdi is a messiah-like deliverer who is to arrive shortly before "the end of time" to restore justice and spread ISLAM throughout the world. The word *mahdi* means "enlightened" or "one who is divinely guided." The prophet Muhammad is reported to have promised that a descendant from his family would come to earth seven to nine years before the end of the world. This person would bring equity and justice to a world that would, at the time, be filled with neither. While some believe that Muhammad said that the Mahdi would bring people to God through Islam, others dispute this part of the prophecy.

Over the last two millennia several people have identified themselves as the Mahdi. Ubayd Allah, who declared himself the first Fatimid caliph in 909, is one of the best known. During the seventh century followers of Islam split into two factions, the SUNNI and the Shiites. Then, about 900, Shiite Muslims converted the Kutama BERBERS of LIBYA to Islam, which led to war between Shiites and Sunni Muslims in Libya over territory. The victorious Shiites installed Ubayd Allah, also known as Ubaidalla Said, as their political leader and imam. (The imam was the Shiite religious leader, believed to be the successor of the prophet Muhammad.) Berbers asserted that Ubayd Allah was the Mahdi, and the city of Mahdia was so-called in his honor.

Later, in the 12th century, the Shiite MUHAMMAD IBN TUMART (c. 1080–1130) emerged as the leader of the AL-MOHADS. As a reformer of the established order, ibn Tumart was believed to be the Mahdi by many of his followers.

See also: AL-MAHDI, MUHAMMAD AHMAD (Vol. IV); FATIMIDS (Vol. II); MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. II); SHIISM (Vol. II).

Maimonides (Musa ibn-Maimon)   (1135–1204)
Jewish physician and philosopher

Moses Maimonides has been called the most important figure in medieval Judaism. Son of a rabbi, he was born in Córdoba in al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain) in 1135. The full freedom of RELIGION that the people of Córdoba enjoyed was abrogated in 1148 when Córdoba fell to the fundamentalist ALMOHADS of MOROCCO, who demanded that all nonbelievers submit to ISLAM or leave the city. For 11 years, Maimonides' family remained in the city, secretly practicing Judaism while living as Muslims. In 1159 they decided to flee Spain and move to FEZ in North Africa. Maimonides continued his religious studies at Fez and also began to study medicine. Fez, also under Almohad rule, was no more welcoming to Jews than Córdoba was. Thus Maimonides moved to Palestine in 1165 but soon left for EGYPT, where Jews were accorded freedom of religion. Maimonides stayed until his death in 1204.

In Egypt, he was at first the rabbi, or religious leader, of the Jewish community of al-Fustat (now CAIRO), the Egyptian capital. In need of money to support himself, he also became court physician to Sultan SALADIN (c. 1137–1193), the Egyptian leader who was victorious over the English monarch Richard the Lion-Hearted (1157–1199) in the Third Crusade (1189–92). Maimondes also served as a physician to Saladin's elder son, Sultan al-Malik al-Afdel.

It is as a writer and philosopher that Maimonides has had his greatest impact. At the age of 23 he wrote, in ARABIC, a commentary on Jewish law, the *Kitab al-Siraj.* In Hebrew he wrote a major codification of Jewish law, the *Mishne Torah* (The Torah reviewed), which he completed in 1178. He also translated many Arabic medical texts into Hebrew, making them accessible for subsequent translation into Latin. Maimonides' most famous and influential book, written in Arabic and completed in 1191, was his philosophical work, *Dalalat al-Hai'ran,* or *The Guide of the Perplexed,* in which he tried to reconcile logic and faith.

Further reading: Kenneth Seeskin, *Searching for a Distant God: The Legacy of Maimonides* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Malagasy   Ethnic group of the island of MADAGASCAR; also the language they speak. Malagasy dialects evolved exclusively on Madagascar, beginning with the arrival of the Malayo-Polynesian peoples who first colonized the island, perhaps as early as the fifth century CE. By the

10th century the original INDONESIAN COLONISTS had mixed with Bantu-speaking peoples from the African mainland, and the Malagasy language subsequently adopted many Bantu words. The diverse mix of African and Indonesian peoples established several agricultural chiefdoms on the island and also practiced animal husbandry and fishing.

After the 10th century Malagasy culture began to reflect the influence of the East African SWAHILI COAST kingdoms that were active in INDIAN OCEAN TRADE. Because of their influence, Malagasy came to include many ARABIC words as well. In the early 16th century Portuguese explorers visited Madagascar and came into contact with the Malagasy kingdoms of the Antemore, Antaisaka, and Merina. Fortunately for the Malagasy, the Portuguese were more interested in establishing strongholds on the East African mainland than they were on an offshore island and, therefore, never conquered or colonized Madagascar.

See also: BETSIMISARAKA (Vols. II, III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Malawi Present-day southeastern African country approximately 45,700 square miles (118,400 sq km) in size, bordered by the present-day countries of TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, and ZAMBIA. During the BANTU MIGRATION small groups of Bantu speakers gradually moved into the region and intermarried with the indigenous peoples. The Bantu speakers brought with them new technology in terms of ironworking and agricultural techniques. In the 12th century the Maravi peoples, for whom Malawi is named, migrated to the region.

See also: MALAWI (Vols. I, III, IV, V); MARAVI (Vol. III).

Further reading: Owen J. M. Kalinga and Cynthia A. Crosby, *Historical Dictionary of Malawi* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2001).

Mali, Republic of Present-day West African nation approximately 478,800 square miles (1,233,400 sq km) in size, stretching north into the SAHARA DESERT, where it shares borders with ALGERIA and MAURITANIA. Other countries bordering Mali include (east to west) NIGER, BURKINA FASO, IVORY COAST, GUINEA, and SENEGAL. Mali derives its name from the MALI EMPIRE, which thrived from the 13th century into the early 16th century.

See also: MALI, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Pascal James Imperato, *Historical Dictionary of Mali* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996); Carol Thompson, *The Empire of Mali* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1998).

This carved wooden door in in the village of Ogdol in Mali follows an ancient tradition of symbolically decorated doors. © *Charles & Josette Lenars/Corbis*

Mali Empire Empire in western Africa that flourished from the mid-13th century through the 15th century. At its zenith, Mali commanded not only the entirety of the ancient GHANA EMPIRE but surrounding territories from the coast of the Atlantic Ocean on the west to TADMAKKA on the east. As the empire of Ghana (c. 900–1240) declined, the once prosperous land became the target of invaders. Among those was the legendary MANDINKA leader SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), considered the first unifying king of Mali. Tradition holds that Sundiata (which means "the hungering lion") was a sickly boy who grew into a powerful ruler through sheer determination and remarkable skill. In 1230, after wresting control of Mali from SUMANGURU (d. c. 1235), king of the SUSU, Sundiata was declared the undisputed king of Mali. At the time of Sundiata's death in 1255, Mali was a greatly expanded, thriving empire. Sundiata had revived the GOLD trade and the SALT TRADE, started a rich agricultural system, and de-

Mali Empire, c. 1335

Tichit •   Arawan •   *Tuareg*

Awlil •   Audaghost •   Walata •   Timbuktu •   Tadmakka •   Takedda •

Kumbi Saleh •   Gao •

Sénégal R.   Nioro •   Bassikinu •   Kukiya •

Falémé R.   *Bambuk*   *Bakoye R.*   *Niger R.*   Jenne •

Gambia R.   *Mossi*

Bure   • Ouagadougou

Kouroussa •   *Black Volta*   *White Volta R.*

Atlantic Ocean   *Volta R.*   *Niger R.*

Gulf of Guinea

☐   Mali Empire c. 1335

◌   Gold field

Mossi   People

0   300 Miles

0   300 Kms

Map area

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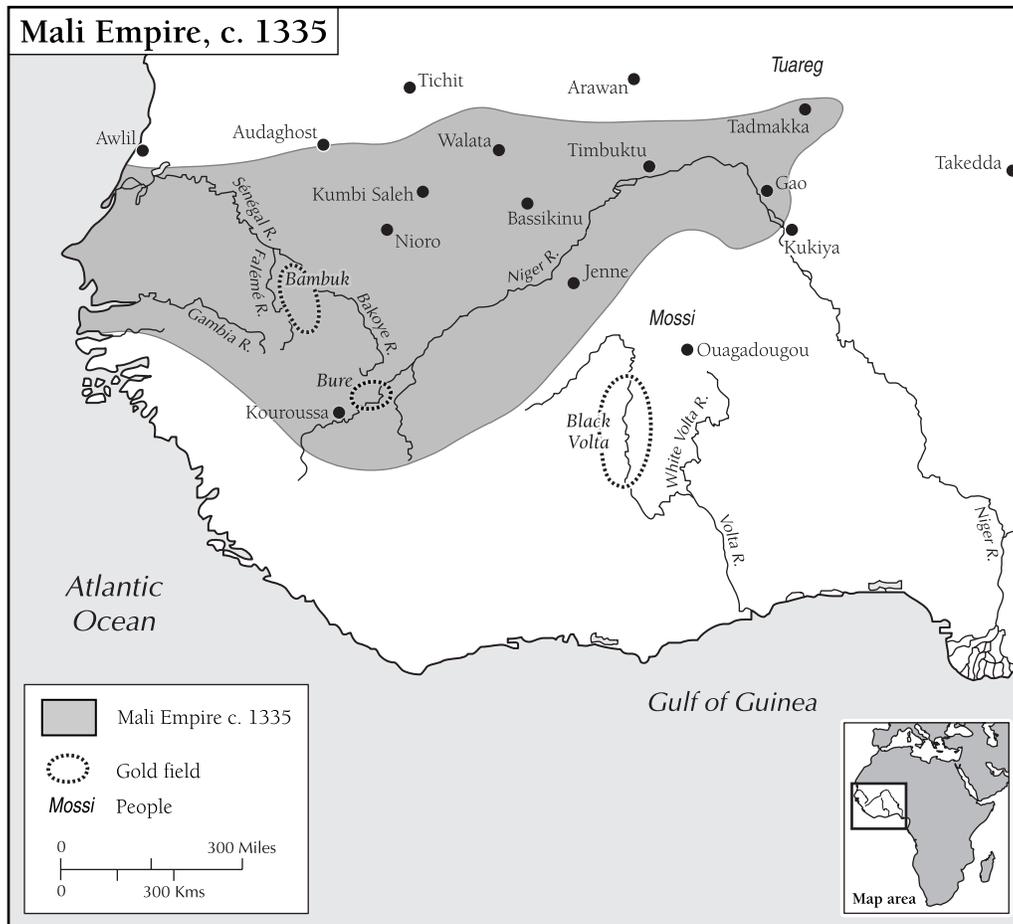
veloped a political infrastructure with provinces and towns attended by royally appointed governors.

Sundiata was succeeded by a series of kings who did little to advance the empire. In 1307, however, Mansa MUSA I (r. c. 1307–1337), a descendant of Sundiata, began his extraordinary reign. Mali was at the peak of its political and economic influence when Mansa Musa made the HAJJ, or pilgrimage, to MECCA—a longstanding tradition of the Muslim rulers of Mali. In an impressive display of wealth and power, his journey, which took place in 1324, included an entourage of some 60,000 retainers. It also included so much gold that it depressed the CAIRO gold market. A man of culture and learning, Mansa Musa's renown spread to Western Europe, bringing the empire of Mali international fame. Moroccan traveler IBN BATTUTA (c. 1304–1369) chronicled his visit through Mali in 1352–53, further enhancing the empire's reputation as a land of plentiful lodgings, bustling markets, safe roads, and well-followed rules. Mansa Musa brought Muslim scholars into Mali and made the city of TIMBUKTU a center of learning for all ISLAM.

The golden age of the Mali Empire began to decline after Mansa Musa's death in 1332, although it enjoyed a

brief return to glory from 1351 to 1359, during the reign of Mansa SULAYMAN (r. 1341–1360). Gradually, however, the rival SONGHAI Empire supplanted Mali in the lands that it once dominated; the city of GAO in Mali became the center of this new empire.

Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, often called "Askia the Great," ruled Songhai from 1493 to 1528. During his reign, he seized vast lands from Mali as well as from the HAUSA STATES and the BERBERS. In those years, Timbuktu flourished again as an Islamic center of learning. Invaders from MOROCCO overran Songhai in 1591.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II).

Further reading: N. Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishing, 1973).

Malik ibn Anas (Malik ibn Anas ibn Malik ibn Abi ʻAmir al-Asbahi) (c. 715–795) *Medina's leading Islamic legal scholar and theologian*

Malik came from a family dedicated to the study and passing on of knowledge. His great-grandfather is be-

lieved to have been a companion of the prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632). The *Muwatta* is Malik's most famous work. It is heralded as being the foundation on which Islamic law is built and consists of Malik's interpretation of the doctrines and discussions of Muhammad and his companions and followers, as well as the most respected legal scholars of the city of MEDINA in what is today Saudi Arabia. The word *muwatta* means "the approved," and the work was so named because it was accepted by 70 of Malik's contemporaries in Medina. The title also means "the clear book" in that it can be understood by anyone interested in attaining knowledge. Ash-Shafii, Malik's most renowned student, declared that besides the QURAN, the *Muwatta* was the most important book in the world.

Malik was so respected and admired in his time that at the end of the UMAYYAD dynasty (c. 660–750), when the caliph, Abu Jafar al-Mansur, was trying to usurp political control from his rival Muhammad ibn Abdallah, the people of Medina sought Malik's advice as to where their loyalties should lie. Malik reasoned that allegiance to Mansur was not binding because it had been given under force. Malik eventually paid for his frankness: after securing power, Mansur executed Muhammad and had Malik beaten for his disloyalty during the rebellion.

In honor of their teacher, Malik's students formed the Maliki sect, which began in Medina but flourished throughout North and West Africa and in much of Arabia. Tradition, reason, and tolerance were the hallmarks of Malik's philosophy and the ideology of those who followed him.

See also: MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. II).

Further reading: Mansour H. Mansour, *The Maliki School of Law: Spread and Domination in North and West Africa 8th to 14th Centuries C.E.* (Bethesda, Md.: Austin and Winfield Publishers, 1994).

Maliki Sunni doctrine One of four Sunni schools of Islamic law. Sunni ISLAM is the mainstream, traditionalist branch of the Muslim faith and also its largest. The Maliki sect is one of the four major orthodox Sunni sects and the one dominant in North and West Africa.

Sunnites, as the follower of Sunni law are called, believe that the rightful successors of the prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632) were the first four caliphs (a title, from the Arabic *kalifa,* meaning "successor," given to the civil and religious head of the Muslim state that came into being following Muhammad's death). These were ABU BAKR (c. 573–634), Muhammad's close companion and adviser, and the three caliphs that immediately followed. According to the Sunni, all caliphs thereafter were required to be descendants of Muhammad, although in practice they accepted the authority of any ruler who maintained order and promoted Islam, whatever his ori-

gins. In contrast, the minority Shiite sect of Islam, which followed the tenets of Shiism, believes that authority belongs solely to Muhammad's son-in-law, the fourth caliph, Ali, and his descendants. Disagreements regarding the source of political, and ultimately spiritual, power outlasted the end of the Caliphate in the 13th century.

The Hanafi, the Shafii, and the Hanbali are the three other orthodox Sunni sects. Each sect acknowledges three sources of Islamic law: the QURAN; the Sunna, or the words and deeds of Muhammad; and *qiyas,* or reasoning by analogy to similar situations at the time when Muhammad lived. The sects differ only in the amount of emphasis they give each legal source. The Maliki school, founded by MALIK IBN ANAS (c. 715–795) and centered in MEDINA, is the dominant Sunni sect in North and West Africa. Malik, an eighth-century imam, or religious leader, wrote the earliest surviving Muslim book of laws, the *Muwatta.* Malik's writings focus on practicing Islam in accordance with the Sunna of Muhammad. His followers established a school of *fiqh,* or religious law, called the Maliki Madhhab that is modeled after his teachings.

By the 13th century Islam had spread throughout much of Africa. Shortly thereafter, the ALMOHADS announced a return to the Maliki school of Islam. Maliki remains the most widely practiced sect of Islam in Africa today.

Further reading: Mansour H. Mansour, *The Maliki School of Law: Spread and Domination in North and West Africa 8th to 14th Centuries, C.E.* (Bethesda, Md.: Austin and Winfield Publishers, 1994).

Malindi Settlement on the SWAHILI COAST that was an important source of IRON ore in Africa as early as the 11th century. Like other East African coastal towns, Malindi attracted a large number of Arab, Persian, and Indian MERCHANTS. Although iron ore was the primary export, seashells, pearls, turtle shells, and fish were also traded in Malindi. The goods imported included glass beads, painted ceramic tiles, and POTTERY.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); MALINDI (Vol. III); PERSIAN TRADERS (Vol. II).

Mamluks Members of an elite military unit made up of captives enslaved by Abbasid or other Islamic rulers to serve in Middle Eastern and North African armies. The term *mamluk*, or *mameluke*, from an ARABIC word that means "one who is owned," has been used to describe the young children who were removed from their homelands to serve the Abbasid dynasty caliphs in North Africa from about 750 to 945. Rigorously trained as mounted horsemen and skilled archers, the Mamluks became powerful soldier-kings who enforced the payment of tax revenues to the ruling class. Many Mamluks were converted to

Traditional Mamprusi society was patrilineal, with a strong emphasis on ancestor worship. Their agricultural ECONOMY focused on hoe cultivation to produce millet, corn, and yams. Hunting and fishing were a secondary means of subsistence. Mamprusi, like most of the kingdoms south of the Niger bend, also participated in exchange along TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES.

According to oral tradition, Na Gbewa, the son of a semimythical figure named Kpogonumbo, was the founder of the Mamprusi kingdom. The three youngest sons of Na Gbewa led the three kingdoms of Mamprusi, Nanumba, and Dagomba.

See also: MAMPRUSI (Vol. III); MOSSI STATES (Vols. II, III, IV); NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

Manan   Pre-Islamic capital of the ancient KANEM kingdom, located in the Lake Chad region. Historical evidence suggests that the ancestors of Kanem's SEFUWA dynasty of rulers were the Duguwa, relatives of the Zaghawa people, who established their capital at Manan as far back as the sixth century. Nearly 100 years later, the Sefuwa *mais,* or kings, took control of Kanem and moved the capital to NJIMI. Sefuwa oral tradition, however, maintains that Manan remained the capital until the 13th century. This probably reflects changes in Sefuwa oral history that took place shortly after their conversion to ISLAM. These changes probably represent an attempt by the Sefuwa to establish a clear hereditary claim to Manan, which was the supposed birthplace of 13th-century Muslim sultans.

See also: CHAD, LAKE (Vols. I, III); KANEM-BORNU (Vols. II, III, IV); ZAGHAWA (Vol. III).

The Mamluk rulers of Egypt (r. 1250–1517) were descended from an elite force of fighters of Turkish, Afghan, Balkan, and Circassian origin whom the Ayabbid sultans of Egypt (r. 1099–1250) bought out of slavery as children, trained, and put into royal service. This 19th-century illustration gives a very romantic view of a Mamluk cavalryman. © Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis

ISLAM and rose to positions of great influence and even royalty. Although guaranteed their freedom at age 18, the Mamluks were still restricted by their enslaved status and were unable to pass their status as soldier-kings or landowners on to their descendants. In the 13th century the Mamluks seized power and established a Mamluk state that encompassed Arabia, Syria, EGYPT, and parts of LIBYA and Nubia.

See also: MAMLUKS (Vol. III).

Mamprusi (Manprusi, Mampruli, Dagbamba)
People who inhabit the region between the White Volta and Nasia rivers in present-day GHANA and BURKINA FASO; they established a West African kingdom during the 14th century. The Mamprusi speak a language of the Gur branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Known as the Dagbamba in ancient times, the Mamprusi changed their name to avoid confusion with the neighboring DAGOMBA.

Mande   (Manding,   Mandingo,   Mandingue)
Language group of West Africa that includes the BAMBARA (Bamana), SONINKE, SUSU, and MANDINKA peoples. Mande-speaking people are credited with introducing AGRICULTURE, IRONWORKING, and advanced political systems to western Africa. They are divided into two groups, the Mande-tan and the Mande-fu.

The Mande-tan inhabited the region surrounding the upper Niger River. This area includes parts of present-day GUINEA, LIBERIA, Republic of MALI, SIERRA LEONE, and SENEGAL. The Mande-tan traditionally established strict hierarchical class structures, with farmers holding the highest rank in society. In contrast, CRAFTSPEOPLE and other artisans were of lower social rank.

This almost 22-inch (52-cm)-tall mask in the form of a face with comb-like horns is of Mandinka origin. The mask is of a type used by the N'Tomo (Ndomo), a secret society that initiates young males into adulthood. © *Bowers Museum of Cultural Art/Corbis*

The Mande-fu migrated away from the Mande homeland and developed more egalitarian societies Most Mande-fu settled in present-day BURKINA FASO, The GAMBIA, GUINEA-BISSAU, IVORY COAST, and Senegal.

The Mande were among the first agriculturalists in Africa. They domesticated millet, sorghum, African rice, okra, and, later, groundnuts (peanuts), all of which became staple crops of SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. The mining of GOLD became the primary source of income for some of the more powerful Mande kingdoms. Both the GHANA EMPIRE, which flourished from c. 900 to 1200, and the MALI EMPIRE, active especially from c. 1200 to 1400, traded gold for salt and textiles. Nonetheless small-scale agriculture remained the primary economic activity of most Mande peoples prior to European colonization.

Mande social structures varied from group to group. Most were patrilineal and practiced polygamy. Those who converted to ISLAM (after their early contact with Arab traders starting in the seventh century) integrated Middle Eastern customs into their own traditions.

See also: MILLET (Vol. I); SALT (Vol. I); SORGHUM (Vol. I).

Mandinka (Malinka, Malinke) West African people who are part of the larger MANDE group; founders and rulers of the great MALI EMPIRE (c. 13th–15th centuries); also the name of the language spoken by these people. Historically, the Mandinka people have made their home in West Africa. As one of the Mande cultures, the Mandinka probably descended from the ancient agriculturalists who invented crop cultivation in western Africa. In addition to AGRICULTURE, the Mande were known to be skilled CRAFTSPEOPLE and traders.

One of the most famous, oldest, and largest of the Mande kingdoms was the Mali Empire, which was founded by SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), who is credited with unifying the people of his homeland of KANGABA in western Africa. Soon afterwards, Sundiata organized the Mandinka chiefs to fight in a war of independence against the SUSU people, and in the process he extended his rule over the ancient GHANA EMPIRE. In time the gold fields of western Africa also became part of the Mali Empire, and GOLD was added to the list of commodities traded by the Mandinka.

Unlike many other Mande peoples, the Mandinka adopted ISLAM. Although most Mandinka retained some of their traditional beliefs and spiritualist leanings, the majority had become Muslim by the 13th century. The people of the Mali Empire had religious freedom, even though their ruler, Sundiata, was Muslim.

In the male-dominated Mandinka culture, the oldest man in an extended family was considered the head of the whole family. Clans, or groups of families with the same name, lived together in a village, and LABOR was divided along gender lines, with men tending the farm and women the home. Traditionally, Mandinka homes were round, made of mud, and covered with a thatched roof. A wall generally enclosed the groups of homes that formed a village.

MUSIC always has been an important part of Mandinka culture, and the influence of Mandinka musical traditions is present in 21st-century music. Traditional drum music is used in many rituals, such as the marriage ceremony.

Mapungubwe City located in what is now ZIMBABWE, just south of where the Shashe (Sashi) and the Limpopo rivers meet. About 1075 a great influx of the Leopard's Kopje people, a Bantu-speaking group, emigrated from their site northwest of Mapungubwe, where they established a sophisticated community that thrived culturally, politically, and economically. Though they were a pastoral and agricultural society, the majority of their wealth came from the local and long-distance trading of GOLD, IRON, COPPER, IVORY, livestock, and BEADS AND JEWELRY. Local CRAFTSPEOPLE also produced and traded fabric, ceramics, bone tools, and sculptures. Spindle whorls, which were used as weights for weaving, were first introduced in this part of Africa.

The social structure of Mapungubwe was three-tiered. At the top of the political ladder were the chiefs or kings, who lived in stone houses high up on the hill. The second tier was occupied by their wives and associates, who lived nearby but separate. The third tier, the majority of the population, was made up of the peasants—craftspeople and laborers who were dependent on the elite. This system in which the aristocracy lived isolated from their subjects is one of the earliest found in southern Africa.

Initially there was much debate about the origin of the Mapungubwe inhabitants. Archaeologists who excavated sites in and around the region were slow to acknowledge the influence that the Leopard's Kopje people had on the area, for they felt that the society they were uncovering was so complex that it must have been heavily influenced by Muslims from the northern or eastern parts of Africa. But later discoveries of skeletal and cultural remains proved that the people of Mapungubwe were of sub-Saharan African descent. Between the 13th and 14th centuries the people of Mapungubwe headed north to GREAT ZIMBABWE for better trading resources and wealth.

Maqurrah Christian kingdom on the upper Nile River with its capital at Dongola. One of three Nubian kingdoms, Maqurrah was Christianized between 543 and 575 CE by a missionary named Julian and his successor, Longinus. From religious texts it would appear that the people were enthusiastic in embracing CHRISTIANITY. Christian churches were built along the Nile, and ancient temples were converted into Christian places of worship. By the seventh century Maqurrah had absorbed its neighboring kingdom, NOBATIA. After this missionary effort, there is little known about Christianity in this area until the Muslim ARABS spread southward into the upper Nile region after their invasion of Egypt, in 639. The Muslims marched south into Maqurrah, laying siege to the town before capturing it and destroying the Christian cathedral. At that time, the king of Maqurrah asked for an armistice. The Arabs, who had suffered heavy losses themselves, agreed. According to the treaty, the two groups established a working relationship in which they would engage in trade but not settle in each other's territory. This relationship lasted for 600 years and was beneficial to both parties; the Arabs gained a secure southern border, and Maqurrah was able to maintain itself as an independent entity.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. I, II), DONGOLA (Vol. III); EGYPT (Vols. I, II), NILE RIVER (Vol. I); NUBIA (Vol. I); NUBIA, CHRISTIAN (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II).

Marinids Berber people who conquered the ALMOHADS in the 13th century. The Marinids, also called the Banu Marin, ruled MOROCCO and other parts of North Africa until the early 15th century. The Marinids were a nomadic group of Zanatah BERBERS. During the early part of the 13th century they began to migrate into northeastern Morocco from ALGERIA, as the Almohad empire slowly weakened. In 1248 the Marinid sultan Abu Yahya conquered the Almohad towns of FEZ, Taza, Meknes, Sale, and Rabat. Fez was rebuilt as the Marinid capital. During the reign of Abu Yusuf Yaqub (1258–1286), who was unrelated to the earlier Almohad ruler of the same name, MARRAKECH and the remaining Almohad-ruled lands of the High Atlas region came under Marinid rule. With the capture of Marrakech in 1269, the Almohad dynasty effectively came to an end.

By the beginning of the 15th century the Marinid dynasty was in chaos. After failed attempts under ABU AL-HASAN ALI (1297–1351) to reconquer Christian Spain and to expand their territory in North Africa, Marinid resources were depleted. In Morocco they were overtaken by a related branch of people known as the Wattasids, who ruled until Fez was captured by the Sadian sharifs in 1548.

Marka (Marca, Merca) Indian Ocean port city located in present-day SOMALIA. Arab traders founded the city in the 10th century, but by the 13th century SOMALI immigrants had settled extensively throughout the area. Soon, the Somalis became involved in inland trade via the caravan routes from the African interior. Although the Indian Ocean coastline of Somalia does not have good harbors, Marka and the nearby towns of Brava and MOGADISHU are suitable ports. For this reason the stretch of coast where these towns are situated became known as the *Benadir Coast,* from the Persian word *bandar,* which means "port."

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); BENADIR COAST (Vol. III); BRAVA (Vol. III); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II).

marketplaces There is little evidence to suggest that marketplaces were a regular feature of village life in most regions of SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA between the fifth and the eighth centuries. It is thought, however, that it was common for small villages to create marketplaces to facilitate barter between peoples living in close proximity. Later, as villages evolved in sub-Saharan Africa, peoples like the IGBO of present-day NIGERIA set up complex systems of organized markets that would be held on a regular basis, perhaps at intervals of four, 10, or 20 days, depending on the season. The commodities usually traded at these village marketplaces were local crops and foodstuffs and handmade items like baskets or jewelry. People who had no goods to trade would often barter for items by offering their LABOR in fair exchange.

Village markets existed primarily to balance the FOOD surpluses and deficits between neighboring villages. Until about the eighth century these local markets rarely played a role in long-distance trade, the exception being the local market that possessed rare items of high value—like beads or shells—or large volumes of less exceptional goods, such as certain grain crops. In these cases, goods might travel through a complex trade network run by professional merchants. The goods moved along with the merchants from village to village before eventually finding their way to a larger regional marketplace.

Village markets were also differentiated by function. For example, in seaside villages such as Yoff, in SENEGAL, a large marketplace traditionally would open when fishermen returned to shore with their catches. Hundreds of women would be involved in buying fish in bulk and then cleaning and preparing them for the village marketplace. In villages that had a mosque, the mosque served as a social center for the men, and the marketplace had the same function for the women. Many villagers visited the market once a day, if not more often, to obtain the goods they needed.

The larger regional markets usually developed along trade routes or near centers of government. In these places, unlike in the villages, there were always laborers for hire and accommodations for the traders and their pack animals.

A public market or market district in North Africa was called a souk, the ARABIC word for "MARKETPLACE." In the larger cities such as TUNIS, these would also have been places to import and export goods from the Mediterranean region. Visitors to the souk in 13th-century FEZ in MOROCCO would smell bread being made and sold, see piles of olives, peppers, and spices for sale, and be able to buy goods made from leather produced at the nearby tannery or purchase a variety of silk, COTTON, or woolen thread dyed in town. All of this took place within sight of the Qarawiyin Mosque and theological school, which was founded in 859 and is one of the oldest universities in the world.

Marrakech (Marrakesh) City in west-central MOROCCO, on the fertile Haouz Plain. Marrakech has long been one of the principal commercial centers of Morocco. The old section of the city, called the *medina,* was surrounded by a large palm grove and featured fortified walls that were built in the 12th century. The *medina* is also known as the "red city," because its buildings and ramparts, built during the Almohad period, are made from beaten clay of a rusty color. The heart of the *medina* is the Jema al-Fna square, a busy souk, or MARKETPLACE. Nearby is the 12th-century Koutoubia Mosque with its 253-foot (77-m) high minaret. Other buildings of historic significance include the 16th-century Sadi Mausoleum, the 18th-century Dar el-Beda Palace (now a hospital), and the 19th-century Bahia royal residence. Much of the *medina* is still surrounded by 12th-century walls.

The city was founded in 1062 by YUSUF IBN TASHBIN (r. 1061–1106), the leader of the militant religious Muslim reformers called the ALMORAVIDS. As the Almoravid movement shifted its emphasis from promoting ISLAM to engaging in military conquest, the empire came to include territory as far east as ALGIERS as well as parts of Spain up to the Ebro River. Although it was not an entirely peaceful time for the region, North Africa benefited economically and culturally during the Almoravid period.

In 1147 Marrakech was captured by the ALMOHADS, who between 1152 and 1160 were able to conquer all of the eastern MAGHRIB. Then, in 1269, Marrakech passed into the hands of the MARINIDS, who moved their capital to FEZ, in northern Morocco. New caravan routes began to bypass Marrakech, and the city suffered economically. By the time the Sadian dynasty seized control of the city in 1525, it was a poor place, largely in ruins. The Sadian dynasty revitalized Marrakech, making it the new capital of southern Morocco. By the end of the 16th century Marrakech was once again the leading city of Morocco, culturally and economically, with about 60,000 inhabitants.

See also: MARRAKECH (Vols. III, IV, V); SADIAN DYNASTY (Vol. III).

Masmuda Group of sedentary BERBERS from MOROCCO who established the Almohad dynasty. In the 12th and 13th centuries the Almohad dynasty stretched from North Africa to Spain. The dynasty's founder, MUHAMMAD IBN TUMART (c. 1080–1130), was recognized by the Masmuda as the messiah-like figure known as the MAHDI, meaning "righteous leader."

The Masmuda lived in the High Atlas region of southern Morocco. Unlike nomadic Berbers, the Masmuda settled in permanent homes, farmed the land, and domesticated animals. The Masmuda were devout Muslims who often spoke both ARABIC and their native Berber dialect.

The ALMOHADS, like the Almoravids who preceded them, were Berbers. The Almohad founder, Muhammad ibn Tumart, was a Masmuda leader who sought to reform the excesses of the ALMORAVIDS. After studying in cities like Baghdad and MARRAKECH but failing to gain support, ibn Tumart returned to his home, where his teachings became popular among his fellow Masmuda. With their support, ibn Tumart began a rebellion against the ruling Almoravids by attacking their centers in Marrakech and Sus.

After ibn Tumart's death, his successor, ABD AL-MUMIN (c. 1094–1163), expanded the Almohad dominion to include Spain. Al-Mumin, who did not belong to the Masmuda, changed the Almohad leadership into a traditional monarchy based on heredity. As a result al-Mumin fought with Masmuda chiefs for control of the dynasty. Between the pressures of unrest at home and long wars against Christian crusaders in Spain, the Almohad empire collapsed in the middle of the 13th century.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II).

Further reading: Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Pub., 1997).

Massawa (Metsewwa, Mitsiwa) Vital port city in northern ERITREA, extending from the region's coast to the neighboring islands of the DAHLAK ARCHIPELAGO. During Aksumite rule in the early Christian era, Massawa provided an essential link between MERCHANTS of the RED SEA TRADE and the exotic export items they sought in the interior of ETHIOPIA. It is thought that in the early part of the eighth century, Muslims captured Massawa and the entire Dahlak Archipelago, subsequently destroying the mainland city of ADULIS in reprisal for raids that the Aksumite rulers had made on southern Arabia.

Arab traders in Ethiopia made it impossible for AKSUM to resume its former status in the lucrative Red Sea trade. However, under the ZAGWE DYNASTY (c. 916–1270) trading briefly flourished, perhaps as a result of mutual cooperation between the Zagwe rulers and the early Muslim settlers in the region. By the time the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY reclaimed the Ethiopian throne about 1270, these Muslim settlements had developed into formidable city-states that dominated trade in Massawa and other ports along the Ethiopian coast.

Despite the attempts of several Solomonic rulers to restore control over trade, it was not until the mid-15th century that Emperor ZARA YAKOB (r. 1434–1468) was successful in regaining dominance. He accomplished this by organizing military units and keeping a watchful administration on the region.

See also: TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. II).

Further reading: Jean Doresse, *Ethiopia* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1959); Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994); Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: The Red Sea Press, 1997).

Masudi, el (Masudi, Abd al-Hasan Ali ibn al-Husayn; Mas'udi, al-; Mas'udi, al-Fustat; al-Mas'udi, Abu al-Husayn 'Ali ibn al-Husayn) (888–957) *Arab writer and traveler*

Masudi was born in Baghdad, in present-day Iraq, and exhibited a great capacity for learning from a young age. Not wanting to rely only on books and teachers for his knowledge, he chose to wander most of his life, learning about things firsthand and from those he met on his travels. He visited the east coast of Africa, Armenia, the Caspian Sea, China, India and the Indus Valley, Iran, Oman, Russia, Spain, Sri Lanka, and Syria before finally retiring to EGYPT about 947.

Masudi was a prolific writer and chronicler of all of the knowledge he gained on his travels. Though the manuscripts no longer exist, it is known that he wrote at least 20 titles, including volumes on Muslim beliefs and even one on poisons. It was his historical works, however, that earned him the title "Herodotus of the Arabs." Covering the breadth of world history, *Akhbar az-zaman* (The history of time) filled 30 volumes.

As a follow-up to this ambitious work, Masudi wrote *Kitab al-awsat,* a companion work probably covering history from a chronological standpoint. Masudi's best-known work, however, was *Murujadh-dhahab was ma'adin al'jawahir* (The meadows of gold and the mines of gems). This work covered the same material as the previous two books but in far less detail, only 132 pages, thereby making it more accessible and readable. The book began with the creation of the world and covered a wide range of topics, everything Masudi deemed intriguing or of use, including reflections on the geography, climate, economies, calendars, RELIGION, literature, customs, and history of the various places he had visited. He described weather conditions, oceans, and the solar system as well. Masudi's final work was *Kitab at-tanbih wa al-ishraf* (The book of notification and verification) written in the year before his death. In it Masudi revised and recapitulated his earlier works.

See also: HERODOTUS (Vol. I); IBN BATTUTA (Vol. II).

Matope (d. 1480) *Ruler of the Mwene Mutapa kingdom in southern Africa in the 15th century*

Little is known of Matope's life. He left the throne to his son Mokombo, whose rule became a period of unrest. Finally in 1490, Changa, the governor of the southern and central provinces of the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom, rebelled against Makombo, declared the provinces independent, and named them the Rozwi kingdom. Changa added the

ARABIC title *amir* (commander) to his name and has became known to historians as CHANGAMIRE. The Rozwi kingdom is often called *Changamire,* after the Changamire dynasty, which was founded by Changa's son Changamire II. Changamire eventually became the greatest power in Central Africa until its fall, in 1830.

See also: CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY (Vol. III), ROZWI (Vol. III).

Mauritania   Present-day country of northwestern Africa, approximately 398,000 square miles (1,030,800 sq km) in size and bordered by ALGERIA, Republic of MALI, SENEGAL, and WESTERN SAHARA. As early as the third century, BERBERS from North Africa migrated into Mauritania. Many of the indigenous inhabitants were enslaved, while others were integrated into a feudal system. The Berbers succeeded in monopolizing trade in the Western Sahara over the next few centuries. Three dominant Berber clans, the Lamtuna, Messufa, and Djodala, formed an alliance known as the Sanhaja Confederation. By the ninth century the SANHAJA BERBERS administered all trade between KUMBI SALEH, AUDAGHOST, TIMBUKTU, and the salt mines of the northwestern Sahara.

In the late 10th century the armies of the Ghana Empire captured Audaghost, greatly cutting into the Berber trade monopoly. By the middle of the 11th century the AL-MORAVIDS, who had organized in the coastal Mauritanian capital of NOUAKCHOTT, conquered most of the Saharan Berbers and converted them to the Maliki Sunni school of ISLAM. The Almoravids also gained control of the western Sahara trade network established by the Berbers. They ruled Mauritania well into the 13th century.

During the mid-13th century ARABS from North Africa moved west. For nearly four centuries they fought with the region's established Berber inhabitants, until finally gaining control over them by the middle of the 17th century.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. II); MAURITANIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); SALT MINING (Vol. II).

Mauritius   Island nation in the Indian Ocean, spread over 720 square miles (1,870 sq km) and situated approximately 500 miles (805 km) east of MADAGASCAR. It includes the inhabited island of Rodrigues, 350 miles (563 km) to the northeast, as well as scattered coral atolls, including Cargados Carajos and Agalega. In the 10th century ARABS discovered the island, and it began to appear on maps by about 1500 under its Arabic name, *Dina Arobi*. While Arabs visited, they did not stay. The Portuguese arrived in the 16th century, bringing with them monkeys and rats. However, they also did not settle or develop the island. From 1638 to 1710 it was colonized by the Dutch, who named it after Prince Maurice of Nassau.

See also: MAURITIUS (Vols. I, III, IV, V); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Auguste Toussaint, *History of Mauritius* (London: Macmillan, 1977).

Mbanza Kongo (Mbanza Congo)   Capital city of the KONGO KINGDOM during the early 15th century. This southwest African town, originally inhabited by the KONGO people, became an important trade port for early Portuguese explorers. As early as 1490, Portuguese missionaries arrived at Mbanza Kongo. The Portuguese then imported masons, carpenters, and artisans, enabling them to build a large town in a few years.

In 1491 Nzinga Mbemba, the son of the Kongo king Nzinga Nkuwu, was greatly influenced by the Portuguese missionaries. He converted to CHRISTIANITY and changed his name to Afonso I. Nzinga Mbemba succeeded his father to the throne around 1505 and ruled for nearly 40 years as the Christian king of Mbanza. Portuguese customs were integrated into Kongo society along with the Christian religion. Mbanza Kongo was renamed São Salvador, in 1534.

See also: AFONSO I (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SÃO SALVADOR (Vol. III).

Mbundu   Bantu-speaking ethnic group of ANGOLA, in Central Africa. They are sometimes called the North Mbundu or Kimbundu to distinguish them from a related Mbundu-speaking group, who call themselves OVIMBUNDU in their own language.

The North Mbundu descended from three distinct Bantu-speaking groups who arrived in what is now Angola during the 15th century. They introduced several technologies to the region, including IRONWORKING, new agricultural techniques, and superior hunting methods. In the absence of a centralized political system, North Mbundu society was organized around loose clan affiliations. However, toward the end of the 15th century the emergence of the powerful KONGO KINGDOM to the north forced the North Mbundu to centralize their leadership. They aligned themselves with the king of the Ndongo people, who were building an agricultural and trade kingdom at Kubasa.

The North Mbundu capitalized on their location to control the coastal trade routes, which brought them into contact with the Portuguese MERCHANTS who arrived on the coast around the same time that the Kongo kingdom emerged.

See also: CLAN (Vol. I); MATAMBA (Vol. III); MBUNDU (Vol. III); NDONGO (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Mecca   City in what is now Saudi Arabia, located approximately 50 miles (80 km) from the Red Sea. Because Mecca is the birthplace of the prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632), the city is of central importance to the religion of ISLAM. In the seventh century, during the lifetime of Muhammad, Mecca was an important commercial center, bustling with trade from the CARAVANS crossing the Arabian Peninsula. Born into the influential Qaraysh family, Muhammad preached a monotheistic doctrine and sought to reform traditional Arab religious and social life. He quickly gained followers and became a threat to Mecca's established leadership. In 622 he accepted an invitation to go to the city of Yathrib, later known as MEDINA, where he successfully spread his teachings.

In 630, after a series of conflicts between rival sects in the city of Mecca, Muhammad returned to Mecca, accompanied by 10,000 troops. He quickly consolidated and expanded his power, and by his death in 632, he had become the spiritual and political leader of all Arabia.

By the end of its first century of existence, Islam had expanded westward into Africa and east and north into Asia. As time passed, however, the focal points of Islamic power moved as well, and by the ninth century the major centers of Islamic influence were located in EGYPT and India, far from Mecca and Medina.

Muhammad's move from Mecca to Medina in 622 is called the *Hegira* (Hijra). The year of this move is considered the beginning of the Islamic era and is commemorated by the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. According to Islamic doctrine, this pilgrimage, or HAJJ, is the duty of every true Muslim and is to be completed at least once during each believer's lifetime. The hajj takes place between the eighth and the 13th days of the last month of the Muslim year, and annually brings more than 2 million pilgrims to the city of Mecca. Among the many rituals and observances that are part of the hajj is each pilgrim's passage around the Kabah, the rectangular brick structure that the Muslim faithful believe was built by Ibraham and his son, Ismail.

Medhane Alem   The largest of the underground churches carved out of rock in the LASTA MOUNTAINS of north-central ETHIOPIA. In the 12th century, LALIBELA, a
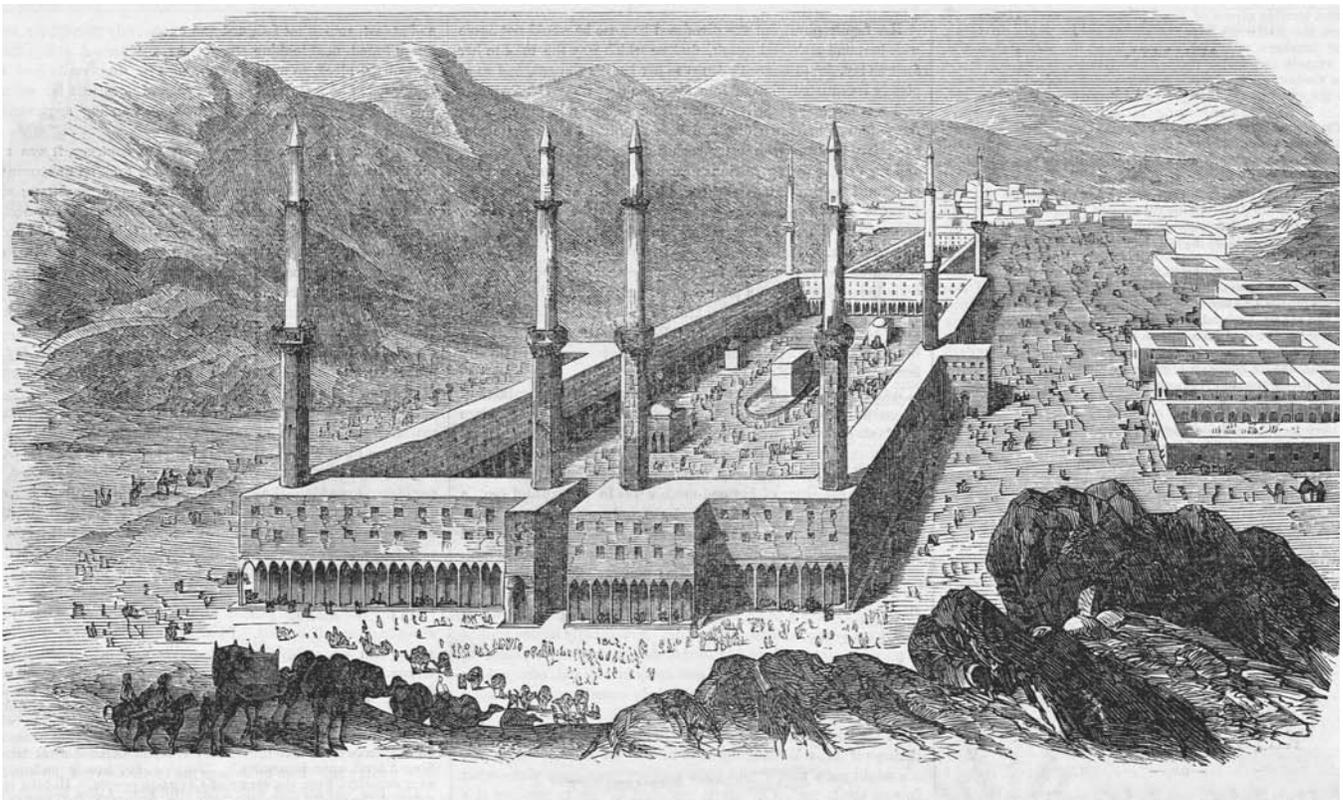
In the holy city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia, the Great Mosque, with the Kabah at the center, was the focal point of the devout Muslim's hajj. Thousands of the faithful are shown present in this 1854 print. © *Corbis*

devout Christian king belonging to the ZAGWE DYNASTY, directed the construction, or excavation, of the churches. Among the other churches are Golgatha, St. GIYORGIS and ABBA LIBANOS.

medicine   The approach of traditional African medicine to restoring good health has been described as a combination of finding both the right cure along with the disease's underlying cause. In many traditional African societies, illness or premature death was viewed either as part of a larger, hidden problem within the FAMILY or community or as something associated with other, unseen forces. These possibilities inform the work of traditional healers, many of whom made extraordinary efforts to heal the ill. The efforts of these healers included everything from divination and intuitive knowledge to special rites and ceremonies. Another source of traditional cures, herbal remedies, were drawn from a vast knowledge of herbs and roots. Some of the ingredients used were gathered in the wild, some were cultivated, and others, such as fats or milk from DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, were commonly found in the home.

Traditional treatments might involve healing bath solutions, inhaled or ingested potions, or the fumigation of the sick person's home with special sprays. Someone with a fever might receive cooling substances made of water, plant essence, and ash. Incisions might be made to the skin so that medicine could be applied. Some healers used specially prepared medicine bundles that were intended to work as a type of charm. Beyond these physical treatments, one of the most potent aspects of medical treatment within many societies was the spoken word, which represented an important part of traditional healing; ritual chants and incantations were often used as part of the regimen.

The art of divination was also essential in the role of medicine and was considered the first step in understanding the underlying cause of illness. The results of the divination process might identify that cause as misdirected anger, envy, or even a deliberate act meant to inflict harm on another member of the community.

Divination might also be used to detect the effects of witchcraft, which many societies believed to be a prime cause of illness. Once the cause of an ailment or illness was identified, the healing medicine was dispensed. This could be done in a variety of ways. Often, special rites or ceremonies—sometimes including dancing and drumming—might be part of the process. Patients also might be asked to wear amulets containing certain protective medicines. The ASHANTI of present-day GHANA, for example, have traditionally worn a personal talisman, called a *nsuma,* that they believe has been made with the assistance of divinities known collectively as the Abosom.

Members of other societies often stored medicine within wooden carvings that appeared at first glance to be works of ART. Known as "power objects," these were mainly depictions of human figures. Some of these held medicines that were meant to remain hidden from public view, while others were meant to inflict harm upon unsuspecting members of the community. Other carved forms were made especially for public display. These were filled with or surrounded by medicine and then placed on shrines or used in rituals. For example, medicines were routinely applied to the masks of the Komo Society, a group associated with the BAMBARA of present-day Republic of MALI. The mask, in turn, was thought to be able to transmit healing at specially organized rites. The Bambara also used large sacred sculptures called *boliw* as repositories for their potent medicines.

Similarly many societies of Central Africa used wooden sculptures as a part of the healing process. Among the KONGO people, for example, sculptures known as *nkisi* were used to magnify the healing properties of traditional medicines. Kongo healers typically inserted herbal remedies, known as *bwanga,* into the head or abdomen of one of these figures. Thus, it was believed, the herbs were transformed into more potent forms of medicine known as *mankishi.* Peoples who used such methods, such as the Songye, often claimed that knowledge of this type of medicine was given to the first humans by their supreme being.

In some regions of southern Africa, divining "bones" were used to diagnose and treat illness. These items, which often consisted of an assortment of special stones, shells, nuts, or other sacred objects, were usually thrown onto a flat surface. The patterns that formed were then "read" by a healer, who was then able to determine the appropriate treatment.

Medicine also played an important role in societies that ascribed to DIVINE RULE. Inserted into the crown or royal headdress of ruling kings, certain medicines were considered an essential protective agent. YORUBA kings, for example, had medicine sewn into the top portion of their crowns, always hidden beneath beads or a symbolic bird perched at the top. It was generally believed that herbal medicines aligned the king's divine power with the *orisha,* the pantheon of spiritual deities who embodied the life-force referred to as *ashe.* The Yoruba also buried special medicine*s,* known as *oogun,* under shrines dedicated to specific deities.

The Haalpulaaren people of northern SENEGAL practice a unique form of traditional healing. They were organized in lineage groups, each with its own special expertise in a certain craft. These crafts then determined an individual's status as healer. For example, BLACKSMITHS treated external burns and abscesses, while members of the societies who were weavers of cloth used specially tied knots to alleviate the pain of headaches and toothaches.

See also: DIVINATION (Vol. I); MEDICINE (Vols. I, III, IV, V); ORISHA (Vol. I); WITCHCRAFT (Vol. I).

Further reading: Rosalind J. Hackett, *Art and Religion in Africa* (London: Cassell, 1996); John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1999).

Medina   Sacred city located in western Saudi Arabia, 110 miles (180 km) east of the Red Sea and 200 miles (320 km) north of MECCA. The prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632) fled to Medina in 622 but returned in triumph to Mecca in 630. His remains are buried in Medina, making it one of the holiest places of Muslim pilgrimage. Originally called Yathrib, the city came to be known as *Madinat an Nami* (the city of the Prophet), which was later shortened to *Medina*, ARABIC for "the city."

Muhammad's monotheistic beliefs met with great opposition in his native city of Mecca. In 622 he and his followers were forced to leave the city, and they chose Yathrib to be the administrative center of the new Muslim community. This flight, known as the Hegira (Hijra), marks the beginning of the Islamic calendar.

Despite constant conflict with the Meccans, Muhammad continued his attempts to unify the Arab people, and his teachings attracted a great following. As a result, Mecca began to decline as prominent citizens moved to Yathrib to follow ISLAM.

In 630 Muhammad and 10,000 of his disciples seized Mecca, and by 632 all of Arabia was united under Islam. While leading the annual pilgrimage to Mecca in 632, however, Muhammad died in Medina, before he could appoint an heir. This provoked a major crisis among his followers and later led to dynastic disputes that brought schism and civil war. Muhammad was buried in Medina, and a mosque was subsequently built around his grave. His daughter, Fatima, and Omar, the second caliph of the Muslim empire, are also buried within the mosque.

For nearly 30 years after Muhammad's death, Medina remained the capital of the Islamic community, serving as the administrative, cultural, and intellectual center of the Muslim empire. Years later it became a primary center for the legal discussions that codified Islamic law.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. II); SHIISM (Vol. II).

Mediterranean Sea   Body of water that provided a key link between the African continent, southern Europe, and the Middle East. Prior to the seventh century northern Africa and the Mediterranean Sea were controlled by the Byzantine Empire. Although a handful of Mediterranean coastal towns were still under Byzantine influence at the beginning of the seventh century, the arrival of Arab Muslims put an end to Byzantine rule. On a quest to spread ISLAM, these Arab immigrants used military force to dominate ancient coastal towns and establish new Muslim cities. EGYPT was the first access point of the Arab conquests as they made their way west, into the MAGHRIB. As a result the Mediterranean became an essential factor in the introduction of Islamic culture to Africa.

Equally important was the rapid economic growth in the area sparked by the Arab interest in Mediterranean trade. TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES linked the Mediterranean coast with the African interior, where export goods, such as GOLD and slaves, were in high demand. The influx of gold into Western Europe enabled countries like Spain, which had previously relied solely on silver, to diversify their currencies and increase their financial stability. In addition, the growth of Mediterranean trade brought advances in SHIPBUILDING technology and sparked interest in areas as diverse as geography, banking, and astronomy. Partly because of this economic prosperity, Islam was fully incorporated into Mediterranean coastal towns by the 11th century and gradually began to spread southward along the trans-Saharan trade routes.

For the next several hundred years the Mediterranean figured prominently in shaping North Africa's history. It was as often the site of power struggles as it was a busy trade center. The Muslim ALMORAVIDS, centered in MOROCCO, dominated the western Mediterranean in the late 11th century and supplanted the UMAYYAD dynasty, which had ruled al-ANDALUS (Muslim Spain) since 756. (Spain had been invaded and conquered by Berber Muslim forces in 711.) At the same time, Christian crusaders attempted to wrest the Holy Land from its Muslim rulers. Control of much of the Mediterranean coastline passed to the ALMOHADS, another Muslim reform group, in the late 12th century. Over the next 300 years, Christians and Muslims battled for control of Mediterranean trade and coastal dominance. Toward the end of the 15th century the Christians temporarily conquered the Mediterranean under the armies of the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile. Important North African port cities under Spanish control included Melilla, Oran, Ténès, Algiers, Bidjaya, and Tripoli.

The Ottoman Empire, which had steadily been growing in size and power since the early 14th century, began to seriously threaten Christian dominance of the Mediterranean by the beginning of the 16th century. After conquering key Egyptian cities, the Ottomans used their powerful navy and began raiding Mediterranean commerce vessels. By the middle of the 1500s the Ottomans controlled the North African coastal towns of TUNIS, Algiers, and Tripoli, thus shifting Mediterranean control to the Turks.

See also: BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vols. I, II); MEDITERRANEAN SEA (Vol. I); OTTOMAN EMPIRE (Vol. III).

merchants A professional merchant class emerged in Africa as TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES and INDIAN OCEAN TRADE developed after the rise of ISLAM in the seventh century. The BERBERS of North Africa brought their Islamic faith with them as they crossed the Sahara and converted many of the merchants who had traditionally dealt with the Arab traders. The conversion of a large percentage of traders brought many benefits to the region. It opened up markets for African trade goods in the Middle East and North Africa, and it provided a common language—ARABIC—that was spoken by both Arab Muslims and black African Muslims. (Until the 20th century the QURAN, the holy book of Islam, was read only in Arabic, which most believers learned.) Islam also provided the bond of Islamic law, or SHARIA, making it easier to solve disputes under one common legal system.

A powerful and influential merchant class existed in all the major cities of Muslim West Africa—TIMBUKTU, GAO, JENNE, KUMBI SALEH, KANO, KATSINA, and the other HAUSA STATES. By the 14th century clans of DYULA (meaning "itinerant traders"), or Wangara, as the Muslim traders of the Mali Empire came to be called, were active throughout West Africa and were known for organizing the large-scale movement of goods from the African interior to the coastal commercial markets and trade depots of the Sahara.

In other parts of Africa, notably the central and southern regions, there were merchants with little or no contact with North African traders or with Arab traders from the Indian Ocean cities. Significant among these in the early 15th century were the merchants of MWENE MUTAPA, a kingdom bearing the same name as the its king, whose most important trading center was the city of GREAT ZIMBABWE, south of the Zambezi River. As Mwene Mutapa expanded its trade routes by military means, their merchants gained access to the Zambezi region's salt, fabrics, and IVORY. They neither had nor sought direct contact with the cities of KILWA, SOFALA, MOMBASA, MALINDI, and others along the East African coast but were instead intermediaries who controlled
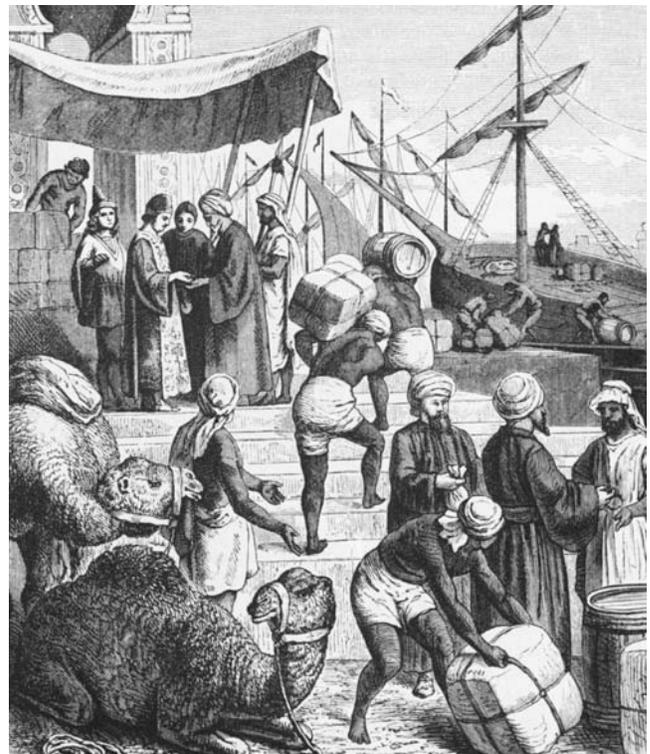
Arab and medieval European merchants conduct business at a port. © *Bettmann/Corbis*

the inland trade networks that brought Zimbabwean GOLD and goods to the Indian Ocean coast. These goods were carried by foot or by pack oxen to Arab traders on the coast.

See also: CARAVANS (Vol. II); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. II).

metalwork See BARIBA METALLURGY (Vol. II); BRONZE (Vol. II); COPPER (Vol. I, II, IV); CRAFTSPEOPLE (Vol. II); IRONWORKING (Vol. II).

mining See COPPER (Vols. I, II, IV); GOLD (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); IRON (Vol. II); LABOR (Vol. II); MINING (Vols. I, III, IV, V); SALT MINING (Vol. II).

Mogadishu Port city and present-day capital of SOMALIA, founded by Arab traders in the 10th century. Early Mogadishu, also known as Hammawein or Xamar Weyne, was one of the first Arab trading ports on the African mainland. Although originally established and ruled by Arab and Persian families, by the 13th century Mogadishu was governed by both ARABS and Arab-influenced SOMALI clans. Arab customs were integrated into local tra-

ditions, and many Somalis converted to ISLAM because of the influence of these ruling families.

The GOLD trade from southern Africa made the city prosperous, but leather, timber, pitch, and civet musk were also shipped abroad. Captives from the interior quickly became an important commodity, along with livestock and IVORY.

The strong influence of Islam was in evidence in the 13th century, when Fakhr al-Din established the first sultanate of Mogadishu. As the city's international prominence grew in the 15th century, political power shifted to the Muzaffar dynasty. Although the Muzaffar rulers were able to fend off Portuguese invaders, they could not resist the great influx of the Hawaya, a group of indigenous Somali nomads. Cut off from the interior, Mogadishu, along with the port cities of MARKA and Brava to the south, lost much of its trade. By the end of the 16th century Mogadishu was falling into a state of rapid decline.

See also: BENADIR COAST (Vol. III); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); MOGADISHU (Vols. III, IV, V).

Mombasa City in present-day KENYA that is the largest port in East Africa. Established as a trade center by Arab MERCHANTS in the 11th century, Mombasa quickly became a prominent marketplace for GOLD, IVORY, and slaves. It soon surpassed the coastal city of KILWA in importance, becoming East Africa's premier commercial center by the 15th century.

Portuguese explorer Vasco da GAMA (c. 1460–1524) visited Mombasa in 1498, and several years later the Portuguese captured the city in an effort to control INDIAN OCEAN TRADE.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); MOMBASA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

monotheism Belief in one god, as typified by religions introduced to Africa like Judaism, CHRISTIANITY, and ISLAM. Unlike pantheistic religious traditions, which are common throughout SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, monotheistic religions center on one god, who actively intervenes with humankind. This god typically sets moral standards and is worshiped as the supreme creator. Monotheists often consider other religions intolerable, a fact that has resulted in friction between religious groups throughout much of African history.

The monotheistic religions commonly found in Africa differ in their interpretation of the supreme authority of the one god. The oldest of the three great monotheistic religions, Judaism, centers on the belief in an all-powerful creator sustained and revealed through human action. While early Jews tolerated the existence of other gods, monotheistic principles came to dominate Judaism as it

developed. Christianity, which emerged from Judaism, adheres to monotheistic principles as expressed in the Old Testament of the Bible. Catholicism and many Protestant denominations express their belief in a Holy Trinity of three persons in one God: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as set forth in the New Testament of the Bible in the Gospel of St. Matthew and St. Paul's Letter to the Corinthians.

The concept of a single god may have originated in Africa during the reign of the pharaoh Akhenaten IV (c. 1379–1364 BCE), known also as Amenhotep IV. Akhenaten replaced the traditional worship of Amun with rites honoring Aten and the innovation that Aten was to be the only god. The so-called Amarna Period that he initiated was a time of religious and political turmoil in Egypt.

In contrast to Judaism and Christianity, Islam, which began in the seventh century, is a purely monotheistic RELIGION. Muslims strictly deny the validity of other religions, believing that Allah (the ARABIC word for "God") is eternal and unequaled and is the creator, sustainer, and restorer of the world. Islam views Adam, Noah, Moses, and Jesus Christ, among others, as members of a long line of prophets ending in Muhammad, whose revelations consummate and supercede the work of the prophets who preceded him.

See also: AKHENATEN (Vol. I); PANTHEISM (Vol. I); MONOTHEISM (Vol. I).

Morocco Country along the coast of North Africa, with the MEDITERRANEAN SEA to the north, the Atlantic Ocean to the west, WESTERN SAHARA to the south, and ALGERIA to the east; officially known in the present day as the Kingdom of Morocco. The Atlas Mountains in central Morocco separate the fertile coastal plain to the north from the Sahara Desert to the south.

The BERBERS, the indigenous people of Morocco, are an ancient group who were subjected to the invasions of a succession of foreign powers. The Mediterranean coast of Africa was under Roman rule until the area was invaded by the Vandals in 429 and later by Byzantium in 533. Although CHRISTIANITY spread throughout Morocco during Roman times, only pockets survived the Arab invasion that began in the seventh century.

Muslim ARABS came to Morocco around 685, replacing Christianity with ISLAM. (A few areas with Jewish populations were allowed to keep their RELIGION.) ARABIC influence extended beyond religious reform, eventually

including the written language that has remained the primary language of business and culture ever since.

The Berbers did not accept Arab rule, however, and there were many conflicts between the two groups. In 788 Morocco became an independent state under the royal family of the *sharif* (descendant of the Prophet) Idris ibn Abd Allah, who was invited there by Ishaq ibn Abd al-Hamid, the chief of the Berber Awraba confederation, to lend religious authority to al-Hamid's rule. Arab and Berber dynasties succeeded the Idrisids. The first were the ALMORAVIDS (1062–1147), a Berber Muslim dynasty that united the country through religious reform and military conquests. They were succeeded by the AL-MOHADS (1147–1258). Morocco became the center of the Almohad empire, which included modern-day ALGERIA, TUNISIA, LIBYA, and large areas of Spain and Portugal.

The Marinid dynasty (1259–1550) seized control of Morocco from the Almohads, but they could not entirely unify the country. The Berbers and Arabs continued their civil war, and the region was thrown into disorder.

See also: BYZANTINE AFRICA (Vols. I, II); MARINIDS (Vol. II); MOROCCO (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Mossi States (Moshe, Moose, Mohe, Mosi)

Confederation of states located in present-day BURKINA FASO that organized under a single leader around 1500. The Mossi States included MAMPRUSI, DAGOMBA, NANUMBA, Tenkodogo, OUAGADOUGOU, YATENGA, and FADA-N-GURMA. The Mossi peoples have long spoken the Moré language (also called Voltaic). Their traditional religious rites involved nature worship and the honoring of ancestors. Their political system was a hierarchical one headed by a *mogho naba*, or great king, who resided in the capital city, Ougadougou.

According to tradition, the early ancestors of the Mossi people came to the VOLTA RIVER basin from the east as early as the 13th century. Other sources indicate that, about the year 1500, horsemen from northern reaches of what is now GHANA conquered the farming peoples of the area, including the DOGON, Lela, Nuna, and Kurumba. The conquerors and the conquered thus formed the Mossi States, also known as the Mossi kingdom, with the conquerors adopting the language of the area but retaining their own traditions.

In the early days of the kingdom, Mossi cavalry fought with the neighboring Mali and SONGHAI empires for control of the middle Niger River. The Mossi raids were unsuccessful, and Songhai remained in control of the lake region of the middle Niger.

AGRICULTURE was an important part of the Mossi economy, and people raised crops both for their own consumption and for trade. Leather workers, smiths, and other artisans were common as well. Located along the trade routes between the desert and forest, the Mossi also were active in trade between the forest states and cities on the Niger River.

Mossi society traditionally was based on a feudal system, headed by the *mogho naba,* who surrounded himself with NOBLES, officials, bodyguards, and pages. The *mogho naba*'s many wives were kept secluded, with eunuchs the only males in attendance. Division chiefs were the *mogho naba*'s advisers, with the next government level being the village chiefs, who had power over the commoners and slaves.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); MOSSI STATES (Vols. III, IV).

Mozambique

Present-day country on the southern coast of East Africa. Mozambique borders SOUTH AFRICA, ZIMBABWE, ZAMBIA, MALAWI, and TANZANIA. The island country of MADAGASCAR is located in the Indian Ocean, off of Mozambique's coast. Because of its abundant natural resources, including GOLD, IVORY, COPPER, and IRON, Mozambique has been an important trade region since the middle of the first millennium.

Mozambique originally referred to the site of a coastal settlement occupied by Bantu-speaking peoples as early as the third century. Various groups also settled also in the highlands west of Mozambique along the Zimbabwe Plateau during the expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples from western Central Africa to the south and east. These people brought with them IRON technology and knowledge of grain cultivation, which enabled them to sustain an agrarian and pastoral economy in their new home. Among the numerous Bantu-speaking settlers, those in the southeast (the Chopi, Tonga, and Tsonga) formed cohesive village units; those who settled along the Zambezi River (the Barue, Maravi, Makua-Lomue, and SHONA) did not organize structured political units. Other Bantu-speaking peoples, like the Makonde and Yao to the north, lived in virtual isolation.

These Bantu speakers lived as simple farmers and herders until the arrival of Arab traders in the eighth century. The ARABS exchanged Middle Eastern products, including beads, POTTERY, textiles, glass, and salt, for African goods like gold, ivory, and rhinoceros horn. Arab trade was the dominant economic activity along much of the Zambezi River by the 15th century.

Early in the 15th century the KARANGA, a subgroup of the Shona, rose to power in the central regions of what is now Mozambique. The state founded by these people, known as the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom, attempted to conquer much of the Zambezi valley, leading to political unrest among the smaller Bantu-speaking kingdoms in the region.

In 1498 the Portuguese arrived and became heavily involved in the gold and ivory trades. After securing the coast, the Portuguese headed into the central regions of

Mozambique, bringing Christian missionaries with them. Eventually they would dominate the region, setting up a feudal political structure and establishing a wide-ranging trade ECONOMY.

See also: MAKUA (Vol. III); MAPUTO (Vols. III, IV); MARAVI (Vol. III); MOZAMBIQUE (Vols. I, III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); YAO (Vols. III, IV); ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vols. I, III).

Muhammad ibn Tumart (1080–1130) *Islamic religious leader, self-proclaimed Mahdi, and founder of the Almohad dynasty in Morocco in the 12th century*

Born in 1080, ibn Tumart was a member of the MASMUDA group of BERBERS of the Atlas Mountain region of southern MOROCCO. After returning from a pilgrimage to MECCA, in 1117, he began to preach a doctrine advocating the social and religious reformation of the Almoravid dynasty. Ibn Tumart believed in the unity of God and strict adherence to the doctrines of ISLAM.

Declaring himself MAHDI (righteous leader), he initiated a JIHAD, or holy war, against all Muslims who disagreed with him. His extreme beliefs did not win him many friends, however, and his admonitions angered many local Almoravid rulers. In fact, in MARRAKECH, ibn Tumart was very nearly executed after an argument with local Muslim scholars.

Ibn Tumart returned to the Atlas Mountains in 1122, having failed to gain much support in Marrakech. Once home, he began gaining followers among the Masmuda. Ibn Tumart's supporters began the Almohad rebellion in 1125 with attacks on the centers of Almovarid power, the cities of Sus and Marrakech. Ibn Tumart died in 1130 and was succeeded by his lieutenant, ABD AL-MUMIN (r. 1130–1163), who was able to defeat the Almoravid dynasty. By the end of al-Mumin's reign, the ALMOHADS controlled much of Africa and Spain.

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Although ibn Tumart founded the Almohad movement that rejected Almoravid rule, the MUMINID dynasty is named after his successor, Abd al-Mumin, under whose direction the Almohads began to flourish, in the middle of the 12th century.

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Muhammad the prophet See ISLAM.

Muhammad Touré, Askia (Muhammad ibn Bakr Ture; Muhammad I) (r. c. 1493–1528) *Ruler of the Songhai Empire*

After assuming the throne of the SONGHAI Empire in 1493, Muhammad Touré embarked on a campaign to make Islam the state religion and to consolidate his power. These efforts occupied the bulk of his long reign.

See also: MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vol. III).

Muminid (Mu'minid) Period of Almohad rule in North Africa and Spain under the leadership of ABD AL-MUMIN (r. 1130–1163), a caliph of the Berber Almohad dynasty, and his successors. Al-Mumin conquered Almoravid North Africa and united the BERBERS under a single rule.

The Muminid dynasty was founded shortly after the death in 1130 of MUHAMMAD IBN TUMART (c. 1080–1130), the Muslim religious reformer and military leader whose teachings laid the foundation for the Almohad empire in North Africa and Spain (1130–1269). Without their influential leader, the ALMOHADS, whose name, in ARABIC, means "those who affirm the unity of God," fell into a brief period of decline. By 1133, however, al-Mumin, a Qumiya Berber who had been ibn Tumart's trusted lieutenant, had regrouped his people and renewed ibn Tumart's revolt against the Almoravid empire. At that time, the Almoravid empire, dominated by the SANHAJA BERBERS, controlled MOROCCO and western ALGERIA as far as Algiers and all of Muslim Spain.

Al-Mumin gained control over key Berber trade routes, greatly increasing Almohad wealth. These new resources enabled al-Mumin to capture the city of MARRAKECH from the ALMORAVIDS in 1147 and make it the Almohad capital. Within a few years, al-Mumin dominated all of the MAGHRIB. In 1158–59 Abd al-Mumin conquered TUNISIA and Tripolitania, extending Berber rule to all of North Africa west of EGYPT. The Almoravids continued to resist Almohad domination, however, and during a revolt in 1163, Abd al-Mumin was killed.

Al-Mumin's son ABU YAQUB YUSUF (r. 1163–1184) succeeded him. He forced the surrender of Muslim Seville in 1172 and extended Almohad rule across Islamic Spain. However, a series of rebellions during his rule and a failed attempt to conquer the independent Muslim kingdom of Murcia in southwestern Spain stalled Almohad expansion.

Upon Abu Yaqub Yusuf's death, his son, Abu Yusuf YAQUB AL-MANSUR (r. 1184–1199), inherited the throne. Abu Yusuf Yaqub faced mounting opposition from the Banu Ghaniya, who were the descendants of the Almoravid leader YUSUF IBN TASHBIN (r. c. 1061–1106), in the central Maghrib. The Almohads eventually lost the eastern half of the Maghrib to the raiding Almoravids.

When Yaqub al-Mansur died in 1199, Almohad power passed to the fourth Muminid leader, Abu Abdallah Muhammad al-Nasir (r. c. 1205). Al-Nasir staged an offensive against the Banu Ghaniya in the early 13th cen-

tury, soundly defeating them in 1210. At the same time, Christian armies embarked to reclaim Spanish territories from the Muslims, forcing the Muminids to withdraw from Spain around 1212. Al-Nasir died shortly thereafter.

In 1194 Abu Yusuf Yaqub headed north, across the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, in order to conquer Spain. His Almohad forces captured many Christian territories, earning him the title *al-mansur* (the victorious).

In 1213 al-Nasir's son, al-Mustansir, took control of the empire and faced increasing resistance from the Christians, the Banu Ghaniya, and the Banu Marin, or MARINIDS. Upon al-Mustansir's death in 1227, the Muminid dynasty fell into disarray. By 1230 the Almohads had lost control of the rest of the Maghrib, and the Muminid dynasty came to an abrupt end.

Musa I, Mansa (r. c. 1307–1337) *Muslim ruler of the Mali Empire*

One of the most important Muslim rulers of the MALI EMPIRE, Mansa Musa I played a key role in the expansion of ISLAM into West Africa. He was also responsible for much of the expansion of the west African GOLD trade to the eastern parts of North Africa and the SUDAN. In addition, although he did not force Islam on his people, he was responsible for the construction of numerous mosques, and he encouraged the spread of Islamic learning throughout his empire. Because of this, during his reign the city of TIMBUKTU developed into a major Islamic center of learning.

Mansa Musa I as Ruler Based on evidence presented by Arab scholars, Mansa Musa I was one of the most widely known rulers of ancient Mali and perhaps the most famous person in all of the western Sudan. His rule lasted from roughly 1307 until his death in 1337. During this time the influence of Mali grew, and its government experienced greater development than it had under any of its former rulers. Mansa Musa I was also the leader who developed Mali's diplomatic relations with EGYPT and MOROCCO, sending ambassadors to both nations and receiving their consuls in return.

Mansa Musa's governance was equally commendable in that he administered justice fairly and impartially. Just as important, because of his strong religious faith, he also insisted on qualities of fairness and equity in his high-ranking subordinates. He traveled extensively throughout his own empire and abroad, most notably in his famous pilgrimage to MECCA, which was conducted in such splendor that it is still discussed today.

The Hajj of Mansa Musa I A devout follower of Islam, Mansa Musa set out for Mecca to fulfill the Islamic commandment that the faithful must make a pilgrimage, or HAJJ, to Mecca, the birthplace of their religion. Mansa Musa's journey began in 1324, in the seventeenth year of his reign, with his departure from NIANI, on the Upper Niger River, and lasted until 1325.

Mansa Musa's entourage for the journey was, according to all accounts, enormous. According to some witnesses he traveled with up to 60,000 courtiers and 12,000 servants. Leading the procession were at least 500 servants, each carrying a staff made from more than 4 pounds (1.8 kg) of gold. Behind them came Mansa Musa himself, on horseback. His chief wife also was part of the procession, and she brought along as many as 500 servants of her own. Beyond this, there were as many as 100 camels—each carrying 300 pounds (136 kg) of gold—as well as thousands of Mansa Musa's subjects. Even the slaves and servants were well dressed for Mansa Musa's pilgrimage. According to most accounts, they were dressed in the finest silks available, and many apparently wore ornate brocaded clothing.

As Mansa Musa traveled to WALATA (in present-day MAURITANIA) and Tuat (now in ALGERIA), he and his retinue caused a sensation. His dazzling riches, which came from an area that was little known to North Africans, created a surge of interest in both Mansa Musa and his kingdom. The fact that he greeted his hosts both generously and graciously intrigued and pleased people even more.

In CAIRO Mansa Musa finally met with the Mamluk sultan al-Malik an-Nasir. (Musa was so devoted to his religious duties that he had been reluctant to take the time to meet with the sultan.) Mali's ruler proved to be an extremely generous guest, heaping gold upon the sultan and his other hosts.

The amount of gold Mansa Musa bestowed on others, particularly in Cairo, was so great that he depressed the market in the metal and caused a major decrease in the price of gold that lasted for at least a dozen years. According to the Arab historian al-Umari, the people of Cairo were still telling stories of their mysterious visitor's wealth and generosity when, more than a decade later, al-Umari visited the city. Mansa Musa's generosity eventually hurt him, though, and had negative effects on the gold market, as well. For although he had brought a huge amount of gold with him on his pilgrimage, it still was not enough to cover his enormous expenses and largesse. As a result he was forced to take out loans—at extremely high rates of interest—in order to pay for his return to Mali.

After Cairo, Mansa Musa continued on to Mecca to complete his hajj. Musa's entourage returned to Mali with an ARABIC library. It also brought with it many Islamic scholars who went on to help create Muslim schools in the empire. Equally important, Mali's king brought back with him the famous architect al-SAHILI, who set about building mosques in both GAO and Timbuktu that influenced generations of builders.

Ultimately, Mansa Musa's pilgrimage changed the way the world thought about Mali—and Africa. In 1339, four years after his return, Mali began appearing on Arabic maps. Indeed, by 1375 at least one cartographer included on a map an illustration of a clearly wealthy king carrying gold. In the wake of Mansa Musa's hajj, trade between Mali and Egypt soared, and as news of the riches and splendor of the king's entourage reached the Middle East and Europe, Mali became an object of fascination. The curious, the greedy, and the devout all were attracted to Mali, transforming it into a center for everything from Islamic scholarship to trade.

See also: ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II).

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music   Music has long been acknowledged as a major component of daily life in Africa, a presence in everything from religious worship and work routines to children's games, funerals, and rites of passage. Among the qualities that have marked African music as both timeless and yet constantly changing are its adaptability and innovation, traits that have been influenced by the internal growth of kingdoms and city-states as well as by the impact of trade, travel, and migration. During Africa's medieval period, greater emphasis appears to have been placed on musical performance and on individual singers, dancers, and storytellers. Along with the praise songs of the GRIOT, classical forms of poetry developed and were accompanied by music played on a number of instruments. Among the most notable were forms developed in RWANDA and YORUBALAND that relied on rhyme, rhythm, and tone to convey their meanings.

Drums and drum music were most commonly found in the woodland areas. One of the most popular drums to emerge was the *dundun,* an instrument that came into widespread use among the YORUBA of present-day southwestern NIGERIA at some time between the 14th and 15th centuries. Known as the "talking drum" because of its ability to closely imitate human language, the *dundun,* which had an hourglass shape, was made of a double membrane. It was played with a curved stick, and adjustments to its membrane covering, which was held in place by leather, produced a rise and fall in pitch. The *iya-ilu,* or "mother drum," was another popular drum. It was often used for recitals and praise songs, as well as for announcing visitors to the kingdom. The kings of UGANDA were known to organize their own drumming ensembles, each made up of at least three to four drummers.

Although the drum held a central place throughout Africa's long history, with the advent of the Iron Age, a wider variety of musical instruments developed. This in turn generated an even wider variation in tone, pitch, and distinctive rhythmic patterns. These patterns, ranging from simple beats to more complex interlocking sound designs, were usually established and maintained by a master drummer. Diversity in instrumentation is corroborated by the ART that has survived from royal palaces, by the writings of Arabic travelers in Africa, and by archaeological evidence. Royal plaques from ILE-IFE and the kingdom of BENIN, for example, depict musicians playing instruments—flutes and horns categorized as aerophones—made from the horns of animals. Also pictured are bow lutes that belong to the category of instruments known as chordophones, as well as calabash rattles and iron bells.

Archaeologists have recovered bells of a similar type from western and southern regions of Africa, including single and double iron bells without clappers that are believed to have originated among Kwa-speakers in West Africa. It is thought that these bells were transported into Central Africa by migrating Bantu-speakers. Another bell, the *ogan,* or double bell, was important to musicians in FON society. Their music was noteworthy for the development of a distinctive time-line pattern known as *toba,* which has remained an identifiable feature of the region's music for centuries.

> **Time-line patterns are generally described as a brief single note produced by striking a bell, drum, or calabash or by clapping the hands. They are the basis for creating great variation or improvisation in African music.**

The rulers of BUGANDA had a specialized form of improvisational music known as *akadinda.* Similar to the way in which drummers created interlocking rhythms, this form of music was played by an ensemble of groups made up of two sets of two to three players each.

Other groups with a long tradition of musicality include the Mbuti of central Africa and the SAN of present-day SOUTH AFRICA. (The music of both groups was documented by European observers as early as the 15th century.) Known as *hocketing,* their music involved having each player use flutes or trumpets to play single notes in

repeated rotation. Depending on the number of musicians in the ensemble, the music became what musicologists describe as polyphonic, or textured, in pattern. Similar techniques were used later in the traditional choral arrangements of the Zulu people.

Migration clearly played an important role in the development of regional music, although that role is still not fully understood. For example, historians of music point out many marked similarities between the vocal chants of the Gogo, from the central region of TANZANIA, and the comparable style of the MAASAI in present-day KENYA. Other comparisons include the use of xylophone instruments by both the Makonde of present-day northern MOZAMBIQUE—who play a log xylophone known as the *dimbila*—and the instrument known as the *jomolo,* which is played by the Baule people of IVORY COAST.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); DANCE (Vol. I); FESTIVALS (Vols. I, II); FUNERAL CUSTOMS (Vol. I); MUSIC (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Robert B. Fisher, *West African Religious Traditions* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1998); Samuel A. Floyd Jr., *The Power of Black Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Muslim law See ISLAM; LAW AND JUSTICE; *SHARIA*.

Muslims See ISLAM.

Mwene Mutapa (Mwene Matapa, Mwene Mutabe, Monomotapa, Mwenenutapa, Mbire) Kingdom in southern Africa ruled by a line of monarchs who took the title *mwene mutapa*. The dominion of the *mwene mutapa* (a term meaning "master pillager" or "ravager of the land") extended from the Zambezi River to the LIMPOPO RIVER, in ZIMBABWE and MOZAMBIQUE. Legend attributes the founding of the Mwene Mutapa dynasty to Mbire, a semimythical 14th-century ruler from the Lake TANGANYIKA area. (The Mwene Mutapa kingdom is sometimes called the Mbire kingdom.) The kingdom proper, however, was formed in the 15th century by Nyatsimba, a leader of the KARANGA subgroup of the SHONA. Nyatsimba was the first ruler to bear the title of *mwene mutapa.*

Soon after its establishment Mwene Mutapa began to prosper. The kingdom maintained an army, which enabled it to secure tribute payments from nearby peoples, among them the Uteve and Manyika. With its influence growing, Mwene Mutapa was able to take advantage of its position along the trade route between the southern African interior and the Indian Ocean. The territory had plenty of laborers and was rich in GOLD deposits and salt, and by the end of the 15th century Mwene Mutapa was growing wealthy by trading these commodities with MERCHANTS along the SWAHILI COAST.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); MWENE MUTAPA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); *PRAZOS* (Vol. III); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III); ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vols. I, III).

N

Namibia Present-day country located on the southwestern coast of Africa and measuring about 318,300 square miles (824,400 sq km). Namibia is bordered by ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, and SOUTH AFRICA. Although the area is rich in GOLD and gemstones and is today the world's largest source of diamonds, its history has been more influenced by its harsh climate and its two vast deserts—the Namib, on the coast, and the Kalahari, to the east—than by its natural riches.

The nomadic San people are the oldest inhabitants of the area, having settled there as early as 8000 BCE. The San later converged with the Khoi peoples to form the ethnic group known as the KHOIKHOI. The great expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples, which took place largely between 1000 BCE and 1000 CE, brought new peoples into the area, including the HERERO and OVAMBO. When these Bantu-speaking peoples reached Namibia, they eventually drove out the Khoikhoi, who found refuge in the KALAHARI DESERT. As elsewhere in SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, the Bantu speakers' ability to displace such indigenous populations as the Khoikhoi was probably due to their knowledge of IRONWORKING, which led to their more sophisticated production of both tools and weapons.

See also: SAN (Vols. I, III); NAMIBIA (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: John Mendelsohn, *The Communal Lands in Eastern Namibia* (Windhoek, Namibia: RAISON, 2002).

Naod (r. 1494–1508) *Ethiopian emperor*

The brother of Ethiopian emperor Eskender (r. 1478–1494), Naod was part of a succession of underaged rulers who came to the throne during a period of great turmoil in which Christian power declined within ETHIOPIA.

Upon the death of Eskender the army passed the crown to the late emperor's six-year-old son, Amda Siyon II, only to have a rival faction within the army elevate Naod to the throne. This created a schism among the administrators of the monarchy that accelerated the decline that had begun during the 1470s. The internal conflict left the empire vulnerable. During the reign of Naod's son, Lebna Dengel (r. 1508–1540), Muslim invaders occupied much of the empire, bringing about the decline of the once-powerful Ethiopian Christian empire.

See also: LEBNA DENGEL (Vol. III).

Nara (Nera, Barea, Bareya) Small ethnic group populating the region near Juba, in ETHIOPIA, and the southern region of the present-day Republic of the SUDAN. Although sometimes referred to as *Barea,* the Nara themselves consider that term to be pejorative. From an early time the Nara have lived as farmers within a patrilineal society. Their language belongs to the Nilo-Saharan language family, which includes thousands of Nilotic and Nubian dialects and languages.

Part of a stateless society, the Nara were divided and regulated by a caste system that held that the practitioners of certain crafts, such as IRONWORKING and other trades, were inferior. In contrast, those who belonged to recognizable familial clans attained initiation, which included scarification and tooth modification for men and women. Male initiates subsequently entered age sets.

In the 13th and 14th centuries the Nara were also noted as skilled archers. They figure prominently in the

chronicles of Ethiopian emperor AMDA SIYON (r. 1314–1344) as a crucial part of his military force.

See also: CLAN (Vol. I); LINEAGE (Vol. I); NILO-SAHARAN LANGUAGES (Vol. I); SCARIFICATION (Vol. I).

Ndahura (fl. 14th century) *Semimythical founder of the Chwezi dynasty*

According to oral traditions, beginning with a small chiefdom known as BUGANGAIZI, Ndahura created an empire that came to include BUNYORO, TORO, BUGANDA, and RWANDA, as well as other settlements in the interlacustrine region. Treated as a demigod by his subjects, Ndahura ruled from his capital on Mubende Hill, in the eastern part of Kitara.

Lacking any established governmental officials or structure, Ndahura was forced to rule his extensive empire through appointed agents, whose job it was to pay tributes and keep IRON, salt, and cattle flowing through the region. Ndahura was captured while attacking a rival state, and although his people probably would have invited him back to rule again, he instead chose self-imposed exile. The instability that plagued Ndahura continued during the reigns of other rulers of the CHWEZI DYNASTY, including his son and successor, WAMARA. Today Ndahura and the Chwezi chiefs are still venerated as ancestors in parts of UGANDA.

See also: BUNYORO-KITARA (Vol. II); KITARA COMPLEX (Vol. II).

Nema Town located in the southwestern corner of present-day MAURITANIA. In the 13th and 14th centuries Nema was an active trading center of the MALI EMPIRE. Along with WALATA and TIMBUKTU, Nema was a popular stop for MERCHANTS traveling the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES of the western region of the SUDAN.

By the beginning of the 15th century Mali was in decline. Invading Tuareg nomads were able to wrest control of Nema from the once-great empire. The TUAREGS, who came from the Aïr and Adrar regions of the Sahara, to the east of Nema, also took control of Walata and Timbuktu during this period, effectively marking the end of the Mali Empire as a power in the region.

Nembe Ethnic group of the southern Niger Delta region. It is thought that the Nembe, who are probably related to the IJO, migrated to the area some time around 1200 and had established a monarchy by about 1400. The Nembe absorbed and adopted the cultural practices of less organized groups in the area, including the ITSEKIRI, whose war god, Ogidiga, became the state god of the Nembe in the late 15th century.

See also: NIGER DELTA (Vols. I, IV, V).

Ngazargamu (Gazargamu) Beginning in the 15th century, the capital of the KANEM-BORNU trading empire, near Lake Chad. KANEM, to the northeast of Lake Chad, and the neighboring kingdom of BORNU, to the west, had a shared history that dated back to the 13th century, when Bornu was a tributary state of Kanem. The original Kanem capital was the city of NJIMI, but about 1488 the SEFUWA *mai* (king) Ali Gaji established a new capital at Ngazargamu, in Bornu. The city remained the capital for Sefuwa rulers for the next three centuries.

See also: NGAZARGAMU (Vol. III).

Niamey Capital city of present-day NIGER, located on the north bank of the Niger River, in the arid southwest part of the country. Archaeological evidence shows that the area of Niamey was settled by groups from various kingdoms, including both the SONGHAI people of the TAKEDDA kingdom and the KANURI people of KANEM-BORNU. Niamey began as a small settlement of mostly agriculturalist nomads, including the Maouri, Zerma, and FULANI. By the 11th century it had become an important trade center for agricultural goods.

Niamey's location on the Niger River made it an ideal point from which to conduct commerce between the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES, to the north, and the heavily populated areas of present-day NIGERIA, downstream to the south.

See also: NIAMEY (Vol. V); NIGER RIVER (Vols. I, III).

Niani Key center of trade and business of the MALI EMPIRE. Niani was located near the confluence of the Niger and Sankarani rivers. It thrived in an area that was near the Bure GOLD mines and that also was good for farming. Rice, beans, yams, onions, grains, and COTTON were among the commonly grown crops. The area was densely populated, having at least 100,000 inhabitants in the 14th century.

Although Niani was a bustling commercial city during the rule of SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), it was during the later rule of Mansa MUSA I (r. 1307–1332) that the city reached its pinnacle as a trading center for the entire western region of the SUDAN. Scribes, judges, guild chiefs, and treasury officials managed their daily affairs in Niani, while gold, salt, and kola nuts were exchanged at the market. The SONGHAI raided Niani early in the 15th century and added the city to their expanding empire.

Niger Landlocked present-day country approximately 458,075 square miles (1,186,414 sq km) in size that is bordered to the north by ALGERIA and LIBYA, to the east by CHAD, to the south by NIGERIA and the Republic of BENIN, and to the west by BURKINA FASO and the Republic of MALI.

The region was controlled during this period by the savanna trading empire of KANEM-BORNU, which reigned from the 10th through the 13th centuries. The Romans sent expeditions to the AÏR MASSIF in the eleventh century CE. The TUAREGS moved into the region in the 11th century and established a state centered at Agades on the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES that linked EGYPT with the MERCHANTS in present-day Libya. The region was also a center of mining tin and salt. In the 14th century Agades was conquered by the MALI EMPIRE and then, in 1515, by the SONGHAI Empire.

See also: AGADES (Vol. III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF WEST AFRICA (Vol. III); NIGER (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Nigeria Large West African country, 356,699 square miles (923,768 sq km) in size, located on the Atlantic coast and bounded by the present-day nations of CHAD, CAMEROON, NIGER, and the Republic of BENIN. The dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria are the Hausa-speaking FULANI in the north, the YORUBA in the southwest, and the IGBO in the southeast, near the Niger Delta.

From the eighth to the 16th centuries civilizations appeared in the region as people moved from the savanna. While the Yoruba appear to have been indigenous to the area, the ancestors of the Igbo moved into the region. By the 14th century these groups had formed state societies, the Yoruba-speaking state of the OYO KINGDOM and the EDO-speaking state of the kingdom of BENIN. These states dominated the region beginning in the 15th century. Benin was strong until the 17th century and Oyo dominated the Yoruba speakers of present-day southwestern Nigeria and their neighbors in DAHOMEY, located in present-day Benin. The Igbo, on the other hand, developed a stateless society. While urban in nature, Igbo administration originated with elders from each family of each community, who made the decisions by consensus.

In the north the state of KANEM-BORNU was forming around Lake CHAD in the seventh or eighth century CE. By the 11th century its SEFUWA rulers had converted to ISLAM and were participating in the trans-Saharan trade. Kanem-Bornu pushed westward to control its competition as their neighbors, the HAUSA STATES (BIRAM, DAURA, GOBIR, KANO, KATSINA, RANO, and ZAZZAU) attempted to join in the lucrative trans-Saharan trade. These states paid tribute to Kanem-Bornu, which dominated them. In the 16th century the SONGHAI Empire conquered the area. However, Kanem-Bornu returned as the chief state of the region. The northern region did not have direct contact with Europeans until the 19th century.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit the coastal region of what is now Nigeria, and they set up trade relationships to purchase legitimate items and agricultural products, including palm oil. They also endeavored to purchase captive Africans for slave labor in their New World colonies. The incipient trade in captives flourished, as African middlemen in the interior responded to rising demand on the coast.

See also: NIGERIA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE, EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Nilotes A northeastern African people dating back to the Late Iron Age, Nilotes were established as a people by about 1000 CE in the southeastern sudanic belt. Their languages belonged to the Nilo-Saharan group, and their social organization was based on kinship. They were nomads and pastoralists who moved with their herds or flocks. It is believed that they migrated into East Africa as a result of drought, overpopulation, or, possibly, an increase in the size of their herds.

An early migration of the Nilotes took place from around 200 BCE to 1000 CE. At that time the southern Nilotes (known as the Paranilotes), who were ironworkers, cereal farmers, and pastoralists, moved into the highlands east of Lake VICTORIA. About the same time, other ironworkers, who spoke Bantu languages, moved into the area from the southwest. The region was already peopled by Kushites, who used stone tools. The Kushites were absorbed by the Paranilotes, and the merger gave rise to the Kalenjin people of the Kenyan highlands. After about 1000 CE the Kalenjin extended their range, intermarrying with other peoples as they spread. The Elgeyo, Nandi, and Pokot peoples came into being from these mergers.

See also: KALENJIN (Vol. III); NILO-SAHARAN LANGUAGES (Vol. I); NILOTES (Vols. I, III).

Nine Saints Syrian monks credited with establishing the first monasteries in ETHIOPIA. Toward the end of the fifth century the Council of Chalcedon expelled the nine men from Syria. At issue was a theological dispute. The saints, whose beliefs were called *Monophysite,* held that Christ had one divine nature; the council, in contrast, asserted that Christ was both human and divine.

Although there is some dispute over whether or not the saints ever actually traveled to Ethiopia, their supposed works in spreading the Christian gospel have been immortalized in numerous folk traditions. According to these traditions, the saints were given shelter by the rulers of AKSUM, after which they were able to practice their Monophysite beliefs. They then followed a path of self-imposed isolation in monasteries they built in the country's northern highlands. Known as *abunas,* the monks were credited with translating Greek scripture into Ethiopia's national language of GE'EZ. Their religious devotion also has been linked to elements of mysticism.

The most noted of the monks was Za Mikael Aragaw, who built the monastery known as DEBRE DAMO. Also of note was ABBA LIBANOS, who lived and practiced his faith for seven years at a site deep in the interior region of MASSAWA. His monastery, known as Debre Libanos, was granted significant amounts of land by the Aksumite state and subsequent rulers in the region and has remained an active church for centuries.

See also: CHRISTIANITY (Vols. I, II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II); MONOPHYSITE (Vol. I).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994).

Njimi One-time capital city of KANEM, located northeast of Lake Chad. According to legend, a palace was built at the nomad village of Njimi, which became the first capital of Kanem during the mid-ninth century. The tradition goes on to state that the KANURI people of the area, who were of mixed Zaghawa, TOUBOU, and Berber ancestry, constructed the palace of red bricks, a technique they supposedly borrowed from the people of the Nile.

One reason for the establishment of the capital at Njimi may have been its proximity to the FEZZAN, an area of oases on the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. Kanem managed to establish dominance over the trade routes and traded slaves, GOLD, and IVORY for salt, horses, and metal items.

The Kanuri were ruled by a king, or *mai,* who was considered divine. The *mai* was the head of a feudal society of regional governors. In return for the privilege of holding land, local chiefs were loyal to the king and provided him with tribute and soldiers. The area that was governed from Njimi included present-day southern CHAD, northern CAMEROON, southern LIBYA, and parts of NIGERIA and NIGER.

The religion of ISLAM came to Njimi via the trade routes as early as the 10th century. In the 11th century Mai UMME (r. 1085–1097), one of the first rulers of the SEFUWA dynasty, converted to Islam, using the religion to help him unify the kingdoms around Lake Chad. In the 14th century the BULALA people attacked Kanem from the east, forcing the Sefuwa *mai* to abandon Njimi and move his capital to BORNU, on the other side of Lake Chad.

See also: CHAD, LAKE (Vols. I, III); KANEM-BORNU (Vols. II, III, IV).

Nkole (Ankole, Nkore, Ankore, Nyankole) Bantu-speaking people who inhabit the area between Lakes Edward and VICTORIA, in southwestern UGANDA; also the name of their kingdom. The Nkole people were formed by two distinct ethnic groups who came to share a common language and similar cultures: the pastoralist TUTSI and the agricultural HUTU. Nkole society was divided into two castes; the lords, or HIMA, were mostly Tutsi, and the underclass, or IRU, was mostly made up of Hutu.

Around the beginning of the 15th century, Tutsi groups migrated south, driven from their lands by LUO-speaking invaders from the north. Finding suitable pasture for their cattle, the Tutsi settled throughout Nkole, living in villages and surviving almost exclusively on the products of their herds. The Hutu were the descendants of the original Bantu-speaking people who moved into the area during the first millennium. They lived in permanent settlements of 40–100 homesteads, where they cultivated various crops, including millet. Although the Tutsi and the Hutu of Nkole shared a common culture, they were forbidden to intermarry.

See also: NKOLE (Vol. III).

Nobatia Christian kingdom on the upper Nile River with its capital at Pachonas. One of three Nubian kingdoms located in the middle Nile River that was Christianized between 543 and 575 CE by a missionary named Julian and his successor, Longinus. From religious texts it would appear that the people were enthusiastic in embracing CHRISTIANITY. Christian churches were built along the Nile and ancient temples were converted into Christian places of worship. By the seventh century Nobatia was absorbed by its neighbor MAQURRAH. After this missionary effort, there is little known about Christianity in this region of the middle Nile until the Muslim ARABS spread southward into the upper Nile region after their invasion of EGYPT in 639 CE. The Muslims marched south into Maqurrah and Nobatia and captured Maqurrah's capital after laying siege to the town and destroying the Christian cathedral. However, the Arabs had suffered heavy losses. At that point the king of Maqurrah asked for an armistice and the Arabs agreed. According to the treaty, the two groups established a working relationship in which they would trade and not settle in the other's territory.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); NUBIA, CHRISTIAN (Vol. II).

nobles Members of an aristocratic class whose status is usually determined by lineage. Within many of the KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES of Africa that developed between the years 900 and 1500, a class of hereditary nobles developed who served as counselors to the king, as in the WOLOF and the SERER states, and who were often responsible for choosing the next king, often from among their own class.

In the GHANA EMPIRE (c. 800–1240) and its successor states, the MALI EMPIRE (c. 1200–1500) and the SONGHAI Empire (c. 1464–1591), the king was considered divine or semidivine, and he often ruled in an autocratic or

despotic manner. Local government—in provinces and districts—was often in the hands of the royal or aristocratic families, who enjoyed privileges not available to commoners. In the HAUSA STATES, for example, the nobility was exempt from taxation, thus placing a greater burden on the less privileged.

See also: GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. II); SOCIAL STRUCTURE (Vol. II).

Nouakchott Capital of the present-day country MAURITANIA, in West Africa. In the 11th century Nouakchott was the site of the monastery, or place of religious retreat, from which the Muslim ALMORAVIDS set off for their conquest of Africa and Spain and the eventual establishment of the Almoravid empire (1056–1147).

The monastery, or *ribat,* was built by the 11th-century theologian ABD ALLA IBN YASIN (d. c. 1059), who had returned with Yahya ibn Ibrihim, the leader of the SANHAJA BERBERS, when the latter completed his HAJJ to MECCA, in 1035. It was the intent of ibn Ibrihim and his followers to establish a place of worship for the members of the former Sanhaja Confederation. (This group, established in the ninth century, wished to practice a more orthodox form of ISLAM than was practiced by other Islamic groups in Mauritania.) In time ibn Yasin and his followers—who were called *murabitum,* or "men of the *ribat*"—launched a JIHAD, or holy war, against the former Sanhaja members who failed to practice Islam with the zeal and fervor of ibn Yasin's followers. This holy war has been viewed as the beginning of the Almoravid movement.

See also: NOUAKCHOTT (Vol. V).

Ntusi Site of a large Iron Age trading center from about 1100 to 1400, located in the Masaka district of present-day western UGANDA, in the Great Lakes region of East Africa. The relationship between Ntusi and the archaeological site at BIGO, 6 miles (10 km) farther south, is not yet understood. Bigo is the best-known earthwork complex in western Uganda. It features a system of concentric ditches 6.5 miles (10.4 km) in diameter, some of it hewn from rock, enclosing what is thought to be a large cattle-grazing area on a riverbank. Archaeologists believe that the site served as both a royal capital, probably for the kings of the CHWEZI DYNASTY, as well as a well-defended cattle enclosure.

Ntusi is important to archaeologists for large mounds of domestic debris resulting both from grain cultivation and cattle raising found there. POTTERY and bones found in two mounds at the site, called the Ntusi male and female mounds, are as deep as 13 feet (4 m). Ntusi also features man-made basins, or *bwogoro,* which were probably used to water cattle. Both Bigo and Ntusi suggest that the distinction between pastoralists and agriculturalists, which are typical of this region, began hundreds of years ago.

Nubia, Christian The Christian religion arrived in Nubia in approximately 541 CE. Situated along the Nile River and site of the ancient kingdom of Kush (c. 2000 BCE–c. 300 CE), Nubia had long been a meeting point between Africa and the rest of the Mediterranean region. Little, however, is known about the years between the fall of Kush and the rise of ISLAM in the seventh century. The region was inhabited by a people called the Nobatae, whose origins are uncertain but whose customs and crafts show links to Meroë. The Nobatae occasionally allied themselves with one of the nomadic peoples of the desert to attack Roman towns in Upper Egypt, but they were always defeated.

Christian missionaries in the sixth century brought Nubia back into contact with the outside world. At that point, Nubia was divided into three kingdoms, NOBATIA (Nobadia), MAQURRAH (Makuria), and ALWA (Alwah), with capitals at Pachoras, Dongola, and Soba, respectively. In 543 the Monophysite monk Julian traveled to Nobatia at the request of both the Egyptian Coptic Church and the Empress Theodora of Byzantium. Because Nobatia was relatively close to Christian EGYPT, conversion occurred rapidly. Maqurrah, which was located further from Egypt, between the third and fifth cataracts of the Nile, was converted by monks from Chaldedon, in 560. Possibly because it was the farthest from Egyptian influence, the kingdom of Alwa, located above the fifth cataract, was the last of the three kingdoms to convert, in 580. Churches were built and ancient temples rededicated to Christian worship. At this point, Nubia's history again becomes obscure.

After the death of the prophet Muhammad, in 632, Arab armies burst forth from Arabia in search of land and converts to Islam. Egypt was invaded in 639. In 652 a Muslim army captured Dongola, capital of the combined kingdoms of Maqurrah and Nobatia. Dongola was forced to pay tribute to Egypt but remained Christian until the 14th century. Alwa was Christian until the 16th century.

The treaty, called a *bakt,* that ended conflict with Egypt in 652 was without precedent in the Muslim world. It was both a truce between Egypt and Nubia and a nonaggression pact that guaranteed each country safety from attack, allowed the free passage of ARABS through Nubia as travelers but not as settlers, and required each to extradite fugitives from the other. Nubia also pledged the upkeep of a mosque in Dongola for use by visiting Muslims. By the terms of the *bakt,* Nubia sent the governor of Aswan, Egypt, 360 slaves a year, and in turn Nubia would receive specified quantities of foodstuffs and trade goods. This treaty was renegotiated in 835, in an unprecedented meeting between the caliph of Egypt and the head of a

This 12th-century wall painting shows Queen Martha of Nubia, the Virgin and Christ Child, and an unnamed martyr. It is in the Christian basilica at Faras, formerly the capital of the Nubian kingdom of Nobatia. This area was flooded when the Aswan Dam was built and Lake Nasser formed. © *Roger Wood/Corbis*

subject state—felt to be a diplomatic coup for the Nubians—when Nubia could not afford the demands of the *bakt*. Tribute became payable every third year.

In subsequent centuries trade with Islamic Egypt brought prosperity to Nubia. The Nubians sent GOLD, IVORY, ebony, ostrich feathers, and slaves, while importing textiles, glassware, glazed POTTERY, and other valuable items. At the same time, the Nubians were making an elaborate pottery of their own, decorated with designs like those found on illuminated manuscripts. Brightly colored murals and paintings on church walls were also a feature of the art of Christian Nubia.

When the Mamluk sultans came to power in Egypt, in 1250, they repudiated the terms of the *bakt* and made a number of raids into Nubia, none of which led to any long-term conquest. In the two centuries that followed,

however, mass migrations of nomadic peoples from Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula changed the population and political balance in the region. The kingdom of Maqurrah was splintered into a series of petty chiefdoms ruled by Arab warlords. Geography preserved Nobatia to the north; the harshness of its desert location deterred Arab invaders. A small Christian kingdom named Dotawo remained in existence in the region until the end of the 15th century, when it, too, disappeared from history.

See also: COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); DONGOLA (Vol. III); KUSH (Vol. I); MAMLUKS (Vol. II).

numuw Name for the caste of blacksmiths among the BAMBARA people, a MANDE subgroup of the upper Niger region of present-day Republic of MALI. The Bambara blacksmiths created IRON tools and pieces of ceremonial ART that played an important role in their culture. Traditionally, the Bambara divided themselves into castes based on occupation; marriage with someone outside one's caste was forbidden. The Bambara recognized two broad castes of farmers and artisans. The artisan caste, which included leather workers, weavers, and poets as well as blacksmiths, was called collectively NYAMAKALAW, or "handlers of power." Although most of their time was taken up in the practice of their craft, they also had to maintain small subsistence plots to grow food.

The Bambara believed that a life force or spiritual power called NYAMA imbued everything in the universe. *Nyama* was especially strong among blacksmiths, who inherited it from their ancestors (a defense of the caste system) and used it to transform the objects they made at the forge. The blacksmith's activities were surrounded by rituals of prayer, meditation, and sacrifice. The people believed that the blacksmith put *nyama* into the knives, hoes, altar figures, hunting charms, and other objects he made, thus transforming energy into matter. Such power had the blacksmith that it was believed that he could cure infertility in a woman who joined him in prayer and meditation at his forge.

The Bambara blacksmiths also carved a variety of ritual masks and sculptures made from wood. The masks represented gods or ancestors, and only the blacksmith was thought to possess the spiritual power and knowledge to transform the wood for its new purpose. Their animal-head designs were sometimes abstract and sometimes very naturalistic; however, the masks of the Komo Society, the secret society of blacksmiths, were formless shapes of mud, horn, and animal parts applied over a simple frame. The Komo Society supervised important rituals, such as when new age sets were created or when circumcisions were performed.

See also: AGE SETS (Vol. I); CASTE SYSTEM (Vol. I); CIRCUMCISION (Vol. I); NIGER RIVER (Vols. I, III); SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. 1).

nyama According to BAMBARA belief, the life force or spiritual power that fills everything in the universe. Bambara artisans of the 1200s and later were thought to imbue the practical and ritual objects they made with this power, causing these artisans to be called NYAMAKALAW, or "handlers of power." blacksmiths, or NUMUW, were thought to be especially powerful *nyamakalaw.*

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

nyamakalaw BAMBARA sorcerers, leather workers, bards, and blacksmiths (NUMUW) who formed the artisan caste; they were trained to utilize NYAMA, the life force or spiritual power that Bambara people believe fills everything in the universe. The word *nyamakalaw* means "handlers of *nyama.*"

The *nyamakalaw* were trained throughout their lives to control the power of *nyama.* Everything produced by the *nyamakalaw* was considered ART, whether it be the tools of the blacksmith, the spells of the sorcerer, the saddles of the leather worker, or the music of the bard. The Bambara believed that *nyama* shaped all of nature, and, likewise, the *nyamakalaw* had to learn how to shape *nyama*, whether for art or for healing. The *nyamakalaw* married only within their own caste because it was believed that the power to shape *nyama* passed from generation to generation.

See also: RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Nyoro (Banyoro, Bunyoro, Kitara) Bantu-speaking people who live in BUNYORO, east of Lake Albert in the Great Lakes region of present-day UGANDA. Whether as part of the Chwezi-ruled KITARA COMPLEX or as the BITO-ruled Bunyoro state, Nyoro chiefs dominated the region from the middle of the 14th century until the beginning of the colonial era, in the 19th century.

The early Nyoro people lived in a region in the fertile hills of East Africa. Little is known about the ancestors of the Nyoro, though they probably were a combination of Nilotic peoples and Bantu speakers who arrived in the region during the first millennium. They lived peacefully as farmers, subsisting mainly on millet and sorghum. Small banana groves were kept to make beer. Each family tended small plots of farmland and may have raised a small number of cattle. Individual family homes were not organized in structured villages, but the early Nyoro settled within close proximity of one another.

By the middle of the 14th century, Nyoro territory made up part of the Kitara Complex, a collection of chiefdoms first ruled by NDAHURA, the founder of the CHWEZI DYNASTY. Around the beginning of the 15th century, however, the Chwezi were deposed by LUO-speaking pastoralists, who moved into the region and lived among the earlier Bantu-speaking migrants. These later arrivals were

ruled by the BITO aristocracy, the people often named by Nyoro traditions as the true founders of Bunyoro. Under Bito leadership, Bunyoro grew into the most powerful kingdom in the region. Its kings often conquered outly-ing villages and installed Bito representatives, thereby forming new states that paid great tribute to Bunyoro.

See also: MILLET (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV); SORGHUM (Vol. I).

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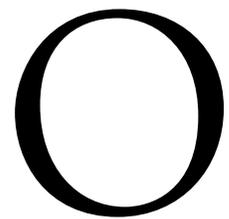
oba Yoruba term referring to a local ruler, be it king or chief. It was applied to local chieftains in the OYO KINGDOM, in NIGERIA. In the Oya kingdom, the *oba* was responsible for all local government in the towns and provinces. Other issues of the kingdom were handled by the *ALAFIN,* or king, and the ruling council, which was called the *OYO MESI.*

Oduduwa Semimythical ruler and founder of the ancient Nigerian kingdom of ILE-IFE. YORUBA oral traditions tell how Oduduwa, the son of the supreme god, Olorun, founded the kingdom of Ife during the 11th century. He then sent his sons (or, as some legends say, grandsons) to rule over the kingdom of BENIN and the kingdoms of Oyo, Ila, Popo, Sabe, Owu, and Ketu, in YORUBALAND. According to other traditions, Oduduwa is considered the patriarch of Ife but not necessarily the founder of the Yoruba peoples themselves.

See also: OLORUN (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); YORUBALAND (Vol. III).

Ogboni Secret society of the OYO KINGDOM. According to the traditions of Oyo's YORUBA people, the Ogboni were spiritual leaders who rendered judgment in cases of bloodshed and other civil strife. Called *Osugbu,* in IJEBU, the Ogboni also were responsible for reviewing decisions made by the OYO MESI, or ruling council.

See also: SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I).

Ogoni Ethnic group from the delta region of present-day NIGERIA. Archaeological and linguistic evidence indi-

cates that the Ogoni have fished and farmed in their homeland, called *Ogoniland,* for more that 500 years. From early on the Ogoni practiced endogamy—marriage within the group—almost exclusively. This led to relative isolation for the Ogoni, but it also protected them from being preyed upon by European and African slave traders in later centuries.

See also: OGONI (Vol. V).

Old Oyo (Katunga) Original site of the OYO KINGDOM, in southwestern Nigeria. According to a number of traditional sources, Old Oyo was founded by Prince Oranyan, the son or grandson of the semimythical ruler ODUDUWA. According to these legends, the prince was sent to rule the kingdom of BENIN during the 11th century and, upon his arrival, placed his capital at the city of Oyo. Other oral legends, however, say that the region's initial settlers were members of a YORUBA clan, who came to the area between the eighth and 11th centuries.

See also: EGBA (Vol. III); OYO EMPIRE (Vol. III).

oni (ooni) **of Ife** Title of the religious and political leader of ILE-IFE, the first capital of the YORUBA kingdom. The *oni* was believed to be the earthly representative of the Yoruba god Olorun. The position was elective, and the *oni* was chosen from among the aristocracy, which followed patrilineal descent. The *oni* resided in a walled palace located far from his subjects. Throughout his reign, the people of Yoruba did not see the *oni.* Therefore, officials, chiefs, and state leaders were delegated to oversee the lower levels of government.

Much of the sculpture of Ife was a tribute to the *oni,* as the position evolved into one of cultural importance. Among the various roles of the *oni* was the responsibility of handing over the traditional sword of justice, called Oranyan's Victory Sword (Ida Ajase or Ida Oranyan), to the new *ALAFIN,* or king, of Oyo. (Oranyan was the son or grandson of ODUDUWA, the legendary first king.)

According to Ife tradition, all Yoruba kingdoms were subject to the authority of the *oni,* as commanded by Oduduwa upon founding the Ife kingdom, which at the time was called Ile-Ife. Whether the *oni* had the absolute power that the people of Ife claim is uncertain. Eventually settlements such as the OYO KINGDOM and the kingdom of BENIN broke away and established themselves as autonomous states. Many of these states patterned their governments after the Ife monarchy.

See also: OLORUN (Vol. III).

Oromo (Galla)

Ethnic group descended from a pastoral people in southern ETHIOPIA, near KENYA; also, the language spoken by these people. The Oromo language belongs to the Eastern Cushitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language group. Early Cushitic speakers migrated to northern Kenya around 1000 and are assumed to be the ancestors of the Oromo and the SOMALI people in this area. Until the 16th century the Oromo, whom the Portuguese later called the *Galla* (a term now considered pejorative), lived a mostly pastoral existence according to their traditional system of age sets, called *gada,* which was made up of 11 generational grades in a 40-year cycle.

Starting in the 16th century the Oromo changed from their traditional social patterns and began an extensive expansion into northern regions of Ethiopia. Skirmishes and all-out wars between Muslims and Ethiopian Christians from 1520 to 1543 had left the Ethiopian Plateau open to expansion. By 1600 the Oromo were so widespread throughout Ethiopia that the Ethiopian emperor Sarsa Dengel (r. 1563–1597) controlled only ERITREA, Tigray, Gondar, and portions of Gojjam, Shoa, and Welo.

See also: AGE GRADES (Vol. I); AGE SETS (Vol. I); GOJJAM (Vol. III); GONDAR (Vol. III); OROMO (Vols. I, III, IV, V); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, V); SHOA (Vol. III).

Ouagadou

See GHANA EMPIRE.

Ouagadou-Bida (Wagadu-Bida)

Mythical serpent from West African folklore. The legend of Ouagadou-Bida describes how the GHANA EMPIRE (c. 800–c. 1200 CE) became rich in GOLD. The story is from the *Epic of the Dausi,* one of several surviving narrative poems composed and recited by traveling storytellers.

As with any oral history, the story of Ouagadou-Bida, commonly known as Bida, has different versions. For example, sometimes Bida is referred to as a dragon that arose from the desert sands, other times as a serpent or the offspring of a king. But although the details may vary, the allegory is the same.

The first part of the myth describes the origin of the city of Ouagadou. As Dinga, the leader of the SONINKE people, lay dying, he sent for his oldest son. But it was the youngest son, Lagarre, who came to his dying father's bed. Dinga told Lagarre to find nine jars of water; the person to wash in them would become king. Next, Dinga asked his son to find the drum Tabele, take it into the northern desert, and strike it. Lagarre carefully followed his father's instructions, and upon striking the drum, a city rose out of the sand of the desert, encircled by the dragon Bida. (Another version of the myth describes the birth of the serpent Bida from the first marriage of King Dinga.)

Lagarre bargained with Bida to gain entrance to the city. He promised that every year a beautiful young girl would be sacrificed in its honor. In return Bida agreed to scatter gold over the city. This was the city of Ouagadou, the beginning of the GHANA EMPIRE.

The tradition of human sacrifice continued for three generations, during which time the people of Ghana enjoyed tremendous prosperity, which they attributed to Bida. Then, according to tradition, one year came when the time for the annual sacrifice arrived and a girl had been chosen, the girl's fiancé, a brave, young Soninke warrior, could not bear to have his beloved die. He hid himself near where the serpent lived and waited. When Bida appeared, the Soninke warrior cut off his head. The severed head flew out of the kingdom to the town of Bambuk, where the people suddenly found their pockets full of gold.

The serpent, however, did not die. Its magical powers were so strong that it grew another head. The warrior cut off this second head, and the same thing happened again. Finally, after the warrior had cut off Bida's seventh head, the serpent's powers were exhausted, and it died. The Soninke warrior had saved his fiancée and the two of them rode away together. Soon after, however, the kingdom suffered a devastating drought. Animals died, and crops would not grow. The people knew that without Bida, their good fortune had ended. They fled with their belongings and became nomads, and the empire of Ghana had come to an end.

See also: WANGARA GOLD FIELDS (Vol. II).

Ouagadougou (Wagadugu)

Largest and most powerful of the West African Mossi states of the Upper VOLTA RIVER region, in present-day BURKINA FASO. Ouagadougou existed as early as around 1050. During the 14th century, prior to the emergence of the Mossi people, Ouagadougou

was captured by warrior-traders during a period of conquest in which they also destroyed TIMBUKTU and attacked both WALATA and Banko. Like many of the future Mossi states, Ouagadougou at that time was an AGRICULTURE-based society that also participated in both local and long-distance trade. By the end of the 15th century, the kingdom had come under the rule of the first Mossi *mogho naba* (or "great king," as the supreme leader was called).

According to Mossi oral history, the kingdoms that became the MOSSI STATES were unified, around the year 1500, by invading horsemen riding north from what is now GHANA. They conquered the southern region of the Upper Volta and assimilated with their Gur or MANDE-speaking subjects. Eventually a distinctive Mossi society emerged, with the invaders as chiefs and the conquered as commoners. Together they dominated the states of MAMPRUSI, DAGOMBA, Tenkodogo, FADA-N-GURMA, Nanumba, Ouagadougou, and YATENGA.

According to oral tradition the original Mossi ancestor was Tohajie. It is said that his grandson, Na Gbewa, had three sons, who formed the kingdoms of Mamprusi, Dagomba, and Nanumba. Na Gbewa also had a daughter, named Yanenga, who was so esteemed as a combatant that her father refused to allow her to marry. Ignoring her father's orders, Yanenga stole away and married Riale, a MANDINKA prince, with whom she had a son named Ouedraogo (or Wedraogo).

Later the leaders of the rival Ninisi and Ziri kingdoms tried to win over Ouedraogo, an accomplished warrior, by bestowing upon him a wife. Ouedraogo, however, gave the wife to his son Zoungrana, for whom she bore a son named Oubri. Eventually, Oubri conquered the city of Ouagadougou and became the first *mogho naba*. In Mossi tradition, Oubri shares the title of founder of Ouagadougou with his grandfather, Ouedraogo, who died before the final conquest of the Mossi capital.

According to Mossi tradition, all those eligible for kingship had to be descended from Ouedraogo and Oubri. The Mossi of Ouagadougou believed their king, the *mogho naba*, to be superior to all other rulers.

Ovambo (Owambo) Bantu-speaking people, originally from Central Africa, who migrated to regions of present-day NAMIBIA and ANGOLA in the 14th century. Oshindonga and Oshikwanyama are the two major languages of the seven groups that make up the Ovambo people. These groups include the Eunda and Ukolonkazi (considered

to be one group), the Ondonga, the Ombarantu, the Ukwaluizi, the Ongandjera, the Ukwanyama, and the Ukwambi.

The Ovambo traditionally lived off the land as herders and farmers, with sorghum and millet their primary crops. Although each family worked its own section of land, which could be anywhere from 15 to 50 acres (6 to 20 ha), each family also was part of a larger farming community made up of several hundred people and headed by a king.

Ovambo religion focused on a main god, who was named Ilunga. According to Ovambo traditions, shortly after creating the world, Ilunga lured the first man and woman out of a termite hill. The couple had three children, two sons and a daughter. The Ukwanyama trace their lineage to the eldest son, Kanzi; the Ondonga believed themselves descendants of the second son, Nangombe.

See also: OVAMBO (Vol. IV).

Ovimbundu An ethnolinguistic grouping that emerged during the 16th century in the central highlands of ANGOLA. The Ovimbundu originally spoke several Bantu languages that evolved into the language they speak now, MBUNDU. The Ovimbindu are related to the nearby Mbundu, who are often called the North Mbundu or the Kimbundu, in order to distinguish the two.

Before the 16th century the Ovimbundu existed in separate subgroups. Of the 14 distinct Ovimbundu kingdoms that have been identified, Fetu (Feti) is believed to be the earliest settlement. Excavations have radiocarbon-dated this site to late in the first millennium. Later migration among the emerging coastal and interior kingdoms in western Africa created a shared, pastoral Ovimbundu identity during the 16th century. Though today the Ovimbundu are the largest ethnolinguistic group in Angola, historical information on them before the 16th century is sparse.

See also: OVIMBUNDU (Vols. III, IV).

Owo YORUBA town located in the present-day state of Ondo, in southwestern NIGERIA. Oral tradition states that the semimythical god ODUDUWA had a son named Owo, who died in the town of Upafa after conquering the local ruler. Owo's son then established the town at its present-day site and named it in honor of his father. Legends notwithstanding, archaeological evidence indicates that the town of Owo was inhabited by Yoruba people from the 15th century or earlier. The artistic culture of Owo was closely linked to the kingdoms of ILE-IFE and BENIN, and its created works of art in terra cotta and IVORY that rivaled the output of those two powerful kingdoms.

A distinctive feature of Owo was its elaborate palace, adorned with silver doors, finely carved veranda posts,

beaded, silk wall hangings, and royal gables known as *kobi,* said to have been the invention of the 15th-century ruler Oluaso. Another distinctive feature of Owo was its walls. A triple wall encircled the town, and an additional wall surrounded the perimeter of the palace.

Oyo kingdom YORUBA kingdom located in the savannas on the edge of the rain forest in the southwest of present-day NIGERIA; progenitor of the powerful Oyo empire of the 17th and 18th centuries. Linguistic evidence indicates that Oyo was established some time before the year 1000, during a wave of immigration into the region. The city of OLD OYO, the capital of the kingdom, had a favorable location for trade, but the Oyo kingdom was only a minor power in the region from the time of its founding well into the 16th century. In 1550 Oyo fell to the forces of the neighboring kingdoms of Borgu and Nupe and did not rise to become a major state until 1650.

During the 15th century, and perhaps earlier, goods came into Old Oyo from every direction, carried along the many trails and trade routes that converged at this centrally located town. The local soil was fertile enough to support both herding and farming, and a wide variety of foodstuffs and craftworks were traded at Old Oyo. The primary business very possibly was commerce in horses. When the Oyo empire began to expand in the years after 1650, much of Oyo's military success resulted from its renowned cavalry.

The centralized government of Old Oyo was led by an *ALAFIN,* or king, who was the spiritual as well as political leader of the kingdom. Considered *ekeji orisa,* or a "companion to the gods," the *alafin* held vast powers. A council, called the *OYO MESI,* which was made up of chiefs from seven regions and provinces, served to keep the *alafin* in check. In addition the Oyo *mesi* was responsible for naming successors to the throne.

See also: BORGU (Vol. III); EGBA (Vol. III); NUPE (Vol. III); OYO EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Oyo *mesi* Ruling council of the OYO KINGDOM, which was a minor state in precolonial YORUBALAND. Traditionally, the Oyo *mesi* had power over the affairs of state. It also acted to select the next ruler upon the death of the existing king, or *ALAFIN.* Along with the *basorum,* or prime minister, and the people as a whole, the Oyo *mesi* also had the power to depose a ruling *alafin* and force him to commit suicide.

P

Pangani Town located on the northern coast of present-day TANZANIA, at the mouth of the Pangani River. In the eighth century Pangani became a slave-trading center. Muslim ARABS traded their Arabian goods for African captives, and then transported them by Indian Ocean and RED SEA TRADE routes to North Africa.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); ZANJ (Vol. II).

Further reading: Mark Horton and John Middleton, *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Chapurukha M. Kusimba, *The Rise and Fall of Swahili States* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 1999).

Pate Trade center located on Pate Island, off the coast of KENYA. Pate was founded about 1300 as a SWAHILI COAST city-state. Along with Faza, Siyu, and Shanga, Pate formed an Indian Ocean trading empire that exchanged GOLD, captives, and IVORY for cloth and weapons. The Portuguese gained control of the area in 1498.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); PATE ISLAND (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Mark Horton and John Middleton, *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Chapurukha M. Kusimba, *The Rise and Fall of Swahili States* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 1999).

Pemba Island Small island in the Indian Ocean off the coast of TANZANIA, just north of ZANZIBAR. Known as *Kanbalu* in the period prior to European colonization, Pemba was originally inhabited by the ZANJ, which is the the ARABIC name for the Bantu-speaking peoples who inhabited coastal East Africa. By 1100 Muslim MERCHANTS had begun settling in the area, and although their lineage is unclear, these migrants probably were descended from Arabo-Persian and Benadir coastal peoples. They eventually intermarried with the local Zanj, adopting elements of their culture at the same time that they introduced ISLAM to the island.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); PEMBA ISLAND (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

Further reading: Mark Horton and John Middleton, *The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Chapurukha M. Kusimba, *The Rise and Fall of Swahili States* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 1999).

Persian traders Like the ARABS, the Persians were among the first settlers of the African coast, having claimed EGYPT as part of their empire as early as the sixth century BCE. Persia, a vast empire to the northeast of the Arabian Peninsula, sent traders to Africa via the MEDITERRANEAN SEA as well as the Red Sea. They exchanged cloth, incense, and spices for African captives, GOLD, IVORY, IRON, rhinoceros horns, and animal skins. Evidence suggests that African captives were present in Persia in the seventh century. By that time Persia's empire included ports in Arabia and what is now Iraq, allowing it to dominate sea trade in the Arabian Sea and along the Gulf of Aden, north of the Horn of Africa.

Persian merchants traded heavily with the Bantu-speaking ZANJ, as they called indigenous East Africans, along Red Sea and Indian Ocean trade routes. As early as the 10th century SHIRAZI ARABS, originally from Persia, were intermarrying with the local African traders. By the 12th century this mix of people was thriving as the SWAHILI COAST culture, which would come to dominate Africa's east coast by the 15th century.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); PERSIAN CONQUEST (Vol. I); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

Pokomo Bantu-speaking ethnic group that inhabited parts of present-day KENYA and TANZANIA prior to European colonization. Pokomo oral tradition claims that their ancestors originated in the African interior and moved to a land along the East African coast, probably Shungwaya in present-day southern SOMALIA. After conflicts with the OROMO the Pokomo moved farther south to the Tana River basin, in Kenya, and coastal areas of Tanzania. The Pokomo are related to the Mijikenda and the Taita, as well as several KISWAHILI-speaking coastal groups.

See also: MIJIKENDA (Vol. III); POKOMO (Vol. III); SHUNGWAYA (Vol. III).

Popo (Peda, Xwla) West African people, related to the EWE, who have long inhabited present-day TOGO along the Mono River. Most Popo are farmers who live in small villages and cultivate corn and yams. The Peda were named "Popo" by Portuguese explorers who arrived in the latter half of the 15th century, and that is how they are widely known today. The Portuguese found the Popo engaged in small-scale trade of their handcrafted goods including cloth, POTTERY, and IRON items.

See also: POPO (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

pottery Handmade glazed or unglazed clay vessels used for cooking, mixing, measuring, and storing food, water, oils, and numerous other items. Broken pottery was used as tiles, weights, and gaming chips. The Fon of DAHOMEY, the ASHANTI of present-day GHANA, the IGBO of NIGERIA, the Bamun and Baya of CAMEROON, and the NYORO of UGANDA are known for especially fine examples of the potter's art. Terra cotta, or clay, is the most common substance used, though the Nuba people of Sudan make their pottery from dried dung, which they shape and paint.

Gender roles often determined who made a particular kind of pottery. In most African societies women, often the wives of the village NUMUW, or blacksmith, manufactured functional vessels, whereas the men

This fine example of Bambara pottery is on display at the Museum of Jos in Nigeria. The intersection of flat rectangles is a common feature of traditional Bambara design. © Paul Almasy/Corbis

shaped decorative vessels in the form of animals and humans. Some cultures believed that women could become infertile if they sculpted animals or humans. The purpose and status of specific pottery types varied among peoples. A container used in one culture as a sacred fertility vessel might be used in another culture as simply a drinking cup; the shape of the vessel alone did not make it sacred or commonplace. It was not uncommon for everyday ware to become a sacred container when the need arose.

Excavations in YORUBALAND, in southwestern Nigeria, have uncovered examples of naturalistic sculpture, possibly of YORUBA royalty, created in brass and pottery, that date from between 1100 and 1450 CE. Authorities believe that this style of pottery was influenced by Yoruba's neighboring state of ILE-IFE, whose products show a similar naturalism. Both Yoruba and Ife figures feature bulging eyes and stylized lips and ears.

Domestic pottery is made by molding, ring building, or modeling on a board or on a potter's wheel. The earliest potter's wheels, dating to around 3000 BCE, were simply turned by hand. Later models use flywheels to maintain a constant rotation. Just as the texture of *kente* cloth was influenced by the texture of a woven basket, pottery forms have been influenced by the shape of baskets and wood carvings and also by the shapes of such natural objects as calabash and other gourds. Pots not made on a wheel are baked in an open hearth or oven and are decorated with incised lines or colored with dyes.

North Africa also developed a pottery-making tradition, especially in the creation of fine pottery and in the more practical production of the two-handled amphora, or jug, that was often used for transporting olive oil. Early on the olive oil trade was centered near Carthage, in southern TUNISIA, and along the northern slopes of the Aurès and Bou Taleb mountains. By the fourth century Africa was exporting olive oil in amphorae to all parts of the Roman Empire. Widespread Mediterranean trade in pottery lasted until the Islamic invasion of North Africa, in the eighth century, at which time pottery making became once again a mainly local craft.

During this period, North African pottery was also making its way into sub-Saharan Africa, due in part to the introduction of the camel, which made long-distance trade more feasible. North African–made pottery that dates back as far as the third century CE has been found in the Niger Valley.

Some art historians find evidence of classic Greek and Roman shapes in the pottery of the BERBERS, whose two-handled jugs resemble classical amphorae. Making pottery for domestic use was women's work in Berber society and often followed a prescribed ritual for the completion of each stage, from determining a favorable day to choose and knead the clay to the final firing and decorating.

Islamic Pottery The Islamic cultures of the Middle East, especially the cities of Damascus and Baghdad are well regarded for their sophisticated forms of pottery. Most of the major innovations in Islamic pottery originated there and not in Africa. A key exception, however, was the rediscovery in ninth-century EGYPT and Iraq of a tin glaze that had once been used in ancient Egypt but had been lost for centuries. The use of this glaze, which creates a grayish white opaque surface, was motivated by the growing popularity in the late eighth and early ninth century of imported Chinese porcelain, which was created by a process that Chinese potters kept secret. Egyptian and Iraqi potters used a fine white clay and the new tin glaze to create a close replica of the Chinese original.

Luster painting of pottery also originated in Egypt toward the end of the ninth or early in the 10th century. This decorative technique, first used by Egyptian glassblowers in pre-Islamic times, uses silver and COPPER oxides and a second firing to lay down a very thin, shiny surface, more often than not colored ruby red. Many examples of this luster-painted pottery have been found in excavations at Bahnasa/Oxyrhynchus, in Egypt, and also at Samarra, near Baghdad. By the middle of the 10th century this technique added colors that ranged from yellowish green to golden green and added birds, animals, and even human figures to the design. Luster painting became even more refined and sophisticated during the Fatimid period in Egypt (969–1171) and spread into Syria and North Africa from Egypt and Iraq.

Other Imports Chinese ceramics and glass beads from about 1050 to 1200 have been found at MAPUNGUBWE, the predecessor of GREAT ZIMBABWE, in southern Africa. According to written records from the time, these goods entered Africa as part of INDIAN OCEAN TRADE. The ARABS were also the main intermediaries between China and Europe in the ceramic trade until the 16th century. They had sole control over the shipping routes along the Mediterranean coast of Egypt and to Persia, India, and China. The main port for this activity was CAIRO. The Portuguese would not discover these sea routes until the 1600s, when they began to take over the porcelain trade.

Western and Eastern Africa Authorities believe that West African pottery traditions that began in the Early Iron Age persisted into the Late Iron Age and even into the 19th century. In eastern ZAMBIA, however, there appears to be a break in tradition, possibly associated with the migration of Bantu-speaking peoples across the continent. Pottery produced in the Lungwebungu and Luanga traditions (so-called from the rivers of the same names) frequently take the form of necked pots and shallow bowls, often with tapered rims instead of the thicker rims and beveled lips of earlier pottery. In another break with tradition, these vessels were apparently crafted by women instead of men.

Pottery remnants unearthed at Gokomere Mission near Great Zimbabwe indicate the development of another pottery tradition made up of stamped and grooved ware. Pottery in the Gokomere tradition has been found as far south as the LIMPOPO RIVER and dates from the third through the ninth centuries. Pottery found in an original dig site in ZIMBABWE, called Leopard's Kopje I, contains examples of the Gokomere tradition. However, pottery in a different site, Leopard's Kopje II, contains little in the Gokomere tradition and instead shows stylus-made designs. Undecorated beakers found there represent a new

pottery. Figurines of women, domestic animals, and cattle made from white clay figure prominently at this site, whose contents date to the 10th and 11th centuries. Enlarged buttocks and other features of the female figurines suggest a KHOIHKOI influence.

The SHONA people, the expert builders in stone who founded Great Zimbabwe, have a long tradition of producing decorative pottery, which may represent a fusion of the techniques used by both the San and Bantu-speaking peoples. However, the discovery at Great Zimbabwe of Ming dynasty (1368–1644) pottery from China also indicates that Great Zimbabwe had extensive trade.

See also: POTTERY (Vol. I); SCULPTURE (Vol. I).

Q
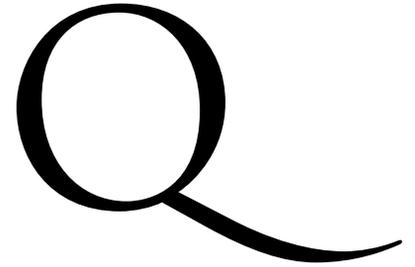
queens and queen mothers Female rulers of a chiefdom, kingdom, or empire. The words *queen* and *queen mother* do not always reflect the many characteristics and responsibilities of the African woman who held a prominent place in the court of a king.

Queens As in European cultures, the queen was usually the wife of the king. (In many polygamous African cultures, the title was given only to the first, or primary, wife of the king. The primary wife was the one who would bear the future king.) But she might also be the mother of the king, the sister of the king, or even a regent—an individual who manages a kingdom's affairs until a young inheritor of the throne is old enough to rule. Since African kingdoms usually developed in patrilineal societies, where the older men held the positions of leadership, it was unusual for women to assume positions of power equal to that of a king. Still, throughout Africa there are numerous examples of women who became powerful rulers in their own right.

Queen GUDIT of ETHIOPIA is one of the more remarkable female figures in African history. Although the details of her reign are lacking, it is known that she was a capable military commander who led her warriors to victory over the Christian kingdom of AKSUM.

In such cultures as the AKAN and ASHANTI of West Africa, the Loango of Central Africa, and the NYORO of UGANDA, the women related to the sitting king traditionally were given the status of chiefs, with all of the attendant responsibilities and respect associated with such a position.

Queen Mothers The most important female in a kingdom was sometimes called the "queen mother." This title, however, did not always fit the true nature of her relationship to the king. In some kingdoms the woman holding the title of *queen mother* may have been the king's sister, grandmother, or a respected female elder such as the former king's primary wife (who was not always the reigning king's biological mother). Whatever her actual relationship to the king, the queen mother nevertheless represented a strong link to the king's royal line and therefore was often regarded as both a sacred entity and a keeper of genealogical history.

Queen mothers held considerable power and importance as they regularly served their kings and kingdoms as advisers, emissaries, and politicians. Queen mothers are prominent in the histories and lore of such diverse groups as the Akan peoples of GHANA, the TUAREGS of the arid plains of north-central Africa, and the LUBA of southern Central Africa.

> **In many cases, the histories of queen mothers have relied on oral traditions, some of which have been substantiated by pictorial documentation of women figures in both religious and royal splendor. An 11th-century drawing depicts Martha, a Nubian queen mother, dressed in royal garb and being watched over by the Virgin Mary.**

Beyond being highly regarded for their secular wisdom, queen mothers sometimes had either a religious or mythical importance. They even held male rights and authority to confirm their chief-like status. In addition,

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many kingdoms also provided the queen mother with her own royal palace and entourage, often including a personal army for protection.

One of the roles most commonly performed by a queen mother was that of regent to a young king. A prominent queen mother was Ethiopia's Empress ELENI, who, after the death of her husband, Emperor Baeda Maryam (r. 1468–1478), became a powerful and respected queen mother and regent to four successive kings in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Although she lacked blood ties with all except her grandson, Emperor Lebna Dengel (r. 1508–1540), Eleni routinely advised or acted on behalf of each to further the interests of both Ethiopia and the royal family.

Oral traditions throughout Africa honor the queen mother's presence at the king's court, and a prominent woman's visit to a neighboring kingdom was frequently recorded in royal chronicles.

See also: *KANDAKE* (Vol. I); MERINA (Vol. III); WOMEN IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I); WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL AFRICA (Vol. II); WOMEN IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III).

Quran (Koran)   Sacred book of ISLAM. According to Islamic belief, the Quran was revealed by God to the prophet Muhammad. Its tenets are strictly followed by devout Muslims around the world. The Quran is sacred in the same way to Muslims as the Bible is to Christians and Jews.

Allah is the ARABIC name for the Supreme Being, or God. *Quran,* in Arabic, means "recitation." Muslims, or followers of Islam, believe that Muhammad received the word of Allah through the mediacy of the angel Gabriel and then recited it to the faithful. Islam, which means "submission to the word of God," is one of the world's great monotheistic religions, along with Judaism and CHRISTIANITY. Devout Muslims believe that Allah sent several prophets, including Moses, Jesus, and, last but most important, Muhammad, to save humankind from its sins. The teachings of Muhammad were passed orally among believers until they were recorded in book form after his death in 632 CE. Devout Muslims regard the written text of the Quran to be an earthly copy of a book that exists as an eternal entity of the universe.
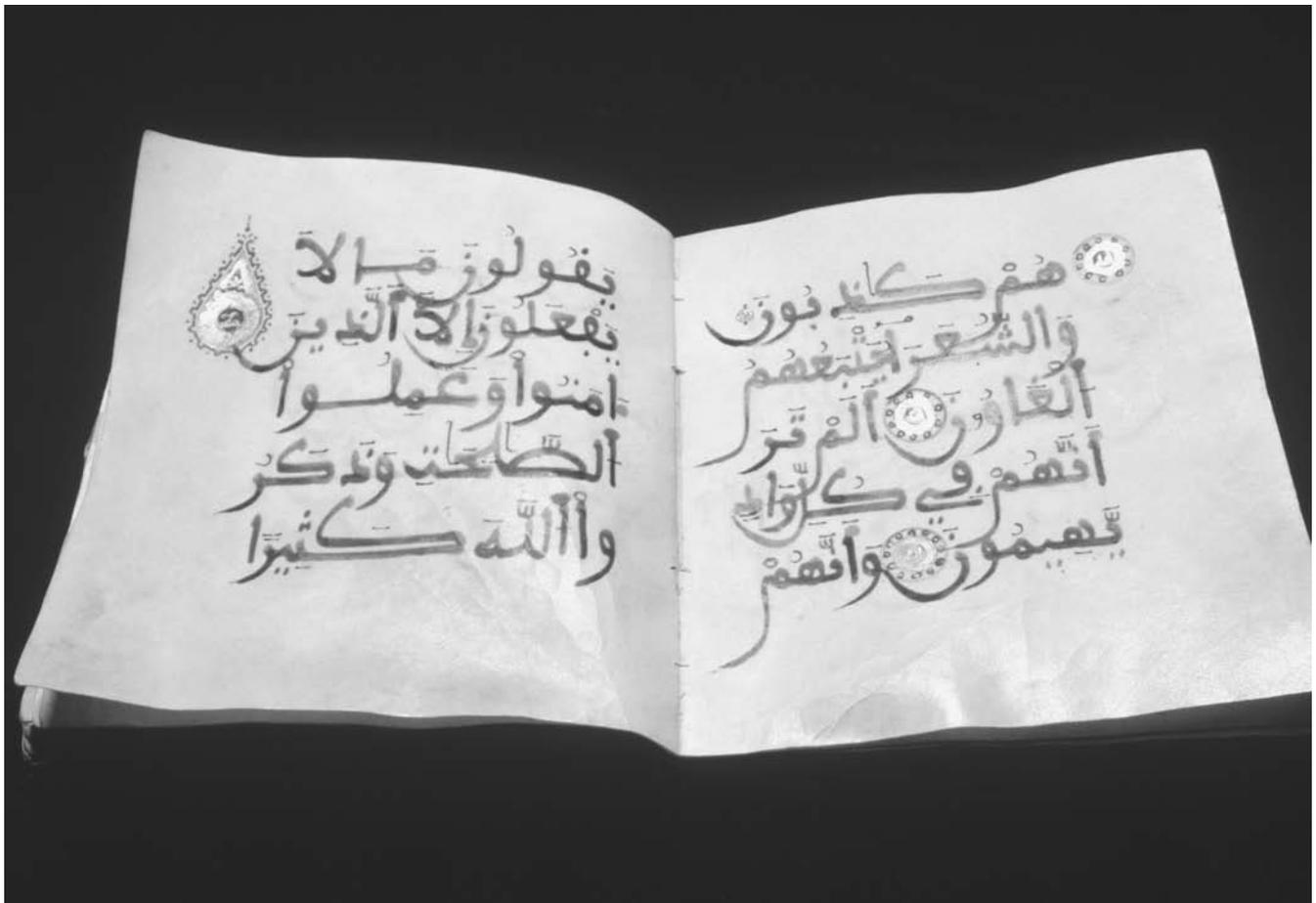
This Quran, dating from 1334 to 1345 and written on gazelle skin, is now on display in Jerusalem, a gift of Sultan Abdulah Ben Abdal Hag of Morocco. *© Bojan Brecelj/Corbis*

The Oral Tradition The Quran was originally intended to be a spoken text. According to tradition, Muhammad, while in a heavenly trance, received the Quran from the angel Gabriel a few verses at a time over the years 610 through 632, the year Muhammad died. Thus, the teachings of the Quran follow the events of his life. Each time Muhammad awoke from his trance, he repeated Allah's revelations in Arabic to his followers. Legend states that scribes recorded the revelations on paper, palm-leaves, stone, or other objects that were on hand. Muhammad's followers then memorized the passages and recited them to other ARABS.

Shortly after Muhammad's death, Muslims grew concerned that the recited passages would be forgotten. In 633, Zayd ibn Thabit, a contemporary of Muhammad, compiled a written record of the revelations. Thabit recorded as many versions of each revelation as he could find. Several other versions of the Quran were compiled at the same time, but only Thabit's text was considered pure. A few years later Uthman, the reigning caliph, asked Thabit to edit his version of the Quran. The official version came about from Thabit's efforts to verify his document against those of oral scribes as well as other versions of the written text. Thus the Quran is the earliest existing work of Arabic literature.

Reverence for the Quran Understood to be the authoritative word of Allah, the Quran serves as the code of ethics for Islamic life and the highest authority in Islamic law. Believers firmly adhere to its teachings and treat the book itself with reverence. Muslims never carry it below the waist and always purify their hands before touching it. The Arabic text of the Quran is considered sacred and non-translatable because it is the direct Word of God. Almost all Muslims, even the illiterate, memorize at least portions of the text, and often the complete text. The proper recitation of the Quran is considered an art. The Quran remains the most widely circulated book in its original language. Muslims began to translate the Quran into other languages in the early twentieth century.

The passages in the Quran prescribe a Muslim's religious, social, and commercial commitments. It requires daily prayers, urges the practice of charity and brotherly love, and teaches that Muslims must be humble in spirit, temperate, and just. Upon death all people face final judgment by Allah. Those who have lived their lives according to the Quran will live in eternal paradise, but those who have sinned will suffer.

The Structure and Language of the Quran The body of the Quran is divided into 114 chapters, or *surahs.* The first chapter is a prayer (*fatihah*). The remaining chapters are revelations from the oral tradition. Chapters vary widely in length and content. Some chapters deal with one subject, while others address several topics. The text follows a rough chronology in that longer chapters corresponding to events that took place late in Muhammad's life

are generally found at the end of the book. Each chapter includes a title, which may not be directly related to the subject of the text, and an indication of where the revelations occurred, usually the cities of MECCA and MEDINA. Each chapter also contains a traditional prayer, or *basmalah.* During the holy month of RAMADAN, the chapters are rearranged into 30 segments, to correspond with each day of the month. A segment of the Quran is then recited during each day of the month.

The verses, or *ayats,* that make up the chapters are also diverse in their composition. When Allah speaks, the first person plural form (we) is used. Verses that correspond with Muhammad's early life are shorter than those found later. This early writing follows a form reminiscent of the rhymed prose used by ancient soothsayers, or *kahins.* Later chapters contain verses with a more complex sentence structures and embellished style. The verses place emphasis on the lessons learned from an event rather than on the narrative aspects of the revelation.

The dialect chosen for the Quran has significantly influenced Arabic linguistic studies. In ancient Iraq scholars at Basra established grammatical rules for the Arabic language based on the word structures found in the Quran. Scholars in neighboring Kufa also studied linguistic issues in the Quran, although they were more interested in exceptions to grammatical rules. The interest in the structure of the Quran has been an important means of preserving the classic Arabic language over time.

Historical Interpretations of the Quran Several theological disputes have arisen regarding the content of the Quran. Scholarship that focuses on *tafsir,* or interpretation of the Quran, has existed for centuries. The passages themselves and the literature surrounding the life of Muhammad (Hadith) are used to illuminate meaning from the revelations. Historically, orthodox Muslims rejected any interpretations that could not be supported by Hadith literature.

Medieval *tafsir* focused on two important works. The first, written by al-Tabari (839–923), was an encyclopedic volume summarizing the different interpretations of the Quran. The second, and more popular, volume was the *Kashshaf* of Zamakhshari (1075–1143), a liberal scholar from the Mutazilite branch of Islam. This work became the standard for traditional *tafsir* scholarship.

The different branches of Muslim thought used *tafsir* scholarship to support their doctrines. The Mutazilites challenged the idea that the Quran exists independently from Allah. Relying on logical arguments borrowed from Greek philosophy to support their theory, the Mutazilites propounded the belief that Allah in fact created the Quran, arguing that, if the Quran is independent of Allah, then something eternal other than Allah exists and Allah could not be the sole God of eternity. Thus Allah must have created the Quran, or his power as the single ruler of eternity would be challenged. Orthodox Muslims re-

ject the Mutazilite view in favor of the traditional idea that the Quran itself is eternal.

By the 19th century the revival of ancient interpretations of the Quran had replaced the more radical views. The modernists revived ancient texts in a quest to reveal an untainted Islamic faith. They also sought to link modern SCIENCE with the ancient teachings of the Quran. To that end, some passages were loosely interpreted to fit with popular notions of humanity, science, and culture.

The Quran and Muslim Law The Quran, Allah's revelation to Muhammad, lies at the center of Islam. His message was delivered to Muhammad by the angel Gabriel. Since Allah is the author of the Quran, its language is considered perfect. For this reason, believers read and learn the Quran in the original Arabic. In simple terms, the Quran is a set of rules that governs humankind. As a result, in Islam, there traditionally is no differentiation between church and state; RELIGION and social membership are one and the same. Therefore, Islamic law consists of both legal and moral mandates.

Islamic law, sometimes called *SHARIA,* is derived from several sources. The primary source is the Quran. A second source, called the *Sunna,* consists of rules of conduct set by the prophet Muhammad and complements the Quran. Because the *Sunna* was transmitted orally and not written down until the ninth century, it is not considered infallible. The values set forth in the Quran and the Sunna, though, are considered to be Allah's will and are to be strictly adhered to in all aspects of a Muslim's life—religious, social, economic, and political.

Stating that humans are the noblest of Allah's creatures, the Quran sees the purpose of humanity in serving Allah and reforming the earth into an ethical social system devoid of evil. However the Quran also criticizes humans for being proud, petty, closed-minded, and self-centered creatures that will, by their nature, prevent good from spreading to others. The Quran instructs humans to overcome this pettiness, as Allah promises prosperity to those generous to the less fortunate.

Humanity's biggest sin, according to the Quran, is its overwhelming pride. By not recognizing the limitations set for them by Allah, humans become guilty of positioning themselves alongside God. In general, the Quran suggests, humanity only turns to Allah for help when the universe has failed it. This attitude violates the most sacred tenet of Islam, that God is one, with no partner and no equal. Only by transcending this petty behavior, therefore, can people develop *taqwa,* the internal ability to distinguish right from wrong. Humans possess free will, so Islamic practice does not simply involve obeying Allah but rather accepting the deity's mandates, which are transmitted through the prophets who show all creatures the "straight path."

Islam recognizes prophets from the Hebrew scriptures and the New Testament, as well as some extra-biblical characters. As a result, Muhammad is seen as the culmination of a long line of prophecy. He is, however, clearly the most important prophet, as his message from Allah resulted in the Quran. Prophets, even Muhammad, are considered to be human, but they are the most perfect examples of humanity. Holding no place in divinity, each prophet's message is believed to have been sent from the same divine source, Allah. Therefore, one must believe in the message of every prophet because to reject one is to deny the truth of Allah. The messages of the prophets guide individuals in their struggle to follow the will of Allah.

See also: GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); LAW AND JUSTICE (Vol. II).

Further reading: Thomas Wyatt, ed., and N. J. Dawood, trans., *The Koran* (New York: Penguin, 1990).

R

Ramadan Ninth month of the Muslim calendar; believed to be the month during which the QURAN was sent down from heaven as a guide for Muslims to gain salvation. People across the Islamic world fast during the entire month of Ramadan, concentrating on their faith and spending less time concerned with their everyday lives.

During Ramadan, Muslims follow strict restraints as they fast. They do not eat or drink during daylight hours, and physical pleasures such as smoking and sexual relations are also forbidden. Many Muslims also go to the mosque and pray for several hours. At the end of the day the fast is broken with a prayer, and the severe restrictions are lifted until the following dawn. It is customary for Muslims to visit with family and friends when they are not fasting. The Fast of Ramadan ends with a three-day celebration during which gifts are exchanged and families gather to pray and feast.

See also: ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Rano One of the seven true HAUSA STATES (called *Hausa Bakwai*) located east of SONGHAI, between the Niger River and Lake Chad. Other Hausa states established in the 10th through the 13th centuries under the trading empire of KANEM-BORNU included BIRAM, DAURA, KATSINA, ZAZ-ZAU, KANO, and GOBIR.

Rano and Kano were dubbed the "chiefs of indigo" because the great plains of these states were conducive to the mass production of COTTON, which was woven and dyed before being exported to the other Hausa kingdoms, as well as to many lands beyond.

Red Sea trade Arab-dominated transport of captives, salt, GOLD, IVORY, and other goods via the Red Sea to and from Arabia and Asia. Beginning in the eighth century Muslim ARABS engaged extensively in Red Sea trade. They arrived in North Africa eager to spread Islamic doctrine and to sell and procure captives for forced LABOR. Salt, gold, and ivory were also traded, but the demand for captives outpaced those goods. Female captives usually became concubines and servants in Arabia.

Captives were procured from Asia, Europe, the Nile Valley, the Horn of Africa, and from the East African coast by local kings who raided neighboring villages and by pirates on the high seas. In Africa, captives were sold to brokers at local market towns in exchange for COTTON, spices, perfumes, and horses. From market towns the captives traveled on foot across the savanna to the coast. Persons kidnapped at sea were brought to trading ports. When captives arrived at such Red Sea ports as ADULIS, MASSAWA, and Suakin, they were put up for sale there. Captives were also shipped across the Red Sea to the Arabian Peninsula and Asia. Red Sea trade reached its height from the 12th to 16th centuries.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); PERSIAN TRADERS (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vol. II); SUAKIN (Vol. III).

religion Between the fifth and 15th centuries, African religious practices continued with few major changes in many parts of the continent, especially south of the Sahara. In cultures that practiced traditional religions, elders and ritual specialists, including priests, oracles, medicine men, and prophets, continued time-honored rituals in their at-

tempts to engage with and understand the supernatural world. The values and knowledge associated with the rituals of traditional religions gradually evolved, however, as they were passed down from generation to generation.

During the first half of the first millennium, in parts of North Africa and in the interior regions along the Red Sea coast, the monotheistic religion of CHRISTIANITY began to spread. By the beginning of the sixth century, however, Christianity began to lose much of its influence in Africa. The various heads of the Eastern churches had previously deferred to Rome's authority. Beginning in the fifth century, however, numerous disputes among Church leaders resulted in schisms that led to the founding of such independent sects as COPTIC CHRISTIANITY and the Orthodox Church in ETHIOPIA.

Not long after, the first converts to ISLAM began moving westward from the Arabian peninsula into North Africa. With military backing and an agenda to drive nonbelievers from the territory, these Arabic-speaking Muslims moved swiftly, conquering lands and gaining converts as they went. Islam was used as a unifying force by the Arab UMAYYAD (661–750), FATAMID (909–1171), and Ayyubid (1171–1250) dynasties, all of which ruled over vast regions of North Africa. Other powerful, militant North African dynasties, including the ALMORAVIDS (1062–1140) and the ALMOHADS (1140–1269), called for widespread JIHAD to force conquered people to convert to Islam. Their jihads were waged in North Africa and as far north as present-day Spain, across the Mediterranean Sea.

Between 1095 and 1291, European Christian soldiers waged the CRUSADES against Muslim forces. This succession of military expeditions to the Middle East had little effect on the history of Africa.

During the same period, in contrast to the strict, militant Islam encouraged by the leaders of Almoravid and Almohad dynasties, a more personalized and mystical form of Islam, SUFISM, became popular in North Africa. In large part, African converts were more open to Sufism because of its tolerance of syncretism, or the combination of new and old beliefs. For the same reason, Sufism found numerous converts in sub-Saharan Africa, as well. Sufis often organized into brotherhoods that were led by revered holy men, whose moral authority and wise judgment earned them a loyal following.

By the middle of the eighth century Islam was making inroads into areas south of the Sahara, beginning within areas of present-day SENEGAL and MAURITANIA. In the following centuries, Arab Muslim traders won many converts among West African peoples, such as the SONINKE, who previously practiced traditional religion. In many cases, conversion to Islam was required in order to participate in the lucrative trade of GOLD and the equally important SALT TRADE. Islam also brought with it a respect for literacy and education, since the religion is accessed through the reading of the QURAN, the Muslim holy book.

Islam was connected with trade in East Africa, as well. Muslim Arab merchants won many converts among indigenous Africans in the port cities along the SWAHILI COAST. Arab traders also married into African families and began converting communities from within.

In the 12th and 13th centuries Christian missionaries began spreading their teachings southward from Ethiopia. This was a slow process, however, primarily because of the dominance of Islam along the Indian Ocean coast. Toward the end of the 15th century the arrival of European merchants on the shores of southern Africa presaged the arrival of European Christian missionaries, who later had a profound effect on Africa.

See also: AROCHUKWU ORACLE (Vol. II); *BABALAWO* (Vol. II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. I, III, IV, V); DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. I, III, IV, V); NINE SAINTS (Vol. II); RELIGION (Vols. I, III, IV, V); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

Río de Oro Berber trade region in present-day WESTERN SAHARA, situated between Cape Blanco and Cape Bojador. Due to its unsuitable climate for AGRICULTURE, the area developed into a thriving marketplace in which Berber MERCHANTS sold GOLD dust to Portuguese traders. The first Portuguese ships passed Cape Bojador in 1434, and Río de Oro in 1436.

See also: BERBERS (Vol. II); HENRY THE NAVIGATOR, PRINCE (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

al-Roha See LALIBELA, TOWN OF.

Rumfa, Sarki (Muhammad Rumfa) (r. 1463–1499)
Ruler of the Hausa state of Kano
During his long reign Sarki Rumfa made ISLAM the official religion of KANO, one of the seven "original" HAUSA STATES. Islam had already been practiced in Kano before Muhammad Rumfa became *SARKI,* or local ruler, in about 1463, but under his rule Muslim scholars became part of the government and ARABIC writing was again practiced. Sometimes force was used to ensure that the laws of Islam were followed. Even though Sarki Rumfa was a devout Muslim, he may have practiced some traditional rituals. This type of Islam, in which some traditional rituals were still practiced along with orthodox Muslim practices, was typical throughout Hausaland and other areas

of Africa at this time. Compromise in religious matters was often necessary to maintain the *sarki*'s power and keep nonbelievers from rebelling. To strengthen his authority, Sarki Rumfa made marriage alliances with influential non-Muslim subjects.

Sarki Rumfa considered himself *caliph*, a title that proclaimed him both the political and the Muslim spiritual leader of Kano. The most famous of scholars that Sarki Rumfa embraced in his kingdom was the fiery al-MAGHILI, adviser to several rulers in the SUDAN. This Muslim reformer set about to firmly establish Islamic practices and law in Kano, and he established Muslim courts and recommended Muslim judges for appointment. Sarki Rumfa's request that al-Maghili write about Islamic government prompted the famous book, *Obligation of the Princes*. Al-Maghili was a believer in JIHAD, or holy war, even against other Muslims if they practiced Islam half-heartedly.

Sarki Rumfa was one of the most important rulers of Kano. Trade flourished under his rule, and to ensure that Kano would continue to prosper from its trans-Saharan trade, Muhammad Rumfa began a war with the competing kingdom of KATSINA. He also established the Kurmi market.

Rwanda Country in eastern Central Africa measuring 9,600 square miles (24,900 sq km) that borders on the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the west, TANZANIA to the east, BURUNDI to the south, and UGANDA to the north. Located south of the equator, its capital and largest city is KIGALI.

The TWA, who make up one percent of the contemporary population, were the first to inhabit Rwanda. They were displaced by the HUTU, Bantu-speaking migrants who arrived about 1000 CE. However, in the 14th or 15th century another group, the TUTSI, migrated into the area and gained dominance over the Hutu. Initially they established several states, but by the 18th century a single Tutsi-ruled state occupied most of present-day Rwanda. The Tutsi, who were cattle herders, constituted a minority while the Hutu, who were farmers, made up the majority. However, the ownership of cattle and the Tutsi's prowess as warriors put them at a higher position in the social hierarchy.

See also: RWANDA (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

S

Sabbatarians In ETHIOPIA , a dissident group of 14th-century monks whose ideology challenged the imperial authority of church and state. Headed by Abba, or Father, Ewostatewos (c. 1273–1352), the monks adopted a critical stand against the moral attitudes of state rulers and church officials. Chief among their grievances was the enslavement and sale of men, women, and children to Arabian, Sudanese, and Egyptian traders. They also advocated a return to the tenets of the Bible, insisting on observing Saturday as the traditional day of Sabbath.

The Sabbatarians' refusal to accept financial offerings or to pay tribute to the state incurred the wrath of officials from both church and state. Ewostatewos and his followers were subsequently barred from church and state positions, and eventually they were driven from their towns. Isolated in the northeastern region encompassing the highlands of ERITREA, they created numerous communities in which they practiced their principles through missionary work. They built their own churches and won many converts. The best-known of their monasteries was Debre Bizen. Ewostatewos, who reportedly traveled to the Middle East, achieved sainthood upon his death, which occurred in Armenia.

The strength and prosperity of the Sabbatarian movement attracted the attention of state officials again, in 1400. Brought to court by Emperor Dawit I (1380–1412), their new leader voiced the group's refusal to conform to state dictates. Despite imprisonment, the Sabbatarians clung to their beliefs, which were subsequently adapted by large segments of the population. Forced by popular demand to release the dissidents in 1403, Dawit allowed them to return to their beliefs and activities until his successor took office.

Sahara desert   World's largest desert. Parts of the Sahara, such as the Libyan and the Arabian deserts, have separate names. The northern rim of the desert that centers on modern MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and sometimes LIBYA, is often called the MAGHRIB (in ARABIC, "the west"). The Maghrib encompassed much of Roman Africa besides EGYPT and was the first region of Africa to accept ISLAM during the seventh century. *Sahel,* meaning "border," is the Arabic-derived name for the semiarid fringe of the Sahara that stretches from MAURITANIA, in the west, to CHAD, in the east. Between 450 and 1450 the Sahel saw the growth of the African empires of GHANA, MALI, and SONGHAI. The inhabitants of the Sahel are sometimes called *Sudanese,* from the Arabic word meaning "black."

At the start of the first millennium the Sahara, from the Arabic word for "desert," was a wilderness of sand sparsely populated by nomads and isolated farmers who were confined to oases on the desert's fringe. Despite the unforgiving terrain, farmers developed agricultural techniques that werer well suited to the Sahara's arid conditions. Oasis gardens were tended by hand hoe and irrigated with spring water or water brought to the surface with primitive wells. Water made possible the cultivation at the larger oases of fruits and vegetables and an array of grains, including wheat, barley, and millet. Fig trees and grapevines blossomed in the hard conditions, and date palms grew at nearly every oasis.

The Fifth Through the 15th Centuries   In the fifth century the main inhabitants of the western Sahara were BERBERS, whose descendants are the Berber-speaking Tekna people of present-day Morocco and WESTERN SAHARA. Originally agriculturalists before they entered the desert, the Berbers became nomadic to protect themselves

from the anarchy and strife that resulted from the fall of Roman Africa to the Vandals in 430. By the ninth century the Berbers had developed a warlike reputation for their frequent raids on CARAVANS as well as for their ongoing feuds with rival groups. In the 14th century Arab peoples who had swept across North Africa from Egypt after the rise of ISLAM began to settle in the Sahara. From 1400 to 1700 the ARABS and the Berbers formed alliances and intermarried. In many regions the Arabic language all but replaced the Berber languages, and most Berber peoples were converted to Islam. By the 18th century most Berbers claimed Arab descent. The TUAREGS were the largest group of Berber speakers in the desert. They roamed the region from the Niger bend to the Azben highlands in what is now NIGER.

Not until the European nations carved up Africa in the 19th century did the western Sahara come under the control of any central authority. The rule of the Roman Empire, which ended in the fifth century, never extended into the desert. Only the south Moroccan Berber Almoravid dynasty (1061–1147), which originated as a religious movement that preached Islamic puritanism, ever held power over the region. In the 11th century the ALMORAVIDS conquered the western Maghrib and al-ANDALUS (southern Spain) and ruled them for a century.

In the eastern Sahara the primary inhabitants were the TEDA people, who are closely related in language and culture to the DAZA people, who live south of the Sahara. The Teda inhabited the Kufra Oasis in Libya and were a strong presence in the FEZZAN. They also inhabited the Tibesti and the ENNEDI Mountains in the desert proper.

The sub-Saharan kingdoms of ancient Ghana and the nomadic Zaghawa people of CHAD probably had an early strong presence in the desert. In the east, during the 13th century, the KANEM-BORNU trading empire ruled the central Sahara as well as the Fezzan until 1591, when the sultan of Morocco captured TIMBUKTU.

Pastoralism and Trade The two pillars of the ECONOMY in the desert were pastoralism and trade. The primary animals raised were sheep, goats, and camels. When camels were introduced into the desert, in the first centuries of the common era, regular trade became possible. Unlike most other pack animals, camels could work efficiently for several days without water or nourishment. Most oasis settlements were connected with the trade routes and with the local pastoral population.

The major trade item was salt, and the Tuareg SALT TRADE continues even to the present day. Large slabs of salt could be extracted from the mines at TAGHAZA (between Mali and Morocco) and transported by camel to the south, where it was exchanged for millet or other foodstuffs. The main products carried north along the caravan routes were GOLD, spices, and leather. Weapons, horses, paper, and CLOTH AND TEXTILES were transported south. The oases through which the caravans passed ei-

ther provided MARKETPLACES for these foreign traders or collected tolls and tribute. The monies passed into and supported the local economy.

See also: CAMELS (Vol. I); SAHARA DESERT (Vol. I); SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); ZAGHAWA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Gianni Guadalupi and Paolo Novaresio, *The Sahara Desert: From the Pyramids of Egypt to the Mountains of Morocco* (Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 2003).

al-Sahili (Abu Ishaq as-Sahili Tuwajjin, Abu Ishaq al-Sahili, Abu-Ishaq Ibrahim-es-Saheli)
(early 14th century) *Architect and poet employed by Mansa Musa I of the Mali Empire*

Originally from Granada, in al-ANDALUS (southern Spain), al-Sahili was brought to the MALI EMPIRE in the year 1324 by Mansa MUSA I (r. c. 1307–1337) who was returning from a pilgrimage to MECCA. Al-Sahili designed a mosque in the city of GAO and built another mosque and a palace in TIMBUKTU. His buildings in Mali represented an early northern, or Andalusian, influence on African design and ARCHITECTURE that became apparent in the style of later Arabic structures from areas as diverse as MOROCCO and the SWAHILI COAST.

Saho (Shaho, Afar-Saho) Eastern Cushitic dialect and the collective name used for a number of pastoral groups living in the desert region bordered by the Red Sea, the MASSAWA escarpment, and the southern highlands of ETHIOPIA. Saho speakers make up diverse groups that include the Irob people, in northeastern Tigray, and nomadic groups such as the Asaorta and Hadu. Before the spread of ISLAM in the eighth century, little was known about the character of Saho society except for its warlike reputation. They reportedly launched numerous attacks on the Christian societies of the highlands. It has also been noted that they followed an ancient tradition of electing their rulers based on an age-grade system.

After Islam penetrated into the Horn of Africa, the prevalence of rock salt, a much coveted trade item, attracted Muslim MERCHANTS to the Saho region. Saho inhabitants reportedly used camels to bring the salt up from the coastal region to the highlands near Massawa, where Arab merchants used these animals for the internal and export trade markets.

The Arab merchants eventually intermarried with members of the Saho population, converting them to the Muslim faith. However, it appears that many Saho converts chose to practice SUFISM, an Islamic form of mysticism. An even smaller number of Saho, such as the Minifere in the southern region of ERITREA, were converted to CHRISTIANITY by the AMHARA.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); TIGRAY (Vols. I, IV, V).

Sakura, Mansa (r. 1285–1300) *Ruler of Mali*

Sakura was a person of royal ancestry who had once been held in bondage and later became a general of SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), the founder of the MALI EMPIRE. In 1285 Sakura wrested control of the empire from ABU BAKR (r. 1274–1285), Sundiata's grandson, temporarily interrupting the succession of the KEITA CLAN. Sakura's greatest feat was his capture of the prominent commercial city of GAO, a victory that made Mali a center for MERCHANTS and traders from as far away as the MAGHRIB and the SUDAN.

About 1300, after securing control of Mali, Sakura set off on a HAJJ, or pilgrimage, to MECCA. On the way he paid a visit to the sultan of CAIRO, al-Malik al-Nasir ibn Qulaun. While returning from his pilgrimage Sakura was killed by nomadic thieves at Tajura, near Tripoli. Leadership of Mali then reverted back to Keita control.

Much of what is known about Sakura and the Keita dynasty is known only through the chronicles of the 14th-century writer Ibn Khaldun (1331–1382), considered the prominent Arab historian of the western Sudan from the ninth to the 14th centuries. His emphasis on both written records *and* oral tradition separates him from his more traditional Arab counterparts. In his travels, Ibn Khaldun met people with first- or secondhand knowledge of the events that he chronicled, and he was then able to fill many of the gaps in the written perspective.

Saladin (Salah ad-Din ibn Ayyub; Al-Malik an-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf I) (c. 1137–1193) *Renowned sultan of Egypt (as well as Yemen, Syria, and Palestine), founder of the Ayyubid dynasty (1174–1250), and respected adversary of the Christian crusaders*

As sultan, Saladin earned a reputation for firmness tempered with generosity and virtue; as a warrior, he became the greatest military hero of the Muslims in their battles against the Christian crusaders. Saladin was born in Mesopotamia, near present-day Tikrit, Iraq, to a powerful Kurdish family. His father served in the court of the Turkish governor of northern Syria. At the age of 14 Saladin followed in his father's footsteps, serving in the Damascus court of Syrian emir Nur al-Din (1118–1174).
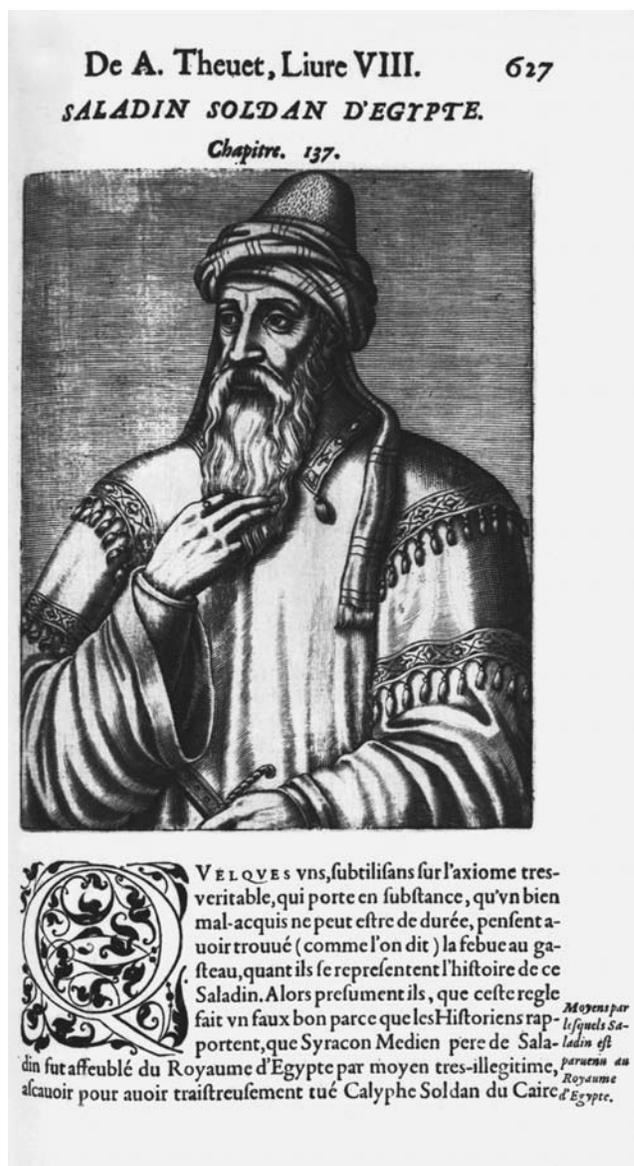
Saladin (c. 1137–1193) was sultan of Egypt and Syria and a friend to the Coptic Church of Ethiopia, to which he granted control of a chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Undated woodcut. © *Bettmann/Corbis*

Saladin helped his uncle, Asad al-Din Shirkuh, a commander of Nur al-Din's armies, in three separate military campaigns (1164, 1167, 1168) that succeeded in keeping the Christian crusaders from overtaking EGYPT, which was then ruled by the weak Fatimid caliphates. By the end of the last campaign, Saladin had risen to second in command of the Syrian army under Shirkuh, who had become the vizier (senior minister) of the Fatimid caliph. When his uncle died, in 1169, Saladin took his place, both as vizier and as commander of the Syrian troops in Egypt.

As vizier, Saladin quickly placed fellow Kurds in positions of power and reorganized Egypt's military forces. By 1171 he had seized power in Egypt from the Fatimid caliphate in the name of the emir. When Nur al-Din died, in 1174, Saladin claimed the throne of Egypt for himself.

As sultan, Saladin founded the Ayyubid dynasty, using his military forces to seize control of Syria (left leaderless at the death of Nur al-Din), conquer Yemen, and expand his empire westward as far as present-day TUNISIA. He used both diplomacy and military strength in an attempt to unite all Muslim territories in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and northern Mesopotamia.

An ardent student of Sunni Muslim theology in his younger days, Saladin (whose full name means "righteousness of the faith, Joseph, son of Job") restored the supremacy of the Sunni faith throughout his realm. Devoted to the cause of spreading and strengthening Sunni Islam, Saladin waged a JIHAD, or holy war, against the Christian crusaders who had invaded and conquered parts of the Holy Land.

Saladin set out to capture the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been occupied by Frankish (Latin-Christian) crusaders since 1099, and to drive the crusaders from Africa. To accomplish this end, Saladin first seized Aleppo, Syria, in 1183, and Mosul, Iraq, in 1186. He then consolidated his growing kingdom by capturing many cities from Muslim rivals.

On July 4, 1187, Saladin led Muslim forces in crushing an army of Christian crusaders in a furious battle at Hattin, in northern Palestine. By year's end he had also retaken the city of Jerusalem—which Muslims, who call it *Bayt Quds* (the House of Holiness) regarded as holy because Muhammad stopped there on his journey to Heaven—as well as most of the cities of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. His failure to recapture the coastal fortress of Tyre, however, gave the crusaders both a refuge and a base from which to launch the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

In 1189 King Richard I (the Lion-Hearted) of England led the Christian armies in their attempt to recapture Jerusalem from the Muslims (whom the Europeans called *Saracens*). The two opposing leaders admired each other for their gallantry and mercy as well as their skill in battle and mastery of their troops. Saladin's armies prevailed, limiting Richard's crusaders to the conquest of the fortress of Acre, in 1191. A year later Saladin negotiated an end to the battles. The armistice agreement, known as the Peace of Ramla, conceded to the Christians only a small strip of land on the coast between Tyre and Jaffa. Muslims retained control of Jerusalem.

His battles won, Saladin returned to Damascus, where he died less than six months later. With his death the Ayyubid dynasty became fractured and factionalized yet continued to rule Egypt until 1250.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II).

Further reading: Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Boston, Mass.: Brill, 1998); Geoffrey Regan, *Lionhearts: Saladin, Richard I, and the Era of the Third Crusade* (New York: Walker, 1999).

salt mining Process of excavating salt from the earth or collecting it from surface deposits. As far back as the beginning of the 10th century the mining of salt was a major factor in the African ECONOMY. The earliest known salt mine was at Idjil, in present-day MAURITANIA, which was worked from the 10th to the 15th centuries. Another productive mine was at TAGHAZA, in the SAHARA DESERT, near MOROCCO. Taghaza served as the main source of salt in western Africa from before the 15th century until it was destroyed in the 16th century and replaced by the mines at nearby Taghza al Ghizlan. Other important salt-mining areas in Africa were the Kisama region of present-day ANGOLA, in southern Africa, and the AFAR region of present-day SOMALIA, in the Horn of Africa.

In Taghaza, salt was prepared for the market by cutting it into large 200-pound (90.7 kg) blocks that were stored 10 to 15 feet (3 to 4.5 m) below the surface until they were shipped. Blocks were then taken from the mine, packed two per camel, and sent to TIMBUKTU or some other major trade and distribution center. Once there the salt was dispersed throughout western Africa.

The conditions for the workers in Taghaza were terrible by any standard. As reported by Arab traveler IBN BATTUTA in 1353, the mine was controlled by the *farba musa,* or king, of the Berber Massufa people, and it was worked solely by people who labored only for his profit. Local FOOD supplies were scarce, and provisions such as camel meat, millet, and dates all were brought from elsewhere. In contrast to food, salt was so abundant that both the local mosque and the workers' living quarters were made from rock salt.

By the end of the 15th century, after being the main source of salt in the trans-Saharan economy for nearly 500 years, the salt of Taghaza was virtually depleted. The size of the bars and the quality of the salt they contained had diminished. Salt was being shipped in bars half the weight of those 150 years before, and they were thin and prone to falling apart.

Kisama, in northern Angola, was the major salt mine in southern Africa. In the 15th century Europeans commented on how the miners excavated the salt and then carefully packed it into blocks that measured about 23-inches (60-cm) wide. From there the blocks were taken up the Kwanza River, where they were sold or distributed throughout the CONGO BASIN.

The Afar region, in Somalia, became the dominant center of salt production in northeastern Africa. A volcanic eruption 2,000 years earlier had cut off a section of the ocean, turning it into a saltwater lake. This area, which

eventually became the Danakil salt pans, spanned more than 100 miles (161 km) and lay 37 feet (60 m) below the sea. Every year the pans filled with rainwater. Miners would then break and mold the deposits into bars 7 inches (18 cm) in length. Other deposits were mined in shallow ditches.

The Uvinza salt pans in what is today TANZANIA were a major source of salt in eastern Africa for 1,500 years. Ugogo, in central Tanzania, was another source of salt, but its product was inferior to that of Uvinza.

See also: KISAMA (Vol. III); SALT (Vol. I); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vol. II).

salt trade   Salt, along with GOLD, slaves, and horses, was a major commodity in trans-Saharan and intra-African trade. The main sources of salt in western Africa were the mines at Idjil, in MAURITANIA, and at TAGHAZA, in the SAHARA DESERT, near the Moroccan border. In southern Africa, in what is now ANGOLA, the salt market at Kabaso, which was adjacent to the salt mines at Kisama, grew into a major commercial center. A fourth major center, with profits going to the local Aksumite rulers as early as the 12th century, was the Danakil salt pans in the AFAR region of SOMALIA, in the Horn of Africa.

Salt was valued for health reasons (the body must replace the salt it loses in perspiration) and was needed to flavor and preserve FOOD. The salt trade existed on both local and long-distance levels. Farmers obtained the salt they needed locally, but this salt was often of poor quality. Better-quality salt, if locally available, was transported to nearby markets, where it was bartered for other products. The best-quality salt, desired by the wealthy, was the rock salt mined at the larger production centers, such as Idjil and Taghaza; bars of this salt were strong enough to be transported by CARAVANS across long distances. By contrast, sea salt obtained by solar evaporation in places along the Atlantic coast did not travel well in the humid climate of West Africa.

The Arab traveler Leo Africanus (1485–1554) reported that the best salt was often bought for its equivalent weight in gold.

By 1000 CE four major TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES had been established. The first two trade routes were in western Africa and were monopolies under the control of the rulers of the GHANA EMPIRE and its successor states, the MALI EMPIRE and the SONGHAI Empire. Both trade routes began in SIJILMASA in MOROCCO. One led to Taghaza and then to AUDAGHOST; the other went south to TIM-

BUKTU and GAO. Another heavily traveled trade route passed through the FEZZAN, connecting TUNIS and Tripoli with the HAUSA STATES and BORNU. A less-frequented route linked West and Central Africa to the Nile Valley. In return for salt, the kingdoms of West Africa sent Malaguetta pepper, acacia gum, kola nuts (prized for their caffeine content), leather goods, cloth from Hausaland, and slaves destined for the Mediterranean and Arabian markets. Cargoes were taxed en route and at both ends of the journey. Still, despite the cost of transport and the risk of the loss of caravans to bandits, the trade was immensely profitable, with a value estimated at several hundred thousand ounces of gold annually.

Rock salt from Kisama in northern Angola was widely distributed throughout the CONGO BASIN, with traders journeying nearly a month to obtain it. The salt was carried overland and by canoe from the Kisama mines to the town of Kabaso along the Kwanza River on its route to market. The land along this river was traditionally ruled by the MBUNDU people.

Salt from Uvinza, in present-day TANZANIA, was traded within an area extending from the southern end of Lake Nyanza to the southern end of Lake TANGANYIKA and from the eastern Congo to the Ruaha Valley.

See also: KISAMA (Vol. III); SALT (Vol. I); SALT MINING (Vol. II).

Sanga   Town in Central Africa located along the LUALABA RIVER, in what is today the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. It is significant for its necropolis, or burial ground, built by an Early Iron Age civilization, otherwise unknown, that thrived there from around 800 to 1000 CE. Excavations at Sanga suggest that the people who inhabited the area practiced hunting, fishing, and farming. AGRICULTURE flourished due to the richness of the land and climatic conditions that were ideal for the cultivation of sorghum, millet, oil palms, and bananas. The people had established IRON smelting by around 1000 CE, and this development had a profound impact on agricultural practices. In turn, surplus crop production enabled the people of Sanga to seek profit through trade.

The CRAFTSPEOPLE of Sanga were accomplished ironsmiths, creating items like needles, bells, and tools, but their greatest advances were made in coppersmithing. COPPER was purchased from local traders in exchange for grains, fish, salt, palm oil, and other regional products. Also, after the farming season was over, Sanga craftspeople themselves would set out with large contingents of workers to seek copper ore. Much of what they brought back to Sanga was used to beautify and honor the bodies of the deceased. Corpses were adorned with bracelets and anklets fashioned from fibrous copper wiring, and necklaces were fashioned from beads and thicker wiring. Rings, pendants, and shells

were also common funerary items. Recent excavations at Sanga unearthed vast accumulations of copper buried alongside the tombs, which suggests that the metal was collected for commercial purposes as well as for funeral practices.

See also: IRON AGE (Vol. I).

Sanhaja Berbers   Nomadic peoples of western North Africa. During the eighth and ninth centuries ARABS referred to the inhabitants of the western Sahara as Anbiya, but that name was changed in the 10th century to Sanhaja. The Sanhaja were known to wear veils over their faces and loose-fitting, flowing garments. They produced no crops, choosing to live on wild dates and various camel products, moving frequently and becoming masters of the western Sahara's harsh environment.

Though the Sanhaja were not traders, they became powerful by controlling TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES and commercial centers, collecting taxes and tributes, and acting as paid guides and sentinels. During the 10th century the chiefs of the Sanhaja Berbers became one of the most powerful Saharan rulers. His title was "Sanhaja of the AUDAGHOST," but there is little evidence to indicate that he was ever a permanent resident of that Sudanic trade center. It is more likely that he governed the region from a desert camp north of Audaghost proper.

Sanhaja chiefs maintained diplomatic and trade relations with the rulers of the GHANA EMPIRE. Because he controlled the SALT TRADE, the Sanhaja ruler held the upper hand in these relationships. His power was recognized both near and abroad, and virtually all the leaders of the western SUDAN paid heavy taxes to him.

The Sanhaja rulers were so influential that they could determine the balance of power in the western Sudan. According to one story, a Sanhaja chief helped decide the outcome of a dispute between two Ghanaian provinces, Masin and Awgham. The chief supplied Masin with more than 50,000 camels, allowing the Masin to overwhelm the unsuspecting Awgham.

By the middle of the 10th century the Sanhaja maintained a heavy political and military presence in Ghana. Despite their influence, though, the people of Audaghost favored the ruler of the Ghana Empire, indicating, perhaps, a shift in regional power. Details regarding this period remain uncertain and highly debated.

The Sanhaja Berbers were made up of two powerful groups, the Juddala and the Lamtuna. The two formed a union, possibly through intermarriage, that eventually split when the Juddala fell out with the teachings of the Muslim cleric ABD ALLA IBN YASIN (d. c. 1059). Following a period of 120 years of infighting and discord between the Juddala and the Lamtuna groups, a new leader, Muhammad Tarashna al-Lamtuna, emerged. When he died, his in-law (*sihr*), Yahya ibn Ibrahim, of the Juddala, became the new Sanhaja leader.

The history of the Sanhaja in the western Sudan is rather incomplete. The Arab historian al-BAKRI (c. 1094), who documented many of the events in the region during the 10th and 11th centuries, had few details of the situation regarding Audaghost's shift to the Ghana Empire. In the 14th century the Arab historian ibn Abi Zar collaborated with Ibn Khaldun on a history of the western Sahara during the eighth through the 11th centuries. Their history was considered the definitive version until recently, but modern scholars now dismiss Abi Zar's history as revisionist.

Prior to the close of the ninth century there was no evidence of either ISLAM or rule of law being practiced by the Sanhaja. Muslim traders in the MAGHRIB brought Islam to the region in the mid-10th century. The Sanhaja chief Muhammad Tarashna was probably the first to convert, and became known as an *emir*, the name for a Muslim ruler, rather than simply a chief.

Muhammad Tarashna was highly regarded for his participation in a JIHAD and for carrying out a HAJJ, or pilgrimage, to MECCA. A succession of devout Sanhaja emirs, including Umar, his son Yahya ibn Umar, and Abu Bakr all followed the example of Muhammad Tarashna.

Yahya ibn Umar was the emir who brought the devout Islamic holy man Abd Alla ibn Yasin to the Sanhaja. Ibn Yasin's teachings were popular among many of the Sanhaja Berbers, but his extremist approach regarding purity and conversion created conflict among the Juddala elders. As a consequence ibn Yasin retreated to a Muslim monastery, where he founded the Almoravid movement. When ibn Yasin returned to secular society, he found sympathizers among the Lamtuna. With the help of Yahya ibn Umar and Yahya's brother, Abu Bakr, the AL-MORAVIDS ultimately gained control of the Sanhaja confederation by about the year 1056. The new movement was founded in the Moroccan city of MARRAKECH, north of the Atlas Mountains, which indicated that the Almoravids were less interested in controlling the desert regions of the western Sudan and would concentrate instead on areas farther to the north.

The Almoravids eventually controlled much of western North Africa and southern Spain, also known as al-ANDALUS, until about 1147. At that time the Zenata and MASMUDA Berbers—rivals of the Sanhaja—unified themselves against the Almoravids. Their resistance became known as the Almohad movement. By 1172 the ALMOHADS had taken control of much of the former Sanhaja Almoravid territories, including all of al-Andalus (southern Spain).

Further reading: Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Pub., 1997).

Santolo City in the HAUSA STATES in northern NIGERIA. Santolo was located in a fertile area and benefited from migration from nearby areas beset by famine, as well as from trade with MERCHANTS from the western SUDAN and the SAHARA DESERT. One of the walled cities of Hausaland, Santolo managed to keep its sovereignty, unlike many cities in the area that fell to neighboring kings. As a result, when ISLAM began spreading in the area in the late 14th century, the city became a prime target for attack by Muslim converts. Sarki YAJI (r. 1349–1385), from the city of KANO, southeast of Santolo, fought alongside Muslim Wangarawa to subdue Santolo. Muslim accounts of the battle depict the encounter as a holy war. Santolo's traditional RELIGION was repressed with the hope that ISLAM would replace the ancient religion as part of the victorious sweep of Islam through Hausaland. Yaji's soldiers and their Muslim reinforcements were successful in destroying Santolo, but Islam was not as firmly established in the region as its adherents had hoped.

Sao (So) Sudanic people who settled south of Lake Chad as early as circa 500 CE. The Sao were the original inhabitants of the region that became part of the kingdom of BORNU, around 850. According to Sao legend their ancestors were successful elephant hunters and trans-Saharan traders. It is believed that the Sao introduced copper-smithing to the central SUDAN. Due in part to their knowledge of metallurgy, the Sao civilization flourished from the ninth through the 15th centuries.

After the founding of Bornu (c. 850), the Sao maintained close trading ties with the neighboring KANURI people of KANEM. Despite the fact that they spoke different languages and practiced different religions, the two groups coexisted relatively peacefully. Early in the 13th century, however, the SEFUWA dynasty *mai,* or king, Dunama DIBBALEMI (r. c. 1210–1248) declared an Islamic JIHAD against the Sao. During their raids, the Kanuri took Sao captives, forcing them into servitude or trading them for horses and other goods from North Africa. By the end of the 15th century the Sao had been supplanted by the KOTOKO people, leaving an incomplete history that is informed mostly by oral tradition.

Forge remnants and artifacts, including ornaments made of BRONZE, an alloy of copper and tin, indicate that the Sao were accomplished metalsmiths. Archaeological evidence also suggests that they used COPPER as currency in the 14th century, in addition to GOLD and cowrie shells.

See also: CHAD, LAKE (Vols. I, III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II).

São Tomé and Príncipe Present-day country made up of two large islands—São Tomé and Príncipe—and a number of smaller islets located off the coast of GABON, in the Gulf of Guinea. Measuring about 390 square miles (1,010 km) in all, São Tomé and Príncipe is the smallest country in Africa. It is believed that São Tomé was uninhabited until after 1400. Portuguese MERCHANTS were the first outsiders to visit Príncipe, late in the 15th century.

See also: SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

sarki Name given to the leaders of the HAUSA STATES LOCATED in an area that is now present-day northern NIGERIA. *Sarki* is a term similar in meaning to the KANEM-BORNU *mai* and the SONGHAI *askia*. According to the *sarki* system of leadership, kings were determined by heredity. The *sarki* was considered sacred and was responsible for the overall welfare of his people. He possessed absolute power but generally shared it with a select group of officials and advisers to whom he was usually related. The *sarki* was at the top of the social pyramid of influence, with the village chief (*sarkin gari*) below him and the family clan (*gida*) at the base.

See also: ABDULLAHI BURJA (Vol. II); DAUDA, SARKI (Vol. II); RUMFA, SARKI (Vol. II); YAJI, SARKI (Vol. II).

Saylac See ZEILA.

science Some scientific knowledge is theoretical. In traditional societies, however, scientific knowledge is often practical and is achieved by trial and error; it does not necessarily require a full understanding of basic principles in order to reach a desired result. An herbal healer, for instance, can effect a cure without understanding the pharmaceutical properties of the botanical items in a poultice or a rub.

In the fifth through the 15th centuries there were two types of science in Africa: one based on the work of Arab and Muslim physicians and scientists in the cosmopolitan world of Islamic culture, the other a more traditional, applied science in SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

North Africa and Egypt   The ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING in the MAGHRIB and in such cities as TIMBUKTU and GAO, in West Africa, tended to focus their academic attention on Islamic theology and law. The major advances in physics, chemistry, MEDICINE, astronomy, mathematics, and other areas of investigation that have given Muslim science its deserved reputation for accomplishment tended to be made in other parts of the Arab world, notably at Damascus, in present-day Syria, at Baghdad, in present-day Iraq, at Córdoba and Toledo, in what is today Spain, and, to a lesser extent, at CAIRO, in EGYPT. These cities were the sites of extensive libraries. Modern Western science is indebted to the work of Arab and Muslim scientists, who not only preserved the ancient Greek, Persian, and Hindu texts by translating them into ARABIC but also added to them extensively. The common use of Arabic throughout Islamic lands made those writings and discoveries accessible to a broad base of peoples.

Many ancient Greek scientific works were preserved by Monophysite monasteries in Egypt and Syria, where the Greek texts had been translated into Syriac, in the fourth century. These texts fell into Arab hands in the seventh century.

Islamic scientific study sometimes had religious purposes. The QURAN praised medicine as being close to God, and the movement of the stars and planets was believed to indicate God's will for humans. Astronomy could also help determine the direction of prayer (devout Muslims face east to MECCA when they pray) and the correct date and time on which RAMADAN, the most sacred month in the Muslim calendar, should begin. Mathematics was needed to solve problems related to the Islamic law of inheritance. The expansion of science led, in Africa, to the founding of important hospitals, among them, in 832, the Qayrawan hospital in TUNISIA, in which female nurses from West Africa worked, reportedly, for the first time in Arabic history; the al-Fusta hospital in Cairo, in 872; the Marrakech hospital in MOROCCO, with aqueducts that brought in water, in 1190; and the al-Mansuri hospital, also in Cairo, which reportedly served 4,000 patients a day and was open to rich and poor alike, in 1284.

Not all who wrote in Arabic were Muslims. One of the most important scientists in 10th-century Africa was the Jewish physician Ishaq al-Israili, or Isaac Judaeus (c.

832–932), who was born in Egypt and worked in TUNIS. His treatises on fevers, simple drugs and nutrients, and urine were later translated into Latin and influenced European medicine.

In the first half of the 11th century lived Ibn Yunis of Cairo, considered by some the greatest astronomer and trigonometrician of his time. Working in Cairo at the same time was Ibn al-Haitham, the most important physicist that Islamic science produced. He did important work measuring the specific gravity of objects and calculating the speed of light. He also did research in optics. Masawaih al-Mardini, or Mesue the Younger (915–1015), first worked in Baghdad and then moved to Cairo, where he died at the age of 90. He wrote extensively on purgatives and emetics, and his textbook on pharmacy became, in Latin translation, the standard text on pharmacy in the West. Arguably the most significant figure in African Islamic science was Ibn el Nafis (1208–1288), head of al-Mansuri Hospital in Cairo and the dean of the School of Medicine there. He made important discoveries regarding the physiology of the human circulatory system.

After the 12th century Islamic science in the West began to stagnate and decline; in the east, it remained vigorous into the 15th century. The reasons given for the decline include a religious reaction to trends perceived in the writings of such scientists as al-Razi (1149–1209) or in the works of Ibn Rushd (1126–1198). Known in the west as Averroës, this highly influential religious philosopher from MARRAKECH tried to reconcile Islamic thought with Greek philosophy and stressed reason over faith. However, ISLAM is faith-based and sees itself as being in contact with the eternal. In this view, nature contains signs of God's will; unearthing those signs brings a believer closer to God. A science that is not anchored in faith seemed worthless, if not dangerous, to pursue.

The class A star Sirius, or the Dog Star, in the constellation Canis Major, figures strongly in DOGON myths because its position in the sky customarily regulated their AGRICULTURE. It is the only star to which Dogon tradition gave a name. Although their myths contain astronomical data about Sirius (the existence of an invisible companion star, Sirius-B) that they could not have gathered by naked-eye observation, various explanations have been offered to account for this fact. The most cogent is that the Dogon, with a talent shared by many other traditional peoples, seamlessly absorbed modern data about Sirius, in the form of interesting new stories, into their traditional myths because of the star's importance to their people.

Sub-Saharan Africa   As in most traditional regions of the world, scientific study in sub-Saharan Africa may have begun with simple applications, such as the processing and preservation of FOOD or the brewing of palm wine and grain-based beers. The clearly visible stars, comets, and movement of planets helped to regulate agriculture and led to the widespread development of solar-based calendars among a diverse number of people, including the Dogon, the AKAN, and the early city-states of Hausaland and BORNU. These calendars included lunar cycles, mathematical formulas detailing the best times for planting, the direction of seasonal winds, and necessary periods of seed germination.

A great deal of information concerning scientific knowledge in West Africa has come from firsthand accounts by Arabic travelers. The use of an astrolabe (a primitive sextant in wide use in the Islamic world) and compass in nautical expeditions by Arabian navigators was prominently mentioned. Records indicate that Chinese navigators were using a magnetic compass circa 1000 CE, European navigators by 1187, and the ARABS by 1220. It is unknown whether use of the compass developed simultaneously in these places or whether it was introduced by one culture and transmitted to the others.

Other navigation systems were also in use. The MANDINKA, for example, navigated the far reaches of the desert by using the rising and setting of the Sun, the stars, and a compass as a guide. The art of navigation along with surgery and astronomy were all taught at Timbuktu in ancient Mali, financed by the fourteenth emperor Abubakari II (1307–1311). Descriptions of his magnificent palace include mention of numerous doctors and other learned people within the royal court. A high value was apparently placed on books transported to the court from the Barbary Coast as well.

See also: ARABS, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III) ASTRONOMY (Vol. I); SCIENCE (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Sefuwa (Saifawa, Sayfawa)   African dynasty of kings, known as *mais,* who ruled the the KANEM-BORNU trading empire, around Lake Chad. From the ninth through 19th centuries, the Sefuwa dominated parts of present-day southern CHAD and LIBYA, northern NIGERIA and CAMEROON, and eastern NIGER. Their roots can be traced to the Kanembu people who set up their capital at NJIMI. At the close of the 11th century ISLAM was adopted as the state RELIGION by Mai UMME (r. 1085–1097). After a series of invasions by the BULALA people, in 1396 King Umar al-IDRISI moved the Kanembu capital to BORNU, on the southwestern shore of Lake Chad. Almost a century later Mai Ali Gaji chose NGAZARGAMU as his capital city. He eventually conquered the Bulala and reclaimed Njimi for the Sefuwa. The most notable of the Sefuwa kings was Mai Idris Alawma (r. c. 1570–1603). It was during his reign that the dynasty reached the height of its military power and economic prosperity.

See also: CHAD, LAKE (Vols. I, III); IDRIS ALAWMA (Vol. III); SEFUWA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Augustin F. C. Holl, *The Diwan Revisited: Literacy, State Formation and the Rise of Kanuri Domination (AD 1200–1600)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Sekabaka Kintu (Kebaka Kintu, Kintu)   Mythical founder of the Bantu-speaking Kintu clans of BUGANDA. The Kintu clans migrated to the area around Lake Victoria between about 1100 and 1400. They settled in the area to the south of Lake KYOGA and established several small kingdoms, including Buganda. It is uncertain whether a man named Kintu actually existed, but tradition holds that he was the only inhabitant of Buganda until Ggulu, or God, sent his daughter, Nnambi, to marry Kintu and populate the region. *Kintu* means "first man" in the Buganda Bantu language.

Senegal   Present-day country in West Africa that shares borders with MAURITANIA, the Republic of MALI, GUINEA, and GUINEA-BISSAU, and almost completely surrounds The GAMBIA. The SENEGAL RIVER separates it from Mauritania. Senegal is Africa's westernmost country and covers approximately 76,000 square miles (196,800 sq km). The country has an Atlantic Ocean coastline that measures about 330 miles (531 km).

As early as the ninth century the pastoralist FULANI and TUKULOR peoples of the TEKRUR kingdom inhabited the Senegal River valley. During the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries the Tukulor, who converted to ISLAM in the 11th century, became prosperous trans-Saharan traders and broke away from the declining GHANA EMPIRE. By the end of the 13th century, though, the Tekrur state fell within the sphere of influence of the larger, more powerful MALI EMPIRE.

During the 1300s the WOLOF EMPIRE supplanted Tekrur. The empire was made up of five coastal kingdoms—the Wolof states of Walo, Kayor, and Baol, and the SERER kingdoms of Sine and Saloum.

The Portuguese reached Cape Verde in 1444 and explored the Senegalese coast in 1445, but no formal European settlement was built in Senegal until the French opened a trading post at the mouth of the Senegal River, in 1638.

See also: SENEGAL (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Senegal River   Waterway in present-day SENEGAL that empties into the Atlantic Ocean. In the period before European colonization the Senegal River served as a

source of water for farming and as an avenue for trade with the interior. As early as the 11th century, according to Arab accounts, the river was used to transport salt from Ganjor on the coast to be exchanged for GOLD from the kingdoms upriver. Ganjor's salt mines provided the WOLOF EMPIRE of Kayor with a consistent source of wealth.

See also: SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SENEGAL RIVER (Vol. I).

Serer Ethnic group that inhabited regions of present-day SENEGAL; also the language they speak. During the 11th century the Serer migrated to their territory between the Lower Senegal and the Lower Gambia rivers.

Serer legends indicate that they once lived as far north as the valley of the SENEGAL RIVER.

The Serer were agriculturalists who resisted mounting pressures from their more powerful neighbors—the Muslim TUKULOR, WOLOF, and MANDE—to convert to ISLAM. In the 12th or 13th century the Serer formed the small kingdom of Sine, and by the end of the 15th century they had founded the kingdom of Saloum. Both Serer states were absorbed into the Wolof empire, which dominated the region in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Serer were known for their adherence to a traditional animist RELIGION, and even today only a few people among them have converted to either Islam or CHRISTIANITY.

Seychelles Island country measuring approximately 180 square miles (470 sq km) located off mainland Africa, north of MADAGASCAR and east of MOMBASA, KENYA. Victoria is the capital and largest city. The country is made up of 115 islands, of which Mahe, which covers about 59 square miles (153 sq km), is the largest. Approximately 85 percent of the population lives on Mahe Island. Other major islands are Praslin and La Digue. There are mainly two types of islands, granite and coral. Most of the 40 islands are granitic with hills of up to 3,000 feet (914 m) high while the remaining islands are coralline. These islands are flat and have no fresh water. Most of the population lives on the granitic islands. Seychelles has well-developed coral reefs on the east coast because of the southwest trade winds and equatorial current. The islands are home to many plants, birds, and fish that are not found anywhere else in the world.

Not much is known about the Seychelles before the ninth century, and what little there is is contained in Arab charts and maps. The islands first appeared, in the ninth century, on Arab charts, where they were known as the "Tall Islands." A few centuries later the ARABS referred to Seychelles as *Zarin* (the Sisters). A Portuguese map from 1544 records them as the "Seven Sisters."

See also: SEYCHELLES (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Shafii Sunni doctrine One of four schools of Islamic law, or *SHARIA*. It deals with matters of faith and morals, behavior and manners, and practical daily matters. As sources of guidance and rulings, it includes the QURAN, the Sunna (the sayings of the prophet Muhammad) and *qiyas* (or reasoning by analogy to similar situations during the Muhammad's lifetime). The ARABIC word *fiqh* (meaning "knowledge" or "understanding") refers to the legal rulings of Muslim scholars, based on *sharia* and is the third source of guidance rulings for an observant Muslim. The science of *fiqh* developed when an expanding ISLAM had to face and resolve issues not explicitly covered in the Quran or the *Sunna.* The rulings of Islamic law categorize actions in one of five ways: prescribed, recommended, permissible, disliked, and unlawful. Further distinctions exist within each category.

Two Sunni schools of law have been dominant in Africa: the Shafii school, dominant in East Africa and the neighboring Arabian Peninsula, and the MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE in North and West Africa. The Shafii school of law is named for its founder, Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafii (767–819), who was a pupil of MALIK IBN ANAS (c. 713–c. 795), the founder of the Maliki school. However, Shafii began to believe in the overriding authority of the traditions from the life of the prophet and gave them equal authority with the Sunna.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

sharia Islamic law. *Sharia* comprises the rules by which a Muslim society is organized and governed. It is based on writings found in the QURAN, the Islamic holy book, as well as the complementary texts of the Hadith and Sunna. Although these books do not specifically present codified laws, Muslims believe that their sacred words present the divine will of Allah to humanity. Because of this, the regulations related to personal, political, and legal conduct are all intertwined.

In a legal sense the tenets of *sharia* were basically defined by Muslim scholars within two centuries of the death of the Prophet Muhammad, in 632 CE. *Sharia* has its roots in Arab customary law, with some features borrowed from Roman and Jewish law, as well. Islamic jurisprudence, called *fiqh,* is divided into the interpretation of the sacred texts and the practical application of the methods discovered therein.

According to the Quran, human actions can be classified under five categories: prescribed, recommended, permissible, disliked, and unlawful. By studying the Quran

devout Muslims have long believed that they can develop *taqwa,* the innate ability to determine right from wrong. *Taqwa* has traditionally guided Muslims to lead lives that followed the "straight path." However, in many situations regarding questions of law and justice, the words of the Quran have historically been open to vastly different interpretations.

After ISLAM took hold in parts of West Africa, it was not uncommon for Islamic legal regulations to run contrary to the longer-standing customary laws of a society. In the GHANA EMPIRE (c. 800–1240), for example, *sharia* was seen as helpful as a guide to legal matters regarding trade, but the Quran was generally not accepted as absolute authority in situations outside of that arena. When Quranic law disagreed with customary law—which was often—the arbiters of justice usually followed customary law.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); LAW AND JUSTICE (Vol. II); *SHARIA* (Vol. V).

Shiism Smaller of the two major branches of ISLAM; its adherents are called Shiites and today represent about one-tenth of all believers. The majority of Muslims are members of the Sunni branch. Shiism is the majority faith in modern Iran and Iraq and has followers in East Africa as well as in the Middle East, India, and Pakistan.

Shiites and Sunnis differ on various religious practices but most especially in their belief regarding the identity of the proper successors of the prophet Muhammad. Historically, the Shiites were the *shiah,* or "partisans," of Muhammad's son-in-law, Ali, whose direct descendants, Shiites believed, were the only ones qualified to be caliph, the temporal and spiritual ruler of the growing Muslim empire. The Sunnis, on the other hand, were willing to accept as caliph anyone who would rule according to the precepts of Islamic law, regardless of lineage. The crisis of succession became a major cleft in the Muslim world as early as around 660. Another major difference between the two groups is that Shiites believe that the QURAN was created by humans and that it is not eternal, whereas orthodox Sunnis believe that the Quran was created by God and thus is eternal.

A subgroup within the Shiites is called the "Twelvers." They believe that, including Ali, 12 rightful descendants of Muhammad existed as religious leaders, or imams, of the people and that the twelfth imam, the Hidden Imam, did not die but still exists on a metaphysical plane and will return at the end of the world to begin a new era for humankind. Belief in the Hidden Imam has evolved into belief in the MAHDI, a leader who Muslims believe will rise and usher in a reign of righteousness. Self-styled Mahdis have often been proclaimed in Muslim communities; most important among them in precolonial Africa were Ubayd Allah, founder of the FATIMIDS (c. 909),

in EGYPT, and MUHAMMAD IBN TUMART (c. 1080–1130), leader of the ALMOHADS, in MOROCCO.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II, III, IV, V).

shipbuilding In Africa oceangoing and river-borne vessels have been used for thousands of years for trade, transportation, and war.

Sub-Saharan Africa The ancient Africans of SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA did not go to sea. Coastal trade, both on the Atlantic coast in the west and the Indian Ocean coast to the east, was in the hands of Arab traders, as was most of the shipping on the MEDITERRANEAN SEA to the north. Very little is known about the kinds of vessels that the African people used on the rivers that transverse Africa south of the SAHARA DESERT. The rivers were used for fishing as well as for TRANSPORTATION, local trade, and war. The SONGHAI Empire had both a standing army and a navy; Sunni ALI (d. 1492), its first emperor and a major expansionist, captured the Tuareg-held trading city of TIMBUKTU, on the Niger River, in 1468. He then used his fleet of war canoes to expand Songhai along the Niger. Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (d. 1538), Sunni Ali's great successor as emperor of Songhai, also relied on his navy as an instrument of conquest and control. With the help of its fleet, Songhai became the most extensive colonial empire in West Africa. The size and appearance of the vessels in the Songhai fleet has not been recorded. If they followed a pattern used by the Bijogo people of what is now GUINEA-BISSAU, the prows, or fronts, of the vessels may have been carved into the shapes of traditional masks.

Chinese Oceangoing Ships The largest vessels to have visited Africa before 1500 were not from Europe but from China during the time of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The Emperor Yongle (r. 1403–1424) sent seven expeditions to Southeast Asia, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the east coast of Africa between 1405 and 1433. All were headed by Admiral Cheng-Ho (1371–1433), whose name is also rendered as Zheng-He, who commanded a fleet of merchant ships and warships that were in some cases 500 feet (152 m) long and weighed 1,500 tons (1,515 metric tons). By comparison, the oceangoing European ships of the time were 100 feet (30.5 m) long and weighed perhaps 500 tons (505 metric tons). Cheng-Ho's ships had many masts, a feature found on Chinese ships for centuries, and were divided into as many as 13 watertight compartments. By comparison, Portuguese shipbuilders introduced a second mast for the first time when they produced the caravel, the oceangoing ship that became Portugal's standard vessel for exploration and trade in the late 1300s. Watertight compartments were not a feature of European-built ships until the 19th century.

Arab and European Advances It is impossible to separate the arts of navigation, naval architecture, and

sail technology; each plays an important role in the design and use of a ship. The earliest sailors stayed within sight of land. Without maps and charts or the ability to determine the direction of sail, mariners felt safer hugging the coast. The Chinese discovered the magnetized needle in the eighth century. By the 11th century a form of the mariner's floating compass was in use, developed either by the ARABS or by the Europeans. In the 14th century both Arab and Portuguese navigators had developed devices to help in celestial navigation, or navigation by the stars; these were the cross-staff and, later, the astrolabe, which were used to determine latitude based on a known star's altitude above the horizon. With these devices and the astronomical information gathered by Islamic astronomers and mathematicians—knowledge that was accessible to Europeans as well—ship captains were better equipped to find their way across oceans, without the aid of a landmass to guide them.
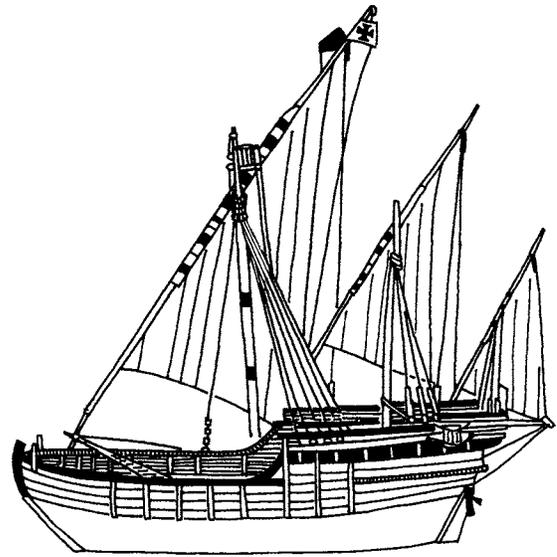
By the 16th century advances in European shipbuilding methods made European ships equal or better than their Chinese counterparts. In addition, not long after Cheng-Ho's voyages, the Chinese dismantled their fleet and entered a period of isolationism, shunning all foreign contact.

Another important advance in sailing technology was the development of the sternpost rudder, placed amidship, which made it easier to steer a large vessel in bad weather than the traditional steering oar that extended from the starboard (the right or *steor,* "steering paddle") side of the vessel. The Chinese had used sternpost rudders since the first century; this rudder style did not appear in Europe until the 14th century.

The type and positioning of sails is also important. Going out to sea in a ship totally dependent on oars is dangerous. Galleys powered only by rowers were a feature of the Mediterranean region but not in the coastal trade. Venturing out of sight of land required sails, and the best sails were the ones that maximized maneuverability and let the ship sail into the wind. The early European ships, a good example of which is the oceangoing Viking long ship, had a single square sail mounted on a mast. Such a sail needed to have the wind behind it to propel a ship forward. A major Arab contribution to sailing technology was the development of the triangular, or lateen, sail, which is used even today on oceangoing and lake-borne dhows. The lateen sail allowed the ship to travel along any course, no matter the direction of the wind. The Arab ships that followed the monsoon winds and associated currents from Africa and southern Arabia to

1. Caravel
Portuguese development of the caravel, with its lateen sail and center-mounted rudder, made long voyages of exploration possible. Some caravels also mounted a square sail, which enabled them to take advantage of tailwinds.
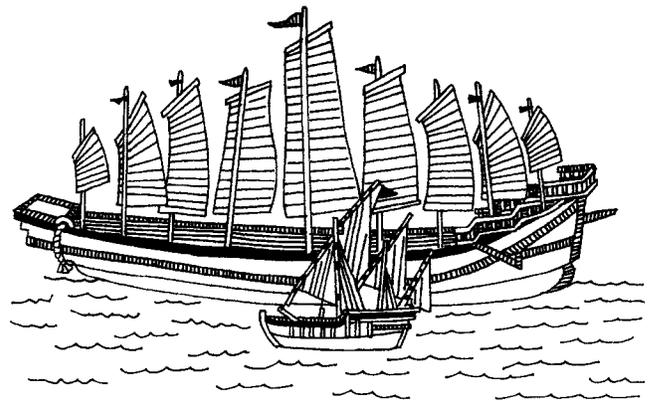
2. Junk and caravel
Chinese ships in the years 1200 to 1500 far surpassed what European shipbuilders constructed. The treasure ships of Admiral Cheng-Ho, who visited the Indian Ocean coast of Africa as far south as Kilwa in the early 15th century, weighed 1,500 tons (1,515 metric tons) or more; in comparison, a Portuguese caravel was a third or less its size.

India used this style of sail well before the sixth century. Arab traders are known to have traveled as far south as SO-FALA in present-day MOZAMBIQUE in pursuit of goods. The rise of ISLAM in the seventh century gave impetus to the introduction of the lateen sail into Mediterranean waters, where it became used on larger, more powerful ships con-

structed by Syrian and Greek shipbuilding techniques. The Arabs to the south lacked the money and the supplies of wood to adopt the Mediterranean methods of hull construction, and their fleets fell into decline in the 13th century.

Portuguese Vessels   The earliest Portuguese vessels of exploration were fishing vessels. Most European ships up to that time were clinker-built; that is, their hulls were constructed of overlapping boards. If sail-powered, they had square sails mounted on a single mast. The galleys used in the Mediterranean by Genoa, Venice, and the Turks had limited carrying space for provisions and cargo and were unsuited for oceangoing exploration.

In the 15th century a new type of caravel, of 50 to 60 tons (50.1 to 60.1 metric tons), was introduced. Its smooth hull was made of fitted boards. Its lateen sails, mounted on two, three, or sometimes four masts (the fourth mast carrying a square sail), enabled it to sail into the wind and made it capable of great speed. The caravel's broad-beamed hull had substantial space for cargo and provisions, and its tall forecastle and stern castle enabled the ship to withstand heavy seas. The caravel is the ship that opened Africa to the Portuguese. Almost all of Portugal's voyages of exploration in the 15th century were made aboard caravels.

When longer voyages of exploration began, such as when Vasco da GAMA (c. 1460–1524) sailed to Callicut, a seaport in southwest India, in 1498, voyagers used a rounder, heavier ship, the three-masted, square-rigged carrack. (A square-rigged ship has its main sails set at right angles to the masts, in the fashion of most later European ships.) These carracks were armed with cannons, probably swivel-mounted or breech-loading deck guns located in the raised stern castles and forecastles of the ships. Shipboard artillery gave the Portuguese, and later the Spanish and French explorers, a strong advantage over their Muslim foes in the East.

The *Niña* and the *Pinta*, two of Christopher Columbus's ships, on his voyage to the New World in 1492, were caravels.

See also: AGE OF DISCOVERY (Vol. II); ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SHIPBUILDING (Vol. I).

Shirazi Arabs   Group of immigrants believed to have originated in Persia and settled the East African coast during the 12th to 15th centuries. The Shirazi Arabs were traders who had come from the Iranian town of Shiraz.

(See map in this volume, page 107.) Small numbers of Shirazi traders are thought to have visited the East African coast as early as the 10th century. By the 12th century larger groups began to immigrate to Africa.

Beginning in the second half of the 12th century the Shirazi settlers made their way to eastern Africa, particularly to the coastal towns of MOGADISHU and KILWA, as well as to PEMBA, MAFIA ISLAND, the COMOROS, and LAMU Island. They soon formed a powerful dynasty that controlled much of the important trade in the northwestern area of the Indian Ocean. By the 15th century the Shirazi had extended their rule to MOMBASA and ZANZIBAR, where they ruled primarily through an organization of independent city-states. At the same time, other large groups of Shirazi Arabs came to the Comoros, where they introduced the Islamic faith and turned the islands into an important center of trade.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); KISWAHILI (Vols. II, III, IV); SHIRAZI DYNASTY (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III).

Shona   Ethnic group that has lived in the area of present-day ZIMBABWE for more than 1,000 years. Predominantly farmers, the Shona grew maize, millet, sorghum, sweet potatoes, and pumpkins and raised chickens, cattle, and sheep. About 600 CE Shona ancestors built GREAT ZIMBABWE and other walled cities in the region. More recently they have lived in small, scattered communities made up of extended families. The Shona language is one of the Bantu languages, and the Shona probably moved into the Zimbabwe area some time late during the great expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples (c. 1000 BCE–c. 1500 CE).

See also: BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II); MAPUNGUBWE (Vol. II); SHONA (Vol. IV); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III).

Sidamo   People and region of southern ETHIOPIA. It is assumed that the Sidamo are one of the patriarchal groups that migrated from central Ethiopia between the 10th and 15th centuries. There is little written or recorded information about their culture during the period of their migration. However, anthropologists and archaeologists have been able to cull some information from the thousands of massive stelae (large vertical stones or pillars with inscriptions or patterns serving as commemoratives or shrines), which they left behind.

The Sidamo cultivated several crops, including *ensete,* or "false banana," and some grains, vegetables, and spices. Researchers believe that the harvest was an important part of Sidamo culture, with many traditions and rituals built around it.

As early as the middle of the ninth century ISLAM had penetrated the Horn of Africa. The Sidamo, along with

other groups located between the Gulf of ADEN and the Blue Nile, were converted in large numbers. (Traditional Sidamo religious belief was animistic.) Soon thereafter, Islamic culture became the center of both spiritual and economic life in southern Ethiopia.

During the 12th and 13th centuries ISLAM was at its height in the Sidamo region. Tensions mounted, though, when ruling Muslim sultans began to encroach on Christian Ethiopia, which was in the process of passing from Zagwe to Solomonic rule. Fighting lasted to 1340, and eventually the Muslim states were defeated by the Ethiopian Christian empire. As a result of this history the Sidamo population came to represent the different influences of three belief systems: traditional animism, Islam, and CHRISTIANITY.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II); SIDAMO (Vol. III).

Sierra Leone   Present-day country measuring about 27,700 square miles (71,700 sq km) located in West Africa. It is bordered by GUINEA to the north and east, LIBERIA to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean in the west. The comparatively small country of Sierra Leone was occupied by fishing and agrarian peoples as early as 2500 BCE. Its later inhabitants, possibly ancestors of the Limba people, were known to be working iron by the seventh century. The main precolonial inhabitants of Sierra Leone were the Temne, the Bullom (or Sherbro), and the Limba, who fished, herded cattle, and/or grew such crops as rice and yams. Palm oil and salt were also sought after for household uses and as trading commodities.

These groups, as well as sporadic bands of mande-speaking peoples who migrated to Sierra Leone from inland in the 15th and 16th centuries, generally tended to form small independent kingdoms ruled by a chief and a council of subchiefs. Religious authority was held by secret societies, such as the women's Sande or Bundu and the men's Poro Society, which were responsible for marriage preparation, curing the sick, and military training and education of the village's young people.

Muslim traders introduced ISLAM into the northern part of Sierra Leone; it soon spread through the rest of the region.

In 1460 Pedro da Sinta, the first Portuguese sailor to visit the region, named it *Serra Lyoa* (later corrupted to *Sierra Leone*), after the rugged "lion mountains" he saw around the fine natural harbor. From the 15th century on, European traders came together on the Sierra Leone coast to exchange their manufactured goods for African products, including IVORY. The area in which they conducted their markets would later become Freetown, the modern capital.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III); SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I); SIERRA LEONE (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Sijilmasa   City in southeast MOROCCO, important for its location along ancient TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. From the 10th to the 14th centuries Sijilmasa, which ancient scholars and writers called the "city of GOLD," was a city of great power and wealth.

Sijilmasa was originally established as a city of AGRICULTURE and trade during the eighth century. Founded in an oasis near the SAHARA DESERT, Sijilmasa was located between the Muslim, Mediterranean, and West African worlds, which made it a strategic point for economic and political control along the trans-Saharan gold trade routes. This was especially true for the routes that connected Sijilmasa to the GHANA EMPIRE, Tuat, GAO, and TIMBUKTU.

In its early history Sijilmasa was an independent CITY-STATE ruled first by the Banu Wasul and then by the Banu Midrar. The city quickly benefited from its strategic location, particularly through the trade route to AUDAGHOST. In the 11th century several groups fought for control of Sijilmasa, and around 1054 the ALMORAVIDS (c. 1056–1147), BERBERS from the western Sahara, took hold of the city. The Almoravids, as well as their successors the ALMOHADS (c. 1130–1269), used Sijilmasa's wealth and importance to spread the Islamic RELIGION and build an empire that controlled much of what is now Morocco, ALGERIA, and Spain.

Under the Almoravids and during subsequent periods of Berber control, Sijilmasa became an even greater city. Capital of the empire, it was the center of a vast economic system. It was at this time, during the first half of the 14th century, which is generally considered the height of Sijilmasa's power and glory, that Arab writers described the city as one of the most impressive and famous in the world.

After the Berber leadership came to an end in the late 14th century, there was another period of civil strife, during which the MARINIDS fought for control of Sijilmasa. A civil war in 1393 led to the destruction of the city's walls and many of its architectural achievements. At this time many of the people living in the city moved out into smaller villages in the surrounding countryside. After this time Sijilmasa is still mentioned in various writings, but it was no longer the center that it had once been.

See also: SIJILMASA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Julian Clancy-Smith, ed., *North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War* (Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass, 2001).

Silla   Trading kingdom located in the valley of the SENEGAL RIVER, in the western SUDAN. The agricultural kingdom of Silla came into existence about the 11th century. Like the kingdom of TEKRUR, Silla was inhabited by the pastoral FULANI peoples. According to the Arab writer al-

BAKRI, Silla's main crops during this period were COTTON and sorghum. In addition, Silla, along with Tekrur, held sway over the Senegal River trade routes, where they were known mostly for commerce in GOLD.

slavery Scholars have long debated the extent of slavery in Africa prior to the coming of Europeans in the 15th century. Some have argued that it was practically nonexistent, while others claim that many societies had classes of masters and enslaved individuals. Although ARABIC-speaking travelers and writers have provided a glimpse of the Saharan and Red Sea slave trades, SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA offers a major challenge. This has generally been attributed to a lack of written records and reliance instead on oral traditions. However, one fact that is generally accepted by scholars of African history is that slavery within the continent had very little in common with the massive kidnapping and subjugation that characterized the transatlantic slave trade.

Slavery in Africa, sometimes referred to as "forced servitude," was a well-regulated social institution. The rights of the enslaved were defined and governed by tradition. The enslaved were often procured through purchase or as captives in land disputes or regional wars. Also, individuals could be reduced to bondage for failure to settle a debt (debt bondage) or for violation of some cultural taboo. Technically, these forms of bondage cannot be called slavery, mainly because debt bondage had a fixed termination point and did not necessarily involve the children of the bondsperson. There existed many other forms of bondage throughout Africa that have inaccurately been lumped under the general category of slavery. Thus the number of slaves in Africa during any period of time is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy.

The North African slave trade was not a one-way phenomenon, as slaves were transported across the Sahara in both directions. Europeans and Asians who were enslaved found themselves in North Africa as well as sub-Saharan Africa.

While those in servitude were at the bottom of the social ladder, they were not chattel (i.e., they could not be sold indiscriminately and they could not be separated from their families). Domestic servants could not be punished with impunity, and masters suffered severe penalties if it was found that they mistreated them. Servants could, and did, rise above their station by industry and diligence with or without the approval of their masters. They often married into their masters' families and some became rich and powerful. In many cases it was impossible to know by simple observation if a person was a servant. Their dress, duties, demeanor, and speech were the same as the free persons' with whom they were associated.

Two examples include the IGBO, mainly a patrilineal society that consisted of NOBLES, peasants, and those who were either partially or fully in servitude. Usually those in semi-servitude were individuals given to creditors as collateral. Those who were in full servitude were more likely to be strangers to the village. Referred to as *Ohu* or *Oru,* they were used to perform domestic tasks. Senegambian societies, also patrilineal, were structured in a slightly different way. They consisted of a free population and two groups that were outside mainstream society but which nonetheless cultivated their own wealth and power. The first were caste groups that included blacksmiths, griots, woodworkers, and potters, and the second group consisted of people in servitude who were sub-stratified. Many individuals from this class took on the skills of those who held them in bondage. It was not unusual for individuals of both the caste and those in servitude groups to accumulate greater wealth than those who were technically free but poor because of their status as herders.

In the western SUDAN servitude was often tied to economic expansion. Some scholars argue that in this region, women were preferred to men and sometimes purchased for as much as one- to two-thirds more. Generally they were valued for their reproductive capabilities and their role as concubines among the elite, including the households of Islamic marabouts and MERCHANTS. Women in servitude also produced agricultural products for use by the armies as well as wealthy households, thereby freeing noble women from agricultural and domestic tasks.

See also: LABOR (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: I. Kopytoff and S. Miers, *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

social structure The anthropologists who study class and social arrangement in Africa from around 500 to 1500 generally map ways in which power was organized within the three main sociopolitical structures that existed at the time: clans, kingdoms, and empires. Within these three social structures, a system of rank, or hierarchy, generally existed that divided the members into four divisions: elders, freepersons, slaves, and NOBLES.

The role of elder served as a hierarchical structure primarily in clan societies, but it did so without creating strictly defined classes. The clan was mainly a biologically linked group that occupied a more or less clearly defined territory. The clan itself was dedicated to fulfilling its FOOD needs through hunting or AGRICULTURE.

Within a clan, the system of hierarchy usually was based on precedence, antecedence, or a combination of these. A group might establish precedence, for example, by clearing an unoccupied territory and establishing their homes and fields there. This traditionally was accomplished in accordance with a particular ceremony between the clan and the land's tutelary spirits.

Once this precedence was established, all groups coming into the area were obligated to acknowledge the original group's primacy in order to maintain peaceful relations. To accomplish this, new families sent representatives to meet in council with the original families. (The first families generally presided over these councils.) This council then delegated various duties among the families, including divination, rituals, or even warfare.

Antecedence, the other principle upon which clan hierarchies were based, passed power through a hierarchy based on kinship. The elders of the clan, who possessed the most power, passed that power down to their junior relatives. (Upon entrance into the clan, each new member was invested with the powers of an elder.) However, final authority always belonged to the elders, who, in turn, were subject to the ancestors, who had negotiated for the clan's land with its tutelary spirits. The role of elder was the provenance of the oldest males; however, elder females were in many societies allowed to participate in a debate.

Warfare and the demand for laborers established slaves, or more accurately, a servile class, as part of the social structure in such kingdoms as Mali, Kongo, and the kingdoms of the western and central SUDAN. Kingdoms or empires like these usually were an amalgamation of clans in which the central figure, the king, governed with the help of a council. The king was often the religious head as well, although various clans were allowed to retain particular customs.

Kingdoms such as Mali that grew into empires generally had an aristocracy. Rank among the nobility was determined by the king, and a hereditary aristocracy was a common feature of such societies.

See also: CLAN (Vol. I); LINEAGE (Vol. I); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Sofala Ancient East African harbor and trading CITY-STATE, in what is now MOZAMBIQUE, first inhabited by Bantu-speaking people in about 400 CE. The city and seaport of Sofala, located south of present-day Beira, at the end of the Great Rift Valley, became one of the first harbors in southern Africa on the Mozambique Channel. Though the harbor is no longer usable and the ancient town is gone, the port was once large enough to accommodate approximately 100 trading ships.

After the arrival of Bantu-speaking people, the area prospered. From about 915 on, ARABS traded salt, metal

wares, cloth, and other goods for GOLD, IVORY, and other African commodities. Sofala was one of several cities on the Mozambique coast using the KISWAHILI language to facilitate trade in and around Africa. Starting in about the year 1000, Muslims from Persia moved into Sofala and introduced ISLAM into this area. Trade between East Africa, Arabia, and India prospered, as did trade among the East African coastal states and offshore islands. With the spread of Islam throughout Africa, the Muslim sultanate of KILWA rose to prominence in what is now TANZANIA. Between 1300 and 1500 Sofala became one of Kilwa's important southern outposts.

The Portuguese first arrived in roughly 1480, when Pero da Covilha passed through Sofala and proved to his Portuguese king that the Indian Ocean does indeed flow into the Atlantic Ocean at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

A Portuguese writer who traveled with Vasco da GAMA (c. 1460–1524) in the early 1500s wrote a narrative about Sofala and, believing Sofala to be the legendary land of Ophir, as described by the biblical Solomon, he claimed that Queen Makeda (queen of Sheba) had lived there. Scholars now know that Sofala was not Ophir and not the home of the queen of Sheba.

About 1505 Portuguese settlement began with the building of a fort. In a few short years, by the early 16th century, the Portuguese had seized control of Sofala, as well as the lucrative gold trade. The city remained a port for three to four more centuries, though its importance declined. The great harbor eventually became obstructed by a sandbar as the harbor filled with silt.

Once one of the most important seaports on the Indian Ocean, the old city of Sofala is gone, but today Nova Sofala on the Mozambique Channel is a reminder of the once-great harbor. At one time, the coastal area around the seaport city of Sofala was also called Sofala; in Mozambique today, the province of Sofala includes this coastal area.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); MAKEDA, QUEEN (Vol. I); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOFALA (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

Soga (Busoga) People of present-day UGANDA. The Soga people have inhabited the Great Lakes region of Uganda since about the 14th century. Oral traditions, however, push their arrival back further, possibly to as early as the 13th century. According to these traditions, the Soga originated with a central figure named SEKABAKA

KINTU, who traveled into the area with bananas, grain, and cattle and founded the Soga clans.

The Soga speak a Bantu language and are known as an agricultural people. They have traditionally operated in smaller divisions of clans, called *nda,* that claim descent to a particular ancestor through their paternal line. The traditional RELIGION of the Soga peoples was based on the honoring of ancestral spirits and the worship of natural features of the earth, such as trees, rivers, and hills.

Prior to the period of European colonization the Soga were organized into independent states rather than into a system ruled by one main source of political power. Succession to power in these states was generally patrilineal. Since the eligible princes often held some of the same power as the state ruler, the common classes of the Soga were often instrumental in choosing the particular prince they saw fit to raise to supreme leadership. There was also a hierarchy of tribal members—some royalty and some commoners—who were given chiefly authority by the state ruler and performed such functions as collecting tribute, organizing the armies in times of war, and acting as an administrative council.

See also: CLAN (Vol. I).

Solomonic dynasty

Line of rulers that governed ETHIOPIA from 1270 until the 1700s; traditionally accepted as descended from Menelik I, the son of King Solomon of Israel and Queen Makeda (commonly known as the queen of Sheba). Tradition holds that the dynasty had virtually unbroken rule throughout Ethiopian history. Historians, however, believe that the dynasty actually began in 1270 with the emperor YEKUNO AMLAK, who, with the support of the Ethiopian Church, overthrew the ZAGWE DYNASTY, which had ruled Ethiopia since sometime during the 10th century.

The legend of the Ethiopian rulers' descent from the biblical King Solomon is part of the rich tapestry of Ethiopian history. In the 14th century the Ethiopian text known as the *Kebra Nagast* (Glory of Kings) legitimized the claim with a retelling of the famous biblical story of King Solomon and Queen Makeda. According to the legend, Makeda traveled from Ethiopia to Jerusalem to meet with and learn from the famously wise King Solomon. While there, she and Solomon became lovers, and, when she returned to Ethiopia, she bore their son, who eventually became King Menelik I.

Beginning with Yekuno Amlak, in 1270, the Solomonic kings formed a strong alliance with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and, after several successful campaigns, gained control over what had for some time been Muslim territory. The struggle with the Muslims proved to be a back-and-forth affair, however. In the 16th century a Muslim JIHAD, or holy war, ultimately took territory back from the Christian forces.

The link to King Solomon provided a strong foundation for Ethiopian national unity. In fact, despite the fact that the dynasty officially ended in 1769 with Emperor Iyaos, Ethiopian rulers continued to trace their connection to the famous dynastic line right up to the last 20th-century emperor, Haile Selassie (1892–1975).

See also: HAILE SELASSIE (Vols. IV, V); MAKEDA, QUEEN Vol. I); MENELIK I (Vol. I).

Further reading: Donald Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2000); *Taddesse Tamrat, Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270–1527* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon, 1972).

Somali

Nomadic East African pastoralists who lived in what is now SOMALIA and parts of northwestern KENYA, DJIBOUTI, and the Ogaden region of eastern ETHIOPIA. While there is the question as to whether the ancestors of the Somali originated in the Arabian Peninsula or possibly the highlands of Ethiopia, the Cushitic-speaking Somali peoples had immigrated and settled in present-day Somalia by about the 10th century.

The Somali were converted to ISLAM by the 1300s, probably by ARABS from across the Red Sea. Oral traditions among the Somali trace their Arab connection back to the 10th century, when, it is said, two Arab sheiks, Darood Ismail and Ishaq, married two women of the ancient Dir ethnic group from the Gulf of ADEN and became the forebears of two of the major subgroups of Somali peoples, the Darood and the Ishaq.

Somali *rer,* or clans, are self-contained groups of families that claim descent from a common ancestor. A Somali owes allegiance both to his clan and to the loosely knit group of clans that his *rer* belongs to. In the 13th century a system known as *diya* (blood compensation), based on Islamic law, was instituted to make reparations and resolve blood feuds without resorting to more violence. The basis of this payment system is still practiced.

By the 14th century the nomadic Somali were located in parts of Ethiopia; in the 15th century their migrations continued into the arid region of the Ogaden, causing the displacement of the resident pastoral OROMO peoples. In a common pattern found throughout Africa, Islam took hold in a highly orthodox way in the larger urban centers along the coast. In the countryside, however, orthodox and traditional beliefs were intermingled.

The Somalis' advantageous location on the Horn of Africa, along the Indian Ocean, made them the intermediaries between Arab coastal traders and the peoples of the interior. The centuries prior to the colonial era saw a marked increase in trading activities, notably Somali involvement in INDIAN OCEAN TRADE.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); CLAN (Vol. I); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II); ZANJ (Vol. II).

Somalia, Republic of

Country measuring approximately 246,000 square miles (637,100 sq km), located in northeastern Africa. It borders DJIBOUTI to the northwest, KENYA to the southwest, and ETHIOPIA to the west. Located north of the equator between the Gulf of ADEN and the Indian Ocean, Somalia, together with Ethiopia and Djibouti, is referred to as the Horn of Africa. MOGADISHU is the country's capital city and main port. The country has also been known as Somaliland.

There is archaeological evidence that parts of Somalia, including the coastline, were inhabited by about 100 CE. Its original settlers were the Kushites, who migrated from southern Ethiopia. From the second to the seventh centuries, some parts of Somalia belonged to the Ethiopian kingdom of AKSUM. Persians and ARABS started developing trading posts along the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean in the seventh century. It was at this time that the people of the area came into contact with Arab traders who had arrived by way of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. As a result of increased contact with these Arabs, the indigenous people were converted to ISLAM. In the 10th century Somalia's population included SOMALI nomads and pastoral OROMO from southwest Ethiopia. For the next 900 years the Somalis spread throughout the Horn of Africa. Meanwhile Arab activities in the area increased. It was during the 1300s that the Arabs established the city that would later be known as Mogadishu, which started as a trading station. Later, Mogadishu acquired the popular reputation of being a "party town" for Arab seamen. The Arabs also established ZEILA on the Horn of Africa, and it became a busy trading area until the 17th century. In the 15th and 16th centuries Somalia and Ethiopia were engaged in constant battles. In 1530–31, Ahmad Grañ (c. 1506–1543), a Muslim Somali leader, conquered much of Ethiopia, and Ethiopia was compelled to ask Portugal for intervention.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); BENADIR COAST (Vol. III); SOMALIA (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Songhai (Songhay, Songhray)

West African empire and people located mostly in present-day eastern MALI and western NIGER, flourishing between around 1400 and 1591. Songhai was the largest empire ever created in the western and central SUDAN. At the height of its expansion, in the early 16th century, it stretched west to the border of present-day SENEGAL, north beyond the salt-mining city of TAGHAZA, in the Sahara, and east to include the HAUSA STATES and the sultanate of Aïr. It also spread as far south as BORNU and the MOSSI STATES, formerly the norhern boundaries of the old MALI EMPIRE (c. 1200–c. 1400), which Songhai replaced.

Conflicting models exist about the origins of Songhai, making the history of the empire's first centuries obscure. According to one model, around the early 11th century the ZA people, Malian in origin, ruled the city of GAO on the north bank of the Niger River. In 1080, it is thought, the ZAGHE, a dynasty of Almoravid Berber traders, from their stronghold in nearby Gao-Sané, seized control of Gao with little violence and intermarried extensively with the MANDE-speaking Za population. Their assimilation was so great that by the middle of the 13th century the Zaghe considered themselves Za and adopted the name as their own. By the 1300s the region was firmly under the rule of the Mali Empire. In the early 1400s the Za were invaded by large groups of SORKO warriors who, according to this interpretation, were the original Songhai, from Kebbi to the southeast. These attacks led to Mali's loss of Gao and the rise to power of Sunni ALI (r. c. 1464–1492), the founder of the Songhai Empire.

A conflicting model places the hunter-fisher Sorko (by language a Songhai people) in the region as early as the seventh century. Their settlement at Gao was on the other side of the Niger from the trade routes and was thus protected from attack by BERBERS. The Sorko had ties with the nearby town of KUKIYA, a settlement of the Za—by language also a Songhai people—who began to dominate the right, or southern, bank of the Niger, on which Gao was built.

The location of Gao near the caravan routes, however, led to the development of trading relationships with the now Islamized Berber MERCHANTS and the establishment of the Berber settlement of Gao-Sané, on the opposite bank of the Niger from Gao, to promote trade in salt, slaves, grain, and cloth. By the beginning of the 11th century King KOSSOI (r. c. 1000) and the Gao court had converted to ISLAM and even shared a common place of prayer with their Berber allies. The kingdom began to gain importance as a trading center. Late in the 11th century Almoravid Berbers seized control of Gao-Sané but soon became assimilated into the existing Berber population or drifted off into the desert. By the 12th century Gao and Gao-Sané had become united in what later became known as Old Gao. By 1300 the Za had fallen and Mali ruled Gao. The vacuum left by Mali's decline allowed the descendants of the Za from Kukiya to rise to power in Gao by the middle of the 15th century. By warring against such other peoples as the Mossi and MANDINKA, Songhai began to expand its territories.

The Songhai Empire truly flourished during the reign of Sunni Ali. Known as a powerful but ruthless ruler, Ali conquered the trading centers of TIMBUKTU and JENNE, increasing the size of the Songhai Empire to include much of Mali and parts of what is now NIGER and NIGERIA. He relied on his highly mobile CAVALRY and naval control of the Niger River to build his empire.

At that time Islam was still the RELIGION of the city dwellers and had not gained many rural converts. Sunni Ali incurred the wrath of Muslim clerics, or *ulama,* for tolerating paganism, which was how the clerics regarded

The Songhai Empire, c. 1475

Map area

SAHARA DESERT

Songhai Kingdom c. 1335

Songhai Empire c. 1475

Boundary of Hausa states c. 1475

Gold field

Tichit

Arawan

Audaghost

Walata

Agades

Timbuktu

Kumbi Saleh

Gao

Bassikinu

Kukiya

Nioro

Jenne

Bakoye R.

Niger R.

Segu

Katsina

Kangaba

Black Volta R.

Ouagadougou

Kano

Kouroussa

White Volta R.

Niger R.
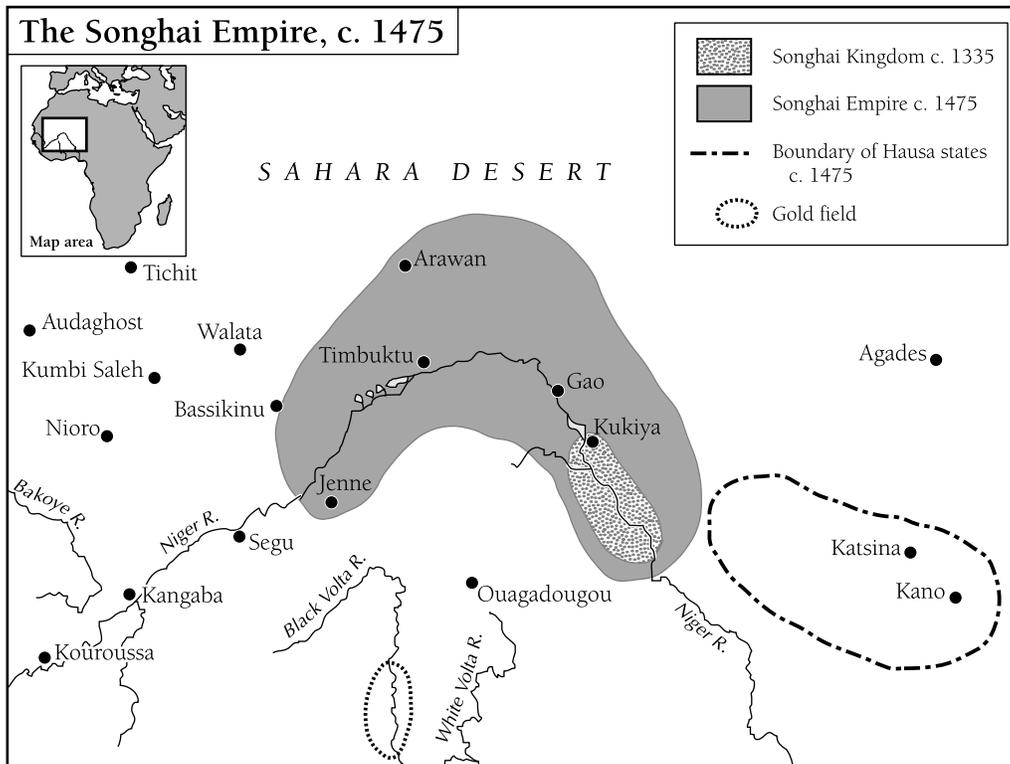
the people's traditional beliefs, and for not supporting a theocratic form of government, which would have placed Songhai directly and fully under Muslim law and *ulama* authority. Although his government, unlike Mali's, was highly centralized, Sunni Ali favored a more traditional balance of power in which the interests of Muslim and non-Muslims were heeded.

Upon Sunni Ali's death, Songhai was taken over by the Muslim general Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1528), who created a centralized government, continued the expansion of the kingdom, and increased the importance of some of its major cities as trading, religious and educational centers. The Songhai Empire remained powerful until the late 16th century under the ASKIA DYNASTY, a succession of Muhammad Touré's descendants.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SONGHAI (Vol. III); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Soninke (Sarakole, Serahuli, Marka, Wakore)

Northern MANDE peoples (in contrast to the southern Mande, or Malinke) who founded many of the cities and kingdoms that comprised the ancient GHANA EMPIRE, originally called Ouagadou, in West Africa. Early Soninke peoples developed IRON tools that allowed them to establish thriving farming communities. The founding of an-

cient Ghana, perhaps as early as 200 CE, may in fact have been a response by the Soninke farming communities to the threat of raids by BERBERS of the western Sahara.

Originally, the Soninke were not converts to ISLAM but had established close, generally peaceful trading contacts with Muslim GOLD traders as early as the eighth century. The trans-Saharan gold trade was extremely lucrative, and through time Muslims came to possess prestigious administrative positions in the Ghanaian high court. The majority of the Soninke population practiced a traditional polytheism, but the ascension of Muslims in the ruling structure of the kingdom encouraged many to convert.

It is speculated that *Soninke*, a name that the founders of Ghana would not have called themselves, comes from "Sonni." The Sonni were a people who became a ruling dynasty of the SONGHAI kingdom of GAO in the 14th century. In the late 15th century the Sonni were chased from Gao by Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (c. 1493–1528) , and the name *Soninke* may have been used to designate the "fugitive Sonni."

By the middle of the 11th century the kingdom of Ghana was at its height of power, and the Soninke controlled an area that stretched from the SENEGAL RIVER in the west to the Niger River in the east, and from JENNE in the south to the important trans-Saharan trade outpost of AUDAGHOST, to the north.

In 1055 Audaghost was raided by the ALMORAVIDS, a dynasty of SANHAJA BERBERS led by Abu Bakr (d. c. 1087). This act led to a period of unrest that came to a head, in 1076, when the Almoravids conquered the Ghanaian capital of KUMBI SALEH and began a large-scale conversion of the Soninke people to Islam. From the time of the Almoravid conquest of Ghana to the middle of the 12th century, the Soninke lost their control over the Ghanian gold trade and began to be torn by internal dissent and civil war. Many of the Soninke groups that rejected Islam migrated south and west, away from Kumbi Saleh, and east to the fertile lands along the Niger valley.

By the beginning of the 13th century a large percentage of the Soninke who had remained in Ghana were Muslims, but their kingdom had weakened to the point that they were defenseless against an invasion from the south by the SUSU people, led by their vehemently anti-Muslim leader SUMANGURU (d. c. 1235).

See also: SONINKE (Vol. III).

Sorko
SONGHAI fishermen who lived and worked in the Niger River valley during the time of the Songhai Empire, providing TRANSPORTATION to traders on the river. The Sorko were among the inhabitants of one of the largest African empires of precolonial times, the Songhai Empire, located in what is presently the Republic of MALI. As one of the groups of Songhai, the Sorko may have been descended from the people of the ZA kingdom, which ruled the area from around 800 to 1300. They subsisted by fishing in the Niger River and lived in small communities in the river valley. The Songhai Empire became a trading power, and the Sorko capitalized on the GOLD and SALT TRADE by controlling transportation on the Niger River during this time. Though ISLAM was introduced in the Songhai Empire, perhaps as early as the latter half of the 11th century, most Sorko people did not convert.

South Africa
Present-day country covering about 470,700 square miles (1,219,100 sq km) that is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Indian Ocean to the east and south, the countries of BOTSWANA and ZIMBABWE to the north, NAMIBIA to the northwest, and MOZAMBIQUE and SWAZILAND to the northeast.

The oldest indigenous people in the region that is now South Africa are the San, who were present while South Africa was still in the midst of the last Ice Age, some 20,000 years ago. With no hereditary leaders, they lived in fluid bands whose numbers would vary from about 20 to 50 members, depending on the availability of FOOD. Descendants of the original San still live in the KALAHARI DESERT.

About 2,000 years ago the cattle-raising KHOIKHOI people migrated southward, perhaps from Botswana, and settled mainly in the southern coastal region. This Khoikhoi migration put pressure on the hunter-gatherer San. Some San made their peace with the Khoikhoi, intermarrying and becoming full members of the Khoikhoi community; other San fled to less hospitable desert or mountainous areas; still others turned to brigandage and raided the herds of the intruders.

As Bantu-speaking peoples migrated into their lands, beginning during the fifth to eighth centuries, the Khoikhoi engaged in extensive trade, bartering their fat-tailed sheep and cattle for the IRON and COPPER they used to make tools, weapons, and bodily adornments. Sources record that the Khoikhoi even traded with the coastal peoples of present-day Mozambique to obtain *dagga* (cannabis), which they grew and used for trade. Although they were pastoralists, Khoikhoi settlements often numbered several hundred people and featured a more hierarchical style of leadership than San settlements, which had one chief elder governing in consultation with other elders. Groups, however, responded flexibly to new circumstances; as the Khoikhoi moved in search of better pastureland, patrilineal bands often broke away to start their own communities.

The southward migration of the Nguni, a cluster of Bantu-speaking peoples perhaps from the CONGO BASIN, started as early as the fifth century. This second influx of peoples is best regarded not as a sudden invasion but as the slow, southward movement of farmers in search of new farmland and grazing land. In a common pattern, the Bantu speakers sometimes shared resources and sometimes went to war for resources with the people they encountered. Intermarriage was common. At times even the Bantu languages commingled with the local tongues. Unique to the Nguni branch of the Bantu language family are imploded clicking sounds, which became part of the Nguni tongue through intermarriage with the Khoikhoi, whose language is a click language.

The Bantu-speaking peoples who moved into South Africa in the Early Iron Age first settled in low-lying areas, such as river valleys and the coastal plain, which responded well to slash-and-burn AGRICULTURE. From the 11th century they began to settle the grasslands north of the Drakensberg Mountains and on the interior plateau, where they began to build villages of stone and assume a more settled lifestyle. Cattle-raising increased in social and economic importance at this time. Cattle grew to be a concrete and highly visible sign of wealth; they were used as a source of milk and hides but rarely as a source of meat and were generally killed only at ceremonial occasions. The most important uses of cattle were as bride-

wealth, or *lobola,* paid to the FAMILY of a man's new wife, and as tribute paid as the result of war.

The Bantu-speaking people were also very successful farmers, a factor that allowed their settlements to grow larger and more numerous than those of their San or Khoikhoi neighbors. Hunting and domesticated herds of sheep and goats provided meat; those who lived on the coast fished and gathered shellfish. Their farms supplied beans, sorghum, millet, and melons, along with other produce. In this way the Bantu-speaking peoples managed to maintain an ongoing supply of food despite the threat of drought, crop failure, and famine.

Some Bantu speakers' settlements were quite large. Archaeologists have found evidence of seventh-century villages of several thousand people each. One, at Toutswe in present-day Botswana, consisted of cultivated lands and cattle pastures. Evidence suggests that the inhabitants worked iron and traded with peoples as far distant as the Indian Ocean coast.

Starting about 800 CE Arab traders in search of IVORY and other exotic products established small trading towns on the coast of present-day TANZANIA and Mozambique. The beads they offered in trade have been found in villages in the interior. The LIMPOPO RIVER, which today separates northern South Africa from Botswana and Zimbabwe, became a conduit for trade between the coastal regions and the interior. Many large Bantu-speaking communities arose around the beginning of the 11th century just south of the Limpopo River. The most important of these were the city-states of Bambandyanalo and MAPUNGUBWE. In addition to extensive farming and cattle raising, the residents of these states produced fine GOLD and copper work and engaged in considerable long-distance trade.

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Mapungubwe has been called South Africa's first city. It was founded in about the year 1000, probably as a trading town, and was abandoned around 1200, when GREAT ZIMBABWE, to the north, began to dominate local trade. At its height, the population of Mapungubwe reached 10,000. The wealthy lived up the hill at the center of the city, and the commoners lived in the valley below. Archaeologists have unearthed lavish burial goods, including a gold rhinoceros, from the graves of the wealthy.

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In general, those peoples who settled inland tended to cluster around trading towns that were near sources of water. Those who settled the coastal plains lived in smaller, more scattered towns and moved often to find new grazing land. By 1600 all of present-day South Africa had been set-

tled. The coast was inhabited by Nguni, one of whose most famous clans became the mighty Zulu people, the largest ethnic group in contemporary South Africa; the north, west, and south had been settled by other Bantu-speaking peoples, the Sotho and their westerly branch, the Tswana. The west and southwest was populated by Khoikhoi-speaking peoples. Portuguese travelers and shipwrecked sailors reported encountering large towns and relative prosperity.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II); BRIDE-WEALTH (Vol. I); CATTLE (Vol. I); NGUNI (Vol. III); SAN (Vols. I, III); SOTHO (Vols. III, IV); SOUTH AFRICA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); ZULU (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2001).

stool, royal　Symbol of the power of a chief or king; thought by some traditional believers to be the repository of the king's spirit or soul. In other cultures, the stool would be the equivalent of a crown. Only royalty and other figures of high social stature have the right to sit during rituals or other court ceremony.

Many of the peoples of West Africa, including those of the powerful empires of ancient GHANA, MALI, and SONGHAI, as well as smaller kingdoms such as TEKRUR and those of YORUBALAND, believed that their kings possessed both secular and religious authority over their subjects. The royal stool was a reminder that members of the royal family once sat on the backs of subjects during their highly ritualized court ceremonies.

Among the AKAN people of present-day GHANA, a new king carved a stool for himself as part of his coronation ceremony. The stool was the symbol of his authority while he was alive; on his death, his stool was blackened and kept at the shrine of his ancestral spirit. Each lineage group had an ancestor shrine containing blackened stools.

Use of a royal stool and a war stool among the GA-DANGME of the Gold Coast of West Africa has been traced to 1610. The Portuguese explorer Diogo Cão noted in 1487 the use of an IVORY royal stool by the king of the Kongo at his capital at Mbanza.

Among the LUBA and Songye peoples of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO, the stool was traditionally designed so that the ruler's feet never touched the ground, thereby protecting him from illness. The stool itself was carved with a human figure holding up the seat, a sign that the ruler had power over his people. If a usurper stole the king's stool, he could claim the authority that went with it. Accordingly, royal stools were always safeguarded by trusted officials and rarely used in public.

See also: DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II); GOLDEN STOOL (Vol. III); OSEI TUTU (Vol. III).

sub-Saharan Africa Term used to describe the part of the African continent that lies south of the great SAHARA DESERT. Sub-Saharan Africa begins where the southern edge of the Sahara meets the SUDAN (between approximately 15° and 18° N latitude) and stretches to the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, at the southern tip of SOUTH AFRICA.

Sudan, the An inexact term for the geographical area just south of the Sahel, or southern borderland of the SAHARA DESERT; not to be confused with the modern country known as the Republic of the SUDAN. Arab geographers and historians from the eighth century describe a land south of the Sahara as BILAD AL-SUDAN, or "Land of the Blacks." Originally Bilad al-Sudan referred to the trade region that contained the southern ends of TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES; northern ends were controlled by Arab traders. Early trade items in the Sudan included shells, IVORY, beads, salt, cloth, GOLD, slaves, and kola nuts.

The Sudan is often broken into three areas: the western Sudan, the central Sudan, and the eastern, or Nilotic, Sudan. The western Sudan includes the coastal region around the mouth of the SENEGAL RIVER to west of the Niger bend. Important kingdoms of western Sudan included the GHANA EMPIRE, the MALI EMPIRE, with its important trade center at TIMBUKTU, the SONGHAI Empire, with its capital at GAO, and the MOSSI STATES.

The central Sudan includes the region west and north of Lake Chad. Kingdoms of the central Sudan included KANEM-BORNU and the HAUSA STATES. The FULANI, a pastoralist people who also settled in parts of the western Sudan, ruled over areas from Lake Chad to the Atlantic Ocean.

The eastern Sudan begins around the hills near ENNEDI and extends eastward to include DARFUR and the expanse of land around the White Nile and Blue Nile rivers. Some geographers and historians stretch the eastern Sudan all the way to the Red Sea, which would make the coastal trading kingdom of AKSUM, near the Red Sea, an eastern Sudanic kingdom.

See also: DYULA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II); SAHEL (Vol. I); TAKEDDA (Vol. II); *TA'RIKH AL-SUDAN* (Vol. III).

Sudan, Republic of the Country measuring approximately 966,800 square miles (2,504,000 sq km) located in northeastern Africa. It is bordered by EGYPT and LIBYA to the north, ETHIOPIA and ERITREA to the east, CHAD and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to the west, and KENYA, UGANDA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the south. The Republic of the Sudan is the largest country in Africa. The city of KHARTOUM is the capital.

In the seventh century Sudan was made up of small, independent kingdoms and principalities. The oldest of these were Nubia south of the First Cataract of the Nile, the Makoritae at Old Dongola, and the kingdom of the Alodaei around Soba on the Blue Nile. The Makoritae and Nubians later merged to form the kingdom of MAQURRA. About 600 CE Arab Muslims conquered Egypt and controlled Nubia. This led to an influx of Arab MERCHANTS and Muslim religious leaders. By the early 1500s the last of the Christian North had come under Muslim control. In the 1500s Black Muslims called Funj conquered a large part of Sudan. At the same time many African groups, including the DINKA, Shilluk, Nuer, and Azande, settled in central and southern Sudan.

See also: SUDAN, REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Sufism Ascetic and mystical movement within ISLAM. Two central concepts in Sufism are *tawakkul* and *dhikr,* which refer to the believer's need for total reliance on God (Allah) and perpetual remembrance of God. The Sufi's desire is to achieve a direct personal experience of God by creating feelings of divine intoxication and restoration during prayer. The rise of the Sufi movement is explained by some authorities as an organized attempt among pious Muslims to add a spiritual dimension to what believers felt was a growing secularism among Muslims during the early UMAYYAD dynasty. From their capital in Damascus, Syria, the Umayyads ruled the Arab empire, also known as the Caliphate, between about 661 and 750.

The Sufi Rifaiyya order, named after its founder, Ali al-Rifai (1106–1182), was extremely widespread, with adherents in EGYPT, Syria, Palestine, and elsewhere in the Near East. Members of this order became famous for their extreme practices, such as eating live snakes and handling fire. The Shadhiliyya order, named after its founder, Abu el-Hasan Ali al-Shadhili (1196–1258), became popular in North Africa, Arabia, and Syria because of its tolerance of syncretism, or a combination of new and old beliefs, among converts.

Through the efforts of Sufi missionaries, Islam was extended into SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA; they met with success because they were more willing than the strictly dogmatic adherents of Islam to integrate aspects of traditional indigenous religions into their religious practices.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); RELIGION (Vol. II); SUFISM (Vols. III, IV).

Sulayman, Mansa (Sulayman Nar) (r. 1341–1360) *Muslim ruler of the ancient Mali Empire*

According to tradition Sulayman should have become ruler of the MALI EMPIRE when his brother, Mansa MUSA I, died in 1337. Mansa Musa broke with tradition, however, and left the kingdom to his son. As a result Sulayman had to wait four years to take the throne.

Medieval traveler IBN BATTUTA **(c. 1304–c. 1369) called Sulayman "a miserly king" because he failed to greet the arriving traveler with a customary hospitality gift in a timely manner. However, Sulayman apparently was not miserly in other areas, since Ibn Battuta also described one of Sulayman's opulent palaces as a "most elegant" building.**

Elsewhere, Ibn Battuta noted a ceremony involving Sulayman that included hundreds of people, MUSIC, **and much fanfare. It was further noted that no common person was allowed to speak to Sulayman. Instead, the commoner spoke to an interpreter, who in turn spoke to another, who was then allowed to address the ruler.**

During Mansa Sulayman's reign Mali was at its safest and most powerful, able to expand its trade and to convert many neighboring people to ISLAM. Both Mansa Musa and Mansa Sulayman increased the scope of Islam in the empire by encouraging the development of Islamic learning and by supporting the building of mosques.

Sulayman died in 1360. The civil war that was fought to determine his successor ultimately was won by Mari-Djata II, a ruler whose reign nearly ruined the kingdom. Sulayman's death, therefore, is often considered to mark the beginning of the decline of the empire of Mali.

Sumanguru (Sumanguru Kante, Sumaoro Kante)
(d. c. 1235) *Ruler of the kingdom of Kaniaga, in what is now southwestern Republic of Mali*

The leader of the Kante clan, a group of SUSU people, Sumanguru conquered several small Susu states that had once paid tribute to the GHANA EMPIRE, which was then in decline. Sumanguru molded these states into a single kingdom called KANIAGA. About 1203 he captured KUMBI SALEH, Ghana's capital. It is thought that the ambitious Sumanguru hoped to gain control over the profitable trade routes to Muslim-controlled North Africa.

According to many accounts, Sumanguru was a cruel and tyrannical ruler. His inability to maintain order caused discontent among the SONINKE people, who began to leave the region. In addition, Sumanguru's strict adherence to traditional Susu religious practices alienated Muslim traders, who soon abandoned Kumbi and established JENNE and WALATA as important trading centers.

Around 1235 the MANDINKA king, SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255) challenged and defeated Sumanguru in the Battle of KIRINA, in present-day Republic of MALI. This victory led to the foundation of what became the vast MALI EMPIRE, which began a period of rapid expansion under Sundiata's leadership.

Sundiata (Mari Diata, Mari Jata) (r. 1235–1255)
Conqueror of the Ghana Empire and founder of the Mali Empire

About 1203 the small SUSU kingdom of KANIAGA, under the leadership of SUMANGURU (d. c. 1235), successfully invaded and conquered KUMBI SALEH, the weakened capital of the once-powerful GHANA EMPIRE. However, Sumanguru's greed ultimately led to Kaniaga's downfall. As king he overtaxed commerce and caused most of the traders to leave the territory and migrate about 100 miles (161 km) north to WALATA.

After occupying Ghana, Sumanguru turned his armies against the nearby small kingdom of Mali, located to the east of Ghana. According to traditional tales and legends, Sumanguru killed the princes of Mali, sparing only one, the handicapped Sundiata. During a period of intense training and study, Sundiata overcame his disability and organized an army of his own, which was made up mostly of hunters whose respect he had earned by his bravery and skill.

Sundiata ultimately embarked on a campaign of conquest and seized several small states near Mali, including WANGARA, Labe, and the BAMBARA kingdom. With each conquest he annexed the conquered army to his own, thus building a sizable military force within a relatively short time. By 1234 he was ready to challenge the Susu for primacy in the western SUDAN. He returned home in triumph and was immediately viewed as a threat by Sumanguru, who, in 1235, fought with Sundiata. Sumanguru was killed at the decisive battle of KARINA (near modern Koulikoro). In 1240 Sundiata seized and razed the city of Kumbi and conquered all of what remained of the Ghana Empire.

While Sundiata did not lead another expedition of conquest after 1240, he proved to be an able leader. Indeed, through the wise utilization of his army and generals, Sundiata directed the kingdom of Mali to become the MALI EMPIRE. This successful period of growth lasted until his death, about 1255.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II).

Sunni See MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE.

Susu (Soso, Soussou, Soosoo) MANDE-speaking ethnic group that dominated the GHANA EMPIRE for a brief period in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Susu settled throughout parts of present-day GUINEA, SIERRA LEONE, and SENEGAL.

As Ghana's regional power disintegrated toward the end of the 12th century, the Susu, operating from their capital at Susu, north of BAMAKO, began to dominate the Soninke people who populated the southern provinces of the declining empire. According to Susu oral tradition, a Susu king named Kemoko united his people with the people of KANIAGA, creating a union that ruled the region for nearly 50 years. Kemoko's son, SUMANGURU (r. c. 1203–1235), continued the conquest of the regions once controlled by Ghana.

The Susu people were animists who largely resisted conversion to ISLAM, even as Muslims began to maintain a strong presence in the SONINKE provinces. Sumanguru proved to be an especially ardent believer, beheading as many as nine of the Muslim kings who opposed his rule. Today, however, about 85 percent of the Susu in Africa are devout Muslims, having been converted by the FULANI in the 18th century.

The Susu reign was short-lived, as the MANDINKA king, SUNDIATA (d. 1255), triumphed over Sumanguru's forces around 1235. By 1240 Sundiata had conquered all the territory that had been controlled by the Susu just a few decades prior.

See also: SUSU (Vol. III).

Swahili Coast Area along the East African shoreline on the Indian Ocean that developed an interconnected trading society between the eighth and 15th centuries. The Swahili Coast extends, at a width varying from 12.4 to 124 miles (20 to 200 km) over a distance of 1,864 miles (3,000 km), from 1° N, in southern SOMALIA, to 25° S, at the mouth of the LIMPOPO RIVER (roughly, from MOGADISHU, in Somalia, to Cape Delgado, in MOZAMBIQUE).

The major communities were Shanga and Manda, as well as the island communities of PATE, Siyu, Faza, and LAMU, which represented the northern reaches of the region. South of these, near the Tamu River, were the mainland communities of Shaka and Urgwana, with MALINDI, MOMBASA, Vumba, and Utondwe occupying the central coast. Further to the south, representing the other end of the area, lay KILWA and ZANZIBAR.

The history and culture of the Swahili Coast always have been interrelated with its geography and ecology. For one reason, this is because the land has never been more than marginally arable, and even the narrow strip of land that can be used for AGRICULTURE produces satisfactory yields only at the expense of intense LABOR. Over the centuries, the basic regional crop has been rice, with the region's poor relying more on millet, sorghum, cassava, and maize. As a result of these conditions, the people of the coast always have tended to be small-time farmers or even just gardeners rather than full agriculturalists. Fishing and trade have been the mainstay of the regional economy.

Beyond this, the topography effectively divides the region into two distinct but related areas. The first is the seacoast proper, which has been the location of the various merchant communities for which the Swahili Coast is famous. These towns, built primarily of one form of stone or another, have long been inhabited by a mixed population that has looked to the sea for its livelihood. Beyond this, between the coast and the vast interior, was what have long been known as the "hinterlands." These lands served as a buffer between the coast and the interior, and its peoples not only helped protect the coastal communities from hostile attacks from inland populations but also served as intermediaries in the active trade that went on between the interior and the coast.

Language, People, and Culture The name *Swahili* means "people of the coast" and derives from the ARABIC word *sahel,* meaning "coast." Swahili represents a collection of diverse and widely scattered peoples who share a common history and RELIGION but who are especially closely related because of their shared language, KISWAHILI. Swahili culture and the Kiswahili language spread throughout the region through trade and migration.

The people of the Swahili Coast have been, for centuries, the product of a mixture of ethnic groups and cultures. The original population probably was made up of hunter-gatherers. They were followed, long before the beginning of the common era, by pre-Bantu, Cushitic -speaking pastoralists, the people who probably constructed the first permanent settlements in the region. After them, probably during the first or second century, came Bantu-speaking groups from the northwestern Congo.

Early Swahili communities around the ninth century generally consisted of villages located along the coast or on small islands just off the coast. Farming, including the cultivation of crops like sorghum, millet, bananas, and sugarcane, and fishing were the main means of subsistence. There was also some small-scale trade of POTTERY and IRON tools between neighboring villages. Despite their proximity to the coast, these villages were not yet able to conduct extensive overseas trade. Commercial activity was generally restricted to exchanges of goods within the local complex of villages.

Another early model of Swahili culture is the culture of the SHIRAZI ARABS of the northeastern African coast. They dominated coastal trade along the Indian Ocean from the eighth to 11th century. Their proximity to the ocean also allowed them to gradually develop an international maritime economy that separated them from their

inland counterparts. Upon their arrival in Kilwa, off the coast of Zanzibar, the Shirazi offered gifts to, and began trading with, the original Bantu-speaking mainland inhabitants, whom earlier Arab traders had called ZANJ, or "Blacks."

Glass beads unearthed in BOTSWANA, on the Zimbabwe Plateau, and at various sites in SOUTH AFRICA offer evidence that trade with the interior started as early as the eighth century.

During the first half of the second millennium, Swahili trade rapidly expanded to include captives, GOLD, IVORY, and leopard skins, which were exchanged mostly for Arab glass, pottery, and gold. Later, Swahili trade expanded further to include African hardwoods like sandalwood and ebony. Trade routes at this time extended as far east as China and India. As a result, a few Swahili Coast families became wealthy, claiming royal titles and authority.

Although little evidence exists of the widespread penetration of ISLAM among the Shirazi, the group was known to invoke forms of Islamic ritual and magic to prevent the previous landowners from reclaiming their land. These practices and rituals became models for future Swahili groups in their dealings with existing landowners.

The development of Swahili culture was subject to tension between village and town life. Early Swahili communities were homogeneous and agrarian, with most members either related or familiar enough that disputes could generally be resolved through informal discussions by elders. However, as maritime trade developed, once-small coastal farming communities were steadily replaced or absorbed by larger towns. These communities became diverse urban centers, attracting migrants from a variety of ethnic and occupational backgrounds. Local and egalitarian ideals gave way to class and status-based institutions, which led to conflict between old and new inhabitants. Yet, these competing groups were mutually bound by the framework of the Swahili culture and language.

This mixture of diverse groups began to emerge as a recognizable entity—the Swahili—about 1100, with the general acceptance of Islam and the appearance of Kiswahili, the modern Swahili language. The various groups within the Swahili mix are diverse socially, politically, and economically. But they have, over time, been amalgamated quite successfully, primarily through marriage, patronage, and conversion to Islam.

Islam was widely adopted by the culture around the turn of the 12th century, especially along the Somali coast. The influence of the religion was widespread and transcended local governing bodies. Although several important Swahili commercial city-states, including Kilwa, SOFALA, Malindi, and Mogadishu, became rich and powerful trading centers, there is no indication that any of these cities ever aspired to become an empire or possess unilateral authority.

Political Organization   The many towns up and down the Swahili Coast never really united into a single state. Instead, they formed a network of independent communities, each with its own government, trade relationships, and so on. Except for Lamu, which was gov-

The triangular lateen sail of the dhow, a common sight up and down the Swahili Coast, enabled the ship to steer into the wind. Arab traders used ships of this type to pursue Indian Ocean trade. © David G. Houser/Corbis

erned by a type of oligarchy, each town was ruled by its own king or queen. These monarchs had limited powers, which involved trade and economic affairs as well as government and justice. It frequently fell upon the monarchs, for example, to bring together the various parties involved in both single business deals and long-term trade agreements. These kings and queens were so involved in their community's economic life, in fact, that they often housed—within the ground floors of their palaces—goods that were being warehoused before or after shipment.

Like the monarch, those holding other positions of authority often obtained these positions through heredity. However, they were awarded in ways that would help maintain the balance of the various ethnic groups within the community.

Trade   The backbone of the Swahili Coast's economy was long based on trade. Swahili traders mastered a mercantile network that stretched from the African interior to Arabia, India, and beyond, dealing in everything from gold, ivory, and slaves to textiles, ironwork, and even Chinese porcelain. Throughout the centuries, however, the Swahili functioned primarily as brokers and intermediaries, as facilitators rather than as primaries in the countless dealings with which they were involved.

One of the more interesting facets of Swahili culture was its ironwork, which included both carbon steel and cast iron as well as more familiar ironwork. Dating back to at least the 10th century, Swahili ironwork was described in detail by several Arab geographers, historians, and scientists. Swahili smiths carried out the smelting process in bowl furnaces, where the raw ore was melted and refined. Using small crucibles, the smiths then heated the "bloom," as it was called, until it was liquefied.

The refined iron was then cooled and, often, transported elsewhere for finishing. There, in other towns and villages, it was forged into the desired shapes. As it did elsewhere, the creation of iron remained, among the Swahili, a specialized activity, often shrouded in mystery. But, given the commercial orientation of Swahili culture, it is not surprising that their sophisticated ironwork gave rise to a prosperous trade.

The trading system maintained by the Swahili was based, essentially, on personal rather than market, political, or corporate relationships. As a general rule, each merchant established a relationship with an "opposite number," someone, like himself, who had wealth, social position, honor, and even the trust and respect of his fellow citizens. Helping them do this was the fact that, regardless of where they might be located, the trading partners tended to have much in common with their opposite numbers. Swahili Coast merchants shared a common religion and culture (Islam), they had common values, and they even employed common business practices. In addition, many of these relationships were long-lasting, frequently being cemented through marriage and FAMILY ties.

The trade carried out by the Swahili was complex, ranging from simple coastal voyages and exchanges to trips taking them to India, Southeast Asia, and beyond. To begin with, Swahili trade had to be organized on the basis of the prevailing monsoon winds. The northeast monsoon, which runs from approximately November to March, leads to hot, dry, rainless weather. This provided the perfect weather and winds needed to carry ships from India and Arabia to the shores of East Africa. This season was followed by a period of heavy rainfall, lasting from April to June. During this period, only limited coastal sailing was possible. Finally, there was the season of the southeast monsoon. Lasting from July to September, it was the time when ships could make the voyage north and east, carrying African goods to far away markets in Arabia and Asia.

In truth, however, even with the knowledge of this seasonal pattern, sailing was never easy. The dates for the different monsoons varied from year to year. As a result timely and reliable shipping required careful planning, as well as experience. Otherwise, cargoes could rot on board a becalmed ship. Or, equally ruinous, ships could get stranded, leaving cargoes unable to be delivered at one end of the voyage and unable to be picked up at the other.

The actual sailing done by the Swahili captains and MERCHANTS was equally complex. But the Swahili solved their problems with skill and knowledge rather than with machinery and technology, maneuvering their simple lateen-sailed ships across remarkable distances. They navigated the coast of East Africa the same way, using experience rather than compasses and other instruments as their guide.

See also: SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III, IV).

Swaziland (Kingdom of Swaziland)   Southern African country measuring approximately 6,700 square miles (17,400 sq km) and bordered to the north, west, and south by SOUTH AFRICA and to the east by MOZAMBIQUE. Archaeological evidence indicates that, by about 100 BCE, ironworking, Bantu-speaking people had begun

settling in coastal villages near Maputo, in present-day southern Mozambique. However, it wasn't until about 300–400 CE, during the middle of the period of BANTU EXPANSION, when agricultural peoples moved into the higher elevations of the Swaziland region. Despite this migration, the area remained sparsely populated until the 18th century.

See also: SWAZILAND (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

T

Tadmakka (Tadmekka, Es-Souk) Trading town in West Africa. Tadmakka's strategic location along the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES between GAO, on the Niger River south of the Sahara, and Tarablus al-Gharb (modern Tripoli), on the coast of the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, helped the city maintain its importance while it was subject to the rule of the Mali Empire. Trade CARAVANS traveled from east to west and from north to south along the various routes that crossed the Sahara, passing through Tadmakka on their way. The region surrounding Tadmakka was also known for its SALT MINING.

Taghaza Important salt-mining village in the central SAHARA DESERT, located in present-day MALI, close to the Mauritanian border. Because salt was an important trade commodity, as early as 500 CE Taghaza became a major point in the GOLD and SALT TRADE. Originally the Taghaza SALT MINING operations were controlled by the Massufa Berber people. However, in the early 14th century, under the reign of Mansa MUSA I (r. 1307–1337), the MALI EMPIRE took control of the Taghaza region and the trade routes leading to the mines from the south.

About 1352 IBN BATTUTA, the famous Muslim traveler, visited Taghaza. He described the village as an unattractive, desolate place of sand, with salty water and no trees. He reported that houses were built from blocks of rock salt, with roofs of camel skins. He also described how salt was mined almost exclusively by slaves, whose work was dangerous and exhausting.

In the 15th and 16th centuries the SONGHAI Empire, which displaced the Mali Empire as the major power in the region, extended its dominance into the desert and appointed a governor in Taghaza. Rule later would pass to MOROCCO when the Songhai Empire fell in 1591.

See also: SLAVERY (Vol. II).

Takedda (Takadda, Tigidda, Azelik) Major trading center in the western SUDAN beginning in the seventh century. With the expansion of the MALI EMPIRE during the 14th century, Takedda also became a major site for the mining of red copper, which was exported from Takedda throughout West Africa.

During the ninth century Takedda was a center for Muslim missionaries from North Africa seeking to convert the peoples of the western Sudan to ISLAM. Takedda was also a trading center at the start of one of the main TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. The route originated in Takedda and ran north through Ghat, in present-day LIBYA. From there it continued on to Wargla, in present-day northern ALGERIA, thereby linking the MAGHRIB with the Sudan. Along the trade route that ran east-to-west through Takedda, GOLD was brought from the WANGARA GOLD FIELDS of the GHANA EMPIRE.

In the 10th century Takedda was ruled by SANHAJA BERBERS. Unlike the Sanhaja rulers, however, the ordinary inhabitants of the city were of Tuareg descent and were followers of Islam. Later, merchants from the Mali Empire, located to the west, traded extensively at Takedda. Indeed, it was Mali's ruler Mansa MUSA I (r. 1307–1337) who apparently realized the vast income potential of Takedda's COPPER resources. Sold to various peoples to the south, the city's red copper added to Mansa Musa's already considerable fortune and helped finance his architectural endeavors and other projects.

Meanwhile, Takedda was where gold was shaped into bars and sold at wholesale prices. Copper also was a familiar commodity, sold at rates based upon the weight of gold. The buyers came from a vast area. In parts of the Sudan, for example, small pieces of Takedda copper were used as currency. Elsewhere, there is evidence that copper from Takedda was transported as far south as present-day NIGERIA, to YORUBA and the IGBO territories. The Igbo needed the copper to make the BRONZE alloy they used to create statues. Takedda copper also reached as far east as EGYPT, where it was exchanged for cloth.

Tanga   Port city in present-day TANZANIA, located on the Indian Ocean's Pemba Channel. Although archaeological evidence suggests settlements in the area dating back to the Early Iron Age (c. 1000 BCE), Tanga proper was not established until the 14th century, when it was founded by PERSIAN TRADERS. Along with the other ports along the SWAHILI COAST, Tanga was part of an extensive trading link between the interior of East Africa and lands as far away as China. Evidence of the extensive nature of this trade includes the elaborate GOLD decorations in the homes of local MERCHANTS and the presence of Chinese porcelain.

See also: CHINESE TRADE (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II).

Tanganyika, Lake   Freshwater lake located on the border between present-day TANZANIA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Various nomadic clans of Bantu-speaking hunter-gatherers lived on the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika before the 15th century. Archaeological evidence suggests that the ancestors of the Lega people lived on the eastern shores of the lake during this period, as well as on the shores of Lake Kivu, to the north. These peoples lived in socio-political structures known as *bwami*, which constituted a collective moral and political authority that later gave rise to concepts of kingship.

See also: GREAT LAKES REGION (Vol. III); LAKES AND RIVERS (Vol. I); RIFT VALLEY (Vol. I); TANGANYIKA, LAKE (Vol. I).

Teda (Toda, Todaga, Todga, Tuda, Tudaga)   Ethnic group of the Tibesti Massif in modern-day northern CHAD. The Teda live a solitary existence in the mountainous plateaus of the remote Tibesti, close to the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. They are divided into a number of clans with no central authority.

Historically the Teda were nomadic pastoralists who also raised crops such as dates and grains. However, before the period of European colonization, they extracted payment from the CARAVANS that crossed their isolated lands and served as a conduit for captives being exported to EGYPT, the MAGHRIB, and IFRIQIYA, in TUNISIA. A seventh-century Arab chronicle mentions the region, but sources do not mention the Teda people living there until the 13th century. It is speculated that the Teda migrated into what is now Chad from desert oases in LIBYA and further west in the SUDAN. The Teda are Muslims whose conversion occurred during the early days of ISLAM. The DAZA people, also trans-Saharan traders, are a Teda subgroup.

See also: PASTORALISM (Vol. I); SLAVERY (Vol. II); TIBESTI (Vol. III).

Tekrur (Takrur)   Kingdom and empire (c. 900–1700) established by the TUKULOR people in the valley of the SENEGAL RIVER. Though the Tukulor established a powerful Islamic kingdom in western Africa, the state was controlled first by the GHANA EMPIRE and then by the MALI EMPIRE. The Tukulor people first inhabited the Senegal River valley about 800, supplanting the FULANI, though some Fulani people settled in Tekrur and became Tukulor. In the 11th century the Tukulor became the first people of the Senegal River area to convert to ISLAM, and the Tekrur kingdom became known as an Islamic state.

Tekrur came under the control of the Ghana Empire after the SONINKE people gained control around the year 700. During the decline of the Ghana Empire (c. 1100 to c. 1200) Tekrur declared its independence, as did other Ghana states. After the fall of the Ghana Empire, Tekrur was conquered by the Mali Empire, around 1300, when the rulers who succeeded SUNDIATA (r. c. 1235–1255) followed his practice of expanding the kingdom.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II); WOLOF EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Tenkodogo   See MOSSI STATES.

Thulamela   Archaeological site that lies within the boundaries of the modern Kruger National Park in SOUTH AFRICA. Important skeletal remains and other artifacts have been found at Thulamela, which takes its name from the VENDA language and means "place of birth." The first occupants apparently came to the site during the 13th century, and it was populated, at times densely, until the mid-1600s.

Among the early discoveries at Thulamela were a GOLD bracelet and beads dating from 1240 to 1630. Later, two skeletons were uncovered. The first belonged to a female who was approximately 43–50 years of age and in apparently good health when she died. The other was of a man, possibly a ruler. It is thought that his body, following Venda custom, was allowed to decompose in another area before being moved to this site.

One of the important finds at the site was a small gong. Made from two metal triangles, it is similar to a gong found at GREAT ZIMBABWE. This, in addition to various POTTERY and gold objects found at Thulamela, has led scholars to believe that, as early as the 13th century, sub-Saharan trade links connected areas as far apart as southern and western Africa.

thumb piano Musical instrument found all over Africa that is also known variously as the mbira, *sanza, likembe,* and *timbrh.* The thumb piano apparently was invented by the KHOIKHOI about 1,000 years ago. Since then it has spread to most of SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. It is especially important to the SHONA peoples of present-day ZIMBABWE.

A thumb piano is made by fastening five to 28 metal or wooden strips to a wooden soundboard. During performances it is often placed inside a gourd, or *geze,* which acts as an amplifier. It can be played on its own, but during some celebrations as many as 20 are played at once—all delivering different overlapping melodies. The wooden board is held with both hands and, as the name suggests, played with the thumbs.

Thumb piano songs have neither an end nor a beginning. The musician, usually a man, starts when he hears the melody. If there is more than one musician, each does the same, waiting for the melody to take him over and one by one starting when each feels it. Usually the melodies are cyclical, and the musician changes the sound slightly each time he plays the melody. In this way the thumb piano player is a lot like a jazz improviser.

Shells and bottle caps are often attached to the thumb piano, creating a vibrating sound that may sound like static to the Western ear. The desired effect, however, is quite the opposite, as the vibrating is supposed to clear the mind of thoughts and worries and allow the MUSIC to fill the consciousness of the listener.

There are many ways of tuning a thumb piano, the only rule being that if two musicians are playing together, their instruments must be tuned the same. Pitch can be changed by adjusting the free ends of the strings or by increasing or decreasing their length.

Today the thumb piano serves as an essential part of popular African music. In fact, it is unusual for a mbira song—a Zimbabwean genre that takes its name from the instrument—not to have a thumb piano playing throughout. Traditionally, it is the bridge between human and spiritual worlds and at the center of the Shona religion. The thumb piano is used to bring rain in drought, stop rain in floods, chase away spirits, and cure illnesses. After a Shona chief's death, the *mbira* is played straight for one week. The spirits of ancestors are called by playing their favorite songs, and it is through this tradition that some Shona songs have been popular for as long as 500 years.
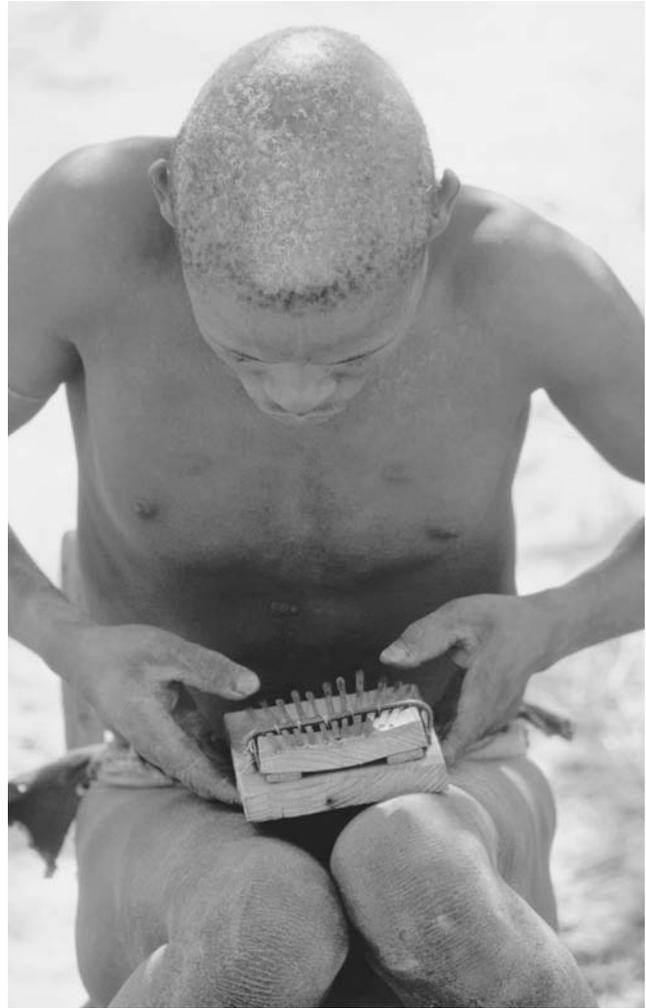
The mbira, or thumb piano, has several tongues, or keys, that can vibrate freely. The body of the thumb piano is often a gourd. *© Peter Johnson/Corbis*

Timbuktu (Timbuctu, Tombouctou) Major trade city located in the central region of present-day Republic of MALI, near the Niger River, at the southern edge of the SAHARA DESERT. Timbuktu began in the 11th century as a seasonal camp for Tuareg nomads. The GOLD trade and its growth as a major commercial center helped Timbuktu become an important city by the 14th century, when it became part of the MALI EMPIRE. At that time it served as the beginning and ending point for CARAVANS crossing the Sahara desert. Timbuktu's location near the Niger River also allowed for trade by water through the port of Kabara, which was linked to the city by a series of canals. In Timbuktu's markets, salt and cloth from North Africa were traded for gold and for captives. IVORY, COPPER, horses, and other luxury goods were also traded there.

With the decline of the Mali Empire, by 1433 the TUAREGS had regained Timbuktu. They ruled the city from

outposts in the desert rather than within the city itself, demanding excessive tributes and periodically attacking the city for plunder. Tuareg control had little effect on the day-to-day trade and the learning occurring within Timbuktu itself, which continued at a rapid pace. The Tuareg held Timbuktu until 1468, when they were driven from the city by Sunni ALI (d. 1492), the leader of the SONGHAI Empire.

The Great Mosque, known as Djinguereber, and the Madugu Palace were built by Mansa MUSA I after his great pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324. During the 1400s and 1500s, more mosques were built, and Timbuktu became known as an Islamic center of learning, with more than 100 schools teaching the Quran. The university at the Sankoré mosque was staffed with well-trained Islamic scholars from as far away as Mecca and Egypt and had as many as 25,000 students, one-quarter of Timbuktu's population at the time.

Because of its remoteness, Timbuktu was an almost mythical place to Europeans, who did not actually see it until 1826. Most of the information Europeans did have about the city came from the account written by el Hasan Ben Muhammad el-Wazzan-Ez-Zayyati, also known as Leo Africanus (1485–1554). A former slave who was freed by Pope Leo X (1475–1521), he was commissioned to write his account of a trip he had taken as a teenager, around the turn of the 16th century. He described thatch and clay huts as well as the Great Mosque and Madugu. The wealth of the inhabitants and the abundance of trade goods were points of special emphasis, with details being given on everything from clothing, FOOD, and livestock to the inhabitants' love of MUSIC and dancing. Leo Africanus also outlined the nature of the royal court, WRITING of its ruler and the armies under his control. He also described how enemies—including children—were sold into SLAVERY.

See also: ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); LEO AFRICANUS (Vol. III); TIMBUKTU (Vols. III, IV).

Tlemcen (Tilimsan)   City located in northwestern ALGERIA. The Islamic history of the city dates back to the eighth century, when newly Islamized BERBERS, who became adherents to the egalitarian, anti-Arab KHARIJITE movement that had spread to North Africa from the Middle East, founded the theocratic kingdom of Agadir, which is translated as "fortress."

In the 11th century the ALMORAVIDS led by YUSUF IBN TASHBIN (1062–1106) claimed Agadir as their new capital, calling it Tlemcen. Over the next decade, Tlemcen grew
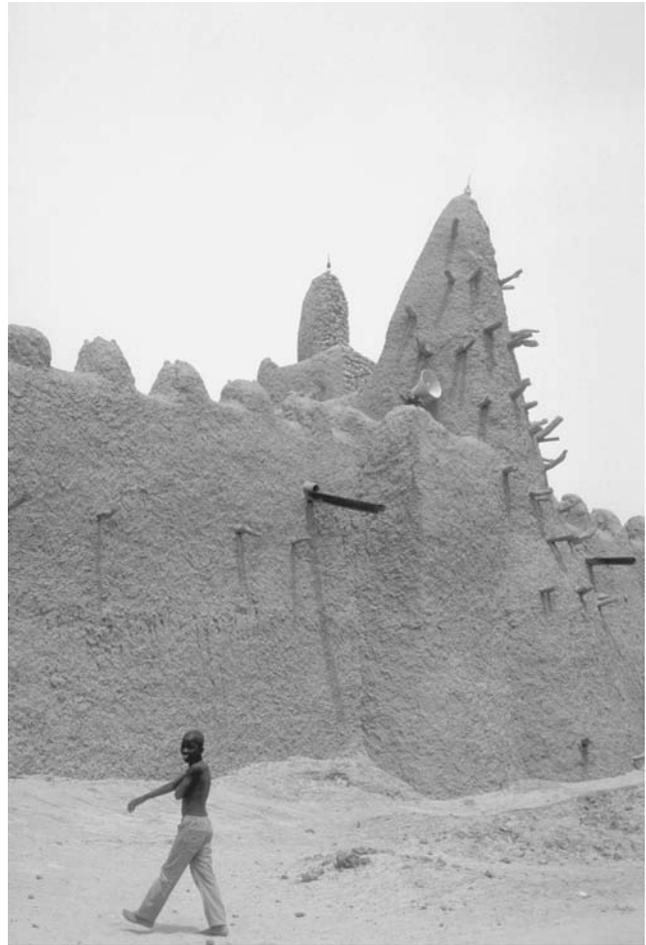
Shown is a recent photograph of one of Timbuktu's mosques, the oldest mosques in West Africa, dating back to the 14th century. Such structures were centers of religious study and scholarship as well as houses of prayer. © Wolfgang Kaehler/Corbis

into a center of considerable religious, educational, and cultural importance.

Yusuf ibn Tashbin is credited with commissioning the Great Mosque of Tlemcen, which was begun in 1082 but not finished until 1136. Combining designs from both al-ANDALUS and Iran, this remarkable mosque measures approximately 165 feet (50 m) by 200 feet (60 m).

Throughout its history, Tlemcen was occupied by various North African Berber dynasties who hoped to profit from its location as a center along TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES. By the 13th century Tlemcen became the

center of a kingdom controlled by the Abd al Wadid, or Zayyanid, dynasty (r. 1236–1550), the Berber dynasty that succeeded the Almohad empire in northwestern Algeria. In 1299 it was taken by the MARINIDS (r. c. 1300– c. 1500), the Berber dynasty that supplanted the ALMO-HADS in MOROCCO. The Marinid leader, Abu Yaqub (d. 1307) (not to be confused with the Almohad caliph of the same name), built a new capital nearby and called it al-Mansura. This town was considered the new center of the Tlemcen kingdom and all trade was redirected through it. However, when Abu Yaqub died, the Marinids retreated from al-Mansura, and the Zayyanids reclaimed their city and demolished the Marinid capital.

The struggle for dominance over Tlemcen continued over the next 50 years until the victorious Marinids once again set their capital at al-Mansura. In the 15th century another Berber dynasty, the Hafsids (r. c. 1300–1600) of IFRIQIYA (in TUNISIA and eastern Algeria), fought the Marinids for Tlemcen. By the 16th century, however, the city was ruled by the Ottoman Turks, who allowed it to fall into ruin.

See also: TLEMCEN (Vol. III).

Toro (Batoro, Tooro)   Kingdom located south of BUNYORO in the Great Lakes region of East Africa. The people of Toro, who are also called the Batoro, live in a high plateau between Lake Mobutu and Lake Edward, in present-day UGANDA. The first settlers in the area were probably Nilotic-speaking pastoralists, who migrated there from the north as early as the fourth century CE. During the 10th and 11th centuries Bantu-speaking agri-culturalists arrived from the west. It is thought that some of these groups very quickly created small states, and the Toro tradition of a central government headed by a royal family dates from this time.

The Batoro consider themselves descendants of the legendary Tembuzi kings, who are credited with creating the earliest political organization in the area. In the 14th century the CHWEZI DYNASTY of kings overthrew the Tem-buzi but were themselves succeeded by rulers of the BITO clan, a Nilotic, LUO-speaking group to whom today's Ba-toro trace their ancestry. Under both the Chwezi and Bito rulers, Toro society was sharply divided into two castes, the wealthy pastoralist HIMA and the agriculturalist IRU.

See also: PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

Toubou (Tubu)   Nomadic pastoralists and agricultur-alists of the central SUDAN; also the language they speak. Some Toubou claim to be related to the BERBERS, although the fact that the Toubou speak a Nilo-Saharan language and the Berbers an Afro-Asiatic language fails to support this assertion. The Toubou are related to the TEDA people of the Tibesti Mountains, in northern CHAD.

The Toubou probably came to the central Sudan from the Nile Valley about the seventh century. Upon their ar-rival they joined with local Kanembu speakers to create the kingdom of KANEM. Linguistically, the Toubou are closely related to the Kanembu.

During the 13th century, the Toubou had to contend with their regional rivals, the TUAREGS, and ultimately lost much of their control over the Kanem SALT TRADE. In later years the Toubou continued their agricultural prac-tices, supplementing their income by levying tariffs on CARAVANS in exchange for safe passage along the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES.

See also: KANEM-BORNU (Vols. II, III, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vols. II, IV); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II); SALT MINING (Vol. II).

towns and cities   Although EGYPT has historically been depicted as Africa's primary urbanized center, re-cent scholarship has confirmed that a number of regions in SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA had comparable degrees of ur-banization. Popular misconceptions about these regions have included depictions of vast desert or jungle tracts with isolated villages of simple thatch houses or huts. However, these images do not take into account the im-pact of import-and-export trading, the influence of RELI-GION and culture, or the changing perspectives of African societies. In addition, rather than using size, population, or structure as the defining criteria, modern historians describe a town or city as a centralized site under the ju-risdiction of a king or ruler. From these centers, rulers controlled all government policy making, various socio-cultural activities, early forms of industry, and even the organization of military units. These centers often de-pended on the LABOR of people who resided in the town or, sometimes, in outlying areas. For example, citizens might be responsible for supplying crafts or crops for the region's FOOD supply and trade, on which the rulers relied.

One of the earliest and most common ways in which cities and towns developed was through the growth and organization of trade and associated industries. By the 11th century, for example, KUMBI SALEH had become one of the most prominent capital cities of the ancient GHANA EMPIRE, noted in particular for its production of GOLD. Built in stone, the city stood in the southeastern region of modern-day MAURITANIA and at its peak had a population of more than 15,000 people. The city was described by Arab geographer al-BAKRI (b. c. 1094) as having a main thoroughfare nearly 40 feet (12.2 m) in width, an Islamic center, residences made of stone and acacia wood, and a walled "royal town," some 6 miles (9.7 km) away that consisted of a palace and conical huts.

During the period prior to European colonization, the western SUDAN produced a number of small trading

centers that eventually grew into the important towns and cities of TIMBUKTU, GAO, and JENNE. (Archaeological evidence indicates that Jenne was built sometime between the ninth and 10th centuries and that Timbuktu was built slightly before.) These centers showed strong Islamic influence, including educational and religious centers and an architectural style that has been described as box-under-a-dome (a style that became the model for many buildings in West Africa).

Typically, African Islamic towns included mosques with minarets, or towers, that were used for calling the faithful to prayer. There were also embankments for defense and gated walls that led to the outer regions and the city's cemeteries. The densest population clusters were concentrated near rivers, agricultural sites, and trading centers. Unlike some of the river and agricultural communities, a number of these trading towns survived even into modern times, having sustained themselves through commerce with the outlying farms, even after the decline of the trans-Saharan trade in the 16th century.

Between 800 and 1500, INDIAN OCEAN TRADE led to the founding of a number of port cities and towns along Africa's eastern coast. From MOZAMBIQUE in the south to SOMALIA on the Horn of Africa, these cities, which included SOFALA, GEDI, ZANZIBAR, and KILWA, became part of the Swahili culture. They were inhabited by a mix of indigenous Bantu speakers, Omani ARABS from the Arabian Peninsula, and SHIRAZI ARABS from Persia (present-day Iran). In line with this, villages made of mud bricks, bamboo, and palm leaves gave way to brick and stone buildings built by wealthy Islamic MERCHANTS. Each of these cities had its central ruler, or sultan, who headed an autonomous governmental council of elders culled from the community's wealthiest families. When the noted traveler IBN BATTUTA (1306–1369) visited Kilwa in the 14th century, he described it as being one the most beautiful and well-constructed towns in the world, elegantly built and inhabited by people noteworthy for their religious devotion and piety.

Walled towns and cities were fairly common in both the western and eastern regions of Africa, the walls having practical as well as political purpose. Walls, for example, provided controlled entryways and gates, which gave inhabitants security from theft and vandalism. Gates also enabled cities to collect tolls from outsiders. Beyond this, walls afforded privacy to the ruling king, his court, and the city's priests, so that governmental and ritual activities might be kept from view by outsiders. Abeokuta and BENIN CITY are two notable examples of cities whose common features included a royal compound, a designated ceremonial site, and a central MARKETPLACE in which trade could be conducted. Elsewhere in Africa, methods other than the construction of walls were used to create many of these same benefits for

towns. Deep trenches, surrounding moats, or even thickets were all used to notable effect.

For the most part African cities and towns—like cities and towns the world over—developed by extending their influence beyond their own borders. For example, radiocarbon testing done at the site of the circular walled city of ILE-IFE, in present-day NIGERIA, has confirmed that it existed as far back as the ninth century. Archaeologists maintain that this city began as an extended family compound, from which the early rulers of Ife and their descendants moved to create many new kingdoms and dynasties. These expansionist policies were carried out by both conquest and the peaceful absorption of smaller villages. Its ethnic lineage and religious cohesion solidified Ife, which was considered highly traditional in its perspective and operation. In this way, a deep sense of shared values and beliefs were the foundations of the city's growth and influence. In addition, the local CRAFTSPEOPLE attracted traders and visitors to the city.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. II); ARCHITECTURE (Vol. II); FESTIVALS (Vol. II); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III); TOWNS AND CITIES (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Richard W. Hull, *African Cities and Towns before the European Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1976).

trade and commerce Between the fifth and 15th centuries, lively trading activity regularly occurred in Africa. Throughout SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA local and regional MARKETPLACES bustled with the exchange of everyday items such as clothing and seasonal food products. In North Africa luxury goods such as GOLD, silver, copper, perfumes, and spices were transported thousands of miles by CARAVANS along the trade routes that criss-crossed the Sahara desert. At the Mediterranean coastal termini of these trading routes, ARABIC-speaking merchants conducted bustling trade with Europeans.

On the Red Sea and along East Africa's SWAHILI COAST, Arabic-speaking merchants exchanged African goods, such as exotic animals, skins, and IVORY, for Asian goods, such as fine CLOTH AND TEXTILES and porcelain. The African goods traveled as far east as China. Great revenues generated by this maritime trade created wealthy merchant families that wielded political power both in Arabia and in Africa.

As the 15th century came to a close Portuguese merchants began to establish trading forts as they explored all along the sub-Saharan African coast, both in the east and in the west. This presaged the influx of European explorers and traders that would change the face of Africa forever in the years to come.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); ARGUIN TRADING FORT (Vol. II); CHINESE TRADE (Vol. II); INDIAN
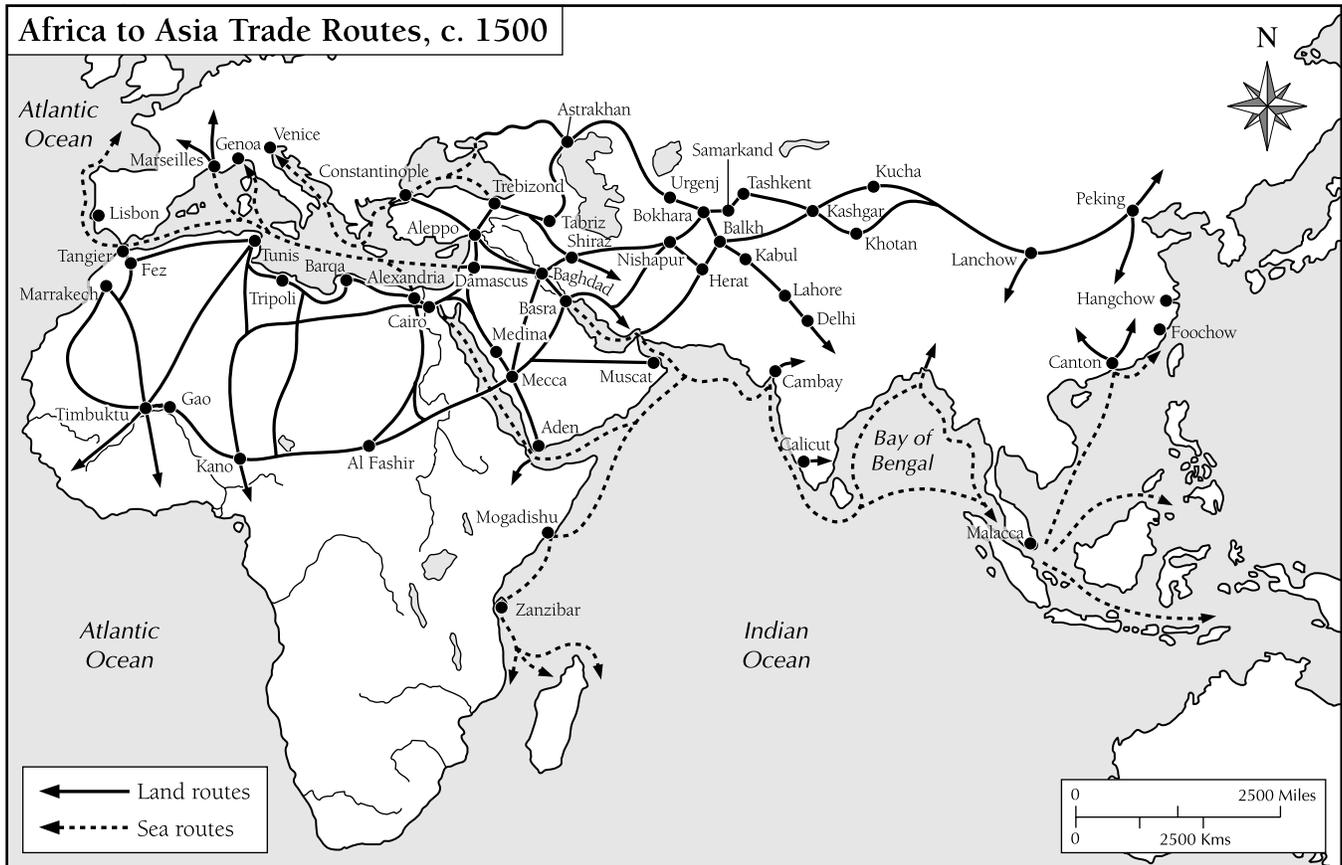
Africa to Asia Trade Routes, c. 1500

Atlantic Ocean

Marseilles · Genoa · Venice · Constantinople · Trebizond · Astrakhan · Samarkand · Urgenj · Tashkent · Kucha · Peking

Lisbon · Tangier · Fez · Tunis · Barqa · Aleppo · Tabriz · Shiraz · Bokhara · Balkh · Kashgar · Khotan · Lanchow · Hangchow · Foochow

Marrakech · Tripoli · Alexandria · Damascus · Baghdad · Nishapur · Herat · Kabul · Lahore · Canton

Timbuktu · Gao · Kano · Al Fashir · Cairo · Basra · Medina · Mecca · Muscat · Cambay · Calicut · Delhi · Malacca

Mogadishu

Atlantic Ocean · Zanzibar · *Indian Ocean* · *Bay of Bengal*

→ Land routes
┈► Sea routes

| 0 | 2500 Miles |
| 0 | 2500 Kms |

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transportation The forms of transportation used in Africa from the fifth through the 15th centuries varied depending on the terrain of the region. Throughout Saharan Africa, pack animals, such as camels and donkeys, were relied upon to transport both goods and people through the harsh desert environment. While evidence suggests that the region's inhabitants were familiar with wheeled transport as early as the last few centuries BCE, there is no doubt that such vehicles, especially when laden with cargo, often proved ineffective on the sandy terrain.

Camels were introduced to the Saharan trade routes by the fifth century CE. They proved to be the best mode of transport in the desert, as they could travel great distances with very little rest or water. In West Africa and other non-desert areas, goods such as kola nuts were carried to market by human porter, and the ox was the common beast of burden.

Evidence from rock paintings and the writings of the Greek historian Herodotus (c. 484–425 BCE) has been brought forth to support a theory that chariots were used in the desert as early as 2000 BCE. He wrote of how the Garamantes people of LIBYA used chariots to attack their Ethiopian rivals in the desert. The depiction of chariots—generally light, two-wheeled versions with tracks that seem to point to the Niger bend—in rock paintings found in Tassili and southern MOROCCO has led many to believe in the existence of chariot routes across the desert. However, to many scholars the lightness of the chariots, their relative uselessness for carrying heavy trade items across sandy terrain, and the lack in the Sahara of the skeletal remains of horses contemporaneous to the time of the paintings all serve to cast doubt on the chariot theory.

In North Africa, the use of horses dates to the 17th century BCE. Although the exact date of their appearance in SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA is unknown, horses probably crossed the Sahara as early as 2,500 years ago. According to the

writer al-Muhallabi, by the late 10th century horses were widely used throughout the SUDAN, the area between the Sahara desert and the tropical forests of West and Central Africa. In West Africa, in the 12th century, mounted soldiers greatly contributed to empire building. In expansive states like the MALI EMPIRE, for example, mounted armies, or CAVALRY, easily covered more terrain than foot soldiers. This allowed them to strike quickly when attacking neighboring peoples. All this meant that, throughout the continent, the horse was a symbol of wealth and prestige.

Many cultures in Africa relied heavily on water transport. This was specially true for those with access to the Niger River, which was a major transportation route that flowed from the highlands of West Africa and through the western Sudan, before emptying into the Bight of Benin, on the Gulf of Guinea. For centuries, dugout canoes have been used on the rivers and coasts of West Africa. A 6,400-year-old canoe, the second-oldest known boat in the world, was found by well diggers at the town of Dujuna, in present-day northeastern NIGERIA. (The oldest boat was unearthed in the Netherlands.) It is estimated that this 25-foot (8-m)-long canoe could carry five to ten camel loads of salt, an important trade item throughout most of Africa. Portuguese sailors traveling up West African rivers in the early 16th century reported seeing dugout canoes 80 feet (25 m) long carrying passengers and crew that numbered more than 100. With the invention of the IRON saw, even larger vessels were built. It is likely that war canoes similar to the trade canoes the Portuguese saw were used by the SONGHAI Empire to extend its domination over other kingdoms that border the Niger.

Along the eastern coast Arab traders used ships called dhows. These sailing vessels featured triangular lateen sails that accorded the traders great maneuverability while sailing into the wind. Such vessels were used in both INDIAN OCEAN TRADE and ARAB COASTAL TRADE in the sixth century and later.

See also: CAMELS (Vol. I); CARAVANS (Vol. I); GARAMANTES (Vol. I); HORSES (Vol. I); LAKES AND RIVERS (Vol. I); SHIPBUILDING (Vols. I, II); TRANSPORTATION (Vols. I, III, IV, V); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II)

trans-Saharan trade routes Routes across the SAHARA that trade CARAVANS followed to bring goods from sellers to potential buyers. The major trans-Saharan caravans in the ninth through the 12th centuries started from KUMBI SALEH, in ancient Ghana, from TIMBUKTU and GAO, in Mali, and further east, from the HAUSA STATES and KANEM-BORNU. Goods from Kumbi Saleh were carried north across the desert to SIJILMASA, in MOROCCO. Goods from Timbuktu often went by way of the salt mines at

Trans-Saharan Trade Routes to 1200
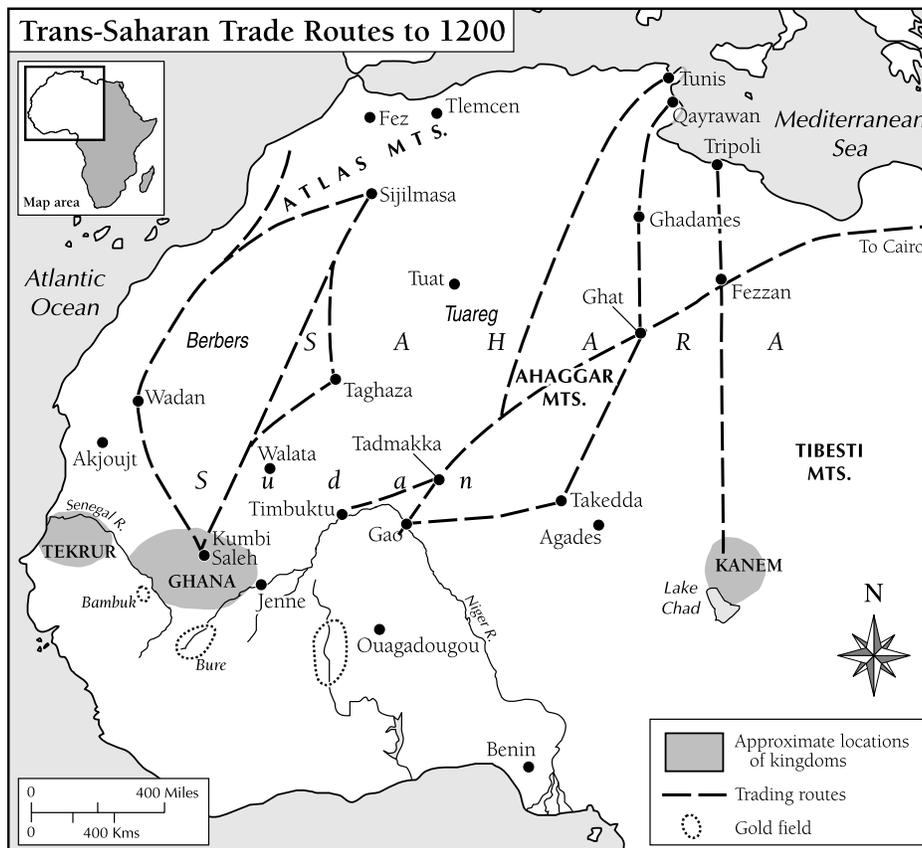
TAGHAZA to TLEMCEN, near the border of present-day AL-GERIA and MOROCCO. A second route from Timbuktu brought goods to FEZ, in present-day Morocco, by way of WALATA and Wadan.

GOLD, salt, COPPER, and captives were among the most profitable items exchanged along the trans-Saharan trade routes, although there was also commerce in IVORY, fabrics, animal skins, ostrich feathers, and other local goods. The West African gold fields at Bambuk, Bure, and Galam were so important to the fortunes of the rulers of ancient Ghana that they banned Berber traders from entering them. Gold from there as well as from the VOLTA RIVER region, Lobi lands in present-day BURKINA FASO, and the AKAN states also passed through the Sahara to final destinations in North Africa and Europe. Copper, mined at TAKEDDA, in present-day Mali, was traded in local markets, where it became the raw material for local artifacts. In addition, copper was an important part of trade with EGYPT, where it was exchanged for fine CLOTH AND TEXTILES and manufactured goods. Arab slave traders also used the trans-Saharan trade routes to transport captives, sometimes as many as hundreds at a time, for use as domestic servants, agricultural laborers, soldiers, and concubines. From the 15th century on, these people were ever more frequently transported as far as the Middle East or to the cities of southern Europe.

Caravans from Gao went to TUNIS, in present-day TUNISIA, to Tripoli, on the Mediterranean coast of modern LIBYA, and to CAIRO in Egypt, heading to their destinations either by way of Tuat or the FEZZAN region of what is now southwestern Libya. At Gao goods were often transported by way of Hausaland and Kanem-Bornu to destinations on the lower Niger River. JENNE, located south of Kumbi Saleh and Timbuktu, was a major redistribution point for goods from further south.

On the North African side, trans-Saharan trade was the provenance of Berber Arabs. On the sub-Saharan side, the DYULA, SONINKE, Mossi, Hausa, and SONGHAI were the peoples who headed trading efforts. Though it existed to some extent in earlier centuries, trans-Saharan trade underwent a dramatic increase at the start of the ninth century. Typically gold and foodstuffs were carried north in exchange for salt from Taghaza and manufactured goods from the North African coast. By the 12th century the trade routes extended as far as the fringes of present-day Ghana. In central and southern Africa during this same time period, very little trade with the coast occurred. In West Africa, trading involved and affected very few people directly, although it enriched the traders themselves considerably. Trading here did not create a local market economy where people brought goods to sell directly to the Arab traders.

See also: CAMELS (Vol. I); DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. II).

tsetse flies Bloodsucking flies that are found throughout central and coastal West Africa. As a transmitter of the parasite *Trypanosoma,* which causes sleeping sickness (called *nagana* in animals), the tsetse fly has wreaked havoc upon both the human and animal population in Africa. They have also affected the history of the continent. For instance, the ruler Sundiata II (not the founder of the empire), of the MALI EMPIRE, was killed by the sleeping sickness in 1374.

The tsetse fly includes several different species of flies that feed off the blood of both humans and animals. The large flies reach a length of about 1 inch (2.5 cm) and are brown with yellow stripes or spots on their undersides. Sleeping sickness gradually progresses by attacking a person's nervous system, causing an irregular heartbeat, fever, and an enlarged spleen. If untreated, the disease causes mood swings, profound sleepiness, coma, and then death. The disease attacks animals in a similar manner, with death their inevitable end.

Because of Africa's dependence upon agriculture and cattle, the tsetse fly has had a profound impact on the continent. Tsetse larvae develop in animal fecal matter, so the presence of tsetse flies leaves farmers unable to use animal dung as fertilizer on their crops. Further, they are unable to plow their fields using livestock, for fear that the animals will contaminate the soil, forcing them to hoe the earth by hand. The large population of tsetse flies in West and Central Africa has also limited the areas to which pastoral peoples could migrate in order to feed their livestock. Both factors in turn affected population growth.

See also: DISEASES (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

This tsetse fly's abdomen is swollen after a meal of human blood. The bite of the tsetse fly is harmful to humans and animals. © *Anthony Bannister; Gallo Images/Corbis*

This 1835 lithograph gives an idealized view of Tuaregs in the Sahara. © *Christel Gerstenberg/Corbis*

Tuaregs Seminomadic ethnic group that has inhabited the SAHARA DESERT and Sahel for centuries; they claim to be descendants of the BERBERS. From the rise of ISLAM until the beginning of the period of European colonization, the Tuaregs exercised a strong influence upon the trans-Saharan trade in the southern Sahara.

After the Arab invasion of North Africa in the seventh century, the Tuaregs, like many other indigenous peoples, were converted to Islam. As a result their traditional clan system of matrilineal descent switched to a patriarchal system, and their traditional religious practices were replaced by Islam. Despite their conversion, however, the Tuaregs maintained many of their own cultural traditions, including their language, written script, and class structure. The latter divided Tuareg society into five ranks, with warriors and religious figures at the top of the

hierarchy and slaves and descendants of slaves at the bottom. They also maintained several of their traditional religious practices, most notably a religious ceremony that centered around asking a viper to foretell events. The snake remained an important symbol within Tuareg folklore as a sign of both good and evil.

As the Arab invasion continued, the Tuaregs migrated to the south, moving into the western and central SUDAN. There they organized themselves into political clan structures known as *kels,* each of which was led by a chief. Some of these clans engaged in frequent raids on other groups, using these raids as an opportunity to acquire slaves and exact tribute. These same *kels,* as well as other Tuareg groups, also continued to carry on their traditional pastoralist activities, combining them with agricultural pursuits and participation in trans-Saharan trade.

Throughout this period the Tuareg eschewed permanent settlements. Preferring to live primarily as nomads,. they set up temporary camps that could be easily taken down and transported to their next destination. TIMBUKTU, which was founded by the Tuaregs during the 12th century, was originally just such a camp settlement that the Tuaregs had used during their travels through the region.

By the 14th century the Tuaregs had gained control over TAKEDDA, an important trading center and COPPER mining area located west of the AÏR MASSIF, on the fringes of the MALI EMPIRE. The acquisition of Takedda gave the Tuaregs far more power in the region. It also gave them increased revenues from TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES that connected the western SUDAN with trade depots in Morocco and Algeria. By the end of the 14th century, though they gained Takedda, the Tuaregs ceded control of Timbuktu to the Mali Empire.

By the 15th century their increased population led the Tuaregs to establish a more complex class system. This new system, which had important similarities to the existing class system they maintained, made distinctions between slaves, the descendants of slaves, peoples who paid tributes to the Tuaregs (usually other ethnic groups they had raided), and the Tuareg noble class. By this time, too, the various *kels* had established vast power in the region, due in large part to their control over portions of the trans-Saharan trade routes. With this increased power the Tuaregs began to establish a kingdom, with several *kel* leaders creating a seat for that kingdom in AGADES, or Agadez, in present-day NIGER.

Facing competition from the HAUSA STATES as well as the nomadic FULANI of Sokoto, the Tuaregs attempted to consolidate and centralize their increased power over the southern Sahara. This attempt was successful and, in 1433, they recaptured Timbuktu and took control over the trans-Saharan GOLD and SALT TRADE centered in that city. The Tuaregs' power, however, never matched the centralized authority exercised by the kingdoms of KANEM-BORNU and the Hausa. Yet they remained an influential force in the southern Sahara for many years to come.

See also: SOKOTO CALIPHATE (Vol. III); TUAREGS (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Tukulor (Tukolor, Toucouleur) West African Muslim people who live in what is now SENEGAL and in adjacent regions in present-day Republic of MALI. This region was occupied by the ancient GHANA EMPIRE from the fourth to the 11th centuries and then by the MALI EMPIRE in the 13th century. The Tukulor speak Fulfulde, a language of the West Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo family, and are related to the SERER and WOLOF peoples.

The Tukulor were converted to ISLAM during the 11th century, as were other peoples of the western SUDAN.

When the Ghana Empire fell, in 1076, the Tukulor and a group of nomadic Fulani formed a new kingdom, TEKRUR, which lasted into the 1700s. Tekrur was generally governed by non-Tukulor rulers.

The Tekrur kingdom was rooted in the Islamic beliefs of its people. The SOCIAL STRUCTURE was hierarchical, highly stratified, and based upon patrilineal groups. The Tukulor also practiced polygyny. Their economy was based on AGRICULTURE, cattle raising, and fishing.

See also: FULFULDE (Vol. I); TUKULOR (Vol. III); TUKULOR EMPIRE (Vol. IV).

Tunis Strategic port located on the MEDITERRANEAN SEA in the present-day country of TUNISIA. The history of Tunis goes back to the first millennium BCE and the Phoenician settlement of North Africa. However, the city did not begin to rise to prominence until the Arab conquests that began in the seventh century, at which time the city became a vital commercial and military stronghold.

During the eighth century the Arab leader Hassan ibn Numan used Tunis as the base for his military campaigns against Berber resistance to the west. The subsequent influx of ARABS to the region helped transform Tunis into a cosmopolitan center that attracted a diverse population of MERCHANTS, scholars, and bureaucrats. As the terminus of the trans-Saharan trade route, Tunis became a major center for commerce between Africa, the Middle East, and Europe.

Because it was both a point of strategic importance and the origin of Arab attacks on Berber strongholds, Tunis frequently became embroiled in the military campaigns that marked the next centuries of North African history. During the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries the city was frequently involved in the struggles for control of the western Sahara, or MAGHRIB, between warring factions of the ALMOHADS, the MARINIDS, the Zayyanids, and the Hafsids.

Later, during the 13th century, when the Berber Hafsids came into power, Tunis was revitalized as a royal city replete with mosques, palaces, and schools. Under the Hafsids, the city maintained its significant role in the trade between the Mediterranean and the trans-Saharan routes, leading to a period of great prosperity. By the 14th century, however, battles between the Hafsids and their rivals, the Zayyanids, erupted, with the main issue being control over Tunis and its trade. Although the Hafsids were able to rule the city until the 16th century, control over Tunis ultimately passed first to Spain and then, by the end of that century, to the Ottoman Empire.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD (Vol. I); OTTOMAN EMPIRE (Vol. III); PHOENICIANS (Vol. I); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. III); TUNIS (Vols. IV, V).

Tunisia   North African country measuring approximately 60,000 square miles (155,400 sq km) that borders the MEDITERRANEAN SEA to the north and east, LIBYA to the southeast, and ALGERIA to the west. The site of the powerful merchant city of Carthage, Tunisia fell under the control of the Vandals and BYZANTINE AFRICA before being seized by invading Muslim ARABS, near the end of the seventh century. The region then became a province of an Islamic empire that was expanding rapidly across North Africa, from east to west.

In time, however, the region's indigenous BERBERS chafed under the harsh control of their Islamic overlords, and by the end of the 12th century a Berber dynasty known as the ALMOHADS had taken back much of the region, including the Mediterranean coast. In the 13th century a group of Berbers called Banu Marin, or MARINIDS, took control of Tunisia and much of the rest of the MAGHRIB, holding sway into the 15th century.

See also: TUNISIA (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Tunka Manin   (r. c. 1063–unknown) *King of the ancient Ghana Empire*

Ruling from the capital city of KUMBI SALEH, the SONINKE king, Tunka Manin, was the most powerful leader of the GHANA EMPIRE during the 11th century. He assumed kingship upon the death of his maternal uncle, King Basi, in 1063.

Most of what is known about Tunka Manin comes from the accounts of the Arab scholar al-BAKRI (D. C. 1095) from around 1068. Relying on the reports of Arab traders who witnessed the grandeur of Ghana's empire, al-Bakri wrote detailed descriptions of the king, his magnificent court, and the imposing Ghanaian army numbering more than 200,000 warriors. According to al-Bakri, Tunka Manin was widely respected by both his subjects and foreigners, and Ghana flourished under his rule.

Tunka Manin was able to increase the wealth and power of his empire by controlling trade and levying taxes on the great amounts of salt and GOLD that passed through his territory. His tight grip on power eventually loosened around 1073 when the ALMORAVIDS, invading North African Muslims, began to conquer northern and eastern parts of his kingdom, converting many of his subjects to ISLAM.

See also: SALT TRADE (Vol. II).

Tutsi (Batusi, Batutsi, Tussi, Watusi, Watutsi, Hima)   Ethnic group that today lives primarily in BURUNDI and RWANDA, in the highlands of central East Africa. Prior to the 15th century the pastoralist Tutsi migrated to the region, probably from the southern SUDAN, in search of new land on which to raise their cattle. These early Tutsi were closey related to the cattle-owning HIMA caste that emerged in states such as NKOLE and TORO, in present-day UGANDA, near Lake Victoria. In fact, depending on the kingdom, Tutsi were often called Hima and vice-versa.

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Although archaeological evidence makes it clear that the Tutsi had not settled in the area prior to the 15th century, Tutsi legend puts the founding of Rwanda on a par with the birth of civilization itself. The major Tutsi clans claim to have descended from a mythical ancestor, Gihanga, the founder of several dynasties including the Sindi, Nyakarama, Shambo, Ega, Sita, Ha, Shingo, KONO, and Hondogo.

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Partly due to the wealth provided by their vast herds of cattle, the Tutsi rather quickly established dominion over the HUTU and TWA, the original inhabitants of the region. The Tutsi were overwhelmingly superior warriors and, perhaps precisely for that reason, the shift in power from the Hutu to the Tutsi was largely peaceful. Although the Tutsi assumed the language and culture of the Hutu, what eventually developed was a feudal system in which the Tutsi formed an aristocracy and the Hutu took on the role of the peasantry.

Eventually, the Hutu and Twa adopted many aspects of Tutsi culture, including the Tutsi system of government in which the *mwami* (king) was the supreme ruler, wielding both political and religious power. The *mwami,* thought by the Tutsi to be divinely chosen, was usually a Tutsi. However, another social group, the GANWA, acted as ruling princes and served as intermediaries between the *mwami* and the other Tutsi. Also aiding the Tutsi in their dominion over the Hutu and Twa was their larger physical stature. Whereas the Hutu are generally small, muscular people, and the Twa are especially diminutive, it is not uncommon for a Tutsi male to stand over 7 feet (2.1 m) tall.

Over time there was much intermarriage between the Tutsi and the other ethnic groups in the region. There also was a change of status as cattle were lost or acquired. So, as a result, it eventually became more difficult to distinguish between Tutsi and Hutu.

See also: TUTSI (Vol. III, IV, V).

Twa (Batwa, Gwa)   Subgroup of the Mbuti (who are sometimes referred to by the term *Pygmy*), an ethnic group of equatorial Africa. During the fifth through the 15th centuries the Twa inhabited territory around Lake Kivu, in what is now RWANDA, BURUNDI, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

> When the HUTU first encountered the Twa, they believed that the diminutive people possessed magical powers. As a result the Twa received gifts in exchange for their supposed powers, which were used to maintain the rule of the Hutu kings. Twa people functioned as storytellers, mystics, dancers, and musicians in the king's court.

The seminomadic Twa had occupied the Lake Kivu region for thousands of years before the first major influx of Hutu settlers. Though there is evidence of Hutu migration to the area as early as the first century CE, it wasn't until the fifth century that the Hutu began to migrate in great numbers. By the 11th century the Twa were being incorporated into Hutu society, and they established a cooperative agricultural relationship. Twa artisans also produced excellent POTTERY that was valued by the Hutu.

Despite being included in Hutu society, the Twa were given lower social standing, probably because of their different appearance and cultural practices. By the 15th century the TUTSI—an aristocratic, warrior people—had begun to dominate the region occupied by the Hutu and Twa agriculturalists. Under Tutsi domination, the Twa became even more segregated from larger society than they had been under the Hutu, and this marginalization continued into the European colonial period, which began toward the end of the 16th century.

See also: HUNTER-GATHERERS (Vol. I); MBUTI (Vol. I).

Twifo Term that describes the Twi-speaking peoples that populated the forest region of present-day GHANA beginning in the 15th century. The Twi language is related to the languages of the ASHANTI, AKYEM, AKWAMU, SEFWI, NZIMA, and FANTE. The early Twifo, who probably migrated from the area that is now northern Ghana, lived in small clan groups, providing for themselves by means of AGRICULTURE and fishing. Eventually, though, they became skilled traders. Because of their strategic location between the coast and the GOLD-producing forest regions, Twifo MERCHANTS were able to participate in the SALT TRADE as well as the gold trade. Other items that moved through Twifo markets included luxury goods like BEADS AND JEWELRY and cloth.

The increase in trade had an enormous impact on the Twifo, for in addition to the sudden creation of vast wealth, they also grew in number and developed more complex political structures. Because of this, when the Portuguese arrived in the mid-15th century, they preferred dealing with the Twifo over other cultures in the region. It is through this early Twifo culture that the later AKAN and Ashanti kingdoms traced their ancestry.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

U

Uganda East African country measuring approximately 91,100 square miles (236,000 sq km) that borders the Republic of the SUDAN to the north, KENYA to the east, TANZANIA and RWANDA to the south, and Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the west. Kampala is the largest city in Uganda and is also the country's capital.

Bantu-speaking people migrated from the west into what is now modern Uganda between 1000 BCE and 1000 CE. During the course of this gradual resettlement, they honed their AGRICULTURE and IRON technology. At the same time they established a sophisticated system of government under which they were ruled by clan chiefs. The Bantu speakers, however, held a military and political disadvantage compared to the groups of Nilotic pastoralists who invaded the region beginning in the 10th century.

The Bantu speakers and their Nilotic-speaking overlords developed a two-tiered hierarchy in which the herders secured the region from external aggression and the agriculturalists became the laborers and food producers. This upper class, called HIMA in certain Ugandan kingdoms, incorporated some of the existing political practices into their own system of government.

The first state to emerge from this system was the KITARA COMPLEX, a collection of chiefdoms that was ruled, albeit briefly, by the CHWEZI DYNASTY. Beginning in the middle of the 14th century, NDAHURA, the Chwezi king, or *mulama,* delegated palace officials and chiefs to help run the kingdom. By the beginning of the 15th century, however, the Chwezi dynasty had been replaced by rulers from the BITO clan, an aristocratic group of LUO-speaking pastoralists who invaded from the north. The Bito conquered a number of kingdoms in the Kitara region and

established Bunyoro, also known as BUNYORO-KITARA, the most powerful Bito state between the 16th and the 19th centuries. At its height Bunyoro-Kitara and the Bito clan controlled a number of smaller states, including Bukoli, Bugwere, Bulamogi, TORO, Busoga, Bugabula, Kiziba, and parts of NKOLE and RWANDA. Eventually these kingdoms rebelled against the Bito empire, leading to the decline of Bunyoro-Kitara in the 1800s.

See also: UGANDA (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Christopher Wrigley, *Kingship and State: The Buganda Dynasty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Uli, Mansa (r. 1255–1270) *Son of Sundiata and ruler of the Mali Empire*

One of several sons of SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255), the founder of the MALI EMPIRE, Mansa Uli came to the throne following the death of his illustrious father. During his reign he continued Sundiata's policy of expanding MANDINKA territory. However, dynastic disputes between his brothers KARIFA and WATI followed Mansa Uli's death and left the empire weakened and in disarray until the early 14th century.

Umayyad Muslim dynasty, based in Damascus, Syria, that ruled the Arab Empire, or Caliphate, a territory that extended from the Arabian Peninsula through North Africa and into Spain during the seventh and eighth centuries. The caliph had both religious and secular authority over believers and was seen as the successor to the prophet

Muhammad. Bringing an end to the civil war of 656–61 that followed the murder of Uthman (r. 644– 656), the third caliph, Muawiya (c. 602–680), was victorious over Muhammad's son-in-law and later the fourth caliph, Ali (r. 656–661). Muawiya then established the Umayyad dynasty.

During Umayyad rule ARABIC was made the official language of the Arab Empire, accompanying an extensive Arabization of the financial system and civil administration. The eight governors who ruled over the MAGHRIB from 697 to 740 and promulgated these policies eventually brought about changes in the politics and culture of the region. This achievement was especially notable given the brief span of Umayyad rule. Cultural biases led some Arabs, despite the injunctions of the QURAN and the sympathetic actions of many other ARABS toward the BERBERS, to treat the indigenous Berbers as social and even racial inferiors. This pattern continued even as more and more Berbers converted to ISLAM, leading to resentment of the Arabs by the indigenous population.

Further reading: G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

Umme, Mai (Dunama bin Hummay, Umme-Jimi, Mai Humai) (r. 1085–1097) *Sefuwa king*

The second SEFUWA king, Mai Umme, was a follower of the teachings of Muhammad bin Mani. During the late 11th century Umme converted the people of KANEM-BORNU to ISLAM. One of the more important results of this conversion was that the Zaghawa people, the original founders of the KANEM kingdom, cut themselves off from Kanem-Bornu and headed east.

During his lifetime Umme traveled to MECCA on two occasions, but he perished in EGYPT before completing his third pilgrimage. His son, Dunama I (1092–1150), was with him on his HAJJ and was crowned shortly after his father's death.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ZAGHAWA (Vol. III).

uzamas Hereditary local chiefs of the EDO-speaking peoples of the kingdom of BENIN, in what is now NIGERIA. The *uzamas* reached the zenith of their power in the period from the 11th to the 14th centuries, ruling local villages and serving as members of the royal council that administered the kingdom. Traditionally, the *uzamas* also were responsible for selecting the king of Benin.

The *uzamas* lost power during the reign of EWUARE (r. 1473–1480), who incorporated the *uzamas* into a new, more centralized monarchy. The power of the *uzamas* was counterbalanced by the creation of a new hierarchy of palace chiefs and town chiefs. The dilution of the *uzamas* power created a rift between the them and the monarchy.

See also: GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vols. I, II, III).

V

Vai (Vei) MANDE people living in what is now LIBERIA and SIERRA LEONE. Called the *Gallinas* (chickens) by early Portuguese explorers because of their domesticated fowl, the Vai were farmers, fishers, expert metalworkers, and active traders. Along with their Mande-speaking neighbors, the Vai migrated south from their homelands in present-day Republic of MALI and GUINEA several thousand years ago. During the 15th century the Vai of the Sierra Leone region merged with the indigenous KONO people.

See also: VAI (Vol. III).

Vasco da Gama See GAMA, VASCO DA.

Venda (Bavenda) Bantu-speaking people living in the region between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers, south of ZIMBABWE, in the eastern half of what is now SOUTH AFRICA. They migrated into the area from the Great Lakes region to the north. The Venda capital city, founded during the 13th century by the legendary king Toyandou, was at Dzata, in the Njelele valley of the Zoutpansberg Mountains. The ruins of Dzata can still be seen today. In the colonial period the Venda fought off Zulu attempts to conquer them, and they were among the last of the peoples in the region to succumb to European domination.

Venda culture was defined by patrilineal inheritance, polygamy, clan totems, and circumcision. They depended on hunting and gathering, trade with neighboring groups, and the mining of COPPER and IRON. The Lembaa are a Venda-speaking Jewish people claiming descent from the BETA ISRAEL.

Victoria, Lake The continent's largest lake, located in East Africa. Numerous peoples have inhabited the lake's coastal regions since the middle of the first millennium, but it seems that the first influential group was a Bantu-speaking population that lived on the northwestern coast of the lake as early as the 10th century before migrating further south during the 16th century. In the 12th century a wave of Bantu speakers settled on the eastern shores of the lake, from Mara in the south to the Kavirondo Gulf in the north. These settlers acculturated with the Nilotic and Cushitic pastoralists who already lived in the region. The Bantu-speaking farmers adopted some of the local practices, such as male and female circumcision. The ancestors of the Haya and Zinza peoples inhabited the southwestern shore of the lake during the 13th century. Southern Cushitic peoples lived on the eastern and southern shores of the lake during the 12th century but were replaced by the Sukuma peoples on the southern shore by the 16th century.

See also: VICTORIA, LAKE (Vols. I, V); BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II).

Volta River Thousand-mile (1,600-km) river system in present-day GHANA, formed from the confluence of the Black Volta and the White Volta rivers. Before the 16th century several powerful kingdoms emerged in the Volta basin. The river's name, given by Portuguese explorers in the 15th century, means "turn," after its twisting course.

Beginning around 1260 Diamare people from the east invaded long-established communities along the Volta. For the next 200 years intermittent raids were carried out throughout the region, and by 1480, because of ease of

transport and local trade, numerous riverside kingdoms had emerged. These came to include the MOSSI STATES of DAGOMBA, MAMPRUSI, OUAGADOUGOU, and YATENGA, all of which were well established by the middle of the 16th century.

The adjective used to describe the peoples and languages originating in the Volta River region is *Voltaic.*

W

Wagadu See OUAGADOU.

Walata (Oualata) Major center of trade in the early 11th century, located on the edge of the Sahara, in what is presently MAURITANIA. Walata was an important stop on the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES between the upper Niger River region and MOROCCO. Walata was one of two cities that replaced the Ghanaian imperial capital of KUMBI SALEH as a major trading center of the area. Near the beginning of the 13th century, SUMANGURU (d. c. 1235), the reportedly cruel founder of the KANIAGA kingdom, conquered Kumbi. This caused traders, MERCHANTS, and even the native SONINKE people to leave the city. They established new trading settlements at Walata and JENNE. By about 1230 Walata had become a main center of commerce in this part of Africa. During one period it was perhaps the best-known caravan stop on the Sahara trade routes. About 1480 Sunni ALI (r. c. 1464–1492), ruler of the SONGHAI Empire, took control of Walata, adding this great city to his vast kingdom.

See also: GHANA EMPIRE (Vol. II); WALATA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Timothy Cleaveland, *Becoming Walata: A History of Saharan Social Formation and Transformation* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2002).

Wamara *Son and successor of Ndahura, founder of the Chwezi dynasty that briefly ruled the Kitara Complex of kingdoms in present-day Uganda.*

Archaeological evidence suggests that Chwezi rule in Kitara was limited to the 14th century. However, because much of the information about Kitara and the CHWEZI DYNASTY comes from oral traditions, there is debate over what is fact and what is mythology. Many local legends are associated with the Chwezi kings and chiefs, who were widely revered and thought to have mystical powers. Even today Chwezi ancestors are revered in parts of UGANDA and neighboring TANZANIA.

> **Many legends are associated with the Chwezi kings and chiefs, who were revered as sons of God and thought to have mystical powers. It was said, for example, that these individuals wandered without fear and that their eyes were as bright as the Sun.**

Following traditions, it is generally accepted that there were three Chwezi kings who ruled over Kitara: NDAHURA, Mulindwa (about whom there is little information), and Ndahura's son, Wamara. Ndahura founded the first Chwezi dynasty but abdicated the throne after he was captured in battle. Convinced that he had disgraced his title and his subjects, Ndahura asked his subjects, sometimes called the Bachwezi ("people of the Chwezi"), to elect a successor to the throne from among his children. Although the Bachwezi probably would have welcomed Ndahura back, they respected his decision and chose his eldest son to be their king.

Upon taking the throne, Wamara moved his capital from Mubende Hill to Bwera, where he divided the states in the Kitara Complex among his brothers and chosen associates. Under Wamara, Kitara was faced with constant strife and social unrest. This was mainly due to the influx

of immigrants to the region, especially waves of LUO-speaking pastoralists, who came south from the southern SUDAN in search of suitable pastures for their herds.

The growing number of diverse subjects proved to be a discontented lot, but Wamara tried to appease them. He attempted, for example, to integrate them within the kingdom, giving members of different ethnic groups prominent positions in the government. However, the new arrivals resented the Chwezi kings for demanding exorbitant tribute payments. The Chwezi dynasty met its end with the rise of the Luo-speaking BITO clan. One tradition says that the Chwezi rulers were forced to move south to found new states. Another widely accepted tradition says that, following a famine and an epidemic that struck the region's cattle, one of Wamara's appointed generals, Kagoro, staged a coup, during which the Chwezi aristocracy was wiped out.

See also: DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II).

Wangara See DYULA.

Wangara gold fields Regions in western Africa that provided the DYULA, or Wangara, traders with the resources to become the largest commercial brokers between the 1300s and 1500s. Based on the accounts of 13th century observers and on recent geological surveys, it is commonly believed that the main Wangara gold fields were located in Bambuk, Bure, and other forested regions of present-day GHANA and IVORY COAST. Bambuk is near the SENEGAL and Faleme rivers, and Bure lies between the Niger and Tinkisso rivers, southeast of Bambuk.

Despite the importance of GOLD in the trans-Saharan trading economy, there is limited information about where the metal was mined and the way in which it was processed. To avoid competition the savvy Dyula managed to maintain secrecy regarding the location of their gold fields. They even went so far as to practice dumb barter, a method of commerce in which neither party ever met face to face. The Dyula would place their merchandise at the side of a riverbank and then retreat while the interested parties paid for their goods. A Dyula trader would rather face death than reveal the source of his people's wealth. Even royalty respected this secrecy. Had they not, they would have suffered the repercussions of the Dyula's withholding trade.

See also: TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

waqlimi Title that the ZANJ of East Africa gave their king. The term *waqlimi,* or *wafalme,* comes from the phrase *Morwa wa ka Limi* and means "Son of the Supreme Lord." Although *al-Zanj,* meaning "blacks," was the term ARABS used to describe all Africans, it came to refer more specifically to the group of people who lived south of the SOMALI region of the Horn of Africa on the Indian Ocean coast.

In 943 the famous Arab geographer el MASUDI, who had sailed as far south as the island of PEMBA (Kanbalu), described the Zanj system of government in his book, *The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems.* He noted that the Zanj elected the *waqlimi* as a divine representative who was entrusted with leading the kingdom justly.

The Zanj were a spiritual people, although they did not subscribe to an organized RELIGION. Their name for God was *Mkalanjalu.* According to the ninth-century Arab author al-Jahiz, Zanj sermons were delivered before the *waqlimi* by holy men, illustrating the interconnectedness of government and religion in Zanj society.

The idea of justice was extremely important to the Zanj. The *waqlimi*'s role was considerable in this system because he was in charge not only of his own army, which was substantial, but also of the armies of all the lesser kings or chiefs within the empire. This was not an easy task considering that the Zanj's interests were in GOLD MINING and trading—ventures that were notoriously rife with corruption in some areas of East Africa. If the Zanj people felt that the *waqlimi* had failed to perform his duty of dispensing justice then he was no longer the "son of God," and they could put him to death and end his line of succession to the throne.

See also: DIVINE RULE (Vol. II).

Waqwaq People who settled the islands called Kunlun, which were later renamed the land of Waqwaq by Arab sailors in the 10th century. There is some debate as to the exact location of the islands and the origin of the people. One group of Waqwaq is believed to have inhabited a region in Southeast Asia near China. The other appears to have settled along the East African coast prior to the age of intensive Arab exploration in the area starting in the 10th century. This second group of Waqwaq settled primarily in MADAGASCAR, the PEMBA Islands, and on the mainland from the modern border of KENYA and TANZANIA to as far south as SOFALA. Arab geographers claimed that the Waqwaqs were of Indonesian descent, but to add further confusion, the name *Waqwaq* is also synonymous in some accounts with Khoisan.

It is generally accepted that the Waqwaqs came to Africa early in the common era. They prospered through GOLD MINING and became ruthless traders. Around 945 they invaded Pemba, called Kanbalu at the time, in an infamous attack that is described in *The Book of the Wonders of India.* The Waqwaqs came in 1,000 ships, and their

journey to Kanbalu, they claimed, took almost a year, as they subjugated several coastal towns and villages along the way.

Kanbalu was of interest to the Waqwaqs for two reasons. First, they were after goods to trade with China. These included IVORY, ambergris (perfume made from whales), frankincense, myrrh, panther skins, tortoiseshell, and, most important, the ZANJ people whom they captured and forced into servitude. Second, the Muslims posed a serious threat to the Waqwaqs. Not only did the Waqwaqs want to prevent ARABS from infiltrating their gold and IRON mines but they also wanted to hinder the longstanding Muslim dominance of local trade.

The Waqwaqs were a powerful force and managed for a time to impede some Muslim activities. Ultimately, however, they were no match for the Arabs, who had firmly established themselves in the area by the end of the 10th century. As East Africa increasingly converted to ISLAM in the 11th century, the Waqwaq trading empire collapsed.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vols. II, III, IV).

warfare and weapons Although the details of early African warfare are vague, by 1200 distinct military tactics had emerged throughout the continent. The severity of warfare depended largely on the size, government structure, and location of the communities involved.

The earliest known conflicts occurred between loosely organized peoples like the DINKA, Nuer, MAASAI, and San. Although their villages, with their elder-dominated SOCIAL STRUCTURE, usually lacked a clear hierarchical system, these communities were able to organize into bands during warfare. Bands (groups of related nomadic or foraging peoples) and groups of agriculturalists often raided neighboring villages, but they seldom engaged in long battles. Few people died in these conflicts because of the limited killing power of their weapons, which were generally just modified hunting and farming tools. This early warfare tended to center on domestic disputes, such as conflicts over cattle, land, LABOR, or social status. Opponents were never really defeated; rather they were simply kept at bay for a period of time.

In the seventh century Arab Muslim armies from Saudi Arabia advanced westward across the Red Sea and into EGYPT, first establishing a base of operations at CAIRO. Mounted on horseback and armed with strong iron swords—as well as religious fervor—they quickly conquered weakly defended agricultural villages in the hinterland. Along the coast they faced stiff Byzantine opposition, which included naval ships, but even the Byzantines eventually fell to the overwhelming Arab forces. Although they also faced fierce resistance from indigenous BERBERS in present-day ALGERIA and MO-

ROCCO, by the beginning of the eighth century Muslim ARABS had conquered nearly all of North Africa. They also crossed the Straight of Gibraltar and conquered the southern part of Spain. In the west the Muslim expansion southward was limited only by the forbidding environment of the SAHARA DESERT. In the east, however, the expansion was forestalled by the armies of MAQURRAH, in Christian NUBIA. In addition to fighting with as much religious fervor as the invading Muslim armies, Nubia's Christian armies were made up of highly skilled archers who had a tactical advantage over their sword-wielding, horse-mounted enemies.

From the eighth through the 10th centuries Abbasid dynasty rulers in North Africa maintained armies of well-trained MAMLUKS, who were used for protection as well as to enforce Islamic law throughout the realm. By the 13th century, however, the Mamluks had established their own Islamic state, spread over most of Egypt and parts of present-day LIBYA.

In the northern parts of SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA horses were used extensively in the cavalries of the Ghana, Mali, and SONGHAI empires as early as the ninth century because they could survive in the savanna climate. CAVALRY forces could be large; Ghana, for example, could field as many as 200,000 armed horsemen. To the west only smaller horses could survive, so the cavalries were dependent on hand-to-hand combat with sabers and attacks with javelins and bows. Coastal areas of West Africa, such as Senegambia and the Gold Coast, organized armies that used handheld weapons in combination with tactical support from archers. In present-day ANGOLA loosely organized infantries were made up of soldiers highly skilled in hand-to-hand combat who relied on their ability to dodge weapons rather than utilize shields.

At GREAT ZIMBABWE (c. 1200–1450 CE), an Iron Age empire that flourished in the southeastern part of modern ZIMBABWE, archaeologists have found iron tools, but these could be ceremonial or hunting implements. Because communities south of the Sahara were generally small and scattered, it is likely that any disagreement led to the dispersal of peoples rather than to conflict.

See also: WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Warri Capital city and port of the ITSEKIRI kingdom of southern NIGERIA. Founded in the late 15th century, Warri was situated just south of the kingdom of BENIN, in the western Niger Delta region. According to oral tradition, a prince of Benin named Ginuwa, or Igunwa, who was proving to be unpopular at home, was sent to Warri by his father, Oba Olua. Once in Warri, Ginuwa established the Itsekiri kingdom and assumed the name Olu, in honor of his father. Ginuwa's was succeeded by his sons, Ijijen and Irame, who led Warri and the Itsekiri kingdom to great political and economic success.

The Itsekiri traded salt, clay pots, and palm oil with other peoples of the Niger Delta. They also traded large amounts of CASSAVA flour with the Portuguese MERCHANTS who began visiting the delta city-states in the second half of the 15th century. Because of their strong trading ECONOMY, the Itsekiri were influential throughout southern Nigeria, and their customs were practiced among both the Liama and Soku communities. The NEMBE people of the Niger Delta adopted the Itsekiri god Ogidiga.

After the 15th century the Portuguese attempts to establish Catholic missionaries in the Niger Delta region were more successful in Warri than in any of the other neighboring kingdom.

See also: ITSEKIRI (Vol. III); PALM OIL (Vols. III, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Wati, Mansa (c. 13th century) *Son of Sundiata and minor ruler of the Mali Empire*

Following the death of Mansa ULI (r. 1255–1270), dynastic disputed broke out between Wati and his brother KARIFA. Both had brief, troubled reigns that left the MALI EMPIRE weaker than it had been at the death of its founder, SUNDIATA (r. 1235–1255). Following the death of Karifa, power passed to Sundiata's grandson, ABU BAKR (r. 1274–1285), who ruled until being overthrown by SAKURA (d. c. 1300).

Western Sahara North African country measuring approximately 103,000 square miles (266,800 sq km) that borders on MOROCCO to the north, ALGERIA to the northeast, and MAURITANIA to the south and east. The entire western part of Western Sahara borders on the Atlantic Ocean. The largest city is Laayoune, which is also the capital.

Western Sahara is mostly low desert land that receives very little rainfall, making permanent AGRICULTURE impossible. In the eighth and ninth centuries rival Zenata and Sanhaja Berber confederations controlled much of northwest Africa, including what is now the country of Western Sahara. By the 10th century Muslim ARABS had swept across North Africa, converting many in the region to ISLAM. Berbers accepted the new religion as a tool for social organization, but, unlike other North African groups, they rejected ARABIC, the language of Islam, in favor of their own Berber language, called Tamazight.

With its inhospitable climate, the Western Sahara region remained sparsely populated, even along the coast. To the east the Islamized Zenata and Sanhaja groups continued to make their living by acting as guides and guards for traders who transported GOLD, ostrich feathers, and other luxury items along the TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES running from the western SUDAN to depots in Morocco and Algeria.

In the 13th and 14th centuries Yemeni Arab tribes invaded Sanhaja territories after being expelled from southern Morocco by the ALMORAVIDS. Known as the Maqil and led by a tribe called Hassan, these invaders eventually mixed with the local Sanhaja Berbers. The language of the Maqil, called Hassaniya, reflected the combination of Arabic and Berber tongues. This mixed group evolved into the Saharawi people of present-day Western Sahara. Saharawi still speak Hassaniya.

In 1434 Portuguese navigators sailed down the African Atlantic coast as far south as Western Sahara's Cape Bojador. However, since the area was sparsely settled and offered few prospects for trade, the region remained free of European influence until the 19th century.

See also: WESTERN SAHARA (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Wolof People, originally of FULANI origin, who migrated to the SENEGAL and the GAMBIA region (Senegambia) in the 1300s. The Wolof settled among the Jolof people and gradually began to set up the states that ultimately formed the WOLOF EMPIRE. The first of these states to organize was Jolof, and by the 15th century their extensive kingdom included Kayor, Walo, Baol, and the SERER states of Sine and Saloum. Wolof society adhered to a strict class structure that was divided into three major groups: freeborn, low-caste or unfree, and slaves. Each of these groups had its own hierarchical system. Included in the freeborn (*jambur,* in Wolof), in order of importance, were royalty, NOBLES, clerics, and peasants. The low-caste or unfree (*nyenyo*) were the working class made up of laborers (blacksmiths, jewelers, tanners, and cobblers) and CRAFTSPEOPLE (griots or praise-singers, weavers, and other artisans).

Although the blacksmiths and griots were from a lower class, their positions earned them a certain amount of respect. The upper class required the services of the GRIOT, and his was the only position from which a member of the low caste could speak frankly to the freeborn without suffering serious repercussions. The blacksmith was an important member of society because he built instruments of warfare. The slaves (*jam*) were defined as all owned persons, though there was a distinction between those who were born into SLAVERY, those who were bought, and those who were captured. The social position of the slave depended on the position of his owner. For instance, if the slave was owned by a member of the

freeborn, he could be given an honorable position that might surpass the low caste. Although moving from caste to caste was possible, it was uncommon. Intermarriages between castes were rare.

In 1455 Cada Mosto, a Venetian writer, described the Wolof system of government. He noted that the leader of all the Wolof states was called the *burba jolof,* and, although each state was given autonomy over its kingdoms, allegiance to the empire concerning economic and security issues was expected.

ISLAM came to the Wolof region between the 11th and the 16th centuries. The lower castes were more willing to convert than were those of the royalty or nobility, but Wolof rulers often would feign conversion to maintain control over their Muslim subjects. The Wolof empire declined in the 16th century when the states began to fragment.

See also: SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); WOLOF (Vol. IV) WOLOF EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Further reading: Samba Diop, *The Oral History and Literature of the Wolof People of Waalo, Northern Senegal* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1995).

Wolof empire   Five states in the West African region of SENEGAL and The GAMBIA (also called Senegambia) that accepted the dominion of the WOLOF state of Jolof during the 14th through the 16th centuries The first *burba jolof,* or king, of the Wolof empire is said to have been Ndiadiane Ndiaye of Jolof, who assumed power in the late 1300s. He was able to unite his state with the three other Wolof states in the region (Kayor, Baol, and Walo) and two states (Sine and Saloum) of the neighboring SERER people that had large Wolof minorities.

The Wolof empire was more a voluntary confederation than a highly centralized kingdom. The rulers of the other states elected the *burba jolof* and voluntarily paid him tribute for the upkeep of his royal dignity. Beyond that they were free to rule their states independently, although they were expected to cooperate with the *burba jolof* in matters of defense, trade, and taxation.

Heredity was not the important factor in the choice of a ruler; lineage, however, was. The rulers of the individual Wolof states had to be descendants of the founders of their individual states and must have been born of a noble woman. The *burba jolof* had to be a descendant of Ndiadiane Ndiaye himself in the male line of succession. Once appointed, the *burba jolof* and the lesser kings of the other states underwent elaborate installation rituals that, it was thought, gave them magical powers and made them divine.

Since it was the nobility who elected the *burba jolof*, they saw to it that he ruled as they wanted, or they removed him from the throne. The *burba jolof* was given an army over which he had control, and if his soldiers were

powerful enough, they could sometimes prevent the king from being dethroned. The people of the lower stations of society had no political power.

The responsibilities of a Wolof leader were spiritual as well as political. He was seen as a divine representative and, as such, was the link between his subjects and their ancestors. Despite the fact that the king could be easily overthrown, he was highly esteemed and treated with the utmost respect by all those under him. The authority of the *burba jolof* and the lesser kings depended on their personal wealth and power. All had private armies and often acted autocratically and in their own best interest because there was often no need to maintain a common front. When rulers appeared in public, they were accompanied by a large retinue of courtiers and warriors.

Starting in 1444 Portuguese MERCHANTS began entering the Wolof empire to develop a profitable trading partnership, and this turn of events led to conflict among the Wolof states. Kayor was the first of the states to break away from the empire, doing so about 1556. Kayor declared its independence, thereby cutting off the inland Jolof state from access to the sea and European trade. The leader of Kayor, whose name is lost to history, then captured the neighboring Wolof state of Baol, repulsed an invading army from Jolof, and killed the *burba.* The other Wolof rulers refused to accept Kayor's dominion and created independent local states.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); WOLOF EMPIRE (Vol. III).

women in medieval Africa   The history of women in Africa is elusive at best, and, as a result, researchers frequently have had to rely on nonconventional sources in order to reconstruct it. These sources increasingly have included oral tradition, mythology, and findings associated with archaeological excavations. Because of this, many historians have found it useful to look for certain themes that recur from period to period or from region to region, rather than following a strict chronology.

For example, with the rise of ISLAM and the shift toward more complex city-states, new divisions along gender lines began to appear in many African societies. Around the same time, many female networks were formed, apparently to meet the needs of female members of society as well as to create autonomous means of generating income. Among the most important of these networks were initiation rites and secret societies, both of which ultimately served to transmit a society's culture and RELIGION.

Religion was an arena in which women could gain power, although in many societies it was only male priests who were able to lead most ceremonies. However, many women were noted for their ability to serve as spirit mediums, which frequently led to greater and more significant responsibilities for women as a whole group. In the

Great Lakes region, for example, the CHWEZI DYNASTY employed priestesses who led a women's ceremony known as *kubandwa.* This rite of passage, which represented a "marriage" between young girls and specific deities, served as an important method for transferring traditions from generation to generation.

The middle centuries also afforded women opportunities to move beyond narrow domestic roles. As a result they often generated wealth through nonagricultural forms of LABOR. Because trade was already fairly well-established, women generally placed more emphasis on the production of items such as textiles. In what is now SOUTH AFRICA, for example, women of the Inka people earned revenue from their skills as weavers and, like SHONA women, also worked in early MINING operations. Other women supplemented agricultural work with forms of labor dictated by the length of the lean times between dwindling FOOD supplies and the new harvest. Afikpo women, a subgroup of the IGBO of NIGERIA, traditionally made pots that were sold in the larger cities of Calabar or the communities bordering the Cross River. Female networks were the basis of women's dominance in the MAKETPLACE. Agricultural produce, cooked items, cloth, beads, and many other types of crafts were all sold to visiting traders or at the local markets. This source of income not only benefited the women themselves but also figured significantly in the urbanization process of West and Central Africa.

The formation of city-states that took place during the medieval and subsequent periods appears to have lessened the influence of matriarchal societies. This has largely been attributed to the influence of Islam, with its emphasis on patrilineal descent, especially in the selection of political and religious leaders. Noteworthy in this regard were the women of the early SWAHILI COAST culture, whose activities became more regulated as a result of the gender inequality that accompanied religious conversion and the resulting Arabization.

In spite of the spread of Islam, however, there were many groups that maintained long-standing traditions of powerful female leadership and networks. The MANDE and YORUBA societies of West Africa were prime examples of this. Women leaders among the Yoruba were known as *iyalode,* and one of their primary responsibilities was the protection of market women. Elsewhere the TUAREGS of the western Sahara, who had developed their own tradition of indigenous feudalism and rituals well before their conversion to Islam, also maintained the notion of female independence and matrilineal inheritance.

In royal societies, such as those developed by the AKAN of present-day GHANA, a long line of queen mothers, referred to as the *ohemma,* maintained and exercised power on the basis of their relationship to the king. Considered female kings, their divinity stemmed from their ability to bring forth kings. As such, these women ruled informal networks of family clans that included both men and women. The queen mother's symbol, a knotted cloth tied around a long staff, has been noted among Tuareg women rulers as well. In contrast, queen mothers of the LUBA people of present-day southeastern Democratic Republic of the CONGO, although aware of the secrets associated with powerful rule, could not be rulers outright. Instead, as wives and mothers, they remained in the background, serving primarily as counselors to the king.

See also: INITIATION RITES (Vol. I); *KANDAKE* (Vol. I); ORAL TRADITIONS (Vols. I, IV); QUEENS AND QUEEN MOTHERS (Vol. II); SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I); WOMEN IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Iris Berger and E. Francis White, eds., *Women in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1999); Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women: A Modern History* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997); Ivan Van Sertima, ed., *Black Women in Antiquity* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1997).

writing   About a century before the beginning of the common era the Semitic Sabaean people of southern Arabia introduced a system of writing. Commonly referred to as Sabaean script, this system evolved into the Ethiopic writing system, Africa's oldest alphabet. (It is still in use today.) The Ethiopic writing system gave rise to many variations, including GE'EZ, AMHARIC, Tigray, and Tigrinya.

Of particular interest are the Nsibidi and Mende styles of African writing. Nsibidi script is the writing system of the Ejagham people of NIGERIA. It is found on tombstones, secret society buildings, costumes, ritual fans, headdresses, and textiles. Mende script, the writing system of the Mende people of modern-day SIERRA LEONE, is considered one of the more artistic examples of written language, with its many curlicues and figures.

The oldest existing examples of Ge'ez writing date back to around the fourth century CE, though the roots of the language date to pre-Christian times. There are translations of the Bible in Ge'ez from between the fifth and seventh centuries. Ge'ez further modified Sabaean script and used different vowel sounds to create syllables. Ge'ez and subsequent Ethiopic writing systems are read exclusively left to right (like English), unlike other Semitic

languages, which are read right to left. Ge'ez script was in common use until about the seventh century. After that it was used only for religious purposes, in writings and observances in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

The oldest examples of Amharic writing are songs and poems that date back to the 14th century. Amharic included additional characters to represent sounds acquired from Cushitic languages and further modified the Ethiopic alphabet (which they called *fidel* or *feedel*) to include 33 consonant characters. Amharic has seven vowel sounds. Each consonant character can form seven syllables, depending on which vowel sound is used, so Amharic has a total of 231 syllables.

A completely different writing system arrived in Africa with the Muslim invasion, which began around 646 when Arab Muslims conquered EGYPT. The Muslims were an intensely religious people and their religious texts were written using the ARABIC alphabet. Their influence quickly extended across northern Africa and throughout the continent as the Muslim world expanded through military victories. Until that time African writing systems were localized. But as ISLAM spread throughout Africa, so did the Arabic language. Literacy increased as more and more Africans converted to Islam. At first, many Africans became bilingual, able to speak both their mother tongues and Arabic. Later they began using the Arabic alphabet to write their own languages. Now Arabic script is one of the most common scripts for writing African languages.

See also: ALPHABETS AND SCRIPTS (Vol. I); DEMOTIC (Vol. I); EJAGHAM (Vol. III); HIERATIC (Vol. I); HIEROGLYPHICS (Vol. I); LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I); NSIBIDI WRITING (Vol. III); WRITING (Vol. I).

X

Xhosa Bantu-speaking people of present-day SOUTH AFRICA who inhabited the region for several centuries before the arrival of European colonists in the 16th century. The Xhosa, whose roots are traced to a number of eastern Nguni ethnic groups, moved south across the Kei River to establish themselves as the southernmost of the Nguni peoples. Highly retentive of their cultural systems and traditions, they were prosperous and prolific pastoralists.

See also: GREAT KEI RIVER (Vol. II); NGUNI (Vol. III); XHOSA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Y

Yaji, Sarki (r. 1349–1385) *Ruler of Kano; believed to be the first Muslim Hausa king*

Sarki Yaji was one of a series of kings, or *sarkis,* who ruled in Hausaland during the 14th century. The king of the major Hausa kingdom of KANO, Yaji saw the introduction of ISLAM to the region. Evidence suggests that Yaji was helped by pro-Islamic groups in his takeover of Santolo, a "pagan" city to the southeast of Kano. However, even though Yaji captured Santolo, ending its role as a center of traditional worship, the spread of Islam was not very successful overall in the HAUSA STATES at that time. This was primarily because the *sarkis* often allowed subject populations to follow their own local beliefs rather than be fully subject to Islam. It can be argued, however, that the *sarkis* had no choice, reliant as they were on the cooperation of their followers, some of whom refused conversion to the new religion. *Sarkis* did not rule with the same undisputed authority enjoyed by SONGHAI rulers at the height of their power.

After Yaji's death, his son, KANAJEJI, became *SARKI* of Kano. Reigning from 1390 to 1410, Kanajeji restored traditional religious practices after Kano was defeated by another Hausa city-state. It was not until the mid-15th century that Islam again became dominant in the region.

Yalunka (Dialonke, Jallonke) A people of MANDE descent who were among the earliest inhabitants of the FOUTA DJALLON highlands in what is now GUINEA. The Yalunka primarily resided in the northern and eastern regions among the Temne, Baga, Daebe (Bari), and Fula, where they hunted and worked the land. Although, more often than not, they coexisted peacefully with these groups, friction sometimes arose between the various clans. The Yalunka became increasingly hostile as more immigrants continued to move into the region. These tensions mounted in the 15th century when the immigrants, particularly the newly converted Fula, started bringing their Islamic RELIGION with them.

The Yalunka speak a MANDINKA language that is very similar to the SUSU language. In fact, they are so closely related to the Susu, who live in the coastal regions of southern Guinea, that some historians think of the Yalunka and the Susu as the same people.

Yaqub al-Mansur (Abu Yusuf Ya'qub Ibn 'abd al-Mu'min al-Mansur, Ya'qub II) (c. 1160–1199) *Third king of the Almohad Muminid dynasty, which ruled North Africa and Spain from 1184 to 1199*

At the age of 24, Yaqub al-Mansur succeeded his popular father, ABU YAQUB YUSUF (r. 1163–1184), and took the Almohad throne. Unfortunately, Yaqub's reign was not as peaceful as his father's.

> **After serving as his father's vizier, Yaqub seemed the obvious choice as his successor, though this sentiment was not shared by his brother Umar, who later betrayed him and was executed for his disloyalty.**

Almost immediately upon Yaqub's taking power, internal difficulties arose among his MASMUDA clan and rival

BERBERS in the central MAGHRIB and IFRIQIYA. One of these rival clans, the Banu Ghaniya, began to take lands in the eastern part of the Almohad empire, near TUNISIA. The Ghaniya rebellion lasted several years and, although the ALMOHADS eventually recovered all the territory they lost, the revolt took its toll on the empire.

In 1194 Yaqub turned his attention to al-ANDALUS—Arab territory in what is now southern Spain—in order to check the advances of the Portuguese and Castilians on Almohad territories. Castilian king Alfonso VIII had led his troops to take Seville, but was surprised when Yaqub and Pedro Fernandez de Castro, a longtime rival of King Alfonso, joined forces. With Fernandez de Castro's backing, the Almohads successfully defended their territory, finally winning a decisive victory at Alarcos, in 1195. After this battle, Yaqub was known to the Almohads as *al-Mansur,* which means "one made victorious by God." With renewed confidence, al-Mansur made his way through southern parts of the Iberian Peninsula, conquering Toledo, Madrid, Alcalá, and Cuenca.

The strong Almohad interest in artistic and intellectual culture waned during al-Mansur's rule. Instead, he encouraged adherence to strict Islamic doctrine, which, Yaqub felt, had been rather slack during the reigns of both his father, Yusuf I, and grandfather, ABD AL-MUMIN.

Al-Mansur is remembered for his stellar military leadership and for bringing glory to the Almohad empire. The great caliph was succeeded by his son Muhammad al-Nasir, whom al-Mansur had named his successor upon returning to his capital at MARRAKECH after his victories in al-Andalus.

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Yatenga One of the independent West African states that made up the the MOSSI STATES, which flourished between about 1500 and 1895 at the headwaters of the VOLTA RIVER. Named after Naba Yadega (r. 12th century), a OUAGADOUGOU prince and the grandson of Naba Oubri, Yatenga was founded about 1170 but did not become one of the Mossi states until the mid-16th century.

According to traditional tales, before King Yadega ruled Yatenga the region was dominated by Rawa, the son of Ouedraogo, founder of the Mossi peoples. Rawa successfully took over this area, which included Zandoma, by allowing its people, the Ninsi, religious autonomy. The DOGON, another group in the region, were not so easily pacified and moved north to the Bandiagara cliffs.

Upon the death of Ouagadougou's Naba Nyingnemdo, Yadega's younger brother Koudoumie took advantage of the fact that Yadega was engaged in battle elsewhere and claimed the throne. When Yadega discovered this betrayal, he tried to fight for his throne but found Koudoumie's forces too strong. With the help of his sister, Pabre, who stole the royal charms of Ouagadougou to use on Yadega's behalf, Yadega retreated to Gourcy, where he founded the capital of Yatenga. The royal charms, ownership of which was believed to ensure a successful reign, served Yadega well, as Yatenga eventually gained independence from Ouagadougou. By the 16th century Yatenga had become an important Mossi state, sending warriors along the Niger bend to plunder the towns of JENNE, Sarafere, TIMBUKTU, and WALATA.

Yekuno Amlak (Yekuno Amlahk, Yekuno Amiak, Yekunno-Amlak) (r. c. 1270–1285) *Solomonic ruler of Ethiopia*

Yekuno Amlak, a nobleman from AMHARA, overthrew the ZAGWE DYNASTY in 1270. He was supported by the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church, specifically by influential monks from an island monastic school located in Lake Hayq. Yekuno Amlak claimed to be a direct descendant of King Solomon and Queen Makeda (queen of Sheba) through their son, Menelik I, who was the first emperor of Ethiopia.

The reign of Yekuno Amlak and his descendants became known as the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY, as they all claimed Solomonic descendancy even though the union itself is most likely a legend. During the 15 years Yekuno Amlak ruled, his empire widened in influence, continuing the spread of CHRISTIANITY southward and reaching out for contact with Europe and the Middle East. He solidified control of his empire, primarily by keeping his court mobile—traveling to areas in need of overseeing rather than establishing a permanent capital. He also successfully defended it against surrounding pagan and Muslim groups. One of his greatest triumphs was against the Muslim state of Ifat, the defeat of which was important to controlling trade routes.

See also: MAKEDA, QUEEN (Vol. I); MENELIK I (Vol. I).

Yitbarek (r. c. 1207–1247) *Emperor of the Zagwe dynasty of Ethiopia*

Yitbarek was a descendant of King LALIBELA (r. c. 1119–1159), the most famous king of the ZAGWE DYNASTY and the monarch responsible for the carving of churches from solid rock at the Zagwe capital of al-Roha (which, in his honor, is now the town of LALIBELA). Despite King Lalibela's shows of devotion, the church, es-

pecially the monastic leaders, continued to favor the previous SOLOMONIC DYNASTY of AKSUM, both during Lalibela's life and after his death.

Yitbarek's reign lasted from 20 and 40 years. It is possible that Yitbarek was succeeded by another Zagwe king, Mairari (r. c. 1247–1262), but it is also believed that he reigned until 1270, when he was killed by YEKUNO AMLAK (r. 1270–1285), a prince from Shoa. Amlak's claim to legitimacy was based on his supposed descent from King Solomon and Queen Makeda (queen of Sheba).

One theory about Yitbarek's death and the subsequent fall of the Zagwe dynasty holds that Yitbarek succumbed because the church backed Yekuno Amlak's claim of descent from King Solomon Another version says that a monk named Yasus Moa convinced Yekuno Amlak that he had an ancestral right to the throne. According to this legend, Yitbarek retreated to Gaynt, where he sought refuge at the church of Qirqos. He was soon discovered by Yekuno Amlak and assassinated at the altar.

Yoruba

General term used to describe the language, peoples, and kingdoms of YORUBALAND. The Yoruba inhabit parts of present-day NIGERIA, Republic of BENIN, parts of GHANA, SIERRE LEONE, and TOGO. They speak a common Yoruba language (in the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo languages), and share a common culture but never became a single, unified political group in the same way as, for instance, the MANDINKA founders of the MALI EMPIRE did.

The Yoruba were a highly urbanized people in precolonial times, forming numerous kingdoms of varying sizes that were ruled by different kings who bore the hereditary title *oba* and were considered the descendant of the founding *oba*. Each *oba* was assisted by a council of chiefs, usually six, whose positions were also hereditary. The *oba* lived in a palace at the center of the town with the compounds of the various FAMILY groups surrounding it. Farmland surrounded these urban centers.

The most important precolonial Yoruba state was the OYO KINGDOM, which did not expand to become an empire until after 1550 and, as one of the largest states of West Africa, dominated the neighboring states of Republic of BENIN and DAHOMEY. The city of ILE-IFE—in Yoruba tradition, the birthplace of humanity—remained an important religious center. The kings of Ife still traditionally bear the title *oni,* meaning "this one," the person whom the gods have chosen as ruler.

According to Yoruba tradition, the Yoruba people have their origins with the earth itself. The supreme being, Olorun, sent a lesser god named Obtala to create land upon the water. Olorun instructed him to place some pieces of IRON upon the water and then empty a snail shell full of soil onto them. Oblata was then to release a rooster with five toes to scratch the soil and make

This bronze head of an unnamed king from Yorubaland is of a style that goes back to before the 14th century. © Paul Almasy/Corbis

it become land. There are two versions of the myth. In one, Obatala does as instructed. In the other version, he becomes drunk, and the task must be finished by ODUDUWA. Oduduwa plants on the land a seed that grows into a huge palm tree with 16 branches. These branches are said to symbolize the original kingdoms of the Yoruba. The place where creation is purported to have taken place is called *Ife* and has remained a sacred city for the Yoruba.

Probably closer to actual events is a second myth about Yoruba beginnings in which an invading group led by Oduduwa defeats the people already living at Ile-Ife, who are led by Obatala. Either way, Oduduwa claims the role of the founder of the Yoruba.

AGRICULTURE was the predominant way of life, growing such crops as cocoa, yams, corn, millet, CASSAVA, COTTON, plantains, peanuts, peas, and beans on a rotating basis. The market ECONOMY was mainly controlled by women, and their status was determined by their place within this system. This complex economy eventually allowed for an arts culture to develop, and the Yoruba became well-known CRAFTSPEOPLE. Craft work included metalsmithing, most notably BRONZE casting; sculpture in

IVORY, wood, brass, and terra-cotta; weaving; beadworking0; glassmaking; leather working; and cotton spinning. The brass and bronze that Yoruba craftspeople used was an important trade item; their constituent metals, COPPER, tin, and zinc, were imported from North Africa or from mines in the Sahara and in West Africa.

The Yoruba also developed the literary arts, constructing short stories, proverbs, poetry, and myths, many telling the tales of the deities and spirits that make up the pantheon of their traditional religion. The supreme being is called Olorun. Others are Shango, the god of thunder; Ogun, the god of iron; and Eshu, the trickster.

Moremi is one of the celebrated deities of the Yoruba. She earned her place through loyalty to her people and her own unselfishness. According to legend, the Yoruba were being beset by IGBO raiders. The Igbo, dressed in frightful costumes, wanted to drive off the inhabitants of Ile-Ife and then burn and sack the city. With the people helpless against the enemy, Moremi turned to the spirit, or *orisha,* of the Esinminrin River for help. Following its advice, Moremi allowed herself to be taken captive by the Igbo in order to learn their ways. She found that the raiders were merely people dressed in palm leaves. When she escaped, she passed this information on to the Yoruba, who were then able to defeat their enemy easily. Of course, advice from an *orisha* has its price. Moremi was forced to sacrifice her only son, Oluorogbo, but through this sacrifice, she gained immortality for herself.

See also: DIVINATION (Vol. I); ESHU (Vol. I); OLORUN (Vol. I); *ORISHA* (Vol. I); RELIGION , TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SHANGO (Vol. I); NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I); YORUBA (Vols. I, IV, V).

Further reading: Nike S. Lawal, Matthew N. O. Sadiku, and Ade Dopamu, eds*., Understanding Yoruba Life and Culture* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2004); Robert Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yoruba* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

Yorubaland   Region in present-day southwestern NIGERIA in which, during the 11th through the 17th centuries, several city-states flourished. The most notable of these states were ILE-FE, the OYO KINGDOM, and IJEBU. Ife was the first YORUBA capital and, according to oral tradition, the place at which Olodumare, the god of the sky, created humankind. All royal lineage had to be descended from the mythical ODUDUWA, who subsequently founded Ife.

Oduduwa's sons and grandsons were believed to have founded the other Yoruba states.

Migration to the area began about 700 and increased steadily over the next three centuries. Various clans and peoples assimilated or clashed, and by the year 1000, several state-like communities were established throughout the region. These were primarily agricultural societies, which, in later years, profited from both local and long-distance trade, including the trade in captives.

The EDO-speaking people of Benin, who share many political and religious traditions and an intertwined history with the neighboring Yoruba, began to develop their monarchial system of government around the same time that Ife was developing its own. As in Yoruba tradition, the ruler of the kingdom of BENIN was also called the *OBA,* and also traced his origins back to the god Oduduwa. By the 16th century Benin's area of control expanded eastward to the Niger River and westward to the Lagos Lagoon as well as to areas directly to the north and south.

In the 14th century OLD OYO began to usurp the political dominance of Ife and became an important trading state. However, territorial conflicts with Borgu and the Nupe kingdom forced the Oyo people into an exile from which they did not recover until the early 17th century. However, Oyo eventually became the most powerful of all the Yoruba kingdoms.

Renowned the world over are the Yoruba BRONZE, brass, and COPPER castings that evidence use of the LOST-WAX PROCESS, and terra-cotta sculptures that often were created as tributes to Ife gods and kings.

See also: OYO EMPIRE (Vol. III); YORUBALAND (Vol. III).

Yusuf ibn Tashbin (Yousef ibn Tashbin, Yusuf ibn Tashfin)   (r. c. 1061–1106) *Almoravid ruler who established Marrakech as the capital of Morocco*

Ruler of the Almoravid dynasty from about 1061 to 1106, Yusuf ibn Tashbin succeeded Abu Bakr al-Lamtuni, the close associate of ABD ALLAH IBN YASIN (d. c. 1059), the founder of the Almoravid movement. Ibn Tashbin assumed power in 1062, designating himself *amir al-muslimin* (commander of the Muslims). That same year he founded the city of MARRAKECH, which remained the capital of MOROCCO until the year 1147.

Under ibn Tashbin's leadership, the ALMORAVIDS were an unstoppable force whose holdings extended north and east beyond present-day Morocco and ALGERIA. In 1086,

after the Muslims in al-ANDALUS (today's southern Spain) solicited his help, ibn Tashbin led his armies across the Mediterranean Sea and into Spain, defeating Alfonso VI of Castile and León at the Battle of al-Zallaqah. Ultimately ibn Tashbin's forces went on to take control of the rest of al-Andalus. After his death in 1106, Yusuf ibn Tashbin was succeeded by his son, Ali.

Z

Za Line of SONGHAI-speaking people possibly MANDE in origin, whose ancient court was located at the town of KUKIYA, on the Niger River; they ruled GAO from about 1100 to 1300. The Za dynasty was originally established at the town of Kukiya, and its influence spread and led to the establishment of the town known as Old Gao, on the banks of the Niger River.

There is historical evidence to suggest that the SORKO people established a camp on the right, or southern, bank of the Niger as early as the eighth century. (The Sorko, whose ECONOMY was primarily based on fishing, were a branch of the Songhai people.) Eventually, this camp became the town of Gao. Later, BERBERS established a merchant camp on the river's left, or north, bank. From here they traveled to Gao to exchange salt from the Sahara for captives and grain. With good access to TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES, in time this camp developed into the town of Gao-Sané.

The Za rulers of Kukiya, who had dealings with the Sorko of Gao, prospered from this trade. As they became more powerful they extended their reign to the surrounding area. The Za eventually moved their base of operations to Gao in order to better control trade with the Berbers. As a result Gao became an important trading center.

Originally, the Za practiced an animistic religion that involved the worship of natural spirits such as the river, earth, and wild animals. When the Za converted to ISLAM, about the year 1000, they retained a number of their original beliefs, integrating them into their new religion.

About 1100 the Za moved across the river to the left bank and established a royal court at what would come to be known as Old Gao. From there the Za presided over the area's trans-Saharan trade and ruled the economy, which was agriculturally based. The Berbers of Gao-Sané, also known as the ZAGHE and the Sunni, took over Old Gao, intermarrying with the Mande Za and adopting the title of Za.

About 1300 the MALI EMPIRE conquered Gao, and the Za were forced back to the old Songhai town of Kukiya. The last descendant of the Sunni dynasty, Sunni ALI, took the throne in 1464, a date which is also considered to be the beginning of the Songhai Empire. Sunni Ali was a capable warrior-king who greatly expanded his territory, and during his time the Songhai reclaimed Gao, which became the center of a revitalized Songhai state. Thus the descendants of the original Za came to rule Gao again a few centuries later. After the reign of Sunni Ali, his son was ousted by Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. c. 1493–1528), who made Songhai the largest empire in West Africa.

See also: NIGER RIVER (Vols. I, III); SALT TRADE (Vol. II).

Zaghe Dynasty that came to power about 1080 in Old Gao on the left, or north, bank of the Niger River. Descended from the BERBERS, the Zaghe were ancestors of the rulers of the SONGHAI state. Trade brought the Berber MERCHANTS who were the ancestors of the Zaghe to the SORKO fishing camp of GAO, on the right, or southern, bank of the Niger River. Gao was probably established about 700 CE. Trading salt from the Sahara for grain, captives, and CLOTH AND TEXTILES, these merchants eventually settled and established a base of operations on the left, or north, bank of the Niger River. Called Gao-Sané, this location was chosen because it was directly connected to TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES.

The Sorko-Za dynasty that ruled Gao also established a new capital on the left bank around 1100, which became the important trading center of Old Gao. The Zaghe of Gao-Sané were Muslim, and some historians believe that the Zaghe worshiped in common with their Za neighbors of Old Gao, who had been converted to ISLAM around 1000. The Zaghe eventually took over Old Gao in a mostly nonviolent struggle, ultimately intermarrying with the Za. By the 13th century the Zaghe had adopted the title of *Za*.

When the MALI EMPIRE conquered Gao, about 1300, the Zaghe moved downriver to the old Songhai town of KUKIYA, where they again rose to power as the Sunni dynasty. In the 15th century Sunni ALI (r. 1464–1492), the last Songhai ruler, reclaimed Gao and made it the center of the expanded Songhai Empire.

See also: NIGER RIVER (Vols. 1, III).

Zagwe dynasty (c. 10th century–1270) Line of rulers whose capital was located in the LASTA MOUNTAINS, in ETHIOPIA. In the 10th century, during the decline of the kingdom of AKSUM, Zagwe kings rose to power. Although written sources in this period are scarce, the Zagwes have been portrayed as part of an elite class, the progeny of intermarriage between colonizing Aksumite military officials and indigenous AGAW speakers.

Part of the Zagwe dynasty's power came from its large army, which helped it spread CHRISTIANITY by colonizing other regions. The building of monasteries concentrated their power and included influential sites such as Debre Bizan and Debre Maryam.

Much of what is known about the Zagwe period is derived from the surviving ARCHITECTURE of the churches built under Zagwe direction. Yemrehana Christos (r. c. 1039–1079) built several important Christian churches. King Harbe I (r. c. 1079–1119), Christos's cousin and successor, tried to end the age-old practice of the Egyptian Church appointing the head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. During negotiations with the Egyptian Church, ETHIOPIA faced a severe drought that ravaged the country with famine and fire. Harbe interpreted these catastrophes as heavenly signs that he should not break with the Egyptian Church, so the Christian Agaws remained dependent on EGYPT for another seven centuries.

In the southern regions of Gojjam and Shoa, populations that included the people of Amhara received Chris-

tian instruction and later became formidable opponents to Zagwe rule. King LALIBELA (r. 1119–1159), known for his Christian piety, expressed his devotion by becoming a prolific builder of numerous rock churches, constructed in the Zagwe capital of al-Roha (later renamed the town of LALIBELA, in his honor). Some historians believe that Lalibela's spiritual goal was to pay tribute to Jerusalem by creating an imitation. Others, however, have commented that the construction of Lalibela's churches was shown to him in a dream. To accomplish his goal Lalibela recruited both local workers and others from as far away as EGYPT and Jerusalem. Using only hammers and chisels, these workers fashioned 11 churches from volcanic rock. To this day these buildings, which include St. GIYORGIS and MEDHANE ALEM, rate among the architectural wonders of the world.

Overall the Zagwe kings were denied recognition as legitimate heirs to the Ethiopian throne and historically have been categorized as usurpers. Despite the controversy surrounding their rule, however, the Zagwe dynasty probably remained in power for more than 300 years. Their longevity resulted from their practice of appointing governing officials who were either well known or directly related by blood to the monarchy. These officials were given large tracts of land and allowed to exact tribute from their subjects. The Zagwe reinforced this form of rule by annual visits to various regions of the kingdom.

One of the significant factors in their rule was the development of trading routes through the Lasta Mountains to the Muslim trading ports along the coast. This trade and the empowerment it afforded to Muslim settlers outraged Ethiopian church officials. According to Ethiopian traditions, rebellions against Zagwe rule began in the Christian province of Shoa, led by YEKUNO AMLAK (r. 1270–1285). Imprisoned by YITBAREK (r. c. 1207–1247), Yekuno Amlak escaped, gathered his forces, and successfully diverted trade from the Lasta Mountains.

Eventually Yekuno Amlak killed Yitbarek and claimed the title of emperor. He won the support of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and created allies among the Christian Tigray by claiming descent from King Solomon and Queen Makeda (queen of Sheba). Yekuno Amlak's rule marked what is generally regarded as the restoration of the SOLOMONIC DYNASTY.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II); TIGRAY (Vol. I).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1994).

zakat Islamic practice of giving alms to the poor. Among the Five Pillars of Faith of ISLAM is the requirement to make an annual contribution to the needy. This may take the form of *sadaqah,* which is a free-will offering, or *zakat,*

which requires that Muslims annually contribute two and a half percent of their wealth to the poor.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Zambia Country in southern Africa measuring approximately 290,600 square miles (752,700 sq km) that borders the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and TANZANIA to the north, MALAWI and MOZAMBIQUE to the east, ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA, and BOTSWANA to the south and ANGOLA to the west. Lusaka is Zambia's present-day capital and largest city. Starting about the beginning of the common era, Late Stone Age inhabitants of Zambia began to be overrun by migrating peoples, most likely Bantu speakers, who were firmly established in the region by about 800. Their way of life involved AGRICULTURE and livestock, MINING and metalworking, and POTTERY making. The metalworking itself, primarily with IRON, may have enhanced the ability of these people to change to an agrarian society, since iron tools, such as the ax, allowed slash-and-burn agriculture to transform forests and woodlands into farmlands. COPPER was also worked by the metalsmiths into ingots or cross shapes that were used for currency. It was also used for jewelry. There is evidence that copper, along with iron, was a traded commodity—most likely for items, such as salt, which were difficult to get in the area. Around 800 the first traces of political divisions emerged, probably spurred on by the need to control trade routes and to protect mineral resources. The making of COTTON thread was added to the list of cultural accomplishments around the year 1000. Pipe smoking also appeared at around the same time. Cattle husbandry increased as well on the Batoka Plateau.

By 1300 an even more economically complex society had evolved. Excavations at Ingombe Ilede, at the junction of the Kafue and Zambezi rivers, have uncovered distinct class differences among burial practices. Some of those buried, presumably the NOBLES, had elaborate jewelry incorporating GOLD, glass beads, and seashells. These would have had to come through trade from as far away as Zimbabwe and the east coast of Africa.

Eventually, this trade led to Zambia's first contact with Europeans, and the domination of INDIAN OCEAN TRADE by the Portuguese beginning in the late 1400s would eventually lead to Zambia's colonization by foreign powers.

See also: BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); ZAMBIA (Vols. I, III, IV, V); ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vols. I, III).

Zanj (Zandj, al-Zanj, al-Zandj) Bantu-speaking people who lived along the Juba and Shebelle rivers of present-day SOMALIA. Little is known about these East African coastal people before the arrival of Islam. Arab historians Ibn al-Fakih and al-IDRISI (c. 1100–1165) men-

tion the Zanj as early rulers of the eastern coast. They engaged in commerce with ARABS, Persians, and Indians, probably trading tortoiseshell and small amounts of GOLD. According to al-Idrisi, early Zanj territory included the settlements of Badhuna, Karkuna, MALINDI, MOMBASA, and al-Banas. It is possible the Zanj were also living somewhere in al-Kumr. These settlements were among the first in Africa to be exposed to ISLAM. Muslim missionaries arrived in the eighth century, but a distinct Islamic kingdom did not emerge until around the 14th century with the rise of the SWAHILI COAST culture.

In pre-Islamic times the Zanj traded slaves to Arabia, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Iraq. These slaves were usually captured in raids, but sometimes kings would sell subjects who had violated cultural norms. About 750, Muslim invaders conquered the Zanj, reducing them to servitude. This Muslim Arab state soon became one of the largest traffickers of Zanj, who were used as servants, concubines, CRAFTSPEOPLE, soldiers, or hard laborers.

The Zanj slaves revolted in 689. Although small, this rebellion was followed by a more substantial uprising in 694. The leader of the Zanj, Riyah (called the "lion of the Zanj"), led a group of revolutionaries in a series of battles that posed a considerable threat to the local Muslim army. One hundred years later, more than 10,000 Zanj were slaughtered by Caliph Abu Abbas al-Saffah's army. In 869 Zanj laborers launched their largest revolt. Led by an Arab, Ali ibn Muhammad, also known as Sahib al-Zanj (Master of the Zanj), this 14-year rebellion eventually turned into a political insurrection against the Muslim caliphate. Those who participated in the revolt included the Zanj proper, the Kharmatiyya, the Nuba, the Furatiyya, and the Shuridjiyya.

Early in the revolution the Zanj captured and destroyed part of al-Ubulla. They soon conquered Djubba and an important port center, Basra. Proceeding north, they gained control of Wasit, Numaniya, and Djardjaraya but were unable to advance further. In 883 their capital, Mukjtara, was captured by an Abassid prince, and the Zanj slaves were again suppressed.

See also: NUBA (Vol. I); SLAVE REBELLIONS (Vol. III).

Zanzibar Island in the Indian Ocean, off the coast of East Africa, that was a major center of trade in precolonial Africa. The relative proximity of Zanzibar to the Middle East and India contributed to its importance as a trading center in this part of the world. Separated from Africa by only 22 miles (35 km) and located off the coast of what is now TANZANIA, the island of Zanzibar was conveniently located along popular routes for INDIAN OCEAN TRADE. With a landmass measuring approximately 640 square miles (1660 sq km), this low island has been home to many peoples. The original inhabitants probably were the Bantu-speaking people whose descendants have long lived on the island.

Persians were the first foreigners to visit and inhabit Zanzibar, perhaps as early as the seventh century. They did not, however, retain a distinct ethnic group of their own but instead blended into the African population. By the 12th century ARABS established an important presence on the island as well, creating trade settlements, owning land, and dealing in the trade of captives to and from the African mainland for export to Arabia, India, and other eastern regions.

Vasco da GAMA (C. 1460–1524) was the first European to visit Zanzibar, in 1499. Within a few short years after his arrival, the Portuguese conquered this territory and subjected it to their rule.

See also: PERSIAN TRADERS (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV); ZANZIBAR (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Zara Yakob (Zar'a Yaeqob) (r. 1434–1468) *Ethiopian king best known for his military achievements and church reforms*

Ruler of a tributary state made up of central ETHIOPIA, Zara Yakob established for himself the title of *bahr negash,* which means "ruler of the lands by the sea." The title referred to jurisdiction over the north, including Hamasien, Seraye, and the peninsula of Bur. As ruler of a Christian state, Zara Yakob felt threatened by the surrounding Islamic states. He warred against them and, in 1445, defeated the sultanate of ADAL and its Muslim allies. This fear of ISLAM may have also spurred his sending Ethiopian monks to the Conciliate of Firenze (1439–1443), thus aligning himself with Rome and initiating Ethiopia's first contact with western Europe.

As emperor Zara Yakob was the head of Ethiopia's Church, he appointed bishops and initiated church reforms. With the aid of an inquisitor and a network of spies, he hunted down and executed the leaders of heretical sects as well as innocents who had been falsely accused. Taking the title "Exterminator of the Jews," he tried, unsuccessfully, to wipe out the Jewish group known as the Falasha, or BETA ISRAEL. In 1450 Zara Yakob called a council and settled a schism in the church by accepting the observation of the Sabbath.

During Zara Yakob's mostly peaceful reign, literature and the arts were able to flourish. Zara Yakob contributed to this by writing several books of theology.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Zazzau   One of the original Hausa Bakwai, or seven true HAUSA STATES; it's capital was the city of Zaria, the name by which Zazzau was later known. Zazzau's function as the southernmost of the seven Hausa city-states was to capture people from neighboring villages for the slave trade that thrived in other Hausa states, especially KANO and KATSINA. Saharan CARAVANS traveled south to Zazzau to exchange much-needed salt for captives, cloth, grain, and other products. Zazzau was converted to ISLAM about 1456. As related by Leo Africanus, the Moroccan traveler who chronicled the history of the SONGHAI Empire, Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (d. 1538), the expansionist emperor of Songhai, captured Zazzau, in 1512, and made it part of his growing empire.

See also: LEO AFRICANUS (Vol. III); ZARIA (Vol. III).

Zeila (Seylac, Zayla)   Trading port in present-day northwest SOMALIA, on the Gulf of ADEN. Even prior to the spread of ISLAM in the seventh century, Arab traders from Baghdad, in present-day Iraq, referred to the existence of Zeila, citing it as a lucrative marketplace. The port had grown into a town of significant size with a large Muslim population by the 12th century.

Geographer al-IDRISI (c .1100–1165) described Zeila as an international marketplace that attracted traders from around the world. The city's markets offered GOLD, horses, IVORY, musk, and other rare commodities and manufactured items brought from the interior regions of ETHIOPIA. Men, women, and children destined for servitude in foreign markets were sold at Zeila as well.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II) SLAVERY (Vol. II); ZEILA (Vol. III).

Zimbabwe   Country in southern Africa measuring approximately 150,900 square miles (390,800 sq km) that borders ZAMBIA to the north, MOZAMBIQUE to the east, SOUTH AFRICA to the south, and BOTSWANA to the west. Harare is its capital and largest city. Based on archaeological findings and numerous paintings found in caves and rock shelters, Zimbabwe has one of the oldest established records of human settlement in Africa. The earliest known groups to inhabit the region were the KHOIKHOI, who were primarily hunter-gatherers. They were followed by Bantu-speaking SHONA pastoralists who migrated to the area between the second and fifth centuries. Their skills in GOLD mining as well as in IRON smelting and other forms of metalwork were well established by the fourth century. The Shona, in particular, were noted for their ability to build in dry stone, and the name *Zimbabwe* means "stone building" in the Shona language. The name was chosen for the modern country in memory of the ancestral city of GREAT ZIMBABWE and the culture that ruled an empire based there.

Archaeological evidence, including the ruins of stone cattle kraals and other enclosures, suggests that cattle were of primary importance to the Shona. In fact, cattle apparently formed the basis not only for individual wealth but also for early forms of class structure.

By the 12th century the Shona dominated the region, having pushed the Khoikhoi south into regions within present-day South Africa or, if they remained in Zimbabwe, marginalizing them within outlying areas. As a result the early success of Zimbabwe was primarily the result of Shona trading networks. Trade was essential to the growth and development of early Shona states. However, it was the monopoly some states held in the gold and IVORY trade that actually led to the centralization of power. The most powerful Shona states traded with MERCHANTS associated with both the SWAHILI COAST kingdoms, along the east coast of Africa, and the INDIAN OCEAN TRADE. The prosperity that resulted led to an unusual hierarchy of wealthy kingdoms and empires, as well as smaller confederated chieftancies.

The first Shona city in the region was MAPUNGUBWE, which archaeologists believe rose to prominence around 1075. From its early days, Mapungubwe exhibited aspects of a class structure that ultimately became an essential feature of Zimbabwe culture. Archaeologists have discovered that the royal palace was built at the top of a hill and that the king lived apart from his people. Wealthy inhabitants' desire for goods may have led to artistic specialization in the production of ceramic POTTERY, cotton cloth, and jewelry. (Gold served as the most important status symbol of the empire, and gold artifacts have been recovered from numerous graves of the ruling elite.)

Great Zimbabwe, which includes the Hill Complex, CONICAL TOWER, and Great Enclosure, was perhaps the most notable example of Shona wealth and power. Although there are conflicting reports as to when the city first rose to prominence, it appears that Great Zimbabwe may have been built while Mapungubwe still existed. Regardless, Great Zimbabwe was established by the middle of the 13th century. However, by the middle of the 15th century it had been abandoned.

See also: CATTLE (Vol. I); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV); ROCK ART (Vol. I); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III); ZIMBABWE (Vols. I, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Thomas N. Huffman, *Snakes & Crocodiles: Power and Symbolism in Ancient Zimbabwe* (Johannesburg, South Africa: Witwatersrand University Press, 1996).

GLOSSARY

agriculturalists Sociological term for "farmers."

agro-pastoralists People who practice both farming and animal husbandry.

alafin Yoruba word for "ruler" or "king."

Allah Arabic for "God" or "Supreme Being."

Americo-Liberian Liberians of African-American ancestry.

ancestor worship Misnomer for the traditional practice of honoring and recognizing the memory and spirits of deceased family members.

al-Andalus Arabic term for Muslim Spain.

animism Belief that inanimate objects have a soul or life force.

anglophone English speaking.

apartheid Afrikaans word that means "separateness"; a formal system and policy of racial segregation and political and economic discrimination against South Africa's nonwhite majority.

aphrodesiac Food or other agent thought to arouse or increase sexual desire.

askia Arabic word meaning "general" that was applied to the Songhai kings. Capitalized, the word refers to a dynasty of Songhai rulers.

assimilados Portuguese word for Africans who had assimilated into the colonial culture.

Australopithicus africanus Hominid species that branched off into *Homo habilis* and *A. robustus*.

Australopithicus anamensis Second-oldest species of the hominid *Australopithicus*.

Australopithicus ramadus Oldest of the apelike, hominid species of *Australopithicus*.

Australopithicus robustus A sturdy species of *Australopithicus* that came after *A. africanus* and appears to have been an evolutionary dead end. *Australopithecus robustus* roamed the Earth at the same time as *Homo habilis.*

balkanization The breaking apart of regions or units into smaller groups.

barter Trading system in which goods are exchanged for items of equal value.

bey Governor in the Ottoman Empire.

Bilad al-Sudan Arabic for "Land of the Blacks."

bride price The payment made by a groom and his family to compensate the bride's father for the loss of her services because of marriage.

British Commonwealth Organization of sovereign states that were former colonies under the British Empire.

caliph Title for Muslim rulers who claim to be the secular and religious successors of the Prophet Muhammad.

caliphate Muslim state ruled by a caliph.

caravel A small, maneuverable ship used by the Portuguese during the Age of Discovery.

caste A division of society based on wealth, privilege, rank, or occupation.

circumcision The cutting of the clitoris (also called clitorectomy or clitoridectomy) or the prepuce of the penis; a rite of passage in many African societies.

cire perdu French for "lost wax," a technique used to cast metals.

clan A group that traces its descent from a common ancestor.

conflict diamonds Gems that are sold or traded extra-legally in order to fund wars.

conquistadores Spanish for "conquerors"; term used to describe the Spanish leaders of the conquest of the Americas during the 1500s.

constitutional monarchy State with a constitution that is ruled by a king or queen.

customary law Established traditions, customs, or practices that govern daily life and interaction.

degredados Portuguese criminals who were sent to Africa by the Portuguese king to perform hazardous duties related to exploration and colonization.

dhow Arabic word for a wooden sailing vessel with a triangular sail that was commonly used to transport trade goods.

diaspora Word used to describe a large, readily distinguishable group of people settled far from their ancestral homelands.

divination The interpretation of supernatural signs, usually done by a medicine man or priest.

djembe African drum, often called "the healing drum" because of its use in healing ceremonies.

emir A Muslim ruler or commander.

emirate A state ruled by an emir.

endogamy Marriage within one's ethnic group, as required by custom or law.

enset Another name for the "false banana" plant common in Africa.

ethnic group Term used to signify people who share a common culture.

ethno-linguistic Word used to describe a group whose individuals share racial characteristics and a common language.

eunuch A man who has been castrated (had his testicles removed), generally so that he might be trusted to watch over a ruler's wife or wives.

francophone French speaking.

government transparency Feature of an open society in which the decisions and the policy-making process of leaders are open to public scrutiny.

griot Storyteller, common in West African cultures, who preserves and relates the oral history of his people, often with musical accompaniment.

gross domestic product (GDP) Total value of goods and services produced by a nation's economy, within that nation. GDP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

gross national product (GNP) Total value of goods and services produced by the residents of a nation, both within the nation as well as beyond its borders. Like GDP, GNP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

hajj In Islam, a pilgrimage to Mecca.

hajjiyy "Pilgrim" in Arabic.

hegira Arabic for "flight" or "exodus"; generally used to describe the move of the Muslim prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina.

hominid Biological term used to describe the various branches of the Hominidae, the family from which modern humans descend according to evolutionary theory.

ideology A coherent or systematic way of looking at human life and culture.

imam A spiritual and political leader of a Muslim state.

imamate The region or state ruled by an imam.

indigénat Separate legal code used by France in its judicial dealings with the indigenous African population of its colonies.

infidel Term used as an epithet to describe one who is unfaithful or an unbeliever with respect to a particular religion .

infrastructure Basic physical, economic, and social facilities and institutions of a community or country .

Janissary From the Turkish for "new soldier," a member of an elite Ottoman military corps.

jebel "Mountain" in Arabic.

kabaka The word for "king" in Babito and Buganda cultures.

kemet Egyptian for "black earth."

kora Small percussion instrument played by some griots.

kraal Enclosure for cattle or a group of houses surrounding such an enclosure.

lineage A group whose individuals trace their descent from a common ancestor; usually a subgroup of a larger clan.

lingua franca Common language used by speakers of different languages.

Luso-African Word that describes the combined Portuguese and African cultures, especially the offspring of Portuguese settlers and indigenous African women. (The Latin name for the area of the Iberian Peninsula occupied by modern Portugal was Lusitania.)

madrasa Theological school for the interpretation of Islamic law.

Mahdi Arabic word for "enlightened one," or "righteous leader"; specifically, the Muslim savior who, in Islamic belief, is to arrive shortly before the end of time.

mamluk Arabic for "one who is owned"; capitalized, it is a member of an elite military unit made up of captives enslaved and used by Islamic rulers to serve in Middle Eastern and North African armies.

mansa Mande term for "king" or "emperor."

marabout A mystical Muslim spiritual leader.

massif A mountainous geological feature.

mastaba Arabic for an inscribed stone tomb.

matrilineal Relating to descent on the maternal, or mother's, side.

medina Arabic word for the old section of a city.

megaliths Archaeological term meaning "large rocks"; used to describe stelae and such features as cairns and tumuli that mark important places or events for many ancient cultures.

mestizo Adjective meaning "of mixed blood."

mfecane Zulu word meaning "the crushing." When capitalized, the word refers to the nineteenth-century Zulu conquests that caused the mass migration of peoples in southern Africa.

microliths Archaeological term meaning "small rocks"; used to describe sharpened stone blade tools of Stone Age cultures.

Monophysite Related to the Christian tradition that holds that Jesus Christ had only one (divine) nature.

Moor An Arab or Berber conqueror of al-Andalus (Muslim Spain).

mulatto The offspring of a Negroid (black) person and a Caucasoid (white) person.

mwami Head of the Tutsi political structure, believed to be of divine lineage.

negusa negast "King of kings" in Ethiopic; traditional title given to the ruler of Ethiopia.

neocolonialism Political or economic policies by which former colonial powers maintain their control of former colonies.

Nilotic Relating to peoples of the Nile, or Nile River basin, used especially to describe the languages spoken by these peoples.

Nsibidi Secret script of the Ekoi people of Nigeria.

oba Yoruba king or chieftain.

pasha A high-ranking official in the Ottoman Empire.

pashalik Territory or province of the Ottoman Empire governed by a pasha.

pass book A feature of apartheid-era South Africa, pass books were identification documents that black Africans, but not whites, were required by law to carry at all times.

pastoralists People whose livelihood and society center on raising livestock.

patriarch Male head of a family, organization, or society.

patrilineal Relating to descent through the paternal, or father's, side.

poll tax A tax of a fixed amount per person levied on adults.

polygyny The practice of having more than one wife or female mate at one time.

prazeros Portuguese settlers in Africa who held prazos.

prazos Similar to feudal estates, parcels of land in Africa that were leased to Portuguese settlers by the Portuguese king.

primogeniture A hereditary system common in Africa by which the eldest child, or more commonly, the eldest son, receives all of a family's inheritance.

proverb A short popular expression or adage. Proverbs are tools for passing on traditional wisdom orally.

pygmy Greek for "fist," a unit of measurement; used to describe the short-statured Mbuti people.

qadi Arabic for "judge."

Quran (also spelled Koran) Arabic for "recitation," and the name of the book of Muslim sacred writings.

ras A title meaning "regional ruler" in Ethiopia.

rondavel Small, round homes common in southern Africa.

salaam Arabic for "peace."

sarki Hausa word for "king."

scarification Symbolic markings made by pricking, scraping, or cutting the skin.

secret society Formal organizations united by an oath of secrecy and constituted for political or religious purposes.

shantytowns A town or part of a town consisting mostly of crudely built dwellings.

sharia Muslim law, which governs the civil and religious behavior of believers.

sharif In Islamic culture, one of noble ancestry.

sheikh (shaykh, sheik) Arabic word for patrilineal clan leaders.

sirocco Name given to a certain type of strong wind in the Sahara Desert.

souk Arabic word for "market."

stelae Large stone objects, usually phallus-shaped, whose markings generally contain information important to those who produced them.

stratified Arranged into sharply defined classes.

stratigraphy The study of sequences of sediments, soils, and rocks; used by archaeologists to determine the approximate age of a region.

sultan The king or sovereign of a Muslim state.

sultanate The lands or territory ruled by a sultan.

syncretism The combining of religious beliefs to form a new religion.

taboo (adj.) forbidden by custom, usually because of the fear of retribution by supernatural forces; (n.) a prohibition based on morality or social custom.

tafsir Arabic for "interpretation," especially as regards the Quran.

taqwa In Islam, the internal ability to determine right from wrong.

taro Another name for the cocoyam, an edible tuber common throughout Africa.

tauf Puddled mud that, when dried, serves as the foundation for some homes in sub-Saharan Africa.

teff A grass native to Africa that can be threshed to produce flour.

theocracy Government of a state by officials who are thought to be guided by God.

ulamaa Islamic learned men, the inheritors of the tradition of the prophet Muhammad.

vizier A high-ranking official in a Muslim state, esp. within the Ottoman Empire.

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Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

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AFRICAN HISTORY
AND CULTURE

VOLUME III

FROM CONQUEST TO COLONIZATION

(1500 TO 1850)

Willie F. Page, Editor

Revised edition by R. Hunt Davis, Jr., Editor

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For my wife, Grace,
and my sons, Ed and Chris

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Africa and the Mediterranean Region: Major Empires and Kingdoms, 1500–1850

Atlantic Ocean

Black Sea

Constantinople

Caspian Sea

Barbary Coast

Mediterranean Sea

Al Maghrib

Tripoli

Byblos

SYRIA

PERSIA

Alexandria

ISRAEL

Jerusalem

MOROCCO
c. 1060–1912

Cairo

JUDAH

Memphis

EGYPT

Nile R.

Thebes

Medina

Elephantine

Arabian
Peninsula

Abu Simbel

Red Sea

Mecca

WOLOF
c. 1050–c. 1500

Dongola

Gebel Barkal

ADAL
SULTANATE
c. 1520–c. 1543

FOUTA TORO
1769–1880

Cayor Jolof

KAARTA
1753–1852

Air

SONGHAI
c. 1400–1591 CE

Napata

Senegal R.

Macina

SEGU
1712–1861

Lake
Chad

KANEM-BORNU
c. 1000–c. 1650

Gondar

ETHIOPIA

Eritrea

Niger R.

FUNJ
1400–1821

Zeila

Berbera

FOUTA DJALLON
1725–1881

MOSSI STATES
c. 1400–c. 1900

HAUSA STATES
c. 1000–c. 1700

Oromo

Somaliland

GABU
c. 1250–1800

YORUBALAND

Harer

Akan

IFE
c. 1000–c. 1800

ASHANTI
EMPIRE
c. 1670–1902

Igbo

SOKOTO
CALIPHATE
1804–1903

BUNYORO c. 1500s–1894

BUGANDA c. 1500–1900

OYO
c. 1300–c. 1800

BENIN
c. 1000–c. 1800

DAHOMEY
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Mogadishu

Congo R.

Hutu
Tutsi

Lake
Victoria

Indian
Ocean

LOANGO
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LUBA
LUNDA
EMPIRES
c. 1500–c. 1900

Maasai

Malindi

Mombasa

Atlantic Ocean

Lake
Tanganyika

Zanzibar

KONGO
KINGDOM
c. 1300–c. 1700

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Lake
Nyasa

Ngoni
Yao

Chewa

Mozambique

Zambezi R.

MWENE MUTAPA
c. 1500–c. 1700

MARAVI
EMPIRE
c. 1400– c. 1650

SAKALAVA
c. 1650–c. 1800

Shona

Quelimane

Sofala

IMERINA
c. 1650–c. 1895

ROZWI–CHANGAMIRE
EMPIRE
c. 1670–c. 1830

Ndebele

Orange R.

ZULU
EMPIRE
1816–1879

N

Khoikhoi
Griqua Nguni

Legend

Ottoman (Turkish) Empire
(c. 1300–1922), in 1807

Independent states under nominal
Ottoman rule (c. 1551–c. 1912), in 1807

Egyptian Empire (semiautonomous
Ottoman state) (c. 1768–1799)

Portuguese colony

British colony

0 — 800 Miles

0 — 800 Kms

Political Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

MOROCCO

TUNISIA

Mediterranean Sea

Canary Is. (SPAIN)

ALGERIA

LIBYA

EGYPT

Red Sea

WESTERN
SAHARA

MAURITANIA

CAPE
VERDE

MALI

NIGER

CHAD

ERITREA

DJIBOUTI

SENEGAL

THE GAMBIA

REPUBLIC OF
THE SUDAN

GUINEA-
BISSAU

GUINEA

BURKINA
FASO

NIGERIA

ETHIOPIA

SIERRA
LEONE

IVORY
COAST

GHANA

CENTRAL AFRICAN
REPUBLIC

SOMALIA

LIBERIA

TOGO

BENIN

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

SÃO TOMÉ AND
PRÍNCIPE

GABON

UGANDA

RWANDA

KENYA

REPUBLIC OF
THE CONGO

DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF
THE CONGO

BURUNDI

SEYCHELLES

Cabinda
(ANGOLA)

TANZANIA

Indian Ocean

Atlantic Ocean

ANGOLA

MALAWI

COMOROS

ZAMBIA

MADAGASCAR

MAURITIUS

MOZAMBIQUE

NAMIBIA

ZIMBABWE

Réunion
(FRANCE)

BOTSWANA

N

SWAZILAND

SOUTH
AFRICA

LESOTHO

1 North Africa
2 East Africa
3 West Africa
4 Central Africa
5 Southern Africa

1

3

2

4

5

0		800 Miles
0		800 Kms

Physical Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

Mediterranean Sea

ATLAS MTS.

AHAGGAR MTS.

LIBYAN DESERT

ARABIAN DESERT

Nile R.

Red Sea

S A H A R A   D E S E R T

TIBESTI MTS.

S A H E L

CHAD BASIN

Cape Verde Is.

NIGER BASIN

Niger R.

Lake Chad

SUDAN BASIN

Gulf of Aden

Blue Nile

Lake Tana

White Nile

Horn of Africa

FOUTA DJALLON HIGHLANDS

Lake Volta

Benue R.

Niger R.

ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS

OGADEN DESERT

Bight of Benin

Bight of Bonny

Congo R.

Lake Albert

Lake Turkana

equator

CONGO BASIN

Lake Victoria

▲ Mt. Kenya

▲ Mt. Kilimanjaro

Lake Tanganyika

Pemba I.

Zanzibar

Atlantic Ocean

Indian Ocean

BIHE PLATEAU

Lake Nyasa

NAMIB DESERT

Zambezi R.

Mozambique Channel

KALAHARI DESERT

Orange R.

GREAT KAROO

DRAKENSBURG MTS.

Cape of Good Hope

N

Legend

- Alpine and montane
- Tropical forest
- Savanna and steppe
- Desert
- Temperate grassland
- Mediterranean vegetation

| 0 | | 800 Miles |
| 0 | | 800 Kms |

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HOW TO USE THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA

This encyclopedia is organized chronologically, dividing the African past into five major eras. This division serves to make it easier to study the vastness and complexity of African history and culture. It also allows students and general readers to go directly to the volume or volumes they wish to consult.

Volume I, *Ancient Africa,* deals with Africa up to approximately 500 CE (roughly, in terms of classical European history, to the Fall of the Roman Empire and the dissolution of the Ancient World on the eve of the emergence of Islam). The volume also includes articles on the continent's key geographical features and major language families. In addition you will find articles that deal with certain basic aspects of African life that, in essential ways, remain relatively constant throughout time. For example, rites of passage, funeral customs, the payment of bride-wealth, and rituals related to spirit possession are features common to many African societies. Although these features can evolve in different cultures in radically different ways, their basic purpose remains constant. Accordingly, rather than try to cover the evolution of these cultural features in each volume, we offer a more general explanation in Volume I, with the understanding that the details of these cultural touchstones can vary widely from people to people and change over time.

On the other hand there are entries related to key cultural and social dimensions whose changes are easier to observe over time. Such entries appear in each of the volumes and include architecture, art, clothing and dress, economics, family, music, religion, warfare, and the role of women.

Volume II, *African Kingdoms,* focuses on what may be loosely termed "medieval Africa," from the sixth century to the beginning of the 16th century. This is the period that witnessed the rise and spread of Islam and, to a lesser degree, Arab expansion throughout much of the northern and eastern regions of the continent. It also saw the flowering of some of Africa's greatest indigenous kingdoms and empires. Other Africans, such as the Maasai and Kikuyu living in and around present-day Kenya, did not live in powerful states during this time yet developed their own dynamic cultures.

Volume III, *From Conquest to Colonization,* continues Africa's story from roughly 1500 to 1850. During this era Africa became increasingly involved with the Atlantic world due to European maritime exploration and subsequent interaction through trade and cultural exchanges. This period also included the rise of the transatlantic slave trade, which in turn created the African Diaspora, and the beginnings of European colonization. As a result, it marks a period when the dynamics shaping African culture and society began to shift.

Volume IV, *The Colonial Era,* covers Africa during the years 1850–1960. This historical period begins with Europe's conquest of the continent, leading to the era of colonial rule. Political control enabled Europe to extend its economic control as well, turning Africa into a vast supply depot of raw materials. Volume IV also covers the rise of nationalist movements and the great struggle Africans undertook to regain their independence.

Volume V, *Independent Africa,* deals with the continent since 1960, when Africans began regaining their independence and started to once again live in sovereign states. (This process, of course, took longer in the southern portion of the continent than in other parts.) In common with the rest of the world's people, however, Africans have faced a host of new and challenging problems, some of which are specific to Africa, while others are of a more global nature.

In addition to the aforementioned cultural entries that appear in all five volumes, there are entries for each of the present-day countries of the continent as identified on the Political Map found at the front of each volume. Readers can thus learn about the key developments in a given country within a given time period or across the entire span of African history. There are also articles on individual ethnic groups of Africa in each of the volumes. Since there are more than a thousand identifiable groups, it has been necessary to limit coverage to the major or key groups within a given period. Thus, a group that might be historically important in one period may not be

sufficiently important, or may not even have existed, in a period covered by one or more other volumes. Likewise, there are entries on the major cities of the continent for given time periods, including, in Volume V, all the present national capitals. Another key set of entries common to all volumes concerns historically important persons. In general, historians are more readily able to identify these individuals for recent periods than for earlier times. As a result the latter volumes contain more individual biographical entries. An exception here is the case of Ancient Egypt, where historical records have enabled us to learn about the roles of prominent individuals.

In preparing these volumes, every attempt has been made to make this encyclopedia as accessible and easy to use as possible. At the front of each volume, readers will find an introduction and a timeline specific to the historical era covered in the volume. There are also three full-page maps, two of which appear in all five volumes (the current political map and a physical map), and one that is specific to the volume's time period. In addition the front of each volume contains a volume-specific list of the photographs, illustrations, and maps found therein. The List of Entries at the front of each volume is the same in all volumes and enables the reader to quickly get an overview of the entries within the individual volumes, as well as for the five-volume set. Entries are arranged alphabetically, letter-by-letter within each volume.

Entry headwords use the most commonly found spelling or representation of that spelling, with other frequently used spellings in parentheses. The question of spelling, of course, is always a major issue when dealing with languages utilizing an alphabet or a script different than that used for English. Changes in orthography and the challenges of transliteration can produce several variants of a word. Where there are important variants in spelling, this encyclopedia presents as many as possible, but only within the entries themselves. For easy access to variant and alternate spelling, readers should consult the index at the end of each volume, which lists and cross-references the alternate spellings that appear in the text.

Each volume contains an index that has references to subjects in the specific volume, and the cumulative index at the end of Volume V provides easy access across the volumes. A cumulative glossary appears in each volume and provides additional assistance.

The entries serve to provide the reader with basic rather than exhaustive information regarding the subject at hand. To help those who wish to read further, each entry is linked with other entries in that volume via cross-references indicated by SMALL CAPITALS. In addition the majority of entries are followed by a **See also** section, which provides cross-references to relevant entries in the other four volumes. The reader may find it useful to begin with one of the general articles—such as the ones dealing with archaeology, dance, oral traditions, or women—or to start with an entry on a specific country or an historically important state and follow the cross-references to discover more detailed information. Readers should be aware that cross-references, both those embedded in the text and those in the **See also** section, use only entry headword spellings and not variant spellings. For those readers who wish to research a topic beyond the material provided in individual and cross-referenced entries, there is also a **Further reading** section at the end of many entries. Bibliographical references listed here guide readers to more in-depth resources in a particular area.

Finally, readers can consult the **Suggested Readings** in the back of each volume. These volume-specific bibliographies contain general studies—such as atlases, histories of the continent, and broad works on culture, society, and people—as well as specialized studies that typically cover specific topics or regions. For the most part, these two bibliographic aids contain those recently published works that are most likely to be available in libraries, especially well-stocked city and college libraries. Readers should also be aware that a growing number of sources are available online in the form of e-books and other formats. The World Wide Web is also a good place to look for current events and developments that have occurred since the publication of this encyclopedia.

LIST OF IMAGES AND MAPS IN THIS VOLUME

Photographs and Illustrations

Maps

INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

The history of Africa has been as dramatic as its culture has been rich. But few periods in that history have been as turbulent as the one covered in this volume, from 1500 to 1850. Kingdoms and empires—some of the most famous in all of African history—rose and fell. In West Africa, the great Songhai Empire flourished, reached the pinnacle of its economic and military power, and then eventually collapsed, a victim of both internal forces and pressure from more powerful Moroccan invaders. Its fall, however, after a turbulent period of religious and civil unrest, led to the formation of another great empire, the Sokoto Caliphate.

In Ethiopia, Christians and Muslims battled in an era of civil war known as the Age of Princes. Further south, in what is now the present-day country of Zimbabwe, Mwene Mutapa emerged as a military and commercial force, and elsewhere, the Omani Sultanate assumed dominance of the Swahili coast. The Akan and Hausa states, the Kongo kingdom, Kanem-Bornu, Oyo, Kuba, the Ashanti Empire—these names all evoke stories that figure prominently in the era's history.

Some of the most fascinating personalities in African history walked the stage during this period. Few, of course, were more famous than the storied Shaka, the ruthless military genius who transformed a culture and forged a Zulu nation. But, beyond this, there were figures such as Osei Tutu, the brilliant ruler of the Ashanti Empire, and Shamba Bolongongo, whose administrative skills helped create the Kuba kingdom. There was the astonishing Queen Nzinga, who ruled over the Mbundu people, in present-day Angola, and held the Portuguese at bay during her long reign. And there was also the Omani sultan Sayyid Said, who ruled over much of the Swahili Coast; Usman dan Fodio, who inspired the Fulani jihads that transformed the politics and history of West Africa; and Agaja, who conquered several disparate states to expand the kingdom of Dahomey. In Egypt, Muhammad Ali began the process of transforming the country from a province of the Ottoman Empire into a modern nation state.

History, of course, is not always a matter of individual personalities. During these same years massive migra-tions—like those of the Tutsi, who moved into Rwanda and Burundi; and the Luo, who migrated from the Sudan into the Great Lakes region—reshaped the ethnographic landscape. Sometimes brought on by natural causes and, at other times, by political religious, or social upheaval, these population movements played an important role during the period.

Also important were rivalries between ethnic groups, as these groups vied for land and access to trade routes. Conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi, Mijikenda and Somalis, and Tunjur—like the conflicts between many others—marked the period's history with everything from simple competition to complex social interactions, from trading rivalries to bloodshed.

These years, of course, also mark an event that changed the face of Africa for all time—the transatlantic slave trade. When the peoples of West Africa opened their shores to the Portuguese in the mid-15th century, little did they imagine that it would initiate four centuries of rape, plunder, and genocide, the magnitude of which is virtually unfathomable even today. At first it was gold that spurred on the Europeans. Then, when the need arose for labor in Europe's New World colonies, attention turned to the extraction of humans, or "black gold," in what became a system of chattel slavery.

Slavery, of course, had been known virtually everywhere in the world and throughout history. It was even well known among Europeans, who had practiced it, in various forms, from classical times through the Middle Ages. Similarly, a system of domestic servitude, or slavery, had traditionally existed within Africa itself. There, for example, an individual could be reduced to the condition of slavery as a prisoner of war, for violating a custom, for committing a crime, or even for being unable or unwilling to settle a debt. In general, however, this slavery functioned within prescribed customs that, in effect, amounted to limits or boundaries. The enslaved, for instance, generally could be ransomed to their kinfolk through the efforts of slave merchants. Further, while the treatment of slaves varied from one ethnic group or region to another, the conditions of slaves held in this

traditional African system did not begin to approach the brutality and inhumanity that came to be known when the transatlantic slave trade arose. In West African cultures, for example, enslaved families could not be separated. In addition, in most parts of Africa, enslavement was not perpetual. In fact, children whose parents were enslaved frequently became members of the master kinship group, often marrying members of their masters' families or even rising to prestigious positions in society.

During the early years of the transatlantic slave trade it is possible that some of the Africans sold to the Europeans were already in slavery. But, as the years passed, the vast majority of the millions of Africans transported abroad was not living as slaves. They usually were citizens of some small state or village that was raided or attacked, not because of inter-ethnic warfare, but as a well-planned system of abduction in which men, women, and children were kidnapped or killed. Those who survived the raids were now captives, hostages. But unlike conventional victims of kidnapping, these could not be ransomed by their families and kin. Instead they were swiftly removed from the vicinity of their homelands and eventually transported to new, alien lands.

Clearly the massive abduction of millions of Africans could not have taken place without the cooperation of some Africans—merchants or leaders willing to engage in the trade in human flesh. But why, many ask, would Africans sell other Africans? This, however, is not quite the right question to pose. Except for a few individuals, Africans of this time had little sense of their African identity. In fact, the sense of being Africans vis-à-vis people from other continents emerged out of the experiences of slavery in the Western Hemisphere, conquest by Europeans in the late 19th century, and a period of colonial rule that lasted nearly a century. Even after a sense of African identity did emerge, it has not stopped some Africans from committing dreadful acts against other Africans. The 1994 Rwandan genocide, while clearly an African event, is also an example of a human—rather than particularly African—phenomenon. In Cambodia in the late 1970s, some 1.7 million people died as a result of a deliberate government policy; the 1992–95 conflict in Bosnia led to so-called ethnic cleansing that resulted in the death of thousands of Muslims at the hands of the Serbs.

The proper phrasing of the question, then, is why did some people living in Africa participate in selling other people living in Africa? In some cases the answer was simple greed. The chiefs, merchants, and warlords who plundered villages, kidnapped innocent victims, and sold them were power-seekers who simply attacked their weaker neighbors for gain and profit. In other instances the chiefs were settling accounts with traditional enemies. However, the most common scenario appears to have been different. In truth, many ethnic groups found themselves in the throes of a dilemma: either agree to participate in the trade or be subjected to it themselves, either raid or be raided, either be drawn into the trade in human cargo or become subject to it themselves.

It is for these and other reasons that, in this volume, we have chosen, when speaking of the transatlantic slave trade, to use terms such as "Africans," "hostages," and "captives," instead of the simple term "slaves." For, in truth, while the trade might be referred to as the "slave trade," few of the people who made up the cargo ever accepted their status as slaves. Both individual attempts at escape and larger-scale rebellions were more than common; they were frequent. Indeed North American slaveholders recognized this fact so much that they preferred to receive Africans who had been "seasoned" or "broken" in the Caribbean—often with branding irons, floggings, and other forms of physical punishment—before accepting them for work on their plantations.

What emerges from this period, 1500 to 1850, is a history of remarkable richness and depth, a tapestry of memorable people, events, and issues that engages the minds and spirits of everyone from scholars to casual readers. Above all, it is with an appreciation of this richness and depth—as well as of the facts of African history and culture—with which we would like to leave those who read and use this volume.

TIME LINE (1470–1860)

1470	Elmina, first European fort in tropical Africa, built by Portuguese in southern Ghana
	Mwene Mutapa emerges as an active trading kingdom, monopolizing region's trade in ivory, gold, salt, and captives
1472	Ngazargamu established as capital of Kanem-Bornu Empire by Mai Ali Gaji
1481–1504	Ozolua, warrior king of Benin, uses alliance with Portuguese to extend Benin's borders from southwestern Nigeria to Lagos
1490–1590	Changamire dynasty rises to power in present-day Zimbabwe
1493	Askia dynasty takes power in Songhai
1498	Vasco da Gama lands at Malindi
c. 1500	Buganda, in present-day Uganda, emerges as independent kingdom
	In present-day Tanzania, Haya and Zinza peoples combine with Hinda caste members from the north to found Hinda States
	Kebbi flourishes among the Hausa States in present-day northwestern Nigeria

c. 1500	Luo people migrate from the Sudan into the Great Lakes region, leading to the demise of the Chwezi dynasty of Kitara
1500–1530	Tengella and his son Koly Tengella lay the foundations of the Fulani Denianke dynasty, in present-day northern Senegal
1500–1800	Mozambique becomes center of Portuguese activity in East Africa
1505	Afonso I takes throne in Kongo kingdom
1515	Swahili coast traders begin selling Turkish-made firearms
1516	Barbarossa brothers capture Algiers, giving control to Ottoman Turks
1517	Ottoman Turks take control of Egypt
1520	Francisco Alvares travels through Ethiopia
1525	Kanem-Bornu dominates present-day Chad
1525–1625	Rise of Dyula trading network
1533	Ahmad Grañ dominates Ethiopia
1543	Ahmad Grañ defeated by Ethiopian Christians and their Portuguese allies, in part due to the effects of firearms

1549–1582	Askia Daud rules Songhai Empire
	Oyo plundered by Nupe and Borgu
1556	Ndongo people win independence from Kongo kingdom and hold off Portuguese until 1671
1550–1575	Gonja, in present-day northern Ghana, founded by invading Mandinka cavalry from Songhai Empire
1559–1776	Denianke dynasty rules Fouta Toro state, in West Africa
1570–1603	Idris Alawma rules in Kanem-Bornu
1575	Akan state of Denkyira founded in present-day Ghana
1591	Moroccan forces of Abd al-Mansur, led by Judar Pasha, defeat Songhai army at Battle of Tondibi and go on to take Timbuktu; leads to eventual collapse of Songhai Empire
1593–1698	Portugal and Oman vie for control of Mombasa
c. 1600	Gorée Island, off the coast of Senegal, becomes important center for the transatlantic trade in African captives
1600–1620	Shamba Bolongongo rules Kuba kingdom, strengthening the central government, and encouraging the arts
1600–1730	Akan state of Akwamu flourishes in modern-day Ghana
	European trade in African captives develops in Angola
1600–1650	Kalonga Masula rules Maravi federation, stretching south from Lake Malawi

1600–1807	Ashanti Empire rises and flourishes in present-day Ghana
1610–1640	Tunjur people, who had inhabited Darfur since the 14th century, are driven out by the Muslim Maba; Tunjur settle in Bulala-controlled Kanem, where they are eventually conquered by Sefuwa-led Bornu
1624	Death of Gatsi Rusere, whose confiscation of Portuguese assets set off decades of conflict within the Mwene Mutapa kingdom
1630	Matamba, in present-day Angola, becomes kingdom, later ruled by Queen Nzinga
1631–1702	Muradid dynasty rules in Tunisia
1640	Suliman Solong establishes Kayra dynasty in Darfur
1650	Height of Hausa States power, with territory stretching from central Nigeria to Bornu. near lake Chad
	Bambara king Massa founds kingdom of Kaarta, with capital at Sounsan
1650–1673	Dutch, Danish, and British build forts and trading posts near Accra, in present-day Ghana
1650–1700	Sakalava Empire rises to prominence on Madagascar
1650–1750	Height of power for Yoruba Oyo Empire, in Nigeria
1650s	Dutch East India Company establishes outpost at Cape of Good Hope
1650–1717	Osei Tutu builds Ashanti Empire into major power in the region of present-day Ghana

1659–1677	Attempt by Nasir al-Din, a Muslim cleric, to curb European influence and establish orthodox Muslim rule in Senegambia leads to Marabout War
1662–1663	Queen Nzinga rules over the Mbundu people, helping hold off Portuguese power
c. 1665	Kongo kingdom begins to disintegrate
1666	Mawlay al-Rashid founds Alawi dynasty in Morocco
1666–1681	Ouagadougou, in the central region of modern-day Burkina Faso, reaches the height of its power under Waraga.
1680–1690	Changamire Dombo rises to power in the region south of the Zambezi River, marking the beginning of the Rozwi dynasty.
1683	Rozwi kings take control of Butua gold fields
1700	In Burundi, Ntare Rushatsi becomes first king
1700–1725	Igbo defeat Ibibio people and establish a confederation of Igbo-Ibibio towns in West Africa
1700–1750	Opokuware II creates the Great Oath of the Ashanti
1705	Husseinid dynasty comes to power in Tunisia
1706	Tekla Haymonot engineers the assassination of his father, Iyasu I, and becomes king of Ethiopia
1717	Akyem groups defeat Ashanti ruler Osei Tutu
1720–1750	Opoku Ware II adds Banda, Dagomba, Gonja, and Akyem to Ashanti Empire
1711–1835	Karamanli dynasty rules in Libya
1712	Mamari Kulibali becomes first official king of the long-standing state of Segu
1724–1727	Agaja conquers Abomey, Allada, and Whydah to expeand kingdom of Dahomey
1725	Karamoko Alfa proclaims jihad, or holy war, to convert Fouta Djallon to Islam
1730	Mombasa comes under the control of Zanzibar
1730–1750	Oyo regains power and prominence through slave trade
1740	Dissenters from Lunda establish Kazembe, in Central Africa
1741	Busaidi dynasty comes to power in Mombasa, vying for dominance with the rival Masrui family
1750–1790	Mandara kingdom flourishes south of Lake Chad
1754	Forces from Segu demolish Kaarta kingdom, which is reestablished near Kumbi by Sey Bamana Kulibali
1759	Ngwaketse state established in southeastern Botswana
1766	Ngolo Diarra forms Segu kingdom in present-day Mali
1769–1855	Zemene Mesafint, or Age of Princes, with unrest and civil war in Ethiopia
1775	Independent Fante states in coastal region of present-day Ghana unify under a high king, or *brafo*
1776	Tukulor establish theocratic Muslim state in Fouta Toro

1781–1800	Peak of transatlantic slave trade	1804–1856	Sayyid Said leads Omani Sultanate to its peak of wealth and power along the Indian Ocean coast of East Africa
1782–1810	Andrianampoinimerina rules Merina kingdom in Madagascar		
1794	Monson Diarra defeats Kaarta and establishes Segu as the predominant Bambara kingdom	1806	Great Britain establishes Cape Colony in present-day South Africa
1795–1805	Mungo Park explores Gambia and Niger rivers in West Africa	1807	Great Britain outlaws the trade in human beings in its colonies around the world; trade continues unabated in some areas
1800	Chagga empire formed on eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro by Orombo		
1800–1895	Tutsi rise to power in East Africa	1816	Shaka assumes power within the Zulu clan
1803–1825	Ras Gugsa rules in Yejju, in north-central Ethiopia	1817–1840	Mfecane ("the crushing") leads to mass death, migration, and breakdown of traditional clan structures across southern Africa
1804	Usman dan Fodio launches Fulani jihad, seeking to convert Hausa States to Islam; leads to formation of Sokoto Caliphate		
		1817–1860	Mshweshwe founds Sotho kingdom in wake of Mfecane

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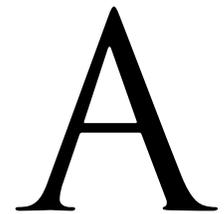
Abd al-Mansur (Ahmad al-Mansur) (c. 1549–1603)
Moroccan sultan

Al-Mansur's father, Muhammad al-Shaykh, founded the SADIAN DYNASTY, under whose rule MOROCCO attained international status unknown since the rule of the Almohads in the 12th and 13th centuries. The most successful ruler of the dynasty, al-Mansur assumed power when his brother Abd al-Malik died in 1578 while defending Morocco against Portuguese invasion.

From his capital in MARRAKECH, al-Mansur consolidated Morocco's power through royal trade monopolies and by creating a slave army to defend against invasion by Ottoman Turks from ALGERIA. He also created an alliance with Britain, which was fast becoming a world power and with which Morocco had a mutual enemy in Spain. Even though the Ottoman Empire controlled all of the other coastal regions of northern Africa by the end of the 16th century, Morocco was able to stay independent, largely because of al-Mansur's foresight.

In 1590 al-Mansur sought to contain the expansion of the SONGHAI Empire, which threatened Morocco from the south. He sent his commander, JUDAR PASHA (fl. 1590s), with about 4,000 well-armed and experienced soldiers across the Sahara to confront the Songhai cavalry of Askia Ishaq II (r. 1588–1591). The soldiers on the Moroccan side, some of them Christian and Turkish mercenaries, had vastly superior firearms and training, and they decisively routed the Songhai at Tondibi, a town outside the trading center of Gao.

Within a few years, al-Mansur was able to take the former Songhai cities of Gao, TIMBUKTU, and JENNE, carrying plunder back to Marrakech and levying heavy taxes that further enriched al-Mansur's coffers. Ultimately, the occupation of the southern cities so far from his capital proved to be too costly, and he abandoned the territory.

Al-Mansur's successors could not maintain the central authority that he had established, and within a few years of his death in 1603, Morocco was divided between rival Sadian princes from Marrakech and FEZ.

Abeokuta Capital of Ogun State in present-day southwestern NIGERIA; founded by Yoruba refugees in the 19th century. Its name means "refuge among rocks." Abeokuta was founded in 1830 among rocky outcroppings that dotted the savanna regions along the Ogun River. Sodeke, a hunter, banded together EGBA refugees from the decaying OYO EMPIRE and established Abeokuta as the new Egba capital.

Early Abeokuta was a confederation of four Egba subgroups, the Ake, Gbagura, Oke-Ona, and Owu. As these subgroups grew they eventually formed a single confederation that became Abeokuta. Although the city was ruled in the traditional Yoruba style by kings called *obas,* it was actually the town's war chiefs who had the final authority.

The British Church Missionary Society established its Yoruba mission at Abeokuta, 10 years after Sodeke established the city, in response to requests from freed captives who had returned to YORUBALAND from SIERRA LEONE. The founding members of the mission were an Englishman, Henry Townsend (1815–1886), and an ex-captive, Samuel Ajayi Crowther (1808–1891). Prior to their arrival Abeokuta was primarily an agrarian society. The MISSIONARIES, along with Krios from Sierra Leone, were largely responsible for transforming Abeokuta into a key trading town along the trade routes that con-

nected LAGOS with Ibadan. By the end of the 19th century PALM OIL was Abeokuta's most valuable trade commodity.

See also: CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (Vol. IV); CROWTHER, SAMUEL AJAYI (Vol. IV); OGUN (Vol. I).

Abidjan Former capital city of present-day IVORY COAST. Located on the Ebrie Lagoon of the Gulf of Guinea, Abidjan was first inhabited during the 16th century. By the end of the 1500s, three Ebrie fishing villages had been established in the area. The villages of Locodjo, Anoumabo, and Cocody would later merge and become Abidjan.

Although Portuguese explorers arrived in Abidjan in the 17th century, Europeans showed little interest in the area until 200 years later, at which time the town began to grow into an important trade city.

See also: ABIDJAN (Vols. IV, V).

Abo (Toposa) Nomadic, Nilotic-speaking people of West Africa. Much of what is known about the early history of the Abo has been handed down orally. The Abo believe their founder was a ruler named Esumaiukwu. Esumaiukwu's father, the ruler of the kingdom of BENIN, Oba OZOLUA (r. 1481–1504), was a cruel leader who oppressed his people in order to build a powerful empire. He levied heavy taxes and executed those who rebelled against him. The resulting turmoil sparked the migration of a large group of Abo people.

Esumaiukwu led a group to find a new, more peaceful homeland. His brothers Oputa, Exoma, Akilini, Osimili, Etim, and Chima Ukwu accompanied him. They split into two groups at Agbor, in the southeastern part of what is now NIGERIA. The first group, led by Chima Ukwu, settled in the Agbor-Assaba region. Esumaiukwu led the second group toward Ukwuani to Ologwu. After many months, Esumaiukwu and his siblings moved on, his brothers eventually settling and forming the kingdoms of Usoro, Ashaka, Afor, and Osissa.

Esumaiukwu and his remaining followers finally settled at Ugboko Ukwa, an area inhabited by the Akiri people. The Akiri were unwilling to integrate peacefully with the Abo, so Esumaiukwu and his people subdued them. A kingdom was established, and Esumaiukwu became the ruler, or *oba,* of the Abo people. His children inherited the throne upon his death, and throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, the Abo gradually gained control over much of the lower NIGER region.

Abomey Principal city in the 17th-century kingdom of the same name and later the capital of the kingdom of DAHOMEY. Located in present-day Republic of BENIN, in

West Africa, Abomey was established around 1625 by a prince named Do-Aklin, who fled there from ALLADA after losing a power struggle with his two brothers.

Abomey flourished under Do-Aklin and his grandson WEGBAJA (c. 1645–1680). At some time during the reign of Wegbaja some of the FON people of Abomey began referring to their kingdom as "Dahomey." Thereafter, the two kingdoms became synonymous, though the city of Abomey retained its name. A long line of shrewd rulers, including AGAJA (c. 1673–1740) and TEGBESU (r. 1740–1774), led Abomey-Dahomey in dominating trade along the West African coast.

Abomey was long dominated by remarkable royal palaces. Created by a succession of rulers starting in the late 17th century, the palaces contained luxurious residences that had walls adorned with numerous works of ART. The palace complex was especially noteworthy for a series of sculpted earthen murals that depicted important events, customs, and myths associated with the history of the city and its people. Unfortunately, the palace was destroyed by fire in the late 19th century during a period of French occupation, and many of its treasures were destroyed.

Until the reign of GEZU (1818–1858), the main source of Abomey's wealth was the sale of captive Africans, although prior to his reign Britain had abolished the TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE. Eventually, however, the commercial demand for humans abated, and the emphasis in Abomey shifted to the exportation of PALM OIL.

See also: PORTO NOVO (Vol. III); WHYDAH (Vol. III).

Further reading: Francesca Piqué and Leslie H. Rainer, *Palace Sculptures of Abomey: History Told on Walls* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999).

Accra Capital of present-day GHANA. The city of Accra emerged as trade increased at three neighboring European trading posts along what was known as the GOLD COAST. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the inhabitants of the region were the GA-DANGME people, who began settling there in the 15th century. Portuguese explorers discovered the Ga-Dangme villages as early as 1482 but expressed little interest in the area. In 1650 Dutch explorers, too, arrived on the Gold Coast, and they built a trading post called Fort Crèvecoeur. In 1661 the Dutch were joined by Danish traders, who built their own fort, Christiansborg Castle, in the nearby Ga-Dangme town of OSU.

The Dutch also established a coastal town they called both Accra and Ussher Town. By 1673 British merchants had also joined the fray, building a trading post known as Fort James.

The rival Danish, Dutch, and British trading posts eventually merged into one large town known as Accra. As the town grew, the primary interior Ga-Dangme village of AYAWASO deteriorated, and most of its inhabitants migrated south to Accra. Although Accra was an important European trading center, its society remained heavily influenced by Ga-Dangme culture.

Accra's lucrative trade in GOLD and human captives attracted African rivals from the north, as well. For example, by the end of the 17th century, Accra was made a vassal state of AKWAMU, an AKAN state. By the middle of the 18th century, however, the Ashanti, also an Akan group, had gained control of the coast. In 1826 the Ga-Dangme and other coastal African groups, including the FANTE, joined with the British to defeat the Ashanti, driving them from the area. Although the victory relieved the Ga-Dangme of oppressive Ashanti rule, Britain soon monopolized power along the coast. By 1877 Accra was the new capital of the British Gold Coast colony.

See also: ACCRA (Vols. II, IV, V); ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); GOLD COAST COLONY (Vol. IV).

Further reading: I. van Kessel, ed., *Merchants, Missionaries and Migrants: 300 Years of Dutch-Ghanaian Relations* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2002); John Parker, *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2000).

Acholi (Shuli, Gang, Acoli) Nilotic people who inhabited regions of present-day UGANDA and southern Republic of the SUDAN. The Acholi are probably descended from several groups of LUO peoples who settled in central Uganda and KENYA during the southern migration of Nilotic peoples from the region of Sudan starting in the early 16th century. About the middle of the 17th century the ancestors of the Jie and Lango peoples (long time rivals of the Acholi) conducted a series of raids against the Luo and Madi groups. These raids, which lasted well into the 18th century, contributed to the assimilation of the Luo and Madi into Acholi. Though the Lango and Acholi lived side-by-side and shared a common language and other cultural traditions, the Lango generally refused to acknowledge any historical ties to the Luo.

Acholi society is based on patrilineal descent. The people live in small chiefdoms. Traditionally the Acholi were hunters, but they also participated in both pastoral and agricultural activities. They still herd sheep and cattle, and they produce nuts, vegetables, and grains such as millet and sorghum.

See also: ACHOLI (Vol. II).

Further reading: Ronald R. Atkinson, *The Roots of Ethnicity: The Origins of the Acholi of Uganda before 1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

Adal (Adel, Adaiel, Adela, Adem) Muslim state situated near the Gulf of Aden, on the Horn of Africa. Fleeing the tyranny of Ethiopian emperor Amda Siyon (r. 1314–1344), the Walashma came to Adal in the 14th century and formed an independent kingdom. From 1415 until the end of the 15th century, the Walashma dynasty monopolized Adal's government.

Adal was involved in a series of disputes with its Ethiopian neighbors throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. By the 16th century these petty conflicts turned into a full-blown battle for religious and political superiority and, more significantly, control of trade routes. In the last decade of the 15th century, Muhfuz (d. c. 1517), the Muslim governor of nearby ZEILA, designated himself imam, or ruler, and became the religious and military authority of Adal. Muhfuz waged a jihad against the Christian Ethiopian state, usually attacking just after Lent, when the Christians were weak from their fasting. Muhfuz carried out these raids for nearly 25 years. After each of these missions, Muhfuz returned home with a large number of captives and a great amount of plunder, which won him the support of his fellow Muslims. Muhfuz fell in 1517 when Ethiopian emperor LEBNA DENGEL (r. c. 1508–1540) and his army hunted down the renowned Islamic leader. He was slain by a monk named Gabra Endreyas, and his soldiers returned to Adal shortly after his death.

Like Muhfuz before him, AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543) declared himself the imam of Adal and renewed the jihad against the Christian state. Ahmad was a charismatic warrior and leader who led his Muslim army to countless victories over the Christians and forced Lebna Dengel to become a fugitive in his own land. By 1533 Ahmad had taken most of central ETHIOPIA. He appeared to be unstoppable until 1543, when the Christians, with the help of the Portuguese, defeated the Adal army and killed their celebrated leader. After Ahmad's death his army fled and the Ethiopians took back their territory.

In the latter half of the 16th century the OROMO proved to be a greater threat to Adal than the Christians had ever been. Through a series of invasions, Oromo migrants managed to take away all the power and territory that Adal had acquired earlier in the century.

See also: ADAL (Vol. II); AMDA SIYON (Vol. II); JIHAD (Vols. II, IV).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002).

Adamawa (Fumbina) Emirate encompassing parts of present-day eastern NIGERIA and northern CAMEROON; established by Adama (r. 1806–1848), a commander of the early 19th-century FULANI JIHADS. Prior to the founding of Adamawa in 1806, Fulani chiefs ruled in the region, but little evidence exists of a distinct kingdom. Migratory patterns show, however, that the Jukun, Chamba, Bata, and other peoples preceded the Fulani but did not remain in the area for long before they were either displaced or continued their migrations to another region.

In 1804 the Muslim Fulani cleric USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817) began a holy war in an effort to convert the people of the HAUSA STATES and the surrounding regions to the Islamic faith. In the campaign throughout portions of today's northern Nigeria, his forces were led by Adama, who carried the Muslim title *modibbo,* or "learned one." In 1806 Adama was rewarded for his efforts in the jihad when he was made emir of a region located south of Bauchi and KANEM-BORNU that came to be called *Adamawa* in his honor. The title *lamido,* meaning "governor" or "ruler," was also bestowed on Adama, but he preferred to keep his original title and was therefore known as Modibbo Adama.

The Adamawa Emirate grew as Adama continued his jihad, overthrowing nearby kingdoms such as Demsa, in 1810; MANDARA, in 1820; and Malabu, during the 1830s. Adama chose the city of Gurin as his first capital but was forced to move to the more strategically placed town of Ribadu, in 1830. In 1839 the capital was moved again to Jobolio before it was finally decided the city of Yola should be the seat of Adama's emirate. The swamps and marshes of Yola offered excellent protection from groups that were hostile to the Fulani, including the Bata and Verre peoples.

Beginning in the mid-19th century Adamawa was also known as the kingdom of Fumbina.

Adama's reign as emir ended in 1848 but Adamawa, by then a sizeable Fulani kingdom, continued to grow for some time through the conquests of later emirs—four of whom were sons of Adama.

Adangme See GA-DANGME.

Adansi (Adanse) Early AKAN trading state established in present-day GHANA at the beginning of the 16th century. According to oral tradition, Adansi was founded by a chief named Opun Enim. Located between the Oda and Fum branches of the Pra River, Adansi is considered the homeland of the AKAN and Adansi people, as well as many subgroups of the Ashanti and Akem. The importance of Adansi is reflected in its name, which means "beginning of change" or "house building."

The Adansi state was located on a busy north-south GOLD-trading route. In Adansi's early years the town of Adansimanso served as the first capital. It was located near present-day Mansia, where the Adansi people lived in the surrounding hills of Kwisa and Moinsi. About 1657 Adansimanso was destroyed in a battle with the DENKYIRA, and the capital of the kingdom was briefly moved to Dompoase and finally to Fomena.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Afar (Denkel, Danakil, Adalis) Ethnic group known as Danakil by the AMHARA and Arabs and as Adalis by the Somalis and Harari. The Afar people reside in present-day ERITREA, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA, and DJIBOUTI, as well as in the desert region of the Danakil Depression. They speak an Eastern Cushitic language similar to that spoken by their Somali and Saho neighbors, although they consider themselves to be ethnically distinct.

There are two major Afar groups, Asaimara (the red "aristocratic" house) and Adoimara (the white "commoner" house), which consist of loosely organized clans and kinship groups. Many of these groups embraced Islam and banded together during war. Aussa, founded in the 16th century, was the capital for Afars settled in the southern area. The northern groups, including Afar peoples from Eritrea, were at various times subject to Tigray rule and the Naibs of Semar while the southern groups were tributary to SHOA. In the 16th century, after converting to Islam, Afars and Somalis took part in the jihad of AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543) against the Christians of Ethiopia. After the famed military leader perished in action, the Afars turned on their Somali cohorts and continued the campaign against their AMHARA and OROMO enemies.

Early in the 18th century an Asaimara group, the Mudaito, overthrew the Harari imams who had occupied the southern Afar region since 1577. The Mudaito chief Kedafu (r. c. 1734–1749) established a sultanate in Aussa and enjoyed a reign that was mostly peaceful and prosperous. At the end of the 18th century, after the death of Sultan Ijdahis (r. c. 1779–1801), Aussa fell into a decline from which it did not recover. In 1810 the Wema invaded and gave the sultan Anfari (c. 1802–1862) no choice but to share his power with the Adoimaras. The Asaimaras eventually lost everything to their Adoimara rivals, including their salt deposits and trade routes.

See also: AFAR (Vols. I, II); DANAKIL DEPRESSION (Vol. I).

Further reading: I. M. Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar, and Saho* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1998).

Afonso I (Alphonse I, Nzinga Mbemba) (c. 1461–1543) *Christian king of the Kongo kingdom*

Afonso's father, NZINGA NKUWU (d. c. 1506), distrusted the Portuguese and limited his contact with them. He renounced the Christianity that he had earlier accepted and turned his back on the Catholic Church. Afonso, on the other hand, refused to give up his Christian beliefs and for this was exiled to the Kongo district of Nsuri, beginning about 1495.

About 1505 Afonso succeeded his father as *manikongo* (king). His half-brother Mpanzu challenged him to a battle for the title, which Afonso won with the assistance of Portuguese troops.

King Afonso openly embraced the Portuguese and their religion. He was responsible for building churches and made Christianity the official state religion. He tried to rid his kingdom of nonbelievers, sentencing many to death or banishment from the kingdom. He cultivated a trading partnership with the Portuguese and welcomed visiting clergymen and scholars, who educated the members of Afonso's royal court. Afonso set out to modernize his country by establishing elite schools, remodeling Mbanza, the capital city, and teaching his subjects to use western European weaponry. In exchange for the gifts from the Portuguese Afonso sent them goods, including captives.

The Portuguese issued a *regimento,* or royal order, in 1512 proclaiming that the KONGO KINGDOM was to supply them with natural resources and captives. Through written letters, Afonso pleaded with King John of Portugal to cease the practice of trading in human beings, but was ignored. In 1539 he survived an attempt on his life by Portuguese traders. By 1540 the Portuguese were export-

King Afonso I (c. 1461–1543) of the Kongo kingdom. In this 1650 print he is dressed in the trappings of a European monarch and sits on a European-style throne to receive European soldiers and their commander. *© Corbis*

ing more than 7,000 Africans annually, causing Afonso to call again for a ban on the trade in humans. Forced to bow to Portuguese pressure and to the superiority of European weapons, Afonso had to repeal his order, and the trade continued unabated. Afonso died in 1543.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Afrikaans (Cape Dutch) An official language of SOUTH AFRICA that was developed from a dialect of Netherlandic Dutch in the late 18th century. Afrikaans is a combination of numerous linguistic influences. The language was derived through the mixing of the colonial Netherlandic dialect with the languages of non-Dutch Europeans, native Khoisan speakers, and peoples brought into the area as captives and forced laborers.

Afrikaans was adopted as a literary language in the 19th century. It gradually began to be used in newspapers, and by the early 1900s Afrikaans was integrated into schools and the Dutch Reformed Church.

See also: AFRIKAANS (Vols. IV, V); CAPE COLONY (Vols. III, IV); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Agades (Agadez) Historical trading city located in present-day NIGER. The city of Agades was known for being an important trading center from the 16th through the 19th centuries due to its strategic location along a major trans-Saharan trade route stretching from Lake CHAD and north to LIBYA and EGYPT. While trade—including copper and salt mined from the area—made the city prosperous, Agades also became known in the surrounding regions for being a place of Islamic scholarship.

Established about the 11th century at the southern end of the AÏR MASSIF, Agades and its trade routes were controlled by a succession of kingdoms. The kingdom of Mali reigned over the city in the 14th century; it became the capital of the TUAREGS in the 15th century. The SONGHAI Empire then conquered and ruled Agades in the early 16th century until the trading empire of KANEM-BORNU overtook the city sometime near beginning of the 17th century. Agades remained a part of Kanem-Bornu until the 19th-century FULANI JIHADS led by the Muslim leader USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817) led to FULANI rule.

See also: MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II).

Agaja (Agadja) (c. 1673–1740) *Third ruler of the West African kingdom of Dahomey*

Agaja was a powerful ruler who was able to greatly expand the kingdom of DAHOMEY through military conquest. Between 1708 and 1727 he conquered many neigh-

boring peoples, culminating with the takeover of the kingdom of ALLADA in 1724 and the coastal state of WHYDAH in 1727. These last two conquests provided landlocked Dahomey with access to the lucrative sea trade.

Agaja also instituted administrative reforms that centralized his power and allowed Dahomey to become one of the most powerful kingdoms in West Africa. He began the practice of maintaining an elite female militia, expanded the kingdom's army, and gathered information about neighboring peoples through a network of spies.

The transatlantic trade in humans became increasingly profitable during Agaja's reign. Despite the wealth to be gained from this trade, Agaja tried to create a plantation society based on forced LABOR. Agaja's plans created tension with the powerful OYO EMPIRE, which sought to curb Agaja's ambition. Dahomey was forced to surrender to Oyo in 1730. As a result, Agaja relented on his opposition to the trade in humans. He did, however, insist on a royal monopoly, leading to internal unrest among Dahomey's merchant class. Eventually Agaja was compelled to participate in the trade of humans and Dahomey became a major supplier of captives for many years to come.

See also: OYO (Vol. II); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Further reading: Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1998).

Age of Princes See ZEMENE MESAFINT.

agriculture As of the beginning of the agricultural revolution, between 9,500 and 7,000 years ago, farming throughout Africa was done to sustain small groups of people. But in areas where states emerged and as kingdoms grew to become empires, African agriculture evolved to become more than a subsistence activity. The products of African farming still fed local populations, but by the beginning of the 16th century they also were used to pay tribute to more powerful kingdoms and to make exchanges with other merchants, thereby creating wealth.

In East Africa, for instance, the main crops included millet, sorghum, bananas, and yams. By the late 15th century, however, Portuguese traders brought new types of FOOD products to the continent, among them MAIZE, cassava, and peas. All of these grew well in the climate and were successfully cultivated by African farmers. Groups such as the GANDA, living in what is now UGANDA, were soon profiting from the new and different agricultural products that they grew. By the 18th century they also were tending such crops as bananas, coffee, and plantains and soon were using a neighboring group of peoples—the NYAMWEZI of present-day TANZANIA—to broker their

produce and other items with the Europeans stationed along the coastline. Some of these crops were considered "cash crops," desirable items that were grown in order to be traded for other needed items. Many agricultural peoples produced one or more cash crops, and examples of these included coffee, TOBACCO, PALM OIL, sugarcane, and COTTON, which were sold to the Europeans for such items as weapons or cloth; they were also sold or traded to other, nonagrarian African groups for cattle, salt, or metals. Cash-crop agriculture grew steadily in importance over the course of the 19th century.

Of the new crops brought into and then produced in Africa, one of the most important was maize, also known as corn. Introduced during the 16th century, maize was produced in conjunction with other, indigenous cereal grains, such as sorghum and millet. For example, from the late 16th century onward the AJA people, who lived in what is now the Republic of BENIN, were bringing in maize harvests twice a year and using the grain both for consumption and trade. By the 18th century maize had taken over as one of the leading crops in the LUNDA EMPIRE, which covered areas in present-day ZAMBIA, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and ANGOLA. Other cereal grains, including wheat, which was introduced by the Moroccans, were of great importance to northern Sudan areas such as present-day EGYPT. During the 17th and 18th centuries North African wheat was so abundantly produced that large quantities of it were sold both on the caravan routes and to Europeans at coastal trading markets.

In the kingdoms of the Lunda empire and in the HAUSA STATES of northern NIGERIA, the peoples most often relegated to the tending and harvesting of agricultural crops were captives. The Lunda, who lived in a sparsely populated area, conducted raids on other states in order to capture people who could carry out the agricultural duties of their kingdoms. Elsewhere, agricultural duties were carried out by free people. Among these agricultural peoples, however, the workers often sought out other occupations during the months when the ground was too dry or in the periods between harvests. Among the more common secondary occupations were mining GOLD and engaging in trading activities.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, II, IV, V); AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION (Vol. I); CASH CROPS (Vols. IV, V); FARMING TECHNIQUES (Vol. I).

Ahmad Grañ (Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al Ghazi, Ahmed al-Ghazali Ibrahim, Ahmed Gragn) (c. 1506–1543) *Warrior and political leader from the Muslim state of Adal*

Ahmad was known to his Muslim followers as *Sahib al-Fath* (the conqueror) and as *Grañ* (the left-handed) by Christians. Between 1525 and 1527 he headed a series of military operations that substantially weakened Christian defenses in ETHIOPIA and strengthened Muslim control of Bali, HADYA, Kembata, and SIDAMO. His ADAL army, comprised of newly converted Somali and AFAR people, was trained in military tactics and weaponry by Turks from the Ottoman Empire. With promises of wealth and religious domination, Ahmad's troops were not only physically equipped but were ripe with enthusiasm by the time Ahmad declared his jihad in 1528. In the Battle of Shimbra Kure the Ethiopian emperor, LEBNA DENGEL (r. 1508–1540), lost much of his territory to the Muslims. These lost territories included AMHARA, Dawaro, Lasta, and SHOA.

Within a decade of the beginning of the holy war, Ahmad had conquered and converted most of south and central Ethiopia. He also had started to penetrate the mountainous region to the north. His army tore through the country burning churches and destroying all traces of Christian culture. Lebna Dengel took refuge in the highlands that had yet to be conquered. From there he sent a message to the Portuguese asking for their assistance. But Portuguese assistance did not arrive until 1541, by which time Ahmad had enlisted the Ottomans in his cause. As a result Ahmad continued to dominate the Christians in battle.

Under Lebna Dengel's successor Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559), the Portuguese helped retrain the Ethiopian army. In 1543 it defeated Ahmad's army in a battle during which Ahmad was killed. After Ahmad's death, his army, which relied heavily on his dynamic leadership, dispersed, allowing the Ethiopians to reclaim their land.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Aïr Massif Mountainous region in the southern Sahara desert in north-central NIGER that is the homeland of the southern TUAREGS, a seminomadic group of herders and traders. Beginning in the 1400s the area was also the site of the sultanate of Aïr. The Tuareg capital of AGADES is located south of the highest peaks on the Aïr Massif.

Early in the 1500s, prior to the rise of the SONGHAI Empire, Songhai settlers pushed east into Aïr, displacing some of the Tuaregs around Agades. When Songhai soldiers set out later in the 16th century to conquer the region, their domination was facilitated by the presence of the earlier settlers. Later, in the 17th century, warriors from KANEM-BORNU in the Lake CHAD region fought with the Songhai and ultimately occupied much of the Aïr Massif, including Agades and Takedda. Though Kanem-Bornu ruled the region into the 19th century, by the end of the 1700s the Tuaregs had reestablished their dominance along most of the trade routes that passed through it. Many Tuareg nomads still inhabit the Aïr Massif.

See also: AÏR MASSIF (Vol. II).

Aja (Adja) West African ethno-linguistic group inhabiting southern parts of present-day Republic of BENIN and TOGO. Their language belongs to the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo language family. The Aja are tied ethnically, culturally, and linguistically to their EWE, Mina, and FON neighbors, all of whom are descended from the Aja kingdom, which reached the height of its power in the 16th century.

The Aja were part of a secondary migration into the region that divided the earlier Yoruba settlers in two. Large segments of the Aja and the Yoruba, who shared many religious beliefs and practices, were at times under the authority of the same rulers.

It is believed that the Aja were originally from Old Oyo in NIGERIA and that they fled this war-torn region between the 13th and 15th centuries. They first migrated to KETU and then to Nuatja or Watchi in Tado (present-day Togo), where they mixed with the indigenous people and formed the Ewe.

By the 15th century a group of Aja had settled in ALLADA, which later became the capital of the Great Ardra kingdom. In 1625 the kingdom fragmented when three princes vied for the throne. In the end, Prince Kokpon stayed in Great Ardra, Prince Do-Aklin established ABOMEY, and Prince Te-Agdanlin founded Little Ardra (PORTO NOVO).

Abomey grew to become a powerful kingdom. The new Aja settlers assimilated with the Abomey people and together they formed a new group who came to be known as the Fon or DAHOMEY. The Dahomey became heavily involved in trade and their kingdom was strong and wealthy until they were conquered by the Oyo in 1738.

Because of linguistic peculiarities, the Aja are sometimes classified as a Ewe subgroup, rather than vice versa. Modern historians might refer to the Aja settlers of Allada, Abomey, and WHYDAH as "Ewe-speaking" peoples, thereby making them members of Ewe subgroups. More precisely, though, the Ewe were originally a southern branch of the Aja who migrated from Oyo.

Because their lands were situated close to the coast, the Aja fell under the sway of various European influences. The Dutch first encountered the Aja around 1595 and placed representatives in Assim, located in the Allada kingdom. In 1640 French Capuchin missionaries arrived but failed to win converts. The French established a trading station at Whydah, in 1671, and before the end of the century other European nations followed suit. These incursions weakened the traditional bonds that united the Aja people, and economic rivalry replaced the traditions of consultation and cooperation that had once united them.

Traders played active roles in installing kings who would favor the economic interests of the Europeans. The rivalry between brothers that led to the foundation of Dahomey is one of the earliest examples of this breakdown. The war between the Aja kingdoms of Allada and Whydah that lasted from 1712 to 1722 was precipitated by rivalries between the Dutch and the Portuguese along the coast. The war ultimately led to the fall of both Allada and Whydah.

See also: AJA (Vol. II); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); OLD OYO (Vol. II).

Akan People, region, and language of West Africa. The Akan are concentrated along the Guinea Coast in the present-day countries of GHANA and TOGO and in IVORY COAST between the Komoé and Volta rivers. The Akan migrated to their present-day location between the 11th and 18th centuries. During these migrations, they mixed with indigenous peoples and settled small villages, which evolved into a trade network that spread Akan influence from Ivory Coast to Benin. The sprawling trade economy helped forge the social organization of the Akan people, who organized themselves into a number of highly developed states, including the northern state of BONO and the southern states of DENKYIRA, AKWAMU, FANTE, and Ashanti.

The northern Akan state of Bono was established about 1450 in the present-day Brong-Ahafo region of Ghana. Bono quickly became a major participant in the trans-Saharan GOLD trade because of its proximity to BEGHO, a major trading city of the Muslim DYULA traders, some 40 miles (64 km) away. The Akan gold fields became major sources of gold, which was extracted by the labor of captives and by farmers, who worked in the gold fields in the dry season when the fields lay fallow. Much of the gold was then shipped by caravan across the Sahara to the North African coast and from there to Europe and the Near East. Bono became a powerful state that frequently warred with neighboring peoples. In 1722 the rival ASHANTI EMPIRE conquered Bono.

The southern Denkyira state, founded in the late 16th century, had a diverse economy based on AGRICULTURE, MINING, and trade. Its powerful status enabled the Denkyira to exercise control over the smaller southern Akan states. From about 1698 to 1701, however, the Denkyira were subjugated by the expanding Ashanti state led by its famous king OSEI TUTU (d. 1712). One of the purposes of this conquest was to gain direct contact with Europeans along the coast. Many Akan states, including the Ashanti, the Denkyira, and the Fante, served as intermediaries between the Europeans and the inland peoples.

The Akwamu established their state at the beginning of the 17th century in present-day Ghana. As they grew wealthy through agriculture and the gold trade, the Akwamu expanded their territory by conquering the states of Ladoku, Agona, and WHYDAH. In 1731 the Akwamu state collapsed after its conquest by the AKYEM people.

The Fante states formed an alliance at the end of the 17th century to defend against the growing Ashanti kingdom. Due to their location on the Gulf of Guinea, the Fante served as intermediaries between the Ashanti and European merchants. In order to gain control over this strategic territory, the Ashanti conquered the Fante in 1806.

The Ashanti kingdom rose to prominence under the leadership of the OYOKO clan. By 1750 the Ashanti had established the most powerful empire along the GOLD COAST, having conquered Denkyira, Akyem, Akwapim, and Akwamu. The Ashanti remained the most powerful state in the region until the mid-19th century, when the British colonial presence became more important.

Because of their location along the coast, the Akan states became involved in the slave trade. Both the Fante and the Ashanti for example, acted as intermediaries between the African traders on the interior and the European traders operating on the coast.

See also: AKAN (Vols. I, II, IV); VOLTA RIVER (Vol. II).

Further reading: Ivor Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1993).

Akwamu Early AKAN state that flourished from 1600 to 1730 in the AKYEM Abuakwa region along the GOLD COAST, in West Africa. Founded in the late 16th century by the Akan people of Twifo Heman, Akwamu quickly became a wealthy GOLD trading state. Gold from the Birim River district enabled the people of Akwamu to establish political authority to the south and southeast. Between 1677 and 1681 the king of Akwamu, ANSA SASRAKU (d. c. 1689), conquered GA-DANGME and FANTE coastal settlements, as well as Ladoku to the east.

After Ansa Sasraku's death, circa 1689, Akwamu captured Agona, a Fante state to the west, and WHYDAH along the DAHOMEY coast. By 1710 they had encroached upon Ho, a region occupied by the EWE people. Akwamu's dominance was short-lived, however, and by 1731 it had been destroyed by the neighboring state of Ashanti. Akwamu survivors of the Ashanti wars traveled across the Volta River where they established a small community.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); VOLTA RIVER (Vols. I, II).

Akyem Ethnic group located mostly in what is now southern GHANA. The Akyem descended from the forest-dwelling AKAN peoples by the 16th century and retained close ties with their fellow Akan, the ADANSI, Ashanti, and DENKYIRA, into the first part of the 17th century. During that time the emerging Akyem state was known as "Great Akanny," in reference to the important role it still played in the Akan state. This was due in large part to GOLD, which was mined and worked by the Akyem and traded at the coastal city of ACCRA. During the 17th century, though, the Akyem were forced to migrate to the east as the Denkyira expanded their territory. The Akyem relocated to establish a new state in the mountainous region near the Birim River. The Akyem state developed rapidly due to its well-structured political system in which power was centralized by its chief, and the state became prosperous by trading gold, kola nuts, and ivory. By the mid-17th century Akyem was a powerful state, and it became even stronger when merchants began trading for European weapons.

> Although known for being gold traders, the Akyem probably derive their name from the Twi word for "salt trader."

Despite its success, as the Akyem state grew its governing system weakened. By 1715 multiple head chiefs were claiming to be the Akyem leader. This loss of centralized authority eventually led the Akyem to break into three distinctive groups: Akyem Abuakwa, Akyem Kotoku, and Akyem Bosume. Despite the split, the Akyem subgroups continued to cooperate with one another to their economic and political benefit. One of their most important group efforts came in 1717 during a battle against the ASHANTI EMPIRE. During this clash the Akyem groups banded together to repel Ashanti invaders and killed the famed Ashanti ruler OSEI TUTU (r. c. 1650–1717) in the process. The Akyem groups again collaborated to resist invasion in 1730 against the Akwamu people and, in 1742, against yet another group of Ashanti forces.

See also: AKYEM (Vol. II); GOLD COAST (Vol. III); IVORY TRADE (Vols. III, IV); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Further reading: Kofi Affrifah, *The Akyem Factor in Ghana's History, 1700–1875* (Accra, Ghana: Ghana University Press, 2000).

Algeria Large North African country covering approximately 919,600 square miles (2,381,800 sq km). Today Algeria is bordered by the Mediterranean Sea to the north, TUNISIA and LIBYA to the east, NIGER and Republic of MALI to the south, MAURITANIA and WESTERN SAHARA to

the southwest, and MOROCCO to the northwest. Once part of the Berber Almoravid and Almohad empires, Algeria was the first country of the MAGHRIB to be ruled by the Ottoman Empire. The city of TLEMCEN had been the eastern capital of Almohad Algeria, and the seaports of AL-GIERS, Annaba, and Bijaya were important centers of trade with European markets.

The Almohad empire fell when the Marinids, a group of nomadic Zanatah BERBERS, migrated northward in search of better pasture land and captured MARRAKECH in Morocco in 1269. The Zayyanids, a rival Zanatah Berber clan, captured Tlemcen and held it until the early 1500s, although the Marinid dynasty gained occasional possession of that city throughout the 13th and 14th centuries. Most of western Algeria was nominally under control of the Zayyanid dynasty.

The regional instability created by the fall of the Almohads led to a dramatic rise in piracy along the Mediterranean coast. As Spanish and Portuguese mer-chants vied with the Ottoman Turks for control of trade in the western Mediterranean, CORSAIRS based in TANGIER, TRIPOLI, Algiers, and Tunis raided Christian merchant ships. This state of affairs led the Spanish to blockade ports that were known as pirate dens and force them to pay tribute. Algeria and other cities were occupied by Spanish ground forces. The Muslims felt forced to seek the help of the Ottoman Empire, which dispatched a fleet to expel the Spanish. The driving force behind the call for Ottoman assistance were the two Barbarossa brothers, Aruj (d. 1518) and Khayr ad-Din (d. 1546), who captured Algiers in 1516 and used it as a base against the Spanish. In 1518 Khayr ad-Din Barbarossa swore allegiance to the Ottoman sultan. With Ottoman military help, Khayr ad-Din was able to dominate the Maghrib, and Algeria became the first country in that region to fall under Ottoman rule.

At first Algeria was ruled by Ottoman governors sent from Istanbul. In 1689, however, Ottoman troops

French forces capturing the city of Algiers on July 5, 1830. Under control of the Ottoman Empire, Algiers was a major base of the Barbary pirates for 300 years until it fell to the French. © *Bettmann/Corbis*

in Algeria revolted against the governor and set up military rule. These troops, members of the elite corps of Janissaries, functioned as a Turkish military caste in Algerian society. Thereafter, until the French captured Algeria in 1830, a series of military commanders chosen from among the Janissaries were the de facto rulers of the country. They assumed the title *dey* (from Turkish *dayi,* literally, "maternal uncle") and governed Algeria as a semiautonomous province of the Ottoman Empire. The *deys* maintained a connection with the empire by recognizing the authority of the sultan as caliph, a ruler descended from the prophet Muhammad, and by following the same Hanafite school of Muslim law as the empire followed. Most of the revenue of the state through the mid-1700s was generated from piracy, the ransoming of Christian captives, and tribute paid by European countries.

As European power in the Mediterranean grew, Algerian piracy—and revenue from piracy—began to diminish. High taxes caused unrest and rebellion among the common people. As an emerging United States entered Mediterranean trade, it too paid tribute to the so-called Barbary PIRATES in exchange for immunity from attack. In 1815, however, an American squadron of warships commanded by Stephen Decatur (1779–1820) attacked Algiers and forced the governor to accept a treaty that protected American vessels from piracy. In 1816 a combined British and Dutch fleet all but destroyed the Algerian navy. The stage was set for the French invasion of Algiers in 1830.

The campaign against the Barbary pirates is immortalized in the opening line of the United States Marine Corps hymn: "From the halls of Montezuma, to the shores of Tripoli." Tripoli in Libya was a pirate stronghold. Montezuma, now more properly spelled Moctezuma (1466–c. 1520), was the Aztec emperor of Mexico. The reference in the song is to the capture of the Castle of Chapultepec, a fortress in Mexico City, during the U.S.–Mexican War (1846–1848).

See also: ALGERIA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); ALMOHADS (Vol. II); ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Cyril E. Black and L. Carl Brown, eds., *Modernization in the Middle East: The Ottoman Empire and its Afro-Asian Successors* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1992); Julia Clancy-Smith, ed., *North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War* (Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass, 2001).

Algiers Capital and port city located on the northern coast of ALGERIA. After its destruction by Vandals in the fifth century, Algiers was rejuvenated by the BERBERS, and by the 10th century it had become a Mediterranean trade center. In the early 16th century the city became a refuge for Moors escaping persecution in Christian Spain. These Moors began to threaten Spanish maritime trade, and in 1511 Spain fortified the neighboring island of Peñón. Spain fought for control of the strategic port city for five years. However, in 1516 the Ottoman Empire gained control, and Algiers became an independent city under Ottoman rule. The city soon became a base for the CORSAIRS of the BARBARY COAST, and Algiers thrived as a commercial center for the next 300 years. In 1830 France captured the city, and it served as headquarters for the French occupation until Algerian independence in 1962.

See also: ALGIERS (Vols. IV, V) FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Allada (Alladah, Arda, Ardah) Kingdom centered near the present-day town of Cotonou, in southern Republic of BENIN. Allada was the most powerful kingdom in the region until about 1625, when rivalry among princes split it into three parts. The original village of Allada was established around 1575 by AJA immigrants. The Aja originally came from Tado on the Mono River, which rises near modern Benin's border with TOGO and empties into the Bight of BENIN. About 1625 a dispute among three princes who staked claims to the Allada throne culminated in the establishment of two new villages, Little Arda and ABOMEY. Prince Kokpon remained in the diminished Allada and became its new king, while Te-Agdanlin set himself up as the ruler of Little Arda, later called PORTO NOVO by the Portuguese merchants who controlled the trading center. The third prince, Do-Aklin, founded Abomey. Although all of the kingdoms paid tribute to the OYO EMPIRE, after the split Abomey became the most powerful of the three, maintaining a strong centralized government and a standing army.

The Aja founders of Abomey intermarried with the local groups to form the FON people. In 1724 AGAJA (c. 1673–1740) reunited the Fon with what remained of Allada. Soon thereafter, about 1727, Agaja conquered the neighboring kingdom of WHYDAH using firearms he had acquired from European merchants along the Gulf of Guinea. His victory led to the unification of Abomey, Allada, and Whydah into the new kingdom of DAHOMEY, with Allada then becoming one of Dahomey's three provinces. One of the key towns in Allada was Arda, the name by which the kingdom of Allada was known to most Europeans.

Allada, Abomey, and Whydah were all involved in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE and became prosperous as intermediaries between the suppliers on the interior and

European traders in their trading forts at Porto Novo and Whydah on a stretch of the Gulf of Guinea often called the SLAVE COAST.

See also: ALLADA (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Further reading: Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire 1600–1836 A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford, U.K.: Claredon Press, 1977).

Alvares, Francisco (fl. c. 1520) *Portuguese priest who wrote about his journeys through Ethiopia*

Father Francisco Alvares was sent to ETHIOPIA in 1520 as part of a diplomatic mission to locate the gold-rich kingdom of a legendary priest named Prester John. His purpose during this mission was to gather information on the conditions in Africa. Alvares's account of this journey, published by 1540, was the first foreign work to describe the kingdom of Ethiopia, including some of its history and descriptions of places of interest, such as the churches of Lalibela.

See also: GOLD (Vol. III); LALIBELA, CHURCHES OF (Vol. II).

Amhara Ethnic group present in ETHIOPIA, especially in the central highlands. Like their Tigray neighbors, the Amhara subscribe to a Monophysite form of Christianity. They speak a Semitic language called Amharic that is similar to Tigrinya and has roots in Ge'ez, the traditional language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Throughout the centuries the Amhara have practiced AGRICULTURE, cultivating mostly grains such as millet, wheat, sorghum, *teff,* and a cereal known as *Eragrostis abyssinica.*

Amhara province was located east of the Blue Nile River in the region between present-day GOJJAM and Welo. Between about the 13th and 16th centuries, Amhara was the center of the Ethiopian state.

From the 13th to the 20th centuries all but one of Ethiopia's emperors were from Amhara. This political dominance was a main point of contention between the Amhara and other groups in Ethiopia, such as the Tigray and the OROMO. By the 15th century Amhara language, culture, and political control had infiltrated the regions of Begemdir, Gojjam, SHOA, DAMOT, Wegera, Dembya, SIMIEN, and Welo. The primary goal of the Amhara missionaries at this time was to squelch all traces of traditional beliefs and practices of the neighboring peoples and to impose on them their own brand of Christianity.

The Ethiopian state under Amhara rule reached its zenith during the 15th and the 16th centuries. After that time its vast territory was substantially reduced by Muslim forces, especially during the time of AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543), the celebrated Islamic warrior and political leader. Under the Christian emperor Galawdewos

(r. 1540–1559), Ethiopia gradually began to rebuild. However, the Oromo expansion over the following two centuries proved to be even more destabilizing to the Amhara monarchy than the Muslims had ever been. Eventually, the Oromo adopted the culture and RELIGION of the regions they dominated, including Amhara culture.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, IV); AMHARIC (Vols. I, II); BLUE NILE (Vol. I); GE'EZ (Vol. I); MONOPHYSITE (Vol. I); TIGRAY (Vols. I, IV, V): TIGRINYA (Vol. I).

Amina, Queen *Hausa warrior queen and heroine*

Most of what is known about Amina comes from Hausa oral traditions and the *Kano Chronicle,* a history of the Hausa state of KANO written in the 19th century. Although it was long thought that she lived during the 16th century, recent investigations have found that it was probable that Amina lived in the 15th century and possibly even earlier.

Andrianampoinimerina (Nampoina) (c. 1745–1810) *Brilliant general, political leader, and unifier of the Merina people of the central highlands of Madagascar*

In 1780 Andrianampoinimerina was a chief at Ambohimanga, a province of the MERINA kingdom. Around 1782 he led a successful coup against the Hova Merina ruler with the support of a small but disciplined and well-organized army. After gaining control he established his capital at the fortified city of TANANARIVE (today called Antananarivo).

By the beginning of the 19th century Andrianampoinimerina had reorganized the administration of the Merina kingdom. He was viewed by his people as an energetic and effective leader, and his radical changes affected practically every layer of Merina society, even the relations between FAMILY members. Under his direction, the Merina adopted an organized and codified law that is still in use to a large degree. He changed laws regarding trade and taxation that greatly increased the resources of his centralized authority. He also installed a corps of peasant workers who performed public works, including the development of extensive canals and irrigation for the cultivation of rice. Andrianampoinimerina further cemented his absolute authority and inspired loyalty from conquered peoples by establishing a system of land administration that appointed members of the indigenous groups as the local authorities.

The ECONOMY of the Merina kingdom under Andrianampoinimerina relied heavily on the trading of slaves to the French, who needed laborers to work their sugar plantations in the MASCARENE ISLANDS. Captives, rice, and cattle were traded for French arms and other manufactured goods that served to maintain Merina superiority through-

out the 19th century. Despite trade with the French, Andrianampoinimerina made laws that prohibited the European powers from establishing too much influence in Tananarive.

Andrianampoinimerina's hand-picked successor was his son, Radama I (r. 1810–1828), who continued the state-building tradition. During Radama's reign the Merina also established closer relations with European powers, especially the British, who sent MISSIONARIES to the island.

Further reading: Pier M. Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770–1822* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2000).

Angola   Southwest African country measuring approximately 476,200 square miles (1,233,400 sq km) in size. Angola is bordered by the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the north, ZAMBIA to the east, and NAMIBIA to the south. Its capital is the coastal city of LUANDA. Angola was a major trading region beginning in the 16th century.

The region that is now Angola gets its name from the title given to MBUNDU kings. Subgroups of the Mbundu included the NDONGO, MATAMBA, PENDE, SONGO, and LIBOLO, whose kings were called *Ngola.*

Shortly after it began exploring the region in the 15th century, Portugal sent traders back to the coastal land in search of captives, who were used primarily to colonize parts of Brazil. Some captives were also sent back to Portugal, however, where they were used to fill the gap in the LABOR market. Others were traded for GOLD dust on the GOLD COAST. Initially almost two-thirds of these captives were men, but the demand for fertile women increased over time.

Later, in the 16th century, the Dutch began to trade for captives as well, and as the demand grew, Mbundu kings became eager to expand their kingdoms. The manufactured goods that the kings received for the captives—including cheap European firearms—augmented their power and wealth.

As the ECONOMY grew, several mercantilist states emerged within Angola. One of these was Ndongo, which was formed by a Mbundu group from Luanda in the early 16th century. Ndongo prospered throughout the 16th century, but trade relations with Portugal were not always amicable. On several occasions, Ndongo's rulers detained Portuguese ambassadors for no apparent reason. In addition, Jesuit MISSIONARIES, frustrated by their unsuccessful attempts to convert the local people to Christianity, pressured Portugal to replace the local government with a Christian infrastructure. The culmination of these conflicts came in the late 16th century, when Portugal initiated a military conquest of Angola.

Over the next few years Angola and Portugal engaged in periods of both war and trade, during which several months of war would frequently be followed by periods devoted to trade. Eventually, the Portuguese defeated the Angolans and forced NZINGA (1582–1663), the queen of Ndongo, into exile in neighboring Matamba, where she built a powerful new state. Without local Angolan support, the Portuguese quickly lost their economic advantage and were forced to make peace with the queen in order to establish a new trading partner. With Portuguese support, Matamba became one of the most important markets in the 17th century, which it remained until the 18th century.

Although the trade in captives was economically successful for the Europeans, the long-term effects for the people of Angola itself certainly were less positive. Pressured to provide FOOD for the Europeans' ships, regions like Angola shifted their agricultural production from food crops for local consumption to cheap food for captured Africans. The loss of agricultural labor into the slave trade further compounded the disruption of the economy. The African economy never recovered from this shift in agricultural focus.

See also: ANGOLA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); BENGUELA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SÃO SALVADOR (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Further reading: David Birmingham, *Portugal and Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Joseph C. Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1976); Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

Anlo (Awuna)   A subgroup of the EWE people who live between the coast of modern GHANA and the Volta River. The Anlo speak Ewe, a Kwa subgroup of the Niger-Congo languages. According to oral history, the founders of the Anlo people migrated to present-day Ghana from Notsie (in what is now TOGO) during the mid-17th century. A settlement supposedly was founded by the Anlo forefathers Sri and Wenya. After establishing their kingdom the Anlo were in continuous battle with the neighboring Ada people over fishing, salt-mining, and trade rights. By 1776 more than half of the Anlo population had been killed in battle. The Anlo were forced to surrender when the Ada aligned with Denmark in the 1780s.

The British defeated the Danish in 1850 and used military force to suppress the Anlo. The Anlo submitted to Britain in 1874 under the Treaty of Dzelukofe and remained British subjects for more than 80 years. In 1956 the Anlo joined the neighboring Ewe territories as part of the new autonomous country of Ghana.

The Anlo were made up of patrilineal clans divided into two groups. The first group was associated with the sky gods. These people were believed to be Anlo and were granted greater property rights than those in the second group, the migrant Anlo not indigenous to the area. Anlo women played a significant role in village life prior to the 17th century. Not only were they able to inherit and bequeath land, but they were actually involved in the commercial endeavors of the community. Young women were allowed to select their marital partners, and female elders became respected advisers within the community.

By the late 19th century European influence altered the status of Anlo women in society. Property ownership decreased among women, and the increasing international flavor of trade pushed them out of commercial industries. The influx of foreign settlers made the Anlo cautious about property dispersal. Therefore, marriages were soon arranged in order to keep property within the clan. To avoid arranged marriages, Anlo women began adopting foreign religious practices.

As the slave trade grew throughout the 18th century, economic status became increasingly important. Some of the Anlo became involved in raiding neighboring villages and selling the captives. Wealthy classes developed in Anlo society, resulting in deep divisions among the clans. By the end of the 18th century, European influence had virtually erased traditional Anlo society.

See also: DENMARK AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); KETA (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: Sandra E. Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1996).

Ansa Sasraku   (unknown–c. 1689) *Ruler, or* akwamuhene, *of Akwamu, an Akan state in southern Ghana*

About 1600 the AKAN state of AKWAMU began to gain importance as a major GOLD-trading power along the GOLD COAST, in present-day southern GHANA. Ansa Sasraku was the sixth ruler of Akwamu, and by the time he had become *akwamuhene,* the trading town of Nyanoase was firmly established as the Akwamu capital. From Nyanoase, Ansa Sasraku and his army were able to control important gold trade routes from ACCRA, on the Ghana coast, to the thickly forested inland regions around the Volta River. Due to his success in controlling trade, he also became known as the first *akwamuhene* to exercise power over the coastal EUROPEAN TRADING STATIONS.

By mid-17th century the Akwamu state was collaborating with the rulers of the ASHANTI EMPIRE, located in the forest regions of present-day Ghana, in a political alliance against the DENKYIRA and AKYEM peoples. Ansa Sasraku allied himself with a young Ashanti prince named OSEI TUTU (c. 1680–1717), who eventually reigned as *asantehene,* or Ashanti king, from about 1650 to 1717. When Osei Tutu had an affair with the princess of the Denkyira kingdom and was forced to flee for his life, Ansa Sasraku gave him shelter within the Akwamu state and then offered him the protection of the Akyem army when Tutu left to return to Ashanti territory.

By 1677 Ansa Sasraku had successfully conquered the GA-DANGME peoples of southeastern Ghana, forcing many Ga-Dangme groups to migrate east. By 1681 his army had overcome the state of Ladoku, in the east, and the coastal state of WHYDAH. When Ansa Sasraku died in 1689, he was the leader of a powerful state that covered the territory between the Pra and Volta rivers, from the coastal state of Agona to the inland Kwahu Plateau.

Antalaotra   Muslim peoples of Arabic, Bantu, and Persian descent who inhabit various islands in the western Indian Ocean, especially the large island of MADAGASCAR, off the southern coast of East Africa. The Antalaotra, whose name means "people of the sea" in Malagasy, originally spoke a KISWAHILI dialect that took on many Malagasy words as it evolved on the island. For hundreds of years after their arrival in Madagascar, the Antalaotra were one of the few groups who knew the art of writing, and their scribes, called *kitabi,* wrote in the Arabic alphabet.

It is theorized that the Antalaotra migrated from the COMOROS and began settling in northern parts of Madagascar about the year 1000. (Ruins of some of the oldest Antalaotra trading posts still exist.) About the end of the 15th century the ANTEMORO, a subgroup of the Antalaotra, migrated by sea to the southeastern region of Madagascar. There, among their nonliterate Malagasy neighbors, they were respected for their ability to read and write, and for their extensive knowledge of MEDICINE and the supernatural.

When Portuguese traders first came to northern Madagascar in the 16th century, Antalaotra trading towns were flourishing. Their trading activities diminished throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, though, as European merchants came to the island in greater numbers.

See also: TANANARIVE (Vol. III).

Further reading: Mervyn Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered: A History from Early Times to Independence* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1979); Raymond K. Kent, *Early Kingdoms in Madagascar, 1500–1700* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970); Pierre Verin, *The History of Civilisation in North Madagascar,* David Smith, trans. (Boston: A. A. Balkema, 1986).

Antankarana (Ankara) Muslim people located on the northern tip of MADAGASCAR, an island located off the southern coast of East Africa. The Antankarana are related to various Muslim-influenced groups throughout the island, including the ANTALAOTRA and ANTEMORO.

Antankarana means "people of the rocks" in Malagasy, the language of Madagascar, although the source of this name is unclear.

In the 16th and 17th centuries trade had created a measure of wealth in Antankarana territory, especially in the important east-coast port towns of Vohemar (formerly Iharana) and Antsiranana (formerly Diego Suarez). Evidence indicates that successful Antankarana traders also occupied the island of Nosy-Be.

Excavations of royal tombs at Vohemar revealed African ivory, Chinese pottery, and Persian glass and jewelry, indicating that the Antankarana were active in the Indian Ocean trade from an early date. It is known from the records left by Antankarana scribes that they maintained commercial ties to the sultans of ZANZIBAR, on the SWAHILI COAST of Africa, and with the ruling powers in the COMOROS islands.

By the middle of the 18th century the Antankarana had come under the dominion of the Boina kings of the SAKALAVA empire, who had managed to unify most of the western half of Madagascar.

Further reading: Mervyn Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered: A History from Early Times to Independence* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1979); Pierre Verin (trans. David Smith), *The History of Civilisation in North Madagascar* (Boston: A. A. Balkema, 1986).

Antemoro (Antaimoro) Ethnic group that emerged late in the 15th century from the mixing of traders from MALINDI, on the coast of present-day KENYA, and indigenous peoples in the southeastern region of MADAGASCAR. The Antemoro are considered a southeastern subgroup of the northern ANTALAOTRA, peoples of mixed Arabic, African, and Malagasy descent.

Antemoro tradition traces their history to an ancestor named Ramakararube, an Antalaotra chief, who arrived in southern Madagascar during the late 1400s. He married into the local ruling lineage and began a royal dynasty that ruled the Antemoro into the 18th century.

Like many cultures that were influenced by Islam, the Antemoro maintained an aristocratic class of intellectuals that occupied the top level of society. These learned men were one of the few groups on Madagascar to know the art of writing. Although they spoke Malagasy, they wrote in the Arabic alphabet, keeping relatively detailed records of their early history and ancient beliefs. Related to their writing, the Antemoro were also one of the few groups on Madagascar to know how to produce paper. The oldest of the Antemoro manuscripts, of which hundreds still survive, date back to the late 1500s.

Antemoro means "people of the shore" in the Malagasy language spoken on Madagascar.

Early in the 16th century the Portuguese failed in their attempts to establish a trading factory in Matitana, in Antemoro territory. By the middle of the century the Antemoro had established an insular Muslim theocratic state that ruled the east coast of the island between Mananjary, to the north, and Farafangana. Although the Antemoro did not become a regional power like the SAKALAVA and MERINA, their holy men became influential in areas inhabited by other Malagasy-speaking people. Antemoro priests, called *ombiasses,* were widely respected throughout Madagascar for their knowledge of traditional MEDICINE and the supernatural.

The Antemoro maintained trade relations with French colonists, who arrived in southern Madagascar in 1638. About 1659, however, they clashed with French soldiers, who came north from their colony at Fort Dauphin. Ultimately, diseases and the difficulties that the French had in trading with the Antemoro—and other southern groups, including the Antanosy—eventually drove them from the region. During the 18th and into the 19th centuries, the Antemoro continued to trade with other Europeans, including the Dutch and Portuguese, and maintained their influence by counseling political and religious leaders of other Malagasy groups.

Further reading: Mervyn Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered: A History from Early Times to Independence* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1979); Pierre Verin, *The History of Civilisation in North Madagascar,* David Smith, trans. (Boston: A. A. Balkema, 1986).

Arabs, influence of See ARABIC (Vols. I, II); ARABS (Vol. II); ARABS, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II); ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. V); OMANI SULTANATE (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); SLAVERY, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III).

architecture In general, between the 16th and 19th centuries traditional indigenous African architecture changed
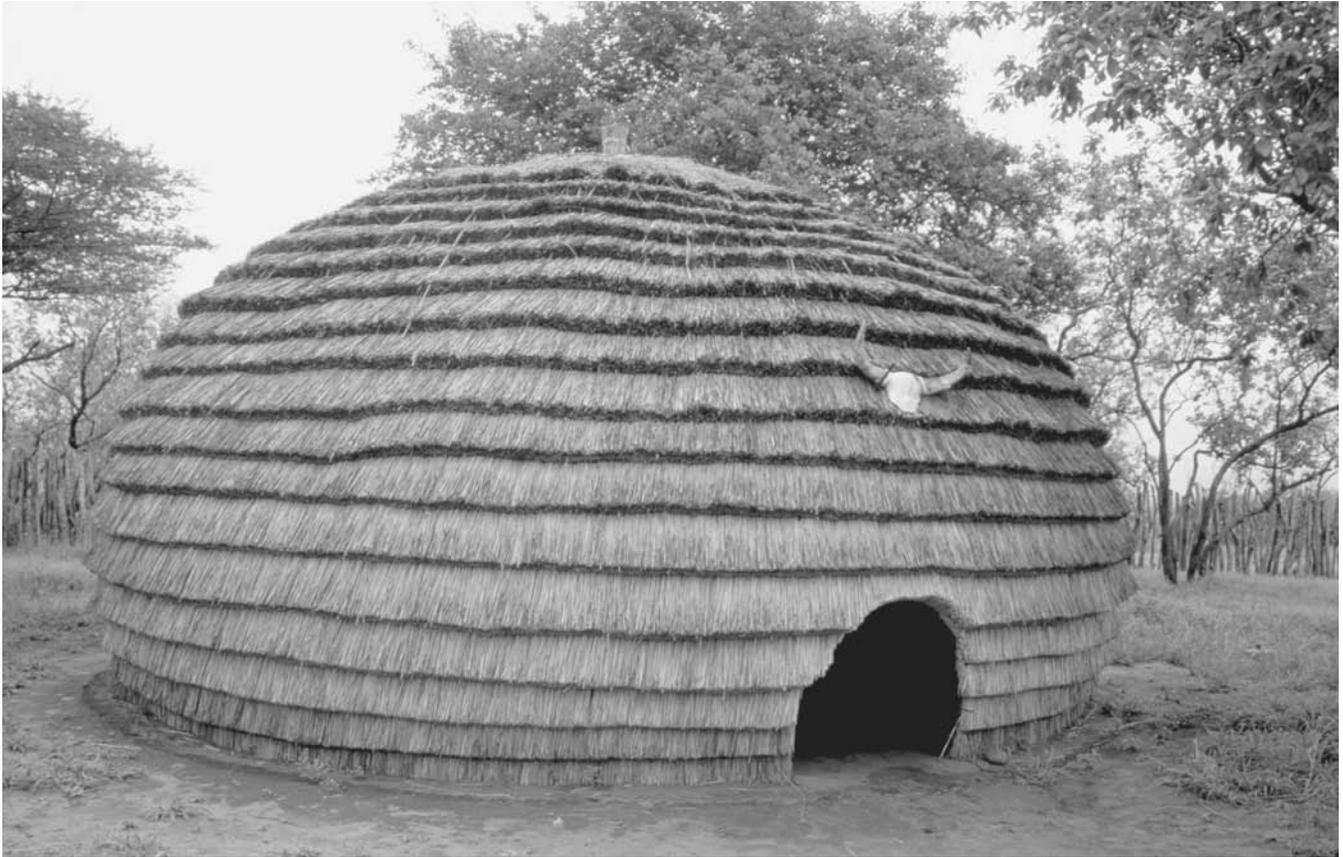
A thatched house, built in a traditional Zulu beehive style. The photograph was taken sometime between 1984 and 1997. © *O. Alamany & E. Vicens/Corbis*

very little. Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, homes, shrines, and royal palaces continued to be built using the same designs and materials that had been used for thousands of years. Similarly, Islamic North African architecture, like the Muslim religion itself, tended to stay true to established tradition. Nevertheless, architectural styles did evolve, especially in places where disparate cultures came together. Hence, the most notable architectural innovations that occurred during the period took place in EGYPT, West Africa, and coastal regions of sub-Saharan Africa.

Islamic Architecture in North and East Africa Egyptian architecture during the period reflected a subtle foreign influence, first by the Turkish MAMLUKS, and later by Ottoman Turks. The Mamluks were Muslim Turkish slaves who successfully rebelled and gained control of Egypt from about 1170 to 1517. The markets and residential buildings that they constructed for both rich and poor were usually of uniform height, no more than two stories high, so the minarets and towers of mosques could easily be seen from anywhere in town. When the Turks from the Ottoman Empire seized Egypt from the Mamluks in the early 16th century, they generally followed the building traditions of their fellow Muslims.

Architects note, however, that the Ottomans influenced North African architecture by incorporating a typically Turkish style of simple and clean lines into the usually ornate and intricate Arabian designs. By the middle of the 18th century the Ottoman Turks also controlled many of the cities on North Africa's Mediterranean coast, influencing architectural styles there, as well.

In the MAGHRIB, a region covering the modern North African countries of MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and LIBYA, building design and construction continued to be dominated by the Arabian-influenced Islamic style of architecture. Muslim builders constructed *casbahs*—multistory, baked-mud brick residential complexes—to which rooms could be added as families grew. The casbahs were often built with interior courtyards for privacy and had strategically placed openings in ceilings and walls for the circulation of air. Construction materials included earth, bricks, mortar, stone, and timber. Walls of the casbahs needed to be replastered often, especially after heavy rains, and the structures were usually whitewashed in order to reflect some of the intense sunlight that punishes the region throughout the year.

Soninke dried-mud house, with the traditional flat roof and perforated walls. This house, located on the banks of the Senegal River, was photographed in 1988. © *Margaret Courtney-Clarke/Corbis*

Along East Africa's SWAHILI COAST, Muslim master builders constructed Islamic-style administrative buildings and residential palaces for wealthy Swahili merchants. Swahili architecture, like the culture itself, was a mixture of African styles with Indian, Persian, and Arabian elements. The buildings on Africa's Indian Ocean coast, therefore, reflected the heavy Asian influence in their intricate design elements and building materials. Swahili Coast palaces had elaborate arched entrances, domes, vaults, and plastered walls decorated with Arabic script. The builders used coral limestone blocks to create impressive geometrical buildings, the most impressive of which was the 100-room Husuni Kubwa Palace, built in the late 13th or early 14th century on the island of KILWA.

Islamic Architecture in the Western Sudan Wealthy Muslim traders from North Africa were present in the western Sudan, in what is now West Africa, as early as the 10th century, spreading their religion and building mosques as they extended their trade routes to the south and west. As practiced in this region, Islam was unique in that it incorporated elements from local, traditional beliefs, resulting in a combination of different religious forms that is known as *syncretism*. This syncretism of northern and local influences was even reflected in the architectural features of the mosques. Naturally, the designers of the structures were influenced by what they had seen in their native North Africa. Mosques there were built out of stone or baked-mud brick, and featured straight, geometrical lines and tall, slender minarets. The mosques in the western Sudan, however, were sometimes made of packed red clay and often featured squat, conical minarets.

By the 14th century there were mosques at JENNE and TIMBUKTU, near the Niger bend, and by the middle of the 16th century, mosques had also been built in KANO and KATSINA, in present-day northern NIGERIA. By the end of the 1500s, mosques were common features of the landscape all the way to the Gulf of Guinea. By the middle of the 18th century syncretic mosques could be found as far west as the SENEGAMBIA region too. One of the more interesting examples was a mosque in FOUTA DJALLON built in the 1730s that was constructed in a shape typical of the local houses, like a beehive, with a circular base and bulging walls that met at the top of the structure. This beehive style of traditional architecture is found, with local variations, in many parts of Africa, as far distant as Zululand on Africa's southeastern coast.

European Architecture in Sub-Saharan Africa

The first example of European architecture in sub-Saharan Africa was the Portuguese fort built between 1480 and 1482 at ELMINA, on modern Ghana's GOLD COAST. Under Commander Diogo Azumbuja, a work force of more than 500 Portuguese—architects, laborers, builders, and stone masons—worked on the construction of the building that began a period of Portuguese trading prowess in West Africa.

Portuguese records of the construction of their forts and castles from the period are incomplete. Hence, many of the architects and master builders who designed the Portuguese structures on the Atlantic coast remain anonymous.

By the 18th century, Europeans had built nearly 30 other trading outposts on the Gold Coast, though few were as large as Elmina. The architecture of the fort reflected a medieval European mentality that paralleled the function of the structure: high, turreted towers and thick defensive walls projected an attitude of strength and indominability that probably contributed to the Portuguese traders' commercial success. The geometrical fort was designed with living and sleeping quarters, large storage spaces for provisions, and holding rooms that were used to house captives before they were exported to labor on Portuguese plantations in the Americas. The Portuguese used many of the same techniques when they built Fort São Sebastian on MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND, in 1522, and the trade outpost in MAPUTO, in the 1540s.

In western Central Africa, Kongo king AFONSO I (c. 1451–1543) was converted to Christianity by Jesuit MISSIONARIES in the late 15th century. Afonso maintained close ties to Portugal, and in the early 16th century he had a palace and Catholic churches built in the European style, thereby bringing new architectural ideas to the area.

Other notable European structures in the area were the cathedral built at LUANDA, in 1628, and Fort São Miguel, built on a small island off of the coast of Luanda, in 1641. The fort was built to facilitate the trading of captives on the southern coast and was basically a fortified town built in medieval European style. Its geometrical design was anthropomorphic, similar to Fort Jesus, with fortified buildings that extended like arms and legs from a central "trunk." The "head" of the structure was the fort's administrative center.

In the 17th century the Portuguese were joined on Africa's Atlantic coast by trading companies and missionaries from Holland, Germany, Britain, France, and Denmark, all of which erected structures that were modeled after examples from their homelands. The Dutch built a trading lodge on the Gold Coast in 1642, the Swedes completed Fort Carolusborg on Ghana's CAPE COAST in 1655, and a German trading company built Ft. Fredericksburg in the region in 1683. European architecture, however, was rarely *purely* European in design. Builders often had to use whatever local materials were available and also adapted their designs to include features from indigenous buildings, which usually were organically designed to withstand the particular climatic and environmental stresses of the region. For example, European builders imitated the local technique of building on stilts in areas where seasonal flooding was common.

The most significant European architectural presence prior to 1850 was in SOUTH AFRICA. CAPE TOWN emerged from the start as a Dutch city. Its most notable building was the massive stone fort known as "the Castle," which the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY had begun constructing in the 1660s. Another landmark was the Dutch Reformed Church, which was notable for its tall spire. Gradually a series of public buildings and private homes, many with the gabled style that came to symbolize the Cape Dutch style of architecture, were built. The expansion of Dutch settlement into the interior led to the spread of this architectural style, especially in the CAPE COLONY. The second British occupation of the cape, in 1806, introduced English architectural styles, particularly the Georgian, which added a new dimension to the appearance of Cape Town. In the eastern cape and Natal, the emergence of new towns occupied by European settlers assumed a very English appearance.

The architectural character of the FREETOWN colony in SIERRA LEONE was an interesting mixture of American, Brazilian, and West Indian influences. Founded in the late 1700s, Freetown was populated by repatriated freed slaves from the Americas, whose architectural knowledge was informed by the British and Portuguese colonial styles there.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vols. I, II, IV, V); BATAMMALIBA BUILDING TRADITIONS (Vol. III).

Further reading: Nnamdi Elleh, *African Architecture: Evolution and Transformation* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996).

Ardra   See ALLADA.

Arochukwu oracle (Arochuku) Traditional shrine controlled by the Aro people, an IGBO subgroup of southeastern NIGERIA. Named in honor of the supreme deity Chukwu, the oracle was established before the arrival of European traders in the late 15th century. The Aro frequently invoked the oracle to achieve economic and political gain.

The Aro exploited the power of the Arochukwu oracle primarily because members of neighboring clans believed enough in his pronouncements to pay large fees for his services. By the early 19th century the shrine had become a nexus for trade as well as a means of solving political problems, helping the Aro people to become some of the most powerful traders in the region.

See also: AROCHUKWU ORACLE (Vol. II); DIVINATION (Vol. I); ORACLE (Vol. I).

art   The artistic creativity of indigenous Africans has been expressed for thousands of years in diverse forms ranging from rock art, paintings, jewelry, and pottery to woodcarvings, masks, sculptures, and woven items. Although it would be difficult to describe a typically "African" aesthetic style, tradition usually dictates the acceptable forms of artistic expression among the people of a certain group. Hence, the styles of art in many regions of the African continent have changed little over thousands of years. Nevertheless it is apparent that from the 16th to the 19th centuries, African art reflected the influence of Europeans in sub-Saharan Africa and the Turks of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa.

Beginning about the turn of the 15th century the art forms from sub-Saharan regions of Africa were largely rejected by a European culture that derided them as "primitive" and didn't recognize their unique aesthetic qualities. During the late 19th century, however, the cultural elite of Europe became fascinated by African art objects as they began to appreciate their deep cultural and spiritual significance.

Many of the groups inhabiting regions of West Africa were heavily involved in the MINING and working of metals, which they formed into elaborate sculptures and jewelry pieces. The AKAN people of present-day GHANA were one of the most notable groups who consistently produced artistic objects out of GOLD and prospered from the trade of the precious metal in the centuries prior to the era of European colonization. For more than a thousand years bronze had been worked in the Yoruba kingdom of Ife in modern NIGERIA, and the region and its artisans

Ndebele Zulu baskets bearing traditional designs. They were photographed in 1996. © *Lindsay Hebberd/Corbis*

were praised by visiting European traders for the intricately cast bronze sculptures. Since the Muslim RELIGION rejected iconic art—art that elevates an image—during this period West Africa was influenced by Islamic North Africa. Sculptures were produced less prolifically, and other forms of art, especially cloth making and architectural design, began to flourish.

East Africa also reflected a wide range of artistic forms and styles. In arid areas of present-day KENYA, TANZANIA, and UGANDA, for instance, painted designs decorated everything from rocks to the human body. By the 16th century, ARCHITECTURE had become a high-art form in the Great Lakes region and along the Indian Ocean coast, where Islamic Arab, Persian, and Indian culture greatly influenced the building styles. Large clay and wood sculptures were produced in present-day MOZAMBIQUE and MALAWI, while funeral pieces, including intricately adorned burial chambers, have been found in Kenya, ETHIOPIA, and on the island of MADAGASCAR, located in the Indian Ocean off the coast of Mozambique.

Ethiopia became a hotbed for artistic expression for more than 100 years beginning about 1632. During this era, known as the GONDAR Period after the splendid capital city founded by Emperor FASILIDAS (r. 1632–1667), Ethiopian culture was expressed in a flourish of religious and scholarly activity. Elaborate palaces and libraries were built and adorned by paintings, frescoes, and murals that commonly depicted symbols and images related to the Coptic Christian faith. The architectural styles of the Gondar Period reflected the Portuguese and Indian origins of the architects who were brought to Ethiopia to erect the castle-like palaces and other buildings.

The influence of Europeans—notably the Dutch and the English—could be seen in the architecture and stone masonry of their buildings in parts of southern and Central Africa, especially on the coast. The artistic creations of the people of West Africa were seen in the African-American arts produced in the New World after the mid-17th century. The trading of both commodities and African captives brought African influences to other countries as well. Many European countries also continued to adopt features of the Islamic artistic style of North Africa. European architects and furniture-makers were especially fascinated by the intricate curves and repeated patterns that typify the Islamic art of MOROCCO and EGYPT.

The arts that came out of North Africa are often left out of descriptions concerning African art due to the notion that works produced in North Africa more closely resembled those of the Muslim and Christian cultures that flourished around the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, the various arts that originated in North Africa are commonly referred to as *oikoumenical* (from the Greek *oikoumenikos,* or "the whole world"). From the 16th century through the 19th century North African art in LIBYA, TUNISIA, and ALGERIA reflected the aesthetic influence of the Turks from the Ottoman Empire, who dominated their coastal territories. Although later ruled by the Ottomans as well, Egypt retained the styles credited to the MAMLUKS, Turkish slaves who came to rule the country. Mamluk arts survived in Egypt's culture until around the 19th century, but thereafter began to develop the same European characteristics as many other African arts throughout the continent.

See also: ART (Vols. I, II, IV, V); BEADS AND JEWELRY (Vol. II); MASKS (Vol. I); POTTERY (Vols. I, II); ROCK ART (Vol. I); SCARIFICATION (Vol. I); SCULPTURE (Vol. I).

Further reading: Jan Vansina, *Art History in Africa: An Introduction to Method* (New York: Longman Group Limited, 1984).

Asaba (Ahaba) City located in the Igboland region of present-day NIGERIA known for its 17th-century foundation legend. The people of Asaba claim a figure named Nnebisi as their official founder. Legend states Nnebisi was born to a woman from the Anambra region of Nteje in western Igboland, probably in the early 17th century. He soon realized he was treated differently from others and was told it was because Nteje was not his homeland. Nnebisi then traveled the NIGER RIVER in search of his native home armed with only a charmed MEDICINE pot, which he was told to wear on his head as it would fall at the site of his true home. The pot was said to have fallen on the western shores of the Niger at the shrine to the goddess Onishe of Ahaba—and it was there Nnebisi staked claim to the land.

> The name *Ahaba* came from the IGBO expression *ahabam*, which translates to, "I have appropriately chosen."

Even though he was of slave descent himself, Nnebisi became rich in Ahaba as an agriculturalist who used slaves to tend his lands. He was also a skilled hunter who increased his wealth by hunting elephants for their ivory tusks. Once he gained wealth and power he then proclaimed himself king. It was during his reign that the Asaba instituted the practice of human sacrifice. Nnebisi married two wives, producing two sons and a daughter with his first wife and one son with the second wife. Later, it was the five grandsons of Nnebisi (all from the offspring of his first wife) who took over the original communities left by the earliest settlers of Ahaba and formed five districts within the city that still remain to the present day. It was only during the British occupa-

tion of the area in the 19th century when the city's name of Ahaba was anglicized to Asaba.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III).

Ashanti Empire (Asante)   Vast territory that was controlled by the Ashanti, a subgroup of the AKAN people in present-day GHANA, beginning in the 17th century. The roots of the Ashanti Empire lay in the expansion of trade that began during the 14th century, as Dyula traders made their way across the savanna. The Akan of the forest regions, who had long maintained trade in both GOLD and KOLA NUTS, seized on the opportunities this offered, and they soon were using slave labor to both mine additional gold and clear land for more farms. By the 15th century, permanent Akan settlements were developing in the forest that, when the Portuguese arrived in the latter part of the century, engaged in a lively trade with the Europeans. Gold was exchanged for cotton cloth, metals, and even captives from the area of BENIN, and in time the Akan even began farming MAIZE and other crops introduced to them by the Portuguese. By the 16th century several important and rival Akan states—including Denkyira, Akwamu, Fante, and Ashanti—had developed, and by the end of the century the competition between them began to give way to unification. And, it was the Ashanti who seized the opportunity to draw the groups together.

By the time they reached the West African coast, about 1600, the Ashanti had formed a kingdom around Lake Bosumtwe. This kingdom grew as neighboring peoples intermixed with the Ashanti. The Ashanti united under the leadership of their first three OYOKO chiefs: OBIRI YEBOA (d. c. 1660), OSEI TUTU (c. 1680–1717), and OPOKUWARE II (c. 1700–1750). These leaders cultivated the loyalty of local kings by including them in the new Ashanti government as commanders of the Ashanti army or as members of the king's advisory council. New soldiers for the growing Ashanti army were provided by these individual kingdoms as well. Despite the centralized political system, village kings retained their power over everyday village affairs.

Ashanti Empire c. 1800
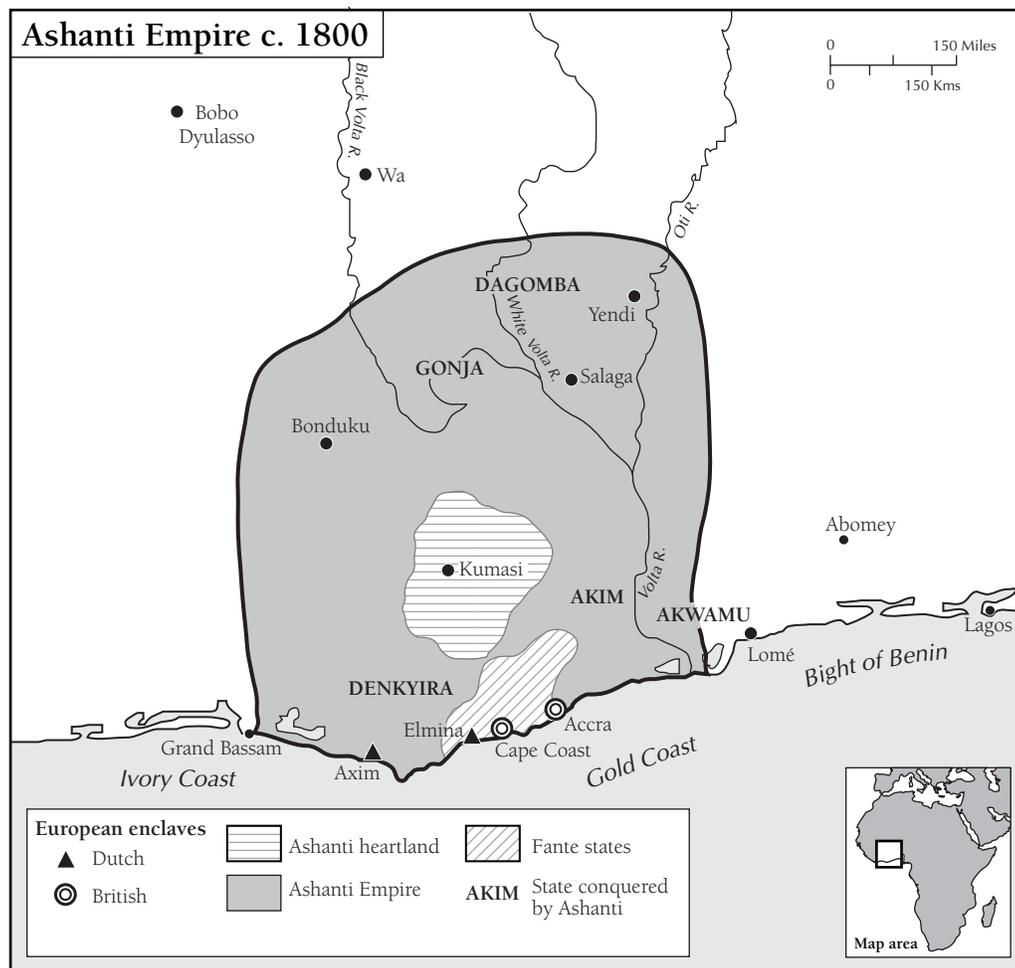
When Osei Tutu took the throne in the late 17th century, he was called the *asantehene,* or "king of the Ashanti." His nation rapidly increased its power by forming alliances with the neighboring peoples, leading to the formation of the Ashanti Union, around 1700. Tutu also established his capital at KUMASI, located inland, in the central forests of present-day Ghana. During his reign he started the tradition of the GOLDEN STOOL. According to legend a golden stool fell into Tutu's lap, thus establishing a divine royal lineage. The throne became the symbol of Ashanti authority.

In the 18th century the Ashanti conquered the neighboring kingdoms of DENKYIRA, Assin, Aowin, Amanahia, WASSAW, Twifo, and Wenchi. By 1740 they had added TEKYIMAN, BANDA, Gyama, and western GONJA to their territory. By the 19th century the Ashanti had conquered all of the neighboring kingdoms except the Fante. The Fante were spared only because they were under British protection. By this time the Ashanti kingdom had become the most powerful force on the GOLD COAST.

The Ashanti kingdom went into a decline about 1807 primarily because of conflict arose with British merchants and expeditionary forces, who were coming to the region in increasing numbers in hopes of monopolizing coastal trade. The Ashanti simultaneously were expanding their own trade networks from the interior. The two powers soon set to open warfare.

The situation was complicated by the continued efforts of the British to make allies of the smaller kingdoms, such as Fante and Denkyira, that were being dominated by the Ashanti during their campaigns of territorial expansion. A series of conflicts with the British, known as the Anglo-Ashanti Wars, included a crucial loss at Katamanso, in 1826. In the aftermath of their defeat at Katamanso, the Ashanti were forced to renounce claims of sovereignty over those groups that had allied with Britain. The Anglo-Ashanti Wars would continue throughout the 19th century.

See also: AKAN (Vol. II); ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS (Vol. IV); ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vol. IV); TWIFO (Vol. II).

Further reading: T. C. McCaskie, *State and Society in Pre-colonial Asante* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Ivor Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1993).

asiento   The monopoly granted by the government of Spain to sell captives and other people in its territories. According to the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed by Spain and Portugal in 1494, Portugal was granted a monopoly on trade and territorial claims in Africa. Spain was granted a similar monopoly in the Americas, except for a small portion of eastern Brazil, which was placed in Portuguese hands. Thus, in the early 1500s, when Spain decided to import Africans to supplement and later replace Native American forced laborers in the Caribbean, Spain had to rely on outside suppliers. These suppliers worked under contract (in Spanish, *asiento*) with the Spanish government and purchased the exclusive right to supply a specified number of African slaves for a given period of time.

The first *asiento* on record was granted to a company from Genoa, Italy, in 1517. The company agreed to supply 1,000 captives between 1517 and 1525. In 1528 the *asiento* then passed to a company from the state of Brandenburg in eastern Germany. Subsequently, individual Spaniards and Portuguese held the contract. In 1701 the Guyana Company, chartered by the French government, received the *asiento* from Spain but lost it in 1713 to Bri-tain as one of the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht, which was formally ratified the following year. By that agreement Britain owned the right to sell captives for the next 30 years.

The Treaty of Utrecht resolved a series of disputes among the major European powers that had exploded into the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). As a result of this treaty Britain became a major political force in Europe and a major trading power in the world of commerce. Britain dominated the slave trade until the British Parliament banned it in 1807.

See also: SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Askia dynasty   Line of Muslim rulers who led the SONGHAI Empire from 1493 to 1592. In total there were 10 rulers who took the name *Askia,* all but one lineal descendants of Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1528), also known as Askia the Great. Muhammad Touré started the dynasty when he overthrew the son and successor of Sunni Ali (d. 1492), the Songhai founder. Upon taking his position as head of the Songhai, Muhammad Touré designated himself *Askia Muhammad.* His pilgrimage to Mecca as well as his myriad accomplishments in the political, religious, cultural, and educational spheres made him a popular ruler. Not only did he consolidate the vast territory accumulated by Sunni Ali but he extended it and completely reorganized its administration as well. During Askia Muhammad's reign the empire was at its height in both power and prosperity. In a state of ill health and vulnerability, Askia Muhammad was deposed in 1528 by a rebellion led by his eldest son, Musa (r. 1528–1531).

Askia Musa's reign, like that of all of the *askias* that followed him, met with fear and suspicion of those in line for the throne. Askia Muhammad had 34 sons, all as ambitious and ruthless as Musa himself. The sons split into groups and formed allegiances with one another. Those

who did not support Musa fled, but Musa went after them and had them killed. Eventually the remaining brothers banded together in a revolt against the tyrannical Musa and assassinated him.

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The name *Askia* is a family name that pre-dated Askia Muhammad Touré, but it has come to be used as a generic term, when in lower case, to mean the "emperor of Songhai."

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Askia Muhammad's nephew Muhammad Benkan (r. 1531–1537) became the third *askia.* He was deposed, however, in 1537, by a group of Songhai nobles who felt he had usurped the throne. This group succeeded in restoring the leadership to Ismail (r. 1537–1539), one of Askia Touré's sons, who then became the fourth *askia.* Ismail brought his father back from exile, but after only three years as the head of the Songhai Empire, Ismail died of natural causes.

Ismail's brother Ishaq I (r. 1539–1549) enjoyed a peaceful succession to the throne. This peace did not last long, however, as Ishaq was every bit as afraid of deposition and disloyalty as the *askias* before him had been.

Ishaq's brother Askia DAUD (r. 1549–1582) became the sixth *askia.* Of all the *askias* who followed Askia Muhammad, Daud had the longest and most successful reign. He was remembered for being a devout Muslim, for his support of ART, ARCHITECTURE, and education, and for helping the poor. The empire's economy flourished under Daud's leadership. Frequently he led expeditions against the MOSSI STATES, but his major threat was Sultan ABD AL-MANSUR (r. 1578–1603) of MOROCCO, whose occupation of the Taghaza salt mines became an increasing concern of the empire. Daud was the last son of Askia Muhammad to rule Songhai. After Daud's death all the succeeding rulers of Songhai were Daud's sons and were no less ruthless in trying to occupy the throne than his brothers had been.

Al-Hajj Muhammad (r. 1582–1586) became the seventh *askia* of the Songhai Empire. He ruled violently and harshly and lived in fear of being overthrown, a fate that was realized in 1586 when his brother, Askia MUHAMMAD BANO (r. 1586–1588), was elected the eighth Songhai king. During his short reign Bano had to deal with the unruly western provinces that had attempted several times to rebel against him. He died on the same day he began an expedition to attend to the civil war that had broken out and was replaced by his brother Ishaq II (r. 1588–1591).

Immediately upon taking the throne Ishaq killed al-Sadduk, the leader of the western revolt, and managed to maintain some sense of control, though the empire had been substantially weakened.

The Moroccans, using the political instability of the Songhai Empire to their advantage, invaded in 1591. The Songhai forces were so badly defeated that Ishaq submitted to the Moroccan leader Mawlay ABD AL-MANSUR (r. 1578–1603), but his offer to pay tribute was rejected, and the sultan proceeded to lay siege to the Songhai.

The defeated Songhai army deposed Ishaq and designated Muhammad Gao the tenth *askia* in 1591. His rule didn't last long, and he was killed by al-Mansur the same year he assumed his title. Having lost most of its power, the former ruling dynasty was reduced to the leadership of a small independent state in Dendi, over which a son of Askia Daud reigned.

See also: DENDI (Vol. II); SUNNI ALI (Vol. II).

Further reading: David Conrad, *The Songhay Empire* (New York: F. Watts, 1998).

Ayawaso (Ayaso) Town located near the coast of present-day GHANA. Founded during the 15th century by the GA-DANGME people, Ayawaso is situated on the Nsachi River, north of ACCRA. Ayawaso became the Ga-Dangme capital during the 16th century. Ruled early on by priests, the Ga-Dangme changed to monarchical rule by the early 17th century. The most notable Ga-Dangme *mantse,* or king, was Okai Akwei (r. c. 1640–1677), who reigned in Ayawaso when the Ga-Dangme kingdom reached its peak. As early as the 1660s, however, Ayawaso was coming under pressure by the AKAN state of AKWAMU, and some of the Ga-Dangme people were forced to migrate south to Accra, which was in the process of becoming a major trading center for European merchants.

In 1677, under the leadership of the *akwamuhene* (ruler) ANSA SASRAKU (d. c. 1689), Akwamu attacked and conquered Ayawaso, burning the city to the ground and making it a tributary state. Despite being devastated, Ayawaso continued to function as the Ga-Dangme capital until 1680, when the seat of the Ga-Dangme kingdom was moved to Accra.

Azande (Zande, Nzakara, Niam-Niam) Ethnic group of present-day Republic of the SUDAN, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. During the 18th century the Ambomu people of the Mbomu River region in north-central Democratic Republic of the Congo began conquering other Sudanic peoples to the south and east; the Azande emerged from the assimilation of these groups.

The Azande speak a Sudanic dialect of the ADAMAWA-Ubangi branch of the Niger-Congo family of languages. Organized into scattered villages, the Azande were traditionally agriculturalists. However, they also engaged in

hunting, fishing, and limited trade. Azande RELIGION reflects a unique and complex worldview. They call their Supreme Being *Mbori,* who is considered to be the creator of all things. According to some sources, the Azande believe that Mbori lived in the headwaters of streams. This seems to be supported by Azande origin myths that talk about the ancient times when human beings were sealed inside a canoe and had not yet populated the earth. The sons of Mbori—the sun, moon, stars, and the night sky—tried to open the seal, but only the sun's hot rays succeeded.

The NGBANDI, a Sudanic group of the upper Ubangi River in the Central African Republic, mixed with the Azande in the 18th century, adopting their language and culture. The Bandia—who are one of the most important aristocratic Azande clans along with the Vungara—are descended from the Ngbandi.

The Azande honored their ancestors and stressed the importance of traditional knowledge, which was considered an important spiritual gift. Traditional knowledge of medicines, for instance, was limited to a select group of men who were to become *abinza,* or traditional healers. The apprenticeship of future *abinza* could begin as early as age five.

As part of their education in the medicinal arts, young men and boys apprenticed themselves to older, recognized healers. In the initial phase of their training, these youngsters were provided with special MEDICINE that conferred on them the powers of prophecy. The trainees were then given public funerals that symbolically buried their pasts. At that point their education about healing herbs and medicinal bark from certain trees officially began. While completing their training, which often took many years, the students had to observe many taboos, including those against sexual activity.

Successful practitioners often organized themselves into ritual clans or associations. Among the practitioners, one of the most powerful responsibilities was to forewarn their rulers, or even their society as a whole, of potential dangers. This usually was done through divination. The *abinza* also acted as oracles, making predictions and offering advice to those who consulted them.

Any misfortune or bad luck that befell any member of the Azande usually was blamed on witchcraft. It was believed that when used in a certain way, witchcraft could cause the loss of crops or bring about illness, accidents, or fires. The belief in witchcraft has remained strong among the Azande over many centuries.

Another important responsibility of Azande medicine men involved detecting of individuals suspected of crimes or other violations of the community's mores. Medicine men knew how to identify a substance known as *mangu,* which was believed to be found in the stomach of those suspected of witchcraft. The *abinza* also used a combination of medicinal herbs and tree bark known as *beng* to make a form of poison that they believed could be used to identify those practicing witchcraft or similar crimes. Medicine men were not only obligated to identify supposed witches in these ways but were also required to cure or reverse the ill effects they caused. The *abinza* also prevented the ill effects from recurring again. Suspected and proven witches were required to undergo a rite of cleansing, which often included offering a blessing to their victims.

Anthropologists who have studied the Azande point to the prevalence of witchcraft and methods of detection as part of a religious belief system in which everything has an underlying cause. Once these causes are identified they become the basis for controlling social behavior.

The Azande homeland was rather inaccessible to Africa's Muslim and Christian populations as well as to the European colonial powers, so they were able to escape the direct pressures of foreign influence until the late 19th century, when the French began to infiltrate the area north of the Ubangi River.

See also: HEALERS AND DIVINERS (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); WITCHCRAFT (Vols. I, IV).

Further reading: Benjamin C. Ray, *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual, and Community,* 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000).

Azemmour (Azamor)   City in present-day MOROCCO located along the coast at the estuary of the Oum Rbia River. Established possibly as early as the fifth century BCE, Azemmour was conquered in 1513 by Portugal under the leadership of King Manuel I (r. 1495–1521). By 1514 the city was known as a haven for Portuguese Jews who had been forced to flee their homeland.

Azemmour was the birthplace of the famous Moroccan slave Estevanico. Born in 1503, Estevanico was sold to a Spaniard named Andres de Dorantes about 1520. In 1527 he then traveled with Dorantes and the explorer Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (c. 1490–1557) to the Americas, where he traversed parts of what are now Florida, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas before crossing into the present-day country of Mexico. Estevanico was killed in 1539 by the Zuni in what is now New Mexico.

Although the Portuguese erected large defensive walls at Azemmour, some of which still stand today, they were not able to hold sway over the city for long. They were forced to abandon the city after less than 30 years of rule. In 1542 the Portuguese relinquished control of the city as Moroccan forces, led by Muhammad al-Shaykh (d. 1557), captured the Portuguese-ruled port of Agadir, threatening Portuguese dominance in Azemmour and the neighboring coastal city of Safi.

In the centuries that followed, Azemmour continued to be a productive city under Moroccan rule, but it was often surpassed in importance by other cities along the coast, such as MAZAGAN, which boasted superior ports.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

B

Baganda See GANDA.

Bagirmi (Baguirmi) Kingdom that emerged in the Lake CHAD region of present-day CHAD early in the 16th century. Though the original Bagirmi kingdom was non-Muslim, under Abdullah IV (r. c. 1568–1598) the kingdom adopted Islam, ultimately turning their state into a sultanate, with its capital at Massenya. Later, in the early 17th century, Bagirmi was absorbed into KANEM-BORNU, to the north, but gained a measure of independence during the latter part of the century.

By the beginning of the 18th century Bagirmi was profiting from the Arab trade in human captives. Although it was under the control of Kanem-Bornu, Bagirmi managed to maintain its power through its own tributary states. By the mid-1700s Bagirmi had returned to paying tribute to Kanem-Bornu. In the early 1800s Bagirmi suffered from attacks by the TUNJUR peoples of the neighboring WADAI kingdom and fell into decline.

Further reading: S. P. Reyna, *Wars Without End: The Political Economy of a Precolonial African State* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1990).

Bahinda See HINDA.

Bakele Ethnic group inhabiting coastal regions of present-day GABON. Known as successful hunters and traders, the Bakele, under pressure from migrating Fang peoples, eventually dispersed from their long-time homeland in the region of the Como and Remboué rivers.

Prior to the emergence of large-scale trading in captives in what is now Gabon, the Bakele exchanged items such as ivory and EBONY with their coastal neighbors, including the Fang and the Seke peoples. The Bakele also controlled part of the river waterways that transported goods to both African and European trading outposts.

During the late 18th century the Bakele became highly involved in the trade in captives and were known to have been one of the few groups to conduct trade both locally and over long distances to obtain captives to satisfy the European demand. After the decline of this trade early in the 19th century, the Bakele continued to trade with the Europeans in ebony and other woods and were also prominent in the trade of rubber.

See also: FANG (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); SLAVERY (Vols. I, III, IV).

Bakongo See KONGO.

Bakuba See KUBA.

Bamako Ancient trading city located on the NIGER RIVER, near SEGU, in present-day southwestern Republic of MALI. From the 11th to 15th centuries Bamako was a trading port and a center for Islamic education within the Mali Empire. Then, during the mid-18th century, Bamako was ruled by the BAMBARA kingdom of Segu after Mamari KULIBALI (r. 1712–1755) extended his territory to points along the Niger River.

Bamako's name comes from words meaning "crocodile river" in the Bambara language.

Little is known of its history thereafter until 1806, when Scottish explorer Mungo PARK (1771–1806) described Bamako as a small trading village inhabited by the Bozo people. Prior to Bamako's occupation by the French in 1883, the city was subjugated for a short time by the forces of Muslim warrior Samori Touré (c. 1830–1900). In 1908 Bamako became the capital of Mali—then called French Soudan—and remained the capital after Mali declared its independence in 1960.

See also: BAMAKO (Vols. II, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH SOUDAN (Vol. IV); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II)

Bambara (Bamana) Mande-speaking agrarian people originally from the Niger Valley; the Bambara, who emerged as a people during the 17th century, inhabit present-day MALI and speak Bamana, a language related to Mandinka. Under its early ruler, Kaladian Kulibali (r. 1652–1682), the Bambara kingdom of SEGU expanded, eventually becoming a small empire. The empire grew larger still under Mamari KULIBALI (1712–1755), who, aided by a professional army and navy, succeeded in unifying the Bambara peoples between Bamako, to the southwest, and JENNE and TIMBUKTU, to the northeast. In the years that followed, the empire prospered and grew until, in 1818, it was overthrown by Shekhu Ahmadu Lobbo of MACINA. KAARTA, too, expanded, eventually covering most of Middle Niger. Kaarta fell in 1854 to the Tukulor warrior al-Hajj Umar Tal (c. 1797–1864).

According to oral tradition, the Bambara originated with two brothers who crossed the NIGER RIVER on the back of a giant catfish named *Kulibali* ("no boat"). The tradition goes on to say that Barama Ngolo, who was the "good" brother of the pair, eventually founded the kingdom of Segu. The other, or "bad" brother, who was named Nia Ngolo, founded Kaarta. In truth, the most likely origin for the Bambara kingdoms was an invasion of FULANI cavalry who came to the area at about the time of the collapse of the SONGHAI Empire. The Fulani apparently unified the various Bambara groups and established the kingdoms of Segu and Kaarta.

Bambara society traditionally was organized according to clans, each of which was made up of several families descended from a common ancestor. The clan leaders, in turn, were under the authority of a village leader, or chief, who, according to tradition, descended from the original founder of the village. As both political and spiritual leader of the village, he was responsible not only for the cultivation of the lands of the village but also for its religious activities.

In addition to clans, Bambara society traditionally was based upon age groups, to which Bambara men invariably belonged. The smallest of these groups, known as a *flambolo,* was made up of the individuals who had participated in the same circumcision ceremony. Beyond this was a *flanton,* which was made up of three *flambolos.* As a result of this intricate system, the entire Bambara male population was unified by the bonds of age and the memories of common ceremonies.

Traditional Bambara RELIGION involved ceremonies undertaken by various secret religious societies. These utilized striking masks and statues, which played important and, because of the secretive nature of the societies, often mysterious roles in the various rituals undertaken.

In 1799 Segu was visited by the Scottish explorer Mungo PARK (1771–1806), who wrote in glowing terms of the empire's magnificent capital. It was made up, he noted, of four separate towns, each surrounded with high mud fortifications and filled with square, flat-roofed mud-brick houses. Mosques, according to Park, were common, and the city's streets were wide enough for wheeled carriages to pass through. According to Park the rich and crowded capital was inhabited by more than 30,000 people.

See also: AGE SETS (Vol. I); BAMANA (Vol. I); BAMBARA (Vol. II); SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I).

Further reading: Sundiata A. Djata, *The Bamana Empire by the Niger: Kingdom, Jihad, and Colonization, 1712–1920* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1997).

Banda Traditional AKAN state located in present-day GHANA. Dating back as far as the 13th century, Banda was known to have been highly active in both the MINING and trading of GOLD. Along with the state of BONO, Banda was one of the earliest Akan states, formed in response to the rise of trans-Saharan trade. Banda quickly became a main point of contact for Mande and DYULA traders, who purchased goods such as kola nuts, spices, and gold to sell at

the market center of JENNE in present-day southern Republic of MALI. This relationship between Banda and the Mande was apparently prosperous and continued well into the 18th century or later. In the early 18th century, however, the Ashanti had begun to take over much of the Akan regions in an effort to gain control of the trading routes. By 1730 Banda and its profitable gold mines had been effectively taken over by the forces of the Ashanti ruler, OPOKUWARE II (r. 1720–1750), and brought into the realm of the ASHANTI EMPIRE.

See also: MANDE (Vols. I, II, IV).

Banjul (Bathurst) Island and capital city of present-day The GAMBIA, in West Africa. Situated near the entrance to the Gambia River, the island of Banjul was an ideal location for the British to establish a trading port in the SENEGAMBIA region. Once the slave trade was outlawed by the British in 1807, Banjul also served as an observation point from which the British could check the illegal activities of slave traders from other countries.

In 1816 Banjul Island was transferred to the British captain Alexander Grant for an annual sum of 25 pounds sterling. Grant renamed the island St. Mary's and right away started construction on civilian houses, barracks, and a trading station. Once his settlement was complete, he renamed the town Bathurst, after Lord Henry Bathurst, the British secretary of state.

> **In 1973, eight years after The Gambia became independent, President Jawara officially changed Bathurst's name back to Banjul.**

Within a few years, the population of Bathurst nearly tripled, as the settlement attracted Wolof traders and recently freed Jola, Mandinka, and Aku slaves from SIERRA LEONE, as well as British merchants.

See also: BANJUL (Vols. III, V); MANDINKA (Vol. II).

Bara Ethnic group inhabiting the inland savanna regions of southern MADAGASCAR, an island off of the southern coast of East Africa. The Bara kingdom was made up of a group of decentralized pastoralist chiefdoms that unified in times of war to present a formidable challenge to the SAKALAVA and MERINA empires that attempted to subjugate them.

Of all the groups in Madagascar, the Bara most closely resemble Bantu-speaking people in physical appearance, and they share many religious customs and lin-

guistic similarities with ethnic groups from the African continent. Some modern anthropologists even classify the Bara as a directly related subgroup of the Mbara, a group from the Lake Nyasa region in MALAWI. The denomination "Bara" only came into use at the beginning of the 19th century. Until that time the Bara were referred to by their clan names, including Zafimanely, Iansantsa, Imamono, and Vinda.

As described by the few European explorers bold enough to enter Ibara, as Bara territory is called, the Bara were fierce warriors and difficult traders. As a result, for a long time there was little definitive information about the Bara found in European texts.

> **Bara oral traditions refer to Rabiby, a chief of the Zafimanely clan, as the founder of the Bara. According to these traditions, Rabiby came to Madagascar from the African continent around the middle of the 18th century, bringing with him African concepts of political organization that were previously unknown on the island. Although this tradition is helpful in explaining why the Bara have certain affinities with Bantu-speaking Africans more than other Madagascar groups, it does not account for the mystery of why they speak a dialect that is obviously Malagasy.**

In the latter half of the 18th century the Bara maintained their pastoralist culture by raiding cattle from neighboring groups, including the Mahafaly and Sakalava, and by trading with those same groups for agricultural products and weapons. For the most part the Bara managed to maintain their independence from the Sakalava empire, which flourished in the region east of Ibara during the 17th century. The also remained largely independent as the Merina came to dominate southern Madagascar in the 19th century.

See also: BANTU EXPANSION (Vols. I, II); BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

Further reading: Raymond K. Kent, *Early Kingdoms in Madagascar, 1500–1700* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

Barbary Coast During the 16th century, under Ottoman rule, the coastal region of North Africa became known as the Barbary Coast. Its center was at Tunis, which served as the base for piracy against European ships in the Mediterranean. The term was derived from the name of the BERBERS, the ancient inhabitants of the region.

Man from the Barbary Coast, which was then under the control of the Ottoman Empire. The print is from an engraving by the French artist Le Hay made in 1713 –14. © Historical Picture Archive/Corbis

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. II, III); PIRATES (Vol. III); TUNIS (Vols. II, V).

Barbot, Jean (1655–1712) *French writer who described the transatlantic slave trade*

Between 1678 and 1682 Jean Barbot visited the West African coast, near present-day Republic of BENIN, as an agent of the French Royal African Company. Barbot's most widely read book was *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea,* written in 1682, which included detailed descriptions of the inhabitants, coastal settlements, and even wildlife and flora from the region. The book also included Barbot's illustrations of the people, places, and things that he described. Barbot's often graphic descriptions of the condition of the peoples taken captive and sold into bondage make for startling reading even today. No early abolitionist, however, Barbot generally expressed the prejudices of the Europeans of the day, taking the view that the captives were far better off in European, rather than African, hands.

See also: SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Basotho See SOTHO.

Batammaliba building traditions The Batammaliba (a name meaning "those who are the real architects of the earth") inhabit the mountainous grasslands in the border region of today's TOGO and the Republic of BENIN. The dominant feature of this region is the Atacora Mountains. The Batammaliba are thought to have migrated to the area in the 17th or 18th century. They were probably drawn to the region because of its frequent rainfall and fertile soil.

Batammaliba ARCHITECTURE is deeply rooted in religious belief. Each house serves not only as a self-sustaining compound but also as a sanctuary. According to oral history, Batammaliba architecture originated at the village of Linaba. It was there that Kuiye, the all-powerful solar god, created the first humans. Kuiye lived on Earth with these first humans and provided for their every need. There was no hunger, no rain, no cold, and no need for LABOR. Therefore, the first Batammaliba structures were simple, open-sided shelters (*kufiku*) made with forked posts holding up a thatched roof. Because of their role at Linaba, *kufiku* are among the first structures built in newly founded Batammaliba villages today. These shelters are always placed to the west of Batammaliba houses in deference to Linaba and Kuiye's house in the western sky. They act as shady resting places, drying areas for crops, and even allow for storage atop the flat roof.

According to tradition Kuiye became more annoyed with humans, he fled Earth, leaving humans to fend for themselves. Humans were now subjected to darkness, seasonal changes, inclement weather, hunger, birth, and death. They had to learn to hunt, fish, farm, and protect themselves from the elements. Therefore, the original shelter was no longer sufficient. Humans needed a larger structure with cooking facilities, storage areas, and secure sleeping rooms for pregnant women and infants, while providing adequate protection from the elements.

The Batammaliba developed a new architectural structure in the form of a three-room earthen compound (*kucuku*). Two rooms were covered with straw roofs while the kitchen was covered with an earthen terrace roof. Several important characteristics were evident in this new architectural form: the west-facing placement of the compound, the presence of a sacred fire in the compound's front room, a womb-like front portal hole, and earthen shrines placed in front of the compound portal. The westward orientation of the compound was out of reverence to Kuiye and his house in the western heavens. The earthen shrines also paid homage to Kuiye. The sacred fire and womb-like portal represented Kuiye's separation from humans and the role they now had to play in the reproduction and maintenance of the human race. These characteristics reinforced the house's role as a religious sanctuary and are still seen in Batammaliba houses today.

When the Batammaliba migrated to the Atacora region, a new multilevel architectural style developed that coupled the Batammaliba's own terrace style with the two-story form used by many people indigenous to the Atacora. This multistory style resulted in larger compounds with more storage area for the animals and foodstuffs supported by the fertile soil and pasturelands. It is still the predominant form of Batammaliba architecture seen today.

Batammaliba compounds are built on the sites of previous residences. These sites have good soil from past fertilization and are thought to be free of evil spirits. Houses are constructed with the rich clay common to the Atacora region. The clay is covered with a plaster made of silt, fruit, manure, and oils that protect the walls from rain. Each house is a grouping of circular rooms constructed within a small yard. Since these compounds are built to serve as self-sufficient facilities, they contain areas for the sheltering of animals, drying crops, and storing grain. Houses are symmetrically divided into male and female sides. The north side of the house contains the women's granaries and shrines, and the south side of the house contains the men's granaries and shrines.

Because Batammaliba houses serve not only as a residence for humans but also as a residence for the gods and ancestral spirits, these compounds incorporate many features symbolic of the ideological and religious beliefs of the Batammaliba. Compounds are built facing west out of deference to Kuiye. Shrines within the house and its yard are oriented along an east-west axis to parallel the path of the sun. These shrines honor Kuiye, lesser deities, and deceased FAMILY members. The most prominent feature of the Batammaliba house is the two-story structure. The verticality of this style represents Kuiye's position as the highest of all deities. It is from Kuiye that all things flow, and the house is the ultimate shrine and testament to his greatness. The Batammaliba believe that any modification to these traditional styles may incur the wrath of the gods.

Further reading: Suzanne Preston Blier, *The Anatomy of Architecture: Ontology and Metaphor in Batammaliba Architectural Expression* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Baule (Baol, Baoule)   AKAN people concentrated in IVORY COAST. The Baule are mainly a farming people with yams as their most important crop. In fact, at harvest time the first yam is presented as a gift to the ancestors.

After refusing to be incorporated into the ASHANTI EMPIRE, the Baule migrated to their present-day location in the mid-18th century. Under the rule of Queen Pokou (fl. late 1700s), they expanded their control over the majority of what is presently Ivory Coast. The Baule successfully fended off continuous European attempts to conquer their kingdom. In the mid-19th century, however, they were finally conquered by the French and fell under colonial rule.

Beatrix, Doña (Doña Beatriz, Kimpa Vita) (c. 1684–1706) *Kongo spiritual leader*

Doña Beatrix was born to a noble family in a small town east of the old Kongo capital of SÃO SALVADOR. From an early age, she was recognized by her people as a medium between the natural and supernatural worlds, or *nganga,* the same title given by the Kongo to Catholic priests. Endowed with *kindoki,* or religious power, she became a charismatic leader who claimed possession by the spirit of St. Anthony. She was said to have healed the sick and brought fertility to sterile women.

Doña Beatrix amassed a huge following as she traveled the country, spreading an alternative version of Christian history. In her sermons, she preached that Jesus was born to an African woman in São Salvador. Also known by her Kongo name, Kimpa Vita, Doña Beatrix challenged the European Church by criticizing its refusal to recognize African saints. In turn, the Catholic priests in the region denounced her as a witch and urged the Kongo king to silence her.

Dona Beatrix moved to São Salvador and recruited MISSIONARIES, whom she called "Little Anthonies." They were dispatched throughout the country to disseminate her teachings and build support for the coming of a new king who would reunite the KONGO KINGDOM. Her message threatened the sovereignty of the Christianized Kongo king, Pedro IV, and some of his rivals exploited the situation by declaring their support for Dona Beatrix and her Antonian movement. In 1706 she was captured by the king's allies and burned at the stake.

See also: WOMEN IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: John Thornton, *The Kongo Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Begho (Nsoko)   Historic trading city, most notably of textiles and GOLD, of what was known as the northern AKAN region of Brong-Ahafo, located west of the Volta River of present-day GHANA. The city of Begho probably developed as early as the 11th century but did not begin to prosper as an influential market center until the 15th through the late 18th centuries. Due to its strategic location at the edge of the Volta River forest, Begho effectively controlled the trade between the adjoining savanna and forest regions by serving as a link between the two zones and providing a place where the resources of each region could be easily exchanged. Begho was also a center frequented by European traders as well as DYULA, Muslim

merchants from the NIGER RIVER regions and other trading cities, such as JENNE and TIMBUKTU in present-day Republic of MALI.

Begho itself was divided into three main sectors called Kramo, BONO (Brong), and Dwinfour, which were inhabited by ethnic groups such as the Mande, Numu, and Nsoko peoples. Dwinfour was especially important, as it was known to be the area that housed the artisans who produced trade items made from ivory, brass, copper, iron, GOLD, and cloth.

European and southern Akan traders often referred to Begho as Nsoko—possibly in reference to the Nsokohene, who ruled the Nsoko area and were known to protect the southern Akan who brought their wares to trade in Begho.

The bulk of trade within Begho's region of dominance came from the sale of gold and textile goods. The Begho region was known to have an abundance of mines from which gold was extracted and used to trade for items produced in the southern regions of present-day Ghana. By the 16th century Begho was also maintaining relations with the nearby gold-producing and gold-trading state of Bono. Cloth produced in Begho was probably the best-known export, however. The Muslim inhabitants dominated the dyeing industry, and their fine, woven clothing items were sought after by African and European traders alike.

By the start of the 18th century Begho had begun relations with the Ashanti peoples. While the relationship was at first fruitful, the Ashanti overran the city of Begho around 1723 and made it part of their kingdom. In 1764 Begho attempted to regain its independence but was quickly defeated by the Ashanti forces. It appears Begho went into a state of decline after this point, as the gold mines came under Ashanti control and severely weakened Begho's trade. From 1798 to 1800 civil war between the Akan and Muslims brought further strife to the region, and Begho was abandoned at that time or shortly thereafter.

Further reading: Timothy F. Garrard, *Akan Weights and the Gold Trade* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1980).

Beira Trading center in MOZAMBIQUE. Although modern-day Beira was not founded until 1891, the Portuguese explorer Pêro da Covilhã (c. 1460–c. 1526) discovered the site in 1487. Located at the intersection of the Pungue and Buzi rivers, the town would later become an important Indian Ocean trading port for ZIMBABWE and MALAWI.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II).

Bemba Bantu-speaking people of northeastern ZAMBIA as well as parts of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and ZIMBABWE. Although a human skull dating back 125,000 years has been found in the area, the Bemba apparently have only lived in their home region since the 18th century. In the closing years of that century, the Bemba formed a centralized government under a supreme chief known as the *chitimukulu,* who was descended from a matrilineal royal clan. Royal income came, for the most part, from tribute and from taxes on the trade in captives, in which the Bemba were heavily involved.

Traditionally, Bemba society was made up of about 40 matrilineal clans, each of which was led by a headman. The people lived in villages made up of about 30 huts. In the past Bemba men saw themselves primarily as warriors and hunters, leaving most agricultural work to women. Due to the poor soil in the area, villages were forced to move or relocate their fields every four or five years.

As the Lunda kingdom of KAZEMBE expanded during the 18th and 19th centuries, the Bemba increasingly focused on raiding the Bisa traders who served as intermediaries in the rich trading network that moved through Bisa territory. The riches from their raids helped make the Bemba a major power in the region during the 19th century.

See also: BISA TRADING NETWORK (Vol. III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF EASTERN AFRICA AND THE INTERIOR (Vol. III); LUNDA EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Further reading: Andrew D. Roberts, *A History of the Bemba: Political Growth and Change in North Eastern Zambia before 1900* (Harlow, U.K.: Longman, 1973).

Benadir Coast Name given to a stretch of Indian Ocean coastline on the Horn of Africa. The port town of MOGADISHU marked the northern end of the Benadir Coast, while the mouth of the Juba River marked its southern end. Besides Mogadishu, other port towns on the Benadir Coast included the Swahili trading centers of Marca and BRAVA. Between the 16th and 19th centuries the ports on the Benadir Coast were the termini of several important caravan routes that brought trade items, including ivory, wood, and gums, among other items, from the hinterlands in exchange for firearms and other goods.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Further reading: Ahmed Dualeh Jama, *The Origins and Development of Mogadishu AD 1000 to 1850: A Study of the Urban Growth Along the Benadir Coast of Southern Somalia* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 1996).

Benguela Major port on the west coast of southern Africa in what is now ANGOLA; founded in 1617 as part of the Portuguese colony of Angola. During the 16th cen-

tury the Portuguese began trading for salt, ivory, copper, dried fish, and other foods along the southern coast of Angola. During the next century they established a settlement at Benguela with the hope of finding copper and other valuable minerals in the area. Since no mineral wealth was found and the land was generally swampy and unproductive, the settlement never grew very large. Dutch seamen captured the port in 1623, but the Portuguese retook it soon after. Benguela was attacked sporadically by the Dutch and later the French, but was generally under Portuguese control.

High mountains separated Benguela from the interior highlands, and it was not until the late 1600s that the Portuguese began to penetrate the region east of the port. Portuguese-sponsored traders, or *POMBEIROS,* built fortified trading stations to facilitate trade across the highlands with the OVIMBUNDU. Salt was plentiful near Benguela and was mined and traded for ivory and skins from the interior.

During the 18th century the Portuguese coerced the Ovimbundu to help them in the trade in human captives, and Benguela quickly rivaled the northern Angolan port town of LUANDA in the number of captives it exported. By 1800, almost one-half of the Africans shipped from Angola left from the port of Benguela.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Benin, Bight of

Benin, Bight of   A 550-mile-wide (885-km) bay, the northern arm of Gulf of Guinea on the Atlantic Ocean played a strategic role during the slave trade between the 16th and 19th centuries. Located on the West African coast, the Bight of Benin is situated within the Gulf of Guinea and is adjacent to TOGO, the Republic of BENIN, southeastern GHANA, and southwestern NIGERIA. The Bight is fed by the NIGER RIVER and several other bordering rivers. Its major ports are Cotonou in Benin, LAGOS in Nigeria, and Lomé in Togo. The Bight's location and its accessibility to neighboring ports made it a popular waterway for the trade and TRANSPORTATION of captives between the 16th and 19th centuries. Due to the heavy volume of this trade, the area of coastal lagoons west of the Niger Delta became recognized as the SLAVE COAST. After the abolition of SLAVERY in the 1830's, trade in PALM OIL became the main source of commerce in that region.

Benin City (Edo)

Benin City (Edo)   Capital city of the ancient kingdom of BENIN. Located in the Edo state, which lies in present-day southern NIGERIA, it is a port city on the Benin River. Benin City was the capital of the kingdom of Benin since its founding in the 13th century and was home to the *oba,* or king, and his palace. During the latter part of the 15th century it served as the center of trade in ivory, cloth, and pepper to the Europeans. The city is also famous for its numerous works of ART, which date as far back as the 13th century. Carvings in ivory and wood and figures cast in iron and brass, which were once believed to be of bronze, are some of the finest works of art in Africa. Although the city lost its importance during the kingdom's decline in the 18th century, during the 1800s the expansion of trade in palm products with the Europeans helped reestablish Benin as a significant trading post.

Benin, kingdom of

Benin, kingdom of   Edo kingdom that occupied present-day southern NIGERIA between the 13th and 19th centuries; this kingdom is not to be confused with the modern republic of the same name. In the 15th century the warrior-king Ewuare (c. 1440–1480) took control of the small Edo state of Benin and turned it into a thriving and prosperous kingdom. Under Ewuare's leadership, Benin secured the area between YORUBALAND and the NIGER RIVER and revamped its government. As a great supporter of the arts, Ewuare also made substantial cultural reforms that impacted the kingdom long after his rule.

Ewuare was succeeded by his son OZOLUA (r. 1481–1504) and then his grandson Esigie (r. c. 1504–1550). During their reigns, both Ozolua and Esigie continued to nurture the relationship with Portuguese traders that had commenced during Ewuare's reign. In return for facilitating coastal trade, the Portuguese provided the kingdom with firearms—weaponry much more powerful than that of the indigenous Africans in surrounding areas—and assisted in times of military crisis. After an era of great territorial expansion Benin's ECONOMY expanded rapidly, and the kingdom became the leading Atlantic coast exporter of cloth, pepper, PALM OIL, and ivory. As Benin grew more prosperous, the monarchy took a greater interest in the arts, and it is from this period that Benin artisans produced some of the empire's most celebrated bronze work and wood carvings.

Although much of Benin's economy was dependent on the trade in captured people, the kingdom was also concerned about maintaining its own healthy population. During most of the 16th and 17th centuries Benin imposed a ban on the export of its own male captives. In response the Portuguese and other European traders moved their business elsewhere. This embargo of Benin eventually isolated the kingdom from the trade in human captives, which became one of the most profitable forms of commerce along the Atlantic coast over the next three centuries.

Benin declined during the 18th and 19th centuries. The kings, or *obas,* withdrew from politics, ushering in a period of civil unrest. When the British abolished the slave trade, in 1807, like that of most of West Africa, Benin's economy plummeted. NUPE, Ibadan, and Euro-

pean traders moved in on Benin territory, taking advantage of the kingdom's vulnerable state.

See also: BENIN, KINGDOM OF (Vol. II, IV); BENIN, BIGHT OF (Vol. III); BENIN CITY (Vols. III, IV, V); EWUARE (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Benin, Republic of Country in coastal West Africa measuring approximately 43,500 square miles (112,700 sq km) that shares borders with NIGER and BURKINA FASO to the north, TOGO to the east, the Atlantic Ocean to the south, and NIGERIA to the west.

In the years following the appearance of Europeans along West Africa, northern Benin and the neighboring region of Nigeria saw the emergence of BORGU. It was centered on Nikki, one of the major chiefdoms that made up Borgu. Two lesser Borgu chiefdoms, Parakou and Kandi, both founded about 1700, were also located in northern Benin. About 1625 internal political turmoil in the AJA kingdom of ALLADA within southern Benin, led to the founding of ABOMEY. Its inhabitants were the FON, and they came to call their state DAHOMEY. By the early 18th century Dahomey was emerging as the strongest state in southern Benin. In 1724 it conquered Allada and, a few years later, the rival coastal trading state of WHYDAH. In 1730, however, the OYO EMPIRE, located in the YORUBALAND area of western Nigeria, made Dahomey a tributary state without destroying its political structure. This relationship was to last throughout the remainder of the century until Oyo was weakened by internal strife. Oyo had also established hegemony over Borgu, which it also lost in the late 18th century.

Tragically, for the people of Benin, the emergence of Dahomey was linked to the growing transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Its ECONOMY and society became deeply implicated in the trade in human captives, and its rulers used their armies to this end. The king became the largest slave trader, and he added to the state's revenues by taxing the other slave dealers. Indeed, the availability of large numbers of captives for purchase led the Europeans to name this portion of the Atlantic coast the "SLAVE COAST." While the state structure of Dahomey was centered on the trade in human captives, they nearly all came from beyond its own borders. Thus, the general populace was not directly affected and continued with its agricultural pursuits. The state did tax the people very heavily, however. This eventually helped promote the production of PALM OIL for export to Europe as a source of income, once the trade in human captives began to decline as the practice became abolished in the early 19th century.

See also: BENIN, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville, Va.: Univ. of Virginia Press, 1998); Robert B. Edgerton, *Warrior Women: The Amazons of Dahomey and the Nature of War* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2000); Patrick Manning, *Slavery, Colonialism, and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640–1960* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982).

Berbera Port city located in present-day SOMALIA, east of DJIBOUTI on the Gulf of Aden. Along with the city of ZEILA to the northwest, Berbera was one of the busiest Arab trading ports on the Gulf of Aden. When the Portuguese sacked and occupied Zeila, in 1516, Berbera became the northern hub of Arab-controlled trade in the region. Its glory was short-lived, though, as Berbera itself was attacked by Portuguese soldiers in 1518.

During the 17th century Berbera was controlled by the sharifs of the Yemeni emirate of Mocha, across the Gulf of Aden, then sank into relative obscurity until the colonial era in the late 19th century.

> **Early Arab geographers referred to the northern regions of the Horn of Africa as the Bilad al-Barbar (Land of the Barbarians). The town of Berbera retained the name that once described the whole northern coastline.**

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Berbers Non-Arabic group that inhabits regions of North Africa, especially MOROCCO and the central Sahara. The all-encompassing term *Berber* refers to several heterogeneous groups, including the Sanhaja and TUAREGS, all of whom practice Islam and speak the Berber language. Berber history from the 14th century until modern times is characterized by a movement from greatness to relative isolation.

The glory of former Sanhaja Berber dynasties such as the Almoravids and Almohads had disappeared by the end of the 13th century. Then, around the beginning of the 16th century, the teachings of Sanhaja Berber scholars in TIMBUKTU became influential, as they were spread throughout North Africa by the students who attended the Islamic Sankore University.

Also in the 16th century the Ottoman Empire came to conquer most of the coastal regions of North Africa. The interior regions of Morocco resisted, however, under the Berber leadership of the SADIAN DYNASTY, a line of ZAWAYA

sheiks who traced their ancestry to the prophet Mu-ham-mad. Recognizing the strength of the Ottoman navy—and allied by virtue of their shared Islamic RELIGION—some of Morocco's Berbers made peace with the invading Turks and even fought as mercenaries in their armies against the European Christians who were vying for su-periority on the Mediterranean Sea.

The Ottoman Turks, in turn, allowed Zawaya clerics to perform limited administrative duties in their govern-ment. On the whole, though, the Berbers were without any real political power during the period of Turkish oc-cupation in North Africa.

In the 18th century Berber clerics and traders of the KUNTA clans monopolized the salt trade north of Timbuktu, in present-day Republic of MALI. Over the lat-ter half of the 18th century the Kunta were led by Sidi Mukhtar (1729–1811), a writer and a learned Muslim cleric of the QADIRIYYA brotherhood who resolved dis-putes between rival Tuareg factions and brought stability to the region.

The Kunta monopoly on this salt trade allowed other Berber groups, including the Tuaregs, to continue a suc-cessful trans-Saharan slave trade. Salt from the western Sahara was mined by forced laborers and vassals and brought south via caravan. At the southern market towns, the salt was traded for grains, cloth, and captives. Many of these captives were then brought north to be traded with merchants from LIBYA and ALGERIA for jew-elry, metals, and other luxury items. The Tuaregs did keep some of the captives, however, and used them to tend to their camels, protect their camps, and cultivate their oases.

See also: BERBERS (Vols. I, II, IV, V); OTTOMAN EM-PIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); SLAVE TRADE, EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN (Vol. (III).

Further reading: Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fen-tress, *The Berbers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publish-ers, 1996).

Beta Israel (Falasha) People of ETHIOPIA who inhab-ited the GONDAR region north of Lake Tana, as well as Begemder, SIMIEN, and Dembiya. The Beta Israel pray in Ge'ez and participate in Ethiopian rituals such as male and female circumcision. There are various traditions as to the origin of the Beta Israel. Some hold that they are the descendants of a Jewish migration from EGYPT that took place early in the common era. Others believe that they are an Agaw people who were converted to Judaism before Christianity reached Ethiopia and who managed to hold on to their RELIGION despite fervent attempts by the Christians to convert them.

Despite the continuous movement against them by the Ethiopian monarchy, the Beta Israel formed a united front under the leadership of a warrior and chieftain named Radai (fl. 1550). For a few years Radai held back the forces of the monarchy, succeeding, even, in defeating an invasion led by King Menas Wanag Sagad II (r. 1559–1563). Radai was eventually defeated, however, by King Sarsa Dengel Malak Sagad I (r. 1563–1597) in a bat-tle that took place at Mashaka, near the Marek River. A rebellion by Radai's brother Kaleb also ended in defeat for the forces of the Beta Israel.

The Beta Israel were persecuted by Ethiopia's Chris-tian rulers for centuries. Christian campaigns in the 14th and 15th centuries forced the Beta Israel into Wegera and into the mountainous regions of Beg-emder, Sagade, Salamt, and Simien, where they were subsequently pressured into conversion by the tire-less efforts of both Tigray and AMHARA clerics. In an attempt to put an end to Beta Israel resistance, Bahr Negash YISHAQ (r. 1413–1430) made a law by which only those baptized in the Christian faith were al-lowed to inherit land.

Leadership of the Beta Israel passed to Gideon (Gedewon), in 1616, but he, too, suffered a serious loss, this time at the hands of King Susenyos (r. 1605–1632) and was killed in 1626 during a vicious battle in the Simien Mountains. Soon after, the Beta Israel were forced from Simien and the Lake Tana area during an aggres-sive mission in which King Susenyos ordered the death of all those who refused to convert to Christianity. The Beta Israel eventually settled in northwestern Ethiopia and by the 18th century had established their own monarchy.

See also: AGAW (Vols. I, II); BETA ISRAEL (Vols. I, II, IV, V); GE'EZ (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: From Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1992).

Betsileo A Malagasy people from the southern central highlands of MADAGASCAR. The Betsileo originated in the southeastern coastlands and moved to the central plateau, probably between the 13th and 14th centuries. Compared to other southern Malagasy groups, the Betsileo were mo-bile and culturally advanced. They were cattle herders and rice farmers who had mastered the irrigation techniques required to cultivate the terraced paddies of their difficult, mountainous habitat. The four subgroups of the Bet-sileo—the Lalangina, Anindrano, Isandra, and Menandri-ana—were all organized under central chiefs, who relied on village elders to help them govern.

The Betsileo were one of several Malagasy groups who maintained a snake-worship tradition, or "*fanany* cult," as part of their religious practices. When a Betsileo prince died, his body was tightly wrapped in cloth and strapped to a post. A small outrigger, or canoe, was placed underneath. Mourners would gather around and wait, sometimes for a week, for the body to decompose. Eventually, a putrid substance began to drip from the body and collect in the outrigger, and worms would appear in the substance soon thereafter. The believers thought that the spirit of the departed prince was contained in the largest worm. At that point the body was buried and the outrigger set afloat on a pond that was reserved for just such an occasion. The Betsileo believed that the worm eventually grew into a large snake, or *fanany,* and slipped into the pond. For this reason, they believed that the snakes in their land were the reincarnations of their departed leaders.

Relatively isolated in the central plateau, the Betsileo had little interaction with the other Malagasy groups that surrounded them: the BARA, to the south; the SAKALAVA, to the west; the BETSIMISARAKA and ANTEMORO, to the east; and the MERINA, to the north. Early in the 19th century, though, the Betsileo were subjugated by the Merina, who expanded into their territory from the north. By 1830, the Merina had established the city of Fianarantsoa as the capital of the Betsileo province. In Fianarantsoa (whose name means "good learning"), Betsileo culture and traditional arts flourished, and they became known for their exceptional woven textiles, wood carvings, MUSIC, and poetry.

Further reading: Sandra J. T. M. Evers, *Constructing History, Culture and Inequality: The Betsileo in the Extreme Southern Highlands of Madagascar* (Boston: Brill, 2002).

Betsimisaraka Ethnic group inhabiting the eastern regions of the island of MADAGASCAR. The Betsimisaraka emerged in the 18th century from a confederation of coastal states and came to control much of the east coast of Madagascar by the end of the century. Their first leader, Ratsimilaho (d. 1751), was allegedly the son of a British pirate and a Malagasy princess named Antavaratra Rahena.

The Betsimisaraka, whose name means "numerous and inseparable" in the Malagasy language, have tradition-

ally been traders, fishers, and farmers. The important east coast ports of Toamasina and Île Ste-Marie are located in what was Betsimisaraka territory.

See also: BETSIMISARAKA (Vol. II).

Bijago (Bissagos, Bidyogo) West African ethnic group inhabiting the Bijago Islands, located just off the coast of present-day GUINEA-BISSAU. The major islands include Bubaque, Carache, Caravela, Formosa, Orango, Orangozinho, Roxa, and Uno. The Bijago are believed to be descended from the Papeis and the Nalus people who came to the area between 900 and 1300. During the era of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, from the late 15th into the early 19th centuries, the Bijago earned a fierce reputation among European slave traders. Bijago warriors in large canoes that held up to 70 people attacked European slave ships and trading posts along the Guinea Coast, and the few Bijago who were captured often committed suicide rather than live a life in bondage.

Traditionally the Bijago sustained themselves through fishing and AGRICULTURE, producing primarily rice and PALM OIL. Their traditional RELIGION was animistic.

Birnin Kebbi Capital of the Hausa state of KEBBI from 1700 to 1805. Birnin Kebbi is located in present-day NIGERIA, along the Sokoto River. Originally a small kingdom of the Kebbawa (a Hausa subgroup), Birnin Kebbi rose to prominence in the early 16th century when it became part of the Kebbi kingdom. In 1516 Kebbi's founder, Muhammadu Kanta (r. c. 1515), captured Birnin Kebbi, beginning a century of Kebbi dominance over the six neighboring HAUSA STATES. By 1620 the Kebbi state stretched over much of present-day western Nigeria. Later in the 17th century Kebbi's power began to decline.

About 1700, Tomo (r. 1700–1717), the king of Kebbi, named Birnin Kebbi the new capital of his state. It remained the capital city until 1805, when FULANI invaders burned Birnin Kebbi. Birnin Kebbi was subsequently rebuilt as part of the Fulani empire. Prior to its decline Birnin Kebbi served as a river port and market center for local items, including millet, fish, cattle, and COTTON.

Bisa trading network System of transporting goods for trade between Bantu-speaking peoples from the southeastern African interior and Arabs, Europeans, Indians, and Swahili peoples on the Indian Ocean coast. During the 18th and 19th centuries Bisa traders acted as intermediaries in the trade of iron, copper, salt, captives, and ivory. They exchanged these goods for cloth, guns, beads, and luxury goods from abroad, which they brought back to the interior. Bisa merchants were widely admired for their commercial prowess.

The Bisa people themselves originated in the Lunda-Luba empire of southern Central Africa. When land became scarce there, in the 17th century, they migrated southeast to new territory in the Luangwa Valley, in what is now northeastern ZAMBIA. Their new lands lay along a major trade route that cut through Zambia to the coast of MOZAMBIQUE. The BEMBA kingdom lay to the north, and the YAO lived to the east. The Bisa traded with the Yao, the LUNDA EMPIRE, and other neighboring groups, as well as with the Portuguese at SENA and TETE, along the ZAMBEZI RIVER.

The Bisa were skilled hunters who established guilds to organize the pursuit of elephants, hippopotamuses, rhinoceroses, buffalos, lions, and ant bears. The elephant hunters, or *nkombalume,* were the most highly regarded. They killed their prey with traps, bows and arrows, axes, and spears, which were often tipped with poison. One hunting method involved having some members of the hunting party climb trees overhanging elephant paths, while other members herded the animals toward the trees. When the elephants passed under the trees, the men threw their heavy, poisoned spears between the animals' shoulder blades. The Bisa also cast spells and carried charms to aid them in their ritual hunt.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); LUBA (Vol. II); LUBA EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Bissau   Capital of the present-day country of GUINEA-BISSAU. The town gained prominence in the 17th century as a major port in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Originally inhabited by the Papei people, Bissau was controlled by the Mali Empire until the 15th century. Its people grew relatively prosperous through a combination of farming, hunting, and cattle herding.

Toward the end of the 15th century Portuguese explorers landed at the Geba River estuary and discovered the port. European interest was limited for the next 200 years, although a small Portuguese settlement was established there by the end of the 15th century. There, Portuguese merchants and peoples of mixed indigenous and European blood traded everything from manufactured goods, horses, and firearms for PALM OIL, GOLD, and captives. Since the nearby kingdom of GABU had long been a part of trans-Saharan trade, Bissau's role as a center for the trading of captives grew quickly, despite the resistance of groups such as the Balanta, Nalu, Felupe, and Manjaca.

By the latter half of the 17th century the Portuguese established a second settlement, and the area had become a major link in the transatlantic slave trade. It is believed that as many as 600,000 people passed through it on their way to the Americas.

In 1696 Bissau was placed under the control of a series of Portuguese captain-majors. Other ports in the area became more important to the Portuguese in the early 18th century, and, in 1707, Bissau was closed. It reopened in 1753, when a revival of the slave trade sparked a renewed interest in this strategically located port. This revival, which was led by the Grão-Pará Company, renewed Bissau, and the town eventually became more important to the Portuguese than their long-time chief port of CACHEU. Captives, PALM OIL, and GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) were the primary exports. Spain, France, Holland, and Britain all attempted to thwart Portuguese dominance, but to no avail. Internal conflict was prevalent as captives were procured by coercing local indigenous groups to engage in warfare. The losing group was sold abroad.

Although conflict between the indigenous groups was continuous, this did not lead to Bissau's decline in the early 1800s. The abrupt end of the European slave trade virtually destroyed Bissau's ECONOMY. In the late 19th century only a small colony of less than 600 people remained.

See also: BISSAU (Vols. II, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVERY (Vol. III).

Further reading: Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations Along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400–1900* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2003).

Bito (Babito, Biito)   Ruling clans in BUGANDA, BUNYORO, BUSOGA, and TORO in the GREAT LAKES REGION of East Africa, in what is now UGANDA. The Bito were the aristocrats among LUO pastoralists who, by the first decades of the 15th century, had seized control of many kingdoms and smaller chiefdoms in the region.

According to Nyoro oral tradition, the Bito are so named because their clan progenitors conceived their offspring under a bito tree, a scrub tree native to dry regions of Africa and Asia. According to the same tradition, the first true Bito king was Rukidi (fl. 15th century), who established the Nyoro monarchy, called *mukama*. Rukidi's brothers left Bunyoro to found the kingdoms of BUSOGA and BUGANDA, to the east. (GANDA traditions tell a different story, however.)

From the 16th to the 18th centuries the Bito *mukama* of Nyoro conducted frequent invasions into neighboring kingdoms to the south and to the east, including Buganda. According to Bunyoro traditions, a plague infected Nyoro's cattle during the reign of Cwa I (1731–1782), who was also known as Duhaga I. So many cows had to be de-

stroyed to prevent the plague's spread that the king ordered major raids into RWANDA and NKOLE, kingdoms ruled by HINDA clan leaders, to replenish Nyoro herds. Cwa I succeeded in obtaining more cattle and in occupying Nkole for some time. He captured the Hinda king's royal cattle and cut the royal drum, an act that was the ultimate symbol of Nkole's defeat. However, the *mukama* did not permanently secure the territory. He later died during an attack on rival Buganda.

Elsewhere, however, the Bito conquests were successful. At its greatest extent, about 1700, Bito-controlled territory stretched from the top of Lake Albert in the north, past Nkole to the south, and into Busoga to the east. The Bito continued to be the most powerful clan in the region into the 18th century.

See also: BITO (Vol. II); HAYA (Vol. III).

Boers People of Dutch and Huguenot descent who originated in the CAPE COLONY in the latter half of the 17th century. In the mid-19th century they settled in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Boer descendants are referred to as Afrikaners.

The DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY established a shipping depot in 1652 that became the site of CAPE TOWN. The company encouraged immigration to support its various endeavors. The Cape Colony resulted and quickly grew, with African slaves becoming the primary LABOR force.

There was little, however, to entice all of the white settlers to remain in the western cape. Many spread out into the countryside to become subsistence farmers and pastoralists. These settlers became known as *Trekboers,* meaning "migratory farmers," in Dutch. As they did this, the Trekboers encroached upon the lands of the region's indigenous peoples, and, as a result, became embroiled in constant frontier warfare with the Africans. The Boers organized themselves into wandering patriarchal communities. They were staunch Calvinists and felt that they had a divine right to rule over the land and its native inhabitants.

With the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the Cape Colony fell under British control in 1806. The Boers opposed the British policies regarding the southern African frontier. As a result, between 1835 and 1840, several thousand Boers fled the colony for the interior highveld and regions in southern Natal. The journey, which became known as the GREAT BOER TREK, was dangerous. For instance, the ZULU, with their strong military force, controlled much of the pasture land in Natal and had no desire to share their land with the Boers. Eventually, however, the Boers defeated the Zulus by using guerrilla tactics and establishing fortified camps.

The Boers quickly settled into their new homelands, but peace was short-lived. The Zulu continued to apply military pressure on the Boers, as did other African groups who opposed them. Britain, too, viewed the Boers as a threat to their coastal trade, and British policies resulted in further Boer migrations in the middle of the 19th century. These eventually led to the establishment of the independent Boer republics of Transvaal (1852) and the Orange Free State (1854).

See also: AFRIKAANS (Vols. III, IV, V); AFRIKANERS (Vols. IV, V); AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vols. IV, V); BOERS (Vol. IV); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Norman Etherington, *The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815–1854* (New York: Longman, 2001); Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (London: C. Hurst, 2003); G. H. L. Le May, *The Afrikaners: An Historical Interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1995).

Bondu Region located in West Africa just south of the middle Senegal River, near KAYOR, between FOUTA TORO and FOUTA DJALLON. Bondu was the site of the first of the FULANI JIHADS that took place in the latter half of the 17th and early decades of the 18th centuries.

In the 1680s the Muslim ruler, Malik Si (fl. 1675), from Fouta Toro occupied Bondu with the consent of the *tunka* (king) of Gadiago. Eventually he established the Islamic state of Haalpularen, which was occupied by both FULANI and TUKULOR people. As Malik Si's religious, economic, and political importance grew, the *tunka* of Gadiago began to feel threatened. During an expansion campaign, Malik Si perished at the hands of the Gadiago army. He was succeeded by his son Bubu Malik Si (fl. 1700), who allied with the Fulani from Fouta Djallon to force Gadiago to withdraw from Bondu. Bubu Malik Si moved his forces across the Faleme River to Bambuk, where he, too, was killed in action. Soon after, the Malinke of Bambuk made their way to Bondu and drove Malik Si's descendants, the Sisibe people, into nearby Fouta Toro. Eventually, with the help of the Fulani from both Fouta Djallon and Fouta Toro, the Sisibe reestablished their authority in Bondu.

Bubu Malik Si's son Maka Jiba (fl. 1730–1740) assumed the rule of Bondu and continued in the fight against the Sisibe's Malinke enemies in Bambuk. His outstanding military achievements increased his political authority and aroused the distrust of Sule Ndyaye (fl. 1730), the ruler of Fouta Toro, who felt that he should have power over the Sisibe people. After an unsuccessful campaign against Maka Jiba, Sule Ndyaye agreed to a peace treaty, circa 1740, in which he acknowledged the Bondu as autonomous.

In 1796 Abd al-Qadir (fl. 1775–1796), who had been proclaimed the first *almamy,* or imam, of Bondu in 1775–1776, conquered Bondu and designated a puppet ruler to replace the existing *almamy,* Sega Gaye (fl. 1796).

Al-Qadir's control of Bondu was eventually challenged by Sega Gaye's brother Ahmadi Issata (fl. 1800–1810), who joined forces with the BAMBARA of KAARTA to defeat al-Qadir in 1807.

Bonny Port in southern NIGERIA located along the Bonny River, near the Bight of Bonny, formerly known as the Bight of Biafra. Before the arrival of Europeans, the port traded in PALM OIL, salt, and fish. Then, beginning in the 15th century, the trade in human captives became the focal point of Bonny's ECONOMY. More than 20,000 people were shipped off to the Americas by its traders in the year 1790 alone.

During the 400-year period between 1500 and 1900, the port grew in size and power, becoming the capital of the Bonny state and a major commercial center of the IJO people. Bonny reached its zenith under the Pepple dynasty during the 18th and 19th centuries. Although this dynasty tried to resist Britain's abolition of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, the end of this trade forced Bonny to reemphasize other exports, especially palm oil and palm kernels. The port proved successful in this transition and remained powerful until the arrival of the railroad in the early 20th century.

See also: BONNY (Vol. II).

Bono West African people and state located in the central region of present-day GHANA. The people of Bono were a subgroup of the AKAN peoples, and the state of Bono was probably established in response to the GOLD trade that had developed during the 13th through the 15th centuries in the Mali Empire. Bono's royal household dates to about 1450, although members of that royal family frequently claimed that their lineage went back 200 years further. The royal household converted to Islam after being influenced by Muslim traders from Mali.

Until the 18th century Bono and its influential rulers were highly active in the gold trade and were also known to have instituted new methods of MINING in the area. Early in the 18th century, however, Bono's clashes with both the kingdom of GONJA and the ASHANTI EMPIRE ended in Bono's eventual downfall.

See also: BONO (Vol. II).

Borgu State located in the northern regions of the present-day countries of NIGERIA and the Republic of BENIN. Borgu had a long history of trading, especially in kola nuts, cattle, GOLD, and copper. The region's inhabitants were known as fierce warriors and caravan raiders.

By the 16th century there were three main kingdoms flourishing within the territory of Borgu—Illo, Nikki, and BUSA—each of which was ruled by kings claiming descent from the legendary seventh-century Arabian leader, Kisra.

Kisra figures in the legends of not only Borgu, but of several neighboring peoples as well, including the Yoruba, the Guruma, and the Bedde. Borgu oral tradition states that Kisra, who resided near Mecca, clashed with the prophet Mohammed (c. 570–632) when he refused to convert to the Muslim faith. When Mohammed declared war on Kisra, Kisra fled, eventually settling on the western side of the NIGER RIVER. There he—or perhaps his descendants—established Nikki, Busa, and Illo. According to Borgu traditions, a dynasty established by Kisra held sway in Nikki, Busa, and Illo even after the British and French colonized the area in the late 19th century.

The 16th century saw disputes between Borgu and the forces of such West African states as the SONGHAI Empire, the OYO EMPIRE, KANEM-BORNU, and the HAUSA STATES. Borgu was able to successfully defend itself against all of these attackers except Oyo, which conquered Borgu in the mid-16th century. Oyo continued to rule over Borgu until the latter part of the 18th century, when revolts against the dictatorial Oyo ruler, Gaha (r. 1745–1765), led to the decline of the Oyo empire. Ultimately Borgu asserted its independence from Oyo in 1783, although it continued to make tributary payments to the empire until 1818.

Borgu was inhabited by many different ethnic groups. The two most important, however, were the Bariba and the Dendi, a Bariba subgroup who converted to Islam. The Bariba, however, continued to practice their traditional RELIGION. The Bariba also were noted for being traders, and they were famous for encouraging trade at their outposts but also for fiercely attacking and looting caravans that came into their territory.

For many centuries the inhabitants of Borgu were known as skilled artisans who made pieces out of brass and copper by an intricate procedure called *ciré perdue*, or "lost wax." The process involved the use of clay and beeswax to form casts that give shape to the molten metals. When the cast was heated, the wax melted, leaving a clay mold capable of containing the extremely hot, liquefied metal without breaking or cracking.

See also: BARIBA (Vol. II); CARAVANS (Vol. II); COPPER (Vol. I); DENDI (Vol. II); ISLAM (Vol. II).

Further reading: Marjorie H. Stewart, *Borgu and Its Kingdoms: A Reconstruction of a Western Sudanese Polity* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004).

Bornu   See KANEM-BORNU.

Bosman, Willem (1672–unknown) *Dutch writer who described the trade in humans on the Guinea Coast*

Willem Bosman was a merchant and agent employed by the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY at ELMINA. His work, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts*, was published in 1701 and translated into English in 1705. Bosman's descriptions emphasized not only the lives of the various peoples of the areas, but also the commercial realities of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE and the role of the West African kings in the states engaging in that trade.

See also: NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Botswana   Landlocked country covering approximately 231,800 square miles (600,400 sq km) in southern Africa. The country is bordered by NAMIBIA, ZAMBIA, ZIMBABWE, and SOUTH AFRICA. Botswana is made up mainly of desert (Kalahari), with better-watered grasslands on its eastern borders and the Okavango wetlands in the north.

Botswana had been inhabited by Khoisan-speaking people from about 17,000 BCE until the middle of the 17th century. During the early 18th century the TSWANA dynasties of the Hurutshe, Kwena, and Kgatla migrated into present-day Botswana from what is now the western Transvaal. Archaeological evidence suggests that competition for cattle, hunting and MINING resources, and coastal trade drove these people from their homelands to the desert lands of Botswana.

About 1759 Kwena and Hurutshe migrants established the NGWAKETSE state in the southeastern region of the country. This state developed into a powerful military kingdom that controlled much of the hunting, cattle raiding, and copper production in the Kalahari west of Kanye.

See also: BOTSWANA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); KALAHARI DESERT (Vol. II); OKAVANGO RIVER (Vol. I).

Further reading: Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, *History of Botswana* (Gaborone, Botswana: Macmillan Botswana, 1984).

Brava (Barawa, Baraawe)   Port town located south of MOGADISHU on the Indian Ocean coast of SOMALIA. Unlike Mogadishu, which was involved in Arab and Persian coastal trade almost exclusively, Brava had extensive contact with Swahili cities further south on the East African coast.

Historically, Brava's ECONOMY was based on Indian Ocean trade, which was dependent on the commercial interaction between the townspeople and from these interior regions, or hinterlands. Caravans directed by Somali and OROMO traders brought animal hides, ivory, and wood to trade for Arabic and Persian cloth and pottery. Bantu-speaking farmers also frequented the town to trade their grains, onions, and garlic, and these farmers and nomadic pastoralists sometimes sought relief in the town during droughts.

Accounts from the late 15th century described Brava as a cosmopolitan town with well-heeled traders and large stone houses, mosques, and a lighthouse tower. In 1503 Brava's sea merchants were threatened by Portuguese PIRATES and agreed to pay tribute to them in exchange for safe passage along the Indian Ocean coast. Three years later the town was sacked by Portuguese naval forces led by Tristão da Cunha (c. 1460–1514).

The people of Brava spoke a unique dialect of KISWAHILI called *Kimbalawi*. It was more heavily influenced by the Bantu language than most Kiswahili dialects, probably because the Bantu agriculturalists who inhabited the Brava hinterland did not entirely abandon the area when they were displaced by Somali and Oromo peoples.

In 1585 Turkish forces invaded the coastal towns of East Africa. The rulers of Brava readily swore their allegiance to the Ottoman sultan, as they were tired of what they believed were the unreasonable demands of Portuguese captains. Brava enjoyed a peaceful interim until the middle of the 17th century, when Arabs from Muscat in the OMANI SULTANATE rose to take MOMBASA and conquer most of the northern East African coast. Omani sultans ruled Brava into the 19th century, when Brava became a busy slave-exporting center.

See also: BENADIR COAST (Vol. III); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Buduma   Kanuri subgroup located on the islands and around the shores of Lake CHAD in what is now the country of CHAD. The Buduma were a group within the trading empire of KANEM-BORNU (fl. 14th–19th centuries). Buduma traditions trace the group's origins back to the 15th century, when a Kanembu man named Boulou supposedly

married a woman of the neighboring Sao people. This pair then left the mainland to reside on the lake islands, starting a new ethnic group in the process.

By the 16th century the Buduma were known mostly for being skilled boatmen, fishermen, cattle-herders, and traders of salt, slaves, and whips made from hippopotamus hides. They were active slave traders, often working with the TUAREGS of the AÏR MASSIF, northwest of Lake Chad. Although aspects of Islam were adopted by the Buduma, their isolationist nature led them to remain mostly free of the influences of their Muslim neighbors.

See also: SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SAO (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vols. I, III, IV).

Buganda Kingdom of the GREAT LAKES REGION of East Africa in what is now UGANDA. Buganda began to seriously challenge BUNYORO as the most powerful kingdom in the region by the end of the 18th century. Buganda emerged as an independent kingdom northwest of Lake Victoria by 1500. According to the traditions of its Bantu-speaking people, the GANDA, their kingdom existed before the BITO clan founded Bunyoro. Because the two kingdoms were rivals, however, each claimed an earlier origin than the other. Nyoro traditions claimed that Buganda was, in fact, founded after Bunyoro by Kato, the twin brother of the first Bito king, Rukidi (fl. 15th century).

Bunyoro was the stronger kingdom in the 1500s and invaded Buganda during the second half of the century. The Ganda *kabaka,* or king, Nakinge was slain during the war, although Buganda managed to retain its independence. The kingdom grew stronger throughout the 1600s, and it began to compete with Bunyoro for dominance in the region.

Buganda was an agricultural society, with bananas as the principal crop. It featured a patron-client system that revolved around farmland rather than cattle, as in other pastoral kingdoms of the region, such as RWANDA. The Ganda *kabaka* had ultimate power over all the land. He usually controlled it through appointed chiefs, or *bakungu,* who administered specific territories. They were responsible for collecting tribute in the form of FOOD, timber, bark cloth, and beer from the common people who cultivated the land.

During the 17th and 18th centuries Buganda developed a highly centralized government that centered on the king. The Ganda *kabakas* steadily increased the number and influence of appointed chiefs while curtailing the power of chiefs who inherited their positions. The kings also fully incorporated conquered territory into the kingdom's government by installing new leaders, who were often military men, rather than retaining the defeated rulers and merely exacting tribute from them. These policies had the effect of unifying Buganda to a much greater extent than other kingdoms in the region.

By the end of the 18th century Buganda had expanded to more than twice its original size. The kingdom annexed the Bunyoro tributary of Buddu, to the southwest, as well as parts of BUSOGA, to the northeast. The expansion of Buganda brought the kingdom into contact with new coastal-based trade routes in what is now TANZANIA, to the south and east. This conveyed additional power and wealth to the *kabaka.* The developing regional trade networks further increased competition between Buganda and Bunyoro during the late 1800s.

See also: BUNYORO-KITARA (Vol. II); BUGANDA (Vols. II, IV, V); NYORO (Vol. II).

Further reading: Richard J. Reid, *Political Power in Pre-colonial Buganda: Economy, Society & Warfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2002); Christopher Wrigley, *Kingship and State: The Buganda Dynasty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Bulala (Boulala) Ethnic group traditionally linked to the kingdom of Kanem (c. 800–1200) in the Lake CHAD region. Known as pastoral nomads, during the 14th century the Bulala battled extensively with the KANURI people who originally inhabited the Kanem kingdom. The Bulala were successful in initially displacing the Kanuri and killing several *mais,* or kings, in the process. This forced the Kanuri under Mai Umar ibn Idris (r. c. 1382–1387) to relinquish the capital at Njimi and move southwest to the Bornu region. The kingdom of Kanem became stronger under Bulala rule over the next two centuries, in part due to the establishment of trade relations with Egyptians. It was only during the late 16th-century rule of Mai IDRIS ALAWMA (r. c. 1570–1603) that the Kanuri were able to conquer the Bulala peoples and regain power in Kanem, effectively creating the kingdom of KANEM-BORNU. The Bulala, however, were granted permission to remain in Kanem and govern the area in a tributary fashion.

See also: BORNU (Vol. II); KANEM (Vol. II).

Bullom (Sherbro, Bulom) Ethnic group living in the West African region of SIERRA LEONE. Believed to be among the first inhabitants in the area, the Bullom settled along the coastal regions of the present-day island republic of CAPE VERDE to the mainland town of Cape Mount. By the latter half of the 16th century the northern Bullom were joined by the Temne, SUSU, and Baga peoples, with whom they eventually assimilated. The southern Bullom are commonly called *Sherbro,* a name adopted from a MANE chief. The Bullom social and political systems are based on matrilineal descent. They have secret societies such as the Poro (male), Bundu (female), Tuntu (male and female), and Thoma (male and female). In addition to fishing, the Bullom produced rice, cassava, PALM OIL, and salt.

The Bullom began trading with the Portuguese in the middle of the 15th century, exchanging captives and ivory for manufactured goods. A century later the Portuguese benefited from the wars between the Mane people and the coastal inhabitants. As the Mane plundered their way to the coast, the Portuguese followed in their wake, gathering up Bullom, Temne, and Loko refugees and turning them into captives. According to some sources, the Mane were so fierce that the Bullom king chose to submit to the Portuguese rather than face what the Mane might have had in store for him.

By the 17th century the British had set up trading posts in the Sherbro region. They paid the local kings for trading rights and established a monopoly. Wood & Co. and the ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY were among the earliest and most successful trading companies. By the 18th century the MENDE had penetrated into the region and were slowly displacing the area's inhabitants.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Bunyoro Kingdom of the GREAT LAKES REGION of East Africa that flourished from the 16th to the 19th centuries in what is now UGANDA. Bunyoro was founded by Nilotic-speaking LUO people, who took over much of the Chwezi-ruled kingdom of Kitara by 1500.

The Bantu-speaking people of Bunyoro, called the *Nyoro* or *Banyoro,* were farmers and cattle herders of combined Bantu and Nilotic origin. According to Bunyoro tradition, the first Bito clan king of Bunyoro was Rukidi (fl. 15th century), who divided Kitara among his brothers. He ruled the northwest territory and sent his twin, Kato, to rule the southeast territory. Soon after, Kato was said to have declared his independence and founded the separate kingdom of BUGANDA. The two kingdoms became rivals and frequently waged war against one another during the 17th and 18th centuries.

According to the Nyoro, when Kato founded the kingdom of Buganda, he adopted the name Kimera, which means "branch." Kimera took this name when he declared his territory's independence in order to signify his branching off from the parent tree of the Nyoro people. According to tradition, Kimera declared: "I have taken root here and will not move. No man shall transplant me."

Bunyoro controlled valuable iron and salt deposits, which helped develop regional trade. The kingdom maintained a strong military, which was crucial to acquiring new territory. During the 1600s and 1700s, Bunyoro's armies launched major campaigns, raiding the kingdoms of Buganda and BUSOGA to the east, and NKOLE and RWANDA to the south. By 1700 Bunyoro was by far the largest kingdom in the Great Lakes region.

Bunyoro's control over newly conquered territory generally meant only that tribute was exacted from defeated local rulers. Because the BITO *mukama,* or king, did not always install a member of his clan to govern these territories, Bunyoro's rule was frequently challenged. Tributary kingdoms, including Nkole, were inspired to develop stronger central governments in part to resist Bunyoro power, and they took advantage of Bunyoro's frequent military engagements elsewhere to rebel. The kings of Bunyoro were not ideally equipped to counter these rebellions because the kingdom was ruled locally by hereditary chiefs, who held authority independent of the *mukama.*

At the end of the 18th century Bunyoro's regional supremacy began to be seriously challenged by other kingdoms, especially by Buganda, which annexed tributary states previously under Bunyoro's control. Other Bunyoro tributaries seceded, including Toro. By the early 19th century Bunyoro was much reduced in size, although it remained among the most powerful kingdoms in the region.

See also: BUNYORO (Vol. IV); BUNYORO-KITARA (Vol. II); CHWEZI KINGDOM (Vol. II); KITARA (Vol. II); NYORO (Vol. II).

Burkina Faso Landlocked present-day country located south of the Sahara desert. The country covers approximately 105,900 square miles (274,300 sq km) and is bordered by Republic of MALI, NIGER, Republic of BENIN, TOGO, GHANA, and IVORY COAST.

By the 16th century the MOSSI STATES were flourishing within both the eastern and central regions of Burkina Faso and parts of Ghana. These states, including OUAGADOUGOU, Tenkodogo, YATENGA, and FADA-N-GURMA remained important and prosperous well into the 19th century. Most of the success attributed to the Mossi States came from the people's trading skills. It also came from their use of a highly trained cavalry that could defend the state's territories against attacks from such opponents as the SONGHAI Empire.

Much of Burkina Faso's history is centered around the Mossi. However, there were other important ethnic groups in the region, too, including the Gurunsi, Bobo, and LOBI, the latter being an agrarian people who migrated into Burkina Faso during the late 18th century. European exploration in the area began with the German explorer Gottlob Adolph Krause, in 1886, and the French army officer Louis-Gustav Binger, in 1888. A French protectorate was established in 1895, with French control lasting into the mid-20th century.

See also: BURKINA FASO (Vols, I, II, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Buruli State of the Ruli people that once belonged to the East African kingdom of BUNYORO, in present-day UGANDA. During the 18th century some parts of the Bunyoro kingdom broke off to form independent states. Initially, these states, which included Buruli, RWANDA, BURUNDI, Karagwe, Kooki, Igala, NKOLE, Mpororo, BUGANDA, and later Toro, paid tribute to the Bunyoro. Later, however, they declared their independence, leading the Bunyoro to wage several unsuccessful military campaigns against the rebel kingdoms. In the late 19th century Buganda welcomed the British as allies against the Nyoro, eventually helping the newcomers defeat the long-time regional power. As a reward Britain gave Buganda control over a number of states, including Buruli.

See also: BUNYORO-KITARA (Vol. II).

Burundi Present-day country of approximately 10,700 square miles (27,700 sq km) in the southern GREAT LAKES REGION of East Africa. Located directly south of RWANDA, Burundi also borders TANZANIA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. During the precolonial period, Burundi was a densely populated kingdom covering roughly the same area as the present-day country. Its partly mountainous high plateau region was occupied by Bantu-speaking HUTU and TUTSI peoples and Twa peoples.

The kingdom of Burundi emerged in the 1600s under the leadership of members of the HINDA clan, which had probably been pushed southward because of the invasion of the Nilotic LUO people from the north. The first king of Burundi was Ntare Rushatsi (c. 1675–1705), whose name means "rock." Ntare expanded the kingdom by launching military campaigns into neighboring lands.

The kingdom of Burundi was considerably less centralized than that of Rwanda. In Burundi, four ruling dynasties competed for control of the monarchy. Moreover, the authority of the *MWAMI,* or king, was shared by his sons, or *ganwa*. Each prince ruled a territory that was of more or less value depending on his place in the line of succession. Each *ganwa* had the power to appoint subchiefs, raise armies, and collect tribute independently of the *mwami*. The offspring of a particular king generally retained power until another king ascended the throne, but by then their power was so firmly established that bitter disputes often broke out with each new succession.

A separation of LABOR similar to Rwanda's also developed in Burundi. Under this system the Tutsi raised cattle and the Hutu farmed the land. Burundi also had a feudalistic patron-client system, called *bugabire,* but it was entirely separate from the political system and less rigorous and more limited than its counterpart in Rwanda. Be-

cause political authority was primarily in the hands of the *ganwa*, who were considered a distinct ethnic group, neither Tutsi nor Hutu were the ruling class. Power struggles between *ganwa* caused them to seek the allegiance of both Hutu and Tutsi peoples, so that neither group necessarily held more political power than the other. In addition, both Hutu and Tutsi recognized rank according to lineage, which often superseded rank according to ethnic group.

Burundi's military was relatively weak, and it was less successful than Rwanda's at acquiring new lands. Burundi remained a relatively small kingdom until the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the army of Mwami Ntare Rugaamba (1795–1852) conquered areas of what are now Rwanda and Tanzania.

See also: BURUNDI (Vols. I, II, IV, V); GANWA (Vol. II); TWA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003).

Busa (Bussa, Bussangi) Mande-speaking Muslim people concentrated in present-day NIGERIA and BURKINA FASO. The Busa established their own kingdom within the BORGU region in the middle of the 18th century. Eventually, the Busa state became powerful enough to force neighboring kingdoms such as Kaiama and Illo to pay tribute. In the late 19th century, however, Britain conquered the Busa, and the their kingdom ultimately endured only as an emirate.

Busaidi (Busa Idi, Al Bu Sa'idi) Omani dynasty influential in the politics and history of both the OMANI SULTANATE and East Africa. In 1741 Ahmad ibn Said (fl. 1740–1749), a member of the Busaidi family, overthrew the Persian Yarubid (Yorubi) dynasty and seized the Omani throne. By 1744 the Busaidis were taking a far more active interest in East African affairs than their predecessors in the Omani sultanate had ever done.

In reaction to this, the MASRUI family, which ruled in MOMBASA, rebelled and declared Mombasa's independence from Oman. The two families, the Busaidis and the Masruis, vied for power throughout East Africa until the Busaidis, under SAYYID SAID (1791–1856), took control of Mombasa, in 1837. The Busaidis also remained powerful in Oman, retaining control there into the 21st century.

See also: BUSAIDI (Vol. IV).

Bushongo Large subgroup of the KUBA people, in present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Since the early 17th century the Bushongo have been the ruling class of the Kuba people, also called Bakuba. Beginning with the *nyim,* or king, SHAMBA BOLONGONGO (r. 1600–1620), Bushongo kings ruled the Kuba with the support

of an administration representative of the subgroups and a royal army. Each subgroup also had its own traditional chief who inherited the throne by divine right. Several councils made up of local ruling-class villagers supported each chiefdom.

During early Bushongo rule the Kuba kingdom flourished. New crops with high yields were introduced, and the villagers capitalized on the surplus by establishing long-distance trade. By the middle of the 18th century the Kuba were suppliers in the IVORY TRADE. This made them a commercial force in coastal Central Africa and encouraged migration to the area.

Busoga (Soga) Kingdom of the northeast GREAT LAKES REGION of East Africa in what is now UGANDA. Busoga was frequently under the control of Nyoro and BUGANDA during the precolonial period.

Busoga lay east of the Nile River, sandwiched between Lake Victoria in the south and Lake Kyoga in the north, and was settled by Bantu-speaking and Nilotic peoples. Busoga oral traditions, like those of the GANDA, trace their origins to Kintu, the legendary first man and ancestor-hero of the Ganda, who reportedly came from the east and founded settlements throughout the northern Great Lakes region.

Migrating LUO moved into the area during the 1500s. The BITO clan, which ruled Nyoro to the west, also established subdynasties in Busoga, where they established the *mukama* kingship. The Luo settled mainly in the northern cattle country and continued to immigrate to Busoga through the 1600s.

The people of the Busoga kingdoms, called the Basoga, were primarily farmers, and bananas were their staple FOOD. They also cultivated millet, cassava, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, and nuts. Their agricultural way of life is expressed in the Basoga saying, "The hoe is my mother." Around the lakes, which surround most of Busoga, fishing with nets as well as hooks and lines was an important activity. Fish were a valuable source of food, and were also traded to neighboring groups who lived in the interior. The Basoga also hunted wild animals and raised cattle, especially in the northern regions that were less suitable for farming and had fewer tsetse flies, which carry diseases fatal to cattle.

The territory encompassed at least 40 separate chiefdoms. These were led by no central authority but instead by many local rulers who belonged to the most powerful clans. Each clan (*ekika*) had at least one *butaka,* or piece of land, where the ancestors were buried. In theory the king controlled all *butakas* in his kingdom, and dispensed plots that then became hereditary to his princes and to other favored disciples. Chiefs administered the non-hereditary lands, called *kisoko,* which anyone could settle on and farm as long as he paid tribute to the *kisoko* chief.

The king appointed both commoners and royal kinsmen to government positions. The highest officeholders under the king were *bakungu,* who, depending on the size of the kingdom, ruled over large territories or small villages. Succession wars and the secession of territories were common in Busoga. Other larger kingdoms in the region took advantage of internal wars by forming alliances with struggling Busoga rulers in exchange for tribute.

Nyoro influence over the territory continued throughout this period. By the 18th century, however, the kingdom of Buganda to the south had established dominion over much of Busoga.

Butua (Butwa, Guruhuswa) Region in present-day southwestern ZIMBABWE, ruled at various times by TOGWA and ROZWI kings, as well as by the Portuguese. According to records maintained by Portuguese merchants as far back as the early 16th century, the Butua region was ruled by the kings of the Togwa dynasty of the SHONA KINGDOMS. In the middle of the 17th century these kings forged a treaty with Portuguese traders. Their goal was to thwart the efforts of Muslim traders from the coast, who were penetrating their territory and taking over the GOLD and ivory trades in the region. With the help of the Portuguese, Butua's rulers expelled the Muslim traders and regained control of the region. In 1683 Butua was annexed by the powerful CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY of the Rozwi kingdom. Near the end of the 17th century the Rozwi in turn expelled the Portuguese traders, who had previously been welcome at the trading fairs along the SABI RIVER and in the Butua highlands.

During the 18th century the Butua region was closely guarded by the Rozwi kings, who rejected any foreign influence and spent most of their resources glorifying their courts with profits from both the ivory and gold trades.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III).

C

Cabinda (Kabinda) Region north of the mouth of the Congo River between the present-day Republic of the CONGO and northern ANGOLA, on Africa's west coast. The region was the home of the Bantu-speaking kingdoms related to the KONGO KINGDOM: Kakongo, LOANGO, and NGOYO. In the 15th century Cabinda was dominated by an expanding Ngoyo kingdom, which became wealthy by selling African captives to European traders. In 1783 the Portuguese began to build a trading fort at Cabinda, in an effort to monopolize the trade of human captives in western Africa. Before the fort could be completed, however, it was destroyed by the combined forces of Ngoyo and KONGO people, who were also aided by the French.

See also: CABINDA (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Cacheu Trading center near the mouth of the Cacheu River in present-day northwestern GUINEA-BISSAU. The town's location made it an ideal post for African traders bringing goods to the Atlantic coast and for European traders looking for accessible trade routes into the West African interior. The Portuguese, who had been trading in the area for a century, were the first Europeans to settle in Cacheu, assigning trade captain to the town in 1588.

Merchants in Cacheu traded kola nuts, PALM OIL, grains, and livestock in exchange for manufactured European goods. The peace and prosperity enjoyed by Cacheu made it an important center for the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE during the 17th and 18th centuries. However, its importance diminished greatly during the 19th century, with the British prohibition of the slave trade and the subsequent decline of the West African slave trade.

Further reading: George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993).

Cairo Capital of EGYPT and largest city in Africa. Although the city dates back to ancient Egypt, the origins of modern Cairo date to about 640, with the founding of the town of al-Fustat by Islamic Arabs. From 969 to 1161 Cairo was the capital of the Fatimids, a Shiite dynasty from the MAGHRIB region of North Africa. The city truly flourished, however, under the famous sultan Saladin (c. 1137–1193), founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, who claimed Cairo as his capital.

After several hundred years of power and prosperity, the city began to decline during the rule of the MAMLUKS, a dynasty of former Ottoman slaves who rebelled to take control of Egypt. For almost 1,000 years Cairo had been able to profit from its location on the strip of land that separates the Mediterranean Sea from the Red Sea. Because of its strategic position, Cairo grew as a commercial center, filled with bazaars and merchants who acted as intermediaries in the lucrative European-Asian cloth and spice trades. In the early 1500s, however, Portuguese explorers found an alternate sea route to India around the southern tip of Africa, bypassing Cairo, and the city began to slip into relative obscurity.

In 1517 the Turks of the Ottoman Empire invaded from the north, seized Cairo from the Mamluks, and made it a provincial capital of their vast North African territory. Under the Ottomans, Cairo remained semi-autonomous and maintained some of its former prestige thanks to al-Azhar University, a great Islamic center of learning. But

the city's population declined steadily over the next 200 years. Ottoman Turks ruled Cairo uncontested until 1798, when French general Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) seized the city for a short time; by 1801 the Ottoman Turks had retaken Cairo.

In 1805 MUHAMMAD ALI (1769–1849) was appointed *pasha,* or ranking official, of Ottoman Egypt and enacted sweeping administrative reforms that allowed the country to become practically independent of Ottoman rule. The dynasty begun by Muhammad Ali ruled Egypt from Cairo into the 20th century.

See also: CAIRO (Vols. I, II, IV, V); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); SALADIN (Vol. II).

Further reading: André Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period: Cairo, Syria, and the Maghreb* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate/Variorum, 2002); André Raymond, *Cairo* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Calabar See OLD CALABAR.

Cameroon Western Central African country covering about 183,600 square miles (475,500 sq km) and located on the Gulf of Guinea. By the 16th century the northern region of present-day Cameroon was dominated by two kingdoms, Kotoko and MANDARA. At its height the Kotoko kingdom, extending into what is now NIGERIA, had gained strength after it conquered the Sao peoples in the 15th century. The Kotoko remained influential in this region until they were overtaken in the 19th century by KANEM-BORNU. The Mandara kingdom was also established in the 15th century and was at its most powerful during the late 18th to mid-19th centuries. While Mandara was able to fend off attacks from Kanem-Bornu, it was defeated by the FULANI during their extensive jihads in the late 19th century.

During the 17th century the central region of what is now Cameroon was controlled by the Mum kingdom, which was governed by kings of the Tikar ethnic group. In the 18th century Mum was invaded, but not conquered, by the Muslim Fulani.

Europeans were familiar with the Cameroon shoreline since the Portuguese explorer Fernão do Pó landed off the coast in 1472. Other groups, including the Spanish, Dutch, and French, began trading in the area as early as the mid-16th century. Local commerce was generally regulated by treaties that gave the Europeans the right to trade in the area, usually in exchange for protection from attack by indigenous people. Although various groups were active traders, the Mileke and Duala were especially successful in controlling the trade of ivory, PALM OIL, nuts, salt, metals, and human captives in Cameroon. Stationed at coastal posts around the mouth of the Wouri River, European traders came to rely on Duala intermediaries to acquire captives destined for servitude.

The name *Cameroon* came from the Portuguese word *camarões,* meaning "prawn," and referred to the multitude of crayfish, mistaken for prawns, located in a local river the Portuguese called Rio de Camarões.

After the practice of SLAVERY was abolished by Britain in 1807, the trade in humans began to decline in the area and, as a result, trade in ivory, rubber, and palm oil began to increase. Even though the Portuguese and Dutch began to withdraw from Cameroon, the British and Germans maintained a strong presence into the 19th century, at which time Germany claimed the region of Cameroon as a territory of imperial Germany.

See also: CAMEROON (Vols. I, II, IV, V); CAMEROON GRASS FIELDS (Vol. I); KOTOKO (Vol. II); SAO (Vol. II).

Further reading: Ralph A. Austen and Jonathan Derrick, *Middlemen of the Cameroons Rivers: The Duala and Their Hinterland, c.1600–c.1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Mario Azevedo, ed., *Cameroon and Chad in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Lewiston, Me.: E. Mellen Press, 1988).

Cape Coast (Cabo Corso) Port city that was originally a trading station located on the coast of present-day GHANA in West Africa; its history reflects the violence and armed confrontation that characterized the battles fought by the European powers in their attempts to monopolize trade with Africa. Originally the site of a 15th-century Portuguese trading lodge, the Cape Coast trading station was taken by armed Swedish traders in the middle of the 17th century. By 1655 the Swedes had expanded the outpost into a substantial fort and renamed it Carolusborg Castle, around which a substantial town developed. The British took the castle from the Swedes in 1664. By the middle of the 18th century the British turned it into one of the busiest centers for trading human captives in West Africa. It continued to serve as the British commercial and political capital of the GOLD COAST until the late 19th century.

See also: CAPE COAST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Cape Colony (Colony of the Cape of Good Hope) Dutch colony established in 1652, and then taken over by the British in 1806, located in present-day SOUTH

AFRICA. The indigenous SAN and KHOIKHOI inhabitants of the region were primarily hunter-gatherers and cattle herders, respectively. The first European arrival at the cape region of southern Africa came in 1488, when Bartholomeu Dias touched down at Mossel Bay. In 1497 Vasco da Gama rounded the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE en route to India. The region lay halfway between India and Europe, so for the next 150 years Europeans would stop along the cape to replenish their stores and repair their ships.

It wasn't until 1647 that a more permanent European presence began to emerge in the region. That year, the Dutch ship *Haarlem* was grounded at Table Bay. Its crew was forced to wait for the next year's trading fleet. Upon their return they suggested a supply post be placed along the Cape Coast. In 1652 The DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY arrived at Table Bay to establish a provisioning station. The settlement would become known as CAPE TOWN.

To procure an adequate food supply for their trading fleet, the Dutch imported Indian and East African servants to work on their farms. They also bought the cattle reserves of the Khoikhoi herders. However, the supply of beef proved inadequate, so the Dutch East India Company began to raise its own cattle and expected its settlers to do the same. Soon Dutch cattle, as well as grain, wine, and fruit farms, were prevalent in the mountainous area around Table Bay.

Although the purpose of the settlement at Cape Town was to supply provisions to passing Dutch merchant vessels, it quickly became headquarters for an expanding colony. In order to supplement their own production, the Dutch settlers traded with the indigenous Khoikhoi peoples. By 1657, however, it became necessary for the settlers to cultivate lands further inland, as they had outstripped the coastlands. In order to achieve this, a group was released from their service to the company, granted land rights, and allowed to farm independently.

In the 18th century, as these settlers searched for new land, they encroached upon the territory of the Khoikhoi. Early Dutch-European settlers known as BOERS gradually forced the Khoikhoi to leave their mountain homelands or enlist as Boer shepherds or guides. Relations between the indigenous people and the colonists quickly soured, and conflict broke out in 1659. By 1677 the Khoikhoi had been decimated by the more powerful Boer forces. Between exposure to smallpox and being a target of raids for human captives, the Khoikhoi had practically disappeared by 1713. Those who remained intermarried with the Afrikaners to produce a new racial category known as *Cape Coloureds,* or simply Coloureds.

Dutch, as well as other European settlers, immigrated to the Cape in waves during the 18th century. The Dutch East India Company encouraged these immigrants to settle new lands beyond the coast. Many settlers took up a nomadic lifestyle and moved into the northern reaches of the colony. These settlers, known as Trekboers, encroached upon XHOSA territory in search of new grazing lands. This invasion created a strained relationship between the colonists and the Xhosa.

By 1750 Europeans had established a series of garrisons to protect themselves from the unknown number of indigenous peoples who inhabited the interior. A colonial border was established at the Great Fish River in 1780 to separate the settlers from the Xhosa. However, those Xhosa living west of the river were forcibly removed by the Europeans. The heightened tensions between the groups led to nearly a century of wars. These CAPE FRONTIER WARS lasted until the late 1800s, by which time all Xhosa lands had been incorporated into the colony.

In 1795 Britain conquered CAPE COLONY in an effort to keep it out of the hands of the French. In 1803 it was returned to the Dutch for a brief interlude, only to be returned to British rule in 1806. Discontentment over British rule resulted in the GREAT BOER TREK of the late 1830s, during which more than 10,000 Boers migrated to the Transvaal. In the mid-19th century the discovery of GOLD caused a renewed rush of British immigrants to the cape, thus solidifying British dominance for many years to come.

See also: CAPE COLONY (Vol. IV); DIAS, BARTOLOMEU (Vol. II); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

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Cape Frontier Wars (Kaffir Wars, Kafir Wars)

Series of nine wars, the first of which occurred in 1779, between European colonists and the XHOSA people of the eastern CAPE COLONY of SOUTH AFRICA. These wars are sometimes called Kaffir Wars, from a disparaging Arabic word meaning "infidel" used by the enemies of the Xhosa to refer to their foes. Continuing into the late 19th century, the Cape Frontier Wars resulted in the incorporation of the Xhosa and their lands into the Cape Colony.

From 1779 to 1801 Dutch colonists waged three wars against a faction of Xhosa peoples who had migrated into the Zuurveld region. These conflicts were initiated by differences regarding land use and the trading of cattle. During the third war KHOIKHOI slaves, bearing stolen guns and riding stolen horses, joined the Xhosa to help defeat the Dutch. However, British forces expelled the Xhosa from the Zuurveld in 1811, as Britain became more involved in the region. Later Cape Frontier Wars in the 19th century pitted the Xhosa against the British, with the British ultimately solidifying control of the region.
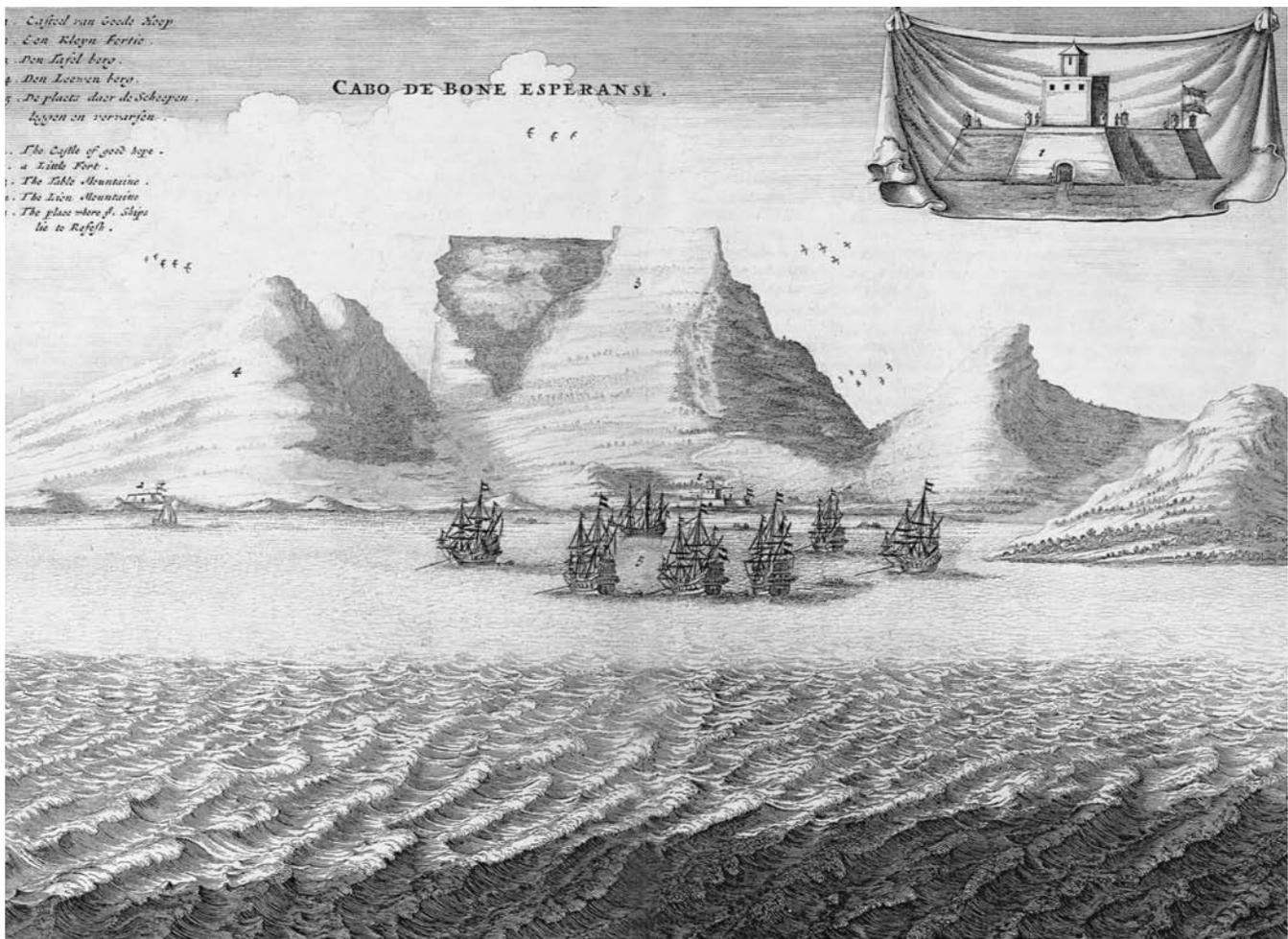
Cape Town, in what is now South Africa, shown in a 1676 map. The colony originated as a supply stop for Dutch ships sailing to the Far East. Table Mountain is in the center; Lion's Head and the Cape of Good Hope are to the right. *© Corbis*

The British decision to restore land to the Xhosa led to discontent among the BOERS of the eastern cape, and helped launch the GREAT BOER TREK.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vols. III, IV); ENG-LAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Cape Town   Port city that was the first European set-tlement in the region that is present-day SOUTH AFRICA. Cape Town was founded in 1652 by the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY as a resupply station for its ships round-ing the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. When Dutch settlers arrived on the Cape, they found the region inhabited by SAN hunter-gatherers and KHOIKHOI pastoralists. These native peoples provided the Dutch with much-needed food-stuffs, but they did not supply them with any LABOR. Because of this, by the 1660s the Dutch were importing laborers from India and East Africa.

Although the Dutch depended upon the Khoikhoi for cattle, they attempted to seize Khoikhoi grazing lands. The Khoikhoi resisted, but they were no match for European firearms and military might, and the Khoikhoi population was decimated. During the 18th century a new population began to emerge from the mixing of Khoikhoi, Europeans, Indians, and Africans. This mixed race became known as the *Cape Coloured* people.

The Dutch used the term *Bushmen* to refer to the San and coined the term *HOTTENTOT* to refer to the Khoikhoi. Although both terms were commonly used by European historians and anthropologists until the 20th century, they are now generally con-sidered derogatory.

By the late 1700s numerous European powers were struggling for control of the strategic cape region. The Dutch and French constructed a fort in 1781 in an effort to repel British advances on Cape Town. Despite this effort, by 1806 the British had gained control of Cape Town and its surrounding areas.

See also: CAPE TOWN (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Cape Verde, Republic of

Cape Verde, Republic of   Present-day nation made up of a group of ten islands and five islets located in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of SENEGAL. The Barlavento Islands include Santo Antao, São Vicente, São Nicolau, Santa Luzia, Sal, and Boa Vista. The Sotavento Islands include São Tiago, Brava, Fogo, and Maio. The capital city is Praia and is located on São Tiago.

In the late 15th century Portuguese colonists established settlements in the Cape Verde Islands, and the region soon became a holding station for captives and supplies for the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Some Portuguese men married indigenous women, with whom they produced mixed-race offspring called *lançados.* The *lançados* became successful trade intermediaries by virtue of being familiar with the commercial cultures of both Europeans and Africans.

By the 16th century Cape Verde was not only the administrative center for Portugal's coastal activities but it also served as a place of exile for DEGREDADOS, people convicted of civil or political crimes in Portugal. Because of their location on the Atlantic, the islands became vulnerable to attacks by French, Dutch, and British PIRATES, who were well aware of the many valuable commodities, including rum, cloth, and enslaved Africans, that passed through the ports. The Portuguese hold on the islands' trade steadily decreased throughout the 17th and 18th centuries as these European countries further encroached on Portugal's territory.

When the Portuguese trade in humans came to a close in 1876, the Cape Verde Islands suffered severe economic hardships that were further aggravated by the recurrent droughts and famine that plagued the islands during most of the 19th century.

See also: CAPE VERDE ISLANDS (Vol. IV); CAPE VERDE, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

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Central African Republic   Present-day country covering approximately 240,300 square miles (622,400 sq km) in the center of Africa. The Central African Republic is bordered by CHAD to the north, the Republic of the SUDAN to the east, the Republic of the CONGO and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the south, and CAMEROON to the west.

Large, organized states did not exist in the region until the 16th and 17th centuries, when the Islamic kingdoms of BAGIRMI, DARFUR, and WADAI emerged. These groups all launched campaigns to expand their kingdoms, taking captives from the smaller villages they dominated. The captives were either assembled into slave armies or sold to Muslim slave traders who brought them east to Red Sea ports.

Later, during the 18th century, the AZANDE people established chiefdoms around the Ubangi River and in the eastern part of the region. They cultivated crops, including maize and cassava, and were unified by a complex system of religious beliefs. The leaders of these chiefdoms descended from the NGBANDI, whose aristocratic clans originated in the northeast.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (Vols. I, II, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vol. III).

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Ceuta   Port city and military outpost on the Mediterranean coast of MOROCCO, at the entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar. Ceuta has a long history, serving as a colony of Carthage, Greece, and Rome. When it fell to Muslims in 711, Ceuta was the last outpost of the Byzantine Empire in the west. Coveting Cueta's strategic location near the narrow eastern opening of the Mediterranean Sea, the Portuguese seized the city from the Moors in 1415 during their military campaign along the Moroccan coast. During the 16th century Ceuta was one of the few port cities, Melilla being another, that was not recaptured by the Moors. Ceuta was seized by Spain in 1580, and the Treaty of Lisbon officially designated Ceuta a Spanish territory in 1688. Although attached to Morocco, Ceuta has been governed by Spain for nearly 500 years.

See also: SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Chad   Landlocked present-day country covering approximately 496,000 square miles (1,284,600 sq km) in the central Sudan. The region was the site of KANEM-BORNU, WADAI, and BAGIRMI, three Islamic states that flourished between the 16th and 19th centuries.

In the early 16th century Kanem-Bornu, located around Lake CHAD, was at the height of its expansion and occupied much of the western region of what is now Chad as well as parts of both present-day NIGER and NIGERIA. Like many African kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu had an economy based on trade. Its wares, including ivory, foodstuffs, and human captives, were transported along its caravan routes to the Mediterranean trading port of TRIPOLI, in LIBYA.

The KANURI people, who were converted to Islam in the 11th century, were the dominant group within the population of what had once been the separate states of Kanem and Bornu. The Kanuri were formed by the intermarriage of two groups, the SAO and the KANEMBU, who were located mostly in Chad. Although Kanem-Bornu was in slow decline through the 17th and 18th centuries, it continued to dominate the Lake Chad region, including the HAUSA STATES to the west of Lake Chad. In the early 19th century the FULANI states founded during the jihads of the cleric USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817) disputed Kanem-Bornu's control over the Hausa States and dethroned its leader, Mai (King) Ahmad, in 1808. Although Ahmad soon regained his throne, disputes with the Fulani continued until mid-century.

While Kanem-Bornu was at its peak during the 16th century, the foundations of two new kingdoms were being laid to the east and southeast. The first, called WADAI, was a vassal kingdom of DARFUR established by the TUNJUR people. About 1630, after a period of resistance, they converted to Islam and established a Muslim dynasty in Wadai. Wadai was located along the present-day border between Chad and the Republic of the SUDAN, at the crossroads of two important trade routes. One led from the upper Nile and Darfur to Bornu and KANO, and the second ran across the Sahara to Banghazi, in Tripoli, on the Mediterranean coast. Despite clashes with Darfur, the Wadai sultanate prospered until the French colonized the area in the latter half of the 19th century.

Founded by the Barma people, Bagirmi, to the southeast of Lake Chad, was the second new kingdom in the region. The kingdom officially converted to Islam under the rule of Abdullah IV (1568–1598), and the city of Massenya was chosen as the capital. Bagirmi was highly active in the slave trade, raiding smaller states for captives to send to the Ottoman Empire. For a large part of its history, Bagirmi was a vassal state of Kanem-Bornu and became independent only for a short period between the late 17th and mid-18th centuries. Throughout the 18th century Bagirmi repeatedly fended off attacks from the Wadai sultanate until political decline and internal strife forced the kingdom to become a tributary state of Wadai in the 19th century.

See also: BORNU (Vol. II); CHAD (Vols. I, II, IV, V); FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); KANEM (Vol. II); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

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Chad, Lake Freshwater lake situated in the central Sudan, on the southern edge of the Sahara. Present-day countries that border the lake include NIGER, NIGERIA, CAMEROON, and CHAD. Once a part of a vast ancient sea, Lake Chad is fairly shallow, and its surface area, dependent on climatic conditions, averages about 6,875 square miles (17,800 sq km). Fed by the southward-flowing Chari-Logone River, Lake Chad is the largest lake in Central Africa as well as a historic region around which important kingdoms prospered, some beginning as early as the sixth century. Many of the groups living on and around the lake's shores took advantage of the established TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES that passed through the region. The caravans carried commodities such as EBONY, PALM OIL, ivory, and horses.

The most influential empire to emerge from the Lake Chad region was KANEM-BORNU. Established in the area possibly as early as the 11th century and ruled by kings from the SEFUWA dynasty of the KANURI people, Kanem-Bornu was at its peak during the reign of Mai (King) IDRIS ALAWMA (r. 1571–1603). By the time of his reign the empire literally surrounded Lake Chad, and Kanuri people could be found in portions of present-day Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. The Kanuri flourished by using caravan routes to transport goods, including human captives, up and down the lake's western shore to sell at European trading outposts.

Other kingdoms situated near Lake Chad also became successful trading states. These include the HAUSA STATES of present-day Nigeria and BAGIRMI and WADAI of what is now Chad.

Chagga Bantu-speaking people of present-day TANZANIA. One of the largest ethnic groups in Tanzania, the Chagga have lived for centuries on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. There they have inhabited land that, through a sophisticated irrigation system, has become particularly well suited to AGRICULTURE. By 1300 the Chagga had developed a monarchic system. Beneath the monarch were numerous chiefs, at times more than 20. Disputes among these lesser chiefs were common, and

there were frequent battles and even full-scale wars, leading to shifts in power from one chief to another.

One of the best-known of the Chagga chieftains was Orombo, who, beginning about 1800, created a minor empire on the eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro. After assembling a supply of spears and other weapons, which he acquired primarily from the PARE people, Orombo led his age set on a series of raids against other chiefdoms, eventually amassing large numbers of both human captives and cattle. With the forced LABOR of his captives, Orombo then built a stone fort, from which he was able to dominate nearby clans and chiefdoms. Orombo's empire was short-lived, however, as he was killed in a battle with the MAASAI. Without his leadership, the empire collapsed.

Primarily agriculturalists, the Chagga developed only minor trading systems, the most notable being an iron-ore trade dating back to the 16th century.

In the 16th century one Chagga chiefdom, Mamba, established and maintained extensive trade in iron ore and weapons. Mamba blacksmiths traveled as far away as Ugweno, where they traded their cattle for iron. The smiths then created iron weapons, which they exchanged at markets on the eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro and other places.

Changamire dynasty   Ruling dynasty during the 16th through 18th centuries that controlled the ivory- and GOLD-producing region between the ZAMBEZI and Limpopo rivers in present-day ZIMBABWE. Changamire (fl. c. 1490), probably a relative of Matope (d. c. 1480), the ruler of the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom, founded the dynasty near the end of the 15th century. After Matope appointed him a provincial governor, Changamire defected from the empire to establish the ROZWI kingdom, which is sometimes called the Changamire kingdom; Rozwi rulers after him also were called *Changamire.*

The Changamire dynasty developed strong relations with Arab traders and Portuguese coastal settlers. However, from 1693 to 1695 the Rozwi drove the Portuguese from their settlements in the African interior. During this period of conquest they were also able to virtually eliminate the Mwene Mutapa as a regional trading power. In this manner the Changamire dynasty seized control of the lucrative international gold trade in southern East Africa.

The Changamire dynasty reigned supreme on Zimbabwe's central plateau for more than 100 years but was finally destroyed during the MFECANE, a forced migration that took place early in the 19th century as ZULU peoples ransacked the region during their campaigns of territorial expansion.

See also: CHANGAMIRE (Vol. II); LIMPOPO RIVER (Vol. II); MATOPE (Vol. II).

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Charles V, Emperor   (1500–1558) *Holy Roman Emperor, king of Spain (as Charles I), and archduke of Austria who inherited the vast Spanish and Hapsburg Empire*

In 1517 young King Charles I of Spain signed an edict that sanctioned the beginning of the abduction and subsequent enslavement of millions of Africans in what was to become known as the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE.

Later, as Holy Roman Emperor, Charles endeavored to conquer North Africa, an undertaking first imagined by his grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon. His primary goal was to take control of Mediterranean maritime trade away from the Muslims. As part of this effort he led a military campaign against Tunis in order to retake the port that had been seized a few years earlier by the Turkish Barbarossa brother Khayr al-Din (d. 1546).

The mission was a success. Tunis and the coastal fortress of La Goletta, as well as much of the Ottoman naval fleet, fell to Charles's 30,000-man expedition. Charles planned successive attacks on ALGIERS and Constantinople the following year, but the plan was foiled due to increasing conflicts with France. In 1541 Charles led another force to Algiers, but the campaign failed.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Chewa (Cewa, Chipeta)   Ethnic group indigenous to southern MALAWI, in East Africa, that was incorporated into the MARAVI confederation in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Chewa were hunters, pastoralists, agriculturalists, and traders, and they thrived by maintaining peaceful relations with neighboring peoples. They spoke a Bantu language known as chiChewa, which today is one of the official languages of Malawi.

The word *Malawi*, meaning "people of the fire," most likely comes from the chiChewa language. It is the name that the Chewa called the members of the Phiri clan, the group that produced the leader, or KALONGA, of the Maravi confederation.

The Katanga, a Bantu-speaking group from eastern ZAMBIA, are often considered the ancestors of the Chewa. After 1200, Katanga people migrated east toward Lake Malawi, establishing both the Banda and Zimba chiefdoms, which are considered early Chewa groups. These groups are sometimes called *Kalimanjira,* or "path makers," in Chewa oral tradition, referring to the fact that they cleared the land for the later migrating Chewa groups.

Chewa oral history cannot explain the dynamics that turned these groups into a defined Chewa chiefdom. What is relatively certain is that two major chiChewa-speaking subgroups, the Manganja and the Nyanja, inhabited the area to the south and southwest of Lake Malawi, north of the ZAMBEZI RIVER, by the end of the 15th century. From there they moved to the highlands, escarpments, and the shore areas southwest of Lake Malawi.

Late in the 16th cenntury the movement of Maravi peoples into Chewa territory forced some Chewa groups to migrate north, where they mixed with the indigenous Tumbuka people. The new group these two groups created, the Tonga, founded the chiefdoms of Kabunduli and Kaluluma, among others. The Chewa who remained in their original homeland south of Lake Malawi were integrated into the loosely defined Maravi confederacy, which had begun to dominate trade in the area in the beginning of the century.

Chewa oral tradition says that their chiefs agreed to let the outside Maravi leadership have political authority as long as the Chewa could continue to work their land. Peaceful relations ensued, and by the middle of the 17th century, the Chewa leaders even participated in Maravi government. The Chewa resisted full assimilation into Maravi culture by continuing to use their own language and religious practices. They maintained group ties, especially through secret societies like the *Nyau* society, which performed important religious rituals and encouraged identification among Chewa peoples.

Like the other groups in the region, during the 17th and 18th centuries the Chewa participated in the IVORY TRADE, which dominated the local ECONOMY. About the same time, the demand for slaves from East Africa increased, and by the end of the 19th century the peaceful Chewa were subject to constant raids by the well-armed YAO and Arab slave traders, who invaded their territory from the east, as well as by the NGONI, from the south.

Chico Rei (Galanga) (1717–1774) *Kongo prince who was abducted by the Portuguese and sent to work in the gold mines of Brazil in the 18th century*

Galanga (as he was then called) was a KONGO prince from Kibongo, located in modern-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO. According to tradition he was widely respected as a fierce warrior and a just leader of his peo-

ple. At the same time, the Portuguese discovered GOLD in their Brazil colony and needed slave LABOR to work the mines. The Portuguese regularly contracted slave raiders to abduct Africans in ANGOLA and Congo to sell into slavery, and Galanga happened to be unfortunate enough to be captured in such a raid. In 1739 he, his wife Djalo, his son Muzinga, and the others in their village were shackled, brought to the coast, and taken aboard the slave ship *Madalena.*

In 1740 Galanga, by then known as Chico Rei, and the rest of the captives reached Brazil; only 112 of the original 191 people survived the crossing. They were taken to the town of Ouro Preto (Portuguese for "black gold") and sold to a mine owner named Major Augusto.

Over the years Augusto was impressed not only by Chico's ability to learn and speak Portuguese but also by his regal bearing and his concern and care for his people. Eventually Major Augusto granted Chico his freedom. When Augusto became gravely ill, Augusto even loaned his former slave money to buy the mine. Under Chico's leadership, gold production at the mine increased, and Chico eventually was able to purchase the freedom of his former subjects. Chico Rei spent the rest of his life striving to improve the lives of the Africans who had been forced to work in the Brazilian gold mines. After Chico's death in 1774, the mine once again declined, eventually falling into disuse.

Before setting sail across the Atlantic, the members of Galanga's village were baptized by a Portuguese priest. The men were all forced to take the Christian name Francisco and the women were made to take the name Maria. The name Chico is a nickname for Francisco, and the word *rei* means "king" in Portuguese. Galanga was given the name Chico Rei by the Portuguese, who recognized how greatly he was respected by the others who came from his village.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Chokwe (Cokwe, Tshokwe) Subgroup of the Mbuti people in what is now northeastern ANGOLA. The Chokwe were ruled by disinherited princes from the ruling clans of the LUNDA EMPIRE who settled between the lower Kwango and Kasai rivers starting about 1500.

The Chokwe were primarily elephant hunters and wax gatherers, although some of them were also farmers. They were skilled sculptors, weavers, ironworkers, and pottery and mask makers. The Chokwe were espe-

cially noted for ceremonial objects made to honor their rulers, including royal portrait statues and finely carved scepters, staffs, and thrones. Their arts and crafts were influential in the Lunda courts and throughout the Kwango Valley.

In the late 18th century the Chokwe began to grow wealthy from the ivory trade and expanded to conquer neighboring territories in Central Africa. Their success was short-lived, though, as internal disputes and European colonizing activities disrupted Chokwe rule in the 19th century.

Christianity, influence of Between the 15th and the 19th centuries Islam continued to be the dominant world religious presence in Africa in terms of conversions; social, political, and cultural influence; and territorial control. Two of the most ancient Christian churches in Africa, the Coptic Church in EGYPT and the Coptic Church in ETHIOPIA, were small islands of Christianity in an ever more Muslim continent. North Africa, once an important center of Christianity in the Roman world and the third major center of Christianity in Africa, remained fervently Muslim; the last indigenous Christians in North Africa outside of Egypt disappeared in the 12th century. Islam continued to spread in West Africa, sometimes peaceably along the trade routes and sometimes by jihad, or holy war. Islam was also strong in East Africa, along the SWA-HILI COAST. Christian MISSIONARIES who accompanied Portuguese explorers in their sea voyages along the coast of Africa made some small inroads in West Africa, as did missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church in SOUTH AFRICA. However, large-scale Protestant and Catholic missionary efforts did not begin until the start of the 19th century. Traditional African religions maintained their hold on the peoples of the interior of eastern and southern Africa and at times coexisted with Islam in West African societies.

The Christian Church at Large A *patriarch* is the bishop of an important see who has authority over other bishops in the region. Of the five major patriarchates into which the early Church organized itself, only Rome and Byzantium (Constantinople) remained independent at the start of the 15th century.

Derived from the Latin word *sedes,* meaning "seat," the English word *see,* as in a bishop's see or the Holy See (a Roman Catholic term for Rome), refers to the site of the bishop's throne. Symbolically, the episcopal throne is the center of his jurisdiction or authority.

The patriarchates of Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in present-day Turkey, and Jerusalem in the Holy Land were in territory under Muslim control. The Great Schism of 1053, which was the result of acrimonious doctrinal and jurisdictional disputes between Rome and Constantinople, had further divided Christianity into separate parts: the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church. In 1453, when Constantinople fell to the forces of the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed II (1451–1481), the Eastern Orthodox Church came under Muslim domination and had its freedom and rights restricted. The Coptic Church of Egypt and the Ethiopian Coptic Church, which received its bishops from the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria, were effectively cut off from the church in the West and the church in Constantinople and consequently turned their attention inward.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic Church was undergoing a series of transformations. The Protestant Reformation, led by the German theologian Martin Luther (1483–1546) and the French reformer John Calvin (1507–1574), was a reaction to abuses in the Church, theological disputes over the issues of redemption and grace, the authority of Scripture over tradition, and a rejection of the authority of the pope. The Reformation formally began on October 31, 1517, when Luther publicly nailed his Ninety-five Theses to the door of the University Church in Wittenberg, Germany. This local reform movement touched off other reform movements in Germany and in other countries in Europe and led to the establishment of Protestantism as the third major branch of Christianity, along with Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy. Of the countries of Europe that had a direct effect on Africa, Spain, Portugal, and France remained largely Roman Catholic; Britain, The Netherlands, and many of the German states became Protestant. Religious reformers rather than missionaries, the Protestant churches did not begin their well-known, wide-scale missionary activities in Africa until the 1800s.

Meanwhile, in response to the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church was undergoing its own transformation. The Council of Trent, a meeting of important church leaders held from 1545 to 1563 in the city of Trent in northern Italy, began what became know as the church's Counter-Reformation period. The council clarified many church doctrines and rules, reformed many abuses, revitalized religious practices, and reaffirmed the authority of the pope. The Council of Trent turned the Roman Catholic Church's direction outward.

Indicative of the new spirit in the Church was the founding of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in 1534, a religious order dedicated to education and missionary work. A Spanish Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier (1506–1552), was one of the original Jesuits and the most important Roman Catholic missionary of modern times. He established the Church in Portuguese India, Japan, and the

Malay Peninsula. Another early Jesuit, the Italian Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), introduced Christianity to the imperial court in Beijing, China. The Italian Jesuit Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) sought to reconcile Hinduism and Christianity in India. Jesuit Peter Claver (1581–1654) became prominent as a missionary among the indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans in South America. The Jesuit *reducciones,* or missionary settlements, in Brazil, Paraguay, and elsewhere on the continent, some housing as many as 20,000 people, offered indigenous people some measure of protection from Spanish slave raids. However, Africa did not become the focus of Roman Catholic missionary activity until the 19th century.

In 1622 the Roman Catholic Church established the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, a bureau of the Roman Curia, the administrative body of the church. The purpose of this group was to take the organization of missionary activities out of the hands of the religious orders and impose Roman control over them.

Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa   Although India and the Americas were considered important missionary areas in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, Africa did not receive equivalent attention from Catholic missionaries during those centuries. Their activities were generally restricted to the west coast and only slightly inland and failed to leave a lasting imprint on Africa. Missionaries followed in the footsteps of Portuguese explorers and entered the KONGO KINGDOM in 1491 for the purposes of converting the king and controlling commerce in the region. Efforts eventually met with success when the Portuguese installed a new king, who was baptized and ruled under the name AFONSO I (c. 1461–1543). Afonso made Christianity the state religion and encouraged the Portuguese to convert his people. A bishop was named. In the early 1500s, however, missionary activities faltered in Kongo, as they soon did in the kingdom of BENIN. By the 1560s Christian missionary activity was also slowing down in East Africa and in the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom, which covered parts of present-day MOZAMBIQUE and ZIMBABWE. At the same time, Muslim missionaries were making strong inroads in the interior.

South Africa   The Protestant Dutch brought the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk) with them when the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY established the provisioning station at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, at the southernmost tip of Africa, which grew into the CAPE COLONY. The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, founded in 1652, was almost exclusively white.

The first African Christians came from the population of people held in bondage in the region, although masters often forbade them baptism for fear that they would have to be released. The 19th-century GRIQUA, a people of mixed KHOIKHOI and European ancestry who lived north of the Orange River in southern Africa, were among the first Africans to convert to Christianity when

Protestant missionaries arrived at the start of the 19th century. Before that, little missionary activity among Africans is recorded.

Christianity in Egypt   For the first four centuries after the Arab conquest of Egypt (c. 639), Coptic Christians were free to practice their religion. They remained autonomous, although they were subject to a special tax, called *gezya,* leveled on nonbelievers, that qualified them as *al-zemma* (protected). By the 11th century, however, Arabic was replacing Coptic as the language of the people, and by the end of the 12th century Egypt was a primarily Muslim country. The Coptic Church became ever more subject to restrictions on repairing old churches and building new ones, on testifying in court, on public behavior, on inheritance, and on public religious display. While the Ottoman Empire ruled Egypt during the years 1517 to 1798, the caliphs did not interfere much in the internal affairs of the church. Although there was occasional persecution and periodic outbreaks of hostility, the Coptic Church maintained its identity and remained internally stable. The position of the Coptic Orthodox Church did not improve until the 19th century and the accession of MUHAMMAD ALI (1769–1849). By 1855 the *gezya* was lifted, and Christians were allowed into mainstream Egyptian life.

Roman Catholic missionaries were first active among the Copts in the 17th century. The Capuchins, a branch of the Franciscans, established a mission in Cairo in 1630; in 1675 the Jesuits also began missionary activity in Egypt. During the 1600s a number of theological dialogues between Rome and the Coptic Church took place but were fruitless. Then, in 1741, a Coptic bishop in Jerusalem named Amba Athanasius (fl. 1740s) renounced the traditional Orthodox Coptic belief in the single divine nature of Christ and became a Roman Catholic. Pope Benedict XIV (1675–1758) made Amba Athanasius the Vicar Apostolic, or titular bishop, of the small community of Egyptian Coptic Catholics (numbering not more than 2,000), and thus established the Egyptian Catholic Church, in union with Rome. Athanasius eventually returned to the Coptic Orthodox Church, and the two vicars apostolic named as his successors were unable to travel to Europe to be ordained bishops. In 1824 Rome mistook the intent of the Egypt's Ottoman viceroy and established a patriarchate at Alexandria for the Coptic Catholic Church. This position remained unfilled until 1898, when an actual patriarch, Cyril II, was named. The Ottoman Empire allowed the Coptic Catholic Church to build its own churches beginning in 1829.

Christianity in Ethiopia   The Ethiopian Orthodox Church traces its roots back to the fourth century, when Athanasius (296–373), the patriarch of Alexandria, appointed Frumentius (d. c. 383) the first *abuna* (meaning "our father," or bishop) of Aksum. Through Frumentius's efforts, ancient Aksum, under the rule of Emperor Ezana

(r. c. 320–350), became a Christian kingdom. From then until the 20th century the patriarch of Alexandria named the bishops of Ethiopia. Like their Egyptian preceptors, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church adhered to the traditional Monophysite beliefs regarding the nature of Christ, a doctrine condemned by the Council of Chalcedon of 451, a formal assembly of the leaders of the entire church.

During the seventh century the spread of Islam cut the Ethiopian Church off from the rest of the Christian world except for the Ethiopian monastery in Jerusalem and with the Coptic Church in Egypt. Although originally protected by Muslims, as the Copts were also "people of the Book," relations between Muslims and Ethiopian Christians deteriorated. The Ethiopians retreated into their mountain strongholds, where they could maintain their independence and their culture.

Christian Europe was aware of the existence of Ethiopia, along the Red Sea on the Horn of Africa. It was thought of in a vague way, however, as the putative kingdom of the legendary though mythical Christian king Prester (from Greek *presbyteros,* "priest") John, reports of whose existence had filtered through Europe for generations. Some Europeans hoped to ally themselves with this Christian kingdom and circumvent Muslim control of the region's trade.

In 1516 the Ottoman Empire conquered Egypt and set up a major trading station for human captives on the Dahlak Islands in the Red Sea. In 1531 the Muslim general and religious reformer AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543), from the kingdom of ADAL, became a threat. He led a jihad against the people of the Ethiopian Highlands in an attempt to eradicate Christianity. His army consisted of Somalis and AFAR people from the Denakil Plain on the Ethiopian-Eritrean border. Ahmad Grañ was initially victorious against the armies from the SHOA kingdom and pushed his way toward Tigray and ERITREA, along the Red Sea coast, conquering almost three-quarters of Ethiopia and converting the majority of people to Islam.

The Portuguese, however, felt that their interests in the Red Sea region were threatened by Ahmad Grañ's jihad. They answered Ethiopia's request for assistance and landed 400 musketeers at Massawa, in Eritrea. After gaining the support of Tigrayan soldiers, the Christian army trained in European tactics and defeated Ahmad Grañ and his Ottoman reinforcements at the Battle of Wayna Daga, near Lake Tana, in 1543. Grañ was killed by a Portuguese musket ball. The Muslim threat waned temporarily, but the Muslims seized Massawa again in 1560 and maintained their foothold there for 300 years.

During Ahmad Grañ's jihad a Portuguese adventurer named John Bermudez claimed that the dying *abuna* had named him his successor as head of the church in Ethiopia and that the pope had confirmed this appointment. Although no evidence existed to back his claim, the Portuguese in Ethiopia believed him and urged the emperor, Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559), to become a Roman Catholic. A group of Jesuit missionaries was sent to assist in the conversion of the Ethiopian Orthodox believers to Catholicism, but to no avail.

In the following century, Jesuit missionaries led by Spaniard Pedro Páez (1564–1622) arrived in Ethiopia, converted the emperor, Susenyos (r. 1607–1632), to Roman Catholicism, and for a time most of Ethiopia was in communion with Rome. Susenyos's motivations were political rather than theological; he sought a military alliance with Portugal.

During Susenyos's reign, Alfonsus Mendes, the patriarch-designate sent from Rome, demanded that all Ethiopians be rebaptized and all priests reordained—clear affronts to the validity of the Ethiopian Coptic Church's sacraments. He outlawed the practice of circumcision and demanded that the church celebrate the sabbath on Sunday, instead of the traditional Saturday sabbath of Ethiopian custom. Missionary efforts prospered for a time, but rivalries soon developed with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. These differences led to bloody conflicts between Christian factions. All missionaries were expelled by Susenyos's successor, and Ethiopia entered a period of isolationism.

See also: AKSUM (Vol. I); CHRISTIANITY (Vols. I, II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, IV, V); FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); JIHAD (Vols. II, IV); MONOPHYSITE (Vol. I).

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cloth and textiles Throughout African history, cloth has been seen not only as a utilitarian object but has also played important political, religious, cultural, and economic roles within the diverse and ever-changing African societies. As with any artistic craft, African cloth making has changed in its design and style over time. For example, before the 1600s Ashanti cloth was usually blue and white. But increased trade and demand caused craftspeople to begin to incorporate a variety of colorful fabrics into their textiles. Cloth was also used for ceremonial and ritual purposes, such as wrapping a corpse or adorning a bride. Other textiles were created in order to record a people's history. Ashanti *adinkra* cloth was designed with symbolic figures that were stamped into patterns that represented people and events in Ashanti history. In this way cloth design could facilitate the keeping of oral history.

Traditionally cloth was viewed as a symbol of wealth, and it was the members of the royalty who demanded luxury cloths and fabrics. In many cities where commercial textile production thrived, such as the HAUSA city-state of KANO, the weavers and dyers usually received their business only from those of the upper strata of society. The ceremonial *kente* cloth of the Ashanti, made with silk that the court imported from Europe through trans-Saharan and coastal trade, was worn exclusively by some local monarchs. As early as the 17th century the Ashanti were unraveling fine imported cloth and working the yarn into their own textiles.

At times in African history, cloth was used as a form of MONEY AND CURRENCY for bride-wealth, tributes, and taxes. In the Congo and in coastal West Africa, certain cloths could be used to pay court fines. In the southern and eastern parts of the Congo, a 24-by-16-inch (61-by-41-cm) piece of raffia cloth called *madiba* was used for tribute. The people of the Congo also used books of cloth strips as an early form of money. Congolese Kwango-Kwilu society esteemed the weavers who created the cloth money bundles.

In the 16th century the Portuguese colonists on the CAPE VERDE ISLANDS used forced labor to cultivate indigo, a plant from which a deep blue cloth dye was collected and later exported to Europe. In Europe in the 1500s, indigo was, weight for weight, as valuable as GOLD.

In both precolonial and colonial times, cloth served as a valuable item of trade in West Africa, along the sudanic belt, and along the SWAHILI COAST. European garments and fabrics were sometimes brought in through North African ports and exchanged for human captives. The Islamic state of KANEM-BORNU, near Lake CHAD, imported garments from TUNIS, and the ZAGHAWA king of the central Sudan adorned himself with imported European wool and silk. On East Africa's Indian Ocean coast, Arabic, Persian, and Indian traders brought great amounts of COTTON and silk cloth to Swahili commercial ports—including ZANZIBAR, MOMBASA, MOGADISHU, and ZEILA—where it was exchanged for gold, ivory, and human captives.

In the 17th century elaborate raffia textiles made by KUBA weavers were popular throughout the Congo region. During the same era the town of KETA, in present-day southeastern GHANA, was the center for the intricately woven cloth appropriately known as Keta cloth.

By the 18th century the cloth industry prospered in many parts of the continent as cotton, raffia, and bark-cloth all continued to be manufactured by African craftspeople using traditional weaving and dyeing processes. Magenta silk from Italy and France was imported by KANO in the 19th century and processed in the same traditional way as cotton, wool, and wild silk.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Duncan Clarke, *The Art of African Textiles* (San Diego, Calif.: Thunder Bay Press, 1997); John Picton and John Mack, *African Textiles* (London: British Museum, 1989); Irmtraud Reswick, *Traditional Textiles of Tunisia and Related North African Weavings* (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1985).

Comoros (Comoro Islands)   Volcanic archipelago in the western Indian Ocean, located between the island of MADAGASCAR and the southern East African country of MOZAMBIQUE. Today officially called the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros, the islands were a major center of trade from the 15th to the 18th centuries. Because of its location along the popular Indian Ocean trade network between Asia and the African continent, the culture of the Comoros reflected a unique blend of Arab, African, and Asian influences. The earliest settlers were of Malay-Polynesian descent, followed by Arabic- and Bantu-speaking peoples from the Middle East and the African continent, respectively.

One of the products exported from the Comoro Islands was ambergris, a pale blue substance used in perfumes and lamp oil. Ambergris washed up on the island shore in solid egg-like form after being excreted from the stomachs of the sperm whales living in the surrounding Indian Ocean.

Because of its origins and value, Swahili peoples called it "treasure of the sea." The Chinese especially prized ambergris, believing it to be a potent aphrodisiac. Not knowing where it came from, they called it "dragon's spittle."

When Portuguese merchants arrived about 1505, Comoro trade expanded to Europe and eventually to the Americas. Local sultans warred with each other to supply the new traders, who increasingly demanded captives from the African coast. By the 18th century captives had become the islands' primary export. In the late 1700s other peoples, including the SAKALAVA of Madagascar, raided the Comoros for laborers, whom they sold to the owners of French sugar plantations on the other Indian Ocean islands of Madagascar, MAURITIUS, and RÉUNION.

See also: COMOROS (Vols. I, II, IV, V); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SHIRAZI ARABS (Vol. II).

Congo Large region of Central Africa that is drained by the CONGO RIVER. Today the region is made up of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and the Republic of the CONGO. The Congo encompassed the precolonial African states of the KONGO KINGDOM, the LUBA EMPIRE, and the LUNDA EMPIRE, as well as the smaller kingdoms of MBUNDU, LOANGO, TEKE, and Kuba.

At the end of the 19th century Congo was divided into the two European colonies of the French Congo, or "Middle Congo," and the Belgian "Congo Free State." In 1960 the Congo colonies declared their independence, eventually becoming the two nations of the People's Republic of the Congo and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

From the 16th to the 18th centuries the Congo region underwent an explosion of regional and international trade. New technologies involving the mining of iron, copper, and other metals encouraged the development of new commercial markets. Cloth and salt were also important local commodities.

The international demand for ivory and captive LABOR forces increased trade between Africans and Europeans on the west coast, near the mouth of the Congo River, as well as between peoples living on the African coasts and those living in the interior regions. Greater wealth and the logistical demands of long-distance commerce created centralized kingdoms of Bantu-speaking peoples, including the Lunda and Luba empires. The trading networks of these states stretched across the continent. Most Africans continued to live in small villages, but large urban areas also began to emerg, including SÃO SALVADOR, the Portuguese name for Mbanza Kongo, the capital of the Kongo kingdom.

While expanding trade created wealth and new political systems in the Congo, the trade in human captives ravaged the local population and upset the balance of power between Africans and Europeans. The Dutch, French, Portuguese, and British all used a combination of military force, economic coercion, and Christian conversion to expand their presence in the region. By 1800 most of the great Congo kingdoms were declining and struggling to retain their sovereignty.

See also: CONGO BASIN (Vols. I, II); CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); MBANZA KONGO (Vol. II); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Congo, Democratic Republic of the (DRC; Congo-Kinshasa; formerly Zaïre) Western Central African country, approximately 905,400 square miles (2,345,000 sq km) in size and occupying the larger portion of the CONGO region. Today the DRC is the continent's third-largest country and is crucial because of its central location. To the north are the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC and the Republic of the SUDAN, and to the east lie UGANDA, RWANDA, BURUNDI, and TANZANIA. ZAMBIA lies to the southeast and ANGOLA to the southwest. Congo has a narrow outlet to the Atlantic at the mouth of the CONGO RIVER, which, along with the UBANGI RIVER, constitutes its eastern border with the Republic of the CONGO, which is the other part of the Congo region.

The extensive river system in the DRC has facilitated transportation and the movement of peoples and goods for several millennia. Approximately half of Africa's tropical forests are in the Congo, and they constitute its principal ecological feature. Transitional woodlands lie to the north and south of the rain forest, while the southernmost area consists of savanna grasslands and light woodlands. The Mitumba mountain range runs along the country's eastern edge, bordering the RIFT VALLEY.

From the 16th to the middle of the 19th centuries the peoples of the Congo underwent dramatic changes that set the stage for the perhaps even more dramatic changes of the following 100 or so years. The KONGO KINGDOM, located along the lower reaches of the Congo River, was at its peak in the 16th century, when it developed strong diplomatic and trade relations with Portugal. The Portuguese interest was predominantly in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, however, and in 1575 Portugal founded a colony to the south, at LUANDA, in what is today Angola. This then became the focal point of Portuguese trade with the African interior. In 1568 invaders inflicted a severe defeat on the kingdom, and it took Portuguese military assistance to reestablish royal authority. A century later Portugal went to war with Kongo, touching off the disintegration of the kingdom.

In the Katanga region of the interior southern savanna, the political and economic developments that had led to the emergence of the Luba kingdom also led to the expanded LUBA EMPIRE and the closely associated LUNDA EMPIRE, also called the Lunda "Commonwealth." Portuguese-African traders based in Luanda and BENGUELA managed to penetrate into the deep interior and trade with the Luba and Lunda states. However, in contrast to states on or near the coast, such as Kongo, the transatlantic slave trade did not play much of a role in the political events of the interior states.

See also: CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Robert Harms, *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow: The Central Zaire Basin in the Era of the Slave and Ivory Trade, 1500–1891* (New Haven, Conn.:

Yale University Press, 1981); Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

Congo, Republic of the (Congo-Brazzaville)

Equatorial African country, approximately 131,900 square miles (341,600 sq km) in size and constituting the northern portion of the CONGO region. To its north lie CAMEROON and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. The UBANGI RIVER and the CONGO RIVER, which are major river highways, constitute its western and southern border with the Democratic Republic of the CONGO except for the small CABINDA enclave along the Atlantic coast. The coastal Atlantic plain gives way to the southern or Niari River basin. This, in turn, rises to the sandy Central, or Téké, Plateau that eventually gives way to the Congo Basin, which covers nearly half of the country. Astride the equator, the country mostly consists of tropical forests.

The southern portion of the republic, where the great Tio, LOANGO, and KONGO kingdoms had emerged by the early 15th century, became increasingly caught up in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE from the 16th into the 19th centuries. Further south in Angola, the trade into the interior was in Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese hands. North of the Congo River, Europeans were confined to the coast. In this area, though, the French and the British, rather than the Portuguese, dominated the trade. A political by-product of the trade was the emergence of a new African merchant elite that took over real power from the chiefs and kings. This was especially true of the Loango and Kongo.

By 1800 a vast trade network had developed throughout the northern Congo region. In addition, the steady increase in trade led to the rise of sizeable market towns. These emerged at key points along the banks of the Congo River and its principal tributaries.

See also: CONGO, REPUBLIC OF THE (Vol. I, II, IV, V).

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corsairs   Mediterranean PIRATES who made a living by raiding and looting merchant vessels. During the late 15th and early 16th centuries, Portuguese and Spanish Christians vied with the Ottoman Turks for control of the western Mediterranean. The Christians captured the strategic North African ports of TANGIER, TRIPOLI, ALGIERS, and Tunis.

In retaliation, Ottoman corsairs recaptured these ports and used them as a base to attack Christian merchant vessels in the Mediterranean. While the Ottomans were unable to gain complete control of the Mediterranean shipping lanes, their control of these key ports ensured that the MAGHRIB would remain under Muslim rule.

The corsairs continued their attacks on Christian ships throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. The booty captured from these raids provided most of the revenue for these coastal ports.

See also: BARBARY COAST (Vol. III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Jacques Heers, *The Barbary Corsairs: Warfare in the Mediterranean, 1480–1580* (Greenhill, Penn.: Stackpole, 2003).

cotton   Throughout the world the fiber cultivated from the seed of the cotton plant has long been traded either in bulk or woven and then traded as cloth. Although cotton was an African trading commodity for centuries, the advent of European trade toward the end of the 15th century greatly increased the demand for African cotton and cotton textiles.

During the 16th century the Yoruba cotton growers in the kingdom of ALLADA, in present-day NIGERIA, attained great wealth from the trade of their cotton cloths. Their fame from their cottons was such that they were rumored to keep their wives dressed in finery that rivaled the outfits of women in the wealthiest trading states of the GOLD COAST. By the 17th century large Yoruba trade cities such as BENIN CITY had taken over the cotton trade by transporting it from surrounding towns such as Allada and WHYDAH and then trading it with the Europeans at their

Replica of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, invented in 1793. This machine for cleaning the seeds out of cotton helped make cotton the main crop of the American South and kept slavery as its dominant economic institution. © *Bettmann/Corbis*

own big markets. Hence the cloth bought from the two cotton towns was called *aso-Ado,* meaning "cloth for Benin." By the mid-17th century English and Dutch traders were accepting more than 10,000 pieces of these cotton cloths per year.

In the 17th century cotton began to replace other options, such as raffia and tree bark, as the preferred material for making cloth. The famed *kente* cloth of the Ashanti peoples of what is now GHANA was originally made out of raffia but changed to cotton. While the men were the weavers of the *kente* cloth, it was the women who were responsible for making the yarns out of raw cotton and dying them various colors.

While the late 17th century saw the beginning of cotton cultivation in other parts of Africa, such as the western Cape of southern Africa, cotton was already a staple crop of groups such as the DYULA of what is now GUINEA. In this region as in others, cotton cloth was used for currency, and so the Dyula traders became rich from the products of their fields. It was said that the Dyula used so many forced laborers that the cotton could be picked, spun and woven all in one day, thereby giving them the advantage over their local competitors in the cotton trade well into the 18th century.

Cotton and the textiles made from it remained a constant factor in both inland and overseas trade throughout the 18th and into the 19th centuries. However, the African cotton trade saw its heyday after 1861, when the start of the United States Civil War curtailed the production there.

See also: COTTON (Vols. II, IV); YORUBALAND (Vol. III).

Cross River Waterway located mostly in southeastern NIGERIA and parts of western CAMEROON. The Cross River stretches approximately 300 miles (483 km) and joins the Calabar River before emptying into the Bight of Bonny (formerly the Bight of Biafra), on the Gulf of Guinea.

Two of the most important trading peoples located along the Cross River were the IBIBIO, especially active in the 16th century, and the EFIK, active in the 17th century. Both groups were located in and around the city of OLD CALABAR and used the Cross River to trade their goods with both the Europeans on the coast and FULANI groups of the hinterland to the east. European explorations of the Cross River started early, as Portuguese sailors were familiar with the area in the 15th century.

The Cross River's banks were also used as a place for traditional ART, as evidenced by the 17th-century discovery of *akwanshi*—stone pillars carved into human-shaped figures by EKOI people—in the area.

Cugoano, Ottobah (John Stuart) (1757–unknown) *African man who became a highly active and influential abolitionist in London in the late 1700s*

Cugoano was kidnapped into slavery in present-day GHANA and worked on plantations in Grenada before he was taken to England. In London he obtained his freedom, and in 1773 he was baptized into the Anglican Church, taking the name John Stuart. For the next 15 years he lived in the borough of Westminster in London, working as a servant in the home and studio of the artist Richard Cosway (1740–1821), a portraitist known for his miniatures. Cugoano was a friend of Olaudah EQUIANO (C. 1745–1797), another African abolitionist, then living nearby in London.

In 1787, while in Cosway's service, Cugoano wrote and published a book entitled *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Commerce of the Human Species,* an important antislavery tract and the first of its kind to be written in English by an African. That same year, 30 years in advance of its actual implementation, Cugoano suggested that Britain establish a naval squadron to patrol the African coast and suppress the trade of humans.

Little else is known about Cugoano's life after he published his book. He dropped from sight, and the time, place, and manner of his death are unknown.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); RECAPTIVES (Vol. IV); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Further reading: Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery and Other Writings;* Vincent Caretta, ed. (New York: Penguin, 1999).

D

Dagomba (Dagamba) Ethnic group of present-day northern GHANA that was subjected to numerous invasions by their AKAN neighbors from the 16th through the 19th centuries. The Dagomba are one of the groups cthat make up the Mossi people, who also inhabited the states of MAMPRUSI, Fada-n-Gurma, Tenkodogo, Nanumba, and Yatenga. The Dagomba and Mamprusi speak Gur, a Niger-Congo language.

In the 15th and 16th centuries the Dagomba rapidly expanded their kingdom, known as Dagbon. In 1620, though, the neighboring kingdom of GONJA attacked the Dagomba, forcing them out of the western region of their homeland. They fled east, where they conquered the Konkomba, becoming their overlords, and established their new capital, Yendi (later YENDI DABARI). The Dagomba prospered during this period by taxing the profitable trade that traveled through their region.

Traders from the HAUSA STATES, to the east, brought GOLD, kola nuts, and human captives from the inland forest to the south. In return they procured cloth from other Hausa States and salt from the Sahara. The DYULA, West African traders, brought Islam to Dagbon, where it was later embraced by Ya Na Muhammad Zangina (r. c. 1700–1714), the 16th ruler of the Dagomba people.

The tensions between the Dagomba and the Gonja lasted a century, during which the Gonja served as their overlords. In 1720, under the leadership of Ya Na Andani Sigeli, the Dagomba were finally able to defeat the Gonja. However, their freedom was fleeting, as the Ashanti king, OPOKUWARE II (c. 1700–1750), began his subjugation of the Dagomba about 1744. The Dagomba were finally conquered in the early 1770s under the reign of Asantehene OSEI KWADWO (c. 1740–1777). Thereafter they became a major source of captives for the Ashanti, who amassed great wealth by trading them and others to Europeans for firearms and manufactured goods. Dagbon was forced to pay tribute to the ASHANTI EMPIRE until the middle of the 19th century, when the British conquered the Ashanti, and the Dagomba were able to return to independence.

See also: DAGOMBA (Vol. II); VOLTA BASIN (Vol. III).

Dahomey West African kingdom of the FON, a subgroup of the AJA people, located within present-day Republic of BENIN. The powerful Dahomey kingdom of the 18th century emerged from the unification of the kingdom of ABOMEY—whose principal city of the same name was to become the capital of Dahomey—with the neighboring Aja kingdoms of ALLADA and WHYDAH. Abomey started to gain influence during the 1600s under the leadership of the self-appointed king, WEGBAJA (c. 1645–1680). It was during his reign that some of the Fon people started referring to themselves as Dahomeans. In the years that followed, Dahomey became rich trading human captives with Europeans, and as its power grew the kingdom expanded. About 1724 Dahomey's King AGAJA (1673–1740) conquered Allada, and in 1727 he captured the nearby coastal trading kingdom of Whydah. The combined kingdoms of Allada, Why-
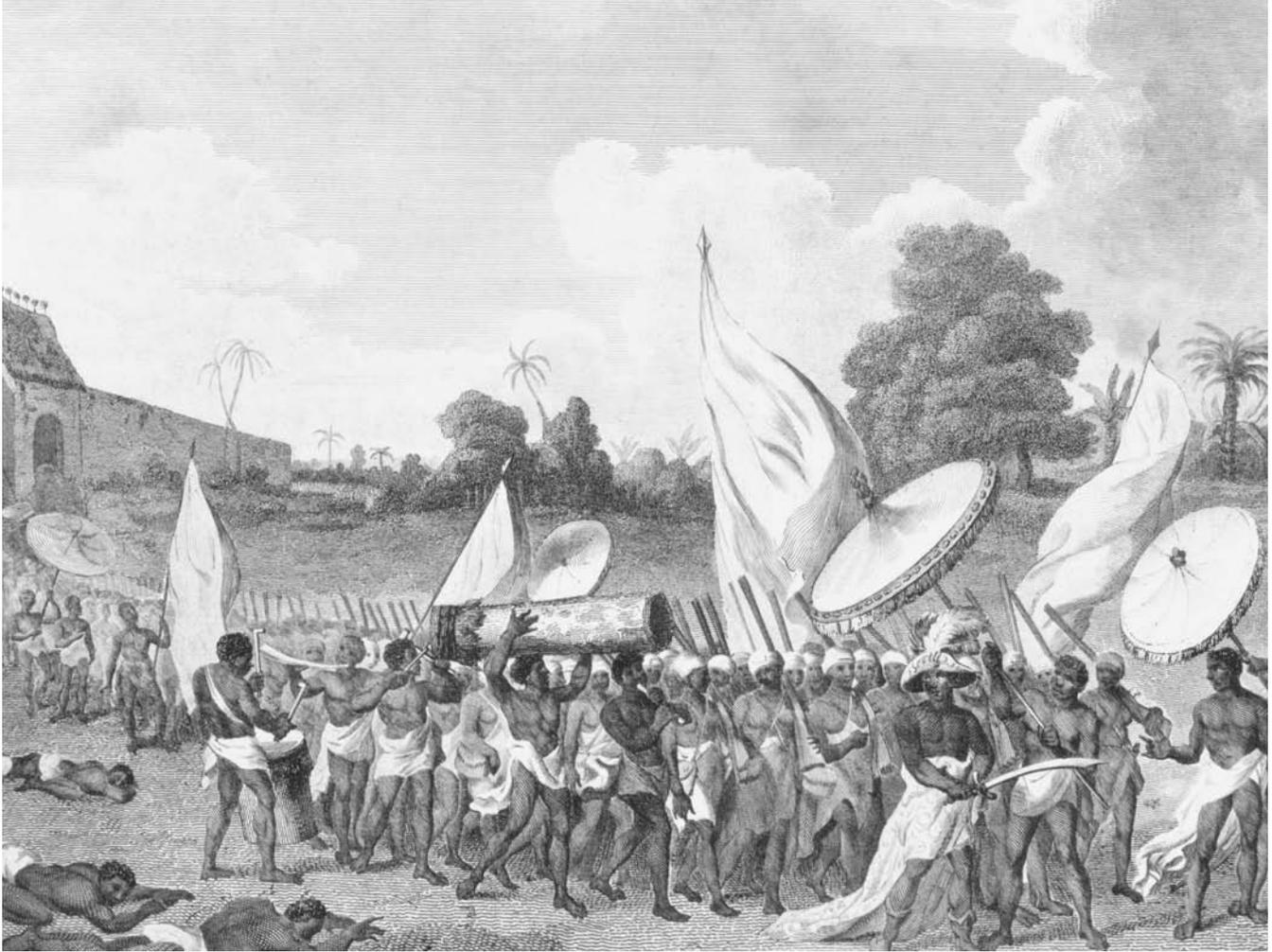
Women in the army of the king of Dahomey, with the king at their head. This engraving by Francis Chesham (1749–1806) was published in Archibald Daizel's 1793 *History of Dahomey*. As late as the reign of King Gezu (1818–1858), three regiments of 1,000 women were said to be serving in the Dahomey army. *© Historical Picture Archive/Corbis*

dah, and Abomey became the three provinces of the kingdom of Dahomey. With its expanded borders, Dahomey assumed control of coastal ports and gained further access to European trade, making it the dominant power in the region. The kingdom's expansion continued into the 18th century, at which time Dahomey was attacked by the OYO EMPIRE, to which it ultimately was forced to pay tribute.

Dahomey regained its power during the 1800s under the strong leadership of kings GEZU (r. 1818–1858) and Glélé (r. 1858–1889). Under Gezu, Dahomey continued to trade human captives, but a British blockade in 1852 forced him to agree to put an end to that practice.

See also: DAHOMEY (Vols. II, IV, V).

Further reading: Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1998).

Dakar Port city located in present-day SENEGAL on the Cap-Vert peninsula, the westernmost point in Africa.

> **The term *Dakar* probably comes from the word *daxar,* the Wolof name for the tamarind tree that is common in the area. Others believe the name might be derived from Deuk Raw, or "land of refuge," a name that some exiles from the interior called the Cap-Vert.**

The Lebu, a Muslim people, inhabited the fishing village of Ndaxaru (now Dakar) in the early 18th century. The French established a port there in 1750, and a

century later a settlement was founded at Dakar to oversee the cultivation and trade of France's groundnut (peanut) crops. Throughout the 19th century many people relocated from GORÉE ISLAND to Dakar, and the city grew to become an important market for TRADE AND COMMERCE.

See also: DAKAR (Vols. IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GROUNDNUTS (Vols. III, IV).

Damot Kingdom in ETHIOPIA located south of the Blue Nile River, between the Angur and Gibe rivers. The once-powerful kingdom of Damot was conquered in 1316–17 and was absorbed in the Ethiopian Christian state of Emperor Amda Siyon (r. c. 1314–1344). Damot went into decline over the next 200 years as Ethiopia became a battleground for the militant religious leaders of both Islam and Christianity. By the beginning of the 16th century the kingdom of Damot, which was largely populated by animists who were neither Muslim nor Christian, had lost most of its influence. Eventually, around 1590, great numbers of migrating OROMO people moved into the weakened kingdom, forcing many of its inhabitants to move to the Ethiopian kingdom of GOJJAM, to the northwest. By the 17th century Damot was completely absorbed and became a subdistrict of Gojjam.

See also: DAMOT (Vol. II).

Dangme (Dangbe) See GA-DANGME.

Dar es Salaam Capital of present-day TANZANIA, located on the Indian Ocean coast, separated from ZANZIBAR by the Zanzibar Channel. The site of DAR ES SALAAM was originally a small village named Mzizima, KISWAHILI for "healthy town." Later it became the site of plantations growing cassava, millet, and MAIZE. *Dar es Salaam,* an Arabic name meaning "haven of peace," was formally founded by the sultan of Zanzibar in 1866. It remained a small town until it was occupied by German colonial forces in 1887.

Darfur (Fur Sultanate) Islamic state founded in the mid-17th century by the FUR people; located in the western region of present-day Republic of the SUDAN, near the CHAD border.

Darfur means "house of the Fur people" in Arabic.

Little is known about the origin of Darfur, but oral history suggests that the state was preceded by the Daju and TUNJUR dynasties. The Daju prospered in the 13th and 14th centuries, owing mostly to thriving trade. By the 15th century, however, the Tunjur took control of the region's trade and seized power from the Daju. It is thought that Islam began to influence the region during the period of Tunjur rule. However, the religion took a firm hold in the region only with the founding of the Fur Sultanate in the 1600s.

SULIMAN SOLONG (r. c. 1640–1660) declared himself the first sultan of Darfur about 1640, beginning the rule of the KAYRA DYNASTY. The Kayra clan was influential even before Darfur became a Muslim enclave, tracing its ancestry back to a 15th-century Tunjur rebel leader

Darfur c. 1600–1800
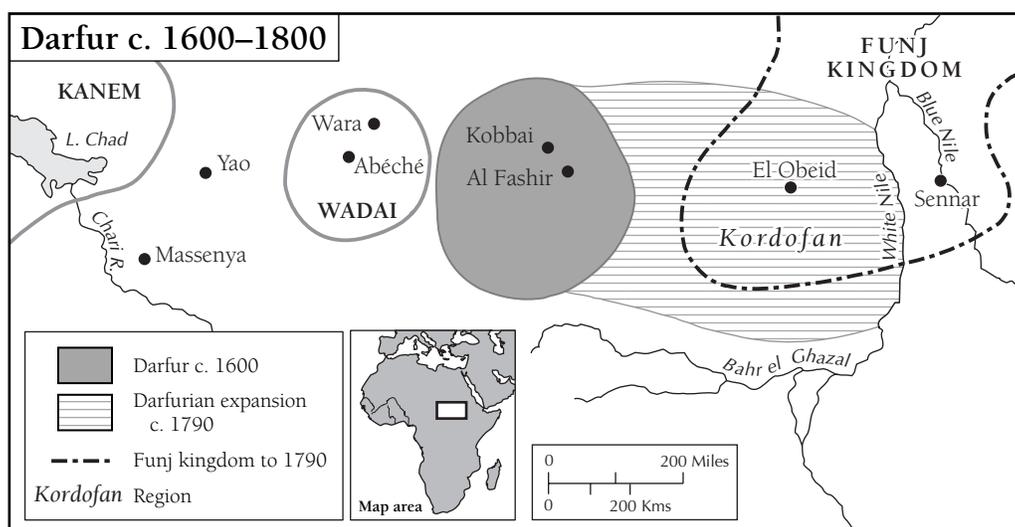
named Dali. The true Kayra dynasty, though, began with Suliman Solong.

From its beginnings Darfur was characterized by a political struggle between two rival factions of the Kayra dynasty. Nevertheless the sultanate prospered by selling captives for slave labor and by exploiting the North African IVORY TRADE. The wealth they amassed enabled their sultans to expand Darfur's territory by conquering smaller neighboring states.

In the middle of the 18th century Sultan Abd-al Rahman al-Rashed established his capital at the former caravan trading center of al-Fashir and centralized Kayra authority. From al-Fashir, Darfur's Muslim sultans expanded into FUNJ territory, in the KORDOFAN region, successfully converting the people they conquered to Islam.

See also: DARFUR (Vols. II, IV, V).

Further reading: P. M. Holt and M. W. Daly, *A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day* (New York: Longman, 2000); R. S. O'Fahey, *State and Society in Dar Fur* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980).

date palm A type of palm tree that produces the date fruit. An important crop since long before the common era, dates were cultivated in groves throughout the Sudan and Sahara regions of North Africa. The versatile date palm is a hardy tree that had several uses in the generally treeless Saharan plains. Its leaves and bark could be used for building purposes, and the seeds from its fruit could be used as animal feed.

The Toubou people of Kawar, an oasis in present-day northeastern NIGER, cultivated date palm trees in the 17th and 18th centuries. The dates they produced were generally sent on southern caravan routes to be traded for goods and other foodstuffs. Dates were an easily stored source of nutrition during travel, so they were often stolen during raids conducted by bandits throughout the Saharan regions. Date palms bear spikes, making a fall from a date palm tree extremely perilous. However, the inhabitants of the Sudan region were noted for their agility in harvesting the fruit from the trees.

See also: FOOD (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II); TOUBOU (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Daud, Askia (Askia Dawud) (r. 1549–1582) *Muslim ruler of the Songhai Empire*

Daud was the sixth of the 10 members of the ASKIA DYNASTY who ruled the SONGHAI Empire from 1493 to 1591. First he was the governor of Kurmina, the western province of the Songhai Empire, but he assumed the Songhai throne when his brother, Askia Ishaq I, died in 1549. Daud ruled from the city of Gao, located on the NIGER RIVER.

Daud had a reputation as a devout Muslim, and he organized campaigns against the non-Muslim MOSSI STATES and BORGU to the south of Songhai. (Daud respected the power of traditional RELIGION, though, and was careful not to alienate Songhai's non-Muslim population.) He also successfully defended his territory from FULANI incursions and repelled numerous invasions from nearby TUAREGS. The captives seized during Daud's campaigns were turned into an agricultural LABOR force that served to help feed the growing Songhai Empire.

During Daud's reign TIMBUKTU reached the height of its influence as a center of Islamic culture. Daud was known to lavish the most devout Muslim scholars with gifts of land, slaves, and cattle.

Songhai enjoyed an extended period of prosperity under Daud, but it was during his reign that the seeds of the empire's destruction were sown. In 1578 the Moroccan sultan, ABD AL-MANSUR (r. 1579–1603), began collecting taxes on the salt exported from the Taghaza mines in northern Songhai territory. Instead of attacking his fellow Muslim, Askia Daud allowed al-Mansur to take control of the northern salt trade so that he might fund his campaigns against the Portuguese and Spanish Christians who were vying for control of Morocco's Mediterranean ports. Daud died in 1582 and his son Askia al-Hajj (r. 1582–1586) was chosen from among his many sons to succeed him. After Daud the Askia dynasty suffered from internal conflicts that weakened Songhai unity, and within four years MOROCCO had assumed authority in the northern Songhai territories. Five years later al-Mansur's well-armed ranks routed the Songhai army, and the empire quickly crumbled.

See also: MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vols. II, III); KURMINA (Vol. II); TAGHAZA (Vol. II).

degredados Individuals convicted of civil or political crimes and exiled from Portugal. By the 1500s many Portuguese *degredados* were being exiled to the islands that are now the Republic of CAPE VERDE; others were sent to ANGOLA or MOZAMBIQUE.

As a way to atone for their crimes, *degredados* were given the opportunity to perform hazardous duties on the continent in the name of the Portuguese crown. In the 16th century these duties included exploring the possibility of an overland route between Angola, on the Atlantic Ocean coast, and Mozambique, on the Indian Ocean coast. *Degredados* might also be asked to penetrate uncharted territories in the African interior. At the end of

their sentences many *degredados* remained in Africa to live with their indigenous African wives and families or to continue trading GOLD or working in the lucrative IVORY TRADE.

One of the better known *degredados* was Antonio Fernandes, who was sent to Mozambique in southern East Africa. On three separate journeys between 1512 and 1516, his task was to reconnoiter the land and the indigenous peoples of the interior to see if there were prospects for trade. Fernandes's stories about the fabulous amounts of gold produced by the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom convinced some Portuguese that they had found the biblical land of Ophir, the legendary place where the queen of Sheba supposedly acquired her gold gifts for King Solomon.

Some of the offspring of Cape Verdean *degredados* and their indigenous wives formed a caste known as *lançados*, who were acculturated into both the European and African societies. *Lançados* acted as independent trade intermediaries, but those who took to illegal smuggling harmed the established Portuguese trade monopolies. Still other *degredados* joined the ranks of the *sertanejos* (backwoodsmen), Portuguese men who adapted well to the difficult conditions of the interior areas south of the ZAMBEZI RIVER. The *sertanejos* often became subjects of the local rulers in order to participate in their trade fairs.

See also: MAKEDA, QUEEN (QUEEN OF SHEBA) (Vol. I); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Malyn Newitt, ed., *The First Portuguese Colonial Empire* (Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1986).

Delagoa Bay   Bay located on the southern Indian Ocean coast of present-day MOZAMBIQUE. Delagoa Bay was charted by the Portuguese during Vasco da Gama's expedition in 1502. In 1544, a Portuguese merchant named Lourenço Marques was the first European to explore the area . Originally Delagoa was a depot for Indian Ocean trading vessels. Later it became an ivory-trading market and a primary center for the trading of Africans abducted from ZIMBABWE, Mozambique, and the South African interior.

At the height of the local slave trade, in the first half of the 19th century, Delagoa was exporting several thousand captive Africans per year. The bay would later serve as a TRANSPORTATION and commercial gateway for the South African GOLD mines.

The word *Delagoa* derives from *Goa,* the name of a maritime trading port on the west coast of mainland India. In 1510 the Portuguese seized Goa, as part of their attempts to monopolize the sea routes to the lucrative Indian spice trade. To arrive at Goa, Portuguese ships had to make the long and treacherous journey around the southern tip of Africa, up the African east coast, and across the western reaches of the Indian Ocean. Once Goa had been established, it became important for the Portuguese to secure the coastal regions of southern East Africa as well. In the 16th century, then, the entire coastal region related to the Indian spice trade fell under the rule of the viceroy at Goa, and the stretch of African mainland was appropriately named Delagoa (Portuguese for "relating to Goa").

See also: DELAGOA BAY (Vol. IV); GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. II); LOURENÇO MARQUES (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1995).

Denianke dynasty (Denyanke)   Dynasty of FULANI kings who ruled FOUTA TORO, a region in present-day northern SENEGAL, from the mid-16th century to the late 18th century. The founder of the Denianke dynasty was Koli TENGELLA (fl. c. 1530), who took charge of the army founded by his father, the Fulani chief Tengella (d. c. 1512). The elder Tengella was killed in battle against the forces of Amar, the brother of SONGHAI ruler Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1528). Koli Tengella then collected the remaining soldiers of his father's army and led them southwest, over the Senegal River, to a region known as Badiar. In this region he recruited a group of Mandinka warriors loyal to his cause and continued to travel until they reached the former Tuareg state of Tekrur in the northern parts of what is now Senegal. In 1559 the combined Fulani and Mandinka forces invaded Tekrur, overthrowing the ruling SONINKE.

Koli Tengella then established the state of Fouta Toro and began a ruling dynasty known thereafter as Denianke. The Denianke kings were called *silatigui,* meaning "commander." Throughout their successful two-century rule they never converted to Islam, despite the fact the religion was quickly spreading among the region's other Fulani groups.

By the early 18th century the dynasty was weakened by succession wars and attacks from the Muslim Brakna

Moors. An Islamic marabout, or mystical religious leader, named Suleyman Bal (fl. c. 1770s) took advantage of Denianke vulnerability to declare a jihad (holy war) in 1776. As a result of the successful jihad, Fouta Toro was declared an Islamic state.

See also: MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vol. II); MANDINKA (Vols. II, IV); TEKRUR (Vol. II); TUAREGS (Vols. II, III).

Denkyira (Denkyera) AKAN subgroup and the state they founded in the forest regions of present-day southwestern GHANA. In the late 16th century the Denkyira began to form a larger collective state out of several smaller Denkyira kingdoms. Over the next 100 years or so the Denkyira state expanded its territorial boundaries to encompass much of the southwestern region of Ghana and parts of what is now IVORY COAST. The state was ruled during this time by the kings of the Agona dynasty, who conquered the ADANSI people and seized the Ashanti capital of KUMASI by 1659. At its height the Denkyira kingdom also dominated the West African GOLD trade by controlling the trade routes in the western regions that connected the gold-producing territories with European coastal outposts, such as ELMINA Castle.

Denkyira was so rich in gold that the *denkyirahene* (Denkyira king) adorned most everything from shields to swords to ornaments with the precious metal. Denkyirahene Boa Amponsem (r. c. 1677–1692) commissioned the first Denkyira GOLDEN STOOL as a representation of the wealth and power of the kingdom and its people.

With its capital situated on the Ofin River at the city of Abankeseso, Denkyira thrived at its location near the heart of the gold-producing region. Since the smaller states it conquered were in the gold-MINING business as well, Denkyira became one of the wealthiest states in the region by the latter part of the 17th century. With its riches, Denkyira maintained a well-trained army that was successfully incorporated into the civilian government. The *denkyirahene* remained the highest authority over the army. Even with its powerful army, Denkyira tended to lack an overall cohesiveness, and some conquered territories were not completely integrated into the kingdom.

Despite its political problems Denkyira remained an important kingdom until the turn of the 18th century. Around that time the ASHANTI EMPIRE, also of the forest regions of present-day Ghana, was rapidly conquering the

gold-producing regions once held by Denkyira. By 1701 Denkyira itself had fallen to the forces of Asantehene (Ashanti king) OSEI TUTU (c. 1650–1717). A decade later the Denkyira attempted to overthrow the Ashanti but were once again soundly defeated, forcing many Denkyira to migrate to the east into territories ruled by the AKYEM peoples.

Further reading: Ivor Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1993).

Denmark and Africa In the early part of the 17th century Denmark became interested in trading along the Guinea Coast in West Africa. In 1625 Jon de Willum established the Danish-Africa Company, a nationalized slave-trading company, to pursue this trade. In 1658 the Danish king, Frederik III (d. 1670), granted a monopoly to merchants hailing from Gluckstadt and Copenhagen on the condition that they maintain the formerly Swedish fort of Carolusborg situated along the GOLD COAST in present-day GHANA. These merchants later built the trading forts of Frederiksborg (1659) and Christiansborg (1661), where they traded for captives with the AKWAMU people, among others. In 1685, when Frederiksborg was acquired by the British ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY after failure to repay a loan, Christiansborg became the primary departure point for African captives being shipped to LABOR on the sugar plantations in the Danish West Indies.

The Danish trade monopoly was lifted in 1735, granting all Danish subjects equal opportunities along the West African coast. The forts of Fredensborg and Augustaborg were built to further capitalize on the lucrative coastal slave trade. During the late 18th century a Danish governor named Kioge led an effort to seize Dutch possessions along the Guinea Coast and build the fortresses of Prinsensten and Kongensten. These last two forts gave the Danes a presence along the SLAVE COAST, east of the Volta River. But with the abolition of the slave trade in the early 19th century, Denmark's African possessions greatly decreased in value. Ultimately, the Danes sold their African assets to the British government in 1849.

See also: SLAVERY (Vols. I, III, IV); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Dhlo-Dhlo (Dhlodhlo, Danagombe) Town located near Bulawayo, ZIMBABWE. In the late 17th century Dhlo-Dhlo became the successor to KHAMI as the capital city of the Torwa state that developed on the southern margins of the Zimbabwe plateau. Smaller than Khami, which had a population perhaps as large as 7,000, Dhlo-Dhlo had an architectural style that was similar to that of its predecessor.

Archaeological evidence indicates that Dhlo-Dhlo may have had trade contacts with Muslim merchants from the commercial towns of the SWAHILI COAST. It also might have traded through intermediaries with Portuguese merchants operating in the southeast African interior. The town's inhabitants probably traded GOLD, copper, and ivory in exchange for rare items like pottery, cloth, and glass beads that came to the East African coast via the Indian Ocean trade routes. By 1700 Dhlo-Dhlo and the entire Torwa state had probably come under the control of the ROZWI state.

Archaeologists have excavated what they believe is the town's main building. It is made up of two large, tiered platforms, the higher of which has a retaining wall nearly 20 feet (6 m) in height. The Dhlo-Dhlo ruins are notable for their intricately patterned walls covered in various herringbone, cord, and checkered patterns.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II).

Diarra, Monson (r. 1790–1808) *Ruler of the Bambara state of Segu*

When the reigning *fama* (king), Ngolo DIARRA, died in 1790, his two sons, Nianankoro and Monson, began a struggle for the right to assume power in the kingdom of SEGU, located in present-day Republic of MALI. Monson fought for the throne from his camp at the city of Segu-Sikoro and eventually succeeded in imprisoning his brother and claiming the title of *fama.* Monson's main challenge thereafter came from the kingdom of KAARTA when King Dessé Koro (r. 1788–1799) attempted to gain control of Segu during the period of weakness caused by the succession struggle. Monson responded in 1794 by demolishing Kaarta, thereby establishing Segu as the more powerful of the BAMBARA kingdoms. Monson successfully ruled Segu until his death at the city of Sirakoro in 1808. Although several rulers in the Diarra dynasty followed, Monson was considered the last of the powerful rulers to extend the territory and control of the Segu kingdom.

Diarra, Ngolo (Ngolo Dyara, Ngolo Diara, Ngolo Jara) (r. 1766–1790) *Warrior under Mamari Kulibali who became the* fama*, or ruler, of the second Segu dynasty, in what is now Republic of Mali*

After the death of Mamari KULIBALI (r. 1712–1755), the SEGU government disintegrated and the kingdom was plagued with social unrest and civil war. For more than a decade the kingdom was ruled by a series of weak leaders whose reigns were both tumultuous and short-lived. From out of these circumstances emerged Ngolo Diarra, who seized the throne and consolidated the kingdom in 1766. He was a capable leader who was able to appease both his

Muslim subjects and those who practiced Segu's traditional religion. Although he did not actually convert to Islam, he learned the Quran—the Muslim holy book—and often enlisted the help of Muslim clerics in settling internal disputes. He maintained good relations with the Muslim trading communities by not only protecting their interests but also allowing them a certain degree of autonomy.

During his reign Ngolo Diarra expanded the Segu territory by defeating both his FULANI and MACINA enemies. Ngolo Diarra's death in 1790 sparked another civil war as his sons vied for the throne. He was succeeded by his son Monson DIARRA.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Dingiswayo (d. 1818) *Chief of the Mthethwa (Mtetwa) clan of the Nguni peoples; ruler of the region that would become Zululand*

Dingiswayo introduced to the Mthethwa the practice of maintaining a standing army, which he used to secure his supremacy over nearly 30 other NGUNI clans occupying the region between the Umfolozi and Tugela rivers, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA.

A rival Nguni chief named Zwide assassinated Dingiswayo in 1818. In turn, Dingiswayo's handpicked successor, SHAKA (1787–1828), defeated Zwide in the same year and continued Dingiswayo's system of nation-building. The result of Shaka's efforts was the birth of the ZULU nation.

Further reading: James O. Gump, *The Formation of the Zulu Kingdom in South Africa, 1750–1840* (San Francisco: EM Texts, 1990).

Dinka (Jieng, Moinjaang) Ethnic group in southeastern Republic of the SUDAN that is made up of more than 25 clans, including the Agar, Aliab, Bor, Rek, and Malual. The Dinka have long been seminomadic pastoralists. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries the Dinka expanded their territory through the conquest of neighboring peoples. The result of this was that some of these peoples, including the NUER, were permanently displaced from their homelands.

In time, however, the Dinka were weakened by attacks from Muslim and Egyptian raiders, who brought Dinka captives to sell at interior markets in DARFUR and SENNAR, and to SUAKIN on the Red Sea coast. Despite their weakened state the Dinka vehemently resisted attempts by foreign powers to subjugate them. By the early part of the 19th century, however, Dinka territories were under Ottoman-Egyptian control.

See also: DINKA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Francis Mading Deng, *Dinka of the Sudan* (Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1984).

disease in precolonial Africa The presence of Europeans in western, eastern, and southern Africa had a profound effect on the diseases faced by African peoples. In addition to the diseases that Africans normally faced in their environment, new diseases and more virulent outbreaks of older diseases affected the population as a result of contact with Europeans.

The State of Medicine and Disease Control The state of European MEDICINE at the time of first contact with West Africa and continuing until the rise of modern scientific medicine in the 19th century was not sophisticated. Modern-day standards of sanitation and hygiene were rarely met in the major cities of Europe. Physicians had not yet isolated the factors that cause disease. For example, the root meaning of the word *malaria,* Italian for "bad air," indicates what early physicians thought brought about the typical chills and high fever of malaria. It was not until 1880 that the true cause was discovered: parasitic protozoans in the bloodstream spread by the bite of the *Anopheles* mosquito, especially *Anopheles gambiae* and *Anopheles funestus,* which feed and rest indoors.

Possibly aware of the contagious nature of malaria, the Mano people of what is now LIBERIA set aside a "sick bush" away from the village where malaria sufferers would be quarantined and nursed back to health by a single individual. Treatment with poultices would retard scratching and control infection. After the patient recovered, the area would be cleaned by fire.

In a centuries-old practice found throughout Africa, a thorn is used to scrape pus from a sore of an infected person into the skin of a healthy person as protection against smallpox.

Neither the indigenous populations nor colonists in the New World and in Africa were immune to major epidemics, although indigenous peoples suffered more and perished in greater numbers when they encountered a disease to which they had built up no natural immunity. In 1702, for instance, an outbreak of yellow fever, a disease African in origin, killed 10 percent of the inhabitants of New York City. Colonists in Boston faced major outbreaks of smallpox in 1666, 1677–78, 1702–03, and 1721–22.

Epidemics among African peoples, previously unexposed to smallpox, were more severe. Open conflict, first in 1659 and again in 1673–77, between the European residents of the CAPE COLONY and the local KHOIKHOI

population near the Cape of Good Hope, at the southern tip of SOUTH AFRICA, led to the imprisonment or death of many thousands of Khoikhoi. By 1677 there were only a few thousand Khoikhoi, and a smallpox epidemic in 1713 killed most of those who were left.

The aftereffects of disease sometimes transcended borders. When Spanish colonists tried to enslave the Taino (Arawak) peoples of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) in the West Indies to work on sugar plantations, a major epidemic of smallpox killed most of the indigenous population of the island by 1550. The Spanish then imported captives taken from Africa to provide the missing LABOR. Much dreaded, smallpox traveled in slave ships and along the trails into Central Africa and grew as the European trade of human captives expanded in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The experiments of the English physician Edward Jenner (1749–1823) to isolate a smallpox vaccine did not begin until 1796. Vaccination (injecting a small, weakened amount of a virulent material to generate immunity to its less benign form) was a major innovation. Jenner's work was so successful that by 1840 the British government banned alternate preventive treatments.

On the other hand, fear of contracting malaria, common inland and a disease to which Europeans had no immunity, kept Europeans from traveling into the interior of Africa except in more temperate regions, such as in South Africa. This curtailed the development of settlements any distance from the coast. Until World War II (1939–45), malaria was treatable (though not fully curable) only by quinine, which was made from cinchona bark, a tree native to the Andes Mountains of South America and brought to Europe for this purpose by Jesuits from Peru in about 1640. The extract was rare, however, because the tree had to be destroyed to obtain it. A more effective synthetic was finally created from coal tar in 1944. Until then access to the drug was limited by short supply and lack of information. It was not until late in the 19th century, for instance, that even the wealthiest and most informed traders in Central Africa were aware of the benefits of quinine.

The Europeans of earlier times who contracted malaria were likely to face a life of intermitent illness. Malaria is an acute, chronic disease characterized by recurring bouts of chills and fever, anemia, enlargement of the spleen, and often fatal complications. Many Africans, on the other hand, were resistant to the malignant and benign forms of this disease. The sickle-cell trait in the red blood cells of Africans limits the growth of *Plasmodium falciparum,* the parasite that causes malignant tertian malaria; and a genetic trait of these imune Africans, the absence of DARC (the Duffy antigen receptor for chemokines), limits the ability of *Plasmodium vivax,* the parasite that causes benign tertian malaria, to invade red blood cells.

TIMBUKTU, and KANO grew more populous, inhabitants became more susceptible to feces-borne diseases such as dysentery and typhus and infectious diseases such as tuberculosis transmitted by close contact with carriers.

The interior of Africa was further affected by the development of the TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE in the early 1500s. Contact with Europeans introduced smallpox, measles, and nonnative forms of syphilis to sub-Saharan Africa, and Africans escaping slave raids were forced to move into less hospitable regions, where they faced greater exposure to mosquitoes and to tsetse flies, which cause sleeping sickness.

Measles It is unknown how many Africans succumbed to measles when Portuguese carriers introduced it to sub-Saharan Africa in the latter half of the 15th century. However, epidemics of measles, smallpox, and influenza decreased the population of Mexico from 25 million to 6.5 million before the arrival of the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés (1485–1547), in 1519. Measles is not usually a killer of adults; however, its splotchy eruptions were often found on the faces of children. Measles sometimes led to death from pneumonia and diarrhea, especially if the children were malnourished and living in overcrowded rural settings. A vaccine—unfortunately one that is not stable in tropical regions—was not developed until the 1960s. A replacement more suited to hot climates is under development.

River Blindness Onchocerciasis, or river blindness, is another native African disease that spread because of the TRANSPORTATION of African captives to Central and South America. The disease is caused by parasitical filarial, or thread-like, worms carried by a biting blackfly, the simulium, which breed in streams and rivers. The adult worms live under the skin and cause unsightly nodules; their larvae, however, travel to the eye, where they die, disintegrate, and often damage the cornea, causing blindness. The disease also produces changes in skin pigmentation, often causing an unsightly leopard-like mottling. People who live along rivers are most often affected. The land for several miles on either side of the VOLTA RIVER in West Africa, infested by tsetse flies and simulium flies, is largely uninhabited.

Schistosomiasis Schistosomiasis is a parasitical infection carried by small aquatic snails and transmitted to humans when they bathe in water contaminated by urine or feces that contains the parasite. The disease is widespread in sub-Saharan Africa and causes severe damage to the bladder and kidneys. Native to Africa, schistosomiasis spread to South America and the West Indies as a result of the trade of African captives.

Sleeping Sickness Trypanosomiasis, or sleeping sickness, is a parasitical infection of the blood and the brain that is caused by a protozoan flagellate called a *trypanosome,* which is a one-celled parasite with a sperm-like tail. The trypan-osome enters the bloodstream of

Foreign and Domestic Causes of Disease
Diseases specific to Africa and other regions near the equator are known in Western medicine as *tropical diseases,* and the branch of medicine that treats them is called *tropical medicine.* Africa before the arrival of Portuguese explorers, traders, and MISSIONARIES was not a pristine continent untouched by outside influences. Although the indigenous peoples of Africa died in great numbers from diseases first encountered after contact with Europeans, they suffered less than the more isolated peoples of the New World after comparable exposure to new diseases. It is thought that partial exposure through long-term contact with Arab trans-Saharan traders from North Africa may have allowed local peoples in West Africa to develop some degree of immunity to diseases of the Mediterranean world. The Arab presence from about 1020 in the kingdoms along the Indian Ocean may have brought similar benefits to the peoples of East Africa, although Arab traders rarely ventured far inland from the SWAHILI COAST.

The interior, however, faced pressure from other sources. Between 1000 BCE and 1000 CE sub-Saharan Africa was the scene of the western and southern migrations of Bantu-speaking peoples, one of the largest in human history, from their original homelands near the present-day border between CAMEROON and NIGERIA to almost the entire southern portion of Africa. It is thought that by entering these lands, they inadvertently brought diseases to which the indigenous SAN and Khoikhoi lacked immunity and to which they succumbed in large numbers by the 16th century. Further, by clearing forest land for cultivation, the Bantu-speaking peoples increased the habitat of disease-bearing mosquitoes, causing further loss of life, including their own. As cities such as Gao,

humans or domestic animals, especially cattle, dogs, and horses, when they are bitten by a bloodsucking tsetse fly. Sleeping sickness exists in both human and animal forms (formally called trypanosomiasis in humans and nagana in animals), and because tsetse flies prefer African game animals as hosts, the range of this disease is limited to sub-Saharan Africa. Until the start of the 20th century the cause and the method of transmission of this disease were unknown.

The early stages of the disease may appear weeks, months, or even years after infection. The variant caused by *Tripanosoma brucei gambiense,* found in West and Central Africa, often takes years to reach an advanced stage, but the more malignant form, caused by *Tripanosoma brucei rhodesiense,* found in eastern and southern Africa, is fatal within weeks. The first symptoms include swollen lymph glands, followed by fever, general weakness and body ache, headache, and itching. In the disease's advanced stage the victim experiences delirium, convulsions, and sleep disturbances, followed by a state of extreme lethargy, coma, and death.

Sleeping sickness has had a profound effect on Africa. Cattle from North Africa could not survive below the Sahel because of the tsetse fly. Plowing by oxen can be done only in those drier areas of East and South Africa that are free from the tsetse fly; otherwise, hand hoes must be used, limiting productivity. In areas where tsetse flies are numerous, the land cannot be used for AGRICULTURE. The presence of the tsetse fly and the threat of sleeping sickness, however, kept European farming from expanding northward from southern settlements.

Syphilis and Related Diseases The sexually transmitted disease (STD) most closely associated with Africa at present is HIV (human immunodeficiency virus), but that disease and its related syndromes are of 20th-century origin. The most significant STDs in sub-Saharan Africa after the start of European contact were syphilis, yaws, and gonorrhea. Syphilis and gonorrhea may have come to Africa by direct contact with Europeans or through contact inland with infected individuals. According to early historians of southern Africa, syphilis was not present there among Africans when the Europeans first settled. The ZULU people called it "the disease of the town" or "the white man's disease."

Some medical researchers believe that yaws is a tropical, rural form of syphilis. Yaws are caused by a spiral-shaped bacterium, or spirochete, called *Treponema pertenue,* that closely resembles the *Treponema pallidium* spirochete that causes syphilis. There is speculation that both diseases may have a common ancestor in equatorial Africa. Yaws, however, which is endemic, or native, to large parts of Africa, is not transmitted by sexual contact but by close nonsexual contact aggravated by overcrowding and poor hygiene. Health complications from yaws later in life are significantly less common than they are from syphilis.

Early health workers in Africa often misdiagnosed this disease as syphilis because the lesions are similar. There is also a second form of syphilis in Africa, called *bejel* in Arabic, that is medically categorized as endemic syphilis. This form of the disease is caused by the same *Treponema pallidium* spirochete that causes venereal, or sexually transmitted, syphilis; but endemic syphilis is spread by nonsexual contact between children in unhygienic environments and, unlike venereal syphilis, rarely affects the central nervous system. Endemic syphilis was most common among the pastoralist peoples living in the areas of present-day CHAD, NIGER, Republic of MALI, and SENEGAL.

Traditional cures for STD symptoms were extremely limited until recent times. For centuries, medicine men and healers were called upon to eradicate diseases. The Bantu-speaking Swazi people of SWAZILAND, who thought that STDs were transmitted only through infidelity or by breaking a taboo, best illustrate traditional beliefs. Only a tribal healer could treat the disease because only he would understand the unique cause. Some peoples, such as the XHOSA people of South Africa, believed that STDs were evil curses caused by witchcraft. Treatment might include performing a special ceremony or ingesting herbal remedies, although these remedies usually met with limited success.

Yellow Fever Yellow fever is a viral disease native to Africa that was carried to the New World by African captives in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. It has since spread to other tropical regions. Yellow fever originated in African tree-dwelling monkeys and is generally transmitted from monkey to monkey by the *Aëdes africanus* mosquito and to humans by the *Aëdes aegypti* mosquito, which breeds in water containers and bites humans.

Yellow fever epidemics were rare in Africa before Europeans arrived in the late 1400s; the antibodies from other mosquito-transmitted viruses largely protected humans from infection and the disease was slow to spread. However, when Europeans began clearing forests to establish plantations and the habitats of other mosquitoes decreased, breeding sites of *Aëdes aegypti* increased, and epidemics of yellow fever became a serious problem. In the 19th century yellow-fever outbreaks among European explorers and colonists in West Africa were often misdiagnosed as malaria. The virus causing yellow fever was not isolated until 1927 when the virulent *Asibi* strain was identified in the blood of a man from GHANA. A highly effective vaccine was subsequently produced.

Symptoms of yellow fever appear several days after the victim is bitten. They include jaundice (a yellowing of the skin and eyes) and two or three days of severe headache, backache, rising fever, nausea, and vomiting, ending in recovery or a more severe attack characterized by high fever, the vomiting of blood, and death a few days.

See also: DISEASE IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I); DISEASE IN MEDIEVAL AFRICA (Vol. II); DISEASE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V); TSETSE FLIES (Vol. II).

Further reading: Gerald W. Hartwig and K. David Patterson, eds., *Disease in African History: An Introductory Survey and Case Studies* (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1978); Oliver Ransford, *Bid the Sickness Cease: Disease in the History of Black Africa* (London: J. Murray, 1983).

Djibouti, Republic of   Small present-day East African country measuring about 9,000 square miles (23,300 sq km) and located on the Gulf of Aden. Djibouti shares its borders with ERITREA, ETHIOPIA, and SOMALIA. The city of Djibouti has served as the country's main port since about 1888 and as the capital city since 1892.

For centuries the two major ethnic groups that have inhabited the region in and around the Republic of Djibouti are the Afars and the Issas. Both groups are Islamic, have a nomadic history, and share many traditions and beliefs. The main difference between these tribes is in their social and political systems. The AFAR people subscribe to a hierarchical structure in which chiefdoms and sultanates hold the majority of the power while the social system of the Issas— among the males, at least—is egalitarian, meaning that all Issa men have an equal voice in matters of their own clan.

Having no NATURAL RESOURCES of their own to depend on, the people of Djibouti have relied on the importance of their region to Ethiopian coastal trade to support their ECONOMY. Afar and Issa leaders maintained their economies by charging tariffs on all caravans heading inland. Except for the Portuguese, who were involved in East African trade beginning early in the 16th century, it was primarily Muslims who controlled trade in the Horn of Africa. The three main ports in the region were Tadjoura, Obock, and ZEILA, which had long been used by Muslim Arab traders. In the 19th century the French became increasingly interested in Ethiopian trade and developed commercial and trading ties with both the Afar and Issa.

See also: ADEN, GULF OF (Vol. II); DJIBOUTI, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, IV, V); DJIBOUTI, CITY OF (Vols. I, V).

Dongola (Dunqulah, Dunkula)   Nile River town in the northern part of the present-day country of Republic of the SUDAN. From the sixth to the 14th centuries Dongola served as the capital of MAQURRA, a Christian kingdom closely related to the kingdom of Nubia, to the north. After the collapse of Nubia in the 14th century, Dongola was taken by Muslim forces. Later, in the 16th century, the city became the headquarters of a Muslim state that extended north as far as the third cataract of the Nile. The state was controlled by the powerful FUNJ dynasty of SENNAR to the south.

In the 17th century several influential Islamic centers of learning were founded along the White Nile near Sennar. One of these schools, the Shayqiyah, pushed for independence, and Dongola subsequently came under the rule of local chieftains. Soon major trade routes were diverted around Dongola, and the town quickly declined.

When present-day Dongola, sometimes referred to as New Dongola, was established along the west bank of the Nile in the early 1800s, the old town to the southeast lay in ruins.

See also: DONGOLA BEND (Vol. I); NUBIA (Vol. I); NUBIA, CHRISTIAN (Vols. I, II).

Dutch East India Company (United East India Company)   Trading organization established in the early 17th century to promote Dutch activities in the Indian Ocean. In 1602 a group of Dutch merchants banded together to protect their trade in the Indian Ocean. They were given a charter from the Dutch government, which granted the company a monopoly eastward from the Cape of Good Hope. The company was given the right to enter into treaties, build forts, maintain armies, and administer territories through officials loyal to the Dutch government.

At first the Dutch East India Company was not particularly interested in the African continent, focusing instead on the Indonesian spice trade. The company chose Batavia (present-day Jakarta) in Java as its headquarters. Their efforts proved fruitful, and the company prospered as a profitable arm of the Dutch trade empire. By the mid-17th century the company had successfully displaced British and Portuguese endeavors in the East Indies.

The Dutch East India Company needed a safe port about halfway between Europe and the East Indies, so the area around the southern tip of Africa was a logical place to establish a settlement. Originally they chose a location on St. Helena Bay, but they relocated farther south to CAPE TOWN, near the Cape of Good Hope, about 1652.

Late in the 17th century the company became less interested in Indian Ocean trade and focused its energies on its affairs in Java. By the beginning of the 18th century the Dutch East India Company had transformed from a trading power into an organization devoted to agricultural production on the Indonesian archipelago. At the Cape Town settlement, Dutch BOERS had begun extensive farming operations in the fertile surrounding region. To keep production costs reasonable, the Dutch began importing captives from West Africa and India to work their farms. Their agricultural products were used to supply Dutch ships heading to the East Indies and were also traded with local KHOIKHOI pastoralists. The early interaction between the Boers and the local populations was generally peaceful, but as the Dutch extended their farms farther into the interior, skirmishes became common, es-

pecially with the Khoikhoi. Riddled with debt and corruption, the company was dissolved by the Dutch government in 1799, and British representatives assumed responsibility for the company's CAPE COLONY.

See also: DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985).

Dutch West India Company (West India Company)

Organization established in 1621 to capitalize on trade between Africa and the Americas. The company was founded primarily with the purpose of overtaking the Spanish and Portuguese trade monopoly in the West Indies and South America. During the 1630s the Dutch West India Company seized sizable areas of Brazil from the Portuguese. In order to support the Brazilian plantation ECONOMY the company initiated a campaign to conquer Portuguese trading bases in West Africa. This plan proved successful as the Dutch became the primary transporter of African captives across the Atlantic. They also briefly held ANGOLA but then lost it to the Portuguese.

By the late 1640s the Portuguese had begun to direct their energies toward protecting their colonies. They expelled the Dutch from many of their former territories and regained control of the trade of human captives south of the equator. The Dutch West India Company, however, did maintain its supremacy north of the equator. In the 1660s England and France sought to degrade the Dutch status as a major trading power by establishing their own trading companies. Suffering from depleted resources, the Dutch West India Company gradually succumbed to the competition. The company was eventually placed under government control and was permanently dissolved in 1794.

See also: DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ROYAL AFRICA COMPANY (Vol. III).

Further reading: C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800* (New York: Knopf, 1965).

Dyakanke (Jahanka, Jahanque, Diakkanke)

Mande-speaking ethnic group in West Africa. The Muslim Dyakanke are believed to have originated in Dia, a trading town in the FULANI kingdom of MACINA, near the Niger Bend in present-day central Republic of MALI. Eventually they migrated to western Mali near the Bafing River, a tributary of the Senegal River, where they set up their own commercial center. Throughout the 17th century Dyakanke settlements were established on important trade routes in regions that today are in The GAMBIA and SENEGAL. Walled Dyakanke towns were heavily protected to prevent rivals from interfering with their trade.

Dyula (Douala, Jula, Diula, Wangara, Kangan)

Muslim traders who make up an ethnic minority in the present-day countries of BURKINA FASO, Republic of MALI, CAMEROON, The GAMBIA, IVORY COAST, GHANA, GUINEA-BISSAU, and SENEGAL. The Dyula are made up of Mande-speaking people thought to have originated in equatorial Africa. Little is known about their history prior to the 13th century, at which time they emerged as the primary merchant class of the Mali Empire. Eventually the term *dyula* came to mean "trader" or "merchant," with Malinke, BAMBARA, and SONINKE individuals all being called *dyula*.

The Dyula created a commercial network throughout West Africa, trading kola nuts, textiles, salt, and GOLD. According to many scholars, the Dyula are largely responsible for increasing textile manufacturing throughout West Africa during the 16th and 17th centuries. Another major contribution of the Dyula was their influence on the culture of the western Sahel. Through their trade networks, they helped to spread Islam as well as styles and techniques of Arabian and Sudanic ARCHITECTURE.

Because of their interest in trade, most Dyula settled in busy commercial centers throughout West Africa. Northern centers included the trans-Saharan trading cities of TIMBUKTU and JENNE, near the Niger Bend and BAMAKO, in Mali. To the west, Dyula traders could be found in Senegal and The Gambia, and as far east as the HAUSA STATES. Southern Dyula settlements extended as far south as the AKAN states of coastal Ghana, which were connected to the northern settlements by a chain of Dyula-occupied kingdoms and cities including BONO, BEGHO, GONJA, BANDA, KONG, and Bobo Dioulasso. The Dyula were spread out over a wide territory and lived among various ethnic groups, many of whom treated them as second-class citizens. Despite their intermingling with other peoples, however, the Dyula were able to retain their unique identity.

See also: DYULA (Vols. I, II, IV).

Further reading: Robert Launay, *Beyond the Stream: Islam and Society in a West African Town* (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1992); Robert Launay, *Traders Without Trade: Responses to Change in Two Dyula Communities* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982).

E

ebony A hardwood tree producing heavy, dark wood that is prized for its color and durability. Used to make masks, figurines, and even swords, ebony wood has been a trade item in Africa since before the common era. Arabian, Persian, and Indian traders supplied ebony to artisans and craftspeople in their homelands as long-distance Indian Ocean trade developed in the first millennium, but the popularity of the wood increased tremendously with the arrival of Europeans in the 15th century. The clearing of ebony forests continued steadily through the next few centuries as European furniture-makers and craftspeople demanded more and more of the precious hardwood.

Ebony trees were found throughout Africa, but were especially concentrated in regions of what are now the countries of ANGOLA, The GAMBIA, GABON, SOUTH AFRICA, and TOGO. Thick stands of ebony trees grew also on the island now known as MAURITIUS, east of MADAGASCAR in the Indian Ocean. In the 17th century Dutch colonists on Mauritius reaped huge profits by harvesting virtually all of the ebony on the island and shipping the wood to be sold in Europe.

See also: EBONY (Vol. I); MASKS (Vol. I); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vols. III, IV, V).

economy In the centuries immediately after 1500, AGRICULTURE continued to be the base of the economy for most African societies, with most African peoples producing their own FOOD. However, Africa's economy was not based strictly on subsistence farming. Its population growth and social complexity increasingly led to corresponding growth in TRADE AND COMMERCE.

One reason for this increased trading activity was the need for iron tools and weapons. But not all societies had equal access to workable deposits of iron, a situation that helped promote trade among communities at the local level.

The markets that emerged to serve people at the local level also had ties to long-distance trade. Extensive trans-Saharan trade in GOLD, salt, and commodities such as CLOTH AND TEXTILES, books, and leather goods, continued to expand to serve local markets as well as more distant markets.

The arrival of Europeans via the sea about 1500 served to stimulate the economy of the coastal zones, particularly in West Africa. After that time the peoples of the coast and its hinterland had a more immediate means of making trading contacts with the external world. Previously they had to rely on the more remote interior routes across the Sahara.

In North Africa the growing strength of the Ottoman Empire also stimulated the economy, especially in terms of Mediterranean trade. Ultimately, however, clashes between Europe and the Ottoman Empire did more damage than good to the economies of the North African port cities.

More significantly the new trade contacts with Europe were ultimately to prove deleterious to sub-Saharan Africa. This was due to the dramatic rise of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, which began in the 17th century and continued for more than 200 years. The trade in human captives diverted a significant amount of African LABOR from productive uses within Africa to production in the Americas for the benefit of Europe and its American colonies. This was true for both man-

ual and skilled workers. Moreover, within Africa the slave trade diverted the focus of much of the economy from the essential work of internal development to the task of gathering captives to serve as the human cargo of the slave ships. In this and many other ways the slave trade served to distort the natural development of an African economy. During this period the slave trade was just one of the several ways in which exploitation of the continent's resources for the benefit of the Western world was beginning to replace development of these resources for the benefit of Africans.

See also: ECONOMY (Vols. I, II, IV, V); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Ralph A. Austen, *African Economic History* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1987).

Efik People located mainly in the lower CROSS RIVER region of present-day southeast NIGERIA. The early 17th-century migrations of the Efik people down the Cross River led them to found the trading center of OLD CALABAR and the adjoining settlements of Creek Town, Old Town (or Obutong), Duke Town (or Atakpa), Henshaw Town, and Qua Town.

A subgroup of the IBIBIO people, the Efik speak a Kwa language known as Efik-Ibibio. They were traditionally a fishing and trading society. From the 17th through the mid-19th centuries the Efik successfully traded fish, PALM OIL, and bananas with both neighbors and Europeans. The European traders were forced to pay for the right to trade with the Efik with a system of duties called *comey.*

Efik society is based on patrilineal succession for the right to head a village or household within their settlement. These village leaders, or *etubom,* were responsible for dealing with the trade transactions of Europeans, including the collection of the *comey* as well as settling disputes and administering the finances of their respective villages.

Among the various household leaders, one was elected to become the *obung,* or chief, of the secret society of men called the EKPE SOCIETY. The Ekpe (meaning "leopard") functioned as a social structure by which the whole of the Efik population was organized, even though the society did not function as a true governing system. The Ekpe society determined social hierarchy, rendered decisions in judiciary matters, collected fines, and handed down punishments when needed. The power of the Ekpe was such that even the wealthiest men of the Efik households had to become members of the society in order to exercise any authority within their village.

Although many have been converted to Christianity, the Efik peoples mainly practice a traditional RELIGION based on the belief in a supreme God called Abasi, the existence of a soul, witchcraft and sorcery, and the honoring of ancestral spirits.

Egba Ethnic group located in present-day southwestern NIGERIA. A subgroup of the Yoruba peoples, the Egba traditionally have been an agrarian community that speaks a language of the Kwa family of languages. While they were led overall by their *alafin,* or king, Egba communities tended to be locally governed by a chief whose succession was determined by patrilineage. In addition, each community was known to honor its own ancestral spirits and abide by its own taboos.

The Egba were the main clan to occupy the southern portion of Old Oyo (also known as Katunga), the capital of the Yoruba empire. Weakened by political unrest throughout the latter half of the 18th century, the OYO EMPIRE was eventually conquered and destroyed by the FULANI JIHADS (holy wars) near the end of the first quarter of the 19th century. The Egba were able to survive the demise of the empire, however, and in the 19th century they established a new community on the rocky east side of the Ogun River. This community was named ABEOKUTA, meaning "refuge among rocks."

See also: *ALAFIN* (Vol. II); CLAN (Vol. I); OLD OYO (Vol. II); ODUDUWA (Vol. II); YORUBA (Vol. I, II, IV, V).

Egypt Present-day country located in northeast Africa and bordered by LIBYA and the Republic of the SUDAN. Egypt's long history continued to be somewhat turbulent in the 16th through the 19th centuries.

As early as the late 13th century parts of North Africa were ruled by the MAMLUKS, a warrior caste of Christian slaves converted to Islam. The Mamluks, trained from boyhood to be soldiers, rebelled and established their own state in Egypt. The Mamluk reign was marked by dissension and instability. By the second half of the 15th century the Mamluks' lack of political strength allowed the Ottoman Empire (fl. 1290–1922) to set its sights on Egypt. The Ottomans were already firmly established as a powerful empire in what is now the country of Turkey.

Egypt under Ottoman Rule Egypt at this time was in economic decline. The once-profitable Egyptian-European trade that relied on Mediterranean trade routes was compromised by the 15th-century Portuguese discovery of the sea passage to India around the southern tip of Africa. This route enabled Europeans to avoid the high taxes placed on the goods that passed through the Egyptian city of CAIRO. Despite their weakness, the Egyptians were initially able to fend off the Turkish invaders and remained independent for more than a decade into the 16th century.

The Ottoman Empire at that time was growing rapidly and poised for expansion. In 1514, after seizing more territory in the Middle East, the Turks turned to Egypt for their next conquest. Two years later the Ottoman ruler, Selim I (r. 1512–1520), led his elite soldiers, known as Janissaries, to victory over the Mamluks in the region of Mardj Dabik

(a disputed area located north of the town of Aleppo in present-day Syria). The Janissaries' strength in war was heightened by their use of European firearms, which overpowered the Mamluks, who by tradition used only swords and shields. Although the Mamluk sultan Qansuh al-Ghauri (r. 1501–1516) was killed in battle at Mardj Dabik, Egypt was not officially under Ottoman rule until 1517, when the Turks routed the last vestiges of Mamluk power at the city of Raydaniyya. Khayr Bey (d. c. 1522), a former Mamluk who defected to the Ottoman side, was then placed in control as viceroy, or governor, of Cairo, ruling from there until 1522.

Although Egypt was a vassal territory of the Ottoman Empire, the political institution under Khayr Bey kept many of the Mamluk traditions alive. Mamluk administrative positions and functions remained intact, and the justice system led by four supreme judges was also kept. Khayr Bey himself also kept close ties with the Mamluk culture by keeping his former title of *malik al-umara* (king of commanders), and placing respected Mamluks in his administration as key personnel.

Khayr Bey's death in 1522 brought about the beginning of serious backlashes from those opposing Ottoman rule. A rebellion in 1524 led by Ahmad Pasha, the reigning vice-regent, forced the Ottomans, led by sultan Suleyman I (r. 1520–1566), to rethink how they governed Egypt. The outcome was an Ottoman mandate that attempted to control Egypt's politics, ECONOMY, and even the military. The mandate, known as the *qanun-name,* provided for additional sections of royal troops, or *odjaks*, which reinforced the respective factions of Mamluk and Janissary military units. The *qanun-name,* borrowed from the Ottoman style of rule, divided the Egyptian lands into 14 separate provinces and specified the rights and duties of those who governed Egypt. The provinces were to be administered by a *kashif* (district head), who collected taxes and maintained the irrigation systems. The sultan purposefully kept the *kashifs* at odds with each other so that no province became more powerful than the others.

Before Suleyman I, the *odjaks*, or imperial Ottoman troops of both Janissary and Mamluk origin, were broken into six distinct groups. A seventh, distinctively Mamluk army called the Circassians, from the region from which the soldiers were taken, was formed during Suleyman I's reign.

Due to the reforms set up by the Ottoman government known as the Sublime Porte, Egypt was relatively peaceful and economically successful for almost 60 years. The late 16th century saw a decline in the economy, how-ever, and by the early 17th century, rebellions had once again strained ties between the Egyptians and the Turks. One of the results of these uprisings was the emergence of the Sandjak beys from one of the groups of Mamluk *odjaks*. The Sandjak beys, 24 in all, came from the elite ranks of emirs, or commanders, and while they held no formal position within the government, their political power was still significant. Their duties included governing the military groups that guarded the treasuries as well as the caravans making the pilgrimage to the Islamic holy city of Mecca (in present-day Saudi Arabia). The influence of the Mamluk rulers, each bearing the new title of *bey* (governor), thus increased within the Ottoman government throughout the 17th century. Even so, their political clout was compromised when they split into two rival political groups known as the Qasimiyya and the Faqariyya. It was the constant and intense conflicts between these two parties, which often pitted their *odjak* groups against each other in the process, that is blamed for crippling the Sublime Porte's authority in Egypt by the start of the 18th century.

The opposition between the two Mamluk factions finally came to a head in 1711 during the battle known as the "Great Insurrection." For more than two months the Faqariyya and the Qasimiyya fought against each other with the help of their respective Janissary collaborators. The war ended with the ousting of the Faqariyya and, ultimately, the beginning of the downfall of Ottoman rule. The Mamluk beys took the title of *sheikh al-balad*, or "chief of the city," from the reigning Turkish governor which, in effect, allowed them to control all of Egypt throughout the 18th century.

As the Ottoman Empire began to lose its grip on Egypt, the Mamluks once again looked to rule their lands independently of foreign influence. Then in 1760 a new *sheikh al-balad* named Ali Bey (1728–1773) was appointed by a political group led by the Janissary Abd al-Rahman. Ali Bey was noted for an aggressive and tireless nature that earned him the nickname *al-Djinn*, or "the devil." Immediately, Ali Bey persuaded the Sublime Porte to give him the chance to reverse the debt that the treasury had accumulated. Though successful in doing so, Ali Bey also made enemies by oppressing Egyptian landowners and was even forced to flee Egypt for a short time to escape those who opposed him. He returned within a year, however, and reinstated himself as *sheikh*. By 1768 Ali Bey had deposed the beys in the offices of vice-regent and deputy vice-regent and placed himself in command as both vice-regent and *sheikh al-balad*. A year later he officially overthrew the newly appointed Ottoman provincial governor and declared Egypt independent from the Turkish empire. With his new position of power over all of Egypt, Ali Bey quickly took advantage of many of the privileges reserved for sultans. He ordered the minting of official coins, established trade deals with Europeans, and

even incorporated his name into the Islamic prayers that were routinely said on Fridays.

Despite Ali Bey's strong attempt to liberate his lands, his rule in Egypt remained threatened. Even with another victory over the Turks at the city of Damascus (in present-day Syria), Ali Bey's commanders were swayed by the still-powerful Ottoman Empire, eventually pledging their loyalty to the reigning sultan, Mustafa III (r. 1757–1773). Due to his turn of loyalty, one of Ali Bey's commanders, Muhammad Bey (r. 1772–1775), was forced to leave Cairo for the lands of Upper (southern) Egypt. There he recruited Arab renegades and was even able to turn some of Ali Bey's troops to his side along with another commander named Ismail Bey. This turn of events proved to be Ali Bey's undoing. By 1772 he had no other choice but to cede power to his former commander, Muhammad Bey. Despite two more failed attempts to recapture his former glory, Ali Bey died in exile in 1773.

With Muhammad Bey in power, the Ottomans once again had a loyal subject as governor of Egypt, though his reign lasted only until 1775. After his death there was a battle for succession that the Sublime Porte had little power in controlling.

In 1786 the Ottomams once again tried to restore the all-encompassing control of the *qanun-name* mandate, but to little avail. The Ottoman government made several more attempts to place loyal beys in power in Egypt, but the Mamluks continued to thwart the Turkish plans. More than a decade later the Mamluks were unseated following an invasion by Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821). As part of his plan to build a French empire, Bonaparte aimed to limit British influence in the region by blocking trade routes to India and by establishing Egypt as a French-speaking province of his empire. At the Battle of the Pyramids, in July of 1798, and exactly a year later at the conquest at the city of Aboukir, Napoleon I defeated both the Mamluks and the Turkish forces to conquer Egypt. During his reign Napoleon attempted to make much-needed repairs to the irrigation systems, roads, and bridges of Egyptian cities, but his efforts went largely unnoticed. French rule lasted only until 1801, at which time British forces arrived to support the Turks. The Turks subsequently took control of the cities of Cairo and Damietta, effectively forcing the French out of Egypt.

End of Ottoman Rule Napoleon's invasion, though unsuccessful, ended the power of the Mamluks. The Ottoman Empire was briefly able to regain control, but in 1803 Albanian troops under Ottoman rule rebelled and set up their own government. Leadership eventually fell to MUHAMMAD ALI (c. 1769–1849), who was named viceroy in 1805 by local authorities in revolt against the Ottoman sultan, Selim III. When the sultan's viceroy fled, Muhammad Ali was confirmed as the new viceroy by Selim III. The British captured Alexandria in 1807 but failed to es-

tablish a major foothold. Defeated by Muhammad Ali's troops, the British withdrew.

Muhammad Ali went on to become an important figure in 19th-century Egypt, largely independent of his Ottoman overlords. He worked with the Ottoman sultans to control revolts in Arabia. He destroyed the hegemony of the Mamluks and dominated Egypt. In 1820–21 he sent an expedition up the Nile River and captured much of the northern Sudan, putting Egypt in control of a major slave-trading route. A common soldier who rose to high power because of his military and political skills, he dominated Egypt for the first half of the century.

See also: EGYPT (Vols. I, II, IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

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Ejagham People of present-day southeastern NIGERIA and southwestern CAMEROON. The Bantu-speaking Ejagham, who are closely related to the EKOI peoples of the CROSS RIVER region, migrated from the Niger Valley down to the Cross River area prior to the 16th century. During the era of European colonization, the agricultural Ejagham traded with other Cross River groups and were known to be fierce and strategic warriors. They also were admired for their skills as artists, especially in the making of realistic, skin-covered masks.

The household, or *nju,* and the FAMILY were important to the Ejagham, and each village (*etek*) was made up of several families. Villages were headed by a local chief called the *ntuifam etek* who was in turn governed by a council of elders from each of the village families.

Like other groups of the Cross River area, the Ejagham participated in the secret EKPE SOCIETY. The Ekpe (meaning "leopard") was a male society of differing levels of authority and influence that affected every part of the Ejagham society, from education of children to judicial matters. Beginning about the 18th century the Ejagham also practiced a secret form of Nilotic script called NSIBIDI WRITING, which consisted of hieroglyphic-like symbols representing words and phrases.

Ekoi Bantu-speaking people of present-day southeastern NIGERIA and parts of western CAMEROON. About the 16th century the Ekoi carved close to 300 low-relief human fig-

ures out of large stones. Called *akwanshi,* these stones are laid out in circles and are found near the middle CROSS RIVER banks.

In the 1600s the Ekoi became known for their mask- and pottery-making skills. The intricate Ekoi masks were often made of skin, but other materials, including metal and wood, were sometimes used to make teeth and hair.

Their masks, made to represent ancestor spirits, resembled human skull figures, with deeply imbedded eye cavities and gaunt faces. They were worn during secret EKPE SOCIETY rituals and burial ceremonies. Sometimes masks had two, three, or even four faces to represent the ability to see into the past and the future, as well as truth.

Though antelope hides were used later on, the skins for Ekoi masks initially came from the bodies of their slain enemies.

The Ekpe secret society of the Ekoi developed a secret script called NSIBIDI WRITING, which they used to mark important historical events or to record rulings made by the Ekpe elders.

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Ekpe society (Egbo, Ngbe) Male secret society mainly associated with the ethnic groups of the CROSS RIVER in present-day NIGERIA. The Ekpe, or Leopard, society was probably developed during the early to mid-18th century by the EKOI people living along the Cross River and in parts of what is now CAMEROON. Thereafter it also became associated with other ethnic groups of Cameroon such as the Ododop and the Efut before becoming adopted by the EFIK and IBIBIO peoples of the Cross River by the late 18th century.

***Ekpe, egbo,* and *ngbe* all translate to "leopard" in the Efik, Ibibio, and Ekoi languages, respectively.**

While the Ekpe was not a true government in the traditional sense, it was nevertheless a major ruling force of influential and wealthy men who used their power to affect all levels of society. The Ekpe had powers such as the ability to administer punishment, hand out fines, monitor trade, and pass down judgments. The society became so powerful that no man, however wealthy, could exercise power within his community without being a member of the Ekpe. It was also known to be such an important force in the Ekoi society that no new village could be established until a shrine and an *ekpa ntam,* or house without walls, was built to honor the Ekpe.

The Ekpe society was made up of varying levels or grades, each with its own level of power, secrets, and rituals. Initial entrance into the society was paid by a fee that went toward a feast for the current members, and each level attained thereafter was achieved by the payment of another fee. Each grade was then identifiable by particular symbols worn on the members' clothing, such as peacock feathers for the lower grades and ostrich feathers for the upper grades. In the Efik society of OLD CALABAR, the Ekpe had nine grades and the most important was that of the chief priest, or *obung* (also known as *eyamba*), who was elected to the position from among the leaders of various villages and was the spiritual head of the whole Efik community.

Ekpe society continued to be a strong presence in the Cross River area from the 18th to the mid-19th centuries. Their power in Old Calabar began to decline somewhat, however, when the harsh treatment of slaves was called into question by visiting MISSIONARIES.

Also associated with the Ekpe was a secret script called NSIBIDI WRITING. This written language began appearing in the 18th century and used symbols and characters similar to hieroglyphics that were used to form words and phrases. Associated mostly with the Efik and Ekoi peoples, Nsibidi writing was used to document Ekpe society meetings as well as to record local legends and stories.

See also: SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I).

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Elmina Trading town and castle established in the 1470s by the Portuguese in the Gulf of Guinea area of present-day southern GHANA. Elmina Castle holds the distinction of being the first fort built by Europeans in the tropical regions of West Africa. It remained a GOLD-trading post until 1637, when the Dutch took control of the town.

In 1471 the Portuguese landed off of the coast of what is now Ghana and were greeted by the local peoples bearing pieces of gold to exchange for clothes and other trinkets brought from Portugal. A town was then established by the Portuguese at Edina, which was soon referred to as *el mina,* meaning "the mine," in reference to the abundance of gold that was available through trade. Hence, the town became known as Elmina, and the Portuguese quickly became interested in building a more permanent fort. On January 19, 1482, the Portuguese

XXIV.
DELINEATIO CASTELLI ET
PROPVGNACVLI LVSITANORVM,
La Mina, &c.

*Aſtellum La Mina, alias à S. Georgio etiam cognomi-
natum, à Luſitanis Anno 1482. demandato Iohan-
nis II. Portugaliæ Regis extructum eſt, ut Aethiopi-
bus terrori eſſet, & peregrinos ſimul ab hoc littore
prohiberet. Cuius quidem delineationem tibi ob ocu-
los ponere viſum eſt. A. enim litera, Caſtellum vel propugnaculum*

The Portuguese settlement of Elmina (The Mine) on the West African coast. This print by Theodor de Bry was created between 1561 and 1623. © *Corbis*

were granted permission by the reigning king, known as Caramansa or Kwamina Ansah (fl. 1480s), to build a castle at Elmina. Although Caramansa was opposed to the construction, the presence of an overwhelming force of Portuguese soldiers made his opposition meaningless. The castle was built under the direction of Diogo de Azambuja (fl. 1480s) and named São Jorge da Mina, which later became known by the same name as the town surrounding it.

For more than a century both the town and the castle were major trading points for the AKAN, DYULA, and Mande traders along the GOLD COAST (as Ghana was then known). At Elmina's markets gold was traded for African captives, cloth, and metal items. During the late 16th century, however, the gold trade began a slow decline, due partially to the increase in the trading of captives. Then, in 1637, Elmina was taken over by the Dutch, who had become increasingly active along the Gold Coast and forced the Portuguese to continue their trading practices from their ships docked off the coast. The Dutch then turned Elmina Castle into a compound where the captives would be held in cramped quarters until they were shipped overseas. By the late 17th century the profitable trade with Elmina Castle had become dominated by the

DENKYIRA kingdom. At that time, captives and gold were traded for the usual cloth and metal goods but also for the advanced European firearms that were coveted by some African groups.

In 1699 the ASHANTI EMPIRE, led by Asantehene (King) OSEI TUTU (r. c. 1650–1717), waged war against the Denkyira and decimated them. Along with the goods captured in the war, the Ashanti also gained control over a piece of paper called simply "the Note," which gave the holder rights to the trade with Elmina Castle and the Dutch. The Ashanti were then the controlling group in the slave and weapons trade along the Gold Coast, especially with the Dutch at Elmina. The Dutch continued to control Elmina town and castle until they were forced to withdraw from the Gold Coast by the British late in the 19th century.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); SLAVERY (Vol. III); TRADING OUTPOSTS, EUROPEAN (Vol. III).

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England and Africa As with most European countries, Britain's presence in Africa was limited primarily to the western and southern regions of the continent prior to 1800. England, the metaphorical heart of Britain, was a relative latecomer to the coastal trading endeavors initiated by Portugal in the late 15th century. About 1663 the British officially entered the African fray when Charles II formed the Company of Royal Adventurers. The company established its base at CAPE COAST, a town on the coast of present-day GHANA, and was given a monopoly on all English commerce on Africa's west coast between the Cape of Good Hope and Gibraltar, a British territory (from 1704) in southern Spain. The company's primary interest was to supply LABOR to the plantation colonies in the Americas.

Renamed the ROYAL AFRICA COMPANY in 1672, the trading giant attempted to maintain its monopoly against the endeavors of rogue slave merchants. However, by 1698 the British government had granted trade rights to all Britons who paid a fee. Between 1680 and 1686 the company transported an average of 5,000 African captives per year. The Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, which allowed all merchants to use its forts along the coast, replaced the Royal Africa Company in 1750.

About the same time, much of Europe was divided by the territorial conflicts of the Seven Years' War, which pitted Britain and its allies (Hanover and Prussia) against France and its allies (Austria, Saxony, Sweden, and Russia). In 1763 Britain and France ended the war by

signing the Treaty of Paris. As a result of the peace agreement, Britain won India and territory in North America and emerged as the major European overseas trading power. Spurred by the need to supply slave labor to its American colonies, the British overtook Portuguese and Dutch strongholds along the western and southern African coasts.

By the end of the 18th century, though, the COTTON gin had been invented, drastically reducing the demand for African laborers on the cotton plantations in the United States. Simultaneously a strong abolitionist movement had taken hold in England. Ultimately the British Parliament officially outlawed the buying and selling of human beings in 1807, though the trade continued even without official sanction.

See also: CUGOANO, OTTOBAH (Vol. III) ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); EQUIANO, OLAUDAH (Vol. III); NEWTON, JOHN (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

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Equatorial Guinea Country in tropical western Central Africa, some 10,800 square miles (28,000 sq km) in size, that is made up of the mainland coastal enclave of Río Muni and five volcanic islands located in the Atlantic Ocean. Río Muni, which is largely coastal plains and interior hills, shares borders with CAMEROON to the north and GABON to the east and south. The large island of FERNANDO PO (now called Bioko), which is about 780 square miles (2,030 sq km) in size, and the small islands of Corisco and Great and Little Elobey lie in the Gulf of Guinea, about 100 miles (160 km) northwest of the mainland portion of the country. The present-day capital city of Malabo is on Bioko. The fifth island, Annobón, also small, is 350 miles (565 km) southwest of mainland Equatorial Guinea.

Much of the country's history between 1500 and 1850 is intertwined with the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. The Portuguese sugar plantations on Fernando Po and Annobón faded away once the larger, more productive, and more strategically located plantations in the Portuguese colony of Brazil emerged in the second half of the 16th century. Slave trading activities, however, continued to flourish along the mainland coast. In 1641, for example, the Dutch established trading posts on the coast. Despite the presence of European competitors the Portuguese continued to claim sovereignty over the area until 1778. Portugal then ceded control of the two major

islands and the coastal mainland to Spain in return for Spanish recognition of Portuguese claims to Brazil. Yellow fever was soon to drive Spain from Fernando Po, and the island lay unoccupied until 1827, when Spain leased the island and its port of Malabo (which at the time was called Port Clarence) to Britain as a base for its anti-slave-trade naval squadron. The British resettled some of the recaptives rescued from the seized slave ships on the island. The British navy continued to use the base until 1843, at which time it began to base its ships at FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE. In 1844 Spain returned to the island to reestablish its colonial presence and also to start asserting its control to the mainland area of Río Muni.

See also: EQUATORIAL GUINEA (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

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Equiano, Olaudah (Gustavus Vassa) (c. 1745–1797) *Former slave who became a highly active and influential abolitionist in London in the late 1700s*

Known also as Gustavus Vassa, Olaudah Equiano was kidnapped into bondage at age 12 from the IGBO village of Essaka in the West African kingdom of BENIN, and taken to the West Indies. He was later sold to a Virginia planter and then sold again, this time to a British naval officer named Captain Pascal, who bought Equiano as a present for his cousins in England. After working as a sailor for his English merchant master, he saved enough money (£40, or about $4,600 in today's money) to buy his way out of forced servitude. He remained in England, where, working with the British abolitionist and philanthropist Granville Sharpe (b. 1735), he became important in the antislavery movement and the leading figure of the small African community in London. Historians believe that he was acquainted with Ottobah CUGOANO (b. c. 1757), another African-born abolitionist in London. They are less sure whether he ever met Ignatius SANCHO (1729–1780), another prominent black Londoner of the day.

Equiano's involvement with the abolition movement led him in 1789 to write and publish his strongly abolitionist autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa the African, Written by Himself*. In this book he describes the humiliations that enslaved humans endure. He also denigrates Africans who participated in the trade of human beings and speaks highly of his master and other English people who befriended him. His book is one of the first works in English describing SLAVERY that was written by a person

formerly held in bondage. It became a best-seller and went through nine editions, including a German edition in 1790 and an American and a Dutch edition in 1791, before Equiano died in 1797. It rivaled in popularity the adventure novel *Robinson Crusoe,* by the English writer Daniel Defoe (c. 1660–1731). Three editions of Equiano's book also included poems by Phillis WHEATLY (1753–1784), who was kidnapped into slavery in SENEGAL and became the first black poet published in the United States.

At the end of his life he was appointed to an expedition that was intended to help settle London's poor blacks in the British colony of SIERRA LEONE in West Africa. He did not live to return to his native continent.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

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Eritrea Present-day northeast African country located on the Red Sea. Eritrea, which covers approximately 46,830 square miles (121,200 sq km), shares borders with Republic of DJIBOUTI, ETHIOPIA, and the Republic of the SUDAN. Its present-day capital is ASMARA. Eritrea's and Ethiopia's histories are closely linked. Between the 14th and 15th centuries waves of Agaw and Tigre immigrants came north from Ethiopia, flooding Eritrea and dominating the Beja kingdoms. In the 15th and 16th centuries the Tigray, whose language is Tigrinya, arrived and conquered Eritrea's Tigre population (whose language is often spelled *Tigré,* with an accent). A social system soon developed in which the Tigrinya-speaking people formed the aristocracy and the Tigré speakers made up the lower caste.

The 16th century proved to be an eventful time in Eritrean history, as it was under constant threat by enemies from abroad. During his military campaign against Ethiopia, AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543), the celebrated leader from ADAL, tore into Eritrea with his Muslim forces. Sensing the seriousness of the threat to Ethiopia, Christian Ethiopian emperor LEBNA DENGEL (r. c. 1508–1540) asked for the help of Christian Portuguese soldiers to repel the Muslim onslaught. Lebna Dengel died in 1540, but the Portuguese reinforcements landed in MASSAWA in 1541. The combined Christian forces defeated Ahmad's army in a battle in which Ahmad was killed, and the Muslims were forced to leave the territory. Eritrea's *bahr negash* (king), YISHAQ (r. c. 1540–1580), was rid of the Muslim threat, but another foreign invader was looming on the horizon.

By 1557 Turks of the Ottoman Empire had moved into the Eritrean highlands and held them for nearly two

decades. During this time, King Yishaq was continually at odds with his Turkish overlords. These disputes ended when both the Turkish pasha (governor) and Yishaq were killed by the Ethiopian emperor, Sarsa Dengel (r. c. 1563–1597).

In 1589 Eritrean forces joined with the Turks in an attempt to defend themselves against the Ethiopians. Though they were run out of the highlands, the Turks managed to keep Ethiopia at bay over the following three centuries, during which they occupied Eritrea.

After the 16th century Eritrean society underwent massive changes. The old pastoral ways were pushed aside in favor of AGRICULTURE as the country's primary form of subsistence, and villages and districts replaced kinship groups as a way of social organization.

Early in the 18th century Eritrea and the Tigrinya-speaking Christians from the northern Ethiopian province of Tigray formed alliances against their southern Ethiopian adversaries, temporarily gaining control of the southern Eritrean region. Their control was challenged, however, and Eritrea remained a contested area until the era of European colonialism in the 19th century.

See also: AGAW (Vols. I, II); BEJA (Vol. II); ERITREA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); TIGRAY (Vol. I, IV, V); TIGRE (Vol. I).

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Ethiopia Country covering about 435,100 square miles (1,126,900 sq km) in northeast Africa. Today Ethiopia shares borders with ERITREA, Republic of DJIBOUTI, SOMALIA, KENYA, and the Republic of the SUDAN. Ethiopia's Christian kingdom endured tumultuous times between the 16th and 18th centuries. Ethiopia served as both the initiator and victim of a series of religious, trade, and territorial wars that left the kingdom nearly in ruins.

The Ethiopian Christian kingdom reached its zenith between the 14th and 16th centuries by launching intensive military campaigns for the purpose of controlling trade routes and subjugating the kingdom's Muslim population. This period of economic and military prosperity began under the kingship of Amda Siyon (r. 1313–1344) whose successful military actions not only halted Islamic penetration but eventually extended Ethiopia's borders. This paved the way for the spread of Christianity and earned him a reputation as one of the country's great warrior kings.

Under Amda Siyon's immediate successors, the kingdom suffered several setbacks. This was reversed by Zara Yakob (r. 1434–1468), an emperor whose rule was as feared as it was respected. He is credited with several victories over the Muslims, the most notable being his 1445 conquest of the sultanate of ADAL. Besides being a great warrior, Yakob was also politically astute. He revamped

Ethiopia and Neighboring States c. 1530
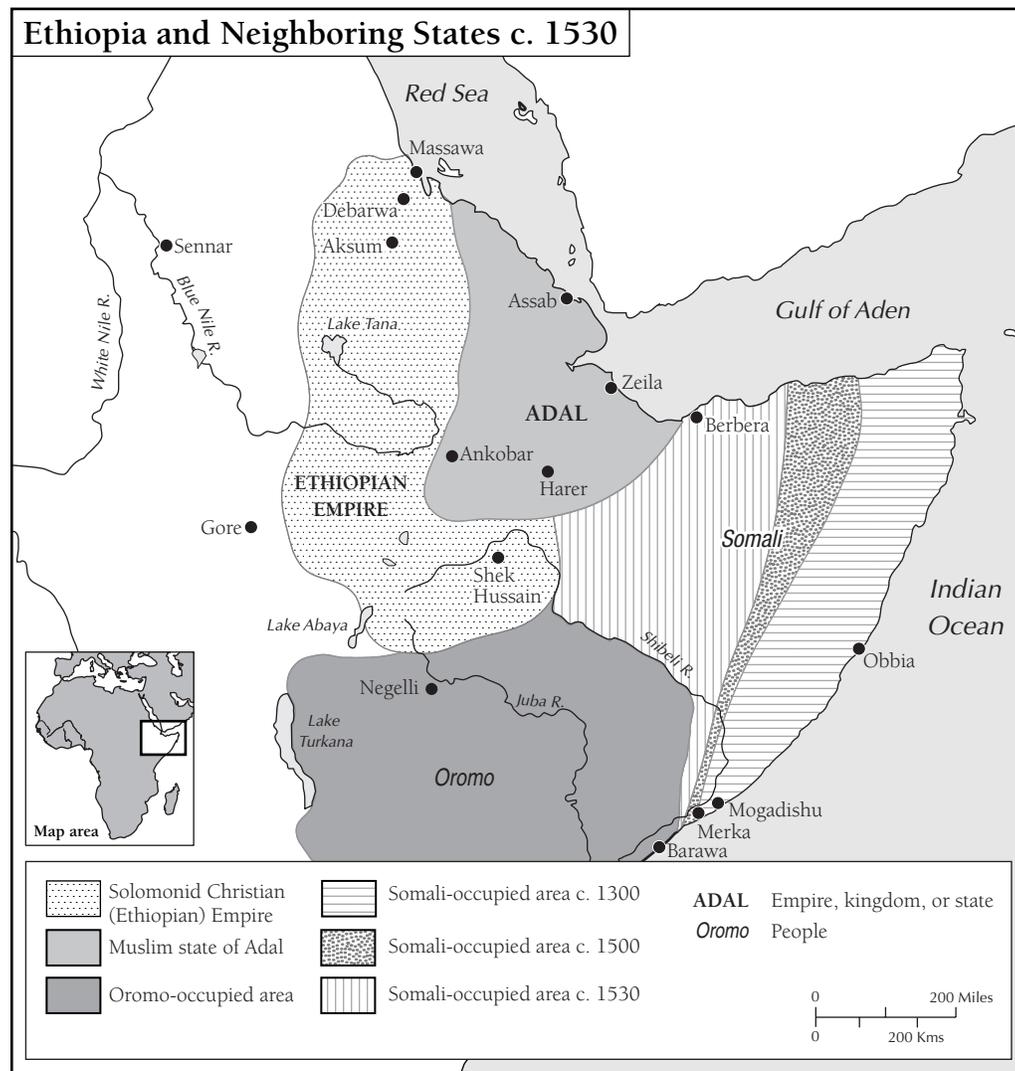
the administration of his government, stripping away power from the once autonomous provinces in order to secure a tightly unified empire. In an attempt to consolidate the church and the state, he imposed Christianity on the entire kingdom through forced conversion and the suppression of all other faiths. After Yakob's death, however, his successors found it difficult to maintain control of the vast kingdom that he had built.

Despite the support of the Portuguese, the Ethiopian state was exhibiting signs of deterioration by the time of LEBNA DENGEL (r. 1508–1540). To a great extent this was because the kingdom was simply too large to control. Moreover, discontent was on the rise among many elements of the population, particularly among Muslims, who began to organize themselves under the leadership of Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al Ghazi (c. 1506–1543), known as AHMAD GRAÑ by his Christian adversaries.

After assembling a powerful army Ahmad Grañ waged a jihad against an unsuspecting Ethiopia. From

1525 to 1527 Ahmad's campaign was relentless, and the Christians suffered many losses. In 1527, after the Portuguese ambassador returned home, Ahmad Grañ took advantage of Ethiopia's vulnerability and forged ahead with an invasion. This cost Ethiopia most of its territory and forced Lebna Dengel to seek refuge in the Ethiopian Highlands. Lebna Dengel's requests for help from Europe were not answered until a year after his death, in 1541. However, his son Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559) was able to retrain the Ethiopian forces, and with the aid of 400 well-armed soldiers sent by the Portuguese, Galawdewos's forces were able to defeat and kill Grañ. After the death of their leader, the Muslim army was fragmented, and the territory he had won for them reverted to Ethiopian control.

The wars between the Muslims and Christians had substantially weakened both armies. This provided an opportunity for the mostly animist OROMO, who moved in quickly and forcefully to capture territory that neither the
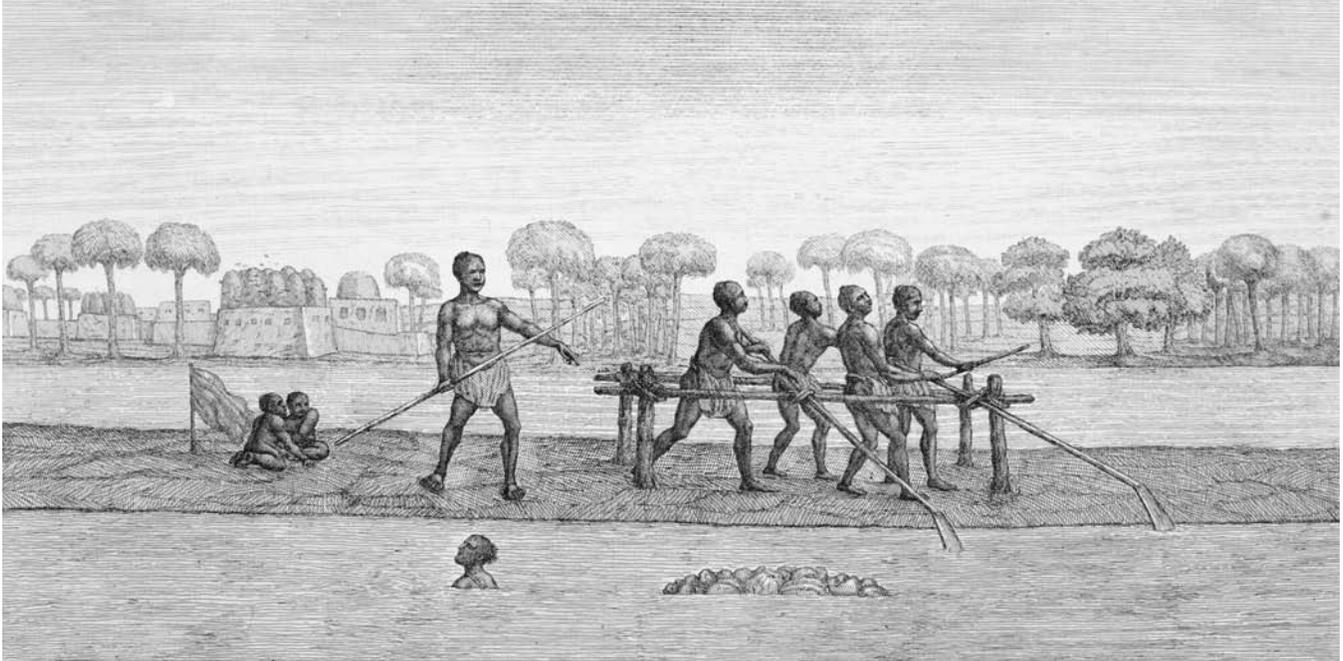
Ethiopians floating wood in the Nile River to sell downstream in Cairo. This Richard Dalton print was created between 1735 and 1791. © *Historical Picture Archive/Corbis*

Muslims nor the Christians were strong enough to hold. They came in masses, conquering and settling along Ethiopia's southeastern plateau, then infiltrating the regions in and around SHOA, AMHARA, and Lasta. They defeated the Muslim region of HARER, leaving that city's imam no choice but to move to Awssa. Still, with their territory significantly diminished and their military reduced in power, the Ethiopians ultimately were forced to live with the Oromo, who were firmly embedded in their country.

In the latter half of the 16th century the Roman Catholic Church became interested in bringing Ethiopia into its fold. It sent a series of MISSIONARIES to the country, but they had little luck in converting the monarchy. This continued until Pedro Páez, a Jesuit missionary from Spain, arrived in Ethiopia early in the 17th century. He earned the trust and respect of Emperor Susenyos (r. 1607–1632), leading to the emperor's acceptance of the faith and subsequent declaration of Roman Catholicism as Ethiopia's state religion.

Discontent among other members of the Ethiopian royalty and the public outcry from his subjects led Susenyos to abdicate the throne. He was succeeded by his son FASILIDAS (r. 1632–1667), who, upon taking power, removed the Jesuits and reinstated the country's Monophysite religion. The Jesuit mission, however, left in its wake a country theistically divided. Under constant threat from his Oromo and Muslim neighbors, Fasilidas

moved his capital from Manz to GONDAR, where he spent the rest of his rule in isolation. During his reign, he commissioned several castles and churches to be rebuilt, the most important being the cathedral at Aksum.

During the reigns of IYASU I (r. 1682–1706) and Iyasu II (r. 1730–1755) the Ethiopian monarchy tried to regain some of the territory lost in the previous century. To accomplish this they enlisted the support of some of the recently converted Oromo, adding them to the Ethiopian military. Oromo soldiers ultimately were even used in missions against their own people. Gradually some Oromo assimilated into Ethiopian society, and by the 19th century they were striving for political power.

Subsequent to this process the infamous *ras*, or regional ruler, Mikael Sehul acquired so much power during the kingship of Iyoas (r. 1755–1769) that on his command the emperor and his successor, Yohannis II, were assassinated. This gave rise to a dark period of anarchy, between 1768 and 1855, known in Ethiopian history as the ZEMENE MESAFINT, or Age of Princes.

See also: AMDA SIYON (Vol. II); CHRISTIANITY , INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); ETHIOPIA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS (Vol. I); ZARA YAKOB (Vol. II).

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2000); Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1995); Richard Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Coronet Books, 1985).

Ewe Ethnic group residing in present-day GHANA, TOGO, and the Republic of BENIN who are related to the AJA, ANLO, Mina, and Ouatchi people. Being a West African coastal group, the Ewe were involved early on in trade with the Portuguese, exchanging their agricultural products for European manufactured goods.

The name *Ewe* is pronounced "ay-vay" or "ay-way" in English.

According to tradition the Ewe emerged out of the Aja group that settled in the Yoruba province of KETU, in present-day Republic of Benin, after leaving Oyo in NIGERIA perhaps as early as the 13th century, but more likely during the 15th century. By 1600 they had migrated from Ketu to Notsie, in present-day Togo. In the 17th century a mass exodus of Ewe people fled from Notsie to escape the despotism of King Agokoli, dividing the Ewe into three distinct groups. The first group traveled north and occupied the region from Peki (Krepi) to Akpafu. The second group settled around the hills of Ho, to the east of the VOLTA BASIN. The third group moved south to the mouth of the Volta River, where they established the coastal town of KETA and eventually formed Anlo, a state that enjoyed relative peace until the mid-18th century.

See also: EWE (Vol. II).

exploration Prior to the era of European colonialism, which started in earnest in the 19th century, non-African explorers made numerous expeditions into the African interior to gather information about the geography and peoples of the continent. Although the entire coastline of Africa had been mapped by Europeans by 1514, little progress would be made exploring the interior of the continent before the 19th century. Uncharted African regions were often made inaccessible by deserts, including the Sahara in the north and the Namib and Kalahari in the south. The forbidding, almost impenetrable forests of Central and West Africa made exploration a difficult proposition. In

many cases the task of accurately mapping Africa was made even harder because of the exaggerated descriptions of African cultures made by early explorers. All of the mystery surrounding Africa led some Europeans to refer to it as the "Dark Continent."

A Spanish-born Muslim named LEO AFRICANUS (c. 1485–1554) was one of the first explorers to venture into the African interior. Between 1507 and 1513 Leo traveled extensively throughout North and Central Africa, visiting TIMBUKTU, EGYPT, and KANEM-BORNU. In 1550 he published a geographical history of Africa.

Portuguese exploration of Africa, which was initiated in the 15th century, primarily focused on the coastal regions. However, several inland expeditions met with modest success. A *DEGREDADO* named Antonio Fernandes (d. c. 1522) visited the GOLD-bearing regions of present-day ZIMBABWE between 1511 and 1514. Gaspar Bocarro (fl. 1600s) reached TETE on the ZAMBEZI RIVER in 1616, and during the late 18th century the Portuguese established a settlement there. From Tete, Francisco Jose de Lacerda reached the southeastern border of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO in 1798. The Portuguese also gained valuable information about ETHIOPIA through the travels of the missionary Francisco ALVARES (fl. c. 1520).

Portuguese exploration sparked interest among other European powers, including the Dutch, who in 1652 established a shipping station at Table Bay, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA, near CAPE TOWN. By the early 18th century Dutch and British colonists had begun to investigate areas further north in the South African interior.

The British also made some inroads into the West African interior. On the Senegal River, merchants reached Barracuda Falls by 1651, and by 1659 Cornelius Hoges had reached Bambuk, in present-day eastern SENEGAL. The Scottish explorer Mungo PARK (1771–1806) reached the BAMBARA kingdom of SEGU, on the NIGER RIVER, in 1796.

During the 19th century waves of European explorers, many of them MISSIONARIES, would venture into the African interior. The knowledge they acquired on these expeditions would greatly facilitate the European colonizing of the continent.

See also: AGE OF DISCOVERY (Vol. II); NIGER EXPEDITION (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: David Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe: 1450 to 1850* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002); J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1982); Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Africa and Its Explorers: Motives, Methods, and Impact* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970).

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factories, European See TRADING STATIONS, EURO-PEAN.

family Family life in Africa from the 16th into the 19th centuries continued in many ways to flow along already well-established lines. Yet significant changes to family life on the continent accompanied the spread of SLAVERY that was brought about by the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. A key feature of this trade was that European slave merchants and planters wanted a predominantly male LABOR force.

Indeed the ratio of male to female captives taken from Africa to the Americas was about 2 to 1. This in turn produced a shortage of marriageable males in much of the western regions of the continent and thus led to changes in marriage patterns. Most significantly the remaining males were in a position to have multiple wives. One can see the impact more clearly by looking at societies that were not affected by the slave trade. In those communities with a more balanced sex ratio, it was only the leading men who had the resources and social standing to support multiple wives. On the other hand, in the societies most affected by the slave trade, males of lesser social stature were also noted for having multiple wives.

See also: FAMILY (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Mario Azevedo, "The African Family," in Mario Azevedo, ed., *Africana Studies: A Survey of Africa and the African Diaspora* (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2004).

Falasha See BETA ISRAEL.

Fante (Fanti) Kwa-speaking people of present-day GHANA. Little is certain about the origin of the Fante people other than that, according to oral history, they migrated to their present-day location from the Brong-Ahafo region of central Ghana. While it is unknown when the Fante settled along the coast, it is clear that they were established there by the time Europeans arrived in the late 1400s.

The Fante were organized into multiple independent states until the late 17th century, at which time they formed a confederation under the leadership of a high king, or *brafo*. While most Fante made their living through AGRICULTURE or fishing, many Fante became traders, acting as intermediaries in the GOLD trade between Europeans and the neighboring ASHANTI EMPIRE.

As members of a wealthy and powerful kingdom, the Fante expanded their territory throughout the 18th century and became brokers in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, supplying mostly British ships. In the latter half of the 18th century the growing Ashanti Empire to the east launched several attacks on Fante territory, hoping to monopolize the supply side of the European trade in gold and captives. Although they successfully defended their territory at first, the Fante eventually succumbed to the Ashanti in the early 1800s. During the 1820 and 1830s, however, the Fante's British allies helped them regain their independence.

See also: FANTE (Vol. II); FANTE CONFEDERATION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Mary McCarthy, *Social Change and the Growth of British Power in the Gold Coast: The Fante States, 1807–1874* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983).

Fasilidas (Fasilides, Fasiladas)   (c. 1602–1667)
Emperor of Ethiopia who founded the city of Gondar as the capital of Christian Ethiopia

Fasilidas's reign as Christian emperor of Ethiopia was marked by conflict. His father, Emperor Susenyos (r. 1607–1632), had converted to the Roman Catholic Church from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, bringing the country to the brink of civil war by pitting Ethiopia's Orthodox Christians against foreign Roman Ca-tholic MISSIONARIES and their converts. In 1632 Susenyos abdicated the throne in favor of Fasilidas in an attempt to end the bloodshed. Despite his father's conversion, Fasilidas remained a strong proponent of Ethi-opia's Orthodox Church. Prior to his becoming emperor, Roman Catholic missionaries had been pouring into Ethiopia for nearly 100 years, going back to the 1540s, when Portuguese Roman Catholics helped the Christian Ethiopian state repel attacks led by Muslim AHMAD GRAÑ (1506–1543). By the 1630s, however, Fasilidas felt that the Roman Catholic missionaries presented a threat to his Ortho-dox empire, so one of his first acts as emperor was to expel them from the country. He went so far as to enlist the help of Muslim Turks of the Ottoman Empire in bar-ring European priests from entering the country at Mas-sawa, a Red Sea port. His actions led to a period of Ethiopian isolation from Europe that lasted for several centuries.

Before becoming emperor Fasilidas had used the city of GONDAR, high in the hills above Lake Tana, as his military headquarters. When Fasilidas took the throne the city became the new capital of the Christian Ethi-opian state. Under the direction of Fasilidas, Ethi-opian builders erected beautiful churches and fortified castles and towers that protected his capital against the threat of attack from bands of OROMO warriors, who were spreading throughout the Ethiopian countryside from the south.

Fasilidas maintained mostly peaceful political and commercial relations with the Muslims of Ethiopia. Gon-dar was an important trading center for the Muslim-con-trolled caravan routes that ran from the Ethiopian interior to Red Sea ports, and the city had a Muslim quarter. Fasilidas also made trade alliances with the Islamic OMANI SULTANATE, located across the Red Sea in present-day Saudi Arabia, but these ties were broken when the sultans presumed to send an Islamic holy man to Gondar in an attempt to convert the emperor. Fasilidas was succeeded by his son Yohannes (r. 1667–1682).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994).

Fernando Po (Bioko, Formosa)   Small West
African island located in the Gulf of Guinea off the coast of present-day southeastern NIGERIA. Fernão do Pó, a Portuguese explorer, discovered the volcanic island about 1472 and initially named it *Formosa,* Portuguese for "beautiful."

Although the Treaty of Tordesillas with Spain (1494) allowed Portugal to claim all parts of what is now EQUA-TORIAL GUINEA, the subsequent Treaty of Pardo (1778) forced the Portuguese to cede territory to Spain in ex-change for land in the New World colony of Brazil. In-cluded in this exchange was the island of Formosa, which was renamed Fernando Po in honor of the island's European discoverer.

In the 19th century Bubi and Fang people moved to the island from the mainland and began cultivating yams, cassava, rice, and manioc. Later, during the colonial era, they produced PALM OIL and coffee for European markets. Even though Spain officially owned the island and other parts of Equatorial Guinea, from 1827 to 1844 the British were granted use of Fernando Po's port for its naval ves-sels seeking to halt the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE.

See also: COFFEE (Vol. IV); FANG (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Fez (Fes)   Trade city and popular center of Islamic
learning in north-central MOROCCO. The city reached its peak during the period between the mid-13th and mid-16th centuries, at which time Fez was under Marinid and Wattasid rule. These Islamic dynasties were led by BERBERS and controlled much of Morocco and the MAGHRIB.

In 1549 the Islamic SADIAN DYNASTY, came to power in MARRAKECH, to the southwest, and assumed control of Fez by 1554. Marrakech became the capital of the Sadian dy-nasty, and the political importance of Fez subsequently de-clined. Despite Fez's diminished political importance, the Sadian commander ABD AL-MANSUR (c. 1549–1603) built fortifications there, helping the city maintain its status as a cosmopolitan trading hub and a major center for Islamic scholarship.

In the 17th century Morocco was divided between the Sadian dynasty, which ruled from Marrakech, and the rival Alawite dynasty in Fez. By the late 17th century the Alawites managed to reunify the country under MAWLAY ISMAIL (r. 1771–1806), who forged close ties with Euro-pean powers and ruled Morocco into the 18th century.

See also: FEZ (Vol. II).

Further reading: Titus Burckhardt, *Fez: City of Islam* (Cambridge, U.K.: Islamic Texts Society, 1992).

Fezzan (Fezan)   Saharan region in present-day south-
western LIBYA. Known in ancient times to both the Greeks and Romans, the Fezzan was a center for trans-Saharan trade, with a popular route from Lake CHAD to the Medi-terranean port of TRIPOLI running through it.

During the first half of the 16th century the region fell under the dominion of the KANEM-BORNU trading empire, located to the south, around Lake Chad. In the latter half of the century the Fezzan was ruled by independent states that fell under the nominal rule of the Ottoman Empire. Being an inland region, though, the Fezzan escaped the direct rule of the Ottoman Turks until the mid-19th century.

See also: FEZZAN (Vol. II); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Fipa Ethnic group that has long lived in what is now TANZANIA. The Fipa probably migrated to southwestern Tanzania well before the 18th century. Primarily an agricultural people, they traditionally have supplemented their crop cultivation by gathering fruit and by fishing.

During the late 18th century Fipa society was torn apart by two rivals who battled for the chieftainship. In the end the loser led his followers south to establish a new chiefdom. The conflict continued for many years, weakening the Fipa to the point that they were conquered, around 1840, by the NGONI.

Further reading: Roy Willis, *A State in the Making: Myth, History, and Social Transformation in Pre-Colonial Ufipa* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1981).

Fon See DAHOMEY.

food The Atlantic trade that the Portuguese initiated in the 15th century with their EXPLORATION of the South Atlantic Ocean led to the introduction of new food crops from the Western Hemisphere. The principal crops were cassava (manioc), GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), MAIZE (corn), and new kinds of beans. By the 16th century the Portuguese had introduced groundnuts from South America to the western Central African coastal area north and south of the mouth of the Congo River. The local Bantu-speaking people gave the crop a new name, *nguba*, a term that traveled back across the Atlantic Ocean and evolved into "goober pea," a common name for peanuts in the American South.

Unlike most grain crops, maize could grow in the rain forest as well as in more open areas, so it greatly enhanced the agriculture of the forest farmers. Maize became a major crop throughout much of the continent. Cassava, which is a tuber crop, could withstand drought and also could remain in the ground for a long time before harvesting it. While low in nutrition (though the leaves could be boiled for a garnish that provided vitamins), its hardiness gradually made it a popular crop. In the 17th century the Portuguese also introduced Asian strains of rice, which then spread widely in the Congo Basin.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, II, III); CATTLE (Vol. I); FOOD (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Fort Jesus Portuguese stronghold built to protect MOMBASA, an island off the Indian Ocean coast of present-day KENYA in East Africa. After almost a century of domination, Portuguese power on the east coast of Africa was on the decline during the late 16th century. By the 1850s the Portuguese were beset by Turkish raiders as well as by revolts by militant anti-Portuguese elements within the various city-states on the SWAHILI COAST. In response Portugal erected what it hoped to be an impregnable protection for its primary deep-water port, Mombasa.

For a number of years the fort provided a symbolically powerful reminder of the Portuguese presence. Then, in 1631, a discontented Arab sultan named Yusuf al-Hassan (1607–1638), a former Christian who actually was raised by the Portuguese in Goa, rose in rebellion against Portugal. Leading a force of 300 followers, he stormed Fort Jesus, taking the fort and stabbing the Portuguese governor. Yusuf held the fort until the arrival of Portuguese reinforcements and even then tried to dismantle and destroy the fortress.

After this the entire region entered a restive phase, and the Portuguese faced difficulties almost everywhere. In their attempt to drive out the Portuguese, local Africans turned to the leader of the Arab OMANI SULTANATE for support. By 1652 Omani PIRATES and raiders were at work throughout the region. This, combined with a general revolt among local people, threw Portuguese rule into turmoil. In 1661 the Omanis took Mombasa. Fort Jesus, however, held fast, and proved impossible to capture.

In 1696 an Omani fleet embarked on a major siege of the fort, which was garrisoned by a force of approximately 100 Portuguese and 1,500 Africans who had remained loyal to the Portuguese Crown. It took almost three years, but in the end the Omanis were successful, and when Portuguese reinforcements finally arrived in 1698, they found that the fort had fallen.

In the years immediately following the fall of Fort Jesus, KISWAHILI-speaking East Africans attempted to wrest control of the region from Oman. Although they were initially successful, maintaining their freedom was difficult. In the end, except for a brief return of the Portuguese in the 1720s, they were to remain under the influence of the Omanis for the next few centuries.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: W. A. Nelson, *Fort Jesus of Mombasa* (Edinburgh, U.K.: Canongate Press, 1994).

Fouta Djallon (Futa Jalon) Highland region located in present-day GUINEA that was the site of the FU-

LANI JIHADS (holy wars) that successfully converted the region's inhabitants to the Islamic faith by 1750.

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The Fouta Djallon region takes its name from the Yalunka peoples, sometimes called the *Djallonke,* who were the original settlers in the area. *Fouta Djallon* means "highlands of the Yalunka" in the Mande language.

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During the 15th and 16th centuries a group of non-Muslim Fulani began southwesterly migrations from what is now the Republic of MALI to the Fouta Djallon highlands. There they encountered the agrarian Yalunka people, with whom they coexisted peacefully until the mid-18th century. At that time another migration of FULANI, this time Muslim Fulani, came to the Fouta Djallon and clashed with the non-Muslim Fulani, Yalunka, and neighboring SUSU peoples. In 1725 these tensions led to a Muslim jihad led by the TORODBE cleric Alfa Ba, who was quickly killed in battle. The jihad was then assumed by Alfa Ba's son, the religious leader Ibrahim Sambegu, who had taken the name KARAMOKO ALFA (r. c. 1725–1750). By 1727 the Yalunka and some Susu were pushed out of the Fouta Djallon region while the Fulani and the remaining Susu accepted the Islamic faith.

After the successful jihad, Karamoko Alfa was named the Fouta Djallon's first *almamy* (political and religious head). He divided Fouta Djallon into nine territories, called *diwe,* which were headed by local chiefs. The *diwe* were then sectioned into villages, or *misside,* with specific areas for both the free community and those in bondage. The area of town that housed the free people was called *fulaso* while those in bondage lived in *runde.*

Over the next century Fouta Djallon became an important center of Islamic education as well as a profitable regional trading outpost. After Karamoko Alfa's death about 1750, a Fulani warrior cleric named Ibrahim Sori (r. c. 1751–1784) continued the jihad. Despite wars of succession that ensued after Karamoko Alfa's death, the *almamy* of Fouta Djallon remained a powerful force in the region until the late 19th century, when France conquered and colonized the area.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); FOUTA DJALLON (Vol. II); JIHAD (Vols. II, IV); YALUNKA (Vol. II).

Fouta Toro (Futa Toro) Highland region located between the lower Senegal River and the Gambia River in present-day SENEGAL. The Fouta Toro region was the original home of the FULANI people, who organized successful Islamic jihads (holy wars) in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The area was also the site of heavy slave trading in the same period.

Until the middle of the 16th century Fouta Toro was occupied by the TUKULOR people of the TEKRUR kingdom, which was part of the crumbling Mali Empire of the Mande. Around that time, the *silatigi,* or "commanders," of the ruling DENIANKE DYNASTY established an independent, non-Muslim kingdom. Though the kingdom flourished, Fulani Muslims took exception to the non-Muslim Denianke leadership. At the same time, European merchants began to arrive in West Africa in greater numbers, making Fouta Toro an increasingly influential trading kingdom.

Until the end of the 15th century, trade in the Fouta Toro region was relatively small-scale, as Muslim DYULA and Fulani traders exchanged salt, palm products, beeswax, and kola nuts with Mande merchants at local markets. After about 1480 Portuguese traders joined in the trade, exchanging their manufactured goods for local products with the people along the Senegal River. Some goods were sent north and east along trans-Saharan trade routes.

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Before the slave trade was an important aspect of the economy of Fouta Toro, one of the most important trade items that was exported to Europe was gum arabic, a tree resin that was used in inks, dyes, and adhesives.

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By the middle of the 17th century, however, the region had attracted other European powers, including the French, English, and Dutch, who came looking for exotic goods from the area, especially GOLD and ivory. There was also an increasing demand for human captives.

In 1673 a jihad was declared by Fouta Toro's *zawiya* clerics against the non-Muslim Denianke leadership, and some of the Denianke were replaced with Muslims. By about 1680 Islamic reformer Malik Si (d. c. 1699) had led his followers south from Fouta Toro to BONDU, where he established a new Muslim theocratic state. The reasons for these jihads were probably as much economic as they were religious, since the constant warfare in the region created a surplus of captives to be traded for European firearms.

During the 18th century the TORODBE, a wealthy class of Muslim clerics and scholars, rose to prominence in Fouta Toro. They gained influence by opposing the Denianke leadership and calling for extensive jihads against their Mande neighbors to the west and south. Around 1769, a Tukulor sheik named Sulayman Bal (d. c. 1776) declared a jihad in an effort to establish a Muslim state in Fouta Toro. By 1776 he managed to overthrow

the last of the non-Muslim Denianke rulers, who had led Fouta Toro for more than 250 years.

After declaring a Muslim state Sulayman Bal seized Denianke land and redistributed it among the Torodbe who had supported him through the jihad. With the holy war won, Sulayman Bal stepped down from his position as leader and named the cleric Abd al-Qadir ibn Hammadi (d. c. 1806) the *almamy,* or *imam,* of the Muslim Fulani state of Fouta Toro. The jihads begun by the Fulani in the 17th century continued into the 19th century. One of the most successful of these FULANI JIHADS was waged throughout the 1850s and 1860s by a Muslim preacher from Fouta Toro named al-Hajj Umar Tal (1797–1864), who conquered the Bambara kingdoms of KAARTA and SEGU to the east of Fouta Toro.

See also: GAMBIA RIVER (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); MANDE (Vol. III); SENEGAL RIVER (Vol. II); UMAR TAL (Vol. IV); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

France and Africa   Like most other European powers, France's precolonial activities in Africa centered on trade. First, in order to capitalize on the lucrative 17th-century spice trade, the French established trading centers on islands in the Indian Ocean, including MADAGASCAR and the MASCARENE ISLANDS. Later the French turned their attention to West Africa and the trade in human captives.

Trying to establish an Indian Ocean trading colony, the French founded Fort Dauphin on the southeastern coast of Madagascar around 1638. The soldiers at Dauphin suffered from deadly tropical fevers and were subject to attacks from the local peoples, so they abandoned their settlement for the less harsh environment of the Mascarene Islands (Réunion and MAURITIUS), to the east. By the 1670s the national French East India Company had begun trading from Ile Bourbon (later renamed RÉUNION ISLAND), and by 1715 the French also controlled Mauritius. On Ile Bourbon they established a rest and refueling station for ships sailing along the Indian spice trade routes and then quickly organized sugar, coffee, and vanilla bean plantations that used slave LABOR supplied by SAKALAVA traders from the island of Madagascar. The plantations were successful, but because of unrest back in France, the settlements on the Indian Ocean islands never developed into a comprehensive trading network.

The French had sought new territory in West Africa during the reign of Francis I (1515–1547), but it was not until 1659 that a permanent settlement was established on the island of St-Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal River. Initially the French explored the SENEGAMBIA region in search of a navigable route into the interior, but their attention quickly turned to the slave trade. St-Louis was one of several settlements from which the French exported captive Africans to their American sugar plantations in the West Indies. These settlements along the coast of what is now SENEGAL were run by the French West Indies Company until 1672, when that company was replaced by the Senegal Company. The French efforts in this trade met with limited success.

Around the turn of the 18th century France began to focus on the African interior. Under the leadership of André Brue (fl. 1798), the governor of St-Louis, French explorers moved nearly 500 miles (805 km) into the interior hoping to reach the famed GOLD-producing regions of the western Sudan. While the French were unsuccessful in their attempt to find gold, they ended up developing a lucrative trade in gum arabic, a tree resin that was prized in Europe to make dyes, inks, and adhesives. St-Louis prospered as a result, and by 1800 the settlement was one of the primary European trade centers in West Africa.

With the exception of a brief period from 1781 to 1784, when France controlled The Netherlands and therefore the southern Africa cape, France showed little interest in the rest of the African continent outside the West African coast until becoming a major colonial power in the 19th century.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Further reading: William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1980); Trevor R. Getz, *Slavery and Reform in West Africa: Toward Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Senegal and the Gold Coast* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004).

Freetown   City located in present-day SIERRA LEONE that was a destination for emancipated slaves from Europe, Jamaica, and the Americas. Freetown succeeded the short-lived Granville Town, which was the first attempt by the British in Sierra Leone to establish a colony for former slave laborers.

In the early 1790s English abolitionist Granville Sharp (1735–1813) and like-minded businessmen and antislavery activists created the Sierra Leone Company, an organization designed to help repatriate former African slaves from Britain and British territories in North America. In 1792 a ship sailed from the Canadian province of Nova Scotia and returned more than 1,000 Africans to a new colony named Freetown. The area where Freetown was founded was sparsely populated and separated from the Mande trading network by thick forest, but a harbor and many waterways allowed for the easy transportation of people and goods.

Like Granville Town before it, the Freetown colony faltered at first, with the company's officials unsure how

to proceed with the distribution of land and the collection of rent and taxes. In September 1794 French ships, disguised with British flags, docked off the coast of Freetown and attacked the colony with cannonballs before raiding and burning most of the town. Freetown survived the attack and slowly began to rebuild, but the colony continued to have financial troubles until it came under the protection of the British Crown, in 1808. Since SLAVERY had been officially abolished in 1807 by the British Parliament, Freetown soon became a regular port for the British navy to bring people rescued from ships bound for Europe and the Americas.

In 1787 Granville Sharp and fellow Englishman and abolitionist Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846) formed the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, which supported the efforts of the Sierra Leone Company.

Some of the original settlers to Freetown came from Jamaica and elsewhere in the Caribbean and therefore possessed their own distinctive culture. Many were Christian and spoke English. These groups became known as Krio society, and they made a name for themselves by becoming active in the administrative and economic issues of the Freetown colony.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); KRIO (Vol. IV); NAIMBANA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Mary Louise Clifford, *From Slavery to Freetown; Black Loyalists After the American Revolution* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 1999); Akintola Wyse, *The Krio of Sierra Leone* (London: Hurst, 1989).

Fulani (Fulbe, Peul, Pulo) Muslim people of the FOUTA DJALLON and FOUTA TORO regions of West Africa. Traditionally the Fulani were a pastoral people, although their culture changed as they conquered and absorbed neighboring peoples. The TUKULOR are a Fulani subgroup who occupy areas of present-day SENEGAL and Republic of MALI. At the height of their power in the 18th and 19th centuries the Fulani established several Muslim kingdoms that included much of the western Sudan.

By the 16th century Fulani pastoralists had settled throughout areas of present-day BURKINA FASO and NIGERIA. Beginning in the late 17th century Muslim Fulani clerics began declaring jihads against the non-Muslim MANDE peoples of Senegal, beginning in the kingdom of BONDU. Later, between 1750 and 1900, they engaged in a number of jihads led by, among others, USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), a Fulani chief and religious scholar who considered the kings of the HAUSA STATES in northern

Nigeria to be heretical Muslims. In 1804 Usman declared a jihad against the sultan of GOBIR, the northernmost Hausa state, and by 1812 Usman's followers had conquered most of the other Hausa States. The Fulani also conquered ADAMAWA, NUPE, and YORUBALAND to the south, before finally being driven out of the Lake CHAD region by the forces of the KANEM-BORNU empire. Usman established the SOKOTO CALIPHATE from the states that he had conquered in northwestern Nigeria. He ultimately relinquished control of the eastern part of the empire to his brother, Abdullahi, and the western part to his son, MUHAMMAD BELLO (1781–1837), in order to devote himself to teaching and writing. After Usman's death, his son gained control of the entire empire. The Fulani ruled over the western Sudan until the early 20th century, at which time the British took power.

See also: FULANI (Vols. I, II, IV); FULFULDE (Vol. I).

Further reading: Paul Irwin, *Liptako Speaks: History from Oral Tradition in Africa* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981).

Fulani jihads Religious reform movements of the 17th through the 19th centuries led by the FULANI people in the FOUTA TORO and FOUTA DJALLON regions of SENEGAL and GUINEA as well as in the HAUSA STATES of present-day NIGERIA. These movements extended Muslim political and religious power and led to the establishment of two large West African states, the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, in 1808, and the vast TUKULOR empire, in 1854, as well as smaller ones, including BONDU, Fouta Djallon, Fouta Toro, and MACINA. Although some historians call this assemblage of states the Fulani empire, the individual states developed no central authority and had no common purpose except for the spread of Islam under the banner of its own charismatic jihad leaders.

Jihad, the Arabic word for "fight" or "battle," refers to the religious duty placed on believers to convert others to Islam (a name, from Arabic, that means "submission to the will of God") and the rule of Islamic law, either by peaceful means or by the sword. The jihads of the 17th century in West Africa were directed against unbelievers and had the added result of extending Muslim political power; the later jihads of the 18th and 19th centuries were true reformist movements aimed at restoring the full and pure practice of Maliki Sunni doctrine among West African Muslims whose practice of the faith had become syncretistic, or mingled with the "pagan" beliefs and rituals of traditional religion.

The Rise of Fulani Power Moving in search of better pasture land, by the 16th century the cattle-raising Fulani had extended their territory from Fouta Toro to the upper Niger Bend region and were moving eastward into Hausaland, where many eventually gave up pastoralism, became city dwellers in GOBIR and other Hausa

West African States, c. 1800

TRARZA

BRAKNA

St-Louis

WALO

CAYOR

JOLOF

FOUTA TORO

Senegal R.

FERLO DESERT

GUIDIMAKA

Goree

SINE

BAOL

SALOUM

WULI

GADYAGA

Bafulabe

Gambia

BUNDU

BAMBUK

Bathurst

Cacheu

Bissau

Buloma

FOUTA DJALLON

TAMBA

Kita

GUIDIMAKA

Labe

Siguiri

Timbo

Kankan

Susu

Falaba

SULIMA

Atlantic
Ocean

Limba

Temne

Freetown

Mende

WORODOUGOU

Bullom

KAARTA

SEGU

Timbuktu

Mourdiah

Macina

Jenne

Bandiagara

Niaming

Segu

San

Bamako

KONG

Black Volta R.

Niger R.

Sikasso

Bobo
Dyulasso

Kong

Wa

Senufo

Bonduku

ASHANTI

0   200 Miles

0   200 Kms

European enclaves

▽ Portuguese

◎ British

☐ French

Wolof states

Bambara states

Islamic states
(Fulani jihad)

BUNDU Empire, kingdom, or state

Susu People

Boundary of state

Map area

states, and adopted Islam. By the 17th century the Fulani had spread across most of the West African savanna.

While they were still pastorialists the Fulani were generally content to tend their cattle and remain isolated from the peoples among whom they lived. However, they came under increasing pressure to pay taxes and tribute to the rulers and peoples on whose lands they grazed their animals. Restrictions placed on Fulani grazing rights and trading privileges intensified Fulani isolation from local sedentary populations, and the Fulani who settled in towns were no more than second-class citizens. Through contact with the Muslim traders in the towns and converted Tuareg pastoralists in the Sahel, many Fulani turned for protection to Islam. The religion offered the support of a broader community and the strength of *sharia,* or Muslim law, with which the Fulani could confront local rulers and demand greater rights. By the early 1700s a tradition of Islamic scholarship had arisen among the Fulani, and a reform movement led by literate, urban-based Fulani and Tuareg TORODBE, or cleric-scholars, pressed for greater rights for Muslims, to be granted by peaceful means if possible or by violence if necessary.

Bondu The first Fulani jihad took place in Bondu, a region near the Senegal valley. One of the Torodbe, Malik Si (d. c. 1699), organized the Fulani into political units called the *al-imam,* or "of the cleric," and led a successful revolt against local Mande rulers to establish a unified theocratic state based on the Quran.

Fouta Djallon Pressure built up in the early part of the 18th century in the nearby Fouta Djallon, a highland region of Guinea southwest of Bondu, below the Gambia River. Many Fulani from a variety of clans, but all members of the large QADIRIYYA Sufi brotherhood, had moved into the region. By 1700 the wealthier Fulani owned many cattle and held many people in bondage and resented paying tribute to local rulers. They sought relief from taxation and the confiscation of their property and the right to build schools and mosques. In 1720s the Fulani cleric Alfa Ba (d. 1725), acting as *amir al-muminim,* or "commander of the faithful," declared a jihad against the infidel SUSU and Mandinka inhabitants and against the non-Muslim Fulani dynasty in power. On Alfa Ba's death, his son, the cleric Karamoko Alfa (r. c. 1725–1750), and a war chief named Ibrahim

Sori (r. c. 1751–1784) continued the jihad, conquering and converting all but the most inaccessible parts of the Fouta Djallon. Sori became the *almamy,* the supreme head of the new regime. Sori attempted to consolidate Fulani rule and take control of the lucrative trade routes, through which GOLD, captives, and goods from Europe passed, but through the 1760s and 1770s he never fully succeeded in establishing a unified state. Although there was often dissension and rivalry among his successors, they always closed ranks when they were threatened by revolt or invasion. In this way the Fouta Djallon region managed to maintain its prosperity during the 19th century.

Fouta Toro   The next Muslim Fulani state was established at Fouta Toro, northwest of Fouta Djallon. This area had been ruled in the 1600s and 1700s by the non-Muslim Fulani DENIANKE DYNASTY. About 1769 conflict arose between the ruling class and the Muslim clergy. Cleric Sulayman Bal (d. c. 1776) led the jihad against the Denianke; by 1776 a Muslim state headed by Abd el-Qadir ibn Hammadi supplanted them. Fouta Toro continued to expand in the Senegambia region after al-Qadir's death, eventually controlling some 40,000 square miles (104,000 sq km). Fouta Toro survived until French colonialists arrived early in the 19th century.

Macina   The third Fulani kingdom was established in a BAMBARA kingdom, near TIMBUKTU, which had been the site of a large migration of Fulani in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Bambara kings ruled from SEGU. Muslim clerics led by Ahamadu ibn Hammadi (Amadu Sisi) (c. 1745–1844), a member of the fundamentalist Tijaniyya Sufi order, conducted a jihad against the Bambara to establish the state of Macina. In many respects a fanatic, Ahamadu ibn Hammadi believed in using any means necessary to establish a theocratic state, even to the point of destroying the mosques of those whose observance of Islam he judged lax. His jihadists captured the trading centers of Timbuktu and Jenne, and he established his capital of Hamdallahi (Praise Be to God) nearby. Ibn Hammadi's fervor established the Tijaniyya Sufi order as the dominant religious brotherhood in the western portions of West Africa, from which it began to spread eastward. Macina fell to French forces, in 1879.

Sokoto Caliphate   One of the most influential of the Fulani jihads began in 1804 in what is now northern Nigeria and was proclaimed and led by a Fulani cleric named USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), also known as "Shehu." The result of this sweeping jihad, which lasted over 30 years, was the formation of the Sokoto Caliphate, a Muslim kingdom that at its height included several of the Hausa States in Nigeria, as well as the nearby kingdoms of ILORIN and ADAMAWA.

The Fulani had been in the Hausa States since the 16th century. During the 18th century incessant warfare among the states, which historically were never more than a loose confederation, led to great instability in the region.

KATSINA and KANO fought over control of the trade routes; and GOBIR, a northern state with a large Fulani population, took advantage of the unrest to seize prime grazing land in the savanna, from ZAMFARA. Seeing themselves as protectors of Islamic orthodoxy, the Fulani had fomented many small revolts against Muslim Hausa rulers whose religious observance they deemed lax.

Born in Gobir, Usman dan Fodio was a Muslim cleric and member of the Qadiriyya Sufi brotherhood. Unable to win power by peaceful means and almost assassinated for his efforts, he proclaimed a jihad against Gobir with help from non-Muslim pastoralist Fulani, who had been repressed by the Hausa for years. Gobir fell in 1810, and within 10 years all of the Hausa States succumbed. To reach his goal, Usman dan Fodio allowed his followers to identify him with the Mahdi, a long awaited messiah-like figure, who believers thought would purify Islam. In the new Sokoto Caliphate that he founded, Usman held both religious authority as caliph and secular authority as sultan, under the title *amir al-muminin.* When Usman died in 1817 his son MUHAMMAD BELLO (1781–1837) took his place as *amir al-muminin;* his brother, Abdullahi, ruled the western emirates, including Gwandu, Ilorin, and Nupe. Under Muhammad Bello, who administered it under Muslim law, the Sokoto Caliphate reached the height of its power. The Sokoto Caliphate persisted until 1903, when Britain incorporated it into the colonial Protectorate of Northern Nigeria.

Other Local Jihads   Usman dan Fodio's jihad in the Hausa States resulted in derivative jihads exploding in at least 15 surrounding states, including Bauchi, Adamawa, Nupe, and Ilorin. The neighboring Muslim state of KANEM-BORNU almost fell to jihad in 1811, but the jihad there met with firm resistance and was repulsed by the scholar-warrior-diplomat Sheikh Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanemi (r. 1814–1835), who claimed that the jihad was illegitimate because Kanem-Bornu was already a Muslim state. His defense revived Islam in Kanem-Bornu, and his descendants supplanted the former SEFUWA dynasty and ruled in their place.

The Fulani presence in Ilorin cut off the supply of horses to the OYO EMPIRE and forced the Yoruba people to move south to establish a new capital at the site of modern Oyo. The subsequent collapse of the empire shortly after 1800 led to a period of migration and unrest among the Yoruba that lasted until the end of the Yoruba civil wars, in 1886.

The Jihad of Umar Tal   Umar Tal (c. 1797–1864) was a TUKULOR Muslim scholar, mystic, and reputed miracle worker who, in 1854, established the Muslim Tukulor empire between the upper Senegal and Niger rivers in land that is now part of upper Guinea, Senegal, and the Republic of Mali. Under Umar's son Ahmadu Séku (d. 1898), the empire persisted until 1897, when it was taken over by French colonial forces.

Son of a respected Tukulor scholar and teacher and, like Ahamadu ibn Hammadi of Macina, a member of the fundamentalist Tijaniyya Sufi Muslim brotherhood, Umar Tal set out on his hajj, or pilgrimage, to Mecca in 1823. He was well received in the Sokoto Caliphate, where its ruler, Muhammad Bello (d. 1837), gave Umar Tal his daughter Maryam in marriage. Umar Tal reached Mecca in 1827, stayed in CAIRO for a time, visited Jerusalem (where accounts say he miraculously cured the son of Ibrihim Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt), and then returned to Mecca. There he was named caliph, or religious leader, for West Africa by the head of the Tijaniyya brotherhood. Now entitled to the name al-Hajj, Umar Tal returned to Africa in 1833, where he lived in Sokoto under the tutelage of Muhammad Bello. He took as a second wife the daughter of Ahamadu ibn Hammadi, the jihad leader from Macina.

When Bello died in 1837 Umar Tal left for northeastern Guinea to preach Islam. By 1845 he went home to Tukulor for the same purpose. When preaching failed, he decided to use force. He preached a jihad in 1854 against pagans and non-practicing Muslims and spread terror throughout the region to force conversions. In 1855 the Bambara people of Mali accepted Islam under duress but revolted as soon as his armies left. He spent the years from 1850 to 1860 trying to contain his empire, quelling revolts and forcing further conversions, killing thousands and sending thousands more into slavery. Trying to keep the French neutral, in 1860 he signed a treaty with the French governor of Senegal accepting the Senegal River as a boundary for his empire.

In 1861, however, when he attacked the dispossessed Fulani people of Macina, who were adherents of the rival Qadiriyya Sufi Muslim brotherhood, Umar Tal was seen as a conqueror, not an agent of God with a divine mission. In 1863 he captured Timbuktu but soon lost the city to the Tuaregs; in a subsequent battle, his army was destroyed by combined force of Tuareg and Fulani soldiers. Umar Tal died when gunpowder blew up a cave in which he was hiding.

Assessment of Umar Tal's accomplishments is mixed. Some historians consider him the one leader able to have unified the Muslim Fulani states in West Africa, whose success was checked only by the arrival of the French and British colonial forces. Others consider him a spectacular failure. Some Muslims compare his life and glories with those of the prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632); others vilify him for shedding Muslim blood.

See also: AHMADU SÉKU (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); JENNE-JENO (Vols. I, II); JIHAD (Vols. II, IV); MAHDI (Vol. II); MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. II); SUFISM (Vols. II, III); UMAR TAL (Vol. IV).

Further reading: R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804–1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies* (London: Longman, 1971); John H. Hanson, *Migration, Jihad, and Muslim Authority in West Africa* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1996); David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal: The Western Sudan in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Funj (Fung) Nilotic African people of unknown origin who occupied the borderlands along the Blue Nile between the present-day countries of ETHIOPIA and the Republic of the SUDAN. The Funj sultanate was founded by Amara Dungas in 1504. About the beginning of the 16th century, the Funj, who were originally not Muslim, began a 100-year struggle for control of the Gezira region of the eastern Sudan. The Funj founded their capital at SENNAR, on the Blue Nile River, and began to wrest the surrounding territory from the SHILLUK and Abdullabi Arabs; by 1608 the Funj had established their dominance over the Abdullabi. In 1618 the Funj fought a war of expansion with neighboring Ethiopia. forcing Ethiopia's retreat into the mountains of ERITREA and Tigray.

The Funj dynasty reached its peak during the mid-17th century under Badi II Abu Daqn (r. c. 1644–1680). By that time most Funj had at least nominally converted to Islam, which was introduced by Arabic Sudanese missionaries. Led by Badi II, the Funj extended their rule westward into KORDOFAN and southward to Fazughli. Badi II formed an army made up of captives from his military conquests. This group became very loyal to the monarchy, and as a group they soon came to rival the ruling aristocracy for administrative power. Throughout the 17th century the Funj economy relied heavily on the trading of captives who were not fit for military duty. In addition, Funj merchants plied their trade on the caravan route that passed through Sennar along the southern edge of the Sahara on the way to Mecca, in Arabia.

The Funj monarchs were supported by a strong army. During the reign of Badu IV (1724–1762) this army turned against their king. Although the Funj dynasty continued for another 60 years, the monarchy was relegated to a mere puppet of the military leaders. In 1821 the Funj were conquered by the forces of MUHAMMAD ALI (1769–1849), the pasha and viceroy who ruled Egypt for the Ottoman Empire.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Fur (Fota, Fordunga, Konjara) Central and East African agriculturalists. In the 16th century Arabic Muslim invaders forced the Fur to leave their kingdoms along the Nile. They traveled west, settling in Jebel Marra, a mountainous region of present-day Republic of the SUDAN. Terrace farming techniques enabled the Fur to cultivate cereals, onions, and pumpkins in an arid environment that is not ideal for AGRICULTURE.

During the 17th century the Arab Muslim leader SULI-MAN SOLONG (r. c. 1640–1660) arrived in Jebel Marra, ousted the TUNJUR ruler, and established the DARFUR state as a sultanate. The Nilotic word *Fur* was first used at this time to describe the people of Darfur. The Fur people would soon become active in the North African trade in captives, seizing members of neighboring communities and transporting them to the markets to the south. In the 19th century Darfur was captured by the Ottoman-Egyptian army, but it was turned over to colonial British forces shortly thereafter.

See also: SLAVERY (Vol. III).

G

Ga (Gan) See GA-DANGME.

Gabon Present-day country measuring approximately 103,300 square miles (267,500 sq km) and located on the western coast of Central Africa, at the equator. Today Gabon is bordered by EQUATORIAL GUINEA, CAMEROON, and the Republic of the CONGO.

Portuguese merchants landed off the coast in 1472, and by the 16th century they were actively trading with such groups as the Vili, the MPONGWE, and the ORUNGU. Trade with these groups at first involved mostly iron, cloth, ivory, and weapons. By the late 16th century other Europeans, including the Spanish, British, French, and Dutch, had joined the Portuguese. It was not long before all of the major European powers were using the coastal areas to barter their goods. Trading continued throughout the 17th century, with expansive networks of land and water routes forming in the Gabon region. While trade of human captives had initially been a small part of the lucrative business with the Europeans, it began to increase in Gabon during the mid-18th century.

One of the dominant forces in the slave trade were the Vili, who were located in the LOANGO kingdom in parts of what are now Gabon and Republic of the CONGO. The Orungu, another trading group, were located in what is now Cape Lopez, off the estuary of the Ogooué River. There the Orungu used the river to transport captives to the European trading outposts, from where they were later shipped to the Americas. The Fang, a seminomadic agriculturalist group, began entering the Gabon area from Cameroon in the late 18th century but did not engage in the widespread trade in captives.

The slave trade began to diminish in the early 19th century. However, bartering African goods for commodities from Europe remained a large part of Gabon's economy. This continued even after the region was colonized by France in the mid-19th century.

See also: GABON (Vols. I, II, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Further reading: Michael C. Reed and James F. Barnes, eds., *Culture, Ecology, and Politics in Gabon's Rainforest* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 2003).

Gabu Autonomous West African kingdom, once part of the Mali Empire, that covered parts of modern-day SENEGAL, GUINEA-BISSAU, GUINEA, and The GAMBIA. Gabu became important in the salt and GOLD trades, as well as the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Gabu was founded in the mid-13th century by Tiramang Traore (fl. 1240s), as a tributary kingdom of the Mali Empire, in lands that FULANI people used for farming and grazing. Gabu's founders and leaders, however, were Mandinka by birth, as were the leaders of Mali. Mali's dominance in the region began to wane in the late 1400s and early 1500s, under continued pressure from the SONGHAI EMPIRE, and Gabu then became autonomous. The kingdom prospered and began a period of expansion that lasted until the middle of the 19th century.

Gabu grew rapidly after Mali's decline. The capital remained at Kansala, but the number of royal provinces grew from three to seven, encompassing 20 to 30 royal trading towns. In the land of present-day Senegal, Gabu established the states of Sine and Saloum, whose leaders

were from the SERER people. By 1600, however, the Serer threw off Mandinka rule from Gabu and turned Sine and Saloum into independent kingdoms. In what is now Guinea-Bissau, the rulers of Gabu established two additional provinces at the headwaters of the Cacheu River, which flows to the Atlantic Ocean.

Gabu's wars in the region during the 1600s and 1700s provided many hostages for trade. According to one reliable estimate, up to half of the African peoples exported as war captives during this period were produced by Gabu's expansions. As time went on, relations between the ruling Mandinka people in Gabu and the subject Fulani people alternated between harmony and acrimony, and a long-term pattern of peace and open revolt emerged. At the end of the 18th century Gabu was attacked by Fulani raiders and the kingdom began to disintegrate.

See also: GABU (Vol. II); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); MANDINKA (Vol. II, IV).

Further reading: George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993).

Ga-Dangme (Ga, Ga-Adangme, Ga-Adangbe)

People of present-day GHANA and TOGO. According to tradition the Ga people claim that, during the 13th century, their ancestors migrated together with the Dangme people from what is now NIGERIA. They eventually settled throughout the Accra Plains, in southern Ghana. Although Dangme traditions vary slightly, today the two groups are considered the same people and are referred to as the Ga-Dangme. They reached their present coastal locations in the early 16th century, establishing the towns of AYAWASO, ACCRA, OSU, Labadi, Teshi, Nungua, and Tema as they migrated. Subgroups of the Ga-Dangme include the Ada, Gbugble, Kpone, KROBO, La, Ningo, Osudoku, Prampram, and the Shai. These groups inhabited the region spanning from the VOLTA BASIN to the coastal capital of Accra and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Akwapim Hills.

In the late 15th and early 16th centuries Ga-Dangme groups began trading with Portuguese merchants along the coast. In the 1570s, however, the Ga-Dangme expelled the Portuguese traders from region and burned their trading fort to the ground. Undeterred, Dutch, Danish, and British merchants continued to come to coastal Ga-Dangme villages to trade for GOLD and human captives. The region became known to the Europeans as the GOLD COAST.

In the 17th century the Ga-Dangme were pushed eastward by the rising AKAN state of AKWAMU. Despite the efforts of Okai Kwei (r. c. 1677), who is remembered as his people's greatest *mantse* (king), the Ga-Dangme had to flee their homelands. One group moved from Late to Aflao, and another group migrated east from Ladoku into the eastern hills of what is now Togo. This heavy migration into primarily EWE territory resulted in heated territorial disputes among the various ethnic groups, whose divisiveness allowed Akwamu to strengthen its control of the area.

By the 18th century the Ga-Dangme groups were banding together in order to move out from under Akwamu domination. Following the model set forth by the rival ASHANTI, another Akan subgroup, the Ga-Dangme *mantse* adopted a royal stool. This throne-like symbol of divine kingship served to unify the military might of the Ga-Dangme groups settled around Accra. Before long, however, the Ashanti state had supplanted Akwamu as the regional power, controlling the coastal trade with Europeans. The Ga-Dangme and other southern states eventually allied themselves with Britain to defeat the Ashanti. According to British first-hand accounts, Ga-Dangme warriors displayed special valor in helping deliver the decisive blows at the battle of Karamanso (1826). The Ga-Dangme were then free from Ashanti rule, but within half a century Britain had established its Gold Coast colony in territories formerly ruled by the Ga-Dangme. In fact, the British moved their colonial capital to the former Ga-Dangme capital of Accra.

See also: GA-DANGME (Vol. II); GOLD COAST COLONY (Vol. IV); VOLTA RIVER (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: C. O. C. Amate, *The Making of Ada* (Oxford, U.K.: African Books Collective, 1999); D. K. Henderson-Quartey, *The Ga of Ghana* (London: D. K. Henderson-Quartey, 2002); John Parker, *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2000).

Gambia, The

Present-day West African country measuring approximately 4,360 square miles (11,290 sq km) and bordered by SENEGAL in all directions except along its western Atlantic Ocean coast. Before the arrival of Europeans in the 15th century, the inhabitants of the Gambia region included Wolof, Mandinka, and FULANI peoples.

Although the Portuguese were the first Europeans to settle and establish trade in the area, their interest waned by the 16th century, and they moved their enterprises to more profitable regions along the west coast. By the 17th century British and French traders took a renewed interest Gambia and forced out the remaining Portuguese. In 1651 a trading post was set up by the duke of Courtland on an island in the Gambia River. A decade later the British took control of the island, renaming it James Island after the duke of York and using it as their center for Gambian trade well into the 1700s. The British, however, were not without competition. In 1681 the French built a trading station nearby at Albreda.

Throughout the 18th century France and Britain battled continuously for dominance in the region. The British established the colonial province of SENEGAMBIA but handed it over to the French in 1783, following the Treaty of Versailles.

From the 16th to the 19th centuries nine independent Mandinka kingdoms, as well as the Serer and Wolof kingdoms, steadily developed. These kingdoms not only clashed with each other but also with the French who, unlike the British, remained very active in the region. Before the end of the 19th century the region was already a major exporter of GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), a trade item that would grow in importance during the colonial era.

See also: GAMBIA, THE (Vols. I, II, IV, V); SERER (Vol. II); WOLOF EMPIRE (Vol. III).

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Ganda (Baganda, Luganda, Waganda) Bantu-speaking people of the kingdom of BUGANDA, located in the GREAT LAKES REGION of East Africa, in what is now UGANDA. Buganda emerged as an independent kingdom by about 1500 and steadily increased its power over the next three centuries. The Ganda people were primarily agriculturalists, although there were some hunters and cattle herders among them. Antelope, wild pig, buffalo, and leopard were among the animals they hunted for FOOD and hides. Eventually elephants were hunted for the IVORY TRADE.

Musicians and their MUSIC were, and still are, highly regarded by the Ganda, who fashioned a wide variety of musical instruments, including flutes, trumpets, drums, xylophones, harps, fiddles, and lyres. Drums were especially important because they were associated with spirits and royalty. There were two types of Ganda drums, both made out of tree trunks. One was long and thin with a lizard skin stretched over one side; the other was larger and had cowhide skins on both sides. The Ganda king kept a large collection of royal drums (*mujaguzo*), possibly as many as 100, which were presided over by a special guardian, called *kawuka.*

The majority of Ganda cultivated bananas and the closely related plantain, their dietary staples. The Ganda distinguished between at least 100 different types of bananas, the main ones being cooking bananas (*bitoke*), beer bananas (*mbidde*), and roasting bananas (*ggonja*).

The people of Buganda, who are called Baganda, lived in agricultural villages, or *byalo,* made up of individual family households that were surrounded by plots of land, or *kibanja*. The *kibanja* generally included a banana grove, a parcel of land for raising chickens and goats, and another plot cultivated with such crops as TOBACCO, beans, millet, sweet potatoes, MAIZE, and, after about 1500, groundnuts (peanuts). The men cleared the *kibanja* and the women farmed it.

Because the Ganda were closely tied to their land, they developed stable and densely populated settlements. This pattern encouraged the construction of footpaths throughout the kingdom. The Ganda also traveled on Lake Victoria by canoe, which helped them to defend their territory against land-bound invaders and added another line of internal communication.

See also: GANDA (Vol. II).

Gatsi Rusere (d. 1624) *Ruler of the Mwene Mutapa kingdom during the 17th century*

Throughout the 16th century Portuguese traders along the ZAMBEZI RIVER paid tribute to the local ruler—an individual called the *mwene mutapa* , which was also the name of his kingdom—in exchange for the free passage through his territory. If this tribute were not paid, the ruler would seize the Portuguese assets within the kingdom. When this occurred in 1610, the *mwene mutapa* Gatsi Rusere declared a *mupeto,* or forcible confiscation, of Portuguese assets. The ensuing raid resulted in the deaths of many Portuguese merchants.

The Portuguese were unable to exert any control over the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom until the early 17th century. At that time internal conflict forced Gatsi Rusere to seek Portuguese military support in exchange for extensive MINING rights. This arrangement served little purpose because the Portuguese did not possess the capability to exploit these mines, and Gatsi Rusere ultimately was given no assistance in quelling his kingdom's civil wars. As a result, the internal conflicts continued until his death.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Gezu (Guezo) (1797–1858) *King of Dahomey from 1818 to 1858*

Lacking the GOLD that enriched the neighboring ASHANTI EMPIRE, the kingdom of Dahomey, which flourished in present-day Republic of BENIN during the 18th and 19th centuries, grew prosperous as a result of the

trading of captives. At the height of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE at the end of the 1700s and the start of the 1800s, when Gezu's rule began, Dahomey exported roughly 20,000 humans per year in exchange for shipments of European muskets, as many as 150,000 annually. The kingdom used its military strength both to expand its territory and to take more captives, some of whom Dahomey sold to Europeans, primarily the British, on the slave market. Other captives were kept for LABOR on the royal plantations that provided food for the army and the royal court.

Under previous rulers, beginning with AGAJA (r. 1708–1732), Dahomey no longer served as an intermediary between Europeans along the coast and the inland peoples; it seized control of WHYDAH and ALLADA on the Gulf of Guinea and traded directly with the British. However, Dahomey remained a tributary state of the more powerful Yoruba OYO EMPIRE to the east. Oyo had gained superiority in the region by virtue of its cavalry, which gave it an advantage when it conducted raids in open country.

Gezu became king in 1818 when he seized the throne from Adandozan (r. 1797–1818). The new king took advantage of internal disputes within the Oyo empire and in 1818 declared that Dahomey would no longer pay tribute. To further expand his kingdom Gezu sent armies to seize ABEOKUTA, founded in 1830 by the EGBA people after the fall of Oyo. His attacks failed. About 1840, after Britain had drastically curtailed its overseas slave trade, Gezu successfully shifted the basis of Dahomey's ECONOMY from the trading of captives to PALM OIL, which was valued in Europe as a lubricant for machinery. Ultimately palm oil proved less lucrative than the slave trade, and Dahomey began to decline under Gezu's successor, Glele (r. 1859–1889).

Gezu enhanced the splendor of an already magnificent court and encouraged the arts. During Gezu's reign Dahomey became one of the most highly centralized states in West Africa. The king ruled with absolute power, and Dahomean society was sharply stratified, divided into royalty, commoners, and a servant class. Commoners, whose position could not threaten the king, staffed the central bureaucracy, and male officials in the field each had a female counterpart at court who reported on their activities to the king. Women also served with prominence in the armies of Dahomey. They functioned as royal bodyguards at court, took part in raids on neighboring people, and fought in battle in separate, all-female regiments. Gezu's court practiced human sacrifice, in accord with traditional Dahomean beliefs, to honor the king's ancestors and to bring benefits to the people; when Gezu's grandfather died, 1,300 servants were reportedly killed to accompany him into the afterlife. The polished skulls of Gezu's enemies were displayed on the supporting slats of his throne.

See also: WOMEN IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Slavery, Colonialism, and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640–1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Ghana   Present-day country located on the coast of West Africa and measuring approximately 92,100 square miles (238,500 sq km). Ghana is bounded by BURKINA FASO, TOGO, and IVORY COAST. Modern Ghana took its name from the ancient Ghana Empire, which flourished from about the ninth century through the mid-13th century in what is now the Republic of MALI. The region that is today's Ghana was also called the GOLD COAST by European explorers and traders due to the great amounts of the precious metal mined from the inland region.

By the 16th century Portuguese traders and settlers had sailed down West Africa's coast and were firmly established in the region at their castle-like fort called ELMINA, located on the Gulf of Guinea coast. Until the increase of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE about the mid-17th century, Elmina was used as a Portuguese base. This allowed them to dominate the GOLD trade with local groups such as the AKAN, GA-DANGME, and Mande. During this time the area was also the site of the southern Mossi kingdoms of DAGOMBA and MAMPRUSI. In addition, the ASHANTI EMPIRE, in the central forest regions, and other states, including the coastal FANTE kingdoms, thrived in territories now in present-day Ghana.

Along with the gold, ivory, and cloth, human captives were another important trade item for the economies of the kingdoms in the Ghana region. During the first half of the 17th century the numbers of Africans entered into forced LABOR greatly increased—so much so that in 1637, the Dutch captured Elmina Castle from the Portuguese and used it to harbor captives until they could be transported overseas. European groups, including the Danes, Germans, and British (who coined the region's nickname of the Gold Coast), were also active slave traders and built more than 70 forts along the coast, some of which still stand today.

In the latter half of the 17th century the Ashanti kingdom moved toward building an empire under OSEI TUTU (r. c. 1650–1717). Tutu established the capital of his empire at the city of KUMASI and conquered smaller gold-producing towns, including TEKYIMAN, to position the Ashanti as the region's most powerful kingdom. His successor, OPOKUWARE II (r. 1720–1750), continued the territorial expansion of the Ashanti Empire by conquering more gold-producing cities and people, including BANDA, DAGOMBA, GONJA, and AKYEM. By the mid-18th century, the Ashanti were in control of a large portion of present-day Ghana and remained so until being conquered by Britain in the early 20th century.

As early as the 17th century the region had become so immersed in the European slave trade that the gold trade suffered. In the early 19th century Britain abolished slave trading, and the gold trade again became active, although it never regained the importance it once had during the late 15th and 16th centuries. By the 19th century Britain was extending its control over the area of present-day Ghana, and by 1874 the British had established the area as the crown colony of the Gold Coast.

See also: DENMARK AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); GHANA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); MANDE (Vol. II); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); TRADING OUTPOSTS, EUROPEAN (Vol. III).

Further reading: Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor, *Ghana: A Political History from Pre-European to Modern Times* (Accra, Ghana: Sedco Pub.: Woeli Pub. Services, 1990).

Gimira   One of many subgroups of the larger Cushitic language family. The two principal Cushitic languages are OROMO, spoken in ETHIOPIA and KENYA, and the language of Somali, spoken primarily in SOMALIA, Ethiopia, and DJIBOUTI. Among the many Cushitic language subgroups are the Saho-AFAR, Agaw, Beja, Burji, Geleba, Janjero, Konso, KAFFA, Maji, and SIDAMO.

Gimira-speaking people had established several small states in the southwest and western regions of Ethiopia by the 17th century. These states, formerly known as Shé, Benesho, and Mashengo, were incorporated into the neighboring Kaffa kingdom during the rule of the expansionist Tato Gali Ginocho (r. 1675–1710).

See also: AGAW (Vols. I, II); BEJA (Vols. I, II); KONSO (Vol. II); SOMALI (Vol. II).

Ginga (Nzinga)   Central African people concentrated in present-day ANGOLA. The history of the Ginga can be traced back to the the early 16th century and the MATAMBA state, which served as an independent tributary of the KONGO KINGDOM. For more than 300 years the Matamba kingdom was in almost constant conflict with the Portuguese settlers who sought to colonize the region. In the late 16th century the Ginga formed an alliance with the neighboring NDONGO, IMBANGALA, and KONGO peoples, in an attempt to repel Portuguese infiltration of the region. This plan worked until the mid-18th century.

The Ndongo subjugated the Ginga in 1630 and used the Ginga kingdom as a base for attacks against Portuguese colonists. In 1684 a treaty was signed to end further Portuguese expansion. However, in 1744 the Portuguese overtook much of the Matamba territory, continuing their expansionist activities well into the 19th century.

Giriama   Bantu-speaking ethnic group located south of the Galana River, near MALINDI on the SWAHILI COAST of KENYA. In the 18th century Giriama traders began to profit from the IVORY TRADE. Usually young, unmarried men, these traders used caravan routes to bring ivory from the Kenyan and Tanzanian interior to the ports of Malindi and MOMBASA. The journey was arduous, but the trade was so lucrative that a young Giriama man could buy land and cattle after only a couple of trips.

Later, in the first half of the 19th century, Giriama traders grew even wealthier when they joined with their KAMBA neighbors to monopolize the supply of Kenyan ivory going to ports along the Swahili Coast.

See also: GIRIAMA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Cynthia Brantley, *The Giriama and Colonial Resistance in Kenya, 1800–1920* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1981).

Gobir   One of the seven original HAUSA STATES located in NIGERIA between Lake CHAD and the Niger River. While the state of Gobir was probably founded as far back as the 11th century, its actual rise to prominence took place several hundred years after that. According to traditions describing the inception of the seven Hausa States, sometime in the 10th or 11th century a prince from Baghdad named Bayajida married a Hausa queen. This, says the legend, led to the creation of Gobir and the other "true" Hausa states of KATSINA, Rano, Biram, Zazzau (later called ZARIA, after its capital), KANO, and Daura.

Because the individual Hausa states were not formally united, they constantly challenged each other for both political and trading rights—with Gobir beginning its preeminence during the early to mid-18th century. By the 1770s Gobir also had become known as the homeland of the Islamic scholar USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), who later led the FULANI jihad of 1804. It was this holy war that, by 1808, led to Gobir's incorporation as an emirate of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE.

See also: BIRAM (Vol. II); DAURA (Vol. II); GOBIR (Vol. II); RANO (Vol. II).

Gojjam (Gojam)   Kingdom located in the mountainous region south of Lake Tana and the Blue Nile River in ETHIOPIA. Gojjam was probably founded in the 13th century by the Agaw, most of whom had adopted Christianity by the 14th century.

During the latter part of the 16th century Gojjam was the the eventual settling place for waves of Christian refugees from DAMOT, to the south. These settlers were fleeing the OROMO who were moving into their territory in large numbers. Between about 1605 and 1617, under the leadership of Christian emperor Susenyos (r. 1607–1632), Gojjam itself resisted attacks by the Oromo. In 1627 the

Oromo tricked Gojjam's governor, Buko, by pretending to attack Enarya, a Christian region to the south of Damot. Feeling confident that the Oromo were busy elsewhere, the residents of Gojjam were unprepared when the Oromo attacked, ransacked the province, and escaped back across the Blue Nile before the people of Gojjam could retaliate. The Oromo carried out further expeditions against Gojjam over the next three decades, despite suffering a serious defeat at the hands of Emperor FASILIDAS (r. 1632–1667) in 1636.

The conversion of the Agaw in Gojjam took place as the result of a relentless campaign carried out by Ethiopian emperor Amda Siyon (c. 1314–1344). Gojjam's king, Zankimir (c. 1323–1324), resisted the new religion and became known to Ethiopian Christians as Sara-Qamis, meaning "enemy to God." Amda Siyon sent priests and monks to Gojjam, where they established monasteries and churches. This angered Zankimir, particularly when Amda Siyon sent the monk Yafqiranna-Igzi to Sana Qirqos, a small island near Gojjam that Zankimir once ruled. The efforts at Christianization took root, and by the middle of the 18th century the majority of Gojjam's inhabitants had converted.

See also: AGAW (Vols. I, II); AMDA SIYON (Vol. II); BLUE NILE (Vol I); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994); Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopians: A History* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

gold The gold trade in Africa began as early as the seventh century, or perhaps even earlier, and the trade peaked around the late 16th century, when the slave trade gained momentum. While the trade of gold extended throughout most of Africa, the regions that produced gold were mainly concentrated in the southeast within areas of present-day ZAMBIA and ZIMBABWE, and in the west in parts of GHANA and GUINEA.

Gold Trade in West Africa From the 16th century on, the lucrative trade in gold had moved away from the trans-Saharan caravan routes that carried the gold to the northern regions of Africa from such important trading centers as GAO, JENNE and TIMBUKTU. Instead routes were established running away from the interior and toward the emerging trading outposts located on the coastlines of West Africa and southern East Africa. These areas had Portuguese, Dutch, and British mercantile ports,

where local traders would bring their gold dust, nuggets, and bars to trade for other metals, weapons, and horses from Europe, as well as for cloth, salt and other items brought from other parts of Africa.

The Portuguese started trading on the GOLD COAST (present-day Ghana) about the 1470s. In 1482 they established São Jorge de Mina, the first fort within the tropics of West Africa. São Jorge later became known simply as ELMINA, as the gold-rich area had become known to the Portuguese as *el mina,* or "the mine." There the Portuguese conducted business mostly with the AKAN and Mande peoples, with whom they traded metal goods and cloth for gold and human captives, who were shipped back to Portugal for forced servitude. It is estimated that by the early 16th century the Portuguese had secured about one-quarter of their country's gold supply from their trade with West Africa.

Gold extracted from the regions of what is now Ghana represented about one-tenth of the entire world's supply of gold by the early 16th century.

In West African regions, such as the Gold Coast and present-day Guinea, the British became increasingly active in the gold trade beginning around the mid-16th century. The Dutch, Spanish, Danish, and French followed soon thereafter. While the gold trade reached its apogee by about the late 16th century, the Dutch and British in particular remained highly active and overcame the competing European nations for dominance of the trade by the mid-17th century. The Dutch, for example, were able to overtake the Elmina fort in 1637, forcing the Portuguese to trade mostly from their ships docked in the ports of the Gold Coast.

Around the beginning of the 18th century the gold trade began to wane in West Africa, due initially to the a combination of clashes between ethnic groups of the interior and the harshness of some of the European directors who governed trade relations. The Dutch attempted to revive the trade by offering gifts such as silk and velvet cloths, gilded mirrors, and large fringed umbrellas known as *quitasols* to the local chiefs. However, their offerings did little to increase the volume of gold exported back to Europe. Rather, the Akan peoples, who remained the main source of gold for the Europeans, began to use other methods to gain wealth in their kingdoms, including using cowrie shells in place of gold in their exchanges with North Africa. For their dealings with the Europeans, however, the gold-producing states became highly active in the trading of another commodity: human captives. By 1705 the Gold Coast was also known as the SLAVE COAST.

Gold Trade in East Africa The 16th century saw the Portuguese beginning to occupy parts of southern East Africa as well. By about 1510 they had conquered several of the Muslim city-states on the SWAHILI COAST, and beginning in the 1530s they had moved inland toward the gold-producing regions along the ZAMBEZI RIVER. The most popular gold-trading center at this time was SOFALA, on the coast, to the east of the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom in present-day Zimbabwe and MOZAMBIQUE. The Portuguese efforts at total domination of the gold trade failed, however, despite a treaty with the king of Mwene Mutapa. Their efforts were constantly thwarted by disease, hostilities with the local peoples, and resistance from Arab, Muslim, and Swahili merchants, who had been trading in the region for centuries. By 1529 the Portuguese also had to contend with increasing French presence in southeast Africa. The English and Dutch, too, had established trading rights in the region by 1580 and

Idealized image of a woman from the Gold Coast. Europeans got much of their knowledge about Africa from pictures like this 1796 book illustration by Grasset and Labrousse. © *Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis*

1595, respectively. The gold trade in this region remained strong only until about 1650, when both the slave trade and the spice trade with India began to intensify. By 1698 the Portuguese were driven out of their headquarters at FORT JESUS, located in the city of MOMBASA in present-day KENYA. Although the African gold trade continued with the Europeans in the coming centuries, the powerful Swahili traders had shifted their profitable inland routes away from the coastline toward the southern regions of Africa.

The gold trade nevertheless continued, albeit at a reduced rate, throughout the 18th century, despite the fact that European manufactured items used to purchase captives became more and more valuable as the slave trade reached its height. After Britain outlawed the slave trade in 1807, the trade of gold once again increased, as Europeans and Africans alike began to look for ways to keep the successful, if not always equal, trade partnerships in place.

See also: NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); GOLD (Vols. I, II, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Timothy F. Garrard, *Akan Weights and the Gold Trade* (London: Longmans, 1980).

Gold Coast Colonial name for the coastal region that extended from IVORY COAST to TOGO; in 1957 it became the present-day country of GHANA. GOLD mining was a common activity in the interior regions of Ghana as early as the eighth century. During the 15th century the Gold Coast was dominated by AKAN peoples, who were famous for their tremendous gold production and had grown rich by trading the precious metal with Muslim traders. In the latter half of the 15th century the Portuguese became the first Europeans to arrive on the coast. They quickly saw the opportunity to participate in the gold market that they found there, and they built their first trading outpost, ELMINA, by 1482.

In the centuries that followed the Portuguese were joined by other European countries, including France, Britain, the Netherlands, and Sweden. All told, by the end of the 18th century Europeans built nearly 40 forts and castles on land leased from local rulers along the Gold Coast. At these outposts West African gold was traded for European cloth, beads, iron and copper items, firearms, gunpowder, glass, and alcoholic spirits. From the beginning West African captives were also traded there. The African peoples who had developed commercial ties through the gold trade—including the Ashanti and the groups from the kingdoms of ABOMEY, AKWAMU, and WHYDAH—were poised to take advantage of the trading of captured Africans when the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE came to dominate the regional ECONOMY in the 17th and 18th centuries.

By the 19th century Britain had used trade alliances and military force to monopolize the commercial activity on the Gold Coast. Known for centuries by the Portuguese name *Costa d'Mina,* it became known as the Gold Coast after 1874, when it was renamed by the British.

See also: GOLD COAST COLONY (Vol. IV).

Golden Stool Solid gold or gold-covered wooden stool symbolizing the divine rule of the kings of AKAN subgroups, including the Ashanti and the DENKYIRA. In West Africa stools were commonly used as thrones and were respected as having political importance. Most, however, were hand-carved from wood. The creation of the Golden Stool is attributed to *asantehene* (Ashanti king) OSEI TUTU (c. 1680–1720), who used the beauty and symbolic power of the stool to unite the people of his Ashanti state. About the same time, Boa Aponsem (r. c. 1677–1692), the *denkyirahene* (Denkyira king) commissioned the first Golden Stool for his people, as well. The Golden Stool was held in such high regard by the people that its power and authority were deemed greater than that of the king, and subjects remained loyal to the ideals represented by the stool even if a ruler died or was removed from office. In this way it allowed the unifying spirit of the kingdom to continue regardless of the fate of the ruler. According to popular legend, the Ashanti Golden Stool was sent down from heaven, landing in the lap of Osei Tutu to signify his divine rulership and the unification of his people.

See also: STOOL, ROYAL (Vol. II).

Further reading: Enid Schildkrout, ed., *The Golden Stool: Studies of the Asante Center and Periphery* (New York, N.Y.: American Museum of Natural History, 1987).

Gondar (Gonder) City located north of Lake Tana in ETHIOPIA that served as the capital of the Ethiopian Christian empire from about 1632 to 1855. About the middle of the 17th century, Christian emperor FASILIDAS (1602–1667) established his capital in Gondar during his campaigns against the rising influence of Ethiopian Muslims. Located in an isolated region north of the Lasta Mountains, the city was an ideal location for the Christian capital, far from the threat of Muslim incursions. Because he was able to escape the constant pressure of military threats in Gondar, Fasilidas had the opportunity to focus on centralizing his powers using the state, church, and monarchy.

Under Fasilidas, Gondar became a center of Christian influence, independent from the Roman Catholic Church, which the Ethiopians found oppressive and threatening (even more so than Islam). He oversaw the construction of many beautiful churches and castles, most of which, unfortunately, do not survive today.

Fasilidas was succeeded by his son Yohannes (r. c. 1667–1682), who continued his father's practice of building churches and developing Gondar as the center of Christian influence in northeastern Africa. Yohannes was succeeded by his son, IYASU I (1682–1706), a Christian warrior-king who also ruled from Gondar, strengthening his empire by building military strongholds and through taxation. Iyasu I was deposed by his son, TEKLA HAYMONOT (r. 1706–1708), and died in 1706, marking the end of the glory of Gondar as the unrivaled center of Christian power in Ethiopia. The emperors who followed Iyasu I were weak and susceptible to court intrigue. From about 1769 to the middle of the 19th century the *negusa negast* (king of kings) at Gondar was a mere figurehead, unable to control either the rival OROMO chiefs or the Ethiopian kingdoms of AMHARA, GOJJAM, SHOA, and Tigray. This period, known as the ZEMENE MESAFINT (Age of Princes), marked a period of isolation and dissolution of the former Ethiopian Christian empire.

See also: TIGRAY (Vol. I, IV, V).

Further reading: Richard Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Coronet Books, 1985).

Gonja (Guan, Gongya, Ngbanya, Ntafo) Kingdom in the north-central part of present-day GHANA that prospered in the 16th and 17th centuries by trading GOLD, captives, kola nuts, and other agricultural products with neighboring kingdoms. The most important trading centers in the kingdom were Yagbum, the capital, and Buipe. The people of Gonja spoke Gur and Guang, Niger-Congo languages related to Mande.

> **As early as the 15th century, the forest region near Gonja was one of the major sources of kola nuts in West Africa. The nuts have a mildly stimulating effect that made them popular trade items among Muslim traders, whose religious beliefs prohibited the consumption of alcoholic beverages.**

Gonja was founded between 1550 and 1575 by invading Mandinka cavalrymen from the SONGHAI EMPIRE. Under the direction of Askia DAUD (r. 1549–1582), the Songhai king, they took control of territory formerly held by the kingdoms of BONO and DAGOMBA and established a royal ruling class known as the *ngbanya.* By the mid-17th century Gonja began to expand under the leadership of Jakpa Lanta (c. 1622–1670), quickly developing a reputation as a strong trading nation. It accomplished this by dominating its tributary kingdoms, including Dagomba,

Stairways leading to the house that once held captives on Gorée Island, near Senegal. The photograph was taken between 1977 and 1998. © Wolfgang Kaehler/Corbis

and various smaller, stateless societies that traded in the region. Many of the captives resulting from these conquests were subsequently traded for gold.

Along with the AKAN states to the south and the MOSSI STATES to the north, Gonja remained a powerful empire until it was conquered and overthrown by the ASHANTI EMPIRE, an Akan state, during the 18th century. The Ashanti name for Gonja was Ntafo.

See also: KOLA NUTS (Vol. I); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Further reading: J. A. Braimah, H. H. Tomlinson and Osafroadu Amankwatia, *History and Traditions of the Gonja* (Calgary, Canada: University of Calgary Press, 1997); Ivor Wilks, Nehemia Levtzion, and Bruce M. Haight, *Chronicles from Gonja: A Tradition of West African Muslim Historiography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Gorée Island   Small island located off the coast of SENEGAL in West Africa. Gorée was the most heavily trafficked port during the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. The Lebu people, the original occupants of the island, were pushed out upon the arrival of the Europeans in the 15th century.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish settlements in the region. Calling the island Palma, they quickly set up a fort from which they conducted their commercial activities. Human captives and GOLD were their most valuable commodities, but they also traded gum, wax, hides, and ostrich feathers.

The Portuguese did not, however, enjoy exclusive rights to the trade. No sooner had the Portuguese landed than other European countries began to show interest. In 1588 Dutch traders assumed control of the island and changed the name to Goede Reede, from which the word *Gorée* is derived.

From the latter half of the 16th century to early in the 17th century, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, and England fought bitterly for control of the island and its valuable position in the slave trade. By the 17th century Gorée Island had become the nucleus for the European exportation of captives to the Americas. When Britain abolished slave trading in the early 19th century, Gorée

Island declined as a commercial center. It was under French dominance from 1817 until 1960, when Senegal achieved independence.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: James F. Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700–1860* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993.

government, systems of   By the end of the 15th century a wide variety of systems of government existed on the African continent. Islamic forms of government predominated throughout North Africa and also influenced some of the major states, including the empires of GHANA, MALI, and SONGHAI, in the western Sudan, south of the Sahara desert. In the same West African region, however, other forms of government also continued to exist, and not everybody lived under the rule of large states. The great diversity in the systems of African government can be seen in the region to the north of the great bend of the Congo River. The historian Jan Vansina has noted that there were eight major types of government in the region: kingdoms, principalities, village governments, segmentary lineages, urban governments with rotating leadership, chiefdoms based on matrilineal associations and territory, chiefdoms based on territory, and chiefdoms based on patrilineal associations and territory.

The continent saw several major shifts in the systems of government during the precolonial period. In North Africa the hold of the Ottoman Empire began to weaken over the course of the 18th century, so that by 1800 the states in the region were increasingly autonomous from the sultan in Istanbul. In the western Sudan it was the emergence of theocratic Muslim states from jihads led by individuals such as USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817) that introduced new systems of government based on Islamic precepts. A growing European presence was also making itself felt at key points on the coast. This led to coastal enclaves, such as Luanda in Portuguese-ruled ANGOLA, that were governed along European lines. The most important development in this regard was the establishment of the CAPE COLONY in southern Africa in 1652. It was to become the base for a spreading European dominance throughout the region. The early decades of the 19th century witnessed an increase in the European efforts to control larger areas of the continent, presaging the colonial governments to come.

See also: GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vols. I, II, IV, V); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Gqunukwebe   South African ethnic group descended from the XHOSA and KHOIKHOI peoples. The Gqunukwebe inhabited the Eastern Cape just west of the Buffalo River.

The name *Gqunukwebe* derives from the Gkunukwa, a Khoikhoi group from the Zuurveld region.

According to tradition, in the middle of the 18th century a Xhosa chief named Tshiwo was to put a number of his subjects to death for practicing witchcraft. Rather than killing them, Tshiwo's executioner protected the accused by giving them sanctuary among a group of Khoikhoi residing along the Mzimvubu River. The two groups subsequently assimilated and formed the Gqunukwebe.

See also: WITCHCRAFT (Vol. I).

Further reading: J. B. Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence* (Berkeley, Calif: Univ. of California Press, 1982).

Grain Coast   West African region that today makes up the coast of LIBERIA, also called the "Pepper Coast." The Grain Coast was so named because it was the part of the Gulf of Guinea coast that produced the MALAGUETTA PEPPER, also called "grains of paradise," a precious spice used for both culinary and medicinal purposes. In the 15th century an amount of Guinea pepper, as it was also known, was priced at par with gold. In the late 18th century the Grain Coast became home to freed slaves from the Americas.

Great Boer Trek   Northern migration of about 6,000 BOERS, or Dutch-African farmers, that occurred between 1835 and the early 1840s. In 1795 the faltering DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY ceded control of the CAPE COLONY to Britain. Though the Dutch took the colony back in 1803, they lost it to the British again in 1806. By the mid-1830s, the first Boer migrants—called Voortrekkers—had begun an exodus from Cape Colony, believing that the British administration favored the indigenous African population and did not adequately address Boer concerns regarding LABOR laws and land rights. They left in a series of migrations, crossing the ORANGE RIVER into the Highveld to the north and the Natal coastlands to the northeast.

The Boers faced resistance everywhere they went. Nevertheless, they were able to forge ahead, largely because the territories into which they moved were occupied by groups that had only recently moved there themselves due to the MFECANE, forced migrations instigated by a ZULU territorial expansion that began around 1820. To the north some of the Boers settled in SOTHO and TSWANA lands, between THABA BOSIU and the Vaal River. Because of the unrest caused by the Zulu campaigns in the region, some Boers were able to make military alliances with the local groups, including the GRIQUA and Rolong, thereby facilitating their migration.

Other Boer groups migrated even further north, into Ndebele territory south of the Limpopo River, where they

faced intense opposition. Those who migrated east into Natal, near the Indian Ocean coast, found their trek most dangerous, as fierce Zulu warriors controlled much of the pasture land that they sought. Eventually the Boers defeated many of the indigenous African groups by establishing fortified camps and using firearms and guerrilla tactics.

Although they persevered, the period of the Great Trek marked a difficult time for the Boers. As they moved into the southern-Africa interior in greater numbers, neighboring Bantu-speaking peoples put increasing military pressure on them. In the coastal regions the British, too, viewed the Boers as a threat, worrying that they could disrupt trade on the Indian Ocean. British policies in the 1840s resulted in further Boer migrations and the eventual establishment of the independent Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); AFRIKANERS (Vol. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III; NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Norman Etherington, *The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815–1854* (New York: Longman, 2001).

Great Lakes region   Vast area in central East Africa that is dominated by Lake Victoria, Lake TANGANYIKA, Lake Malawi (Nyasa), and a number of smaller bodies of water. The Great Lakes region lies along the Great Rift Valley, a geological fault system that runs from western Asia through eastern Africa. In addition to the three large lakes mentioned, significant bodies of water in the Great Lakes region include Lakes Rudolf, Albert, Edward, and Kivu, to the north and east of Lake Victoria, Lakes Bangweulu, Rukwa, and Mweru, near the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, and Lake Chilwa, south of Lake Malawi.

The peoples who occupied the Great Lakes region during the period between the 16th and 19th centuries included the MAASAI, KAMBA, NYAMWEZI, NKOLE, GANDA, HEHE, MARAVI, and YAO. The area surrounding the Great Lakes region includes parts of the present-day countries of ETHIOPIA, KENYA, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, ZAMBIA, UGANDA, RWANDA, BURUNDI, TANZANIA, MALAWI and MOZAMBIQUE.

See also: GEOGRAPHY (Vol. I); RIFT VALLEY (Vol. I); TANGANYIKA, LAKE (Vol. II); VICTORIA, LAKE (Vols. I, IV).

Further reading: Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003).

Griqua   South African people of mixed KHOIKHOI and European descent. Dutch colonists began to establish permanent settlements in the southern African interior in the middle of the 17th century. These settlers—most of them young, single males—had sexual relations with the indigenous Khoikhoi women, and by the middle of the 18th century the Griqua had emerged. Most Griqua spoke Khoisan, though many also spoke Dutch.

The children of European men and Khoikhoi or San women in South Africa made up a mixed race that became known as *Coloureds* or, in Dutch, *Basters*. The Griqua are a Baster group.

In the late 18th century the Griqua sought relief from Dutch and then British oppression and migrated from the CAPE COLONY to the region north of the ORANGE RIVER. They quickly adapted to their new environment, becoming farmers, herders, and hunters. They regularly increased the size of their herds by raiding the cattle of neighboring groups.

Gronniosaw, Prince James Albert Ukawsaw   (b. c. 1714) *Prince from Kanem-Bornu*

Prince Ukawsaw was the youngest of six children born to the daughter of the *mai* (king) of KANEM-BORNU, a kingdom surrounding Lake CHAD. Throughout the prince's childhood, as described in his autobiography, he possessed a "curious turn of mind." As a young man, too, he was restless, and he accepted an offer from an ivory merchant from the GOLD COAST to go on an expedition.

Upon reaching their destination Ukawsaw wrote that he heard "drums beat remarkably loud, and the trumpets blow." He later learned the drums and trumpets were in his honor, as he was a prince from the kingdom of Kanem-Bornu. Nevertheless his welcome did not last long, as the city's king thought that Ukawsaw might be a spy and sought to behead him. The king changed his mind when he witnessed the bravery at which Ukawsaw faced his execution and ordered him, not freed, but rather to be sold overseas as a forced laborer.

By the time he was sold for two yards of checked cloth and left the Gold Coast on a Dutch ship, Ukawsaw was about 15 years old. His first master was said to be kind and took him to Barbados, where, after some time, he was sold for $50 and brought to America, where he was a house servant for a family in New York. Later he was sold for £50 sterling to a Mr. Freelandhouse, a minister who taught him the Christian religion. Upon the death of Mr. Freelandhouse, Ukawsaw was released from bondage and given £10. He chose to stay on for six more years, serving the widow and her five sons.

When Ukawsaw did leave New York, he became a cook on a ship of the 28th Regiment, helping to attack

and pillage ships in places such as Martinique and Cuba. Cheated out of his part of the spoils when the expedition was finished, he sailed to Spain with a shipload of prisoners and then, around 1762, traveled on to Portsmouth, England, with another group of prisoners.

Ukawsaw had long wanted to travel to England after learning about Christianity, as he thought it would be a land filled with holy people where he could live in peace. He instead found England to be inhospitable at first and was surprised at the profane language the British used. He was cheated out of his money and possessions and lived in poverty until he was helped by a preacher named Mr. Whitefield—a man whom Ukawsaw met after reading about him in his religious studies.

With the help of a Mr. Whitefield, Ukawsaw was able to stay in a boardinghouse, where he met Betty, a white woman who eventually became his wife. After making a seven-week trip to Holland to speak about his life to Calvinist ministers, Ukawsaw returned to England to marry Betty. Before he was married, he was officially baptized and took the Christian name of James Albert.

Ukawsaw and his wife had children and continued to live in poverty throughout most of their life together. He eventually moved his family to the town of Kidderminster, where, about 1774, Ukawsaw told his story and allowed it to be transcribed by the countess of Huntingdon, who lived in the town of Leominster. The countess at first chose to keep his autobiography for her personal collection but later decided to have it published with the intention of giving the proceeds to Ukawsaw and his family. The book was published in 1774 and titled *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, an African Prince, Written By Himself.*

By the time his autobiography was published, Ukawsaw was about 60 years old and frail. Nothing is known of his later life or whether he gained any wealth from his autobiography. His book later became known as one of the first publications by a free black man.

groundnuts (peanuts) Legumes (*Arachis hypogaea*) originally from South America that ripen beneath the soil rather than above it. Groundnuts are highly nutritious in terms of protein, minerals, and vitamins, and they provide a high degree of food energy. In the United States, where they are called peanuts, groundnuts are usually consumed roasted or boiled. In Africa, however, they are usually pressed for oil for cooking and making stews.

The Portuguese encountered groundnuts in Brazil and introduced the crop to Africa by the 16th century. It became a major FOOD crop in the SENEGAMBIA region, the lower Congo River region, and MOZAMBIQUE, all of which were areas where the Portuguese were active commer-

cially. In the early decades of the 19th century, African farmers in the Senegambia region began to grow groundnuts commercially as a cash crop for export. The Gambia River, which is navigable from the sea for about 200 miles (322 km) inland, provided ready shipping access for this bulk crop.

The local Bantu-speaking people in the area of the mouth of the Congo River called groundnuts *nguba*. Many people from this area were taken captive and shipped to the American South in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Groundnuts accompanied them as did the name, which eventually was transformed into the common term "goobers."

The oil from groundnuts could be used as a lubricant for machinery in the era before petroleum products were available. It also was used to make foods such as margarine. France became the major importer of groundnuts from this region, and by the middle of the 19th century, the economy of the GAMBIA became almost entirely dependent on exporting groundnuts.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. IV); GROUNDNUTS (Vol. IV).

Gugsa, Ras (Gugsa Mersu Ras) (r. 1803–1825)
Regional ruler of Yejju Province in north-central Ethiopia

Ras Gugsa ruled YEJJU Province in north-central ETHIOPIA during the period called the ZEMENE MESAFINT (1769–1855), or the "Age of Princes." During this era the central monarchy was weak, and provincial ruling families wielded power behind the scenes.

Gugsa's father, Ras Ali Gwangwil (d. 1788), also known as Ali the Great, was the first of six rulers bearing the title *ras* (meaning "regional ruler" or "governor") to hold power in Ethiopia prior to ascension of Emperor Téwodros II (1820–1868), in 1855. Ras Ali's family conducted foreign policy and controlled royal appointments in the name of the emperor, Tekla Giyorgis I, who ruled, in evidence of the volatility of the times, from 1779 to 1784, from 1788 to 1789, and intermittently from 1794 to 1800. A member of the northern OROMO people who had converted to Islam, Ras Ali was the first of the rulers of Yejju Province to be baptized, although his embrace of Christianity was seen by many as insincere and merely a means to maintain control over the Christian emperor and the capital city of GONDAR.

Gugsa's succession did not come easily. When his father died in 1788, a period of anarchy ensued during which both the enemies and supporters of Ras Ali fought bitterly against one another, sacking Gondar and the trad-

ing province of Begemder and massacring and capturing the local peasants. Following his father's death Ras Gugsa struggled for 15 years to overcome his rivals, but finally won the throne in 1803. He married one of the daughters of Emperor Tekla Giyorgis and had eight children, although not all by his wife.

Gugsa was a ruthless ruler who tyrannized the nominal emperor, Egwala Siyon (1801–1817), and closely controlled every aspect of government, enabling him to enjoy, for the most part, a peaceful reign. He consolidated his relationship with the Christian lords—including Haile Mariam of SIMIEN, Maru of Dembya, and Welde Rafael and Wagshum Kenfu—by promising them his daughters in marriage.

The biggest threat to Gugsa's leadership was the campaign of Ras Wolde Selassie (d. 1817), of Tigray. He sought to destroy the ruling family of Yejju and reestablish the Ethiopian monarchy. A member of an old Christian family of Tigray Province who hated the Oromo from Yejju, Ras Wolde Selassie rallied the princes of Simien and Tigray provinces to join him in his war against Yejju. Gugsa's vigilance paid off between 1811 and 1812, when he cunningly played his enemies against one another until they eventually became disinterested in the cause and fragmented, leaving Wolde Selassie alone and defeated and bringing Sahle Selassie (r. 1813–1847) to the throne.

When Gugsa died in 1825, another great battle for the throne of Yejju Province ensued, resulting in the short and ineffective reigns of his sons Yeman (1825–1828), Marye (1828–1831), and Dori (1831, three months).

Guinea   West African country situated in the Atlantic coast that is some 95,000 square miles (246,100 sq km) in size. It is bordered by GUINEA-BISSAU and SENEGAL to the north, Republic of MALI to the north and east, IVORY COAST to the east, and LIBERIA and SIERRA LEONE to the southwest.

Beginning in the late 15th century, *Guinea* was also the European term used to refer to the West African coast. Three independent nations in the region use the name today—the Republic of Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, and EQUATORIAL GUINEA, the southernmost of the three. The other present-day African countries whose coastlines made up the Guinea coast include, from north to south: WESTERN SAHARA, MAURITANIA, Senegal, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, GHANA, TOGO, the Republic of BENIN, NIGERIA, and CAMEROON.

Guinea was renowned in Europe for its GOLD production, first attracting Portuguese traders in the 15th century. In later centuries traders from France, Britain, Spain, Sweden, and The Netherlands also participated in the gold trade.

Rising some 3,000 feet (914 m) above the coastal plains at the headwaters of the GAMBIA RIVER, the mountainous FOUTA DJALLON region of Guinea became prominent during the 15th and 16th centuries. Although the FULANI appear to have been present in this region from an early date, by the middle of the 15th century they were joined by additional Fulani migrants, many of whom were Islamic converts from Senegal. In the 18th century the Fulani developed a theocratic state steeped in Islamic RELIGION and culture.

See also: GUINEA (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder, Colo.: Hestview Press, 1993); Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1970).

Guinea-Bissau   Small republic in West Africa measuring about 14,100 square miles (36,500 sq km) and bordered by GUINEA on the south and east and by The GAMBIA and SENEGAL to the north. Although the mainland portion of the country is small, Guinea-Bissau also includes 60 offshore islands—inhabited by the BIJAGO people—that are considered part of its overall land surface. The interior includes low-lying alluvial plains, massive mangrove swamps, and savanna woodlands. The country rises to a plateau on its eastern side, reaching a height of approximately 1,017 feet (308 m) in the southeast.

Guinea-Bissau has numerous rivers and tributaries, including the Geba, which have historically served as an essential means of transportation and trade. These rivers also provide a drainage network for the region. Although prone to flooding during heavy seasonal rains between May and October, the rivers may have sustained as many as 20 different ethnic groups beginning as early as 9000 BCE. Its original population consisted of hunter-gatherers who supplemented their subsistence diet with fishing.

A great influx of migratory groups occurred in the region between 900 and 1000 CE as a result of climatic changes, the need to secure reliable FOOD resources, and warfare in bordering regions. This secondary group included FULANI cattle herders and diverse groups of agriculturalists such as the Malinke, who grew COTTON and, later, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts). Other groups, such as the Balanta, one of the largest groups occupying the country's central and southern regions, practiced communal farming. The Balanta came to be paddy-rice growers with villages and small chiefdoms were organized according to paternal lineage. Other groups such as the Bijago and the

Manjaca and Pepel from the northern coast developed an economy based on the trade of sea salt, palm wine, and PALM OIL.

The region was the site of the powerful kingdom of GABU, founded in the 13th century. Between the 15th and 16th centuries the rise of the SONGHAI Empire, the demise of the Mali Empire, and the arrival of Portuguese traders ensured Gabu's continued power and independence. Wars between the Mandinka and surrounding Fulani people provided Gabu with captives, who were sold as forced laborers to further enrich the kingdom. Gabu remained a power in the region until the late 19th century.

See also: CACHEU (Vol. III); GUINEA-BISSAU (Vols. I, II, IV, V); MALINKE (Vol. II); MANDINKA (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

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H

Hadya (Hadiya, Hadiyya, Gudela) Kingdom of the SIDAMO people established by the end of the 13th century southwest of SHOA, in ETHIOPIA. The people of Hadya speak an Eastern Cushitic language and refer to themselves as Gudela. They are called *Hadya* (*Hadiyya*) by their Ethiopian and OROMO neighbors. Although Hadya was a primarily Islamic sultanate, the people managed to preserve much of their non-Muslim traditional culture. The title bestowed upon their kings was originally *amano* but was later changed to *garad.* The Hadya have a tradition of cultivating barley, millet, and COTTON.

In his 14th-century observations, Muslim historian al-Umari includes Hadya as one of the six Muslim states in Ethiopia and describes it as an important and wealthy commercial center. Hadya had a long history of conflicts with Christian Ethiopia, dating back to the reign of Emperor Amda Siyon (r. c. 1314–1344), who took many of the Hadya people as slaves. Between the 15th and 17th centuries Hadya was raided several times by the Christian state for failing to make its tribute payments.

> **According to one account, the wars during the reign of Ethiopian Christian ruler LEBNA DENGEL (r. c. 1508–1540) were caused by his refusal to marry the daughter of the king of Hadya because she was buck-toothed.**

In 1532, when the Islamic leader AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543) was waging his jihad on Christian Ethiopia, Hadya's king once again sided with the Muslim leader, rather than the Christians. Hadya's interactions with the Christians were curtailed in the 17th century as a result of the disruptions caused by the influx of Oromo people, who migrated to the area in large numbers.

See also: AMDA SIYON (Vol. II).

Hamasien (Hamasen) Province located within the northern highlands of central ERITREA, in northeastern Africa. The inhabitants of Hamasien and the neighboring present-day provinces of Seraye and Akkele Guzay were mostly farmers who were physically similar, subscribed to the same religion, followed the same social structure, and participated in the same cultural traditions; there were, however, some regional differences in certain customs and laws.

> **During the colonial period Ras Alula (fl. 1870s), originally from Tigray, recognized the commercial importance of Asmara and moved his capital there. Asmara, still Eritrea's capital city, is located in Hamasien Province.**

Hamasien's wealth was acquired through hundreds of years of commercial activity. A well-traveled trade route linking Hamasien and the nearby Red Sea port of Massawa with the Ethiopian provinces of Tigray, AMHARA, and SHOA was established in the 14th century.

Hamasien is home to the Mensa and Marya ethnic groups; both speak Tigrinya and adhere to Monophysite Christianity. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the province enjoyed political autonomy. Its rulers belonged to the House of Tsazzega from the 1700s until the 1830s and were among the wealthiest families in Eritrea. The founders of Tsazzega were the two youngest sons of Tesfazion Ate-Shum, who governed Hamasien in the 17th century. His elder sons belonged to the House of Hazzega, and for centuries the two houses were fierce enemies. Their rivalry eventually led to the downfall of both houses. Bahr Negash (King) Solomon (d. c. 1743) was Tsazzega's most notable leader, but after his death the position of *bahr negash* lost some of its authority because after him there were several claimants to the title, some of them Hamasien nobles.

See also: MASSAWA (Vol. II); MONOPHYSITE (Vol. I).

Hamdallahi   Capital city of the second MACINA kingdom, located near the inland delta of the NIGER RIVER in present-day Republic of MALI. The first Macina kingdom dated to the 15th century. In the early 19th century Shehu Ahmadu Lobbo (1755–1845), a FULANI religious scholar, declared a jihad with the purpose of converting the remaining non-Muslim Fulani people to Islam. In 1810, after establishing his capital at Hamdallahi, Shehu Ahmadu ruled Macina as a theocratic state based on strict Islamic law. (*Hamdallahi* means "Glory to God" in Arabic.) After Shehu Ahmadu's death in 1845, the Macina kingdom fell into decline and later became a tributary state to the BAMBARA kingdom of SEGU.

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); INLAND NIGER DELTA (Vols. I, II).

Harer (Harar)   Ancient city in eastern ETHIOPIA known since the 14th century as an important center for trade and Islamic learning. Large numbers of captives and sizable amounts of agricultural products from the Ethiopian interior passed through Harer on the way to ports along the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, including BERBERA and ZEILA. As it grew in commercial importance, Harer also developed into a political and cultural capital.

> **The original inhabitants of Harer were the Adere, a Hamitic people who spoke a southern Ethiopian Semitic language. The Adere were mostly agriculturalists who cultivated fruit, vegetables, grains, coffee, and saffron. They also raised a mildly narcotic plant called *qat*.**

With a reputation as a Muslim holy city (it contained more than 90 mosques), Harer attracted pilgrims from all over the Islamic world during the 15th century. In 1520 AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543), the devout Muslim leader of the Islamic state of ADAL, moved his capital from Deker to Harer. Over the next two decades he successfully penetrated Christian Ethiopia, conquering and pillaging much of the territory that had belonged to the once-mighty Christian empire. Ahmad Grañ's jihad (holy war) was ended in 1541 by Ethiopian emperor Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559) and his Portuguese allies.

About 1551 Ahmad Grañ's nephew Nur (d. 1567) became *imam*, or Muslim leader, in Harer. To defend the city against hostile invaders, Nur built a heavily fortified wall that still stands today. His army had to repel not only the Christian Ethiopians but also the OROMO, who were gradually moving into the Harer region. By the 1570s Harer's importance in the region had waned due to the Oromo migrations and the consequent diverting of Muslim trade away from the city.

In 1577 Imam Muhammad (b. Ibrahim Gassa), a relative of Ahmad Grañ, transferred his government from Harer to Awssa, in the desert to the north. The move proved to be a grave error, as Awssa could not maintain authority over Harer or the Somali clans living on the Harer plateau. Awssa also became vulnerable to AFAR attacks, which further hampered its power and prestige.

Harer's political instability continued on throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, as did Oromo occupation of the region. By the 18th century some Oromo clans embraced Islam and assimilated into Harer society so completely that they became farmers and even paid nominal tribute to the emir of Harer, although they maintained many of their tribal customs as well as their social and political systems. Most Oromo, however, did not assimilate. They stayed true to their pastoral roots and continued their fierce campaign on the Harare plateau.

Between 1647 and 1887, 18 different emirs ruled Harer, and by the end of the 18th century the city's importance as a trading center had declined. Arab, Somali, Afar, and Hareri merchants moved to Zeila, in Adal, which became the major trading post in the Harer region.

By the 19th century the trade route between SHOA and Harer was replaced by a new route that extended from Tajura to Shoa. Shoa also began to control the wealthy markets in Soddo and Gurage, and as a result many merchants left Harer for Aliyu Amba, Shoa's largest market. The governments of both Harer and Shoa worked together to see that the routes between these two centers remained open.

Despite losing its status as a great commercial center, Harer remained an important cultural and religious nucleus, facilitating the spread of Islam in southern Ethiopia.

See also: HARER (Vol. II); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); RED SEA (Vol. I); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

Hausa States (Hausaland) Group of 14 independent, self-governing states originally located between the NIGER RIVER and Lake CHAD. KANO, its major city, was one of the most important trading cities in Africa as early as the 15th century. At their peak in 1650, the Hausa States controlled territory that stretched from the Jos Plateau in central NIGERIA north to the Sahel, and from the Niger River to the border of Bornu, to the northeast. Hausa traders traveled extensively throughout West Africa. They continued dealing in captives from DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN) and the land of the Ashanti (in present-day GHANA) even after the European powers curtailed the slave trade in the early 1800s.

Situated between KANEM-BORNU and the Mali Empire in what is now Nigeria, the Hausa States began to emerge in the 13th century out of settlements that had been in existence as early as the fifth or sixth century. These states then became trading centers, with merchants from the rival areas of Mali and Bornu vying for the right to trade items such as GOLD, alum, salt, kola nuts, cloth, animal hides, and henna.

The Hausa States trace their founding to the legend of Bayajida, the mythical Middle Eastern ancestor of the Hausa, which says that there were seven original or "true" Hausa states, including Zazzau (later called ZARIA, after its capital), GOBIR, Daura, Biram, Rano, Kano, and KATSINA. These original states were referred to as Hausa Bakwai while the second set of states was referred to as the "bastard" states, or Banza Bakwai. Depending on the source, these outlying seven states included KEBBI, Gwari, KWARARAFA, ILORIN, Yauri, ZAMFARA, NUPE, and Yoruba.

By the 15th century most of the Hausa population had been converted to Islam, with a few remaining pagans, or MAGUZAWA, a legally protected religious minority, according to Islamic law. Thereafter the Hausa states continued to develop separately with only minor alliances between neighbors. By the end of the 17th century a succession of influential kings had helped their respective states to flourish, both economically and as centers of learning.

The 18th century was marked by phases of territorial growth in the Hausa States, but rivalry among the states kept them from uniting under one centralized authority. This lack of cohesiveness proved to be decisive in determining the success of the FULANI JIHADS waged by the Muslim fundamentalist USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1818)

Hausa States and Their Neighbors, c. 1800
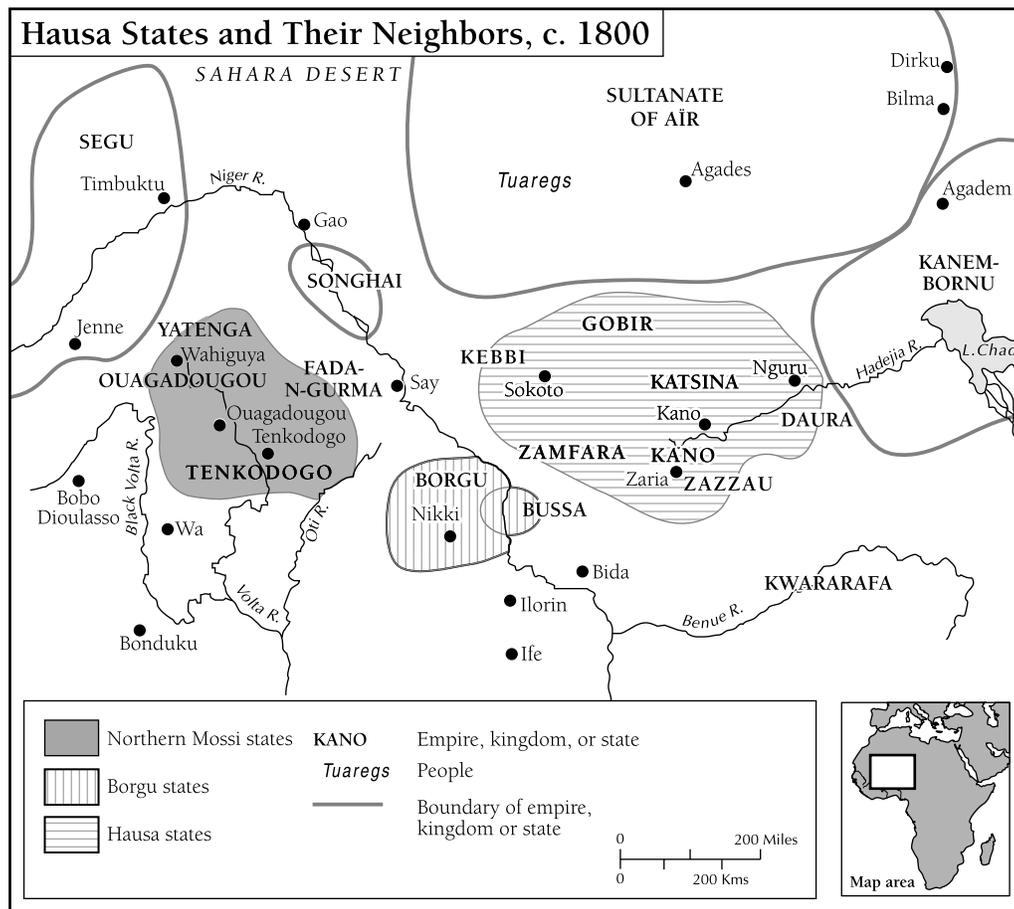
between 1804 and 1808. Ultimately Usman dan Fodio conquered the Hausa States and incorporated each of them into the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, an Islamic empire made up of individual emirates, or states, led by local Muslim rulers.

See also: HAUSA (Vols. I, IV, V); HAUSA STATES (Vol. II).

Hawkins, John (1532–1595) *Admiral and administrator in the English navy who later became the first slave trader in England's history*

Inspired by the exploits of his father, William Hawkins, who traded with Brazil in the 1530s, John Hawkins devised a plan to transport African captives to trading posts in the Caribbean. With the financial backing of English investors and a fleet of three ships, Hawkins set sail from England in October 1562. He landed in SIERRA LEONE, on what was then known as the Guinea Coast, where he acquired several hundred captives and merchandise that he then brought to the island of Hispaniola, in the West Indies, and traded for a wealth of goods. The Portuguese and the Spanish considered

Sir John Hawkins (1532–1595), the first English slave trader, in a print by H. Holland. Hawkins provoked conflict with Spain by transporting enslaved West Africans directly to the Spanish West Indies without the permission of Spain. © *Corbis*

Hawkins little more than a pirate and documented to the British government his capture of at least 16 vessels and their cargoes of African captives. The Spanish were also displeased with his unauthorized trading with their Caribbean colonies.

Because of the great profits from his first voyage, Hawkins's second trip was funded by another group of investors, which included Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603) of England. On October 18, 1565, he set sail once again for Sierra Leone, where his group captured and then traded 400 Africans. In 1567 he made his third voyage to Africa, this time accompanied by the English explorer Francis Drake (c. 1540–1596). After selling their human cargo in the Caribbean, their fleet of ships was attacked in the harbor by Spanish vessels. Only the ships commanded by Hawkins and Drake sailed back home. This attack was the basis for the hostility between Spain and England that led to war in 1585.

In 1577 Hawkins became treasurer of the navy, and he was promoted to comptroller in 1589. On November 15, 1595, while on an expedition to the West Indies with Drake, Hawkins died at sea off the coast of Puerto Rico.

See also: SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Haya (Bahaya) Bantu-speaking people of present-day TANZANIA. Evidence suggests that ancestors of the Haya migrated into their homeland in about the 13th century. The Haya occupy some of the richest land in the entire region, and their traditional homes, which are beehive-shaped huts with thatched roofs, are well known.

From the earliest days the Haya have maintained a sophisticated social and political hierarchy. Eventually, they developed a system of kingship in which the monarch was both the ritual and the main administrative leader. Beneath this centralized authority, various princes administered the kingdom's smaller districts, and, although these districts were most often ruled by members of the royal family, it was not unknown for certain commoners to assume those tasks. Indeed, commoners generally held the most important positions at the royal court, giving them a substantial amount of power in the governance of the kingdom.

The Haya originally were divided into separate chiefdoms, with Karagwe in the west, Shangiro in the south, and Greater Kyamtwara in the east. A northern chiefdom, known as Kizibo, was ruled by LUO-speaking BITO people. This changed, however, when the Chwezi dynasty fell from power in the neighboring Kitara Complex about the beginning of the 15th century. Moving south, the HINDA aristocrats from Kitara spread their caste system to the Haya and other peoples with whom they came in contact.

See also: BUNYORO-KITARA (Vol. II); CHWEZI DYNASTY (Vol. II); KARAGWE (Vol. II); KITARA COMPLEX (Vol. II).

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Herero Seminomadic pastoralist ethnic group of southern ANGOLA, northwestern BOTSWANA, and northern NAMIBIA, where they are called *Himba.* This Herero group is not to be confused with the Himba of KAOKOLAND, in southern Namibia, who are a subgroup of the Herero, as are the Mbanderu, also of Namibia. The Bantu-speaking Herero migrated to southwestern Africa from Central Africa during the 16th century. The southern boundary of Herero territory abutted the northern territory of the Khoisan-speaking NAMA people, with whom the Herero traded and intermarried. Despite their close ties the two herding peoples frequently clashed over issues regarding land and water use.

Until the 19th century the Herero roamed the savannas, living off the products of their large herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. Herero women cultivated some crops, but the maintenance of the herds remained the most important feature of Herero culture. Herero life largely followed long-established traditional patterns until the arrival of European MISSIONARIES in the early 19th century. Eventually the Herero acquired German firearms and intensified their efforts to control disputed land that was claimed by them, the Nama, and the ORLAMS, another Khoisan-speaking group.

See also: HERERO (Vols. II, IV, V); HIMBA (Vol. II).

Hinda (Bahinda) Aristocratic ruling clan that rose to prominence during the 15th century, following the fall of the Chwezi dynasty in the Kitara Complex, a collection of chiefdoms in present-day UGANDA. Hinda clan members ruled in a number of East African kingdoms, including NKOLE, BURUNDI, and Karagwe. The Hinda in the Nkole and Burundi kingdoms, among others, were also known as TUTSI. Groups of Hinda aristocrats also moved to the southern shores of Lake Victoria, where they mixed with HAYA and Zinza groups to form states in what is now northern TANZANIA.

See also: CHWEZI DYNASTY (Vol. II); HINDA (Vol. II); KARAGWE (Vol. II); KITARA COMPLEX (Vol. II).

Horn of Africa See HORN OF AFRICA (Vol. I); SOMALIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Hottentot Pejorative term coined by Dutch settlers in SOUTH AFRICA to describe the KHOIKHOI people. The word *Hottentot* apparently was derived from the Dutch phrase *hotteren-totteren,* meaning "to stammer." This probably was in reference to the fact that the Khoikhoi language utilizes numerous clicking sounds. The negative connotation of Hottentot developed during the 17th and 18th centuries, during which the Dutch were constantly warring with the Khoikhoi over grazing lands and trade.

See also: NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Husseinid dynasty Succession of beys, or rulers, who governed what is now the country of TUNISIA from 1705 until the region became a republic in 1957. The founder of the dynasty was a military officer of the Ottoman Empire named al-Hussein ibn Ali (r. 1705–1735), who came into power in 1705 when the reigning Tunisian ruler was ousted by forces from present-day ALGERIA. Like the MURADID DYNASTY (r. 1631–1702) rulers before him, al-Hussein chose to assume the title of *bey* instead of the more commonly used Ottoman title of *dey.* Al-Hussein was also named *beylerbeyi,* or governor, of the region, and by 1710 he had secured a law stating his offices would be passed down through a line of hereditary succession.

From the beginning of al-Hussein's reign he was able to operate more or less independently of the Ottoman Empire. By 1728 he had made profitable trade alliances with such European powers as Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Austria, as well as with the Mediterranean privateers, or PIRATES, known as CORSAIRS. The reigns of the beys who immediately followed al-Hussein were marked by succession disputes as well as clashes with both Europeans and Algerians. For example, Ali Bey, who ruled Tunis from 1735 to 1756, was captured and beheaded by Algerians when they briefly took control of the city. Ali Bey's successor, Hammuda Bey (r. 1782–1814), was forced to discontinue relations with the Italians after they attacked two coastal towns in 1784 and 1785. Later Hammuda Bey fended off attacks from the Algerians in both 1807 and 1813, and he also managed to suppress uprisings by the professional Ottoman military corps known as Janissaries.

Despite these and other setbacks, the Husseinid beys continued to have successful reigns well into the latter half of the 19th century. However, after Tunisia was colonized by France in 1883, the beys became mere figureheads, a situation that lasted until the dynasty ended in 1957, when the former colony became the Republic of Tunisia.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Hutu (Bahutu, Wahutu) Bantu-speaking peoples of the GREAT LAKES REGION of Central Africa in what is now RWANDA and BURUNDI. The Hutu cultivated large fields of beans, peas, sorghum, sweet potatoes, cassava, and MAIZE.

They also tended smaller fruit and vegetable gardens, as well as groves of banana trees. Bananas were used for FOOD and to make beer.

Hutu farmers generally lived in small, valley communities ruled by local chiefs. When the pastoral TUTSI migrated to the area beginning in the 14th century, the Hutu also became cattle herders. The Tutsi were militarily superior, and occupied strategic positions in the hills.

A patron-client, or lord-vassal, system was slowly developed in central Rwanda. Within this system, which they called *buhake,* Hutu men tended Tutsi cattle and performed other services in return for patronage and protection. In the Hutu's Bantu language, the patron was called *shebuja,* and the client was called *guragu.* Similar patron-client systems were established in other parts of the region.

The *buhake* system has been called a caste system, but the social strata were not as strictly defined as in, for example, the Hindu caste system. Hutu were able to achieve higher social and political status, although they then ceased to be Hutu and were called Tutsi. As a group, Hutu were generally relegated to the client position and prevented from holding political power, a situation that led to increasing resentment of the Rwandan Tutsi in later centuries.

As *guragu,* the Hutu served as Tutsi messengers, travel companions, cattle herders, and field and household workers. *Guragu* were also required to give their patrons cow's milk and other gifts. In return the Tutsi *shebuja* provided the *guragu* with access to cattle, cattle products, and pasture lands for grazing. The *shebuja* helped cover dowry payments and other expenses if the *guragu* could not afford them, and provided for the client's immediate family after he died, if relatives could not support them. The patron also provided meat, tools, and other items to the *guragu* in times of shortage.

In Burundi the patron-client system was separate from the political system. The patron-client arrangement was more flexible so that many Hutu in Burundi were economically independent of the Tutsi. Hutu as well as Tutsi could become patrons, owning cattle and exercising political power.

See also: HUTU (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

I

Ibibio People of the CROSS RIVER area of southeastern NIGERIA. The Ibibio are agriculturalists who are known for their artwork, especially woodcarving, and share many cultural similarities with the neighboring IGBO. The traditional lifestyle of many of the Ibibio changed dramatically in the 16th century with the development of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Ibibio groups living in the Niger Delta hinterland continued to cultivate cassava and yams and live in their traditional agricultural lifestyle, but the Ibibio people living near OLD CALABAR, an EFIK city, became heavily involved in the slave trade. These Calabar Ibibio fought often with their Igbo neighbors, with both groups capturing people who were then sold to both local buyers and to Portuguese traders.

In the early 18th century the Ibibio people were defeated by the Igbo, who established a confederation of Igbo-Ibibio towns led by prominent Igbo clan heads. The administrations in these towns came to rely on the proclamations of the AROCHUKWU ORACLE, the earthly representative of a mystical ancestral spirit that inhabited a shrine in Igboland originally built by the Ibibio. In the 1800s the oracle's proclamations often required that a debt be paid with captives, so the local trade in captives persisted even after the European governments began to officially abolish the practice in the early 19th century.

See also: IBIBIO (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vols. III, IV).

Idah Nigerian town located east of the NIGER RIVER. Prior to the 16th century Idah was the capital of the Igala, a Muslim people. In the 1500s Idah was annexed by the kingdom of BENIN under Oba Esigie (d. c. 1504). Idah's prince Tsoede (fl. c. 1531) left and established himself as the head of the NUPE kingdom. It is believed that he acquainted the region with the art of bronze casting.

Over the years, Idah's political structure came to resemble that of the kingdom of Benin. It was controlled by a king known as an *obi* who had a group of title chiefs under him who were required to pay tribute. Throughout most of the 19th century Idah's economy flourished because of trade with both Europeans and the IGBO people.

See also: IGALA (Vol. II).

Idris Alawma (Idris Alooma, Idris Aluma) (r. c. 1570–1603) *Renowned king, or* mai, *of Kanem-Bornu, which during his reign was at its most powerful*

The reign of Idris Alawma brought great change to KANEM-BORNU. He was considered an innovative *mai,* or king, who helped the empire flourish economically and politically. Among his fellow SEFUWA, Idris Alawma was highly regarded for his military prowess, administrative reforms, and his strong belief in Islam. He was responsible for introducing new military tactics that helped in his battles with his main adversaries, including the Hausa, TUAREGS, Toubou, and the BULALA. He adopted the use of fixed military camps, armored horses and riders, and military camelry. His armies were able to sustain prolonged sieges. Alawma had a segment of his army trained in the use of firearms by Ottoman Turks, from whom he also bought arms. He established diplomatic relations with EGYPT and TRIPOLI, both of which were controlled by the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans responded to his diplomatic efforts by sending a 200-member ambassadorial contingent across the desert to Idris' court at NGAZARGAMU, in Bornu.

Alawma's strong belief in Islam and Islamic law prompted him to introduce administrative and legal reforms in his empire. He supported the construction of several mosques and was inspired after a pilgrimage to Mecca to establish a hostel there to receive pilgrims traveling from his empire. He surrounded himself with loyal advisers and allies and created a council made up of the heads of the most influential Sefuwa clans. He also introduced economic reforms that helped the empire to prosper financially. Trade in goods and captives was very important to the empire's ECONOMY, and its location on one of the trans-Saharan routes brought the empire great wealth. Alawma was responsible for clearing roads, designing and improving boats for navigation on Lake CHAD, and introducing standard units of measure for grain. He also ensured the safety and security of travelers throughout his empire, thereby helping Kanem-Bornu to attain wealth. After Alawma's death, Kanem-Bornu gradually lost its dominance in the area.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Idris Katagarmabe (r. c. 1504–1524) *Mai (king) of Kanem-Bornu and a member of the Sefuwa dynasty*

Idris Katagarmabe succeeded his father, Mai Ali Gaji (r. c. 1472–1503), who consolidated power in KANEM-BORNU and built a new capital for the kingdom at NGAZARGAMU, west of Lake CHAD. Idris expanded his father's conquests in KANO, battling Kano kings Abdullahi (c. 1499–1509) and Muhammad Kisoki (c. 1509–1565). Early in his reign he recaptured the city of Njimi, the former SEFUWA capital, liberating it from the rival BULALA people. A few years later he launched an unsuccessful attack on KEBBI, one of the HAUSA STATES.

Idris developed diplomatic relations with North Africa, sending ambassadors to TRIPOLI in 1512 to renew commercial relations. He was succeeded by his son Mohammed, who reigned from about 1524 to 1545.

See also: NJIMI (Vol. II).

Ifa Yoruba divination system. Over the centuries, much of the Ifa system was integrated into Muslim practices, but the belief in Ifa still remained widespread in many areas. During the slave trade of the 16th through 19th centuries, Yoruba captives were shipped from YORUBA-LAND to British, French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies in the Americas. Much of their culture, particularly such rituals as the Ifa divination system, was preserved in modified forms.

See also: IFA (Vol. I); YORUBA (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Igbo (Ibo) Ethnic group of the southeastern regions of NIGERIA. The Igbo are a Kwa-speaking people who traditionally lived in small communities or villages based on a system of households, or *obi.* Beginning about the 15th century the Portuguese, and later the English and Dutch, began trading with the Igbo for, among other things, ivory and captives. Trade substantially increased after the development of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE in the late 16th and 17th centuries. During the late 1700s the majority of the people being taken from the interior of Nigeria were Igbo, who were shipped to ports in the southern United States or the Caribbean.

The Igbo were in constant conflict with the IBIBIO, a neighboring delta group with whom they shared many cultural practices. In the early 18th century the Igbo defeated the Ibibio with the help of the Akpa, a Niger Delta group who had probably bought firearms from European traders. After their victory the Igbo developed a confederation made up of Igbo-Ibibio towns, led by Igbo head men, that used the authority of the AROCHUKWU ORACLE to dominate the delta slave trade.

The Aro, a subgroup of the Igbo, exploited the fearful respect that the Igbo, IJO, and Ibibio groups had for the proclamations of the Arochukwu oracle. Considered the earthly representative of powerful ancestral spirits, the oracle often demanded payment in captives, who could then be sold for profit.

Despite Britain's abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the Igbo continued to trade in captives with the Ijo and Ibibio people. Trade goods for the European merchants thereafter shifted to commodities such as spices, forest products, and PALM OIL.

See also: IGBO (Vol. I, II, IV, V).

Ijebu Subgroup of the Yoruba peoples of southwestern NIGERIA. During the 16th century the Ijebu people established a kingdom in present-day Ogun State of Nigeria. Its capital was located in the town of Ijebu-Ode. Along with serving as the residence for the reigning ruler, known as the *awujale,* the Ijebu-Ode was also a hub from which the Ijebu controlled trade from Lagos Lagoon to Ibadan until the 1820s. This control, however, was threatened by the Yoruba civil wars and was later lost completely to Ibadan.

See also: IJEBU (Vol. II); YORUBALAND (Vols. II, III).

Ijo (Ijaw) Southern Nigerian people of the Niger Delta region. Prior to the 16th century, groups of Ijo villages operated autonomously, relying heavily on fishing as a

source of income. With the arrival of Europeans in the early 16th century, however, the Ijo began to develop more cohesive city-states. This ultimately transformed the villages of BONNY, OLD CALABAR, and Brass into more powerful entities.

As these states grew in size and power, they became major trading centers. They operated throughout the period during which the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE flourished, capturing people from the interior lands, often with the help of weapons garnered from Europeans. After Britain abolished the slave trade in 1807, the Ijo switched from trading in humans to trade in PALM OIL, fish, and salt.

See also: BRASS (Vol. II); IJO (Vol. II); NIGER DELTA (Vols. I, IV, V).

Ilesha Town located in present-day southwestern NIGERIA. The founder and original *owa* (king) of Ilesha was Owaluse, who was said to have descended from Oduduwa, the semi-mythical founder of the IFE kingdom of Nigeria. Owaluse established Ilesha during the early 16th century along a trade route between BENIN CITY and Old Oyo.

The main inhabitants of Ilesha, known as the Ijesha, are related to the Yoruba. They traditionally made their living from AGRICULTURE and, in later centuries, trading items such as cloth, PALM OIL, COTTON, kola nuts, and cocoa. The people were ruled by their *owa* who was elected and administered by a series of chiefs holding a variety of titles signifying their position as either a *iwole* (palace-chief) or a *t'ode* (town-chief). In the late 19th century Ilesha became the main military headquarters during the Yoruba civil wars (1877–92) against the neighboring town of Ibadan.

See also: ODUDUWA (Vol. II); YORUBALAND (Vol. III).

Ilorin City and emirate in western NIGERIA that was established by the Yoruba at the end of the 18th century. Ilorin had a significant impact on the downfall of the OYO EMPIRE, of which it was a vassal state. Kakanfo Afonja, the Oyo military leader stationed at Ilorin to protect the city from attack by the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, joined forces with Mallam Alimi, a FULANI Muslim from Sokoto, and together they led a revolt against the Oyo empire in 1817. Shortly after Afonja and Alimi won independence for Ilorin, the Oyo empire collapsed.

No sooner had Alimi arrived in Ilorin that the entire city was flooded with Alimi's soldiers. This became an increasing threat to Afonja's rule. He quickly discovered that siding with Alimi had been a grave mistake, and he was eventually overthrown by his one-time Fulani ally. Alimi's son Aba al-Salam became the emir of Ilorin in 1829. He waged a holy war on YORUBALAND

that lasted until the mid-19th century, when he was defeated by forces from Ibadan.

Imbangala (Jaga, Yaka) A Lunda-derived hunter-warrior society, descended from the MBUNDU, that settled in what is now ANGOLA, forming what later became the KASANJE kingdom. During the early 16th century a group of Lunda people left KATANGA and moved westward in search of territory. Their rulers, called by the titles *kinguri* and *makota,* led the Lunda across the Kasai River, where they encountered first the CHOKWE and then the SONGO. They continued westward until they met with resistance from the powerful LIBOLO kings, forcing them to stop and settle between the Kwango and Kwanza rivers, among the Songo, in what is now central Angola.

Here the leaders took on the name *Kasanje,* and the people began calling themselves the *Imbangala.* The rulers adopted a warrior-based political system, called *kilombo*, which gave the Imbangala the power to conquer weaker groups and move southward along the West African coast.

The *kilombo* was a radically different way of structuring society than the lineage-based systems of most Mbundu groups. There was no kinship in the warrior society. Men were chosen for leadership positions based on skill rather than kinship or lineage. Women were prohibited from giving birth inside the sacred walled encampments where the warriors trained and kept their weapons, and Imbangala infants inherited no standing in the *kilombo.* Only uncircumcised males, who were often the young captives of successful Imbangala conquests, could be initiated into the warrior society. During the 1680s some Mbundu began circumcising their boys at a very early age, between 5 and 9, making them ineligible for *kilombo* initiation and thereby making them unattractive as captives.

In the 16th century the Imbangala moved northward, conquering Mbundu and Kongo peoples along the coast and selling most of them to the Portuguese, with whom they had formed an alliance. In return the Portuguese aided the Imbangala in their conquests and provided them with European goods.

In the early 17th century an Imbangala ruler named Kulashingo led a band back north to the interior west of the Kwango River. During the 17th and 18th centuries the Imbangala became actively involved in the trade between the LUNDA EMPIRE, coastal Africans, and Europeans.

Ingombe Ilede   Major trading center located in southeast Africa in the Zambezi Valley, near the junction of the Kafue and ZAMBEZI rivers. Ingombe Ilede was inhabited in the early 1400s by a small group of agriculturalists, hunters, merchants, and artisans. Archaeological evidence suggests that these inhabitants accumulated great wealth through trade. The town became an important trade center not only because of its strategic location in the ZAMBEZI RIVER valley but also because of the skill of the resident craftsmen. Ingombe Ilede was known for its textiles, ivory carving, and metalwork. Because of its connections with East African coastal merchants, Ingombe Ilede prospered. By the early 16th century, however, the settlement was inexplicably abandoned.

Inhambane   Port town located on the coast of MOZAMBIQUE in southern East Africa that was an important trading settlement for Portuguese merchants in the 16th through the 18th centuries. Inhambane is also the name of the Bantu dialect that is spoken by the Tonga and Chopi peoples of southern Mozambique.

About 1534 Portuguese traders founded a fortified settlement in Inhambane and used it as a stopover for merchants working the Indian spice trade. By the end of the 16th century Inhambane was processing GOLD that was acquired at trading fairs in the African interior. In the 17th century Inhambane also began to process ivory for export to other Indian Ocean ports and India. By the mid-18th century the town—along with the other Mozambican coastal settlements of QUELIMANE and Mozambique Island—was used as an outpost in the trade of captives.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); TONGA (Vol. I).

Islam, influence of   Islam and the traditional African religions were the dominant belief systems in Africa from the 15th through the 18th centuries. The influence had religious, commercial, and cultural aspects that strengthened Islam's presence in precolonial Africa.

By the 15th century Christianity existed in only small pockets of the continent, primarily in ETHIOPIA, in the Horn of Africa, where Christians practiced their religion freely, and in EGYPT, where the dwindling Coptic Church was often subject to bouts of restriction and persecution by the Muslim majority. Islam had totally replaced Christianity in North Africa by the 12th century and was making ever deeper inroads into West Africa. Trans-Saharan trade remained thoroughly dominated by Muslims, suffering only minor European interference in the 1400s when the Portuguese diverted a portion of the GOLD trade to the Atlantic coast.

The SWAHILI COAST, along the Indian Ocean, was the site of a thoroughly Arabized, and therefore Islamic, society that in the 16th through the 18th centuries came into conflict with Christianity. This conflict ended after 1698, when the Portuguese withdrew from the coast north of MOZAMBIQUE. Portuguese traders, however, gained control of much of the lucrative Indian Ocean trade that Muslim Arabs had dominated for more than 700 years.

Only southern Africa was untouched by Islam. Many of the original Muslims of the CAPE COLONY were political exiles from other Muslim lands. Islam took root among freed blacks and people in bondage. The latter were mainly from India, MADAGASCAR, the islands of RÉUNION and MAURITIUS in the Indian Ocean, and the east coast of Africa. Most were Muslim or had Muslim sympathies. Mainly white slave owners, afraid that they would have to free people who became Christian, tolerated the practice of Islam among captives on the grounds that a person should have some RELIGION. As southern Africa developed a wine industry, Muslims, forbidden by the Quran to drink alcohol, were prized as workers. By 1797 most Christian proselytization among enslaved populations had ended, but Islam did not become a major social force until the start of an Islamic revivalist movement in 1862. This movement was led by the Turkish scholar Abu Bakr Effendi (d. 1880), who worked among the Muslims of the Cape Colony.

The Appeal of Islam   Belief in Islam simply required profession of faith in the One True God and the acceptance of God's will as revealed by the prophet Muhammad and recorded in the Quran. Islam lacked the complex theology and heresies of Christianity, was not concerned with elaborate rituals or liturgies, and was not governed by a hierarchical priesthood. As its primary observances, Islam called for regular private prayer, the practice of charity, a strict fast during the holy month of Ramadan, and, once in a believer's lifetime if the believer could afford it, a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca. Muslims tended to look upon other Muslims, even converts, as brothers in religion, as fellow believers, and superior to all infidels.

The Intellectual Influences on African Islam   Islam in Africa is part of the Sunni branch of Islam, to which the majority of Muslims in the world belong; the smaller Shiite branch, with large communities particularly in present-day Iran and Iraq, accounts for roughly only 10 percent of Muslims worldwide. Different schools of Islamic law or jurisprudence govern the everyday behaviors and practices of Muslims. Because Islam reached Africa from two directions (both north and east), believers in Africa follow two different but compatible traditions: the Maliki school of law, which is dominant in North Africa and West Africa, and the Shafii school of law, which is dominant in East Africa and the neighboring Arabian Peninsula.

The Maliki school bases its practices on a code of law called al-Muwatta (The Beaten Path). Written by Malik ibn Anas (c. 713–c. 795), it covers the important areas of Muslim life ranging from prescribed prayer rituals and fasting to ethical conduct in business affairs. The Muwatta is supported by more than 2,000 traditions attributed to the prophet Muhammad. These reflect the legal principles dominant in the city of Medina, Saudi Arabia, the site of Muhammad's tomb and the city where much of the Quran was supposedly revealed to Muhammad.

The Shafii school of law is named for its founder, Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafii (767–819), who was a pupil of Malik ibn Anas. In contrast to his teacher, al-Shafii began to believe in the overriding authority of the traditions from the prophet and identified them with the Sunna, the body of Islamic custom and practice based on Muhammad's life and sayings and the main source of Islamic law after the Quran. The Shafii school of law was dominant in Arabia until the Ottoman sultans of the 16th century supplanted it with the Hanafite school of law dominant in Constantinople. However, Shafii influence remained strong in East Africa.

Both East Africa and West Africa were further influenced by the Ibadi sect of Islam, which became important in the OMANI SULTANATE and other parts of eastern Arabia during the early centuries of the Islamic era. The Ibadi, unlike other Muslims, believed that the best qualified person should be elected imam, or religious leader, of the community, whereas the established tradition required him to be a descendant of the prophet Muhammad. Sunni tradition supported the choice of a single, central ruler with the title of imam or caliph; the Ibadi, in contrast, permitted regions to have their own imams.

Ibadi merchants from East Africa established trade routes across the Sahara and reached West Africa as early as the ninth century or even earlier. Their conversions among the Muslim faithful did not last; most reverted to Maliki practices by the 11th century. The Ibadi sect became dominant in ZANZIBAR when the Omani Sultanate captured the island in the 1700s. However, the Ibadi there did no missionary work among the African peoples; their influence extended only to the Arab population of the coast.

The Spiritual Influences on African Islam The story of Islam in Africa is closely tied to SUFISM, although there is disagreement as to whether the effect was radical, conservative, political, or religious. Central to Sufi practice is a *tariqa,* or a way by which a Muslim may achieve a personal religious experience. MUSIC, chanting, and dance is often used to create a mystical state among believers. The image of the dervish (from the Turkish word meaning "poor man," or "beggar"), pictured whirling in ecstatic dance, gives a reasonably accurate view of the externals of Sufi ritual. The word *tariqa* is also used to refer to groups of Sufis who share the same rituals, and the word is sometimes, therefore, translated as "order" or

Spread of Islam 1400–1800

1400

1800

More than 50% Islam   10–50% Islam
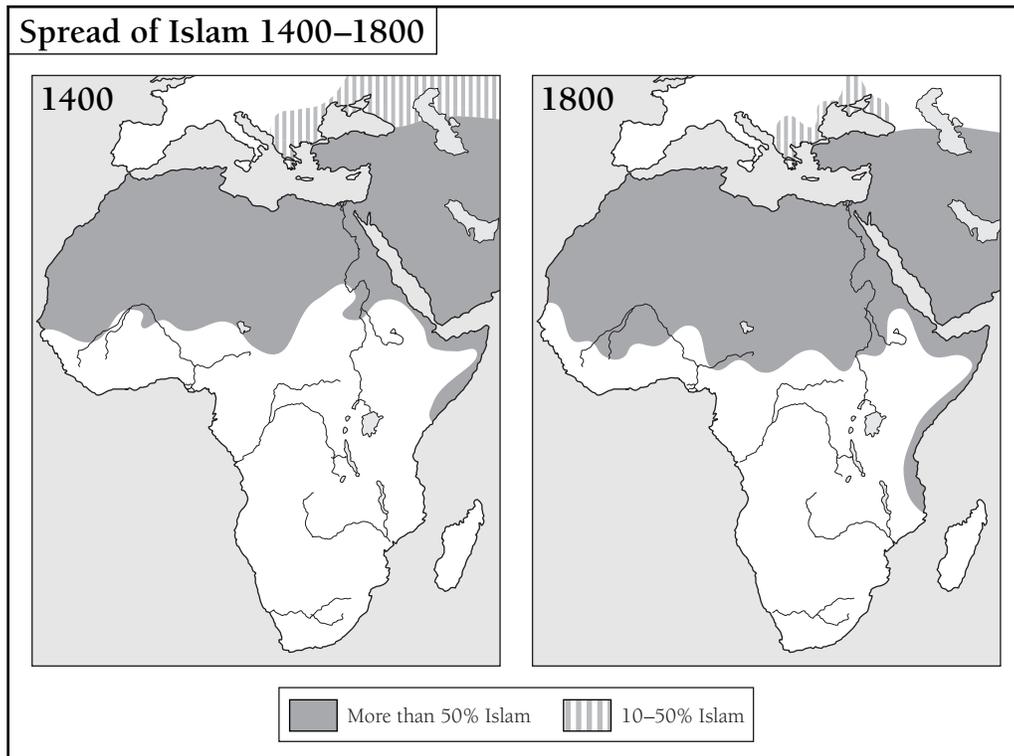
"brotherhood." The beliefs and practices of the Sufi orders were shaped by the saints and holy men who founded them. The three most important Sufi brotherhoods in Africa were the QADIRIYYA, which is the oldest in Islam and active in North Africa and Arabia; the Khalwatiyya, who were active in the HAUSA STATES and the Sultanate of Aïr; and the Shadhiliyya, who were active in the Sahara and, after 1880, in East Africa. Each Sufi brotherhood traces its origins to the teachings of the mystic teacher who founded the order.

In 16th-century TIMBUKTU, the leading scholars were Sufi but belonged to no particular *tariqa*. The same was true in KANEM-BORNU. Sufism was especially strong in the MAGHRIB, in North Africa. Initially they were members of the Shadhiliyya brotherhood, which at the time lacked any kind of hierarchical organization. As early as 1500 the Qadiriyya brotherhood was active in the Somali city of HARER, in the Horn of Africa. Until the 1800s, however, holy men were associated with individual Somali clans rather than with a specific Sufi brotherhood. It was not until the 19th century that the *tariqa* became important in Somalia. The same is true for the Swahili Coast, especially PATE and the LAMU Archipelago, where Sufism appeared as early as the 16th century.

During the 18th century the Sufi brotherhoods underwent a shift from a decentralized and diffused method of organization to a more disciplined structure. This centralized organization, novel for the time, made them a growing social and political force. The important leader of the Qadiriyya in the second half of the 17th century was Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kinti. His influence extended across the Sahara and the Sahel, and as far as FOUTA DJALLON. The Sufi brotherhoods represented an Islam of the people, rural rather than urban, pious and conservative rather than worldly. The impact of this more organized and energetic Sufism through 1800 was a growth in public observance of the rules of Islam and the encouragement to believers to live their faith more enthusiastically.

Islam in West Africa   Islam penetrated deep into the interior of West Africa in a steady process that began at the start of the millennium and continued well into the precolonial period. As early as the 11th century the Mande-speaking ancestors of the DYULA, a West African people with a long history as traders, set up commercial networks between the gold fields of West Africa and the trading towns from which caravans set off across the Sahara. Early converts to Islam, the Dyula shared a common bond of Muslim law, or *sharia,* with their fellow traders from the north. After a time, conversion to Islam became a necessity for anyone who wished to engage in trade. With these traders came Muslim clerics, who converted the local rulers. This process of conversion continued well into the 19th century, when some Ashanti people living in present-day GHANA, TOGO, and IVORY COAST were converted to Islam.

In many West African societies, Islam and traditional beliefs initially existed side by side. The primary point of contact between the common people and Islam was in the legal system and the courts of law. Important Islamic centers of learning were established in the major trading cities of Timbuktu, Gao, and JENNE. The Sankore mosque and university in Timbuktu, for example, where the leading scholars were Sufis, was a center of scientific learning and has been called by some historians the intellectual center of Africa in the 16th century.

In the precolonial period, as earlier, tensions existed between kings and clerics even if the king was a professed Muslim. The kings sometimes were warriors who drank alcohol and shed blood. In the major kingdoms of ancient, medieval, and precolonial Africa, including the Ghana , Mali, and SONGHAI empires, the ruler was also the titular head of the traditional religion; he risked alienating his followers and losing his authority if his practice of Islam was too strict. Even Mansa Musa I (r. 1312–c. 1337) of Mali and Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1538) of Songhai, both of whom were fervent believers, could not wrest their societies from their pre-Islamic traditions. The Fulani jihad of the late 1720s, led by the religious leader KARAMOKO ALFA (fl. 1720s) and the warrior Ibrahima Sori (fl. 1720s), led to the establishment of Fouta Djallon as a Muslim theocratic state; it dominated both central and coastal GUINEA until it was occupied by French troops in 1896.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, the FULANI JIHADS led by the militant fundamentalist clerics USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), his son MUHAMMAD BELLO (r. 1817–1837), and Umar Tal (1797–1864), were, in part, the result of attempts to return lax Muslims in the Hausa States to orthodox religious practices. Fodio's campaigns led to the foundation of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, a fundamentalist theocratic Muslim state, in what is now northern NIGERIA. The power of these clerics was both religious and political. It is notable that Usman dan Fodio, who began his career as an itinerant preacher to rural Muslim communities, and other leaders of the jihads came from the countryside and not from the cities or the commercial community.

Usman dan Fodio's jihad caused a crucial change in Muslim thinking. He and his fellow reformers introduced the concept of *takfit,* according to which Muslims whose religious practices were considered tainted by paganism could be considered infidels even though they had not renounced Islam. Jihad against such unbelievers was both allowable and meritorious. Fodio used this principle to justify his campaigns against the Muslim Hausa.

The kingdom of Kanem (later part of KANEM-BORNU), with its capital of Njimi near Lake CHAD, was located on the trade routes that connected West Africa, the Nile Valley, and North Africa. Kanem was an exception to the standard that Islam was the religion of the rulers. Kanem

became a Muslim state during the 11th century, when its ruler Mai Umme (r. c. 1085–1097) was converted by the scholar Muhammad ibn Mani, who first brought Islam to that land. Mai Umme adopted the name Ibn Abd al-Jalil. Later, during the reign of Dunama II (1221–1259), Kanem opened an embassy in TUNISIA in Muslim North Africa and a hostel and college in CAIRO, thus connecting the kingdom with the broader Islamic world. In the late 14th century, to replace Njimi, a new capital was established at NGAZARGAMU by the reigning *mai* (king), Ali Gaji (r. 1476–1503), also known as Ali Dunama.

The common language of prayer in Islam is Arabic. The Quran is read aloud in Arabic. Its verses are memorized in Arabic—phonetically if the learner does not understand the language but needs it for prayer. The expansion of Islam into the countryside was accompanied by a growth in the use of the vernacular languages and the development of a vernacular literature, which took the form of religious and didactic poetry. Some of the oldest written Fulani poems, dating from the second half of the 18th century, are religious verses meant to carry the message of Islam to rural peoples. Early Hausa written literature, also didactic and pious poetry, was also created for this purpose.

Ali Gaji led a revival of Islam in Kanem-Bornu. With the help of the leading cleric Imam Umar Masarambe and the power of his own good example, Ali Gaji convinced the nobles to limit their wives to four, the number permitted by the Quran. The process of Islamization continued in Kanem-Bornu under Mai IDRIS ALAWMA (r. c. 1570–1603), who went on hajj, or pilgrimage, to Mecca in the ninth year of his reign and built a hostel there for pilgrims from his homeland. Mai Idris revived traditional Islamic practices and imposed them on commoners and nobility alike. He instituted Islamic courts and replaced customary law with *sharia,* or Islamic law. He built a large number of brick mosques to replace the existing ones, which were built with reeds. As an indication of the depth to which Islam permeated the population, historians point to the existence of manuscripts of the Quran with interlinear translations and commentaries in the local language that date from as early as the 17th century. Kanem-Bornu remained a Muslim state until its demise in the early 1800s and incorporation into the Sokoto Caliphate. It remained, however, an important center of Muslim learning.

Many Hausa were Muslim as early as the 11th century. Islam did not reach neighboring YORUBALAND until the 1800s as a result of the Fulani jihads. Yorubaland, however, never became a Muslim state, even though the practice of Islam was common among the people.

Islam in East Africa   Islam first reached the Horn of Africa in the eighth century. By the ninth century there were Muslim settlements along the trade routes inland. However, ETHIOPIA, the dominant power in the Horn, was Christian. In the 14th century the Somali Muslim kingdom of ADAL arose in the Danakil-Somali region to challenge Ethiopia's control. Tensions and skirmishes marked the next two centuries. Conflict reached its height after 1516 when AHMAD GRAÑ (1506–1543) came into power in Adal. He assembled an army of nomadic Muslims and twice, in 1526 and again in 1531, he led Adal in a jihad against Christian Ethiopia. His attacks culminated in an invasion in 1535 that reached as far as the northern highlands, the heart of the Ethiopian state. The jihad of Ahmad Grañ weakened Ethiopia and led to the conversion of many of its people.

Mass migrations of the pastoral OROMO people late in the 16th century weakened Adal, and its leaders fled. By the 1700s the important families among the Oromo had accepted Islam; by the middle of the 19th century Islam had taken root among the common people as well. They guided their lives by Islamic law rather than customary law, circumcised their male children at an earlier age than had been traditional, tithed according to standard Muslim practice, and went on pilgrimage to Mecca.

Until the 19th century, Islam in East Africa was confined to the cities of the Swahili Coast. It did not penetrate into the interior either by missionary efforts or accompanying commercial activity. Even the YAO of what is today Mozambique and southern Tanzania, who were involved in the slave trade with the coast since the 17th century and who are today the most Islamized people of the interior, were not converted until Muslim scribes and traders finally went into the interior during the 1800s.

See also: MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vol. II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, IV, V); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); MALIK IBN ANAS (Vol. II); MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. II); MUSA I, MANSA (Vol. II); SHAFII SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. II); SHARIA (Vols. II, IV); UMME, MAI (Vol. II).

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Iteso (Ateso, Teso)   Nilotic ethnic group inhabiting the region between Mount Elgon, to the north, and Lake Nyanza, to the south, in present-day eastern UGANDA and KENYA. The Iteso speak an Eastern Sudanic language that

belongs to the Chari-Nile branch of the Nilo-Saharan family of languages. Today the Iteso are the second-largest ethnic group in Uganda, after the Karamojong.

Little is known about Iteso origins, though it is believed that they are related to nearby groups such as the Langi, the Karamojong, the Jie, and the Kumam. Like those groups the Iteso probably migrated from the north and settled in Uganda by the early 18th century. The Iteso homeland is Teso, which extends south from Karamoja into the fertile region of Lake Kyoga. The Iteso were, and still are, farmers, growing millet as a staple crop.

Traditional Iteso villages were made up of homesteads scattered around a central stockade and granaries. Iteso social structure was organized by clans, each of which had a leader who was elected and advised by a council of elders. Iteso men were ranked by age sets, with higher status given to the older groups. With the help of priests, elders conducted religious rituals to honor ancestors. Although most Iteso eventually became Christian, they once believed in an omnipotent deity named Akuj and in a god of calamity named Edeke. After the Iteso were defeated by the GANDA near the end of the 19th century, many of their traditional beliefs and practices were lost.

Itsekiri People of the delta region of southern NIGERIA and the name of their kingdom, founded by emigrants from the kingdom of BENIN in the 15th century. The Itsekiri had extensive trade relations prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in the area in the late 15th century. Using canoes to travel through the delta, the Itsekiri traded salt, fish, and pottery to obtain agricultural products such as plantains, yams, and cassava from the neighboring people of the Niger Delta region, including the IJO to the southeast.

The Itsekiri quickly developed European trade, which also increased their dominance of local trade. They obtained firearms (often inferior or defective guns) from Portuguese traders and traded them with people from the Yoruba territories in the Nigerian hinterland, who used them on raids with the purpose of kidnapping Africans. The Itsekiri welcomed Portuguese traders but rejected the efforts of their MISSIONARIES to convert them to Christianity.

By the mid-16th century the Itsekiri kingdom of Warri, in the western delta, was a market for Portuguese manufactured goods. European merchants brought items such as wrought iron, glass, and cloth and traded them for ivory and captives. Traders from other delta kingdoms as well as from the interior brought their captives to Warri, and by the middle of the 17th century the kingdom was a major trading center. The Itsekiri maintained a strong trading ECONOMY into the late 19th century.

See also: ITSEKIRI (Vol. II); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANS-ATLANTIC (Vol. III); WARRI (Vol. II).

Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire) Present-day West African country that measures approximately 124,500 square miles (322,400 sq km) and is bounded by the present-day Republic of MALI, BURKINA FASO, GHANA, LIBERIA, and GUINEA. Prior to the period of European colonization, the region now known as Ivory Coast had already been a trading community for several centuries—possibly beginning as early as the eighth century.

Between the 17th and 18th centuries Mande peoples migrated to the area, establishing trading settlements that used the trans-Saharan trading routes to sell such items as kola nuts and GOLD northward to kingdoms in Mali. Even earlier, however, during the mid-15th century, the Portuguese began establishing trade relations with people of the Ivory Coast. The French also made a trip to the area, in 1483, but it was not until two centuries later, in 1687, that France attempted to permanently occupy Ivory Coast with the founding of a mission at Assini. Due to their precarious hold on Ivory Coast, the settlement at Assini was abandoned in 1704, and the French did not establish themselves firmly until the mid-19th century.

Ivory Coast received its name from the abundance of ivory that was available in the area. Ivory was so heavily traded throughout the 17th century that the elephant population was quickly depleted, putting an end to the IVORY TRADE by the early 18th century. Captives were also exported from the area from the 16th century onwards, but the country's lack of safe ports made the slave trade less profitable for both the local groups and the Europeans. To supplement the trade of captives, commodities such as pepper, gold, and ivory became main staples for trade throughout Ivory Coast. These wares were generally traded to the Europeans for cloth, weaponry, FOOD, and items made from iron.

Before Europeans controlled Ivory Coast, there were five main kingdoms that ruled the region. The earliest of these kingdoms, Jaman, was founded in the 17th century by members of the Abron ethnic group. The Abron had migrated west to escape the growing influence of the ASHANTI EMPIRE, in present-day Ghana. The Jaman kingdom became best known for its traditions of Islamic learning, which were spread mainly from its capital at Bondoukou.

During the early 18th century DYULA traders displaced the resident SENUFO group in the northern regions to found the kingdom of KONG. Before Kong was destroyed in 1895, it was an established agrarian community known for its trade and impressive works of ART.

The mid-18th century then saw the rise of three kingdoms founded by groups, like the Abron, attempting to distance themselves from the Ashanti. The first of these groups was the BAULE, who established their kingdom of Sakasso, while the other two kingdoms of Sanwi and Indenie were both created by members of the Agni

people. These kingdoms were known for being fiercely independent and for having advanced political structures, which allowed them to better resist French rule.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); IVORY COAST (Vols. I, II, IV, V); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Robert E. Handloff, ed., *Côte d'Ivoire: A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991); Patricia Sheehan, *Cultures of the World: Côte d'Ivoire* (Malaysia: Times Media Private Limited, 2000).

ivory trade Elephant tusks and other items made of ivory have been important trade commodities throughout much of African history. During the 16th to 19th cen-

Mask traditionally worn by members of the Poro Society of the Senufo people of Ivory Coast. Poro rituals are thought to guarantee a good relationship between the living and their ancestors. This mask was made in the 20th century. © *North Carolina Museum of Art/Corbis*

turies ivory was traded for valuable goods such as spices, cloth, GOLD, and salt. Ivory had been moving on Africa's trade routes since as early as 8000 BCE, when Egyptian artisans, who prized the material for its beauty and durability, began using it for carvings. It also was a profitable commodity traded in East Africa's ports from the foundation of the city-states of the SWAHILI COAST in the eighth century.

In the 15th century Europeans made contact with a number of ivory-collecting peoples of sub-Saharan Africa. As a result, demand increased for African and European goods alike. The trade of ivory, in particular, rose steadily and flourished from the late 16th century through the 20th centuries. In the 17th century Europeans named the West African region of IVORY COAST for the abundance of elephant tusks that were harvested there by such groups as the KRU people. Cities in what is now NIGERIA, including ASABA and BENIN CITY, were particularly active in the ivory trade.

> The unfortunate result of the high demand for ivory was the large-scale slaughter of African elephants, which continued into the 20th century. By the 1980s the African elephant had been hunted nearly to extinction.

Prior to European colonization in the 19th century, the ivory trade in the eastern coastal regions of Africa was spurred by the Asian and Arabian demand for superior African ivory. Swahili traders of mixed African and Arabian descent exchanged Asian glass, beads, cloth, and metal goods for ivory supplied by groups such as the GIRIAMA and KAMBA of present-day KENYA as well as the NYAMWEZI of TANZANIA.

Farther down the east coast, YAO and Bisa traders acted as intermediaries between the ivory suppliers of the LUNDA EMPIRE, in the southern Central African interior, and the Muslim and Portuguese buyers at the coastal markets in MOZAMBIQUE. Skilled elephant hunters in their own right, the Bisa traded ivory at fairs held in Zambezi trading outposts, including TETE, SENA, and Zumbo. Zumbo was also a major outlet for the traders of BUTUA, who hunted ivory throughout the southern portions of Africa. Inhabiting present-day ZIMBABWE, the Butua traders obtained a majority of their tusks from the mountain region of Usanga near the SABI RIVER.

During the 19th century the ivory trade increased further, largely due to American demand. At that time present-day ZANZIBAR, located in the Indian Ocean nearly 30 miles (48 km) off the eastern coast of TANZANIA, took control of the eastern ivory markets.

See also: BISA TRADING NETWORK (Vol. III); ELE-PHANTS (Vol. I); IVORY (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. IV).

Iyasu I (r. c. 1681–1706) *Solomonid ruler of Ethiopia*
In 1684 Iyasu I, known to his subjects as "the Great," launched a confrontational battle in order to bring the re-bellious OROMO under his political and religious control. After sending out scouts to apprise him of Oromo lands and methods of resistance, Iyasu ordered a surprise attack on several Oromo groups, including the Wechales and the Wallos, which resulted in their lands being razed. Many Oromo were killed, their cattle seized, and their women taken captive. Although some Oromo groups apparently adapted themselves to imperial rule, others launched nu-merous, though largely unsuccessful counter-attacks for the remainder of the 17th century.

According to Ethiopian chronicles, by the early 18th century Iyasu had subdued the dissident Oromo groups and baptized captives. When he left the region, Iyasu stood at the Gibe River and ordered his men to fire their rifles as a celebration of military might and a victory for Christianity.

In spite of his popularity and success, however, Iyasu lost his throne. Returning from one of his military cam-paigns, he learned that his favorite concubine had died. Grief-stricken, he retreated to an isolated island on Lake Tana. During his absence, Iyasu's son, TEKLA HAYMONOT (r. c. 1706–1708), seized the throne. Iyasu returned to try to regain control, and, on the order of Tekla Hay-monot, he was assassinated.

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994); Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Es-says in the Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century* (Lawrenceville, N.J.: The Red Sea Press, Inc., 1997).

J

Jaga See IMBANGALA.

Jenne (Djenné) Important center for the trade in GOLD, salt, and captives located in what is now the southern region of Republic of MALI. Ruled by the SONGHAI Empire in the late 15th century, Jenne and its sister trading city of TIMBUKTU were invaded in 1591 by an army from MOROCCO that conquered the Songhai and took control of both cities as well as their profitable caravan routes. Once the Moroccans established power in Jenne, a local chief, called the *Jenne-were,* was then appointed along with a representative of the Moroccan pasha (ruler) known as a *hakim,* or governor.

> Even though the BAMBARA kings who ruled Jenne in the 17th century were non-Muslims who practiced an animistic RELIGION, Jenne became a well-known center for Islamic learning, attracting Muslim scholars from all over the Sahara.

Although the *Jenne-were* initially accepted Moroccan command, tensions soon gave rise to clashes between the succeeding reigning chiefs of Jenne and the Moroccan pashas. About the mid-17th century, however, Moroccan power in the city began to wane, and by 1670 Jenne had been overtaken by the chiefs of the emerging Bamana-speaking Bambara kingdoms. Jenne remained part of the Bambara-led empire of SEGU until 1810, when

the KUNTA, a local group of Arabic nomads, took the city. Kunta rule was short-lived as Jenne was again overtaken in 1818 by the forces of the Muslim leader Cheikou Amadou (1755–1845), also known as Shehu Ahmadu Lobbo. Amadou then incorporated the city into his Islamic kingdom of MACINA.

See also: JENNE (Vol. II).

Judar Pasha (c. 16th–17th c.) *Moroccan military commander*

Under the orders of ABD AL-MANSUR (r. 1578–1603), the reigning sultan of what became the present-day country of MOROCCO, a renegade soldier by the name of Judar was appointed pasha and given command of a 5,000-man military force. As commander or administrator, the pasha oversaw both the armed forces and the storehouse for the treasury monies, known as MAKHZAN. Judar's mission, however, was not to administer a region but to take his forces into what is now Republic of MALI and conquer the trading city of TIMBUKTU—ruled at that time by the SONGHAI Empire.

> The elite Moroccan army was made up of Muslim Spaniards, or Moors, as well as former Christians, known as *renegades,* who had converted to the Muslim faith. Judar was a member of the renegades who had successfully risen to a commanding position within the army.

By March of 1591 the difficulty of the trek across the western Sahara had cut the number of his Moroccan forces by about half. Nevertheless Judar's remaining troops were able to defeat the Songhai forces at the Battle of TONDIBI and gain control over Timbuktu. Acting on behalf of the sultan, Judar then negotiated a peace treaty with the Songhai ruler, Askia Ishaq II (r. 1588–1591). This agreement gave Morocco 100,000 GOLD pieces and 1,000 captives in exchange for a withdrawal from Timbuktu.

Al-Mansur quickly denounced Judar's deal with the Songhai ruler and removed Judar from his office as pasha. Although he was soon replaced by another pasha, Mahmud ibn Zargun (r. 1591–1618), Judar continued to have influence over the affairs of the Moroccan army in Timbuktu until his return to Morocco in the latter part of the 1590s.

See also: ASKIA DYNASTY (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

K

Kaarta BAMBARA state located on the middle portion of the NIGER RIVER in present-day Republic of MALI; considered the sister state of SEGU. The Bambara states were known for succeeding the SONGHAI Empire as the most powerful West African kingdoms of the 17th through 19th centuries. Bambara king MASSA (r. 1650–1710) founded the original kingdom of Kaarta along the Niger River about 1650 and established his capital at the city of Sounsan. Massa ruled until 1710 and created the MASSASSI DYNASTY, which continued to be a prominent force in Kaarta until the kingdom's takeover by the TUKULOR empire, in 1854.

Kaarta was ruled by Massa's grandson, Foulakoro, until 1745, at which time the kingdom was demolished by Mamari KULIBALI (r. 1712–1755) from the neighboring Bambara kingdom of Segu. Kaarta was then reestablished in the same region near the city of Kumbi by a Bambara chieftain named Sey Bamana Kulibali (r. 1754–1758). During the first few years after Kaarta was recreated, the rulers increased their influence in the region by becoming seminomadic and overrunning weaker nations to acquire captives. However, Kaarta's emergence as a regional power did not begin until the 1761–81 reign of Sira Bo of the Massassi dynasty, who put an end to the nomadic way of life, established a capital at Guemou, and acquired cities such as Diawara and Khasso as tributary states.

Kaarta reached its height under the rule of Bodian Moriba (r. 1818–1832), who moved the capital from the city of Yélimané to the city of Nioro, where it remained until the Tukulor conquest of Kaarta in the 19th century. Moriba was also responsible for the formation of an alliance with the kingdom of Segu, effectively ending 30 years of war between the two Bambara states.

Kabre (Kabyé, Cabrais, Lamba) West African ethnic group in present-day northern and central TOGO, as well as parts of present-day Republic of BENIN. The largest Kabre subgroups include the Logba, Losso, and Lamba, whose languages are closely related and who have similar ethnic and cultural traditions.

> **The Kabre call themselves *Lamba*—which is also the name of one of their subgroups—meaning "people of the forests" in their Bantu language.**

Before 1600 the Kabre occupied a larger territory that included Djougou in present-day Benin. During the 17th and 18th centuries the Kabre were pushed by the MAMPRUSI, DAGOMBA, and Bariba kingdoms into the mountainous region around Kara and Sokodé, in central Togo, where many of them mixed with the indigenous Kotokoli. Despite their efforts to flee, many Kabre communities were raided for captives throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

Traditionally the Kabre organized themselves through patrilineal descent and age-set societies. They practiced AGRICULTURE, with their primary crops being millet, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), and yams. Kabre territory was later colonized, with Germany and France gaining control over the region in the late 19th century.

Further reading: Charles Piot, *Remotely Global: Village Modernity in West Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Kaffa (Kafa, Kefa)   Ethiopian kingdom and the place where the coffee tree was discovered. The kingdom of Kaffa was established by the 14th century and was the largest of several western SIDAMO kingdoms to be founded at that time. Like many African rulers, the Kaffa's king, or *tato,* was seen as embodying both the spiritual and political worlds. Upon his death his spirit was believed to pass on to the next king. Kingship was based on heredity, and the king was given the utmost respect by his subjects. Below the king in rank were members of the nobility, whose position, like the king's, was based on lineage. The working class and the people in bondage consisted mostly of OROMO and AMHARA people. According to Francisco AL-VARES (fl. c. 1520), a Portuguese missionary who wrote in 1540 about his journey to ETHIOPIA, Emperor Sarsa Dengel (r. c. 1563–1597) converted Kaffa to Christianity late in the 16th century. Both Kaffa and the neighboring Sidamo kingdom of Janjero thrived until the latter part of the 19th century.

See also: COFFEE (Vol. II); KAFFA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Werner Lange, *Dialectics of Divine "Kingship" in the Kafa Highlands* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).

Kalenjin   Inclusive name for a cluster of Nilotic-speaking peoples who occupy the highlands of the Rift Valley in present-day KENYA. Subgroups of the Kalenjin include the Pokot, Nandi, Kipsigis, Marakwet, and Sabaot, among others. Nandi and Kipsigis are also the most widely spoken Kalenjin dialects.

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Kenyans, and the Kalenjin in particular, are recognized today as the finest long-distance runners in the world. In 2000, in the Boston Marathon, widely considered the most prestigious race among the world's elite runners, men from Kalenjin clans finished first and second, and took 12 of the top 18 spots.

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Originally pastoralists, the Kalenjin groups migrated from the north, probably from the highlands of ETHIOPIA. They came during the first millennium of the common era, settling in western Kenya, near Mt. Elgon, on the present-day border with TANZANIA. Depending on where they settled, they also practiced limited AGRICULTURE, growing millet and MAIZE. Some Kalenjin converted to Christianity in the latter 19th century, but most have continued to practice an indigenous RELIGION that is based on ancestor veneration and sun worship—similar to the ancient Egyptians.

Kalenjin groups continued to roam the region during the period from the 16th through the 19th centuries. There is no uniform Kalenjin culture or tradition, as the different clans adopted some cultural practices of the people who occupied the lands they settled in. The Pokot, for instance, intermarried with and practiced the social customs of their Ugandan neighbors, the KARAMOJONG and the Turkana.

See also: ELGON, MOUNT (Vol. I); NILOTES (Vols. II, III).

kalonga (karonga)   Honorific title given to the head of the MARAVI confederation, an alliance of chiefdoms spread throughout present-day MALAWI; when capitalized, also the name of the people led by that man. Though the history of the Kalonga people is not well preserved, Maravi oral tradition maintains that in the late 15th century, a member of the Phiri royal clan led a migration of his peoples out of Luba territory in Central Africa and headed southeast. By the beginning of the 16th century they had settled in the area south of Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa). The leader of these peoples was named Kalonga Chidzonzi. His group, which became known as the Kalonga people, emerged as the founders of the Maravi confederation, a collection of kingdoms or chiefdoms with strong kinship organization that dominated Malawi during the 16th and 17th centuries.

From the town of Manthimba, at the southern end of Lake Malawi, Kalonga Chidzonzi governed with the assistance of Kalonga army commanders and advisers. Subordinate chiefdoms paid tribute to the *kalonga* in FOOD and valuable trade goods, such as ivor. He in turn protected them with his army and allowed them to use the land for grazing or AGRICULTURE. Kalonga Chidzonzi also wisely assigned important positions of authority to some of the headmen of the non-Kalonga groups that the confederation peacefully enveloped. As a result peoples such as the CHEWA, who pre-dated the Kalonga in the area, were represented in the Maravi confederation. This style of leadership contributed to the rapid expansion of Maravi dominion throughout the area. By the beginning of the 16th century the *kalonga* was recognized as the Maravi leader.

See also: LUBA (Vol. II).

Kamba (Akamba, Ukambani)   Bantu-speaking ethnic group of present-day KENYA and northeastern TANZANIA. Closely related to the neighboring KIKUYU, the Kamba became major ivory traders in the 17th century. The Kamba were primarily agriculturalists, though during the 15th through the 17th centuries, many of their clans also lived a cattle-herding lifestyle in the region near the present-day Kenya-Tanzania border. The pastoralist Kamba moved often to avoid conflicts with the MAASAI, who also

wandered the region in search of suitable land for their herds. By the latter half of the 17th century the Kamba had settled in the Mbooni Hills area that today is the Kamba heartland. The southern Kamba settled in the drier lowlands, cultivating drought-resistant grains and practicing some herding and hunting. Northern Kamba lived at higher elevations, where irrigation was possible, and practiced more extensive cultivation.

Mbooni, the name of the place where many Kamba settled in the 1600s, means "place of the buffalo."

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Kamba became active in the IVORY TRADE, bringing tusks from the Tanzanian interior to the trading port of MOMBASA on Kenya's SWAHILI COAST. Kamba ivory was traded for glass beads, cloth, copper, and salt. Later, in the 19th century, the Kamba became wealthy after arranging a monopoly on the ivory supply with the GIRIAMA people, a neighbor-

ing Kenyan ethnic group that had traded ivory even more extensively than the Kamba.

See also: KAMBA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Joseph Muthiani, *Akamba from Within: Egalitarianism in Social Relations* (New York: Exposition Press, 1973); Sammy Nzioki, *Akamba* (London: Evans Brothers, 1982).

Kanem See KANEM-BORNU.

Kanem-Bornu Two separate kingdoms, Kanem and Bornu, that evolved into a trading empire in the 16th century. In the early 1500s Bornu and Kanem came together under Mai (King) IDRIS ALAWMA (r. c. 1570–1603). Alawma extended the reach of the empire as far west as the eastern edge of the HAUSA STATES and as far east as the western border of the present-day Republic of the SUDAN. It's northern province stretched to the FEZZAN in present-day southern LIBYA. By the time the SONGHAI Empire fell in 1591, Kanem-Bornu was regarded as the most important state in the central Sudan. Alawma devised several

Kanem-Bornu, c. 1550
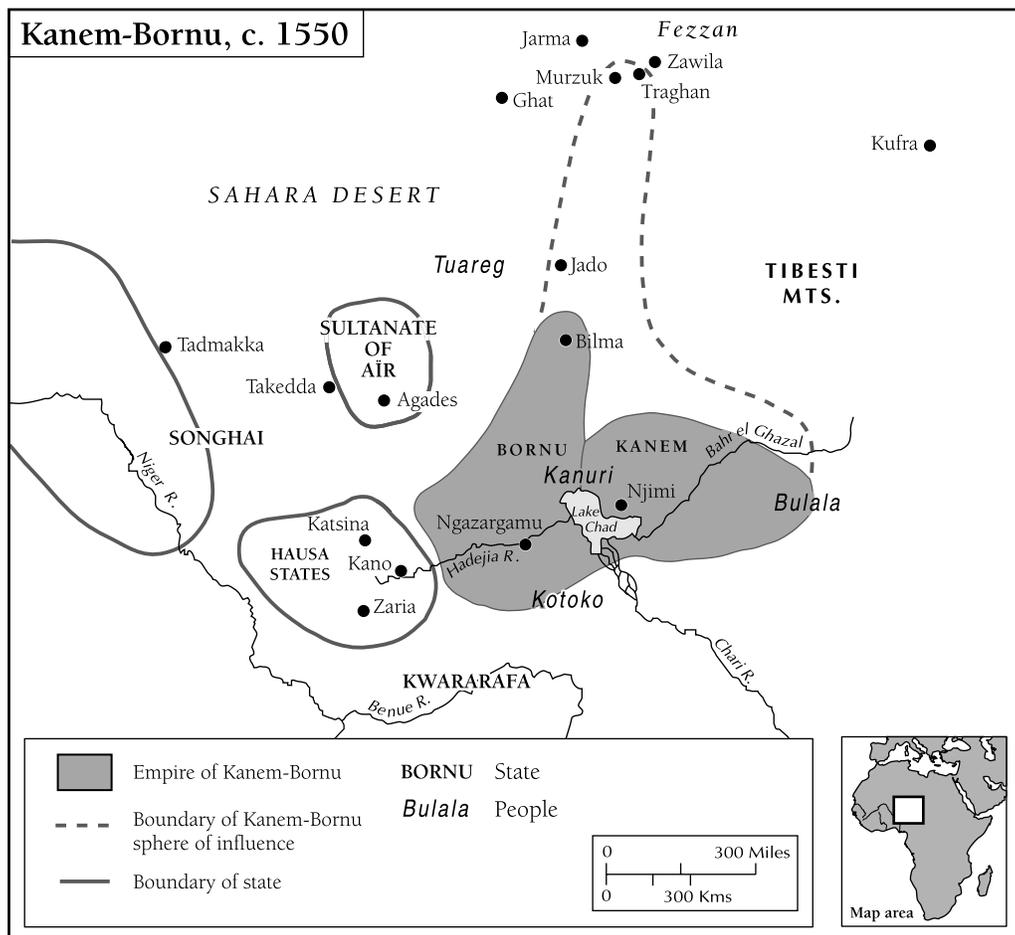
ways to increase his empire's wealth, including taxes on trade, the sale of captives for forced LABOR, and tributes paid to the king by inhabitants of areas controlled by Kanem-Bornu.

The Role of Idris Alawma The impetus behind Alawma's state building was largely religious. A devout Muslim, he sought to create an Islamic state that was larger than the one he had inherited. Ultimately, his military prowess and shrewd trade policies put Kanem-Bornu in the position to dominate the region for the next two centuries.

Alawma secured firearms from the Ottoman Turks of North Africa and initiated a style of waging war that was new to the region. Unlike previous military tacticians, Idris Alawma outfitted his soldiers with iron helmets and chain mail. Also, he ordered his armies to destroy everything in their paths and had them reside in highly organized military camps. Further, he was a wise ruler in that he negotiated well with other powerful leaders, and he heeded the sage advice of his counselors.

The success of Kanem-Bornu depended heavily on the revenue generated by taxing trade, so its commercial routes were among the best ways across the Sahara desert. Alawma made sure the routes were passable and worked to ensure the safety of those traveling them. Kanem-Bornu merchants carried slaves, COTTON, ivory, perfume, and hides north, while traders brought them salt, horses, glass, guns, and cloth.

The Decline of Kanem-Bornu Although Alawma died in 1603, the remarkable advances he made sustained the prosperity of the Kanem-Bornu empire for another 50 years. By the middle of the 17th century, though, the empire's influence was waning, and its borders began to contract. The 17th and 18th centuries marked a relatively peaceful time for Kanem-Bornu. By the middle of the 1700s the once-mighty empire was largely confined to the Lake Chad area, and the TUAREGS of the AÏR MASSIF assumed control of much of the trans-Saharan trade to the Fezzan.

About that time, the Islamic FULANI people from present-day eastern SENEGAL began waging jihads and conquering smaller kingdoms as they moved east. By about 1812 the Fulani cleric USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817) had taken control of most of the Hausa States and the kingdoms of YORUBALAND to the south, and even briefly seized NGAZARGAMU, the Kanem-Bornu capital. The Fulani jihad stalled in Kanem-Bornu, though, as the people of the kingdom were already devout Muslims and fiercely rejected the domination of a foreign sultan. Led by Muhammad al-Kanemi (d. 1837), Kanem-Bornu reasserted its independence and drove the Fulani from the Lake Chad region.

See also: BORNU (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); KANEM (Vol. II); KANEM-BORNU (Vol. II); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: Ronald Cohen, *The Kanuri of Bornu* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1987); Agustin F. C. Holl, *The Diwan Revisited: Literacy, State Formation and the Rise of Kanuri Domination (AD 1200–1600)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Dierk Lange, *A Sudanic Chronicle: The Borno Expeditions of Idris Alauma (1564–1576)* (Stuttgart, Germany: F. Steiner, 1987).

Kankan Mande town in present-day GUINEA, located along the banks of the Milo River, a tributary of the NIGER RIVER. During the 17th century SONINKE and Islamic KUNTA and DYULA traders began to settle in Kankan, and by the 1720s they founded a trading center. As Islam penetrated Africa along Arab trade routes, Kankan became an important Islamic missionary post. It eventually emerged as a center for Islamic teaching.

See also: KANKAN (Vols. IV, V).

Kano One of the largest and most powerful of the ancient Hausa city-states. Kano is a commercial city known for its cloth manufacturing. Its chief industry is the weaving of cloth from locally grown COTTON and dyeing it with indigo at the Kofar Mata dye pits, the oldest in Africa. TUAREGS bought the indigo-dyed cloth and became known both as the "Men of the Blue Veil" as well as the "Blue Men of the Desert," because the blue dye often rubbed off on their skin.

Kano's prosperity sparked long-lasting rivalries with other HAUSA STATES, in particular KATSINA, which made it vulnerable to other competing African empires. As a result Kano became a tributary state of several rival powers, including Bornu in the 15th and 18th centuries and the SONGHAI Empire in the 16th century.

Subsequently a FULANI jihad that began in 1804 in the Hausa state of GOBIR significantly changed the history of the region. The holy war spread to Kano, and in 1807 the city was taken over by Fulani emirs. By 1815 Kano succeeded in overtaking Katsina as a commercial and political Hausa center. It retained that power until the 1880s, when changing trade practices and increasing domination by European colonialists began to limit its importance.

See also: KANO (Vols. II, IV, V).

Kanuri People living mostly in the northwestern parts of present-day NIGERIA and portions of present-day southeastern NIGER; also the language they speak. Traditionally an agricultural people who live in polygamous households and villages, the Kanuri have practiced Islam since as early as the 11th century. However, the Kanuri are most noted for their hand in the establish-

ment of the Kanem kingdom, which evolved into the KANEM-BORNU trading empire. This empire, located around Lake CHAD, was situated along a busy trading route that passed through the Sahara desert on the way to LIBYA and the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Kanem and Bornu had been linked for centuries, but their rise as a combined trading empire did not begin until about the 14th century, when the Kanuri, after facing clashes with the BULALA people, moved their capital to Ngazargamu, in Bornu.

The government of Kanem-Bornu was hierarchical, and the country was ruled by the *mai,* or king. From about 1570 to 1603 the kingdom was ruled by Mai IDRIS ALAWMA—a member of the SEFUWA dynasty that intermarried with the Kanuri and reigned throughout most of Kanem-Bornu's history. It was Idris Alawma who brought the empire to the peak of its power. The Kanuri had already gained significant wealth by trading agricultural goods, horses, and ivory along the trans-Saharan routes. During the reign of Idris Alawma the Kanuri moved successfully into the trade in human captives, thus expanding their influence and their boundaries as far west as the HAUSA STATES.

The Kanuri and Kanem-Bornu continued to flourish until the end of the 18th century, when less successful *mais* hindered the growth and power of the empire. During the early 19th century the FULANI JIHADS, led by the Muslim cleric USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), attempted to overtake Kanem-Bornu. With the help of the Islamic scholar Muhammad al-Kanemi, the Kanuri were able to successfully resist the effort. This successful resistance, however, allowed al-Kanemi to take command of the kingdom, which in turn led to the end of the Sefuwa dynasty by 1846.

See also: KANURI (Vol. II); SAHARA DESERT (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: Ronald Cohen, *The Kanuri of Bornu* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1987); Agustin, F. C. Holl, *The Diwan Revisited: Literacy, State formation and the Rise of Kanuri Domination (AD 1200–1600)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Kaokoland (Kaokoveld)

Region in present-day northwestern NAMIBIA first settled by Bantu-speaking HERERO pastoralists, probably in the mid-16th century. Kaokoland is situated along the Atlantic coast, between the Kunene and Hoanib rivers. Despite its proximity to water, the region is extremely dry and, therefore, sparsely populated. At the heart of the region is the largely uninhabitable Namib Desert.

Kaokoland was first settled in the middle of the 16th century, when the Herero groups, including the Himba and Ovatjimba, migrated there from the central part of the continent. Dutch farmers called BOERS inhabited the region for a brief time in the late 1800s during their trek from the Transvaal, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA, to present-day ANGOLA, north of Namibia.

See also: HIMBA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Mary Rice and Craig Gibson, *Heat, Dust, and Dreams: An Exploration of People and Environment in Namibia's Kaokoland and Damaraland* (Cape Town, South Africa: Struik, 2001).

Karamanli dynasty

Line of rulers who, from 1711 to 1835, governed what is now LIBYA as an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire. The Karamanli bore the title *bey* (from the Turkish, meaning "chief," or "gentleman"), a designation used by the Ottomans for a provincial governor. In 1835 the Ottoman Empire took advantage of local discord and disputes over succession to send officials from Istanbul to reestablish the empire's direct authority over the region.

The first bey, Ahmad Karamanli (r. 1711–1745), was a member of the elite Turkish military corps known as the Janissaries. Leader of the Ottoman cavalry, he killed his competitors in order to take office at the city of TRIPOLI. To put himself in good standing with the Ottoman sultan, Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730), in Istanbul, Ahmad Karamanli was said to have offered as tribute the properties of the rivals he had killed. By 1714 Ahmed III named the Karamanlis the rightful rulers of Tripoli.

A Janissary (from the Turkish word *yeniceri,* meaning "new soldier") was a member of an elite military corps within the standing army of the Ottoman Empire. The Janissaries existed from the late 14th century until 1826, when they were disbanded for revolting against the Ottoman sultan. The Janissaries were originally young enslaved Christians from the Balkans who were recruited into royal service and converted to Islam. Required to be celibate, Janissaries were famed for their military skills. By the late 16th century celibacy was no longer required, and their function became political rather than military.

Although the reign of Ahmad Karamanli's successor, Ali (r. 1754–1793), was long, it was beset by famine in 1767–68, by plague in 1785, and by the civil wars of 1791–93, the last of which nearly destroyed the Karamanli dynasty. Both rulers, however, became wealthy by selling human captives to the Europeans and by encouraging and protecting PIRATES along the BARBARY COAST, who brought their booty to trade at the Libyan port of Tripoli.

At the end of Ali's reign in 1793, Istanbul again attempted to gain control of Tripoli by ousting the Karamanlis from office. The effort failed, however, and in 1794 Yusuf Karamanli (r. 1794–1832) became the third Karamanli bey to rule at Tripoli. Yusuf's reign was characterized by his military successes, which expanded Libya's boundaries, and by the expulsion of marauding nomadic peoples from the region. He made alliances with both the SOKOTO CALIPHATE of present-day NIGERIA and with KANEM-BORNU in what is now Nigeria and NIGER, in order to reap benefit from their wars of expansion. These wars produced many slaves who were then shipped to the Americas as part of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Ultimately the abolition of piracy along the Barbary Coast and the decline of the slave trade after 1807 greatly reduced the influence of the Karamanli dynasty. After Yusuf died in 1832, the Karamanli dynasty was economically and politically weak and had only as much power in the countryside as local nomadic peoples chose to grant to it. In light of this situation, the Ottomans easily regained control of Tripoli in 1835 and with it the province of Libya.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Karamoko Alfa (Ibrahim Sambegu)   (r. c. 1725–1750) (d. c. 1751) *Muslim Fulani cleric and jihad leader in present-day Guinea*

Prior to the 18th century the pagan Yalunka peoples lived amicably in the FOUTA DJALLON with their FULANI neighbors, who also practiced a traditional African RELIGION. However in the mid-18th century a group of Muslim Fulani moved into the Fouta Djallon area and began spreading the Islamic faith. Among them was the religious leader Alfa Ba (d. c. 1751) and his son, Ibrahim Sambegu.

When, in 1725, the Yalunka kings began to regulate the preaching of the Muslim clerics, Alfa Ba called for the preparation of a jihad. Alfa Ba passed away before the jihad got under way and it was his son, Ibrahim Sambegu, who then became the leader of the jihadist forces. Taking the Muslim name *Karamoko* (meaning "scholar" or "teacher") and *Alfa* (possibly meaning "jurist"), he joined forces with a warrior named Ibrahim Sori (d. 1791), who garnered the nickname *Mawdo* (the Great). The two then launched a full-scale jihad against the Yalunka, the SUSU, and the Fulani of the Fouta Djallon region of present-day GUINEA. By 1750 the jihad had accomplished its mission, forcing the Yalunka and some of the Susu to flee the region and converting the remaining Susu and Fulani to the Islam.

Karamoko Alfa was then named the first *almamy* (religious or political head) of both the Fouta Djallon and its capital province of Timbo. He is also credited with designing the nine-region provincial system that defined the Fouta Djallon sultanate after the jihad. Karamoko Alfa

ruled as *almamy* until about 1750, when he reportedly began to go insane. He was replaced by his cousin Sory about 1751. After the death of Sory, a succession struggle began among the sons of both Karamoko Alfa and Sory. As a result, two political groups were formed in the region: the Alfayas, who gave allegiance to the successors of Karamoko Alfa, and the Soriyas, who backed the successors of Sory.

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III).

Kasanje   Kingdom of the 16th and 17th centuries located on the Kwango River in present-day ANGOLA, on Africa's Atlantic coast. The kingdom was founded by the 16th century by Lunda warriors who conquered the plains along the Kwango. Inhabitants of the area became known as the IMBANGALA, and the rulers adopted the title *kasanje,* thus the kingdom's name. The Kasanje kingdom quickly established commercial ties with the LUNDA EMPIRE and other interior states as well as with the Portuguese merchants of the Atlantic coast. By the late 17th century the Imbangala had a monopoly on the inland Portuguese-African trade in captives. This relationship lasted until the mid-19th century. Despite continuous attempts by the Portuguese to annex the kingdom, Kasanje remained independent until the early 1900s.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Kassala   Agricultural region in present-day east-central Republic of the SUDAN, near the nation's border with ERITREA. About 600 BCE Kassala was controlled by the Kushite dynasty of EGYPT. When the Kushites were later conquered by Aksum, the region was largely Christianized. Kassala remained under Christian rule until the Arab Abdullabi dynasty seized power in the early part of the 16th century.

By 1608 the Nilotic Muslim FUNJ dynasty dominated the Abdullabi and used the area as a military base during its war with ETHIOPIA. More than two centuries later, in 1821 Kassala was conquered by MUHAMMAD ALI (c. 1769–1849), an Egyptian vizier under nominal Ottoman rule who annexed the region as part of Egyptian Sudan.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Katagum   Town located along the Jamaare River of present-day northern NIGERIA. In 1809, during a Fulani jihad, the warrior Ibrahim Zakiyul Kalbi captured territory belonging to KANEM-BORNU on the northern side of the Jamaare River, making it the capital of his emirate. Upon his return to the capital in 1814, Kalbi, who was also called *Malam* (meaning "scholar" or "teacher"), officially established the city of Katagum. He commissioned a mosque and also ordered the construction of a pair of

city-encompassing walls with four gates, each with a 10-foot (3-m) base and a height of 20 feet (6 m). Katagum had become a trading center by 1824, when two Scottish explorers—Walter Oudney, who died and is buried in Katagum, and Hugh Clapperton—reached the town during their travels.

Although Katagum had been reclaimed by Kanem-Bornu and the KANURI people during the 1820s, the town was once again conquered by the combined forces of the reigning FULANI emir, Dan Kauwa, and the Bauchi king, Yakubu, in 1826. Katagum then resumed its position as an important emirate in the Fulani empire until clashes with the emir of Hadejia in the 1850s significantly weakened the town's authority.

Katanga (Shaba)   Province located in the southeastern region of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO known for its copper-mining industry. By the time Europeans arrived in the area in the late 15th century, Katanga was already being worked for its copper deposits by the Luba people. By the 16th century the LUBA EMPIRE had formed, with individual kingdoms situated around the Katanga region and its copper mines. The Luba were skilled in the working of copper, and by the 17th century the empire had become wealthy and powerful by trading both copper and iron ore for such commodities as foodstuffs and cloth. Even though a thriving trade in human captives greatly depleted the strength of many of the kingdoms of Central Africa, the Luba empire continued to have economic success throughout the 18th century because of the profitable copper industry of the Katanga region.

See also: COPPER (Vols. I, II); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); KATANGA (Vol. V); SLAVERY (Vol. III).

Katsina   City and emirate in present-day north-central NIGERIA. It is thought that Islam was introduced to the area during the 15th century by Malian traders traveling along the camel caravan routes. By the 17th century Katsina was the largest of the seven "true" HAUSA STATES (also called Hausa Bakwai). Extensive and far-reaching trade brought wealth to Katsina, allowing it to grow larger than the neighboring Hausa states. The significant blossoming of Islamic culture further stimulated the city's development. Various forces fought for dominance of this important area.

In the early 16th century the city was conquered by the SONGHAI Empire of West Africa, which in turn collapsed in 1591. At that point Songhai's great rival in western Africa, Bornu, began exerting its influence, and Katsina became a tributary of Bornu. Although Katsina and several other Hausa states paid tributes to Bornu, they nonetheless continued to flourish and even fight among

themselves for political and economic leadership. Bornu's inability to control this infighting combined with a devastating drought in the middle of the 18th century to end its influence over Katsina.

In the early 1800s the FULANI Muslim leader USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817) started a revolutionary movement in the Hausa state of GOBIR. This led to a jihad that culminated in the fall of Katsina to the Fulani leader in 1806. About this same time, changing trade routes and the emergence of KANO as an economic center combined to end the period of Katsina's dominance.

Kayor (Cayor, Kajor)   Province of present-day SENEGAL that was a state of the WOLOF EMPIRE until the 16th century. Located on the Atlantic coast, Kayor shares its borders with Walo, Djoloff, and Baol. Its inhabitants are mostly of Wolof origin and speak a Western Atlantic language. Between the 16th and 19th centuries Kayor and Baol were at various times united under a single political administration.

Amari Ngoné Sobel (1549–1593) became the first *damel*, or ruler, of Kayor helped by helping the region, including Baol, achieve independence from Wolof in the mid-16th century. After Amari's reign, Kayor's and Baol's monarchies were split. As a result Amari's grandson became the *damel* of Baol and his son the *damel* of Kayor. Amari Ngoné Sobel and his descendants were able to build Kayor into a powerful and prosperous kingdom, its wealth resulting from Kayor's participation in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE.

Although there were several attempts on the part of the succeeding *damels*, Kayor and Baol were not united again until the reign of Tegne Lat Soucabé (1697–1719), who, in addition to consolidating the two kingdoms, prevented them from being subjugated by the *burba*, or king, of Djoloff. Under Soucabé, the Fall Tié dynasty was established, lasting from 1697 to 1763. At that time it was replaced by the Fall Madior dynasty. Kayor and Baol were joined again under Tègne Macodou (r. 1766–1777), who founded the Fall Tié Ndella dynasty. Because of its strategic location, Kayor became a center of French colonial activities in the 19th century.

Kayra dynasty (Keira)   Ruling clan of DARFUR, an Islamic sultanate founded by SULIMAN SOLONG (c. 1596–1637) in the middle of the 17th century. Today Darfur lies in the western Republic of the SUDAN. The Kayra dynasty ruled from about 1640 until the late 19th century.

Under the leadership of Suliman Solong, the FUR people of the mountainous Darfur region broke free from the rule of the Bornu kingdom, located to the southwest of Lake CHAD, and drove the rival TUNJUR people out of Darfur and west, into WADAI.

Suliman Solong's successor, Ahmad Bakr ibn Musa (c. 1682–1722), expanded the role of Islam in the sultanate, building mosques and centers of Islamic learning. He also expanded the boundaries of the sultanate to the north and northwest, increasing the territory in which Darfur controlled trade. Five of Ahmad Bakr's sons eventually held the Fur throne, strengthening the dynasty's hold on power through marriage alliances and trading agreements. During this period it was not uncommon for the Kayra rulers to give local Muslim leaders and powerful allies gifts of slaves, firearms, and luxury items in order to strengthen their loyalty to the dynasty.

Even though the sultans of the Kayra dynasty established Islam as the official RELIGION of the Fur state early on, many of its inhabitants continued to practice traditional African religions, especially on the isolated outlying plains northwest of KORDOFAN.

Until the late 1700s the Kayra clan was divided into two factions: one that wanted to expand the sultanate through military domination (the Darfur army was renowned for its expert horsemen) and the other that wanted to enrich and strengthen the dynasty itself. Despite the rift the Kayra clan ruled uninterrupted except for a brief period in the late 19th century.

In the 18th century Kayra sultans established al-Fashir as their capital. They consolidated their hold on Darfur by pushing east into the FUNJ sultanate and establishing trade relations with the Ottoman Empire in EGYPT. By the beginning of the 19th century Kayra sultans had grown rich by trading slaves to Egypt and continuing to heavily tax the trade caravans that passed through their territory on the way to Red Sea ports.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Kazembe (Cayembe)

Large Lunda kingdom of the 18th and 19th centuries located in present-day ZAMBIA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. The Kazembe kingdom was established in 1740 by dissenters from Central Africa's LUNDA EMPIRE, which had been founded before 1600. During the reign of its second king, Kazembe II (c. 1760–1805), the kingdom quickly expanded through the conquest of neighboring states. Kazembe IV, who ruled from 1805 to 1850, opened trade relations with Portuguese merchants in present-day ANGOLA. Kazembe controlled both the salt pans and the copper mines in what is now KATANGA Province in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Kazembe **was a title held by many of the chiefs who broke from the Lunda empire and established their own kingdoms in the 18th century.**

The region became a major center for trade in salt and copper between the African interior and the Atlantic coast. Internal conflict led to the demise of Kazembe, which was overtaken by eastern groups around 1890.

See also: LUNDA KINGDOM (Vol. II).

Further reading: Giacomo Macola, *The Kingdom of Kazembe: History and Politics in North-Eastern Zambia and Katanga to 1950* (Münster, Germany: Lit. Verlag, 2002).

Kebbi

Founded around the beginning of the 16th century, one of the Banza Bakwai, or seven "illegitimate" HAUSA STATES in present-day northwestern NIGERIA and southwestern NIGER. The capital of Kebbi state, BIRNIN KEBBI, was an early settlement of the Kebbawa, a subgroup of the Hausa people.

Biram, Daura, GOBIR, KANO, KATSINA, Rano, and Zazzau (later renamed ZARIA, after its capital) were considered the *Hausa Bakwai,* or the seven "true" Hausa states. These states had seven outlying kingdoms, which were called the *Banza Bakwai,* or seven "illegitimate" states. The Banza Bakwai included ZAMFARA, Yauri, Gwari, NUPE, KWARARAFA (also called Jukun), Yoruba, and Kebbi. There was great rivalry among all of these states, and the fortunes of each rose and fell over the centuries. At times during the 16th and 17th centuries, Kebbi was the dominant Hausa state.

Kebbi was founded by Muhammadu Kanta (fl. 1516), a SONGHAI general who defected from the ranks of Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (d. 1538). Muhammadu Kanta consolidated existing villages to build three new cities, Surname, Birnin Leka, and Birnin Kebbi, all of which repelled numerous attacks from neighboring peoples to become one of the great West African powers as a Hausa city-state. In 1674, however, Kebbi was defeated by forces from Agades, to the north, and the former glory of city rapidly declined.

The Sokoto River, also called the Kebbi River because of its proximity to the Hausa state, irrigates the surrounding savannah, allowing for year-round farming of GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), COTTON, tobacco, swamp rice, onions, sugarcane, and indigo. Much of the remaining land is used for grazing cattle, sheep, and goats. Today the FULANI, Hausa, Dakarki, and Kamberi peoples inhabit the region. They are primarily Muslims.

See also: MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vol. II).

Kenya East African country on the Indian Ocean coast measuring approximately 224,900 square miles (582,491 sq km). Kenya shares borders with ETHIOPIA, Republic of the SUDAN, UGANDA, TANZANIA, and SOMALIA.

Little is known of Kenyan history prior to the 19th century, especially regarding the interior regions. What has been recorded primarily concerns the Indian Ocean settlements that made up Kenya's stretch of the SWAHILI COAST. Kenya's interior was originally sparsely occupied by Bantu-speaking hunter-gatherers like the Okiek and Gumba. Later, Nilotic peoples of the KALENJIN group moved into Kenya, preceding groups of Bantu-speaking agriculturalists, including the KAMBA, KIKUYU, and GIRIAMA, who moved into the region to take advantage of the plentiful rainfall and fertile valleys. In the 16th and 17th centuries the pastoral MAASAI came from the north and wandered into southern Kenya with their herds of cattle.

The coast was dominated by Swahili city-states. The Swahili were commercially oriented Muslims who developed from generations of intermarriage between Arab traders and native coastal Africans. They established numerous Kenyan coastal chiefdoms, including MOMBASA, MALINDI, LAMU, and Pate, which thrived from the 12th through the 18th centuries. These cities were trading ports for the exchange of captives, cloth, ivory, glass beads, and GOLD. Swahili ports competed for control of the coastal trade, and by the end of the 15th century Mombasa had overtaken Malindi as the most powerful of the Swahili city-states. However, another shift in power was soon to occur.

Early in the 16th century, Portuguese forces led by explorer Vasco da Gama (1460–1524) arrived on the Kenyan coast seeking to control lucrative Indian Ocean trade routes. After aligning with the ruling dynasty of Malindi, the Portuguese attempted to capture Mombasa in 1505. However, the city resisted the Portuguese until 1529.

The Portuguese attempted to tax commerce in the Swahili city-states, leading to constant rebellion. Finally, in 1699 the Arabian OMANI SULTANATE, which had its African headquarters on the island of ZANZIBAR, drove the Portuguese from the Kenyan coast. Despite occupying Kenyan ports for nearly 200 years, the Portuguese had little influence on Swahili culture.

Although the Omani Arabs were interested in Indian Ocean trade, they did not immediately seize control of the Kenyan coast. Pate reigned as the most powerful city-state until the Lamu army defeated them in the early 1800s. It was not until 1820 that the Omanis, under sultan SAYYID SAID (1791–1856), came to dominate the Kenyan coastal region.

See also: GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); KENYA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Further reading: Robert M. Maxon and Thomas P. Ofcansky, *Historical Dictionary of Kenya* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2000); Robert Pateman, *Kenya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1998).

Keta Town in present-day southeastern GHANA located on the Gulf of Guinea, at the mouth of the Volta River. Prior to European settlement Keta was part of the ANLO kingdom. Europeans arrived at Keta in the 15th century and established a port to trade captives, ivory, spices, and GOLD. During the 1700s the Anlo kingdom was in constant conflict with the Ada people over fishing, MINING, and salt- and slave-trading rights. This made Keta a very important commercial center for the Anlo kingdom. A Danish settlement was constructed in the area in 1784. Ultimately, in 1850 Keta became part of a British colony.

See also: KETA (Vol. II).

Ketu Yoruba province and kingdom of the 16th through the 18th centuries located south of Sabe in central DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN). The capital of Ketu is the city of Ketu, and it was from here that the *alaketu* (a royal title meaning "owner of Ketu") set up his government. At its height in the 1700s, the Ketu kingdom extended east to Meko, west to the Weme (Oueme) River, north to Okpara, and south to the Ahori marshlands.

The date of the origin of the kingdom is obscure, but the existence of a kings list enumerating 38 kings who ruled before 1750 gives credence to the belief that Ketu was founded before Oyo in the early 16th century.

Until the 17th century the kingdom of Ketu enjoyed a relatively peaceful existence. But by the 18th century its territory was increasingly encroached upon by the OYO EMPIRE, to which it paid tribute. As time passed, however, Oyo began to lose its trade routes to the coast, and the stability of the kingdom was threatened from within by the resurgence of vassal states that had once paid tribute to Oyo.

The FON people of Dahomey posed the most serious threat. Since the mid-18th century the Fon had focused their attention on rebuilding and restructuring their kingdom. In 1789 Dahomey stormed Ketu, whose inhabitants were no match for the powerful Fon. However, Ketu tradition insists that Ketu was victorious in fending off Dahomey, maintaining that Dahomey plundered nearby Iwole instead.

See also: YORUBALAND (Vol. III).

Khami Capital of the Torwa state that emerged in the 16th century after the capital of Great Zimbabwe had been abandoned. Situated on the Khami River and with a population perhaps as large as 7,000, Khami had buildings with a distinctive architectural style. The key features were platforms on which houses were built and

extensive low, intricately patterned walls covered in various herringbone, cord, and checkered patterns. The town's more important residents lived in a central group of buildings, with the hub being a hill topped with three platforms that formed a tiered structure. More ordinary residents lived in less substantial structures on the town's outskirts. Khami was a major center for trade, as indicated by the presence of goods such as pottery and glass beads originating from the Indian Ocean basin and even Europe. In exchange Torwa supplied GOLD, copper, and ivory, among other goods. Trade contacts were with Muslim merchants from the commercial towns of the SWAHILI COAST or through intermediaries with Portuguese merchants operating in the southeast African interior. In the late 17th century DHLO-DHLO succeeded Khami as Torwa's capital city. In 1986 the Khami ruins were declared highly culturally significant and were named a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Graham Connah, *African Civilizations: An Archaeological Perspective* (2nd ed.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Martin Hall, *Farmers, Kings, and Traders: The People of Southern Africa, 200–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

Khartoum Capital city of present-day Republic of the SUDAN, located at the convergence of the Blue Nile and White Nile rivers. Prior to the early 19th century Khartoum served as little more than a small agricultural community. However, in 1821 an Egyptian army led by Uthman Bey (fl. 1820s) was sent to claim the area for the Ottoman Empire and established an army camp there. Due to Khartoum's strategic location, a fort was built, and the city served as a military outpost for the Ottoman Empire until 1865. Khartoum developed into a primary marketplace for the trade in ivory and captives. The captured peoples were often traditional DINKA and NUER pastoralists from the Nile basin, to the south of the city.

See also: KHARTOUM (Vols. I, IV, V); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Khoikhoi (Khoe Khoe, Namaqua, Khoi, Hottentot) Pastoralist people who inhabited areas of present-day BOTSWANA and SOUTH AFRICA for thousands of years prior to the era of European colonization. The Khoikhoi aggressively repelled Portuguese incursions into their territory in the late 15th century, and their anti-European sentiments continued into the 16th century. By the mid-17th century Dutch and British colonists were fighting often with the Khoikhoi over land and water rights in the CAPE COLONY. Eventually, the superior European firepower took its toll, and the Khoikhoi were

forced from their homeland into present-day NAMIBIA. At the same time, an outbreak of smallpox decimated the Khoikhoi population. The remaining Khoikhoi divided into two subgroups, the NAMA and the ORLAMS. Some of these Khoikhoi peoples intermarried with BOERS, or Dutch South Africans, creating a new ethnic group called the Basters, of which the GRIQUA are a subgroup.

See also: KHOIKHOI (Vol. II).

Further reading: Emile Boonzaier, et. al., *The Cape Herders: A History of the Khoikhoi of Southern Africa* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1996); Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799–1853* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Susan Newton-King, *Masters and Servants on the Cape Eastern Frontier, 1760–1803* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Kikuyu Bantu-speaking ethnic group residing in the foothills and ridges of the central highlands between Nairobi and Mt. Kenya in present-day KENYA. Today the Kikuyu make up almost one-quarter of Kenya's population. They probably migrated to their homeland from the north by the middle of the 17th century, slowly spreading throughout the region over the next three centuries. They practiced both herding and farming, which allowed them to trade with the earlier inhabitants of the region, including the MAASAI and Okiek.

In Kikuyu culture, both men and women were able to conduct trade. Kikuyu women often exchanged their goods with Maasai women, even if the men of their respective clans were warring. Kikuyu men secured trade alliances with Maasai and GIRIAMA men by becoming "blood brothers." Each man would taste the other's blood and declare oaths vowing to protect the other.

The Kikuyu secured peace alliances with their neighbors by intermarrying with them and by establishing strong trade relations. Once they were settled in the region, they held regular markets that further solidified social and economic ties with the other groups. With the Maasai, the Kikuyu settlers exchanged their agricultural products for animal skins, pots, gourds, and goods from the Kenyan plains. Nomadic Maasai pastoralists, for their part, often sought refuge among their Kikuyu relatives during times of drought or famine. With the Okiek the Kikuyu traded their livestock for large amounts of land and forest products, including honey.

Early in the 19th century the Kikuyu joined the Giriama and the KAMBA in monopolizing the Kenyan ivory supply. Their fortunes quickly turned for the worse, however, with the arrival of British colonial interests. First, MISSIONARIES converted many Kikuyu people to Christianity, weakening the Kikuyu's shared cultural traditions. Then, later in the 19th century, valuable Kikuyu lands were claimed by Britain, leaving many Kikuyu men with no option but to work as wage laborers for British railroad builders to earn income.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); KIKUYU (Vols. II, IV); TRADIE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III).

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Kilwa (Kilwa Kisiwani or "Kilwa on the Island")

Island port on the Tanzanian coast of East Africa, south of MOMBASA and Mafia Island and north of the Kerimba Archipelago and COMOROS. East Africa's SWAHILI COAST possesses two natural harbors, both of which could handle ships of substantial size, and Kilwa became a major trading port as early as the 12th century. For the next 500 years it handled an extensive commerce in GOLD, ivory, and human captives. When Vasco da Gama (1460–1524) visited Kilwa in 1502, he found a large, prosperous city of narrow streets and tall, three- and four-story houses running right down to the harbor itself.

Within three years of da Gama's arrival, Kilwa fell under Portuguese domination when its king, Ibrahim (fl. 1505), defaulted on tribute payments that he had promised to make. Denied their money, the Portuguese launched a punitive raid that damaged the city and led to the carting off of numerous prisoners. To solidify their control, the Portuguese erected a fort, through which they hoped to regulate the SOFALA gold trade.

Although Kilwa figured prominently in Portuguese activities, the city's commerce was effectively weakened by Portuguese domination. It revived at the beginning of the 18th century, however, with the withdrawal of the Portuguese from Africa's Swahili Coast. By the end of the century it had once again become a major port, this time concentrating on the trade in humans. Its independence proved difficult to maintain, and it ultimately fell under the control of the rising Arab-led OMANI SULTANATE, with the sultan of Kilwa serving as a puppet under an Omani governor.

See also: GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. II); KILWA (Vol. II); MAFIA ISLAND (Vols. I, II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III).

Kimbu Bantu-speaking ethnic group of present-day west-central TANZANIA. The area inhabited by the Kimbu, which is known as *Ukimbu,* occupies about 20,000 square miles (51,799 sq km) of densely forested woodlands and river-fed grasslands. Most of the territory is infested with tsetse flies, making herding difficult, if not impossible because of the threat of sleeping sickne ((called *nagana* in animals).

Little is known of the original Kimbu inhabitants of this region, but it is believed that, perhaps during the 18th century, one or more waves of immigration brought numerous peoples from the south and east coast into the territory. This is borne out by various Kimbu social and governmental institutions, many of which seem to have been specifically aimed at successfully assimilating newcomers into the overall society.

Traditionally the Kimbu supported themselves by hunting and gathering, practicing only a limited amount of simple AGRICULTURE. Because of this they frequently moved their villages from place to place in search of new and better foraging areas. Kimbu villages required a fairly substantial population level in order to be both economically and socially viable. They contained 300 to 350 inhabitants and were located about 30 to 40 miles (48 to 64 km) apart.

Traditional Kimbu religion was similar to that of the NYAMWEZI, and the two groups even used the same or similar names for many of their deities, spirits, and ritual offerings. In Kimbu theology the Sun was the symbol of the primary deity, who was known as Ilyuva and who was seen as both a supreme being and a life-giving force. Like the Sun, Ilyuva was associated with the east, and the Kimbu looked to the east as the source of life and health. In contrast the west, particularly the area around Lakes Tanganyika and Rukwa, was seen as the home of the evil spirits responsible for the negative factors in life, such as disease and death. The Kimbu also believed in various lesser spirits, many of whom were linked with specific family lineages. These were, for example, associated with village clearings and abandoned village sites.

Puberty rites long figured prominently among Kimbu religious rituals. However, the traditional circumcision of boys at puberty, which once was a central part of Kimbu life and religion, apparently began to disappear as early as the 1860s.

Although Kimbu society was relatively small and rather heterogeneous, it was highly structured, with a complex system of kingship. The Kimbu chief was associated with the life-giving deity Ilyuva. As a result the chief's family enjoyed a share in the dominions belonging to Ilyuva, which included forests, villages, and virtually everything else within a carefully established territory that had clearly defined landmarks. Water as well as firewood, building materials, and agricultural products were seen as public property that could be used by anyone. However, all other NATURAL RESOURCES, such as honey, game, and

even iron ore, were the property of the chief, and anyone who collected these resources owed a share to the chief.

Each individual chief had the responsibility of being a well-meaning and successful father to his people. During his reign the chief was responsible for ensuring both peace and prosperity by properly carrying out various ritual offerings to the chieftain's ancestors. These rituals, carried out at the ancestors' graves in the forests, were crucial to Kimbu society, for the ancestors were seen as the true source of authority and power. A chief was seen as the representative of the ancestors, and could be deposed if he was believed to have lost favor with his ancestors.

It was not only his ancestors who limited the power of a Kimbu chieftain, however. They also shared power with a council of elders, called *ivanyaampala*. This council was made up of older men of great respect in the community, and they generally used the name associated with the royal family. Membership in the council apparently was based on the notion of respect and achievement, since there seems to have been neither a set number of members for the council nor an established system by which members were elected or appointed.

The council traditionally held great power within Kimbu society, and even strong chiefs feared the elders. The council controlled who would be nominated for the chieftainship and had the power to depose a chief.

Subordinate to the main Kimbu chieftain were various lesser chiefs, who were grouped into associations, usually on the basis of specific pieces of regalia. Each of these associations had its own myths to explain its political origins and the systems by which it divided land among its people.

Among the main responsibilities of the Kimbu chiefs was the administration of justice, which they did in conjunction with their councilors. Within this system cases were brought to the council by parties who believed that they had suffered some kind of wrong. If possible these cases were settled by the council alone. If, however, the council believed that an individual case was particularly important or if it could not reach a decision, then the elders brought their findings to the chief.

If the chief disagreed with the council's decision, he would demand that the council's discussions continue until a unanimous decision was reached. Those judgments generally involved some form of compensation for victims and aggrieved parties; debtors were made to render LABOR or service to their creditors, thieves and rapists were forced to give compensation. Other violent crimes were punished with death.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); LAW AND JUSTICE (Vol. III).

Kimpa Vita See BEATRIX, DOŇA.

kingdoms and empires of eastern Africa and the interior

A major distinction exists between the peoples and kingdoms of the interior and the peoples and kingdoms of the coast. Little documentary evidence exists about the peoples of the East African interior, although for the period following the 15th century, the oral traditions of the present-day peoples of the region, carefully used, can supply a reasonably reliable understanding of the history of the region. On the other hand, the SWAHILI COAST, bordering the Indian Ocean, had been a major center of commerce and trade since at least the second century. Its Arab Muslim culture was urban and cosmopolitan, with links by trade to the Islamic world outside Africa.

The East African Interior The 15th and 16th centuries are characterized by a growing migration of Nilo-Saharan-speaking pastoralists from southern present-day Republic of the SUDAN and southwestern ETHIOPIA into the grasslands of the East African interior. Generally called Nilotes from their language, they intermarried with their Bantu-speaking predecessors and established new local cultures. They are generally divided into three separate groups: the southern Nilotes, the eastern Nilotes, and the western Nilotes.

The southern Nilotes migrated southward from Sudan near Lake Turkana and moved into the highlands east of Lake Victoria. The eastern Nilotes also migrated from the grasslands near Lake Turkana. They held on to their language and culture, forming the Karamojong people of present-day northeastern UGANDA and the MAASAI of present-day central KENYA and TANZANIA.

The Nilotic LUO-speaking peoples from the southern Sudan had reached the northern border of Uganda by the middle of the 15th century. From there they moved throughout the the interlacustrine, or inter-lake, region (the land between Lakes Victoria, Albert, Edward, and Tanganyika) and also northeast of Lake Victoria. From there the BITO clan of the Luo overthrew the Chwezi rulers of Kitara to the east of Lake Albert and founded the kingdom of BUNYORO, which flourished from the 16th to the 19th centuries. In this new kingdom the cattle-raising Luo became a privileged caste that ruled over the Bantu-speaking agriculturalists. As time passed the western Nilotic Luo generally blended with the local people and adopted the Bantu language. For the most part Bunyoro remained a loose confederation of settlements governed by local rulers under the overall authority of a central king. These settlements supplied the king with soldiers for raids against neighboring peoples. In the 16th and 17th centuries these raids, which were a source of cattle and tribute, extended as far south as BUGANDA and present-day RWANDA.

Some historians believe that protection from raids by Bunyoro was a significant reason why Buganda developed the strong central government that distinguished it from

Bunyoro. So successful were its administration and productive ECONOMY that by 1800 Buganda had surpassed Bunyoro in influence. The king of Buganda bore the title *kabaka;* territorial sub-rulers, or chiefs, held the land directly from the king, not by heredity, and owed him loyalty and obedience. The major crops of Buganda were bananas and plantains, and because the cultivation of these plantation-grown crops required only seasonal LABOR, the population was free to develop public works projects, especially the extensive network of roads that stretched from the capital in the town of Buganda throughout the region.

In Rwanda, to the south of Bunyoro and Buganda, a dominant clan of TUTSI pastoralists held power over a much larger population of Bantu-speaking HUTU agriculturalists. The ancestors of the Tutsi may have been Luo. The Tutsi generally did not intermarry with local populations, and they eventually assumed the role of a warrior caste, receiving herding services and other tribute from the farming peoples in return for protection from rival Tutsi clans. By the 18th century the Tutsi had formed the kingdom of Rwanda and the less powerful kingdom of BURUNDI. Both kingdoms developed very late in the precolonial period, however. Rwanda was not united into a single kingdom with defined borders until after the middle of the 19th century when Kilgeri Rwabugiri (r. 1860–1895), who is considered Rwanda's greatest king, assumed the throne.

As the Maasai moved with their herds of cattle through Kenya into the plains of Tanzania, they found the grasslands already occupied by local peoples such as the KALENJIN of central Kenya. With the Kalenjin, as with peoples they subsequently encountered, the Maasai acted on their traditional belief that all cattle belong to the Maasai and seized the pasture lands by force. The clan-based Maasai, ruled by councils of elders, never developed a central government or a central kingdom. In this regard, the Maasai were much like their clan-based, Bantu-speaking neighbors with whom they developed peaceful trading relations. Near Mount Kilimanjaro some large states developed among the clan-based CHAGGA, PARE, and SHAMBAA people. In addition the NYAMWEZI, who lived south of Lake Victoria, were establishing themselves as traders in ivory and, later, captives, using their advantageous location along the trade routes to the East African coast. No centrally governed kingdoms, however, developed from among these peoples.

By the middle of the 19th century the Lunda kingdom of KAZEMBE had become the central pivot of a long-distance trading network that stretched across eastern and Central Africa from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean. At its height around the beginning of the 19th century, Kazembe controlled what is now KATANGA Province in the present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO and northern ZAMBIA. Its major exports were copper as well as ivory, salt, and captives. Imports included firearms, cloth from Europe and India, cowrie shells, beads, and manufactured goods.

The greatest Kazembe king, who amassed most of the territory of the kingdom, was Kazemba II (r. 1740–1760), also known as Kaniembo. The Kazembe Lunda kingdom was the largest and the most highly organized of the Luba-Lunda states of Central Africa and was an offshoot of the LUNDA EMPIRE ruled by the Mwata Yamvo dynasty. By the 1750s Kazembe was all but independent of the Lunda Empire and paid only nominal tribute.

Kazembe's trade routes to the west lay through the neighboring Lunda Empire. Professional Bisa traders who lived to the east of the Lunda Empire transported Kazembe's goods to the Portuguese traders in the Zambezi valley. The BEMBA kingdom, located in the northern reaches of present-day Zambia, dominated the land through which Bisa caravans passed and gained most of its revenue by raiding these caravans from the safety of their fortified towns. The Bantu-speaking YAO people, who lived south and east of Lake Malawi and traded in ivory and captives, were the main links to the port of KILWA on the Swahili Coast. The Yao were never united and established no central kingdom; they lived in settlements of 75 to 100 persons under a traditional headman.

The original Lunda kingdom itself, which developed into a centralized empire during the 15th century, became rich from MAIZE and cassava, two crops that the Portuguese introduced into Africa from the Americas. Trading these crops along with ivory and slaves, the Lunda Empire was able to obtain firearms and European-made cloth. The use of guns enabled the Mwata Yamvo rulers to extend their dominion within Central Africa. The Kazembe Lunda kingdom was the result of this expansionist move.

The Interior of Southern Africa Three important kingdoms with trading ties to the Indian Ocean coast arose in the interior of southern Africa after the abrupt disappearance of Great Zimbabwe in the second half of the 1400s. The first was the Bantu-speaking MWENE MUTAPA kingdom that stretched from ZIMBABWE to present-day northern SOUTH AFRICA. Over time, rebellious vassals broke away to establish their own kingdoms, including the important ROZWI kingdom of the Shona people, ruled by the CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY. Situated inland west of SOFALA, the Rozwi kingdom arose in the 1670s and dominated the Zimbabwe plateau well into the 18th century.

The second important kingdom, located in present-day MALAWI was the kingdom of the Bantu-speaking MARAVI people that lasted until the late 1700s. The Maravi, who entered the region in the 1400s, were important manufacturers and exporters of iron, and their kingdom controlled most of the Zambezi Basin when Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama (1460–1524) landed at MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND in 1498. The most powerful Maravi ruler

was Masula (r. c. 1600–1650), a *KALONGA,* or king, whose realm stretched from north of the ZAMBEZI RIVER, in the west, to Mozambique Island, in the east. He failed to set up a central government that could outlast him, however, and his empire disintegrated after his death.

Starting in the early 1500s the Portuguese had made many inroads along the coast and slightly into the interior, with trading stations at Sofala and QUELIMANE along the coast. By the 1530s the Portuguese had established trading stations inland at SENA and TETE along the Zambezi River and a string of large estates called *PRAZOS,* defended by slave armies, in the Zambezi valley. Although European trade was at first welcomed, from 1693 to 1695 the Changamire Rozwi kingdom expelled the Portuguese from the interior. They kept the MINING and trading of GOLD under strict royal control, restricted the Portuguese mainly to their *prazos,* and allowed only the African agents hired by the Portuguese to trade within the borders of the kingdom. The kingdom was destroyed by the rise of the NGONI and Ndebele peoples during the period called the MFECANE (the crushing) that resulted from ZULU expansion in South Africa during the 1820s and 1830s.

The Swahili Coast   Arab traders favored the Swahili Coast region rather than the closer Somali coast because they could use the monsoon winds to carry them back and forth. The culture of the coast was tied to the sea and linked with the rest of the Arab world. The ruling aristocracy was Muslim of mixed Arab and African descent, almost all of whom were involved in trade. The Muslim population had little or no direct contact, commercial or religious, with the peoples of the interior.

Between 1500 and 1700 the Portuguese were able to wrest control of the highly lucrative Indian Ocean trade from Arab hands. By force of arms they eventually controlled all the prosperous seaports along the coast, including MOMBASA in what is now Kenya, Kilwa in what is now Tanzania, and Sofala in present-day MOZAMBIQUE. They controlled the important islands of ZANZIBAR, LAMU, Pemba, and Mozambique. Their tactic was to sail their cannon-armed ships into a harbor and demand that the ruler become a Portuguese subject and pay annual tribute. If the Africans resisted the Portuguese would bombard and pillage the town and kill any Muslims they found.

The first to fall was MALINDI, north of Mombasa, which submitted quickly to avoid destruction. In a move typical of the rivalries that kept these cities from presenting the Portuguese with a united front, the sultan of Mombasa was so enraged that he declared war on the sultan of Malindi for being a turncoat. Zanzibar, in 1503, was the first coastal city to come under major Portuguese attack. By 1509 the Portuguese were firmly established on the southern end of the Swahili coast, with fortresses built in Kilwa and Sofala, and on Mozambique Island. Because the sultan of Mombasa, further north along the coast, continued to resist, Mombasa was sacked in 1528.

It was attacked again in 1589, this time by a fleet sent from the Portuguese colony of Goa, in India. Because the sultan of Mombasa died without an heir, the Portuguese were able to install the sultan of Malindi, their vassal, on the throne. To maintain dominance over Mombasa, the other northern cities, and the trade routes to India, Portugal built the massive FORT JESUS in Mombasa, completing it in 1599.

The Portuguese also controlled part of the Arabian coast. Their conquests included the island of Hormuz in the channel linking the Persian Gulf with the Gulf of Oman, and the city of Muscat, the capital of the OMANI SULTANATE, on the Gulf of Oman. The Portuguese captured Muscat in 1508 and held it until they were driven out in 1650. They captured Hormuz in 1514 and lost it in 1622 to a combined force from Britain and the shah of Persia (present-day Iran). Portugal's interests in this region were commercial rather than territorial, and it made no attempt to establish permanent colonies.

The resurgence of Oman ultimately led to Portugal's loss of the Swahili Coast. In 1652 Omani forces occupied the islands of Zanzibar and Pate, near Kenya. Pate became the center of resistance to Portugal. In 1696 Sayf ibn Sultan (r. c. 1690s), the ruler of Oman, as an ally of Pate, sailed to Mombasa with a large fleet. Fort Jesus finally fell to his forces in 1698, following a two-year siege. Zanzibar fell shortly thereafter. Portuguese control over Mombasa was briefly restored in 1728–29 in order to oust the Omanis, but Portugal was soon driven out again, and Kilwa, Zanzibar, Lamu, and Pate remained independent of both Portugal and Oman.

The Omani MASRUI dynasty came into power in the 1740s and reestablished Omani rule in Pate, Mombasa, and Zanzibar. This dynasty was to maintain firm control over much of the Swahili Coast during the 1800s.

See also: BISA TRADING NETWORKS (Vol. III); CHANGAMIRE (Vol. III); HIMA (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); KARAMOJONG (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF EASTERN AFRICA AND THE INTERIOR (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); RWABUGIRI, KILGERI (Vol. IV).

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kingdoms and empires of the Horn of Africa

The present-day countries located on the Horn of Africa are ETHIOPIA, ERITREA, Republic of DJIBOUTI, and SOMALIA. Ethiopia is the oldest kingdom in the region, tracing its roots to ancient Aksum, which flourished in the fourth through sixth centuries. The history of Ethiopia and neighboring Eritrea have long been intertwined because the present-day state of Ethiopia is landlocked, and the principal ports of ancient Aksum were in Eritrea, which borders the Red Sea. Despite this, until the 16th century Eritrea retained much of its independence, even from Ethiopia. After about 1557, however, Eritrea increasingly came under the domination of the Ottoman Empire.

During the fourth century the kings of Aksum became Christian. However, because of the its proximity to the Arabian Peninsula, the Horn of Africa was among the earliest regions of Africa to be visited by Islamic MISSIONARIES. The AFAR people of Djibouti, which adjoins Somalia, received Islam in 825. Further to the east, Muslim trading posts had been founded as early as the seventh century along Somalia's Indian Ocean coast and the Gulf of Aden. By 900 the nomadic Somali peoples had been converted. By the end of the 10th century Islam was firmly established in the trading cities of MOGADISHU, Marka, BRAVA, ZEILA, and BERBERA. The Muslim state of Ifat flourished in the eastern Shoa Plateau of central Ethiopia from 1285 to 1415. Ifat dominated the various small Muslim sultanates in the region, including Fatajar, Dawaro, Bali, and ADAL, incorporating them into an emerging and powerful Ifat state.

To contain Ifat, Ethiopian emperor Amda Siyon (r. 1314–1344), who is sometimes considered the founder of the Ethiopian state, marched southward in 1328. He established garrisons, distributed fiefs to his followers, and made Ifat into a tributary state, placing heavy taxes on the shipments of GOLD, ivory, and slaves that were sent from Ifat to Arabia through its port at Zeila on the Gulf of Aden. The rulers and people of Ifat remained in an almost continuous state of revolt against Ethiopian authority, but Amda Siyon and his successors brutally quelled those revolts and extended Ethiopia's dominance as far as Zeila on the Gulf of Aden. Ifat's independence ended in 1415 when emperor Yeshak I (r. 1414–1429) made Ifat a province of Ethiopia. Finally, in 1445, fearing Muslim encirclement, the emperor Zara Yakob (r. 1434–1468) utterly destroyed Ifat, overrunning the land as far south as present-day SIDAMO.

Ifat's place was taken by an emerging sultanate of Adal, once a tributary state of Ifat, in the Shoa region near HARER. About 1520 a Muslim religious reformer named Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi (c. 1506–1543) came to power in Adal. Known also as AHMAD GRAÑ (Ahmad the Left-Handed), he established his brother as puppet king and declared a jihad against Christian Ethiopia. Ahmad Grañ created a military force from the swelling population of nomadic Somali and Afar Muslims who responded to both his teachings and the hope of plunder. He received firearms from the Muslim Ottoman Empire and the assistance of a small force of Ottoman troops. He trained his own troops in Ottoman tactics. To provoke Ethiopia, he stopped paying tribute and held back the taxes that Ethiopia imposed on Adal's trading profits.

In 1526–27 Ahmad Grañ's forces attacked and defeated an Ethiopian army led by emperor LEBNA DENGEL (r. c. 1508–1540) at the Battle of Shimbra Kure. In 1528 his highly mobile Afar and Somali cavalry forces overran the SHOA region, and in 1531 he began his invasion of Ethiopia. By 1535 Adal troops had successfully overrun the central highlands and began to penetrate the staunchly Christian northern highlands, along the way burning monasteries and churches and forcibly converting a substantial portion of the population to Islam.

The newly crowned Ethiopian emperor, Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559), sought help from the Portuguese. For their part, the Portuguese were willing to offer military assistance because Muslim successes in Ethiopia were jeopardizing Portuguese trade in the Red Sea. The Portuguese sent 400 riflemen to Ethiopia and trained Galawdewos's army in European tactics and weaponry. They used hit-and-run tactics and the difficult mountainous terrain of the highlands to their advantage. In 1543 Ethiopian forces defeated Ahmad Grañ's army at Weyna Dega near Lake Tana; Ahmad Grañ lost his life in that battle, and the Adal threat to Ethiopia came to an end.

The cost to Ethiopia of the war with Adal was great. Its land was laid to waste. A substantial portion of its population had to be reconverted from Islam. Hundreds of thousands had been killed, and the treasury was exhausted. Ethiopia in the 1550s retreated into the feudalism that had characterized the Solomonid era at its inception centuries earlier. Discontent filled the border provinces, and the Christian population there felt exploited by the central government. The garrisons that earlier emperors Amda Siyon and Zara Yakob had established at the edges of Ethiopia were destroyed in the war with Adal and were thus no longer able to keep out the OROMO, a Cushitic-speaking pastoralist people from the south. The Oromo began moving into the Shoa region, establishing farming communities as far north as the Blue Nile valley. Waves of Oromo migrations in the 1500s brought the newcomers into southern Ethiopia, the central and western provinces, and into Tigray near the Eritrean border. In response to these Oromo invasions, Christian Ethiopia under Emperor Sarsa Dengel (r. 1563–1597) retreated into its mountain strongholds, in what was called Abyssinia. This territory, with its new capital at GONDAR, included Eritrea, the northern regions of Tigray and Gondar, and parts of GOJJAM, Shoa, and Welo.

The early 1600s were marked by religious struggles, as Roman Catholic missionaries tried to bring the Ethiopian Orthodox Church into community with Rome. Emperor Susenyos (r. 1607–1632) became a convert, as did many of the aristocracy, but the masses were repulsed by the emperor's rejection of tradition. He was forced to abdicate, and his son FASILIDAS (r. 1632–1667) assumed the throne. The later 1600s saw the rise of an assimilated Oromo aristocracy that slowly eroded the influence of the traditional monarchy. By early the next century and the brief reign of Emperor TEKLA HAYMONOT (r. 1706–08), the central government was little more than a façade. The ZEMENE MESAFINT, or "Age of the Princes," had begun.

Historians describe the next 150 years, until 1850, as a time of feudal anarchy. Alliances constantly shifted. The armies of local warlords fought each other, conscripted farmers into military service, and plundered the land. The self-sufficient rural ECONOMY of the north broke down, lawlessness prevailed, and the common people lived without hope.

See also: ABYSINNIA (Vol. I); AKSUM (Vols. I, II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III); ZARA YAKOB (Vol. II).

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kingdoms and empires of the Lower Guinea and Atlantic coast

From the middle of the 15th century through the 19th century the growing European involvement in African political and economic affairs—and the explosive growth of the slave trade—dominated the history of the Lower Guinea coast. The region was untouched, however, by the Muslim-dominated FULANI JIHADS that embroiled the rest of West Africa during the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Yoruba States: Ile-Ife, Benin, and Oyo The Yoruba states, located in what is now western NIGERIA, began to develop in the 11th and 12th centuries; their strength was in AGRICULTURE. The Yoruba became well known for the excellence of the artifacts that their artists and craftsmen produced, and these became important trade goods. Ile-Ife was the original Yoruba state and the one with the strongest artistic tradition. It remained the chief religious center for the Yoruba, even though the kingdoms of BENIN and Oyo became more important politically in the region. Its religious position protected it from its more powerful neighbors. When the *alafin* (ruler) of Oyo received the *ida oranyan* (sacred sword of state) at his coronation, he had to promise to safeguard Ife in return for receiving the spiritual authority of the sword. In the 1700s Oyo had become a major exporter of human captives. In 1793 the attempt of Alafin Awole (r. 1790s) to raid Ife to obtain captives led to internal uprisings and civil war that brought about the eventual fall of Oyo after 1817.

Benin, located in the forest region to the south and west, was founded by the Edo people in the 11th century, at about the same time as Ife. Both the *oba* (ruler) of Ife and the *oba* of Benin claim to hold their authority from Oduduwa, the legendary founder of the Yoruba. By the 1400s Benin was a large, walled city several miles across. By 1500 Benin was the head of an extensive empire. Oba Ewuare the Great (r. c. 1440–1480), who created a stable succession to the throne by making the monarchy hereditary, built up a powerful standing army and vastly expanded the boundaries of his domain so that it stretched from the Niger Delta in the east to the Lagos Lagoon in the west.

Benin was still in a period of expansion when the Portuguese landed there in the late 1400s, and, following a common practice, Benin sold to the Portuguese the captives it took during its wars with its neighbors. The Portuguese, in turn, exchanged them with AKAN groups for GOLD. Early in the 1500s Benin's wars and its participation in the slave trade ceased until the 18th century. During the 1600s and 1700s Benin grew wealthy by selling gold, pepper, ivory, acacia gum, and COTTON cloth to Portuguese and Dutch traders, becoming their principal link to the peoples of the interior.

During the 18th and early 19th centuries Benin fell into decline. Dynastic disputes led to a period of civil war, during which each side sold its captives into SLAVERY in exchange for firearms. A growing aristocracy became a drain on the kingdom's resources. The kingdom retreated into empty rituals of kingship to support the claims of the weaker *obas*. Ultimately Benin was taken over by the British in 1897.

At the height of its power, between 1650 and 1750, the Yoruba state of Oyo in present-day southwestern Nigeria, dominated most of the kingdoms between the Volta River in the west and the NIGER RIVER in the east. Oyo had a beneficial position on the trade routes between the other Yoruba kingdoms and the HAUSA STATES. The land was fertile, and because it was beyond the range of the tsetse fly, the country was suited for horses—a fact the rulers of Oyo took advantage of. The formidable Oyo cavalry helped extend the OYO EMPIRE to the southwest, where the terrain was suitable for cavalry maneuvers. In the late 1600s Oyo's reach extended as far as the coastal kingdom of ALLADA, which it forced to pay tribute. Through Allada Oyo had contact with European traders.

Oyo's sub-Saharan trade and wars of expansion produced more captives than were needed to work on the *alafin's* royal farms. Accordingly, many captives were sold to European traders in exchange for firearms, metal goods, cloth, and other trade items. These items were often shipped to North Africa for more horses and more slaves. Thus in the 1780s Oyo became a major conduit for human captives from north to south. This trade enriched the kingdom greatly until the market withered in the 1790s, largely as a result of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. To maintain revenue levels and to support a growing though nonproductive aristocracy, the *alafin* overtaxed the people, a decision that led to social unrest and rebellion.

The Oyo cavalry, largely composed of Muslim conscripts from north of Oyo and the main source of the *alafin's* power, was headquartered at ILORIN, an Oyo vassal state. In 1817 an attempted revolt by the head of the cavalry failed when the cavalry itself rebelled and switched its loyalty to the new Muslim SOKOTO CALIPHATE during the FULANI JIHADS. The government of Oyo collapsed, and by 1830 the rest of YORUBALAND was caught up in civil war.

Dahomey   One of the major states involved in the slave trade in the 18th century, DAHOMEY was situated in what is now the Republic of BENIN. In 1650 its first king, WEGBAJA (c. 1645–1680), transformed it from a decentralized group of villages inhabited by the FON people into a centralized state dominated by the AJA people, who migrated there from the kingdom of Allada along the coast. Under Wegbaja and his successors Dahomey developed an absolute monarchy without parallel in Africa. The king was at the pinnacle of society and governed through a strong, centralized bureaucracy. Human sacrifice in honor of the royal ancestors became an annual practice.

Allada was a major embarkation point for captives in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. The main tasks of Dahomey's army were to expand the territorial boundaries of the kingdom and to procure captives, who were sold for firearms or kept to work on the royal plantations. In the 1720s Dahomey captured both Allada and the neighboring kingdom of WHYDAH along the coast, where European forts had already been established. Dahomey thus gained even better access to European traders.

Dahomey's major rival in the trade of captives was Oyo, which invaded Dahomey four times in the 1720s. In 1730 Dahomey became a vassal state of Oyo when AGAJA (1716–1740), the reigning king of Dahomey, realized that he could not withstand the attacks of the powerful Oyo cavalry and agreed to pay tribute to Oyo.

Throughout the 1730s to nearly 1800 Dahomey continued to add provinces and prospered on the proceeds of the sale of captives. The royal plantations produced enough crops to feed the army and the royal court. Dahomey reached the height of its power under king GEZU (1818–1858). He freed Dahomey from subservience to Oyo, and to make up for the loss of revenue that occurred when Britain curtailed the slave trade in the 1840s, he helped Dahomey make a smooth transition to a post-slavery ECONOMY. The royal plantations, as producers of PALM OIL, became a major source of the kingdom's revenue in the 19th century.

Ashanti and the Akan States   The AKAN were farming peoples who lived in the area of West Africa between the Volta and the Komoé rivers, in the forests and the coastal lands of what is now TOGO, GHANA, and IVORY COAST. Muslim DYULA traders penetrated as far south as the region of the upper Volta River during the 1400s in search of new merchandise. They bought gold and kola nuts from the Akan people and paid them, in part, in human captives. The presence of such captives and hostages made it possible for the Akan to clear the forest for planting and to mine gold on more than a small-scale, seasonal basis. Early settlements combined AGRICULTURE and MINING, and these became the foundations for a more organized Akan society.

The kingdom of BONO, established in c. 1450, was the earliest of the northern Akan states. Of the southern Akan states the most important were DENKYIRA, AKWAMU, FANTE, and Ashanti. In the late 1400s the Akan found in the Portuguese a new market for their gold, and the Portuguese erected trading posts on the Akan coast at which they traded captives and hostages from Benin and European cloth and metal goods for Akan gold. They also introduced MAIZE and other crops from the New World.

The ASHANTI EMPIRE was founded in the 1670s. Its first king was OSEI TUTU (d. c. 1712), who believed that the only way for the smaller Akan states to free themselves from the domination of Denkyira to the south was to unite into a single kingdom. Ashanti began as a loose confederation, but gradually Osei Tutu assumed leadership and won the religious leaders to his side. It was during his reign that the GOLDEN STOOL became the all-important symbol of Ashanti royalty.

By the beginning of the 18th century Ashanti under Osei Tutu became an empire that had conquered Denkyira and most of the other Akan states and controlled most of the Akan goldfields. Its area had tripled, but even more important it had contact with the coast, where it sold captives to the Portuguese and the Dutch in exchange for firearms and other goods.

Osei Tutu's successor, OPOKUWARE II (r. 1720–1750), expanded the boundaries of the Ashanti Empire until it covered most of present-day Ghana. A period of chaos preceded Opokuware's reign, but during his tenure the Ashanti Empire reached its fullest territorial extent, reaching far into the interior. Later kings, especially OSEI KWADWO (r. c. 1764–1777), Osei Kwame (1777–1801), and Osei Bonsu (c. 1801–1824), developed a strong, stable, centralized government. Friction with Britain over the

Fante region led to armed conflict, known as the ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS, beginning in the 1820s. The Ashanti defeated the British in 1824 and made peace with Britain in 1831, a peace that continued for the next 30 years until the Ashanti once again rose to challenge the British.

Atlantic Coast Kingdoms   During this same period the KONGO KINGDOM, which had been formed from the scattered villages south of the Congo River, became a power in the region. Drawing on agricultural resources as well as access to both trade goods and routes, the Kongo kingdom became the nexus of a trading effort stretching across much of the central part of Africa. The kingdom's power initially increased with the arrival of the Portuguese in the late 15th century. Welcoming the newcomers and hoping to gain both knowledge and superior tools and weapons, many of the Kongo people became actively involved in trade with the Portuguese. By the end of the 15th century the Kongo kingdom had become the main supplier of slave and forced labor for the Portuguese sugar plantations on SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE.

At the same time, the kingdom's rulers, beginning with AFONSO I (r. 1506–1543), attempted to spread Christianity—at times by force. It was not long, however, before it became clear that being a supplier of captives and forced laborers would only weaken the kingdom. By the mid 16th century, the Kongo kingdom fell to the IMBANGALA, who overran the country from the east. Although the Kongo king Alvaro I (r. 1567–1576) eventually regained power with the help of the Portuguese, the kingdom never regained its prominence. The central authority gradually collapsed, and by the end of the 17th century it had disintegrated into independent regions.

One of the kingdoms that arose out of the collapse of the Kongo kingdom was LOANGO. Located on the coast, north of the Congo River, this one-time province of the Kongo kingdom gained its independence early in the 16th century. Its inhabitants, the Vili, established an economy based on hunting and fishing as well as on agriculture and crafts. In time, however, the thriving trade in everything from cloth and metalwork to ivory and copper had given way to the commerce in human captives, which proved to be of much more interest to European traders. Beginning in the early 17th century this trade increased steadily, peaking during the latter part of the 18th century, when at least 10,000 people were shipped from the Loango coast each year.

See also: EDO (Vols. I, II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE LOWER GUINEA COAST (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF SENEGAMBIA (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNAH (Vol. II); OYO KINGDOM (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

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kingdoms and empires of the Maghrib   See AL-GERIA (Vol. III); BARBARY COAST (Vol. III); CORSAIRS (Vol. III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE MAGHRIB (Vol. II); LIBYA (Vol. III); MOROCCO (Vol. III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); TUNISIA (Vol. III).

kingdoms and empires of West Africa   Changes in the patterns of trade, especially as a result of the presence of Europeans, the growth of the slave trade, the continued spread of Islam, and the militancy of Muslim states, deeply affected precolonial West Africa.

The West African savanna prior to 1450 was the location of the largest and most prosperous kingdoms of sub-Saharan Africa up to that time. The ancient Ghana Empire, located in present-day Republic of MALI, emerged as a state around 300 CE and grew wealthy in the trade of GOLD and salt. Ruled by the Mande-speaking SONINKE people, it dominated two of the most important trans-Saharan trade routes: the route north to present-day MOROCCO and the North African coast and the route to the Nile Valley by way of KANEM-BORNU. At its peak the Ghana Empire had a population of several million, an army of 200,000, and a territory that encompassed 250,000 square miles (647,500 sq km). It was also the first Muslim state in West Africa, having accepted Islam during the 11th century.

The Mali Empire   Conditions in the Ghana Empire became unsettled after it was attacked by Berber Almoravids from Morocco in the late 11th century, and the empire disintegrated. The Mali Empire arose in the wake of the decline of the Ghana Empire, as the legendary Sundiata (r. 1235–1255) united Malinke speaking peoples into a new state. After defeating Sumanguru (d. c. 1235), the leader of the Susu, Sundiata quickly established a major empire. Mali regained control of the trans-Saharan trade routes, controlled the MINING of West African gold, and developed itself into a major agricultural state. At the Mali Empire's height, its population the territory it controlled was double that of ancient Ghana. Its land extended north into present-day MAURITANIA and south into the HAUSA STATES. In the 1300s Mali also became an important center of Muslim culture, as the major trading cities of Gao, TIMBUKTU, and JENNE became the sites of important Muslim mosques and schools. SANKORE UNIVERSITY in Timbuktu still thrives today.

The Rise of Songhai   The Mali Empire began to decline around 1400, and the SONGHAI Empire emerged from Mali's vassal state of Gao. In 1468 Sunni ALI (r. 1464–1492), the founder of the great trading empire of Songhai, captured Timbuktu and began to dominate the

lands bordering the NIGER RIVER, controlling them with his war fleet. After his death in 1492, the throne was seized by Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1528), who was a more devout Muslim than Sunni Ali. He restored Islam and built Songhai into the largest empire in the history of West Africa. The commercially significant salt mines at Taghaza in the Sahara were brought under control of the empire. On his return from his hajj, or pilgrimage, to Mecca in 1496, Askia Muhammad was named caliph of West Africa by the last Abassid caliph of EGYPT, al-Mutawakil II (1479–1497). The title gave Askia Muhammad a new Islamic legitimacy.

Songhai went into decline, however, when the aging Askia Muhammad went blind and was deposed by his son. Songhai's trans-Saharan trade then began to decline, in part because of competition from Portuguese gold traders whose dealings along the Atlantic coast undercut the trans-Saharan gold trade and because of increased commercial competition from the Hausa States, Kanem-Bornu, and the Tuareg sultanate of Aïr. A series of succession disputes, droughts, outbreaks of disease, and rebellions and civil war in the 1580s diminished the empire's strength. Because it still felt safe from its powerful Ottoman and Moroccan neighbors across the broad Sahara, Songhai had made no attempt to modernize its army by adopting the firearms, primitive and unreliable as they were, that were beginning to become available from Europe. Consequently Songhai's formidable cavalry was surprised and decisively defeated by the guns of Morocco's elite musketeers at the Battle of TONDIBI in 1591. Driving Morocco's venture was its plan to revive and control the trans-Saharan trade in gold.

Morocco, however, was unable to hold onto the territory it conquered. Resistance in the countryside forced Morocco to keep a large and costly army in the field, and insufficient gold was being acquired in trade to pay for its upkeep. After 1603 Songhai broke into several small states under the rule of local Moroccan governors who were independent of central Moroccan control. By 1660 all aspects of central rule had disappeared. In 1737 the TUAREGS of Aïr seized Timbuktu and imposed their control over the region of the Niger bend.

The Bambara Kingdoms   SEGU became one of the more important states to rise in the land of the former Songhai. Segu was one of the two BAMBARA kingdoms in the region; the other was KAARTA in present-day Republic of Mali. In the 1680s a Bambara empire extended as far as Timbuktu, but it disintegrated after the death of its founder, Kaladian Kulibali (r. 1652–1682). Segu finally came into its own during the reign of Mamari KULIBALI (r. 1712–1755), who extended the empire as far as Jenne and Timbuktu and established a professional army and navy that gave it the might to dominate its local rivals. After a period of instability following Kulibali's death, Ngolo DIARRA (r. 1766–1797) seized the throne, eventu-

ally ruling for almost 30 years. Under Diarra and his sons, the empire continued to expand southward toward the Black Volta River. In 1818, however, Segu fell to the kingdom of MACINA during the FULANI jihad led by Muslim reformer Shehu Ahmadu Lobbo (1775–1844).

Kanem-Bornu   Kanem-Bornu was made up of two kingdoms whose history is so conjoined that they are often treated as a single entity. Kanem was converted to Islam as early as the 11th century and had grown to become the major power in the region northeast of Lake CHAD. Kanem reached the height of its power during the first half of the 13th century when the powerful, far-ranging cavalry of Mai (King) Dunama Dibbalemi (r. 1210–1248) extended Kanem's control over trans-Saharan trade as far north as the FEZZAN, in present-day LIBYA. Kanem's attempts to maintain such an expansive realm overextended its resources, and Kanem began to fall into decline during the 14th century. Bornu, its tributary state southwest of Lake Chad, became the site of a revived Kanem when around 1400 the SEFUWA dynasty of Kanem moved its capital from Njimi, in Kanem, to NGAZARGAMU, in the fertile grasslands of Bornu. Kanem then became the tributary state of Bornu. The move to Bornu improved the Sefuwa dynasty's access to trade routes heading to the West African coast. During the 15th century Bornu established commercial links with the Hausa States and traded salt and horses for AKAN gold.

During the first half of the 16th century Bornu underwent a number of peasant revolts that were brutally quelled by jihads led by its rulers. In the second half of the century, Mai IDRIS ALAWMA (r. c. 1750–1603) armed his soldiers with muskets purchased from North Africa. He established ties with the Ottoman governor of TRIPOLI and had Ottoman soldiers brought in to train Bornu's troops. KANO and other Hausa states paid tribute to Bornu, and trade began to shift away from Songhai.

Little is known about Bornu in the 17th and 18th centuries. It became a center of Islamic culture and learning, and the trade in captives provided a substantial part of its income. The Hausa States continued to pay tribute until the end of the 1700s. The Tuareg sultanate of Aïr, however, was successfully vying with Bornu for control of trade in the region, and the Fulani were challenging them for dominance of the Hausa States. Bornu began to decline in 1808 when the reigning Sefuwa *mai* was forced to flee from Ngazargamu. Although the Sefuwa dynasty was able to return to power for a time and defend its interests, the dynasty died out in 1846.

The Hausa States   Situated in present-day northern NIGERIA, between Songhai and Kanem-Bornu, the Hausa States first began to develop between 1000 and 1200 as fortified towns. These towns grew into walled cities, which later became the capitals of individual city-states. GOBIR, the northernmost state, originally developed near the Tuareg sultanate of Aïr. In the 15th century pressure

from the Tuaregs forced Gobir to relocate southward at the edge of the Mali Empire. This advantageous choice of location helped Gobir develop into an important trading center, rivaling KATSINA, which was founded much earlier, before 1300. Kano became a manufacturing center and later a center of the cloth and dyeing trades. The important Hausa states of ZAMFARA, KEBBI, and Zazzau (later renamed ZARIA, after its capital) also developed in and before the 1500s. The Hausa States were a loose confederation, sometimes warring, sometimes cooperating, but never developing a central authority. They never united into an empire or set forth on wars of conquest. Each had a specialty. Zazzau became the purveyor of captives and hostages, both for internal use in the agricultural state of Kebbi, where they labored in the fields, and for export to Kanem-Bornu, to which the Hausa States paid tribute. The Hausa States also exported captives to North Africa, where they were exchanged for horses and guns.

During the 1300s Muslim MISSIONARIES from Mali introduced Islam into the Hausa States, and following the familiar pattern of conversion in West Africa, the upper classes became Muslim, perhaps to benefit their trading relationships. The common people maintained their indigenous beliefs into the 18th century. In the 17th century the rulers of the Hausa States needed money to continue the local wars that were devastating the countryside. Because the common people were overtaxed, the rulers resorted to increasing the supply of slaves, which they did by enslaving Muslim peasants—a clear violation of a core principle of *sharia,* or Muslim law—and selling them in North African markets. These acts, considered corrupt and abusive by pious Muslims, alienated the Hausa rulers from the peasants, many of whom were newly converted to Islam. The disaffection of the peasants had long-term consequences: During the jihads conducted by fundamentalist religious reformers among the neighboring Fulani in the early 19th century, many Hausa peasants joined the Fulani against their rulers.

The West Africa Jihads   The Fulani were a pastoralist people who by the 1600s had spread across much of the West African savanna. They were a stateless people, on the move, rarely settling down, strangers among the people with whom they dwelled. They were often resented as intruders by the settled agriculturalist peoples, and their grazing and trading rights were often restricted. Many were converted to Islam either by passing Muslim traders or by contact with Muslim TUAREGS from the AÏR MASSIF. Islam gave the Fulani a sense of cultural identity, and Muslim law gave them a standard against which to measure the behavior of the local rulers who demanded onerous taxes and tribute from them. The Fulani converts were strong in their faith, and some became important Islamic scholars. The Fulani became the driving force behind a Muslim reform movement that affected many of the major kingdoms of the region. One of their motives was to fight for Fulani rights; another motive was righteous indignation at the activities of infidels whom, as fervent Muslims, the Fulani were obligated to convert by preaching or by the sword.

The Fulani jihads, as this reform movement is often called, began in BONDU, near the Islamized Senegal valley. In the second half of the 17th century Fulani clerics wrested control from the local Mande rulers to establish a Muslim state. The movement spread to the highlands of FOUTA DJALLON in what is now GUINEA, where the Fulani had been pasturing their cattle since the 1500s. In 1725, in alliance with local Muslim Mande traders, Fulani and Mandinka Muslims condemned the paganism of their non-Muslim Fulani and Mandinka rulers and rose up in rebellion. By 1750 their conquest was complete. Fouta Djallon was organized as a Muslim theocracy, and trade links were established with the Upper Guinea coast. The 25 years of struggle produced thousands of captives who were sold on the coast to European traders.

Islamic law forbade Muslims from enslaving fellow Muslims who were prisoners of war, but no similar restrictions were placed on non-Muslim prisoners, who were considered pagans or infidels. Later, during the rise of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, leaders sometimes stretched the law and treated nonobservant Muslims as if they were little more than infidels and thus subject to enslavement.

The movement spread northward to FOUTA TORO, below the Senegal River, where the kingdom of Tekrur once stood. The region has a long history of involvement with both Islam and SLAVERY. Tekrur was one of the earliest African kingdoms to convert to Islam. The Zanaga BERBERS converted the TUKULOR people of Tekrur in the middle of the 11th century and founded, on the banks of the Senegal River, a monastery to which the ascetic Almoravid sect traces its roots. Later the Almoravids spread northward to dominate Morocco and bring Islam as far as Spain and southern France. Dominated in subsequent years by Mali, however, Tekrur's fortunes fell, and the Wolof and the Serer states, initially resistant to Islam, emerged in their place. Until the end of the 1500s the SENEGAMBIA region in which these states flourished was the largest provider of captives for the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. The competition to supply captives led to continuous fighting among the kingdoms of the former WOLOF EMPIRE, as well as GABU to the southeast and Fouta Toro to the northeast. During the late 1670s Muslim clerics tried to topple the governments of the states in Senegambia

that supported the slave trade, but firearms sold by the French helped rulers quell the revolts. However, many peasants were influenced to accept Islam and became fervent Muslims as a result of this unrest. RELIGION became a source of solace, protection, and power. Between 1769 and 1776 the Tukulor people rebelled against their lax, though nominally Muslim, rulers and turned Fouta Toro into a theocracy on the model of Fouta Djallon.

In the early 1800s a Muslim-dominated Tukulor empire, with roots in Fouta Toro, was to arise under the leadership of the Tukulor cleric Al-hajj Umar Tal (c. 1795–1864), a member of the austere Tijaniyya Sufi brotherhood. Controlling a territory that extended from the Atlantic Ocean to Timbuktu in what is now Mali, the Tukulor Empire was almost as large as the vast SOKOTO CALIPHATE, the theocratic successor to the Songhai Empire.

Early in the 19th century the jihads of Fouta Djallon and Fouta Toro inspired similar jihads in the Hausa States in the northern parts of present-day Nigeria. The leader of the most successful of these jihads was USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), a Fulani cleric from the Hausa state of Gobir whose dual aim was to convert those Hausa who had not yet accepted Islam and to bring back to religious discipline the lax Muslim rulers of the state. His movement had the support of the Fulani pastoralists, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, who were highly taxed by these rulers. Rumors circulated that Usman dan Fodio was the long-awaited Mahdi, or redeemer, the precursor of the prophet Muhammad's return. The jihad began in 1804 after an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Fodio by the king of Gobir.

The Hausa jihad was a series of simultaneous uprisings. By 1804 Zamfara, Kebbi, Katsina, ZARIA, Kano, and Gobir had fallen to the jihadists. Without the support of the peasants and because of their traditional inability to cooperate, the Hausa States fell. By 1817 the capital had been moved to the city of Sokoto, in Kebbi, and the empire began to expand into neighboring lands. The Sokoto Caliphate, as the empire became known, emerged as the largest single West African state of the early 19th century, with a population of 10 million and a large and well-equipped army. It unified its rival constituent states, which continued to exist as emirates that owed fealty to the caliph. Bondage of various kinds remained an important feature of Sokoto, as vast numbers of field workers were needed to feed the people in the prosperous towns. Pockets of non-Muslim resistance provided an ongoing supply of captives to enslave in the service of the growing ECONOMY.

See also: ALI, SUNNI (Vol. II); ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV); KANGABA (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE LOWER GUINEA COAST (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE SENEGAMBIA (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II); MAHDI (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SERER (Vol. II); SUFISM (Vol. III); WEAPONS AND WARFARE (Vol. III).

Further reading: Harold Courlander and Ousmane Sako, compilers, *The Heart of the Ngoni: Heroes of the African Kingdom of Segu* (New York: Crown, 1982); Sundiata A. Djata, *The Bamana Empire by the Niger: Kingdom, Jihad, and Colonization, 1712–1920* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1997); Paul Staudinger, *In the Heart of the Hausa States,* Johanna Moody, trans. (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1990).

Kinshasa   Capital of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Although it is not known exactly when the area was first settled, by the 14th century Kinshasa was a major slave-trade center of the KONGO KINGDOM. Located along the Congo River, the city emerged from two villages, Nshasa and Ntamo, that were inhabited by people of the Humbu ethnic group. Europeans established a major trading post in Kinshasa in 1881. The city, which was renamed Leopoldville, later became the capital of the Belgian Congo.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); KINSHASA (Vols. II, V); LEOPOLDVILLE (Vol. IV).

Kisama   Town located 30 miles (48 km) inland from the Atlantic coast near the Kwanza River in present-day ANGOLA. Kisama's ECONOMY was long based on the production and trade of salt. By the mid-16th century the Kisama salt mines were controlled by the MBUNDU rulers of the nearby LUNDA EMPIRE. Salt was exported in 24-inch (60-cm) blocks to be used as both a foodstuff and as a form of currency to purchase other trading commodities, including slaves.

The Portuguese tried to take over the salt mines at Kisama from the late 16th century onwards, but they were largely unsuccessful. By the 18th century, because the land was inhospitable, the Kisama region had become a haven for people who had escaped bondage in coastal LUANDA, a Portuguese colonial town. The salt trade continued to attract new traders, with the Portuguese ultimately controlling the salt trade only in the 20th century.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SALT MINING (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II).

Kissi (Kisi)   West African people located in the forest region that links present-day LIBERIA, SIERRA LEONE, and

GUINEA. The Kissi, who speak a Niger-Congo language known as Mel, were settled in this forest region by at least the 16th century. They were an agricultural people who grew rice in the savanna marshes and practiced a cult-like religion based on both AGRICULTURE and the honoring of ancestor spirits. The Kissi nearly faced extinction as an ethnic group, however, when they were the subjects of numerous slave raids in the late 18th century.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Kiswahili   National language of present-day TANZANIA, KENYA, and UGANDA. As Arab-Swahili trade expanded beginning in the 19th century, Kiswahili spread through eastern Africa. According to some estimates, Kiswahili is now spoken by between 50 million and 100 million people. This would make it, after Arabic, the most widely understood language in Africa. Used mainly in eastern and Central Africa, Kiswahili also is spoken, though somewhat less frequently, in present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO and southern Republic of the SUDAN, as well as in the COMOROS, the northern part of MADAGASCAR, and some Persian Gulf states.

Kiswahili is considered a Bantu language of the Sabaki subgroup of the Northeastern Coast Bantu languages. These languages are spoken as a first language in sub-Saharan Africa by nearly a third of Africa's population, and many second language speakers of Kiswahili are native speakers of another Bantu language. The main characteristic of Bantu languages is their class system of nouns in which linguistic changes come in the form of prefixes attached to nouns, with nouns divided into classes referred to as grammatical genders. While most European languages divide the genders into masculine, feminine, and neuter classifications, Kiswahili uses a system of semantic classification, with classes for humans, animals, plants, artifacts, countries, abstract places, and so on. Verbs are equally complex, using a system of affixes to mark grammatical relations.

A thousand years of contact with peoples around the Indian Ocean resulted in the incorporation into Kiswahili of a large number of borrowed words from Persian and various Indian languages. Beyond this, thousands of Arabic words also were absorbed into the Bantu system of noun classes and verb categories, leading to a completely new linguistic structure. Moreover, during the 16th and 17th centuries many Portuguese words were added to the vocabulary, and since then Kiswahili has borrowed extensively from English. Despite the large number of foreign words in usage, Kiswahili remains a distinctly African language due in large part to its typical Bantu structure.

There are a large number of dialects among Kiswahili speakers, differing from each other primarily in phonological and lexical features. Unlike other Bantu languages, Kiswahili is not characterized as a tone language. Stress is usually on the penultimate syllables of words. The language also contains somewhat unique sounds, called implosives, that are made by drawing air *into* the lungs rather than by expelling it. Since the mid-19th century, a Roman-based alphabet has been used for writing Kiswahili. Prior to this an Arabic-based orthography was in use, and some older-generation speakers of Kiswahili continue to write in this style.

Kiswahili is one of the few African languages with a precolonial written tradition, and its literature is rich in songs, poetry, proverbs, and stories. The oldest surviving Kiswahili documents, written in Arabic script and reflecting the influence of Islamic culture, date from the early 1700s. Most of these early documents are transcriptions of Kiswahili epic poetry intended for chanting or singing. During this time, prose was generally restricted to practical purposes, such as the discussion of theological and historic subjects.

See also: KISWAHILI (Vols. II, IV); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

Komenda   Trading city located in what is now the central region of present-day GHANA. Komenda was a major town in the state of Eguafo, which came into prominence in the early 17th century. Prior to this Komenda paid tribute to the larger and more powerful state of Assin. It was known, however, to have a strong social structure of its own, consisting of complex social grades that included a ruling elite known as the *caboceers*.

The town's trading community soon attracted British merchants, who set up a trading outpost in 1663. Later, the Dutch established a presence in the area, building a fort called Vredenburg. The French also became active traders in the area, dealing mostly with the famous African trader named John Kabes (d. 1734).

Kabes was one of a handful of Africans who became wealthy and influential along the GOLD COAST by becoming brokers with the European traders in their areas. From 1680 to 1716 Kabes controlled the trade out of Komenda by diversifying his business from to include salt, agricultural products, and even canoe-building. With the protection of a personal army made up mostly of captives and hostages, Kabes was able to barter successfully with the Europeans as well as the surrounding states, which enabled him to move up the chain of political command to become one of the most powerful independent coastal traders of his day. Kabes's ability to work the coastal trade was such that he was able to remain successful despite the tensions between Komenda and the Dutch, tensions that led to initial clashes in 1688 and eventually to a five-year war that began in 1694. The fort was abandoned in 1816.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SALT TRADE (Vol. II).

Kong Islamic city in the north-central region of present-day IVORY COAST. Early in the 18th century Mande-speaking DYULA immigrants from the north established Kong in a region populated by the SENUFO people. Kong became an Islamic center of learning at the same time that its rulers prospered through the salt and kola-nut trades in the southern Sudan, at the edge of the forest. Ethnic diversity and religious discord caused the kingdom to decline. By middle of the 18th century the Kong were at war with their northern neighbors, the BAMBARA, as well as with the Ashanti, in the south. In 1895 Samori Touré (c. 1830–1900) conquered Kong, making it part of his Mandinka empire.

See also: MANDE (Vols. I, II); SAMORI TOURÉ (Vol. IV).

Kongo (Bakongo) Bantu-speaking people of present-day ANGOLA, the Republic of the CONGO, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

Kongo Social Structure The Kongo people, commonly called the Bakongo, were traditionally an agrarian people, and by the 16th and 17th centuries individual Kongo villages (*libata*) were organized into townships (*mbanza*). Most *mbanza* were organized as large farming communities. Each community was led by a chief, or *kitome,* a priestly figure whose function was to help the Kongo people find harmony with the natural world. The people believed the *kitome* controlled rainfall, so he was given the honorable task of blessing the planting seeds and tasting the first fruits of the harvest. When a *kitome* felt he was nearing death, he gathered the Kongo people in a public forum and demanded that his successor, a member of the priestly lineage, strangle him to death. To ensure the Kongo people would never be without a *kitome,* a successor was chosen as soon as a new *kitome* took power. The Kongo believed the soil would become infertile unless a *kitome* was constantly in office.

Kongo Spiritual Life In addition to the *kitome,* Kongo social and political structure relied heavily on matrilineal lineage groups called *kanda.* The *kanda* functioned as the spiritual link between the villagers and their ancestors. Ancestor worship was the primary religious practice among the Kongo people. They believed that otherworldly powers were the root of all earthly good and evil. Spirits were divided into three main groups, the category of the dead (*mbmba*), the water and earth spirits, and the sky spirits. The category of the dead was the most influential on their daily life. The Kongo people believed that the soul (called *moyo*) withdrew to the water when a person died. The soul remained the same, but its physical manifestation changed by taking on a new body and name.

The Kongo people performed elaborate rituals to guide the *moyo* properly into the afterlife. An unsuccessful ceremony could result in the soul haunting its living relatives. A mourning period of eight days followed the ceremony, during which time the relatives of the deceased wore only white, which they viewed as "the color of the dead." The women smeared their faces with black charcoal as an antidote to death. When buried, the body was completely covered with cloth, for the Kongo people believed it was so important for a body to be covered that wealthy villagers gave cloth to the poor.

If the burial rituals were not performed properly, the Kongo people believed that the dead would infect the body of a living person. An evil spirit (*nkwija*) would make the person sick, possibly resulting in death. To solve the problem, a Kongo priest specializing in resurrections would have the corpse dug up. He would call a public gathering and make the body appear to walk and speak. The body was then reburied properly so the evil spirits could be put to rest.

Europeans and the Kongo In 1483 Portuguese explorers arrived on the coast of the KONGO KINGDOM. Their relationship with Kongo was originally amicable, but the Portuguese quickly lost interest due to the lack of riches in the area. In spite of this, however, the rulers of the Kongo kingdom maintained cordial relations with the Portuguese, even exchanging ambassadors with the European power. During this period, Christianity spread in the area, and, under Nzinga Mbembe (later known as King AFONSO I), who came to the throne in 1506, Catholicism became the state religion.

In 1512 King Manuel of Portugal renewed his interest in the Kongo as a possible trade center. As a result, Kongo rulers, or *manikongos,* armed with Portuguese firearms, began raiding neighboring villages and abducting their inhabitants for the trade. The Portuguese exchanged gifts and new crop seeds, as well as the services of stonemasons, carpenters and priests. During this time, many Kongo people converted from their traditional religion to Christianity. The Portuguese also established schools for Kongo children, so for the first time many of the villagers became literate.

Eventually the trade in humans isolated Kongo from its neighbors and led to its downfall. By 1570 the kingdom had lost much of its power and became increasingly vulnerable to the attacks of neighboring peoples. In 1641 the Dutch began a short period of occupation in Kongo territory, but by 1648 the Portuguese were able to expel them. After gaining control of the territory, the Portuguese were able to break up what was left of the Kongo central government, after which the Kongo kingdom quickly declined. Still, the Kongo people longed for restoration of the Kongo kingdom, and this sense of loss

King of the Kongo kingdom of western Central Africa receiving ambassadors from Europe. Note the mixing of African and European décor and dress in this 18th-century print, perhaps intended to create an exotic air. The identity of the king is not known. © *Corbis*

underlay the remarkable career of Dona BEATRIX (1684–1706) at the turn of the century.

See also: AFTERLIFE (Vol. I); ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); KONGO (Vols. II, IV); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); John Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

Kongo kingdom During the 14th century the scattered villages of the region south of Zaïre River began uniting, and by 1400 they had formed a loosely organized kingdom whose capital was at Mbanza Kongo. The ruler of the kingdom was known as the *manikongo,* and he ruled a land that had both extensive agricultural resources and an extensive trade network. By the beginning of the 16th century metalwork, cloth, and pottery from Kongo were being traded for salt and seashells from as far away as the Atlantic coast.

Portuguese explorers first made contact with the kingdom in the late 15th century and, in the years that followed, developed strong diplomatic and trade relations with the Kongo. In 1506 a pro-Portuguese Christian convert came to power, and, as AFONSO I (r. 1506–1543), he not only fostered the spread of Christianity but also began supplying captives for use as laborers on the Portuguese-held islands of SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE.

The Kongo kingdom soon developed into a major center for the trade in captives, raiding neighboring peoples to keep up with the Portuguese demand. These actions, however, eventually led to the kingdom's downfall, when Kongo's program of conquest resulted in its isolation by other peoples of the region. In the 16th century an invasion by the IMBANGALA drove Alvaro I (d. 1587), the Kongo king, from his throne. It was five years before Alvaro I was able to return to power, and only with the aid of the Portuguese. The kingdom began to decline in the 17th century, and with the development of new slave routes, even that trade lessened. The kingdom split into several rival states; by the late 19th century the Kongo kingdom had been effectively dismantled.

See also: KONGO (Vols. II, IV); KONGO KINGDOM (Vol. II); POMBEIRO (Vol. III).

Further reading: J. S. Cummins, ed., *Christianity and Missions, 1450–1800* (Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1997); John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

Kordofan (Kurdufan) Central region of present-day Republic of the SUDAN, located between DARFUR and the White Nile River. The early history of the Kordofan is largely unknown. It is believed that the Christian TUNJUR dynasty ruled the region from the 10th to 13th centuries. After this, Kordofan was incorporated into KANEM-BORNU. By the early 1300s Arab nomads from EGYPT infiltrated the area and began mixing with the Nubian-speaking indigenous peoples.

From the the 17th to 18th centuries both the FUNJ and Darfur sultanates ruled the region. However, neither of these sultanates garnered any permanent influence within Kordofan. Egypt gained control of the Kordofan in the early 1820s. This rule was unchallenged until 1882, when the Muslim leader Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi raised a rebellion. Al-Mahdi and his successor ruled until 1899, at which time Kordofan became a province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

See also: ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM (Vol. IV); MUHAMMAD AHMAD AL-MAHDI (Vol. IV); WHITE NILE (Vol. I).

Koyam Ethnic group located in parts of the Lake CHAD region in northeast NIGERIA. The nomadic Koyam were one of the main groups within KANEM-BORNU, a trading empire that flourished around Lake Chad between the 14th and 18th centuries. The Koyam, who were devout Muslims, arrived in the Kanem-Bornu region around the mid-17th century and established the city of Belbelec, which then became a center for Islamic scholarship. The Koyam did not remain in Kanem-Bornu for long, however. By the end of the 17th century, famine and raids by

TUAREGS pushed them out of the area and further west into areas of the HAUSA STATES. Led by sheik Umar ibn Abdullah, the Koyam returned to Kanem-Bornu during the early decades of the 18th century and established another religious center in the town of Gaskeru. Supported by the *mai* (king) of Kanem-Bornu, who sent military defenses to protect the city, Gaskeru flourished until Tuareg invasions once again decimated the city. The Koyam were dispersed further by attacks from the pastoral FULANI people. Despite their history of relocation and dispersal, the Koyam were one of the most successful groups at bringing Islam and its teachings to the people around the Lake Chad region.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III).

Kpengla (Kpengla Adahoonzou) (r. 1774–1789)
King of Dahomey

In 1774 Kpengla succeeded his father, TEGBESU (1732–1774), as king of DAHOMEY. Upon taking the throne Kpengla was warned by Abiodun (r. 1770–1789), the *alafin* (ruler) of Oyo, that Dahomey would remain autonomous as long as the kingdom paid Oyo the yearly tribute of cowries, coral, and other goods. In 1775 Kpengla vowed that he would free Dahomey from Oyo repression, though he continued to pay his annual tribute.

Conflict arose between Oyo and Dahomey when Kpengla tried, by military action, to stop the diversion of trade from his own port at WHYDAH to PORTO NOVO. To the annoyance of Kpengla, Abiodun of Oyo supported both Porto Novo and Badagry, a town and lagoon port in present-day southwestern NIGERIA. Kpengla was helpless to do anything about his lost trade.

In 1781, when Porto Novo and Badagry were at war, Abiodun convinced Kpengla to join him in backing Porto Novo. Kpengla agreed on the condition that trade would be redirected back to his port at Whydah. In 1784, after Kpengla successfully sacked Badagry, Alafin Abiodun reduced Dahomey's tribute by half. Pleased with Kpengla's victory over Badagry, Abiodun requested that Dahomey punish Weme, a village in what is today northern Republic of BENIN, whose people had assaulted Oyo traders. Kpengla carried out his mission and was once again victorious.

Relations between Dahomey and Oyo began to break down when trade from Porto Novo was not redirected to Whydah. When Kpengla sought Abiodun's permission to invade Porto Novo, he was given a stern warning that if he attempted to move into Porto Novo, Abiodun would have no choice but to attack Dahomey. Kpengla ignored the threat and attacked Porto Novo. Despite his warnings, Abiodun did not retaliate. After his death in 1789, Kpengla was succeeded by Agonglo (r. 1789–1797), who continued Dahomey's expansion.

See also: OYO EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Krobo (Krobou, Klobi) Ethnic group of West Africa located mostly in present-day IVORY COAST and GHANA. Prior to the 18th century the Kwa-speaking Krobo peoples were considered a minor branch of the GA-DANGME peoples. About the 1730s, though, they were able to establish greater autonomy by becoming independent from the AKAN state of AKWAMU, which extended along the coast from Ghana to present-day TOGO and the Republic of BENIN. The Krobo then began to expand their territories, moving into agricultural lands vacated by Akwamu and enlarging their domain over the next century to more than 200 square miles (518 sq km).

As the Krobo were not involved in the slave trade, they participated mainly in agrarian trade. During the 18th century, with the ASHANTI EMPIRE threatening the Krobo and other Ga-Dangme subgroups, the Krobo defended themselves by forming trading alliances with neighboring communities. By the late 18th century, these alliances had the effect of weakening the Ashanti Empire by shutting them out of the important trade routes.

In 1826 the Ashanti were finally defeated by the Ga-Dangme and other indigenous groups, with the help of the British and the Danes. Although the Krobo forces were small, their valiant efforts to dispel the Ashanti were noted by the European commanders of the war. However, even as the Krobo were able to gain importance and reap the economic benefits that began after the Ashanti defeat, their culture did not begin to flourish until the latter part of the 19th century.

See also: DENMARK AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Louis E. Wilson, *The Krobo People of Ghana to 1892: A Political and Social History* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1991).

Kru (Krou) Ethnic group located in the southwestern portions of present-day IVORY COAST and the southern portions of LIBERIA. Between the 15th and 17th centuries the Kru people migrated to the area from the northeast. There were several culturally different subgroups within the Kru, but they were all peoples who lived in fishing and agricultural communities. Their society was traditionally structured around clans that offered succession only through the paternal side of the FAMILY, and marriage was sought outside their local clans (a practice called *exogamy*). Government among the Kru peoples was mainly decentralized with the family chiefs forming a council to advise the local ruler.

While the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE developed during the 18th century, the Kru peoples were known to be adamantly against the trading of captives and hostages and offered to trade with the Europeans only in items such as ivory. As the Kru traded a large portion of their

ivory for weapons to protect their state, the Europeans' attempts to attack and quell the Kru's resistance were mostly unsuccessful.

See also: CLAN (Vol. I); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); WAR-FARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Kuba (Bakuba)   Bantu-speaking people in present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO, in Central Africa. Little is known of Kuba origins. It is believed, however, that at some time during the latter half of the 16th century, wars with the IMBANGALA forced the Kuba people, commonly called the Bakuba, to migrate to their current lands from their original home south of the mouth of the Congo River. By the end of the 16th century the Kuba were organized into a loose confederation of about 18 clans. Then, under the direction of the capable BUSHONGO clan chief Shyaam, or SHAMBA BOLON-GONGO (r. c. 1600–1620), the Kuba people established a unified kingdom, also called Kuba. An army was raised, a capital was established, agricultural production was encouraged, and craftspeople—including weavers and wood carvers—were held in high esteem.

The Kuba kingdom was known for producing high-quality raffia cloth with symbolic geometrical designs. For their funeral ceremonies, the Kuba people dressed the bodies of the deceased in their finest cloth. They did this because of the belief that their ancestors in the land of the dead might not recognize them otherwise.

The Kuba agricultural ECONOMY promoted wealth, trade, and, subsequently, population growth. Because of this, Kuba was able to maintain its hold on the area despite the influx of new peoples who came to enjoy the kingdom's prosperity. During the 19th century, however, internal conflict among the Kuba clans greatly weakened the kingdom, and by the end of that century outsiders were able to successfully invade. Ultimately, however, it fell victim not to neighboring peoples but to Belgium's King Leopold II (1835–1909) and his Congo Free State.

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); CONGO RIVER (Vol. I).

Further reading: Jan Vansina, *The Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

Kulango (Koulango, Kulago, Kulano)   Ethnic group located in the eastern portions of present-day IVORY COAST, portions of GHANA, and BURKINA FASO. The Kulango speak a Kwa dialect of the Niger-Congo group of languages. Despite the efforts of DYULA traders in the 17th and 18th centuries, very few Kulango converted to Islam.

Related to the LOBI, with whom they often fought, the Kulango migrated to the Ivory Coast region prior to the period of European colonization. They were later subjugated by the Abron peoples from the 17th century until French colonization in the 19th century.

Kulibali, Mamari   (r. c. 1712–1755) *Eighteenth century ruler of the Bambara state of Segu located in present-day Mali*

Although the foundation legend of the SEGU state declares that both Segu and the state of KAARTA were established by two brothers in the mid-17th century, the ruler credited with the true founding of Segu was Mamari Kulibali. Under Kulibali the Segu state expanded its borders to encompass both TIMBUKTU and JENNE to the northeast and BAMAKO to the southwest. Known to his people as "The Commander," Kulibali was also credited with the formation of a navy and army that helped to fend off threats to his vast territories.

See also: BAMBARA (Vols. II, III).

Kumasi   Capital of the ASHANTI EMPIRE located in the tropical forests of present-day central GHANA. According to oral tradition, the city was founded in 1680 and was named Kumasi by its founder, OSEI TUTU (r. c. 1680–1720), because he sat under a Kum tree during territorial negotiations. Rich in GOLD and kola nuts, it also was a junction for converging trade routes. As a result Kumasi quickly became an important trading town.

As the center of Ashanti culture, Kumasi was home to the influential *asantehene* (Ashanti king). The sacred GOLDEN STOOL, a symbol of royal authority, was housed in Kumasi, making it a truly royal city.

See also: KUMASI (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: *The City of Kumasi Handbook: Past, Present and Future* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Faxbooks, 1992).

Kunta   Ethnic group of nomadic Arabs who inhabit present-day southern ALGERIA and the northern banks of the NIGER RIVER, having migrated there along caravan routes. The Kunta peoples were known for bringing the rigorous teachings of the Islamic Sufi QADIRIYYA brotherhood to West Africa in the late 15th to mid-16th centuries. This branch of SUFISM insisted on strict adherence to the basic principles and beliefs of Islam and disapproved of laxity in religious practices. The beliefs of the Qadiriyya brotherhood took deep root among the FULANI people of West

Africa, who used political conquest to further their religious aims during the FULANI JIHADS of the 17th through the 19th centuries.

Kwararafa (Kororofa, Jukun)   One of the seven Banza Bakwai, or "illegitimate" states of Hausaland located near the Benue River in present-day NIGERIA. Like the other HAUSA STATES, Kwararafa has its origins in the legend of Prince Bayajida. According to the traditional tale, this prince, who originally came from Baghdad, in present-day Iraq, married a Hausa queen and founded the seven "true" Hausa states, or Hausa Bakwai. In addition he established seven outlying states that were considered "illegitimate" and were therefore called Banza Bakwai.

While it is possible the area of Kwararafa was occupied as early as the 11th century, the state did not truly begin to form until the mid-14th to early 15th centuries. The state became a trading center and benefited from its position between the southern parts of Nigeria and the northern Hausa States, which led to its becoming the go-between for many trading activities.

Because of this, Kwararafa came into direct contention with the Hausa state of ZARIA (formerly called Zazzau but renamed after its capital city); wars for regional trading rights often broke out between the two states. Ultimately Zaria successfully held sway until after the 17th century. At that time Kwararafa gained enough power to conquer Zaria and other northern states such as KANO. Peace accords between the states were successful, but when the FULANI JIHADS broke out in 1804, Kwararafa was conquered by the forces of USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817). This brought Kwararafa under the rule of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE.

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Lagos   Town and port island located in present-day NIGERIA. Originally named Oko, the port was founded by Yoruba fishermen during the late 15th century. In 1472 the Portuguese arrived at Lagos, calling the island *Onim,* and later *Lagos.* The town soon became a trading center. By the 16th century the Portuguese had established such a profitable relationship with the Yoruba *obas* (kings), that they were granted full rights to the slave trade in Lagos. By the latter part of the 16th century, however, Lagos was taken over by the kingdom of BENIN and was renamed Eko. Under Benin rule the area prospered, primarily by means of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. This continued until the mid-19th century when the British navy besieged the island in an effort to put down the slave trade, which had continued to flourish despite its abolition by the British Parliament in 1807.

See also: LAGOS (Vols. IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); YORUBA (Vols. II, IV).

Lamu   Port, island, and archipelago in present-day KENYA; known as a distribution center for the gold, ivory, spice, and slave trades. Although it was initially settled almost two thousand years ago, Lamu was established at its current site some time at the beginning of the 14th century. In 1505, when a Portuguese warship came to the island, Lamu agreed to pay tribute in exchange for a pledge not to destroy the town. This initiated a period of Portuguese domination that lasted more than 150 years.

By the end of the 17th century, however, the Portuguese were ousted by the Arab forces of the OMANI SULTANATE, and Lamu entered into a period of great success. Loosely linked to Oman, Lamu became a wealthy Indian Ocean trading port, as well as a cultural center for Arab and Swahili poetry, the arts, and politics.

This golden age lasted until 1812. At that time, fearing reprisals from the MASRUI rulers of MOMBASA for Lamu's victory at the Battle of Shela, the city's council of elders petitioned for increased protection from the Omani Sultanate. Oman's conquest of the Masruis led to a tightening of the sultanate's grip on the entire SWAHILI COAST. As a result Lamu went into decline, and leadership of the coastal cities fell to Mombasa and ZANZIBAR.

See also: LAMU (Vol. II).

Further reading: Patricia Romero, *Lamu: History, Society, and Family in an East African Port City* (Princeton, N.J.: Marcus Wiener, 1997).

Lebna Dengel   (r. c. 1508–1540) *Ethiopian emperor*
Because Lebna Dengel was named the emperor of ETHIOPIA at the age of 12, his grandmother, Empress Eleni (c. 1468–c. 1522), acted as regent until Lebna Dengel was old enough to assume the responsibility of running the empire himself. During this time Eleni initiated a diplomatic relationship with Portugal whereby the Europeans would join Ethiopia as an ally against their common Muslim enemies. Between 1520 and 1526 Portuguese diplomats visited Ethiopia in an attempt to consolidate this union.

In 1526, after a series of disputes, Lebna Dengel secured a truce with the Muslims by agreeing to have the Portuguese ambassador return home. Despite this truce ADAL obtained weapons and training from the Ottoman Empire and enlisted newly converted Somali pastoralists into their military. This put Ethiopia in a vulnerable posi-

tion when Adal, under Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al Ghazi (1506–1543), declared a holy war against Ethiopia a year later. In 1528 Ahmad, known to the Portuguese as AHMAD GRAÑ, was victorious over the Christian army at the Battle of Shimba Kure, and his army subsequently occupied AMHARA, Dawaro, Lasta, and SHOA.

During the next six years the Muslims plundered their way through southern Ethiopia, forcing Lebna Dengel to take refuge in the Ethiopian Highlands. By 1535 little remained of Lebna Dengel's once powerful Christian kingdom. In desperation he begged the Portuguese for help, which finally came, six years later, in the form of 400 reinforcements armed with muskets. The Ethiopian army regrouped, and in 1543, under Lebna Dengel's successor, Galawdewos (c. 1540–1559), they killed Ahmad Grañ and drove his army out of the region.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SOMALI (Vol. II).

Further reading: Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994); Richard Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Coronet Books, 1985).

Leo Africanus (Giovanni Leone, Al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Al-Wazzan Az-Zayyati, Al-Fasi) (c. 1485–1554) *Arab traveler and geographer*

Born in the city of Granada, in Muslim Spain, Leo Africanus was raised in present-day MOROCCO after he and his family were forced to flee Spain when the monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella expelled the Muslims in 1492. He studied in the city of FEZ and as a teenager accompanied his uncle on various diplomatic and commercial expeditions. In 1512 they traveled throughout North Africa and, in 1513, to the city of TIMBUKTU, at the time a major trading city of the SONGHAI Empire in sub-Saharan Africa. Between 1517 and 1520 Leo made three trips to EGYPT, ultimately reaching Aswan. His supposed travels in Persia, Arabia, and Armenia are unsubstantiated.

In 1520, while returning home, he was captured by Christian PIRATES in the Mediterranean. He was presented as a slave to Pope Leo X, who later befriended, freed, and baptized him Giovanni Leone de Medici. Leo flourished in Rome, learning Italian and Latin and teaching Arabic. He was commissioned by the pope to write a detailed survey of Africa in Italian, the first of its kind. His *Descrittione dell'Africa* was finished in 1526 and published in 1550. An English version was later published in 1600. According to popular belief he ultimately returned to Tunis in North Africa and reconverted to Islam. He died there in 1554.

Further reading: Amin Maalouf, *Leo Africanus,* Peter Sluglett, trans. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1989).

Lesotho   Small, mountainous country, 11,700 square miles (30,300 sq km) in area, that is wholly surrounded by present-day SOUTH AFRICA; more than 80 percent of the country lies 5,905 feet (1,800 m) above sea level. The origins of present-day Lesotho (pronounced la-SOO-too and meaning "the country of the SOTHO people") lie with the founding of the Sotho kingdom. The Sotho kingdoms spread out in the 1820s, when the ZULU initiated the MFECANE, or "crushing." As they expanded their empire in the east, the Zulu drove the people of other kingdoms north, south, and over the Drakensburg Mountains. At this time King MSHWESHWE (1786–1870) founded the Sotho kingdom of Basutoland at Butha-Buthe and later on the mountain of THABA BOSIU.

About this time the BOERS, or Voortrekkers, moving inland from CAPE COLONY, challenged the Sotho for their land. This simultaneous expansion of growing Sotho and Boer populations brought the two into conflict over a limited resource—land. By 1840 the Sotho people numbered about 40,000. Worried by the aggressive tactics of his Boer neighbors, in 1833 Mshweshwe invited French MISSIONARIES to bring Christianity and knowledge of the outside world to his people, reasoning that if European missionaries were there, it would stop Boer encroachment.

See also: BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); LESOTHO (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Scott Rosenberg, Richard F. Weisfelder, and Michelle Frisbie-Fulton, *Historical Dictionary of Lesotho* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004).

Liberia   Independent republic on the Atlantic Ocean coast of West Africa measuring about 38,300 square miles (99,200 sq km) and bordered by the present-day countries of SIERRA LEONE, IVORY COAST, and GUINEA. Although Liberia was the only black state in Africa to avoid European colonial rule, from an African perspective, the creation of Liberia was very much a case of colonial conquest.

In 1807 Britain banned the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, and opposition to SLAVERY in general became more vocal. Sierra Leone became a home to free blacks who had been living in London and Canada as well as recaptives freed by Britain from slave ships on the high seas. In the United States, abolitionists saw the coastal region south of Sierra Leone as a prime location to establish a settlement for both America's free blacks and emancipated slaves.

Founded in 1816 by wealthy, white Americans, the American Colonization Society (ACS) sought to establish a private colony on the African coast. Americans such as James Madison (1751–1836), Bushrod Washington (1762–1829), and Henry Clay (1777–1852) had a dual purpose for establishing the colony: first, free African-Americans were competing with immigrant LABOR for wages, under-

cutting white labor, and second, to remove emancipated Africans or African-Americans away from white settlement. The ACS received funding from philanthropists and from James Monroe (1758–1831), the sitting president, and sold memberships to free blacks in the United States to promote the Christianizing of the indigenous inhabitants.

Many free African-Americans refused to go, but others, planning a new life in missionary work or commerce with the United States, chose to go. Two-thirds of those who went "Back to Africa" were free African-Americans who had property and money, and one-third were emancipated slaves who had little more than the shirts on their backs.

A wide social gulf existed between the Americo-Liberians, as the free black settlers were called, and the indigenous peoples of Liberia. Laws prohibited "tribal" people from most jobs in civil service and schools, and attempts were made to impose Christian practices by law. It was difficult, though not impossible, for indigenous Liberians to enter colonizer society, although the colonizers accounted for less than 3 percent of society. Often, however, servants, adopted children, and children born of intermarriage and informal polygamous unions were allowed to pass into the ruling class. Most power in Liberia remained concentrated in the hands of the Americo-Liberian elite until 1980, when riots after a long period of civil unrest toppled the government and a new constitution was imposed by the army, led by a 31-year-old sergeant named Samuel Doe (1951–1990).

The first attempt to return to Africa failed due to the first arrivals lacking immunity to tropical diseases. The second attempt began with the 1821 negotiations with indigenous people at the coast and the selling of the land at what was called Providence Island at Cape Mesurado. Settlers arrived in 1822. Not only did this settlement provide a home for African-Americans but it also provided a place where U.S. war ships could deposit captives rescued from those still plying the slave trade. In 1822 a white American Episcopal clergyman, Reverend Jehudi Ashmun (1794–1828), became the ACS's first colonial agent of the colony. During his stay, which ended in 1828, he became the official founder of the country that the people named *Liberia* (from the word *liberty*). Ashmun also named the capital *Monrovia,* after American president and ACS member James Monroe, who had helped to fund the trip. Ashmun also instituted

the country's first government, which was based on the Constitution of the United States. Liberia then adopted the motto, "The love of liberty brought us here."

The ACS administered the colony until 1841, when the settlement received its own constitution and Joseph Jenkins Roberts (1809–1876) became the settlement's first black governor. In 1847 Liberia became fully independent, with Roberts as the first president. At this time the African-Americans became Americo-Liberians, the owners of the new country. However, they were not alone on the land, with 16 indigenous groups surrounding their fledgling country. President Roberts expanded Liberia's boundaries through diplomatic means and established the University of Liberia, in Monrovia. Although most European powers recognized Liberia by 1856, the United States did not grant Liberia formal diplomatic recognition until 1862, during the U.S. Civil War (1860–65).

See also: CUGOANO, OTTOBAH (Vol. III); DOE, SAMUEL (Vol. V); EQUIANO, OLAUDAH (Vol. III); LIBERIA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); ROBERTS, JOSEPH J. (Vol. IV).

Further reading: G. E. Saigbe Boley, *Liberia: Rise and Fall of the First Republic* (New York: McMillan, 1983); D. Elwood Dunn and Svend E. Holsoe, *Historical Dictionary of Liberia* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1985); Jane J. Martin, *Krumen "down the coast": Migrants on the West Virginian Coast in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: African Studies Center, Boston University, 1982); Tom W. Schick, *Behold the Promised Land: A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth-Century Liberia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

Libolo Ethnic group and kingdom of the MBUNDU people of what is now ANGOLA, in western Central Africa. The Libolo kingdom had emerged by the early 16th century. A ruling dynasty, which probably came from the southern state of Kalembe, moved north and established a new kingdom just south of the Kwanza River. The new Libolo kings, who held the title *hango,* ruled from the Ngango River valley and extended their territory into the Mbundu communities living to the north and northeast, including the Mbondo and the SONGO.

The Libolo kings were successful at expanding their kingdom largely because they appointed governors, called *mavunga,* to rule outlying provinces that the king could not control directly. Unlike in the northern Mbundu kingdoms, in which ruling positions were inherited, the *mavunga* title did not belong to any particular lineage. Because the Libolo kings appointed rulers who depended on them entirely for their offices, they were able to command greater loyalty and encourage greater stability than the Mbundu kings.

During the second half of the 16th century the Mbundu kingdoms to the north were strengthened by newly developed trade routes from the interior to the port

of LUANDA on the Atlantic coast of Angola. They began to expand their influence, pushing the Libolo back south of the Kwanza. The advance of the Mbundu kingdoms cut off Libolo from its northern province of Mbondo, which soon formed its own independent kingdom. Songo came increasingly under the influence of the LUNDA EMPIRE.

During the 1600s the Libolo people suffered increasing retaliation from the Portuguese for their attacks on trade caravans traveling through their territory to Luanda. Wars and slave raids by the Portuguese and the IMBANGALA contributed to the kingdom's decline during the 17th century.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Libya   North African country situated on the Mediterranean coast and bordered by present-day EGYPT, Republic of the SUDAN, CHAD, NIGER, ALGERIA, and TUNISIA. As Christians and Muslims vied for control over Mediterranean trade in the 15th and 16th centuries, cities along the North African coast became strategic locations from which CORSAIRS and naval vessels could tax and seize passing merchant ships. Libya was no stranger to the fray in the Mediterranean. The coastal town of TRIPOLI was stormed and occupied by the Spanish in 1510. In 1551 Tripoli was conquered by the Turkish Ottoman Empire, which wrested it from the control of the Knights of St. John of Malta as part of their attempt to extend the empire across North Africa. The Ottomans hoped to profit not only from coastal trade but also from the inland trade passing through the FEZZAN in the upper Sahara. However, other than exacting annual payments of tribute from the interior regions, Turkish power remained in the coastlands. Much of the interior of present-day Libya fell under the authority of Muslim religious states and Berber confederations.

Much of the Ottoman power was concentrated in Tripoli. The city was home to a large population of Janissaries, members of an elite corps of soldiers in the Ottoman army. As the region slowly gained autonomy from the distant Ottoman government, the power of the Janissaries increased. In 1611 the Janissary commander, Dey Suleiman Safar (fl. 1610s), staged a coup and took control of the government.

By the end of the 17th century Tripoli had become a wealthy city due to the efforts of the corsairs. Despite the region's prosperity, there was a constant struggle for control of the government. A wave of military coups followed. In 1711 the KARAMANLI DYNASTY wrangled power from the existing government. While the Karamanlis succeeded in strengthening Tripoli's power over the Libyan interior, they did little to quell the region's political turmoil.

In 1793 a Turkish military officer, Ali Benghul, took advantage of this civil unrest and seized control of the government. In 1799, however, he made a grave mistake that would lead to his downfall. He agreed to aid the French general Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) in his quest to conquer Egypt. This agreement greatly angered the British, who already felt estranged from Benghul's government because of corsair activity in the region against their merchant fleet.

In 1801 Britain, with the help of the United States, bombarded Tripoli in an attempt to end corsair activity against passing merchant ships. No longer able to tax and seize merchant ships, the government was forced to borrow heavily from French and British merchants. The population resisted the heavy taxation imposed by the government to pay the debt. Due to lack of repayment, the French and British blockaded Tripoli, and the entire region became embroiled in a civil war. Taking advantage of this situation, the Ottoman Empire stepped in to restore direct control in 1835.
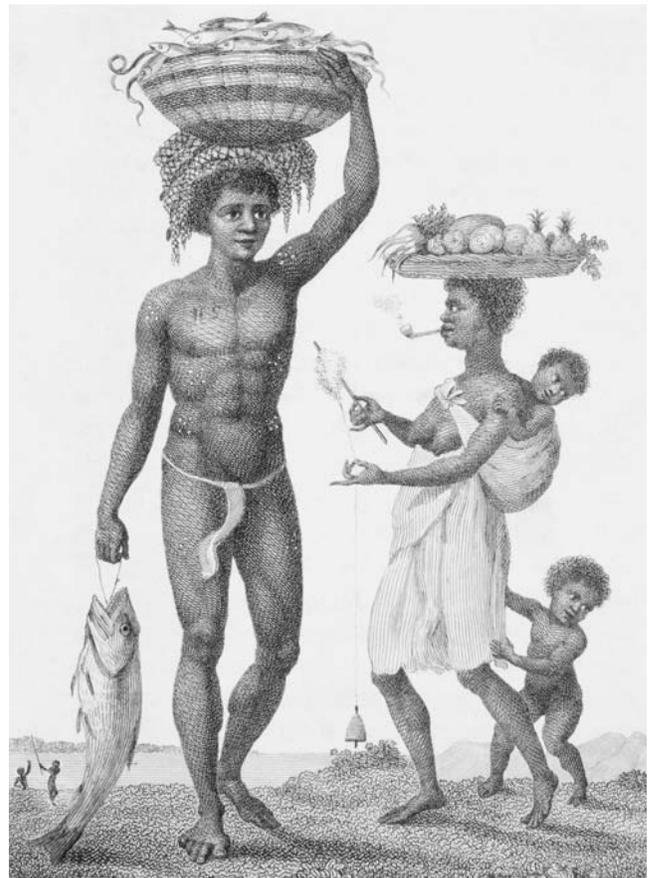
Enslaved African family from the kingdom of Loango. The innocence of this picture contrasts greatly with the reality of the trade in humans. The engraving from which this print by John Gabriel Steadman was made (c. 1792) is by the famed English Romantic poet and engraver William Blake (1757–1827). © *Historical Picture Archive/Corbis*

See also: LIBYA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Ronald Bruce St. John, *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1998).

Loango   Kingdom and port city of the Bantu-speaking Vili people located along the African Atlantic coast north of the Congo River and the land of SOYO, in what is now ANGOLA. Loango was an important trading zone from the 1500s. Formerly a province of the KONGO KINGDOM, Loango became an independent city in the early 16th century under the divine rule of the *maloango*. The king and his court lived in the capital city of Buali, which had a population of 15,000 by the middle of the 18th century. Most Vili resided in villages ruled by the local nobility, or *mfumu,* who paid tribute to the king.

A holy fire, called *ntufia,* was lit during the coronation of the *maloango.* During the ceremony, men kindled fires from the *ntufia* and carried them throughout Loango to each of the local chiefs, who kept the holy fires burning in recognition of the *maloango's* political and spiritual authority. In turn, Vili commoners kindled their fires from the fires of the local rulers. The *ntufia* burned until the *maloango's* death and was a symbol of his divine rule.

The Vili people were fishermen, hunters, weavers, blacksmiths, farmers, and salt processors. They raised cattle and poultry and cultivated millet, sorghum, MAIZE, and cassava. They also made wine, oil, cloth, and fishing nets from the palm trees that grew throughout their territory. The Vili traded their wares at local markets, which were an important part of Loango life. By the 17th century Vili palm cloth was used as currency, indicating a highly developed ECONOMY.

In northern Loango major exports included wildlife, lumber, animal skins, and ivory. The kingdom's interior was rich in copper, which was also an important commodity for trade.

By the late 1500s Loango was trading regularly with the southern port of LUANDA in the MBUNDU kingdom. By the early 1600s both the Dutch and the Portuguese were heavily participating in the coastal trade. Because the Dutch lacked tropical colonies until the 1630s and were accordingly more interested in ivory and other commodities rather than human captives, their slave trade was later in starting than elsewhere along the coast. However, by the 1630s the Europeans, including the Dutch, had estab-lished a slave trade at Loango, which increased steadily over the next four decades and continued through the 18th century. The trade peaked in the late 1700s, when at least 10,000 humans were shipped from the Loango coast each year. For Europeans Loango became one of the most significant areas of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE along the entire Atlantic coast of Africa.

See also: NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Lobi   Ethnic group located in present-day GHANA, IVORY COAST, and BURKINA FASO. By the 16th century the Lobi people were mining GOLD from fields that lay along the Black Volta River. During the first half of the 18th century the Lobi gold mines were attacked and taken over by the army of the ASHANTI EMPIRE from present-day central Ghana. Possibly due in part to the Ashanti expansion, the latter half of the 18th century saw Lobi migrations from Ghana into regions of present-day Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast.

The Lobi people were a traditionally agrarian community and were also skilled hunters and fishermen. While their political system tended to be unorganized and made up of autonomous villages governed by a religious head, or *thil,* the Lobi banded together and fiercely opposed French colonial rule in the 19th century.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Lozi (Aluyi, Barotse, Barutsi, Barozi, Luyi, Malozi, Marotse, Rotse, Rozi, Rutse, Silozi, Tozui)   Bantu-speaking agriculturalists of present-day ZAMBIA. Because of similarities to the Lunda people, the Lozi are thought to have originated in the Congo basin. The Lozi probably migrated to their present location on the ZAMBEZI RIVER floodplains during the 17th century.

The Lozi people established their kingdom by conquering neighboring peoples. Their expansionist state grew to include nearly 25 ethnic groups. A hierarchical social system developed with an elite nobility ruling over the commoners and serfs. At the head of this nobility was a paramount chief, who ruled with the aid of clan chieftains. Despite a highly organized society, the Luyi lacked a clear policy of monarchal succession, a situation that led to internal disputes that greatly weakened the kingdom.

Because of the seasonal flooding of the Zambezi River, the Lozi spent part of each year living on mounds they built. As Lozi territory expanded during the 18th century, the Lozi were confronted with a Kololo invasion that left them in a subjugated status for several decades. It was not until the 1860s that the Lozi successfully revolted and regained control of their territory.

See also: LOZI (Vol. IV).

Luanda   Major port city on the west coast of Central Africa, south of the Bengo River, in what is now ANGOLA. Founded as the capital of the Portuguese colony in 1575, the city was the principal port in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE until about 1800.

The natural port of Luanda had previously belonged to the MBUNDU kingdom of NDONGO, which was a tributary of the KONGO KINGDOM. Competition between the two kingdoms to control trade with the Europeans caused a major war in 1556. The forces of the Ndongo leader, the *ngola a kiluanje,* beat the forces of the Kongo king, or *manikongo,* and as a result Ndongo became independent and traded directly with the Portuguese at Luanda.

> **Across from the port city was the island of Luanda. *Nzimbu* shells, which were used throughout Angola as currency, came from the waters around the island. Women would collect the shells by diving down to the ocean floor and bringing up handfuls of sand. They separated the sand from the shiny, black *nzimbu,* which they collected in small bags hung around their necks. During the 1600s the Portuguese destroyed the *nzimbu* currency system through their practice of importing foreign shells, which caused major inflation.**

By the 1570s the Portuguese were attempting to colonize the area, leading to a series of wars with the armies of Ndongo, MATAMBA, and Kongo, among others. In 1575 the Portuguese began building fortifications at Luanda, as the wars continued well into the 1600s. In 1641 the Dutch seized control of the port, which they held until 1648. That year the Portuguese sent more than 1,000 troops to Angola and recaptured Luanda.

By the end of the 1700s Luanda was still a small commercial town in arid and uncultivable land. FOOD had to be imported from Portuguese plantations farther north, from overseas, and from Kongo, which also supplied the town with wood for ships, shelter, and fuel. The majority of Luanda's 2,000 inhabitants were in bondage, and the rest were primarily traders and troops. Portuguese officials also resided in Luanda, which was the seat of the colony's government. Luanda was ruled by a town council, or *camara,* which had to be consulted in important matters by the Portuguese governor of Angola. The *camara* often urged him on to war, because captured peoples could be sold for profit.

Slave trading was the most lucrative commercial activity for Portuguese merchants, although there was also a small ivory-exporting industry. Captives were procured largely from the Kongo and Ndongo kingdoms by OVIM-BUNDU and Matamba armies, and by the IMBANGALA warriors of the KASANJE kingdom. Most of the captives were sent to Brazil to work in the mines of that new Portuguese colony. The majority of the ships and their crews were Brazilian, as were the imported goods, including food, textiles, and alcohol. Humans were traded to the Portuguese in exchange for cloth from Europe and Asia and for alcohol, especially the highly prized Brazilian spirit, *geribita.* The Portuguese also purchased captives with African products obtained from the coastal kingdoms, including salt, elephant tails, animal skins, and palm cloth. As many as 30 slave ships passed through Luanda each year, carrying away about 10,000 people annually. During the 1700s alone, Luanda exported about 1 million captives.

During the 18th century the commercial supremacy of Luanda was increasingly challenged by the northern ports of LOANGO and Mpinda, as well as by the southern port of BENGUELA. Total Portuguese domination on the African coast was gradually undermined by competition from the Dutch, French, and British.

See also: LUANDA (Vols. IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Luba empire   Wealthy Bantu empire of Central Africa that emerged during the 16th century in what is now southern Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Closely associated with the LUNDA EMPIRE, the Luba people lived primarily in agricultural and fishing villages in the Central African savannas and fertile valleys west of the Congo River. This was the Luba heartland, from which the empire was born. Luba villages were organized into chiefdoms, which were ruled by local leaders, or *kilolo,* who inherited their positions based on patrilineal descent. The *kilolo* paid tribute to the spirit-hero king, or *vidye,* who ruled by divine right and was believed to have supernatural powers.

The Luba king ruled from his capital, or *kitenta,* along with appointed titleholders who were usually members of his FAMILY. The Luba court oversaw the empire's regional trade network, as well as the collection and redistribution of wealth through the tribute system. The royal court was a major cultural center, and inspired great artwork in the form of sculpture, masks, poetry, and MUSIC. Metalwork, especially in copper, was particularly noteworthy and was built upon a tradition that dated as far back as the fourth century.

The Luba heartland was rich in salt and iron deposits, which attracted long-distance traders from throughout the Luba empire and neighboring territories. Trade strengthened the tribute system and enriched the royal court. Fish, salt blocks, iron tools, palm cloth, animal hides, and copper crosses, which were used as currency, were among the most valuable trade goods in the region.

Until the 14th century the Luba lived primarily within a number of chiefdoms. Economically they relied on a combination of trading and farming. With only a limited amount of land available for farming, however, there was intense competition between the various chiefdoms for resources. In time chiefdoms began to merge together, pooling their resources in order to strengthen their societies.

By the beginning of the 15th century a number of Luba chiefdoms located east of the Lualaba River had united, forming a single kingdom. However, this kingdom's ruling dynasty, known as the Nkongolo, was replaced later in the century. According to tradition, the new ruler, Ilunga Kalala, was a noted hunter and warrior with heroic, even magical powers and qualities. The new Ilunga dynasty expanded westward, taking possession of territory west of Lake Kisale. It also established a relatively centralized state, with the king ruling in conjunction with governors who collected tribute in the provinces of the empire. In spite of widespread faith in the king's almost mystical authority, disorder often broke out as rivals within the royal family and clans vied for the kingship. In the mid-15th century this dissension led to the formation of the LUNDA kingdom, as rivals for power moved westward and established their own, new kingdom.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Luba kings extended the tribute system by creating client states of neighboring peoples around the heartland's periphery. At its height the Luba empire stretched east to Lake Tanganyika and south to the Congo copperbelt, near the Lunda kingdom of KAZEMBE.

The Luba developed a secret society called *bambudye* into which all kings, chiefs, and other political leaders were initiated. The Luba believed that in the past the *bambudye* and the spirits were the same, and that members of the secret society continued to possess spiritual powers. The *bambudye* society legitimized Luba rulers, united village leaders with each other and the royal court, and transcended the local kinship ties that often led to inter-lineage disputes. The society thus strengthened political cohesion and promoted stability within the empire.

The central Luba kingdom within the Luba empire influenced the LUNDA EMPIRE, which was established along the Luba model. The Luba, however, were less successful than the Lunda at integrating conquered peoples into their society because of their strict patrilineage-based system of rule, which could not as easily incorporate local lineages and was prone to internal power struggles.

See also: LUBA (Vol. II).

Lulua (Luluwa) Bantu-speaking peoples who migrated from the west in the 18th century and settled in the Kasai Basin in what is now southern Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Related to the Luba of the Kasai region, the Lulua were primarily farmers who cultivated cassava, MAIZE, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), tobacco, and hemp. They were skilled potters, weavers, and ironworkers and today, Lulua wooden masks and sculptures are prized for their fine design. Eventually the Lulua also participated in the trade of ivory and rubber.

The Lulua lived in small villages presided over by chiefs who received their tribute. They were influenced by both the Lunda and Luba, although they did not recognize the supremacy of the Lunda *mwata yamvo,* or king.

See also: LUBA EMPIRE (Vol. III); LUNDA EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Lunda empire Expansive collection of Bantu-speaking kingdoms that stretched across what is now the southern region of Democratic Republic of the CONGO, northern ANGOLA, and northern ZAMBIA. By the 18th century there were as many as one million people living in this vast empire.

Until the mid-15th century the Lunda lived primarily within small chieftainships with no centralized authority. Around this time, however, Luba aristocrats, often individuals who had been disappointed in their attempts to gain power in their own Luba kingdom, began moving into the region. Marrying into the families of Lunda chieftains, the newcomers carried with them the more centralized traditions of the Luba as well as the Luba's advanced ironworking and agricultural techniques. Rather than altering the basic fabric of Lunda society, the newcomers left both religious and political institutions relatively intact and simply forced the Lunda to pay tribute to their new Luba-Lunda kings. By the 16th century the new rulers had begun centralizing their power until, adopting the title *mwata yamvo,* meaning "lord of vipers," there was a single king for all of the Lunda territory.

By the latter part of the 17th century the Lunda empire had expanded considerably and included a number of important offshoots. Part of this growth stemmed from the great wealth of the Lunda, much of which came from their adoption of crops brought to Africa from America by the Portuguese. Both MAIZE and cassava proved to be valuable crops in the African interior, and they constituted a central element in Lunda wealth.

There was more to the Lunda economy than farming, however, as much of the power of the *mwato yamvo* came from the tribute that was collected from his subjects. Tribute collectors were assigned to each chieftainship, and these officials were highly successful in bringing a wealth of goods—food, salt, iron, copper, and even baskets and pottery—back to the royal court of the *mwato yamvo.*

Some of this tribute was handed out as gifts to the ruler's favorites. But much of it was used as the foundation of a long-distance trading network that formed a fundamental part of the Lunda economy. Ivory, metals, and even captives were exchanged for cloth, guns, and other goods in a complex system that stretched across the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian oceans. As time went on a number of Lunda tribute collectors went on to form their own chieftainships and kingdoms, as did various disappointed rivals to the Lunda throne.

The most important offshoot of the Lunda empire, however, was formed when, in the early 18th century, the *mwata yamvo* sent Lunda warriors to the upper part of the Lualaba River to seize control of the salt flats. Taking the title *kazembe,* their leader eventually established his own kingdom, also called KAZEMBE. Eventually extending as far as the great Copperbelt, the kingdom of Kazembe grew until, by the second half the 18th century, under Kazembe III, it had become an empire in its own right, rich in both natural resources and long-distance trade. By 1800 Kazembe had become the nexus of a trading network that stretched virtually across the entire continent. Iron and copper, salt, ivory, and slaves all were sent out to be exchanged for European and Indian cloth, guns, beads, and other luxury items destined for the royal court.

The Lunda kingdom was very successful at expanding into an empire largely because of the institutions of perpetual succession and positional kinship. According to perpetual succession, the holder of a particular office assumed the title and identity of the original office holder. The complementary practice of positional kinship held that a new office-holder also assumed the kinship ties of the original holder of that position. Thus the lineages of local chiefs were easily incorporated into the political power structure.

See also: BEMBA (Vol. III); BISA TRADING NETWORK (Vol. III); IMBANGALA (Vol. II); KASANJE (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF EASTERN AFRICA AND THE INTERIOR (Vol. III); LUBA EMPIRE (Vols. II, III); LUNDA KINGDOM (Vol. II).

Luo (Lwo, Lwoo, Dholuo, Kavirondo) Nilotic-speaking ethnic group who, beginning about the 15th century, migrated south from present-day Republic of the SUDAN to what are now KENYA and UGANDA. Groups of Luo gradually moved south along the Nile River into the GREAT LAKES REGION near Lake Victoria. They were mostly seminomadic cattle herders who settled among native Bantu-speaking agriculturalists and recently arrived Hamitic pastoralists. The Luo migration had an enormous impact on the area, contributing to the end of Chwezi rule in Kitara. In its place the Luo-speaking BITO clan founded the kingdom of BUNYORO-KITARA. Other Luo settled to the east in BUGANDA and BUSOGA. The Luo migrations into the region probably pushed Bantu-speaking TUTSI pastoralists further south, where they founded the kingdoms of NKOLE, RWANDA, and BURUNDI.

The Luo migrations occurred in three waves. In the first, which occurred near the beginning of the 15th century, Luo groups left the Sudan, probably due to environmental changes that caused a lack of suitable pasture. Along the way to new lands, the Luo relied on barter for their livelihood, trading iron weaponry and wooden tools for FOOD. The Luo first established their rule in Bunyoro, and then moved north into Alur, Palwo, Lango, and ACHOLI and east into Buganda and Busoga. They continued to raise cattle, but along the shores of Lake Victoria the Luo also fished and cultivated crops of bananas and millet.

The second wave of Luo migration, during the 17th century, saw the settlement of the region knownn as Padhola. This area was a previously unoccupied forest-land north of Lake Victoria and east of Lake Kyoga and was better suited to farming than cattle rearing. To the Luo, Padhola was their "promised land," which they believed had been preserved for them by God and which they later vigorously defended. In Padhola the Luo embarked on the especially LABOR-intensive process of clearing the forest for cultivation. Through this process the Luo claimed rights to the land, and the Luo clans developed a tie to it that they had not previously felt as nomadic cattle herders. The ownership of land began to influence their political and spiritual life. For example, Luo clans began to construct shrines *(kuni)* for worship, something that they did not do before establishing permanent settlements.

The third stage of Luo migration, from the 16th to the 19th centuries, was the movement into what is now western Kenya, in the savanna country of NYANZA. Here the Luo again encountered Bantu groups with which they mingled. The Luo intermarried with local peoples, absorbed aspects of the cultures they encountered, and made their own contributions to other cultures. Some Luo groups started speaking Bantu, and others gave the Nilotic language to Bantu speakers. Here as elsewhere, land settlement, population expansion and absorption, and dispersed lineages encouraged the evolution from a society based solely on kinship relations to one based on territorial chieftainships. Southern Luo migrations continued during the 19th century, and related ethnic groups are among the most populous in the region.

See also: LUO (Vols. II, IV, V).

Luvale (Lubale, Lovale, Lwena, Luena) Bantu-speaking people of present-day ZAMBIA and ANGOLA. The Luvale were part of what became the LUNDA EMPIRE, in the 15th century. In time, however, they split off from the Lunda and established their own kingdom in the southern CONGO. During the late 1700s the Luvale raided neighboring peoples in order to procure captives for MBUNDU slave traders. While trade proved to be an important economic activity for the Luvale, they were best known for their skill as hunters and fishermen.

M

The Eunoto ceremony of the Maasai people of western Kenya. This week-long ceremony, here photographed c. 1984, marks the coming of age of the young Maasai warriors from the *moran*, or novice stage, to the level of junior warrior, at which point they may marry and start families. © *Yan Arthus-Bertrand/Corbis*

Maasai (Masai) Nilotic pastoralist ethnic group that migrated to the highlands of present-day central KENYA during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The Maasai were skilled in defending their own land and stock—typically cattle and sheep—and were known for their fierce raids on other groups and their territories. Their reputation as warriors was so widespread that trading caravans traveled miles out of their way to avoid Maasai territories entirely. Despite their reputation, the Maasai did maintain some peaceful relations with neighboring peoples, including the KIKUYU, with whom they traded skins and other animal products for iron tools and foodstuffs.

Early in the 19th century the southward migration of the Maasai was thwarted by the Hehe people, and the Kikuyu, a much larger group than the Maasai, expanded their territory from the north, confining the Maasai to Kenya's central highlands. At this time several Maasai clans, finding the available pasture land shrinking, turned to AGRICULTURE as a way of life. During the 19th century the Maasai remained relatively unaffected by the turmoil that was generated by European attempts to colonize East Africa.

See also: MAASAI (Vols. I, II, IV, V); PASTORALISM (Vols. I, IV).

Further reading: Elizabeth L. Gilbert, *Broken Spears: A Massai Journey* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003); Lisa McQuail, *The Masai of Africa* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications, 2002).

Macina (Masina) FULANI kingdom, lasting from the 15th to 19th centuries, located on the floodplain region

of the inland Niger Delta, in present-day Republic of MALI. Although it was a kingdom of considerable power, throughout much of its existence Macina remained a tributary state to various other kingdoms.

During the early 15th century Maga Diallo (c. 1400), a Fulani vassal from the Mali Empire, broke away and founded the kingdom of Macina. He became the founder of the Diallo dynasty, which remained the ruling family until Macina was destroyed in 1810. Macina remained under the control of the Mali Empire for most of the 15th century, fending off attacks from both the SONGHAI ruler, Sunni Ali (r. 1464–1492), and the Mossi peoples. In 1494 the Songhai Empire finally conquered the kingdom and made it a tributary state for the greater part of the 16th century.

Macina's name was taken from the name of a lake located within the original capital city of Kéké.

From 1539 to 1559 the throne of Macina was disputed among the successors to the Diallo dynasty. This period of unrest finally ended with the successful reign of Boubou-Mariama (r. 1559–1589). During the latter part of his rule, Boubou-Mariama attempted to overthrow Songhai rule in Macina, but he was captured and eventually died while being forced to help the Songhai *askia* (king) fend off the Moroccan invasion of 1591. The soldiers from present-day MOROCCO, however, quickly defeated their counterparts since they fought with European armor and firearms that easily outmatched the less sophisticated ones used by the Songhai and Fulani.

Beginning in 1598 the ruler Hamadou-Amina (r. 1583–1603) waged an extensive war against the Moroccans in which he was initially unsuccessful, forcing him to abandon his kingdom in favor of the city of Diara. Moustapha el Turki (d. 1598), a Moroccan army leader, then named the Moroccan royal Hamadi-Aissata the *ardo* (ruler) of Macina. Upon Moustapha's death Hamadou-Amina returned to Macina, where he defeated Hamadi-Aissata and regained his throne. Nevertheless the Moroccans remained powerful in the kingdom until Hamadou-Amina, at the end of his reign, finally defeated their forces during a battle at the city of Tie along the Bani River. The Moroccans then retreated, but later clashes kept them powerful enough to force Macina to pay tribute to their pashas throughout most of the 17th century.

In 1670 the increasingly powerful kingdom of SEGU took Macina from the Moroccans and brought it under the dominion of the non-Muslim BAMBARA kingdom. Even as Macina lacked true political independence, the kingdom continued to thrive under the kings of the Diallo dynasty throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. In 1810 the Fulani Muslim Shehu Ahmadu Lobbo (1755–1845) waged a jihad (holy war) and succeeded in destroying the kingdom—which was considered a pagan kingdom since the Fulani of Macina practiced a traditional African religion. Lobbo then founded a new capital in HAMDALLAHI, establishing Macina as a theocratic Muslim state.

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); INLAND NIGER DELTA (Vol. II); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); MOSSI STATES (Vols. II, III); SUNNI ALI (Vol. II).

Madagascar Indian Ocean island country of 226,700 square miles (587,200 sq km), the fourth-largest island in the world, located 242 miles (390 km) off the coast of present-day MOZAMBIQUE, on the southern coast of East Africa. During the 16th through the 19th centuries several powerful states developed on Madagascar, the most important of which were those formed by the SAKALAVA and the MERINA peoples. Smaller kingdoms included those of the ANTANKARANA, in the north, the BETSILEO and BARA, in the south, and the BETSIMISERAKA, on the east coast. Also during that time Madagascar was visited by Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French colonists, none of whom managed to establish a significant presence on the island until later in the 19th century.

Madagascar's population was, and still is, a complex mix of these various colonists, traders, and settlers. Although it is believed by some historians that an initial group of immigrants, probably from Indonesia, might have arrived as early as the fifth to 10th centuries, the bulk of Madagascar's early population apparently came to the island starting in the 11th century. Included in these groups are the original Malayo-Polynesian colonists from Indonesia, Bantu-speaking groups, most of whom probably came from the African mainland in bondage, and Arabic-speaking Muslim traders, who had settled along Madagascar's northern coastal stretches as early as the 12th century. The language spoken by most people on the island was, and still is, Malagasy, a unique tongue that incorporates words from several languages, reflecting the many influences of Madagascar's diverse population.

The modern Republic of Madagascar is made up of Madagascar Island—the fourth largest island in the world—and many smaller islands, including Nosy-Bé, in the northwest, and Île Sainte-Marie in the northeast.

By the time the Europeans discovered the island in 1500, the northern coastal regions had been settled by Muslim and Swahili traders. For centuries, ports in northern Madagascar had been stops along the Indian Ocean trade routes, where merchants could exchange human captives and manufactured goods for fruit, dried fish, beeswax, and, most important, rice. Thinking that the island might become an important trading stop on the Indian spice route, Christian Portuguese settlers established trading forts in ANTEMORO territory, in the southeastern region, in an effort to suppress the rise of Muslim settlements there.

Local oral traditions from the early 16th century, supported by Portuguese accounts from the time, describe many small, independent fishing villages along both east and west coasts, but without any dominant ruling kingdom or centralized power. Similar small pastoral and farming villages had developed inland. These small villages frequently clashed, but only rarely was any one group able to expand into a greater political entity. About the mid-16th century, however, monarchical rule was established among three of the islands larger groups, the Sakalava, Antemoro, and Merina.

In 1613, two Portuguese Christian Jesuit priests, Antonio d'Azevedo and Luis Mariano, arrived from Goa, in India, to convert the Madagascar population. Their records provide invaluable information on the island at that time.

Their reports describe a thriving trade in human beings in the northern coastal areas of the island. Muslim traders from both Arabia and the city-states of the SWAHILI COAST—LAMU, PEMBA, PATE, MOMBASA, MALINDI, and ZANZIBAR—arrived on the Boina coast, in the northwest, and traded African and Arabian goods for non-Muslim Malagasy captives.

During the 17th century the Sakalava empire emerged, moving up the coast from the south, and founding the kingdoms of MENABE and Boina. Sakalava rulers maintained a great army of fierce, capable warriors who easily conquered the farming and fishing villages that they encountered. By the end of the 17th century the Sakalava empire controlled nearly half of the island of Madagascar.

European efforts to colonize Madagascar generally met with failure. Early on, the Portuguese found that the indigenous Malagasy groups did not mine GOLD and that they were difficult trading partners. French colonists had arrived in southeastern Madagascar as early as 1638, es-

tablishing Fort Dauphin on the southeastern coast. They, too, were unsuccessful in their attempts to establish a colony and abandoned Dauphin for the island of Réunion, in 1674. Both the Portuguese and French colonists were further discouraged by the tropical fevers that decimated their numbers.

Madagascar was famous for being a haven for PIRATES and privateers, both Arab and European, who used the island as a base to prey on Indian Ocean trading ships. Toward the end of the 17th century it is widely believed that an organization of English, French, and American pirates even established their own democratic republic in the northeast, calling it Libertalia. In the 18th century one of these English pirates is supposed to have taken a Malagasy princess and produced a son who founded the Betsimisaraka state. During the 18th century this eastern kingdom conquered smaller coastal kingdoms and controlled much of the eastern Madagascar coast until the rise of the Merina empire in the 19th century.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); INDONESIAN COLONISTS (Vol. II); MADAGASCAR (Vol. I, II, IV, V), MALAGASY (Vol. II).

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Maghrib (Maghreb) Muslim region of Northwest Africa along the Mediterranean Sea that extends from the Atlas Mountains to the coasts of present-day MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and LIBYA. Originally inhabited by BERBERS, this mountainous region was conquered by Muslim Arabs in about the eighth century. Although the Maghrib faced subsequent invasion by the French, the Arabs remained dominant. Today the majority of the Maghrib's inhabitants is Muslim.

See also: MAGHRIB (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Maguzawa (Bunjawa) Subgroup of the Hausa peoples located in present-day NIGERIA. They retained their indigenous religion and became a protected religious group within the Muslim-dominated SOKOTO CALIPHATE (1808–1903).

Although most of the HAUSA STATES were converted to Islam by the late 14th century to early 15th century, a

group of Hausa peoples called the Maguzawa resisted conversion and remained true to their traditional religious practices. Muslims called this religion "pagan" because it was not based on Muslim principles, but instead focused on the worship of nature deities known as *bori* or *iskoki.*

In 1804 USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), a FULANI cleric, began a sweeping jihad (holy war), eventually capturing the states of Hausaland and making them emirates within his caliphate of Sokoto. One of the main motives behind the jihad was to convert those who practiced a syncretistic Islam mixed with pagan rituals to a purer form of Islam based on *sharia,* or Islamic law. However, despite the fact that the Maguzawa were non-Muslims, Usman dan Fodio did not force them to convert. Rather, the Maguzawa were allowed to continue their traditional religious practices and were given protection under Islamic law as a minority group. Although it is not clear why the Maguzawa were not forcibly converted to Islam by Usman dan Fodio, they were reportedly treated both kindly and fairly by both Usman and his son and successor, MUHAMMAD BELLO (1781–1837).

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); *SHARIA* (Vol. II).

Mahajanga (Majunga)

Mahajanga (Majunga)   Port town located in northern MADAGASCAR, on the north side of the alluvial delta of the Betsiboka River. Originally called Majunga, the port became the capital of the Boina kingdom, which was established in the late 17th century as part of the SAKALAVA empire.

Besides being an important port for Madagascar's seafaring peoples, Mahajanga was also the terminus of overland routes that were used to bring fruit, rice, beeswax, and other products from the island's interior to the coast for export to Arabia and East Africa.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II).

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maize   Crop also known as corn. Indigenous to the Americas and transported across the Atlantic Ocean by Europeans, maize had long been a staple in the diets of native peoples throughout the Americas. Maize, cassava, and GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) were brought to Africa via the transatlantic trade conducted by European merchants.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

makhzan   The governing body active in the MAGHRIB region of Northwest Africa. Literally translating to "storehouse," the *makhzan* was initially the location where tax monies were housed prior to the 17th century. Later the word became synonymous with the treasury that was both collected and reserved for governmental purposes. During the reign of the SADIAN DYNASTY (r. c. 1553–1669) of present-day MOROCCO, however, the term *makhzan* came to mean "government" or "central authority." By the time the Moroccan Alawite dynasty ruler MAWLAY ISMAIL (c. 1645–1727) came to power, the word *makhzan* was used to designate one of the two types of regional lands. The *bilad al-siba* was the "land of dissidence," and the *bilad al-makhzan* was the "land subject to governmental authority." While the *bilad al-siba* were regions that lay outside of the government's bounds and did not pay taxes to the *makhzan,* the *bilad al-makhzan* were lands that were subject to taxation as well as governmental control.

The English word *magazine,* the original meaning of which is "storehouse," especially for munitions, comes from *makhzin,* the plural form of *makhzan.*

Makonde   Ethnic group that has long lived in present-day southeastern TANZANIA as well as MOZAMBIQUE, inhabiting those areas since well before the 18th century. Primarily an agricultural people, the Makonde practice slash-and-burn farming, growing sorghum and, after their introduction from South America by the Portuguese, MAIZE and cassava. Makonde villages tend to operate fairly independently, without strong centralized authority outside themselves.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the Makonde were central to Arab caravans of the East African trade in captives. Despite these and other contacts with Islam, the Makonde managed to retain both their indigenous religion, which was focused on the veneration of elders, and their indigenous customs, including the creation of detailed tattoos on their faces, chests, and backs. Over time, the Makonde became famous for their carvings, notably their wooden masks and human figures.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Makua (Macua)   Ethnic group, located on Africa's east coast near MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND in present-day MOZAMBIQUE. The Makua, who are related to the Lolo and the Lomwe of the same region, were a hunting and farming society that was organized along clan lines. Although their oral traditions do not recount exactly when they arrived in the region, they were almost certainly established in the area between the southern end of Lake Malawi and

the coast when the MARAVI groups began immigrating there in the 15th century.

In the 16th century the Makua often made alliances with neighboring peoples in an effort to repel the encroaching Maravi groups, with mixed success. To that end they also joined in trade alliances with the Portuguese, who had arrived in the area about 1500. Makua territory included the coastal town of QUELIMANE, which became a Portuguese trading station in 1544, allowing the Portuguese greater authority in their dealings with the caravans of traders who brought goods, including grains, salt, captives, GOLD, and ivory.

Makua peoples also lived in the coastal towns of Mossuril and Angoche, and populated the area between Mozambique Island (which was taken by the Portuguese early in the 16th century) and the Shire River, to the west. In the 1580s the Makua faced an invasion from the west by an army of Lundu and ZIMBA warriors of the Maravi federation. These fierce, marauding bands hoped to contain Portuguese expansion and take control of the lucrative IVORY TRADE by occupying the coastal towns between Mozambique Island and MOMBASA, some of which were Makua settlements. At the time, the Makua were a stateless, segmentary society, so they were unable to mount a serious defense against the invaders. The history of the Makua after this period is more complete than before, as the Portuguese records describe in detail the region of Bororo, which was the name they gave to the Lundu-dominated Makua territory. By the end of the 16th century the Makua had organized into a couple of powerful chiefdoms and were able to reclaim some of their lost lands.

> There was a sizeable community of Makua people on the island of MADAGASCAR, about 250 miles off the coast of present-day Mozambique. It is theorized that these Makua were brought there by Arab traders, who acquired them from the MAKONDE, a group that lived to the north of the Makua on the continent.

In the 17th century Makua territory became important to the ivory trade. There was a trade route that ran through the middle of Makua territory, from the southern end of Lake Malawi, where hunters from the interior brought their tusks, to the coastal port of Mossuril, which was used by Maravi, Arab, and Portuguese merchants and sea traders.

Portuguese records show that in the 17th century the Makua were considered friendly trading partners and good neighbors, unlike the Maravi states to the west.

Unknown to the Portuguese at the time, the Makua resented their dictatorial trading practices and the stern policies of the Portuguese landowners, or *prazeros,* who often showed little respect to the original inhabitants of the land that comprised their PRAZOS.

Later in the 17th century Makua warriors joined Lundu and Zimba warriors to carry out raids against the Portuguese, who periodically attempted to make inroads from their coastal settlements toward the interior.

From the middle of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century the Makua developed a state mentality, based on a clan hierarchy, which evolved into a type of Makua nationalism. At first they directed their efforts against the Portuguese, using firearms purchased from French traders to confront their enemies more forcefully than they ever had before. Two Makua chiefs, Mauruka and Murimuno, were especially adept at unifying their people against the Portuguese. When the Makua were not fending off Portuguese incursions, they were directing their hostilities toward the Maravi groups who had invaded their territories in the 16th and 17th centuries, or toward the YAO, who, from their territories to the north of the Makua, regularly made raids for captives.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Malaguetta pepper (Malagueta, Melegueta)

West African spice that became a prized trade item during the 15th century; also known as "grains of paradise." The spice became such a popular trade item that the coast of present-day LIBERIA became known to European traders as both the Grain Coast and the Pepper Coast.

> Like black pepper, the reddish brown Malaguetta pepper grains grow in large pods. Compared to black pepper, though, Malaguetta pepper tastes spicier but has a subtler aroma.

Prior to the 15th century African peoples in regions of present-day GHANA, IVORY COAST, TOGO, and SIERRA LEONE traded Malaguetta pepper for kola nuts and other forest products. It was also brought north by trans-Saharan caravans, eventually becoming a common spice in Moroccan and Tunisian dishes. Later, when Portuguese merchants began trading on the West African coast in the 15th century, it became one of the first spices that they brought back to Europe, where demand for the spice made it an even more valuable trade item.

See also: KOLA NUTS (Vol. I).

Malawi   Present-day southeastern African country measuring about 45,700 square miles (118,400 sq km) and bordered by the present-day countries of TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, and ZAMBIA. Between the 16th and 19th centuries the region was controlled by the MARAVI peoples, who migrated there from Luba territory to the west in the 15th century, and for whom the region is named.

Malawi's original inhabitants were Bantu-speaking groups, who migrated there largely between 300 and 1200. By 1400, though, several nomadic pastoralist and agriculturalist peoples had moved into the area. Among these early settlers in Malawi were the Phiri, CHEWA, TUMBUKA, and NGONDE peoples, among others. By the end of the 15th century the Maravi peoples had emerged under a centralized power led by a KALONGA, who was always a high-ranking member of the Phiri clan. The seat of Maravi authority was the trading center of Manthimba, located at the southern end of Lake Malawi.

By the 1600s the Maravi peoples completely dominated the Malawi region, controlling trade and wielding political and religious influence. The most lucrative trade item in the 17th century was ivory, and since the expanses of thinly populated savanna and grasslands to the west of Lake Malawi made ideal habitats for elephants, the Malawi region had a plentiful supply. The Tumbuka, a Maravi subgroup that occupied the western shores of Lake Malawi, were visited by eastern traders from across the lake, who came with Arabic beads, shells, cloth, guns, and gunpowder to trade for ivory. The Chikulamayembe state, founded by the Tumbuka, thrived by taxing the IVORY TRADE. Besides the Tumbuka, the other most powerful Maravi subgroups during this period were the Kalonga, Lundu, and Undi, each of which profited from ivory trading.

Ivory hunting and trading was a relatively peaceful pursuit, but the nature of the commerce in the region changed greatly in the 18th century with the development of the trade in human beings. This trade was not new to the region, as Arab and Swahili merchants had been trading manufactured goods for people from the interior with groups, such as the MWENE MUTAPA, since the ninth century. But the trade in humans took on a more violent and urgent aspect when the Portuguese began to look to East Africa for the captives that would be shipped to their colonies in the Americas, especially Brazil.

By the beginning of the 19th century the demand for captives in the region was so great that the Portuguese and Swahili traders were joined by fierce NGONI traders, who invaded from the south and possessed a highly disciplined and regimented army, and the YAO, who lived to the east of Lake Malawi and became the major traders in the area.

See also: LUBA EMPIRE (Vol. III); MALAWI (Vols. I, II, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); RIFT VALLEY (Vol. I); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

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Mali, Republic of   Present-day land-locked central West African nation 478,800 square miles (1,240,100 sq km) in size stretching north into the Sahara desert, where it shares borders with ALGERIA and MAURITANIA. Other countries bordering Mali include (east to west) NIGER, BURKINA FASO, IVORY COAST, GUINEA, and SENEGAL. Mali is known for its history of encompassing several powerful empires, including the 11th-century SONINKE empire of Ghana, the Muslim Almoravid empire (c. 1060–1147), and the Mandinka empire (13th to 15th centuries) of Mali—after which the country is named—and the SONGHAI Empire (c. 1375–1600). The region was colonized by France in the late 19th century.

With their capital at the city of Gao, the Songhai people had already been established as a trading community in areas of what is now western NIGER and eastern Mali by the 11th century or earlier. Under their most influential leader, Sunni Ali (r. 1464–1492), the Songhai assumed control of trans-Saharan trade routes, and the towns of JENNE and TIMBUKTU. Their state subsequently grew to become the largest and most important empire of the Sudan region as well as a major center of Islamic scholarship. The Songhai Empire continued to flourish under Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1528) and his successors but then collapsed after a Moroccan army, aided by the use of guns, conquered the Songhai in 1591. One of the consequences of the Moroccan invasion was the redirecting of the trade routes toward the European outposts of West Africa's coastline instead of across the Sahara desert.

The Moroccan occupation of present-day Mali was concentrated in the region around the NIGER RIVER at such former Songhai strongholds as Gao and Timbuktu. The Moroccans were routed by TUAREGS in 1737, but they remained active in areas to the west of the Niger until they were effectively crushed by the kingdom of MACINA, in 1833.

Inhabited by the FULANI, Macina had become a tributary kingdom of the declining Mali Empire until 1494, when it was conquered by the Songhai. The kingdom then remained under Songhai rule until the Moroccans began to control the area in the late 16th century. It was the Fulani ruler Hamadou-Amina (r. 1583–1603) who eventually overthrew the Moroccans and forced them to retreat from the kingdom. The Moroccans retained some power over Macina, however, until it became a tributary of the SEGU state in 1670. More than a century later, the

kingdom of Macina was again conquered during the jihad (holy war) led by an Islamic Fulani scholar named Shehu Ahmadu Lobbo (1755–1845). He later established a new Macina kingdom in 1810 and founded his capital at the city of HAMDALLAHI.

Between the 16th and 19th centuries the two other major kingdoms that were situated within the borders of modern-day Mali were the Bamana-speaking BAMBARA states of Segu and KAARTA. Prior to 1650 Segu had been established between the Niger and Senegal rivers by the Bambara chief, Kaladian Kulibali (r. c. 1652–1682). Although a powerful state, Segu did not become an official kingdom until 1712 when Kaladian's great-grandson, Mamari KULIBALI (r. 1712–1755), was named the first king. He was thereafter also considered the true founder of Segu.

Although located on a savanna that was becoming increasingly Islamic, the Bamana-speaking Bambara states resisted the influence of Islam. The other Bambara kingdom of Kaarta was originally established in 1650 by Bambara ruler MASSA (r. 1650–1710). The forces of Mamari Kulibali later destroyed the kingdom in the mid-18th century and a second Kaarta kingdom was then established, in 1754, by Bambara chief Sey Bamana Kulibali (r. 1754–1758). It was located along the middle Niger River.

The name *Mali* is from the Bamana language and translates to "mighty hippo."

Both Segu and Kaarta continued to gain importance until the mid-19th century when a TUKULOR cleric from Senegal known as al-Hajj Umar Tal (1794–1864) waged a series of jihads in the region in an effort to convert the inhabitants to Islam. Umar Tal succeeded in conquering Kaarta, in 1854, and Segu, in 1862, bringing both kingdoms, as well as other Malian kingdoms such as Macina, under the reign of the Tukulor empire.

See also: ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); GHANA EMPIRE (Vol. II); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); MALI (Vols. I, II, IV, V); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vol. II); MUSA I, MANSA (Vol. II); UMAR TAL (Vol. IV).

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Malindi   Reportedly founded as far back as the 10th century by Arab traders, Malindi became, by the 13th century, one of the most important city-states and trading centers on the SWAHILI COAST. Its links with the outside world were so widespread that, by 1414, its king apparently established diplomatic and trade relations between Malindi and China.

In 1498 Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) landed at Malindi, building a monument in the form of a cross. Unlike many other coast TOWNS AND CITIES, Malindi welcomed the Portuguese, who, in return, made Malindi their headquarters on the East Africa coast. In 1593, however, the Portuguese transferred their headquarters to MOMBASA. The city continued to play a part in the commercial and political affairs of the East African coast for centuries, although, beginning in the 16th century, its power began to wane.

See also: GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. II); MALINDI (Vol. II).

Mallamai   Professional Muslim scholars who are revered for their perceived ability to interpret the supernatural. The elite Mallamai are experts in Arabic and the teachings of the Quran, and they maintain that knowledge brings Muslims closer to Allah, or God. As the most learned Muslims, the Mallamai are thought to possess supernatural powers that could alleviate earthly ailments. Mallamai write horoscopes, interpret dreams, and cast healing spells. Their elevated status enables them to become government officers and judges.

With their daily prayers and healing rituals, the Mallamai played a central role in unifying the Hausa people. Hausa trading communities *(zongos)* relied on the confidence instilled by the Mallamai for their economic success. Under Mallamai leadership, merchants gained enough trust to extend credit and other financial services to one another.

Mallamai influence in Africa is closely tied to the 19th-century victory of the FULANI over the HAUSA STATES. A radical Mallamai, USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), rallied the local Fulani and conquered the Hausa States in 1808. In 1809 the Fulani founded a new state, the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, which recognized the power of the Muslim sultan.

Because the Fulani intermarried with the Hausa and shared customs and religious practices, the Mallamai became a significant part of Hausa life. By 1850 the new Sokoto empire stretched almost 930 miles (1,500 km) and was the largest kingdom in Africa. The Mallamai used their newfound popularity to spread the word of Allah and became important teachers of Islam. The popu-

larity of the Mallamai was pivotal in converting many local African populations to Islam in the 20th century.

See also: HAUSA (Vols. I, II); ISLAM (Vol. II); QURAN (Vol. II).

Mamluks Caucasian and Turkish soldiers, once held in servitude, who formed a dynasty that ruled EGYPT from the mid-13th until the early 16th century. The Mamluk dynasty was an intimidating military dictatorship, with new soldiers continuously being brought in from Turkey, the Balkans, and Russia. This kept the military perpetually renewed and gave the dynasty the strength to extend its control into Palestine and Syria.

The Mamluk army was known for a skillful cavalry, expert in its use of the sword and the bow and arrow. For centuries, Mamluk domination relied on these skills. By the 16th century, however, failure to utilize modern firearms and artillery led to the Mamluks' demise. In 1517, the Ottoman Turks conquered Egypt and the Mamluks.

See also: MAMLUKS (Vol. II); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

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Mamprusi (Mampruli, Manprussi) One of the seven main MOSSI STATES, named for the Mamprusi people, who settled in present-day northeastern GHANA and BURKINA FASO in the 14th century. The Mamprusi language is More-Gurma and is classified as a branch of the Niger-Congo language group.

Under Mossi rule, the Mamprusi kingdom flourished from the 14th to 18th centuries. During the Ashanti conquests of the mid-18th century, Mamprusi, along with DAGOMBA and GONJA, fell to Ashanti leader Asantehene Opokuware I (r. 1720–1750). In 1894 Mamprusi came under British control. Despite converting to Islam in the 18th century, the Mamprusi have maintained many of their traditional religious customs and practices.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vol. III); MAMPRUSI (Vol. II).

Mandara (Wandala) Kingdom of the Wandala people located to the south of the Lake CHAD region in what is now northern CAMEROON and NIGERIA. Also known as the Wandala state, Mandara was in its formative stages during the 15th century. It reached its height in the mid- to late 18th century.

By the 16th century the Mandara kingdom was dominated by four main groups—the Wandala, Gamergu, Velle, and Kerawa. It was the Wandala, however, who, because of their expertise in iron working and trading, controlled the kingdom. The Gamergu, on the other hand, were an agricultural and hunting people, while the Velle and Kerawa, although skilled in iron work, remained a weak group because of internal clashes.

The Mandara kingdom's location to the south of the Lake Chad area enabled it to participate in the trade of iron, agricultural products, and even human captives. In fact, Mandara became so powerful as a trading kingdom that, by the late 16th century, it had become a threat to KANEM-BORNU. As a result it was repeatedly attacked during the reign of Mai IDRIS ALAWMA (r. c. 1571–1603).

> The Wandala and the KANURI of Kanem-Bornu apparently had been in contact with each other since the 13th century. Indeed, the name *Mandara* is the Kanuri-altered version of the word *Wandala.*

While it is known that the Wandala and other groups had inhabited the Mandara region for centuries, the kingdom's establishment is steeped in a 15th-century legend about a famous hunter named Gaya. Along with his two older brothers, Dunama and Rika, Gaya and his brothers were said to have traveled from Yemen (a present-day country in the Arabian Peninsula) to various towns before stopping to hunt near the capital town of Ishga-Kewe in the Mandara region. There they encountered the reigning queen, Sukda, and while Dunama and Rika gave the proper respect to the queen, Gaya is said to have walked past her to seat himself at her royal throne. Instead of punishing him, Queen Sukda was intrigued by Gaya's confidence. Showing him deference, she ignored his two brothers. The legend goes on to tell how Gaya and Sukda were married—Sukda then taking the title *nahungi*, or queen consort—and all but one subsequent ruler of the Mandara kingdom can be traced to their union. The capital was also moved from Ishga-Kewe to the town of Kerawa, and the villages later established by Rika and Dunama known as Kamburwa and Gawa, respectively, became provinces of Kerawa.

During the 17th century the Mandara kingdom faced conflicts with Hausa forces from KWARARAFA and ZAMFARA. Still it managed to grow, due in part to the decline of Kanem-Bornu after the death of Idris Alawma. Also contributing to this growth was the move of the kingdom's capital from Kerawa to the coastal trading town of Douala, which allowed for trade with Portugal, France, Britain, and Germany.

A successful army was also established at this time, led primarily by a cavalry force that became famous for horses bred in the Mandara region. Iron, usually in the form of bars and balls, also was traded, and the iron trade continued to grow as the kingdom gained more territory in the north and west. The 17th century also saw an influx of peoples such as the pastoral FULANI, Tubu traders, and nomadic Shuwa Arabs.

By the beginning of the 18th century continued Fulani migrations had begun to bring Islam to the Mandara kingdom. It was during the reign of Tlikse (King) Bukar Aji (r. c. 1715–1737) that Islam, despite the fact that it had been first resisted, became a powerful force within the region. Ultimately, Islam was accepted and became the predominant religion.

Of the Muslim kings who reigned after Bukar Aji, the two most prominent were Tlikse Bladi-a-Wandala (r. c. 1755–1773) and his son, Tlikse Bukar-a-Jama (or Bukar Guiama) (r. c. 1773–1828). Bladi was known to have been an active ruler who built mosques and fought battles to expand his kingdom. He is also credited with ending the Wandala tradition of killing the mother of each successive *tlikse*, even staying at the capital for an unusual length of time to be near his mother when she was ill. His successor, Bukar-a-Jama, was also known to be a strong ruler. Among his accomplishments was a great wall with six gates that encompassed the capital city of Douala. It was also during his reign that Mandara reached its apogee after successfully defeating the kingdom of Kanem-Bornu.

The Mandara kingdom continued to be an important power well into the 19th century. It was then that a series of clashes with the Fulani of the Fumbina (Fombina) states led to the kingdom's decline. Fulani dominance was short-lived, however, as Mandara was incorporated into German colonial territory in 1902.

See also: IRON (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Mane   Mande-speaking peoples largely located in present-day SIERRA LEONE, IVORY COAST, and LIBERIA. It is thought the Mane migrated toward the western Atlantic coast from the upper NIGER RIVER region by the early to mid-16th century. Their westward migrations were marked by intermittent stops where they conquered small communities and left behind a group to establish a new ruling state. The Mane were reputed to be outstanding soldiers who wore war shirts covered with feathers and amulets and carried shields fashioned from tight bundles of reeds.

In roughly 1540 a powerful Mane leader named Farma Tami (fl. c. 1540) invaded what is now Sierra Leone, conquered the local peoples, and from them founded the Temne people. The more powerful Mane, it was said, taught the Temne the art of war. With their talents at war, the Mane also brought improved methods of weaving and iron manufacture and more advanced systems of GOVERNMENT. Farma Tami moved the capital of his kingdom to the town of Robaga, near what is now the city of FREETOWN in present-day Sierra Leone.

By 1545 other groups of Mane people had turned back inland somewhat to reach the FOUTA DJALLON region in present-day GUINEA. Despite their reputation for being fierce warriors, the Mane were halted there in battles with the SUSU people and were forced to retreat toward the Atlantic coastline. Once established along the coast, the Mane began to trade commodities including cloth and salt with the DYULA and other merchant peoples for kola nuts, captives, and GOLD.

See also: KOLA NUTS (Vol. I); SALT (Vol. I); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III).

Manyika (Manica)   Shona-speaking people of present-day eastern ZIMBABWE and MOZAMBIQUE. The Manyika have historically been organized into small, independent communities. However, two large Manyika kingdoms, Mutasa and Makoni, emerged by the early 17th century. The Manyika organized into a more cohesive society in response to the presence of European colonists. Although primarily agriculturalists, the Manyika became prosperous traders after the discovery of GOLD in the region. From the 17th century, gold from Manicaland was traded along the Mozambique coast with Arab, Indian, and Portuguese merchants.

See also: SENA (Vol. III).

Maputo   Port city and capital of present-day MOZAMBIQUE. Maputo was established as a trading post by Portuguese merchants who explored the area in 1544. It was not until 1787, however, that the Portuguese built a fortress around which a large settlement grew. Due to its deep harbor and proximity to present-day northern SOUTH AFRICA, the town thrived as a commercial center. In 1907 it became the capital of Portuguese East Africa.

See also: MAPUTO (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Mario J. Azevedo, *Historical Dictionary of Mozambique* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2003).

Marabout War   Religious movement led by Nasir al-Din (fl. 17th century), a cleric in present-day southern MAURITANIA, to curb European influence and establish orthodox Muslim rule in SENEGAMBIA. A marabout is a

charismatic Islamic religious personality who inhabits a *ribat,* a fortified convent similar to a *zawiya.*

In 1659, hoping to capitalize on regional trade, France established a settlement on the island of Saint-Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal River. However, the settlement also had the effect of drawing trade away from the local BERBERS, who were led by the marabout, thus creating a grave economic crisis in the Senegal valley. The economic downturn fueled tensions between the marabout and the ruling Hassan warriors.

In response to the situation, Nasir al-Din started a religious movement, based on orthodox Islam, to save Berber society from economic collapse. The movement sought to create a Muslim theocratic state, thereby ending what it saw to be the arbitrary rule of the Hassan warriors. The movement also sought to reclaim some of the lucrative trade of the Senegal valley that the Berbers had lost to the French.

Quickly gaining popular support, the movement took on the aspects of a jihad, or holy war, and was able to overtake the ruling aristocracies of Walo, FOUTA TORO, KAYOR, and Jolof. But Nasir al-Din died in 1674, and the movement soon deteriorated. The French, fearing the emergence of a centralized marabout state, threw their support behind the former Hassan regimes in Walo, Fouta Toro, Kayor, and Jolof. By 1677 al-Din's movement faded, and, although the marabout retained religious authority, the old Hassan regime regained military and political control of the region.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); JIHAD (Vols. II, IV).

Maravi   Ethnic group that controlled the regions to the west and south of Lake Malawi in southern East Africa during the 16th and 17th centuries. The Maravi migrated eastward from the Luba regions of Central Africa. They settled over a vast geographical area that includes regions of three present-day countries: MALAWI (named after the Maravi), ZAMBIA, and MOZAMBIQUE.

About 1400 the Phiri clan assumed precedence among the peoples just south of Lake Malawi. By around 1480, a Maravi confederacy was established by the head of the Phiri clan. This confederacy acted as a centralized government for the various Bantu-speaking groups in the area. The chief of this confederacy, known as the KALONGA, was a member of the Phiri clan.

The name *kalonga* probably comes from the clan name of the original Luba peoples who migrated east and became known as the Maravi.

Much of the history of the various Maravi groups, and the region in general, is reconstructed from the oral traditions as well as the European accounts of the area, which begin shortly after 1500, when Portuguese merchants first arrived there. According to this history, the TUMBUKA, one of the oldest Maravi groups, settled along the western shore of Lake Malawi. They were a simple agriculturalist and pastoralist people who stayed in the northern Lake Malawi region as the Maravi moved further south. Another Maravi group, the Ngonde, led by a dynastic succession of chiefs called Kyungu, established dominion over the Karonga plain, in the northern region of present-day Malawi.

In the late 16th century the Lundu, a people of Maravi descent, instituted a reign of terror in reaction to the Portuguese attempts to control the IVORY TRADE in the region. Lundu warriors, known as ZIMBA, attacked settlements in regions of Zambezia, including the trading centers of SENA and TETE. The Zimba pushed east into the territory of the stateless MAKUA peoples of present-day Mozambique, routing the Portuguese from the area in 1592 and continuing up the coast to present-day KENYA, where they were finally repelled by a Swahili-Arab confederation. The reputation of the Maravi peoples as fierce warriors, largely derived from the actions of the Zimba, served to contain the Portuguese, who were reluctant to move inland from their coastal settlements, including MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND.

By 1624 the Maravi had established their dominion over the CHEWA inhabitants near Manthimba, a populous trading center at the southern end of Lake Malawi. They centralized their power and began a period of territorial expansion that spilled into regions of present-day Mozambique, to the south and east, and Zambia, to the west. Maravi chiefs increased their control by wisely integrating the head men of other non-Maravi groups—including the BANDA and Chewa—into their ruling hierarchy.

The most powerful Maravi ruler was Kalonga Masula (r. c. 1600–1650), whose kingdom stretched from Zambezia, in the west, to Mozambique Island, in the east. However, because Kalonga Masula failed to name a successor or establish centralized power, his Maravi empire gradually disintegrated after his death. Internecine rivalries between the Lundu and Kalonga slowed eastward expansion, but the Maravi enjoyed great success and influence in the 17th century as traders and regional power brokers.

The most influential activity of the Maravi in the 17th and 18th centuries was the ivory trade. Elephants were plentiful in the region to the west of Lake Malawi, so Maravian trading networks brought the tusks from the interior to the Shire River, the outlet of Lake Malawi, for TRANSPORTATION to the ZAMBEZI RIVER, and then on to the Arab and Swahili merchants who worked the markets on

the Indian Ocean coast. The Portuguese, recognizing how lucrative the ivory trade was, tried to ally themselves with the Maravi as trading partners. Portuguese merchants and landowners called *prazeros* even recruited soldiers from among the Maravi in their attempts to expand their trading ties into Shona and Karanga territories, south of the Zambezi River.

By the middle of the 18th century several groups, including the Kalonga, Lundu, and Undi, had clearly become independent of central Maravi control. Undi (r. c. 1750), a chief of the Kalonga peoples, established a tributary kingdom by conquering the Nsenga peoples, southwest of Lake Malawi, and then establishing commercial ties with the Portuguese and the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom. Other peoples who began to identify less with the Maravi empire included the Sena, to the south, the Manganja, who were Lundu subjects, the Chewa, and the Zimba. Although these peoples distanced themselves from Maravi authority, they continued to participate in trade with them, producing iron goods and cloth and MINING salt.

One of the more conspicuous factors that contributed to the dissolution of the Maravi confederation was the loss of a powerful, centralized religious authority in the region. As they migrated, the Maravi peoples generally followed similar naturalistic religious practices that relied heavily on rain and fire rituals. The Manganja, for example, maintained the MBONA religious practices. These institutions began to disintegrate with the weakening of the central authority at Msinja in Lilongwe, who performed rituals that ensured the well-being of the semidivine rulers of the Maravi and, therefore, the well-being of the entire state. The sense of a Maravi spiritual community dissipated as the various groups developed their own ritual authorities over time.

During the 18th century the absence of a strong, centralized power left the Maravi unable to defend their territories against an influx of new waves of immigrants, who arrived from all directions. The influx of peoples, many of whom were looking to capitalize on the burgeoning trade in human beings, included settlers and traders from such diverse groups as the YAO, the BEMBA, the Bisa, and the NGONI, as well as Arabs and the Portuguese. By the beginning of the 19th century the former Maravi territory was overrun by these groups.

The Maravi name means "people of the fire," referring to the fact that the peoples who make up their group practiced a RELIGION that centered around fire rituals.

Maroserana   Dynastic ruling family of MADAGASCAR that produced the chiefs of several Malagasy-speaking ethnic groups, most important among them the SAKALAVA. Maroserana oral tradition tells of a semimythical ancestor called Andriandahifotsy, or "White King," who was not Malagasy but instead came with his family from India, having gotten caught in a storm and shipwrecked off Madagascar's southern coast around 1300.

The Maroserana dynasty was also known as the Volamena, or "Kingdom of the Gold." Since GOLD is not an especially prized metal among the Malagasy of Madagascar, the name Volamena indicates a possible connection to the gold-trading kingdom of the MWENE MUTAPA of southern Africa.

Maroserana rulers led the Lahefouty clan in Mahafaly, a southern Madagascar kingdom, around 1550. By around 1625, the dynasty emerged as the leaders of a confederacy of Malagasy peoples that included the Sakalava, a group of warriors who occupied land to the north of Mahafaly. Andriandahifotsy (r. c. 1660–c. 1685), a supposed descendant of the original White King, is generally considered the first Sakalava king. He led his warriors north along the west coast, conquering smaller kingdoms as they moved into new territories. Eventually, they controlled western Madagascar from the southern tip of the island to the northern parts of MENABE, on the central stretch of the west coast.

Upon Andriandahifotsy's death around 1685, his sons fought for succession. The victor, Tsimanongarivo (c. 1668–1718), remained in Menabe, to rule the Sakalava. Tsimanongarivo's brother, Tsimanatona, continued north to conquer the Muslim Boina peoples, adding their kingdom to the growing Sakalava empire.

European accounts of Tsimanongarivo written during his reign described him as a tyrant, bedecked in gold and silver, and living in a state of grandeur that was unknown in other kingdoms of Madagascar at the time. Tsimanatona, too, lived in high style, wearing a great silver chain and holding court on an EBONY throne decorated with ivory. By the end of the 18th century kings related to the Maroserana dynasty had ruled over nearly half of the island of Madagascar, including the kingdoms of the BARA, Antandroy, Antesaka, as well as the Sakalava, Mahafaly, and Boina.
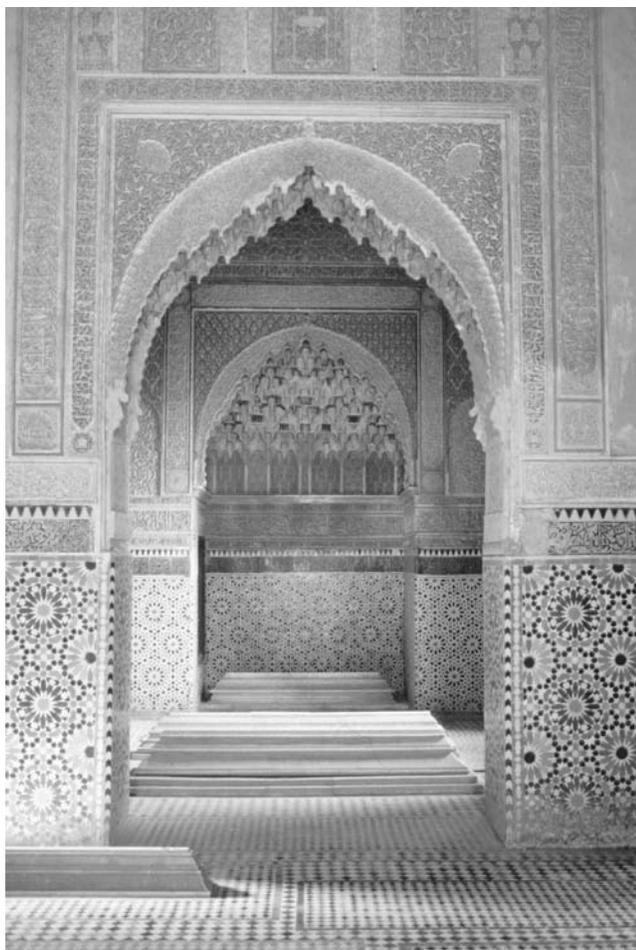
The elaborate 16th-century tombs of the Sadian dynasty in Marrakech, Morocco. One of the two main mausoleums houses the tomb of the most important Sadi ruler, Abd al-Mansur (1578–1603). He conquered Songhai in 1591 and kept Morocco out of the hands of the Ottoman Empire. © Karen Hunt/H. Mason/Corbis

Marrakech (Marrakesh) City located in present-day west-central MOROCCO. Founded in 1062, the city saw frequent changes in power and domination over the centuries. By the time the SADIAN DYNASTY seized control of the city in 1522, however, it was a poor place, largely in ruins. The Sadian caliphs revitalized Marrakech, making it the new capital of southern Morocco. Under Caliph ABD AL-MANSUR (1578–1603), the royal palaces of Marrakech were rebuilt, and the city recaptured the glory that it last enjoyed under the rule of the Almohads in the 12th and 13th centuries. By the end of the 16th century Marrakech was, culturally and economically, the leading city of Morocco, boasting about 60,000 inhabitants. The succeeding Alawite rulers, though, lived at FEZ or Meknès, using Marrakech primarily as a military post.

See also: MARRAKECH (Vols. II, IV, V).

Mascarene Islands Group of islands in the western Indian Ocean, to the east of the large island of MADAGASCAR. The individual islands of MAURITIUS, RÉUNION, and Rodrigues are collectively known as the Mascarene Islands. They are named after the Portuguese sailor and eventual "vice-king" of Goa, Pedro Mascarenhas (1484–1555), who first visited the islands in 1512 while on his way to Portuguese India.

Masrui Family dynasty associated with MOMBASA and East Africa, which, beginning in the mid-18th century, helped transform Mombasa into a major economic and political power. After their arrival, beginning with Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) in 1498, the Portuguese dominated not only Mombasa but much of the East Africa coast. They continued this domination through both the 16th and 17th centuries. By the 18th century, however, Portuguese power had begun to wane, and the region came under the influence of the OMANI SULTANATE.

Although Omani power was considerable in the region, Oman was never able to take complete control. In part this was due to the fact that the various populations of the East African coast did not acquiesce to Omani rule any more than they did to that of the Portuguese. Instead, those populations sought help from anyone—even the Portuguese, who tried to return to Mombasa in 1748—willing to assist them in freeing themselves from a particular foreign invader.

Another factor in Oman's inability to assume firm control were the frequent conflicts and periods of unrest that marked its political life. These resulted in frequent civil and dynastic wars, one of which, beginning in 1741, led to rise of the Masrui family to power in Mombasa.

Oman launched its effort in East Africa by dispatching ships to Pate and ZANZIBAR in 1652. Although this expedition resulted in an Omani victory, Portugal continued to resist, and battles between the two powers went on for almost a half-century. It was not until the Omani victory at and capture of the Portuguese citadel of FORT JESUS, in 1698, that they finally were able to wrest control from their European adversaries.

In 1741 a member of the BUSAIDI family, Ahmad ibn Said, became involved in one of these dynastic wars and eventually seized control of Oman. In response the Omani governor of Mombasa, a member of the Masrui family, declared Mombasa's independence, only to be murdered by Busaidis. Eventually, however, the gover-

nor's brother was able to take power in Mombasa, establishing the Masrui dynasty that would play a major role in the region's political life for many years to come.

In contrast to the Busaidis, the Masruis identified themselves with Africa and African interests rather than with Arab ones, a fact that helped them solidify their position as Mombasa's main political family. In addition, they worked to mediate long-standing conflicts between the community's major civil federations. This led to a period of peace, cooperation, and prosperity at home.

Building upon this, the Masruis extended Mombasa's trade networks, particularly to the NYIKA people, who became important suppliers of goods and soldiers for Mombasa. Growing more ambitious, the Masruis sought to carry Mombasa's influence still further. Focusing, at first, on Pate, by the early 1800s they managed to assume control of that island as well.

Ultimately, however, the Masruis stretched Mombasa's power too far and too thin. In fact their victory over Pate, in 1807, proved to be their highwater mark. A few years later, they attempted to conquer LAMU, but met with a crushing defeat. More than this, their efforts resulted in direct involvement on the part of Oman's new ruler, SAYYID SAID (1791–1856). Shrewdly maneuvering his alliances with such European powers as Britain and France, Said managed to quickly consolidate and expand his own power. He was so successful that, by 1823, he managed to put Masrui power in check, limiting their sphere of influence to Mombasa itself.

A period of British and then Omani dominance ensued in Mombasa, followed by the return of the Masruis, in 1828. The dynasty's renaissance, however, proved to be short-lived. By 1837 the dynastic quarrels they had carefully avoided until then weakened them and gave Sayyid Said the opportunity he needed to take complete control of Mombasa.

Massa   (r. 1650–1710) *Founder and first ruler of the Bambara kingdom of Kaarta*

King Massa was known for expanding the territory and influence of his kingdom during his 60-year reign in KAARTA, in present-day Republic of MALI. Massa descended from the Kulibali line of BAMBARA rulers, as did the early kings of Kaarta's sister state of SEGU, and founded his kingdom around the middle portion of the NIGER RIVER about the same time that Kaladian Kulibali (r. c. 1652–1682) established Segu in an area between the Niger and Senegal rivers. The ruling dynasty that Massa established in Kaarta, however, assumed his name and was known as the MASSASSI DYNASTY.

Massassi dynasty   Succession of rulers who reigned in the BAMBARA state of KAARTA, located in present-day

MALI. The Massassi dynasty was comprised of descendants of MASSA (r. 1650–1710), the first king and founder of Kaarta. After the death of King Massa in 1710, his son Benefali (r. 1710–1745) assumed the throne and defended Kaarta in clashes against the forces of Mamari KULIBALI (r. 1712–1755) from the Bambara state of SEGU. In 1754 Mamari Kulibali was finally successful in conquering and destroying the original kingdom of Kaarta, ceasing the reign of Benefali's son and successor, Foulakoro (r. 1745–1754).

Kaarta was rebuilt in 1754 by the next Massassi successor, Sey Bamana Kulibali (r. 1754–1758). He was followed by his brother, Doni Babo (r. 1758–1761), who was known for leading the Bambara peoples into a more nomadic existence, as they gained wealth through raiding and ransacking smaller kingdoms. The ruler most often credited with Kaarta's rise as an important kingdom, however, was Sira Bo (r. 1761–1780). Sira Bo reestablished the Bambara as a sedentary people and, in 1777, extended the boundaries of Kaarta with the acquisition of tributary cities, including Bélédougou and Khasso. He also established a capital at the town of Guemou and forced several local groups, including the SONINKE and Diawara, to pay tribute to the Kaarta rulers.

Sira Bo's reign was followed by that of Dessé Koro (r. 1788–1799), who was defeated in battle in 1794 by the Segu king, Monson DIARRA (r. 1790–1808). Kaarta was demolished during this battle, and the next three Massassi rulers reigned over a weakened Kaarta kingdom. Beginning in 1818, with the rule of Bodian Moriba (r. 1818–1832), Kaarta was able to slowly recapture much of its former glory. Bodian Moriba became known as a powerful and influential ruler. Under his rule the capital was moved to Nioro, and much of Kaarta's former territory was regained. He was perhaps most famous, though, for finally ending the tensions between the kingdoms of Kaarta and Segu by making peace with the reigning Segu ruler, Da Monson (r. 1808–1827).

Bodian Moriba's successful tenure was followed by the reign of Garan, who ruled from 1832 to 1844. The Massassi dynasty came to an end shortly thereafter when the last Massassi ruler, Mamady Kandian (r. 1844–1854), was killed in 1854 during the jihad of TUKULOR cleric al-Hajj Umar Tal (1794–1864), who overthrew the kingdom of Kaarta and made it a part of his Muslim caliphate.

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); UMAR TAL (Vol. IV).

Matamba   MBUNDU kingdom of western Central Africa in what is now ANGOLA. Matamba reached the height of its influence during the 17th century under Queen NZINGA (1581–1663). In the early 16th century Matamba was a tributary state of the KONGO KINGDOM. The female chief, *muhongo Matamba,* offered payment to the king, or *manikongo,* in exchange for European goods traded in his

kingdom. By the end of the 16th century, however, the *muhongo Matamba* had switched allegiance to the *ngola a kiluanje* ruler of the Mbundu kingdom of NDONGO. The *ngola a kiluanje* controlled new southern trade routes from the interior to the Portuguese-controlled port of LU-ANDA. In the 1570s Matamba fought along with Ndongo and Kongo armies against Portuguese efforts at colonization in Angola.

About 1630 the chiefdom of Matamba turned into a full-fledged kingdom. Queen NZINGA, the sister of the reigning *ngola a kiluanje,* seized power upon the death of the *muhongo Matamba.* Under Nzinga's rule Matamba became a formidable presence in the region, developing a strong military inspired by the IMBANGALA, and extending its territory to the Kwango River in the east and beyond the Lukala River in the west.

Matamba continued to resist Portuguese domination and played a large role in confining their rule to Angola. During the short-lived Dutch occupation of Luanda in the 1640s, which Nzinga had helped enable, Matamba warriors almost succeeded in destroying the last Portuguese bulwark in the colony. However, the Portuguese regained control of the region in 1648, and Matamba began to negotiate peace. In 1656 Matamba signed a treaty with the Portuguese that relinquished the kingdom's lands west of the Lukala River but retained its independence from the Europeans.

Hostilities between the two did not end, however, and another war broke out between Matamba and the Portuguese, in 1680. Matamba had irritated the Portuguese by bypassing Luanda for trade with the northern port and kingdom of LOANGO. Matamba armies defeated the Portuguese forces, and another peace treaty was signed in 1683. That treaty lasted until 1744, when a five-year war ensued after Matamba sacked a Portuguese market in the interior.

Matamba was a key player in the trade in human beings during this period. Trade fairs were set up in the capital, where Portuguese-sponsored traders, or POMBEIROS, purchased captives and ivory. The captives were often acquired through raids on the Kongo and Ndongo kingdoms by Matamba armies. By the middle of the 17th century Matamba and the KASANJE kingdom were the principal suppliers of captives to the Portuguese at Luanda. Traders from the northern Loango coast also traveled to Matamba to sell their goods, including firearms, which were especially valuable commodities in the southern kingdoms because they had been banned by the Portuguese authorities for sale to Africans. The Matamba rulers continued to control much of the interior trade during the 18th century, when routes began to penetrate further east into the LUNDA EMPIRE. The Lunda launched an attack on Matamba during the 1760s in an attempt to end Matamba's domination of the trade routes, but they were unsuccessful.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Mauritania   Present-day country of northwestern Africa, some 398,000 square miles (1,030,800 sq km) in size and bordered by ALGERIA, Republic of MALI, SENEGAL, and WESTERN SAHARA. During the 19th century the region of present-day Mauritania fell prey to the French campaign of colonial conquest in West Africa.

The BERBERS of Mauritania have been Muslims since the rise of the Almoravids in the 11th century. In the process, the Almoravids gained control of key Berber trading towns, which they dominated until the mid-13th century. Tensions between the Berber and Arab populations in Mauritania worsened over the next several hundred years. In 1673 Nasir al-Din, a Berber cleric, initiated a holy war against Arab warriors (Hassan). The Berbers were defeated, and the Hassan established a strict social order. Occupying the top rank were the Hassan Arabs, followed by Berber religious scholars (*zawiya*), Berber farmers and herders (*znaga*), former captives (*haratine*), and persons still in bondage (*abid*). The Hassan Arabs were primarily traders and soon developed a lucrative trade empire by selling captives and gum arabic to European traders. Dutch, French, Spanish, and Portuguese merchants all vied for Hassan Arab favor, paying them handsome sums for trade rights.

In 1814 France acquired Mauritania in the Treaty of Paris. The European power was primarily interested in controlling the coastal port towns and the fertile Senegal River region and therefore left the northern interior largely untouched. France ruled Mauritania until 1960.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); MAURITANIA (Vols. I, II. IV, V).

Further reading: Anthony G. Pazzanita, *Historical Dictionary of Mauritania* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996).

Mauritius Small island nation in the Indian Ocean, situated approximately 500 miles (805 km) east of MADA-GASCAR. Measuring approximately 720 square miles (1,870 sq km), Mauritius includes the inhabited island of Rodrigues and other scattered coral atolls, such as Cargados Carajos and Agalega. Mauritius was formed more than 10 million years ago by an active volcano. The main island is almost completely surrounded by coral reefs, and contains a wide range of terrain, including low-lying plains, mountains, rivers, forests, and a central plateau. This terrain, coupled with the tropical climate, has provided the island with hundreds of square miles of arable land. Mauritius's ECONOMY has historically relied on one crop, sugarcane.

Although visited for centuries by Arab, Malay, and Portuguese sailors, Mauritius remained unsettled until the late 16th century. The Dutch occupied the island in 1598 and remained there until the early 1700s. The French took possession in 1715, but the British captured the island during the Napoleonic Wars (1801–15). Mauritius was formally relinquished to Great Britain in 1814, and Britain ruled the country for the next 150 years.

The history of the island has resulted in a diverse population, much of which is of French or Creole (mixed African and European) descent. There are also small groups of Europeans and Chinese in the country. Nearly two-thirds of the population is descended from people from India who, with the end of the slave trade, were brought to Mauritius as indentured LABOR by British and other plantation owners.

See also: MASCARENE ISLANDS (Vol. III); MAURITIUS (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

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Mawlay Ismail (Mulay Isma'il)   (c. 1645–1727)
Second sultan of the Alawite dynasty of Morocco

Malawi Ismail's half-brother, Mawlay al-Rashid (d. 1672), founded the Alawite dynasty of present-day MOROCCO in 1666 and by force brought order to a region that had suffered from 50 years of religious and political warfare between local sheiks and the holy men, known as marabouts, who led Sufi religious brotherhoods. To reach his goals Mawlay al-Rashid mobilized the Arab peoples who had moved into the region during the Almohad period (c. 1147–1271) and pitted them against the BERBERS, who dominated the Atlas Mountains and parts of northern Morocco since the 1640s. He died an accidental death before he could consolidate his rule, and the Berbers remained a threat. Furthermore, England, Spain, and Portugal were in control of Morocco's coastal cities and the trade revenues they generated. The Alawite dynasty has ruled in Morocco until the present day.

Not much is known about the early life of Mawlay Ismail, whose full name is Ismail ibn Sharif, until he became the provincial viceroy of the city of FEZ during the rule of Mawlay al-Rashid. After al-Rashid died in early 1672, Ismail seized control of the treasury storehouse, known as the MAKHZAN, and had himself declared sultan in April of the same year.

Sharif and *mawlay* are titles, not names. *Sharif,* meaning "noble" or "high born" in Arabic, is a title of nobility that, in the early days of Islam, was used to designate members of the prophet Muhammad's Hashim clan. The Alawite dynasty claims descent from the Prophet through Muhammad's daughter Fatima and her husband, Ali, the fourth caliph. Females in the Sharifian line bear the title *Lella.*

Mawlay, from an Arabic word meaning "lord," is the same word that comes into English spelled *mullah.* In the Middle East, *mullah* designates a religious leader. In Morocco and other parts of North Africa, *mullah* is an honorific used with the name of a king, a sultan, or other noble.

Until 1677, Ismail's rule was disputed by his brother, his nephew Ahmad ibn Muhriz (d. 1686), and a northern Moroccan leader named al-Khidr Ghilan (d. 1673). These rivals had the support of the Ottoman Turks' regent in neighboring ALGERIA, who desired to weaken Alawite control and dominate Morocco. By 1673, however, Ghilan had been defeated by the sultan's forces and, in the years that followed, both Ismail's brother and nephew were brought into the administration as regional governors. Nevertheless, the peace between Ismail and his nephew, Muhriz, did not last. It ended only when Muhriz was finally killed by Ismail, in 1686, after Muhriz successfully enticed the people of Fez into rebellion against Mawlay Ismail's rule. With the defeat of his rivals, Mawlay Ismail was finally able to bring Morocco under unified leadership.

Like the reign of his brother Rashid before him, the major part of Mawlay Ismail's rule was spent at odds with the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans were seeking to displace the Alawite rulers and regain control of Morocco from their base located to the west in the city of ALGIERS, located in present-day Algeria. To counteract this threat, Mawlay Ismail created an elite professional military force of captives known as the *Abids.* The Abids were made up of descendants of prisoners of war who had been brought back to Morocco after Morocco's defeat of the SONGHAI Empire (present-day Republic of MALI), in the 1590s. The Abids, who numbered over 150,000 soldiers at full strength, were given intense, specialized training and armed with European firearms. This army allowed Mawlay Ismail to effectively defeat the Ottoman forces in 1679, 1682, and 1695–96, thereafter securing Moroccan independence from Ottoman rule.

Mawlay Ismail also mounted campaigns to control Morocco's coastal cities. He recaptured TANGIER from

the British (1684), Arzila from the Portuguese (1691), and both al-Mahdiyya (1681) and Larache (1689) from the Spanish. Despite these campaigns against the Europeans, Mawlay Ismail understood that Morocco's ECONOMY was, to a large extent, based on trade with countries in Europe. He chose to forge a strong relationship with France because of that country's political rivalry with Spain. This alliance provided Mawlay Ismail a military edge in his fight to regain the cities that the Spanish occupied.

Ruling for 54 years, Mawlay Ismail is credited with having one of the longest and most successful reigns in the history of Islamic states, second only to the 58-year reign of the 11th-century Egyptian ruler al-Mustansir (r. 1036–1094).

In addition, Mawlay Ismail greatly admired the French king, Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715), and attempted to emulate him by his manner of ruling and by designing his capital at Meknès in the architectural style of the French court at Versailles. With this French-Moroccan alliance came greater military strength for Ismail's armies and an increase in economic benefits for both France and Morocco.

On a personal level, Ismail himself was an extremely devout Muslim who was known to have adhered to the strict rules of Islamic law and who consistently sought to convert others to the Muslim religion. His rule was also marked by allegations of cruelty and brutal force. Mawlay Ismail had four wives and possibly as many as 700 children and 500 concubines. After his death in March of 1727, his most successful son, Mawlay Ahmad, was proclaimed sultan.

See also: ALMOHADS (Vol. II); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II., III); MARABOUT WAR (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SUFISM (Vols. II, III, IV); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Further reading: Rahma Bourgia and Susan Gilson Miller, *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Mazagan (el-Jadida)   Port city in north-central MOROCCO settled by the Portuguese in 1502. Mazagan was fortified as the last stronghold in the Portuguese struggle against the Filali sultanate. The Portuguese lost control of the city in 1769. Deemed an infidel city and unsuitable for Muslim habitation, Mazagan was not resettled until Moroccan Jews occupied the town in 1821.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Mbona   Legendary priest who is worshiped as a rain god by the Manganja people of the southern Shire River valley in present-day MALAWI. The rituals related to Mbona worship functioned as an expression of shared values and as a way of retaining a symbolic history of past events. From the 1580s to the 1620s Mbona worship practices were especially influential in determining the way land was distributed among the MARAVI peoples.

According to Manganja oral tradition, Mbona was a rain priest who was decapitated by his enemies. Even after dying, his blood continued to pour from his headless body, eventually forming a river. The Ndione Pool, located not far from the Mbona shrine in Nsanje, Malawi, is celebrated as the place where Mbona was martyred.

Worship practices like the Mbona rites, sometimes called "Earth cults" or "fertility cults," serve functions both spiritual and political. In many traditional African cultures, the spirits of the ancestors are thought to exercise extraordinary influence over local natural phenomena. Venerating and placating the ancestors, then, is a way of warding off floods or droughts and guaranteeing a plentiful harvest. When other Maravi peoples moved into their region in the late 16th century, the Manganja were able to use the Mbona myth as a charter, or original claim, to the surrounding land. If outsiders could not simply force their own beliefs on the Manganja, they had two options: either accept and perpetuate the Mbona myth and settle alongside the Manganja, or move on to unoccupied territory.

It was thought that the consumption of millet beer helped the priests and headmen to commune better with the spirits during the Mbona rites. On the other hand, celebrants were instructed to abstain from sex during the ritual cycle, for fear that the "heat" of sexual thoughts might work against the desired effect of bringing cool rain.

The Mbona shrine, located on the Shire just north of SENA on the ZAMBEZI RIVER, was a simple circular hut with a clay floor and a roof made of sticks. Mbona celebrants annually gathered at the shrine at the end of the dry season to pray to their ancestors and to beseech Mbona for plentiful rain in the upcoming wet season. When an older shrine fell into disrepair, it was disassembled and a new one was constructed following a prescribed ritual.

The Mbona shrine was traditionally maintained by an older woman selected by the priests to be Mbona's "spirit wife." The spirit wife, named Salima after Mbona's original wife, supposedly received Mbona's messages in her dreams. The Salima also oversaw female initiation rites at Nsanje.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); RELIGION (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: J. Matthew Schoffeleers, *River of Blood: The Genesis of a Martyr Cult in Southern Malawi, c. A.D. 1600* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

Mbundu   Large Kimbundu-speaking ethnic group of western Central Africa whose homeland is located in what is now the country of ANGOLA. The Mbundu kingdoms were greatly affected by the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE and Portuguese colonization during the 1600s. By the 16th century Mbundu ethno-linguistic subgroups included the LIBOLO, SONGO, Mbondo, Lenge, NDONGO, PENDE, and Hungu, among others. They occupied primarily the highlands of modern-day Angola, from the Longa River in the south to the Bengo and Dande rivers in the north, and past the Kwango River to the east. Steep escarpments separated them from the African coast. The Mbundu were bordered in the south by the OVIMBUNDU and in the north by the KONGO KINGDOM, which by that time was more similar in language and culture to the Mbundu than were the Ovimbundu.

The Mbundu were mostly farmers who cultivated millet and sorghum as staple crops, which they supplemented with fruits and vegetables. During the 17th century they began to cultivate cassava, which had been introduced from the Americas. The Mbundu also fished, hunted game, and kept small animals, including chickens and goats. They herded some cattle, but only at the highest elevations, where the deadly tsetse fly could not reach. Salt and iron were important commodities for trade with groups in the interior, who supplied the Mbundu with copper, palm cloth, ivory, and other items.

During the 16th century local symbols of political authority, the *ngola,* gave way to the formation of the more centralized *ngola a kiluanje* and *kinguri* kingships, which were adopted by most Mbundu states in Angola. Formerly autonomous chiefdoms were consolidated into kingdoms, including Ndongo and MATAMBA. These kingdoms developed lucrative trade routes from the African interior to the ports of LUANDA and LOANGO. They successfully competed with the Kongo for European trade and challenged their status as the most powerful kingdom in western Central Africa during the precolonial period.

During the 1600s the Portuguese began to aggressively colonize Angola and sought to subjugate the Mbundu. Despite frequent wars, the eastern Mbundu state of Matamba was able to resist Portuguese domination and maintain profitable trade relations, largely because they remained outside the immediate sphere of Portuguese influence in western Angola, and because of their participation in supplying captives for the slave trade. Other western kingdoms, including Ndongo, were unable to maintain their independence. Their kings became puppets of the Portuguese colonial administration, and their kingdoms were frequent targets of predatory raids. By the 17th century, European MISSIONARIES in Angola reported that the previously heavily populated Mbundu country had become a wasteland.

See also: MBUNDU (Vol. II).

medicine   While medical practices differed from region to region, most African groups engaged in one or more traditional healing techniques that included such concepts as magic potions, amulets, incantations, and divination. These remedies were often performed by healers, diviners, or village priests, who were revered for their abilities and sometimes considered divine or quasi-divine because of their talents. Through documented reports written by European travelers who traversed the continent in the 16th through the 18th centuries, it has become evident that Africans maintained a highly complex knowledge of medicine and surgical techniques. Medicine in Africa was often deeply rooted in lore not typically associated with the Western scientific tradition of medicine (i.e., so-called ancestor worship and the supernatural). Still, African medicine often reflected knowledge of biology, physiology, and psychology that was decades, if not centuries, ahead of European or Asian knowledge of the same period.

One of the areas in which African medicine excelled was the derivation of healing potions, both ingested and topical, through the use of herbs, roots, fruit extracts, and other naturally occurring substances such as honey. While the application of these concoctions was often the realm of the healers, it was known that village women were often instrumental in the collection, preparation, and proper use of the medicine on an ailing member of the community. Many women also acted as midwives and greatly facilitated the birthing process of the pregnant women they attended through the use of massage. This hands-on method was widely used by such groups as the MAASAI of present-day KENYA and helped to relax certain muscles, stimulate the production of contraction-producing hormones, and even enabled the midwife to help rotate a breached child so that it was properly positioned in the birth canal. When the birthing process became protracted, however, African healers such as those in the villages of the BUNYORO in present-day UGANDA were known to have performed a Caesarean section as a last resort.

In fact, detailed accounts by European witnesses state that African healers were extremely skilled in performing the Caesarean operation as well as other centuries-old procedures, such as amputations. Especially noted in these accounts was that the African surgeons were knowledgeable in certain herbs and alcohols that aided in both the sedation of the patient as well as the sterilization of both the instruments used for surgery and the body parts involved. They were extremely clean in their practices did not overuse the tools at their disposal. For example, red hot irons were sometimes used to quickly cut off and seal bleeding points, but were known to cause great harm if used too often or for too long a time. Therefore the irons were used sparingly and, hence, to their greatest effect. Whether it was potions, ointments, or surgical tools, the use of these items was usually well thought out and to the maximum benefit to the patient and his or her healing time.

The use of sun exposure to aid in the health and growth of a sick or premature baby was a common treatment used by some African midwives. These women would take the child out into the sun for variable lengths of time to give the newborn child strength. This practice was a precursor to today's method of incubation, whereby a newborn child is placed in a warm enclosure to facilitate its healthy development.

Another aspect of African medicine that had been intact long before European colonization was the idea of community health procedures, such as the prevention of disease spread through quarantine. When European traders brought the smallpox disease to areas of sub-Saharan Africa that were previously unexposed, certain groups, such as the Mano people of what is now LIBERIA, already had in place a quarantine procedure to deal with the spread and treatment of the disease. When a member of their community became infected, that person would be taken away from the village to an area known as the "sick bush." There, the patient would be treated with topical ointments that helped treat the itching and would be fed a special diet to speed up the healing time. The treatment was carried out by a solitary attendant in order to reduce the likelihood of the disease spreading throughout the village. Once the patient had recovered, the "sick bush" was burned, thereby killing any lingering germs and further decreasing the chances of the smallpox affecting others within the community.

It is also thought that the Africans were the first peoples to effectively introduce inoculation as a method of fighting off a disease epidemic such as smallpox. Possibly centuries before the renowned British doctor Edward Jenner (1749–1823) gave the first smallpox vaccine in England in 1796, African traditional doctors were using thorns laced with the infected fluid from a smallpox lesion to scratch an uninfected person. This process induced the uninfected patient's body to produce an immune response to the smallpox contagion, generally without developing the disease itself. If the illness progressed, however, it was more often than not a weak, non-life-threatening form of smallpox, which still successfully triggered the immune response and protected the patient from any further outbreaks of the disease.

Before European medicine made its way to the African coast, indigenous African doctors were also known to be capable in treating a host of ailments. Examples include the setting of and use of traction on broken bones, the surgical extraction of foreign objects—such as arrowheads and bullets—from the body, the draining of abscesses, the reduction of tumors, and the removal of cataracts from the eyes. These early traditional healers mostly learned by being highly observant and cognizant of the reactions—good and bad—that their methods produced. This knowledge would then be passed down to future generations, with the recipients acquiring the accumulated knowledge and skills of thousands of years of treatment and observation.

See also: DIVINATION (Vol. I); DISEASE IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I); DISEASE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN MEDIEVAL AFRICA (Vol. II); DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); DISEASE IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III); HEALERS AND DIVINERS (Vols IV, V); MEDICINE (Vols. I, II, IV, V); SCIENCE (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

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Menabe Kingdom and ethnic group of the western coastal region of the island of MADAGASCAR. Menabe was founded by the SAKALAVA people in the late 17th century. Along with Boina, Menabe was one of the most powerful kingdoms of the Sakalava empire.

Several Sakalava traditions say that the name *Menabe,* meaning "The Great Red," comes from a red bull that was employed by the Sakalava to defeat the Antanandro during their campaigns of territorial expansion in the latter half of the 17th century. Thereafter, according to the legend, the Sakalava were forbidden from killing red bulls.

Before the founding of Menabe, the territory was known as Ansakuabe, a sparsely populated region of small villages. After many years of warfare and conflict, the MAROSERANA king, Andriandahifotsy (r. c. 1660–1685), led his Sakalava warriors to victory over the local peoples, including the Vazimba, Vezo, and Antanandro. Eventually, the Menabe kingdom controlled the stretch of coast from the Onilahy River in the south to Boina Bay in the north and even exacted tribute from inland kingdoms.

Upon the death of Andriandahifotsy, the "White King" of the Sakalava, his two sons, Tsimanongarivo (c. 1668–1718) and Tsimanatona, fought for succession. The victor, Tsimanongarivo, established his capital in Menabe, while his brother moved north to conquer more territory for the Sakalava empire.

Mende   West African peoples who migrated to their locations in present-day SIERRA LEONE, GUINEA, and LIBERIA by the 16th century or earlier. During the 16th century, however, some Mende who lived in the FOUTA DJALLON region of present-day Guinea fled the area and moved to what is now Sierra Leone. This migration was forced by the pressures the Muslim FULANI peoples were exerting as they swept through the area in an attempt to convert those practicing traditional religions to Islam. The mid-16th century also saw a group of Mende travel from present-day Liberia to Sierra Leone and establish regional states that eventually became the Koor, in the east, and the Kpa and Wajama, in the south.

The Mende speak a Mande language, possibly indicating a cultural origin in the western Sudan. Historically, they are an agrarian people who cultivate yams, PALM OIL, cassava, and rice. They are also known for their secret societies, which get encompassed into their daily lives as ways to help in legal, educational, and social protocol decisions. The men's society is called *poro* and is important to any Mende man wishing to have authority within his community. The women also take part in their own version of the secret society, called *sande*, and, like the men, their ceremonies utilize masks that represent important spirits. It is believed that the Mende are the only African ethnic group practicing a secret society in which both the women and the men wear ceremonial masks.

See also: SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I).

Further reading: Arthur Abraham, *An Introduction to the Precolonial History of the Mende of Sierra Leone* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003); Melissa Leach, *Rainforest Relations: Gender and Resource Use among the Mende of Gola, Sierra Leone* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).

Merina   Ethnic group inhabiting the city of TANANARIVE and the surrounding central highlands of the island of MADAGASCAR. In the 18th century the Merina began a period of territorial expansion that eventually brought nearly the entire island under their rule. Today, the Merina are the most populous of the Malagasy-speaking people of Madagascar.

The name *Merina* means "people from the place where one can see far," in Malagasy, the language of Madagascar. This appellation refers to the fact that they are from the mountainous central region of the island.

The Merina emerged from the conflicts between the Vazimba people and Indonesian invaders called the Hova. The Vazimba were probably of African or Afro-Indonesian origin and settled in the central region of Madagascar, perhaps as early as the 13th century. Around the middle of the 16th century, Hova groups began penetrating Vazimba territory from the southeast, beginning a conflict that lasted nearly 100 years. An early Hova king was Andriamanelo (r. c. 1540–1575), who introduced the use of iron-tipped spears, giving his warriors an advantage over the Vazimba, who fought with only clay-tipped spears.

According to Merina oral tradition, the wars between the Vazimba and the Hova were eventually settled through the intervention of a group of Antonosy sages, known as Marinh, which is probably the source of the name Merina. When the territorial dispute was settled, the combined Vazimba and Hova peoples rapidly consolidated their power, and early Merina society reflected influence from both groups. For example, the traditional practice of so-called ancestor worship came from the Vazimba. The Hova brought to Merina culture the practice of endogamy, or marriage within the group.

By the middle of the 17th century the Merina were expanding in all directions, cultivating vast areas of rice paddies and acquiring good cattle and grazing lands. The Merina kingdom, Imerina, was protected by disciplined clan militias, who were supported by the state.

Much of what is known of Merina history comes from the *Tantara ny Andriana* (History of Kings). The Tantara was assembled from the accounts of numerous Merina oral historians by a French Jesuit priest named Father François Callet, who arrived in Tananarive in 1864.

During the 17th century, while the SAKALAVA were building their western coastal empire in Madagascar, the Merina thrived in their isolated highland kingdom and remained relatively unknown. By the middle of the 18th century they were in good position to challenge the Sakalava for control of the greater part of the island. Merina king ANDRIANAMPOINIMERINA (r. c. 1782–1810), a dynamic ruler and statesman, established his capital at Tananarive (today's Antananarivo). From there he began to centralize his authority over the vast Merina territories. It was early in his reign, around 1785, that the first European visited Imerina. Under Andrianampoinimerina's capable leadership, the Merina grew rich and powerful by trading Malagasy captives for French firearms. By 1830 the Merina had overwhelmed the Sakalava and controlled practically the whole island except for the kingdoms of the BARA and a few other southern groups.

Further reading: Pier Martin Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar 1770–1822* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2000).

Mfecane (Difaqane) Period of ZULU warfare and migration lasting from 1817 to the 1840s. The Mfecane, (meaning "The Crushing," led to the breakdown of the traditional clan system within the Zulu kingdom and caused the formation and reorganization of several kingdoms. It also accounted for the deaths of more than 2 million people.

The perilous middle passage, the slave ship's journey from Africa to the Americas. The terminally ill and the mutinous were often thrown overboard, as this undated woodcut shows. Some 14 to 20 percent of the enslaved humans aboard ship generally perished during this part of the journey. © *Corbis*

The Mfecane began in 1817, when Zulu king SHAKA (1787–1828) embarked on a program of conquest. In order to expand his kingdom, which was located in the present-day province of KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA, Shaka set out to conquer or subjugate a number of neighboring peoples, including the Ndwandwe and Qwabe. Shaka's efforts at conquest expanded further by 1820, leading to large-scale migrations throughout the region, as people fled the Zulu forces. Some peoples fled to places as far away as present-day TANZANIA, MALAWI, and ZAMBIA.

The Mfecane resulted in the formation of several kingdoms. MSHWESHWE (1786–1870), for example, united his followers in present-day LESOTHO, which led to the formation of the SOTHO nation. Elsewhere, Mzilikazi (1790–1868) established the Ndebele kingdom in present-day ZIMBABWE, while the Gaza empire was founded by Soshangane (d. 1858) in MOZAMBIQUE, and the NGONI settled in present-day Tanzania.

See also: NDEBELE (Vol. IV); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Mfengu (Fingo) Ethnic group inhabiting the Eastern Cape province of present-day SOUTH AFRICA who were forced from their homelands in Natal during the MFECANE, a migration forced by ZULU military campaigns in the early 19th century. The Mfengu are primarily descendants of Hlubi, Bhele, and Zizi peoples, and they made their way to the eastern Cape, where they helped the British fight the XHOSA during the CAPE FRONTIER WARS. In return for their service the victorious British government gave the Mfengu former Xhosa lands in the Transkei and Ciskei regions. The Mfengu occupation of those lands served to buffer any further Xhosa attacks on the British colony. These new Mfengu lands were annexed into CAPE COLONY in 1879.

See also: SHAKA (Vol. III).

middle passage Name given to the The 21- to 90-day voyage of captive Africans' across the Atlantic Ocean from Africa to the Caribbean. The transatlantic SLAVE TRADE is often visualized as a triangular trade. On the first leg of the triangle, goods from Europe were loaded aboard ships and brought to Africa. On the second leg, the so-called middle passage, the ships were loaded with Africans, who were transported amid conditions of great squalor and danger to destinations in the Caribbean. On the third leg of the triangle, agricultural products and other commodities, sometimes bought from the proceeds of the sale of Africans to local purchasers, were shipped to Europe. Although the visualization is inexact when North American trade and ports of call are added to the trade, the term *middle passage* has maintained its traditional meaning.

Sailing ships were generally not built to specifically carry captives. Instead, a ship's standard hold inside the hull was modified to accept human cargo. Manifests list from 150 to 600 Africans depending on the size of the vessel. They were chained to platforms that were stacked in tiers in the hold, given limited headroom, and allowed a space not much more than 16 inches (40 cm) wide in which to lay their bodies.

Africans sold into captivity came into the barracoons, or slave pens, at WHYDAH, GORÉE ISLAND, and other slave ports in West Africa a few at a time as they were brought from the interior to the coast. A slave ship might wait in port for a month or even the better part of a year before collecting enough slaves to continue the journey. The slaves were generally housed and fed ashore during that time, while the ship was being refitted to carry a human cargo. When the Africans were loaded aboard ship, a barrier was generally erected to block their last views of their homeland.

The crowded conditions aboard slave ships was so severe, the ventilation so poor, and the rations of rice, yams, or millet so limited that ship owners expected that 14 percent to 20 percent of their human cargo would die during the crossing. An estimated 10 to 12 million captive Africans reached the Americas after surviving the middle passage.

The causes of death were many. Despondent about being forced from their homes or fearful of the unknowns they might encounter at the end of the voyage, a number of the individuals committed suicide. In good weather the captives were allowed to sit on deck to get fresh air and exercise, during which time their quarters were cleaned and aired out. In bad weather, however, they were forced to remain below deck for days, seasick, amid excrement and vomit, in conditions that often led to death from dysentery and fever. Males were generally kept shackled to the deck or to one another to prevent mutiny, which was the fear of every captain whose vessel carried a human cargo. Attempted mutinies were viciously and quickly quelled, and the bodies of the mutineers thrown overboard.

The number of deaths in the middle passage often went unrecorded. They could be as few as four of the 207 captives from the Congo River region who were taken to Havana, Cuba, in 1835 aboard the Spanish ship *Amalia* or as many as 360 of the 560 human captives from MADAGASCAR destined for Cuba aboard the *Aguila Vengadora* in 1837 or the 702 Africans drowned while chained below deck aboard the *Leusden* near Surinam, in 1738.

Most of the Africans on board were destined for Portuguese Brazil or the hot, humid sugar plantations in the Caribbean. In the 18th century, for example, Spanish Cuba and Barbados, St. Christopher, the Bermudas, and Jamaica in the British-owned West Indies all required constant replenishment of their LABOR force. As many as 40 percent of the Africans brought directly into British North America were landed at Charleston, in South Carolina. They were held in quarantine on Sullivan Island in the harbor until they were sold in Charleston's slave market.

See also: SLAVERY (Vols. I, III, IV).

Mijikenda (Wanyika)   People inhabiting the East African coast of present-day KENYA not considered to be Swahili in language, culture, or economic activity. The name *Mijikenda,* meaning "Nine Towns," refers to the nine fortified centers, called *kayas,* occupied by these peoples, who include the Chonyi, Digo, Duruma, GIRIAMA, Jibana, Kauma, Kambe, Ribe, and Rabai.

Although oral traditions of both the Swahili and the Mijikenda maintain that the Mijikenda, like the POKOMO, originated in the town of SHUNGWAYA and migrated to their eventual homeland during the 16th century, the true origins of these peoples remains unknown. What is known is that, for centuries, they inhabited the hinterlands immediately beyond the narrow coastal band occupied by the Swahili.

Resisting conversion to Islam, the Mijikenda developed a culture that was at once independent and closely linked to that found on the SWAHILI COAST. Over the centuries, the Mijikenda enjoyed a client-group relationship with the Swahili. The Mijikenda provided the Swahili with protection from attacks by the MAASAI and OROMO. They also engaged in trade with various inland peoples, acting as intermediaries between those inland groups and the Swahili traders of the coast. In exchange for all this, they received a share of the profits enjoyed by the Swahili, whose extensive trade network carried inland goods to ports as far away as Arabia and India. The Mijikenda also received Swahili protection from attacks from the sea.

The arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century disrupted this relationship between the Mijikenda and Swahili. As more and more people fled the coast, moving inland to escape the Portuguese, the Mijikenda increased and grew more powerful. Building fortified areas, from which they could attack the coast, they soon began to assume a far more dominant role than they had in the past. By 1592, in some areas, they were even collecting tribute from the Portuguese.

In the years that followed, the Mijikenda grew even stronger. The Portuguese, however, consistently carried out a policy that included ambushes, looting, and raids to

take captives. These weakened the Mijikenda considerably, eventually forcing them to move further into the hill country beyond the coast.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Mindouli Town located in what is now western Republic of the CONGO known for its large deposits of copper. Mindouli was part of the LOANGO kingdom, which was founded prior to the 16th century but reached the height of its influence from the late 16th century to the late 17th century during the reign of kings from the Vili ruling clan. The MINING of copper in Mindouli was extremely profitable to the Loango, and the metal became a powerful symbol of wealth throughout the groups of the outlying savanna regions. Copper mined at Mindouli was formed into necklaces, bracelets, and other adornments, and then traded along with other items, such as raffia cloth and ivory, by the Vili merchants. In the 17th century the MINING operations at Mindouli were controlled by the neighboring TEKE people, but the export and trade of the copper that was mined was successfully retained by the Vili. Also at this time, the Loango kingdom had begun trading copper on a fairly large scale with the Dutch, which further expanded the wealth of the kingdom. The mining of copper was then increased, and by about 1660 a tradition had been established by which groups of coppersmiths and novice miners from the Niari valley would come to the Mindouli region and beyond to work the copper mines from September until the onset of the next year's dry season.

See also: COPPER (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

mining Minerals and metals such as salt, GOLD, copper, and iron have long been extracted from the earth. While mining for various materials had been commonplace in Africa for centuries, the advent of the Europeans helped boost mining, and the trade which resulted from it, by the 16th century and beyond.

One of the largest gold-producing regions was present-day GHANA. The abundance of gold mines in the region led the Europeans to dub the region the GOLD COAST. Prior to the 18th century the group most responsible for mining in the Gold Coast were the AKAN peoples of the forest regions who worked gold in such towns as BEGHO, as well as the states of BONO and BANDA. These areas became wealthy from the deposits they extracted and often used intermediaries from the Mande groups to trade the gold both with inland kingdoms as well as with the Europeans along the coast. In the early 18th century, however, the ASHANTI EMPIRE began to overtake these regions from the Akan and thereafter gained control of the

lucrative gold-mining industry until the area was colonized by the Europeans.

Elsewhere, between the 16th and 19th centuries gold mining was concentrated southwest of the ZAMBEZI RIVER, in MWENE MUTAPA territory. When trading their gold the people of Mwene Mutapa dealt mainly with Indian Ocean Muslim traders and, later, the Portuguese, primarily at SOFALA.

The mining of salt was another profitable economic venture for various regions, such as parts of present-day Republic of MALI, SOUTH AFRICA, ANGOLA, and ZIMBABWE. During the 16th century and earlier, salt was known to have been quarried into large slabs in such towns as Taghaza in what is now Republic of MALI and then shipped to TIMBUKTU and other trading centers where it was bartered for FOOD and cloth. Another group that engaged in the mining of salt in exchange for cereals and grain was the peoples of the SHONA KINGDOMS in present-day Zimbabwe. From the 16th to the 19th centuries the Shona, who lived in areas of low rainfall, used salt mining to gain the needed foodstuffs for sustainable living. This period also saw the salt mines at KISAMA become the major source of income for the SOTHO peoples located near the coastal region of present-day Angola who shaped their salt into blocks to trade both with the Portuguese and into the lands of the interior.

Metals such as copper and iron also made up a large segment of Africa's mining industry. As copper was often a symbol of wealth among many ethnic groups as well as currency for trade, the regions that could boast copper mines became wealthy and powerful. Two of the best examples were the MINDOULI and PHALABORWA MINES located in present-day Republic of the CONGO and South Africa, respectively. Governed by the Vili peoples of the LOANGO kingdom and then later controlled by the TEKE, Mindouli was an important source of both copper and iron for a 100 years beginning in the late 16th century. The copper mining industry at Mindouli benefited from a partnership between the Loango kingdom and Dutch traders, who sought to control the copper trade. The mines at Phalaborwa produced copper and iron since about the eighth century but became important from the 16th to the 19th centuries, when the Sotho dominated the metals industry in the Transvaal province of South Africa.

See also: COPPER (Vols. I, II); COPPER MINES (Vol. II); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); DIAMOND MINING (Vol. IV); IRON AGE (Vol. I); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. V); MINING (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SALT (Vol. I); SALT MINING (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II).

missionaries Individuals who spread religious doctrine in hopes of gaining converts.

Spreading Islam Muslim traders helped to spread Islam through West Africa along the trade routes, a pro-

cess that began in the early days of Islam in the seventh century and continued through the following centuries. With the traders often came scholars, called *malams,* who in 14th-century GHANA, for example, exerted influence on the local rulers by means of fortune-telling and the preparation of charms and amulets to promote healing and to bring success in battle. Islam was propagated in West Africa along the trade routes as late as the 18th when Islam reached the Ashanti people along IVORY COAST and began to win converts from among the traditional believers.

The concept of jihad can refer to a process of personal spiritual purification or to actual physical combat with unbelievers, apostates, and enemies of Islam in a war of conversion. The FULANI JIHADS of the 18th and 19th centuries led to the conversion of many traditional religionists and the return to fervor of many backsliding Muslims. Charismatic figures such as USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1815), who founded the SOKOTO CALIPHATE on the ruins of the SONGHAI Empire in present-day Mali, and the fundamentalist reformer Umar Tal (c. 1797–1864), who founded the TUKULOR empire in SENEGAMBIA, often led these bloody jihads.

The brotherhoods of the mystical Sufi movement within Islam gained many adherents in North Africa. It was largely through the preaching of wandering Sufi missionaries that Islam spread in sub-Saharan Africa. In the 14th century, when Sufi beliefs and practices began to permeate religious life in North Africa, these preachers were called marabouts. They espoused the teachings of Abu Madyan (1115–1198), from FEZ in MOROCCO, the most influential Sufi teacher in the formative period of Sufism in the MAGHRIB. His writings strongly influenced the practices of the QADIRIYYA and Shadhiliyya Sufi orders, or brotherhoods.

Spreading Christianity Christian missionary activity was dormant in North Africa after the rise of Islam in the seventh century. The exploration of the West African coast in the late 1400s led to a resurgence in missionary activity. Religious, commercial, and political interests, however, were frequently intertwined. After explorer Diogo Cão (fl. 1480s) sailed into the mouth of the Congo River in 1482, missionaries followed in 1491 with the purpose of converting the king. They built a church in the KONGO KINGDOM and baptized the *manikongo* (king) NZINGA NKUWU (r. c. 1490), who abandoned his new religion soon after converting. On Nzinga Nkuwu's death in 1506, the Portuguese installed his son, Nzinga Mbemba, baptized as AFONSO I (d. c. 1550), as *manikongo.* Afonso made Christianity the state religion and encouraged the Portuguese to convert his people. He also traded captives and ivory with the Portuguese to increase his wealth and prestige. However, as the Portuguese involvement in the trade in humans increased, relations between the two states faltered. Relations be-

tween the Kongo and neighboring peoples also soured because of Portuguese-sponsored raids against them.

Portuguese missionaries entered the kingdom of BENIN in the early 1500s in an attempt to convert the *oba,* or king. However, except for the adoption of the cross as a design in Benin sculpture, little further developed. Missionaries generally met with limited success in Africa. Many peoples felt alienated by the missionaries' denunciation of their religious and social customs. Others were angered at Europeans' role in the buying and selling of human beings. In the 1560s Portuguese missionaries first reached the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom in what is now ZIMBABWE and MOZAMBIQUE. There the people proved somewhat receptive to Christian doctrine. Most efforts were simply hindered by a lack of clergy.

Groups elsewhere in Africa proved more receptive to the work of the missionaries. Ethiopians, for example, welcomed a large contingent of Jesuit missionaries that remained in the country for centuries. These Ethiopians were already Christians but saw the Jesuit presence as a way to build alliances with the European powers. However, they resisted the Jesuits' attempts to convert them to standard forms of Roman Catholicism, preferring instead to maintain their own rites and liturgical practices.

The Roman Catholic Church undertook most mission work until about 1650. The Protestants showed little interest in Africa until the late 1700s, when groups in the United States, Great Britain, and northern Europe saw mission work as necessary to "civilize" the African peoples.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol II, III); JIHAD (Vol. II); MISSIONARIES (Vols. IV, V); SUFISM (Vols. II, III, IV).

Mogadishu Commercial port town and capital of the present-day country of SOMALIA, located on the BENADIR COAST, in northeast Africa. Mogadishu flourished as a center along the Indian Ocean trade routes into the 16th century. Between the 16th and 19th centuries the town was controlled by various Arabian, Somali, and Turkish forces until the era of European colonization in the 19th century.

Mogadishu was founded and populated by Arab, Persian, and Indian sea merchants. In addition to its maritime commercial activities, the town produced fine glass beads and COTTON weaving. In the 16th century Mogadishu was visited by several Portuguese explorers, including Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524). The mostly Muslim town was heavily populated and well protected, so the Portuguese did not try to mount an invasion, as they had done at other port cities on their way up Africa's east coast. In fact Mogadishu was the only town on the SWAHILI COAST that successfully avoided Portuguese occupation, even at the height of Portuguese influence in the 16th and 17th centuries. During that time, Mogadishu

was controlled by Islamic sultans, first under the Muzaffar dynasty and then, around 1581, under the Ottoman Turks. The Turks assumed control of the town by threatening ruin and destruction to those who would oppose them. At the time, Turkish naval might was widely respected, and in Mogadishu they faced little resistance.

During the early 1600s the population of the Mogadishu region swelled as Somali Hawaya clans began migrating there from northern regions, drawn by the town's peace and prosperity. By the middle of the century, though, waves of OROMO immigrants from ETHIOPIA had begun to displace the Hawaya nomads, many of whom migrated south in search of suitable pasture lands. Outlying coastal areas around Mogadishu were occupied by the Amarani, people of Arabian and Persian descent who settled in small fishing communities.

In the late 17th and early 18th centuries captives in bondage were brought to Mogadishu in great numbers, eventually comprising about one-third of the population. These captives were transported along caravan routes that ran from the African interior to the coastal towns of BRAVA and Marka, as well as Mogadishu. Many were Bantu-speaking farmers who worked the land that was owned by the wealthy trading families. By the 18th century their agricultural activity had expanded far into the Mogadishu hinterlands, or interior regions.

Like other settlements along East Africa's Swahili coast, Mogadishu was characterized by distinctly Arabic buildings and ARCHITECTURE. It had multi-story stone houses, lighthouse towers, and mosques with minarets that could be seen from afar. It also had a harbor fortified with walls of piled rocks and coral, a type of structure unfamiliar in other parts of Africa.

During the 1700s Mogadishu became the most important city on the Horn of Africa, not only for its continuing Indian Ocean trade but also as a center of Islamic influence. Islam had been a unifying force in the town for hundreds of years, but in the 18th and 19th centuries there was a renewed interest in the religion. Clerics who subscribed to the ascetic Islamic movement called SUFISM penetrated the Mogadishu hinterland, finding converts among the Oromo and Somali peoples who still practiced a traditional religion. The spread of Islam throughout the countryside made it easier for the OMANI SULTANATE of Muscat, in Arabia, to take control of Mogadishu in the 19th century.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); MOGADISHU (Vols. II, IV, V); OTTOMAN EMPIRE (Vol. III).

Mombasa Major trading city, located in present-day KENYA on the East African coast, situated mostly on Mombasa Island. After the fourth century, Mombasa saw a period of Arab settlement, during which the intermingling of Arabs with local inhabitants led to Swahili culture and language. From the eighth to the 16th centuries it was a thriving center for the Arab Indian Ocean trade in ivory and humans.

Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) stopped at Mombasa in 1498 on his way to India, and the city quickly came under Portuguese sway. On three different occasions they burned Mombasa, and in 1593 the Portuguese erected FORT JESUS as the headquarters for their East African operations. Portugal retained control of Mombasa until 1698, when the city was seized by the OMANI SULTANATE. The Portuguese regained control in 1729, holding it for a brief time until Mombasa came under the sway of the MASRUI rulers of ZANZIBAR, under whom the city remained until the mid-19th century.

See also: GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. II); MOGADISHU (Vols. IV, V); MOMBASA (Vol. II); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III); ZANZIBAR (Vol. III).

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money and currency In precolonial Africa objects used as money varied depending on the region and the traders involved in the markets. The period was characterized by the emergence of market-oriented trade, which, unlike barter or subsistence-based trade, necessitated the use of money.

For thousands of years most trade in Africa was conducted using the barter system, whereby one desired trade commodity was exchanged for an equal value of another desired commodity. The trading parties discussed the value of their goods until both sides were pleased with the exchange. By the 16th century, though, trade routes had become more extensive than ever before, and relations between distant trading partners required currency that might be used as a medium of exchange among traders in disparate markets across great geographical expanses.

Ideally the units of money they used had several characteristics: they were relatively uniform in size, they were dividable into smaller units for low-value purchases and to make change, and they were easily transported. For these reasons the most common currencies used in Africa included metals (especially GOLD, but also silver, copper, bronze, and iron), salt, cloth, and cowrie shells. In general the value of an object used as currency increased the further one got from its source. A few objects, like gold, cloth, and salt, were valuable throughout the continent at all times, but the use of different objects as

money created "currency zones." The zones did overlap and inter-penetrate, but what was valuable in one zone was often either worthless or too expensive to transport to another, limiting its usefulness. A notable exception was the western Sudan (at the western edge of what is now Republic of MALI), where three distinct zones converged: the metal zone of North Africa, the cowrie zone in sub-Saharan Africa to the west and south, and a mixed commodity zone (glassware, cloth, iron, and other items) along the Atlantic coast. Traders there had to be able to determine the value of currency in one zone and relate it to the value of the currencies of the other two zones.

The most stable and efficient currency zones used a "bar" system to determine the relative value of other currencies. After the 17th century, for instance, the abstract value of a healthy male was used as the bar within the West African zone, and the value of other currencies, such as cowries and gold, was expressed in relation to that bar. Bars varied depending on the region.

Muslim North Africa Unlike the currency zones of sub-Saharan Africa, the currency zone of North Africa used metal coins as money. (Gold dust and nuggets were commonly used all over Africa, but the use of minted coins was particular to the North African currency zone.) Mediterranean people in Europe and Asia used gold and silver coins from ancient times, and since North African Muslims and Arabs maintained close ties with these people, it was natural that those metals were used as money in regions north of the Sahara as well.

Whereas some religions disparage the use of money, it was commonly believed among Muslims that to trade was to emulate the prophet Muhammad. Writings in the Muslim holy book, the Quran, provide a set of rules for the use of money and for righteous behavior in trading and at markets. Coinage that was used in Islamic markets included the gold dinar and the silver *dirham.* The dinar was equal in value to the *mithqal,* a measured amount of gold dust that was used in the Sahel and parts of Islamic West Africa as well. Other items that were used as currency included salt from northern deposits along the coasts and grains from Sahelian farms. However, grains were not honored throughout all of North Africa, as they were perishable. The use of metal coins slowly penetrated sub-Saharan markets worked by Muslim traders, but even as late as the 19th century, the use of coins was largely restricted to North Africa.

In the late 17th century French traders were unsuccessful at introducing silver coins to the markets in Saint-Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal River. Although some African traders accepted the French coins as a commodity to be melted down and made into jewelry, the coins were generally not accepted as currency. The more widely accepted currency along the Senegal River at that time was the *guinee,* a standardized piece of Indian-made cloth introduced by Portuguese traders. A little further south,

in the Gambia region, British silver coins were sometimes accepted by Gambian groundnut exporters, who began to realize their value among other Europeans and in outlying Moorish markets to the north.

West Africa Another currency zone was the region stretching from the savanna to the coastal kingdoms in West Africa. Commonly accepted currencies in this region included salt, gold, glass beads, iron implements, and copper, but as of the 16th century, the most widely accepted currency for low-value transactions in this zone was cowries, the shells of a mollusk found in the Indian and Pacific oceans. It is not known if cowries were first brought to the area via land or sea routes. They may have been introduced by Islamic merchants in the Sudan, whose trading network stretched as far as the Indian Ocean coast. Or, they may have been introduced by European traders moving up the Atlantic coast of West Africa on their return trip along the Indian Ocean spice trade route. Either way, it seems that they were being circulated as money no later than the 15th century and perhaps as early as the eighth century. The Portuguese reported the heavy use of cowries in the kingdom of BENIN when they traded there early in the 16th century.

Cowrie shells were not a convenient form of currency for high-value transactions, such as bride-wealth payments. An anonymous Islamic historian described a transaction in which the receiver of a large payment of cowries ultimately lost money in the deal because it cost him more than the value of the payment to hire porters to carry such a great number of shells back to his village.

In YORUBALAND and the West African coastal kingdoms of DAHOMEY (and ALLADA and WHYDAH before it), cowries were the preferred currency beginning in the 16th century. Dahomey tradition does not mention any sort of currency in use before cowries in the 16th century, when Europeans began trading there. When European traders needed food for their trading stations, they were not able to barter for it, but instead had to sell their goods for cowries and then purchase provisions with them. Muslim traders came to the kingdom of Dahomey late, probably around the beginning of the 18th century, and quickly began using captives to purchase cowries from Europeans.

The arrival of greater numbers of Europeans in West Africa in the 16th century had a profound effect on the economic relations of the region. They brought with them the idea of extending credit—rarely done in most African economies prior to their arrival—as a regular practice. It

is thought that Dutch traders in the middle of the 17th century were the first to extend credit to African traders in Dahomey. By the end of the century the king of Dahomey made it his policy not to pay cash to Europeans, preferring credit represented by written "notes." Once the practice became common, the Dahomean kings saw the advantage of storing a small piece of paper over storing a mountain of shells. Paper notes also allowed the king to be more secretive about his true wealth if it served his purposes. In Allada the local traders did not use writing to record transactions but instead used knotted cords of different colors.

> **Dutch traders reported that African merchants in Dahomey who were unfamiliar with paper and writing were highly suspicious of the European promissory notes, checking them frequently to make sure that the writing hadn't disappeared, leaving them a worthless scrap of paper. Similarly, European traders were at first wary of trading their manufactured goods for shells until they saw that cowries were widely accepted as money throughout the region.**

Although there was no "banking system," West African kings often had special rooms in their royal compounds that were reserved for the storage and counting of the cowrie shells that they accumulated through taxation and tribute. In these rooms, larger amounts of shells were often strung to facilitate counting and transport.

Before the 19th century the relative value of cowries to gold remained steady at about 3,000 cowries to the *mithqal.* That ratio changed drastically, though, when Europeans began flooding the West African markets with thousands of pounds of cowrie shells early in the 18th century. The Dutch and Portuguese imported great amounts of cowries from the coastal regions of the Indian Ocean where the shells were simply harvested and sold cheap, using the shells to buy captive humans for export to the Americas. By the beginning of the 20th century the ratio was about 12,000 cowries to the *mithqal,* effectively ending the use of shells as currency.

Northern East Africa In the 16th century blocks of salt called *amolehs* were the most common form of currency on the plains of what is now ETHIOPIA and KENYA, in northern East Africa. Salt was important for cattle rearing and was also used to pay soldiers in the OROMO standing army. Pastoralist nomads in the eastern highlands of Ethiopia, as well as in the western Sahel, sometimes accepted cattle as currency to pay off debts and to buy captives or salt.

Swahili Coast Much of the trade on East Africa's SWAHILI COAST during the period was simple exchange of goods. Because of the Muslim and Arabian influence on the coast, however, metal coins were used at markets from the BENADIR COAST in SOMALIA to SOFALA in MOZAMBIQUE, perhaps as early as the 700s. Merchants in the Swahili city-states regularly conducted transactions with Arab, Persian, and Indian traders, all of whom used metal coins. Gold dust was also a widely accepted currency at Swahili markets.

The extreme southeastern region of the African continent around DELAGOA BAY was not a well-defined currency zone. Gold, ivory, and salt were highly valued trade items, but even after the arrival of Portuguese traders in the 16th century, and the Dutch and English in the 17th century, the trading system remained one of an exchange of goods rather than a money system.

The African Interior Similar to the southeastern region, the markets of the interior zone from present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO to ZAMBIA were primarily exchange markets, though some of the trade goods, such as gold, copper, salt, beads, and cloth, were accepted as currency on the outer fringes where the region converged with other currency zones. Ivory, which was produced in massive quantities in the African interior, was mostly an exchange item.

Up until the 19th century salt and iron were the bases of regional trade in central and western TANZANIA. While iron was traded in an area ranging from Lake Tanganyika to Usagara, salt was even more widely exchanged. The best salt in the region came from the Uvinza pans, where salt-working had apparently been carried out for more than 1,500 years. The salt from Uvinza was traded within an area extending from the southern end of Lake Malawi to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika and from the eastern CONGO to the Ruaha valley. Ugogo, in central Tanzania, was another source of salt, but its products were inferior to those of Uvinza.

> **The works that produced the iron for regional trade in Tanzania were located in the northwest, where the smelting process was firmly in the hands of just a few clans. The most common tool made from the iron was the hoe, which helped transform AGRICULTURE in the area. Hoes were traded so extensively that they actually became a widely accepted form of currency.**

Western Central Africa When the Portuguese arrived in present-day ANGOLA in the 16th century, the item they found most readily accepted as currency was salt.

The KISAMA salt mines, located to the south of LUANDA near the Kwanza River produced high-quality slabs that could be used to purchase other goods. A letter written by a Portuguese missionary from 1563 described how one block could purchase six chickens, three blocks could buy a goat, and about 15 blocks purchased a cow. By the beginning of the 19th century the salt slabs were being further processed down to foot-long bars about an inch in diameter, making for easier transportation into the Angolan hinterland, where the salt was also accepted as currency. Portuguese traders introduced tobacco from the Americas to the western Central African region in the late 16th or early 17th century, and bundles of cured tobacco leaves eventually became an accepted currency in the KONGO KINGDOM.

Paper money was widely used in Europe beginning in the 17th century, but the lack of centralized banking systems in sub-Saharan African kingdoms made paper money useless. Therefore, paper notes as currency were not circulated in Africa until the 19th century when the French, and later the Portuguese, Germans, and Italians, imposed their colonial banking systems on the indigenous markets.

See also: COPPER (Vols. I, II); COWRIE SHELLS (Vol. I); IVORY (Vol. II); MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vols. I, II, IV, V); SALT TRADE (Vol. II); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III).

Morocco North African country located in the MAGHRIB ("West" in Arabic), bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Morocco also borders ALGERIA and WESTERN SAHARA. Its population includes both the BERBERS, who were the original inhabitants of the region, and Arabs, who moved into the region during the seventh and eighth centuries. The Maghrib was converted to Islam by these Arab newcomers, and the region fell into the orbit of the Muslim world, where it has remained to the present. Located at the northern end of many trans-Saharan trade routes, the Maghrib has benefited commercially as the intermediary in trade, including the trade in humans, between Africa south of the Sahara and the states of Europe and the wider Muslim world. Most of the Maghrib fell to Ottoman expansion in the early 1500s, but Morocco maintained its independence.

The Islamic mystical movement called SUFISM was strong in North Africa among both the urban people of the coastal cities and the rural peoples of the interior. In Morocco, the Almohad empire of the 13th century, which supplanted the Almoravid empire of earlier centuries, was based on the religious reformist-fundamentalist teachings of Ibn Tumart (d. 1130), who proclaimed himself the long awaited Mahdi, or Muslim redeemer. At the apex of its power in the 15th century, the Almohad empire controlled not only Morocco but Muslim Spain as well. The Christian reconquest of Spain, culminating in

their victory at Grenada in 1492, resulted in the influx of many exiled Spanish Muslims and Jews into Morocco and the addition of Iberian elements into Moroccan life and culture.

With the fall of Muslim Spain came a shift in the balance of power, as Spain and Portugal became active in Moroccan affairs. Between 1471 and 1505, Portugal occupied the port cites of TANGIER and Agadir. Agadir remained in Portuguese hands until 1541, when it was won back by the Sadian king of Sus in southern Morocco. Tangier remained under Spanish and Portuguese control until 1662. It then fell into English hands—transferred there as part of the dowry of a Portuguese princess who married Charles II (1630–1685) of England—until it reverted to Moroccan control in 1684.

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European activity was not restricted to Morocco but extended further along the Mediterranean coast as well. In 1509 the Spanish established a garrison at ORAN in Algeria, a city to which many Spanish Muslims had fled while escaping forced conversion to Christianity. The city remained under the domination of the European powers until it fell to the Ottoman Empire in 1708. TRIPOLI in LIBYA was in Spanish hands from 1510 to 1551, when it became the capital of the new Ottoman province of Libya.

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The incursions of the Spanish and the Portuguese prompted a strong reaction among the Arab peoples of Morocco, and they rose in jihad (holy war) against them to found a new state in Morocco that lasted from 1511 to 1603. The leaders of this revolt, the Sadi family, claimed to be sharifs—direct descendants of the prophet Muhammad through Muhammad's son Ali. This ancient form of Islamic legitimacy and the acceptance and promotion of it by Sufi holy men preaching among the people gave the Sadi family the start it needed to attain power.

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Europeans called Morocco, Algeria, TUNISIA, and Libya the "Barbary states," and the part of the Mediterranean Sea they border was called the BARBARY COAST. The name *Barbary* is derived from the word *Berber,* the name of the original inhabitants.

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The SADIAN DYNASTY reached the height of its power under ABD AL-MANSUR (1578–1603), who with Turkish and

Spanish help established Morocco's first standing army and equipped them with firearms from Europe. He led this army against the Muslim SONGHAI Empire in 1591 because an expansionist Songhai, in what is now Republic of MALI, was competing too strongly with Morocco for control of the trans-Saharan trade routes. Moroccan firearms frightened the Songhai cavalry, which fled the field, leaving Morocco free to capture TIMBUKTU, Gao, JENNE, and other key centers of Songhai strength. Morocco ruled Songhai as a vassal state for 40 years.

Conflict after the death of al-Mansur led to the division of Morocco into a number of feuding principalities. They were united in 1668 by the Alawite dynasty—another sharif family—from the town of SIJILMASA. With the help of strong Arab support, the affirmation of the Sufi holy men, and the legitimacy that sharifian descent provided, the Alawites under their founder Mawlay al-Rashid (d. 1672), began their rise to power in 1664. They seized FEZ from the powerful Dila Sufi brotherhood and ruled as absolute monarchs. Al-Rashid died in an accident before he could solidify his holdings; his half-brother, MAWLAY ISMAIL (r. 1672–1727), assumed the throne and completed the reunification of Morocco with the help of an expensive-to-maintain army of black Africans. These soldiers were said to be descendants of the prisoners of war that were brought to Morocco after its victory over Songhai.

Ismail's army, which was equipped with European firearms and artillery, was called the Abid al-Bukhari. At its height it numbered 150,000 men, of whom about 70,000 were kept as a strategic reserve. Although he hated the Europeans as infidels, he needed their armaments and other products for his soldiers. To challenge Spain over its settlements in Morocco, he cultivated the friendship of Spain's enemy, French king Louis XIV (1638–1715). As a result of this friendship, French officers trained his artillery, and France received commercial benefits. Ismail's palace at Meknès, the political and military capital of Morocco from 1675 to 1728, was designed to resemble Versailles, the royal palace of the monarchs of France.

Dynastic struggles after Mawlay Ismail's death led to 50 years of political instability and economic decline. The country regained stability and began a period of economic recovery during the reign of Muhammad ibn Abd Allah (1757–1790) and his successor as sultan, Mawlay Sulayman (1792–1822). The French occupation of present-day Algeria in 1830 and European political and economic pressure on Morocco after 1800 led to a diminishing of Moroccan power.

See also: ALMOHADS (Vol. II); ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV); MAHDI (Vol. II); MOROCCO (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Rahma Bourgia and Susan Gilson Miller, *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Pol-*

itics in Morocco (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Thomas Kerlin Park, *Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996).

Mossi States (Moshe, Moose, Mohe, Mosi)

Confederation of states, including YATENGA, FADA-N-GURMA, Nanumba, OUAGADOUGOU, MAMPRUSI, Tenkodogo, and DAGOMBA located in present-day GHANA and BURKINA FASO. Between 1500 and 1800 the Mossi States controlled territories in the region south of the Niger bend.

Twentieth-century wood sculpture of a Mossi ancestor figure. The Mossi States, which flourished from the middle of the 16th century through 1895, centered around the headwaters of the Volta River. © Bowers Museum of Cultural Art/Corbis

According to Mossi tradition, their ancestors were cavalrymen who invaded the Volta River basin from the south, conquering the indigenous Dogon, Lela, Kurumba, and Nuna peoples. Though each of the states that make up the Mossi confederation was established prior to 1500, the foundation of formal political alliances between them dates to later in the 16th century.

By 1450 Ouagadougou, in present-day central Burkina Faso, had become the center of Mossi political authority. Mossi social organization was a strict hierarchy of nobles, commoners, and retainers in slave status. The sacred kings, or *nakomse,* of the Mossi States had to be the direct descendants of the original invaders. In exchange for tribute and gifts, the *nakomse* offered protection from hostile invaders. Nakomse were aided by a trusted group of chief advisers, or *naba.* The *nyonyose,* or peasant class, were descendants of the conquered farmers, who were allowed to continue to farm the land and practice their traditional religion, but they were forced to pay taxes, serve in the military, and learn Moré, the Mossi language.

The *mogho naba* (great king), of the Mossi confederation ruled from Ougadougou. From the founding of the Mossi confederation, *mogho nabas* allowed Muslim traders to pass through their lands, but they were especially careful to maintain the unity of their kingdoms by preserving indigenous religion and culture. Their efforts allowed the Mossi States to successfully resist a series of invasions by the Songhai and FULANI in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries.

The Mossi are well known for their ART, which incorporates both political and spiritual themes. The creation of wooden figures by the *nakomse* are used to validate their political power, while the *nyonyose* fashion wood masks to honor the spirits of nature.

During the 17th century the number of minor Mossi kingdoms increased as the confederation enjoyed remarkable stability, and trade in the region became more impor-

Mossi and Akan States c. 1600
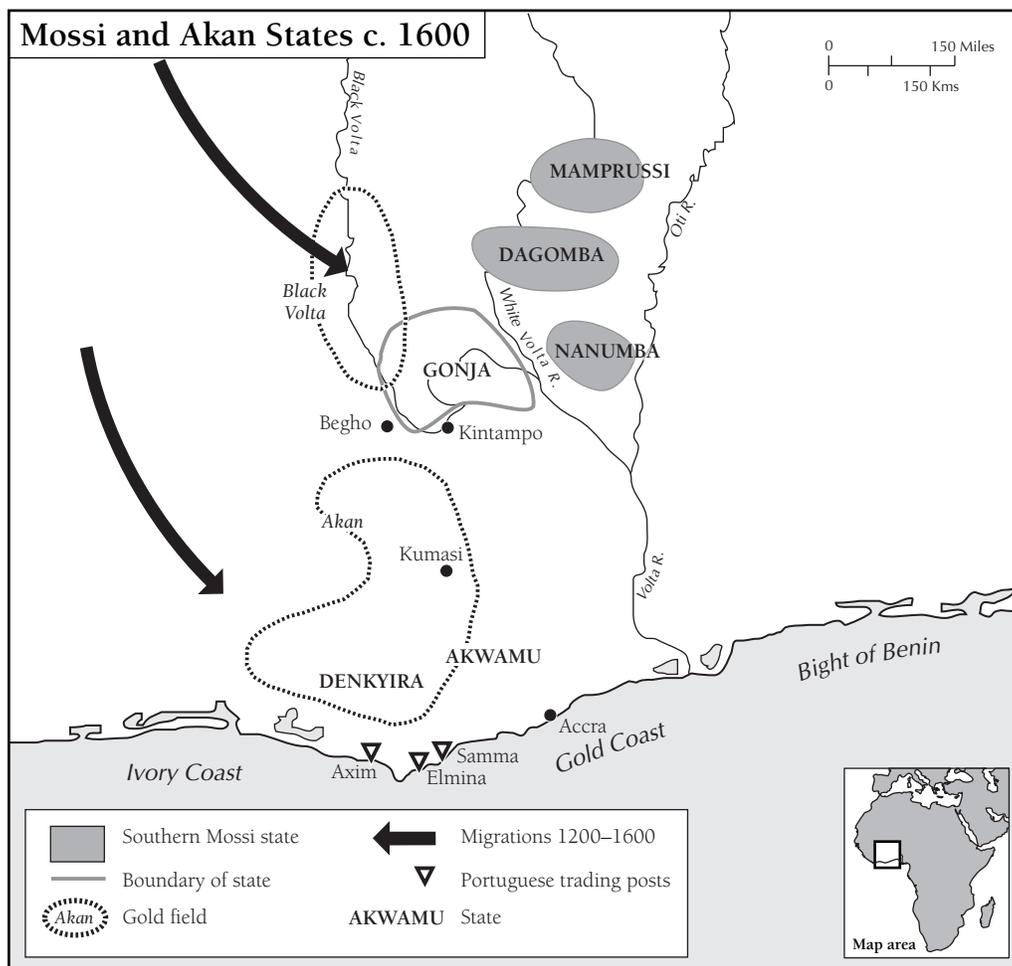
tant. Mossi trading outposts lay along trans-Saharan routes, and merchants traded their captives, iron tools, livestock, and agricultural goods for kola nuts, salt, and dried fish.

By the end of the 18th century the Mossi States were no longer as tightly unified as they had been, and their power began to wane. Trade had allowed outside influences to infiltrate the kingdom, and years of instability had pushed many of the former Mossi tributaries to declare independence from the central rule of Ouagadougou. Islam became the religion of the people sometime around 1800, when Mogho Naba Dulugu (r. c. 1796–1825) converted. The period of European (especially French) colonization that began in earnest toward the middle of the 19th century marked the end of the Mossi confederation as a regional power.

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); MOSSI STATES (Vols. II, IV); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); VOLTA RIVER (Vol. II).

Mozambique

Mozambique   Present-day country on Africa's southern Indian Ocean coast. Mozambique measures approximately 297,800 square miles (771,300 sq km) and is bordered by SOUTH AFRICA and SWAZILAND to the southwest, ZIMBABWE and ZAMBIA to the west, MALAWI to the northwest, and TANZANIA to the north.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the late 15th century, the ZAMBEZI RIVER was already a well-developed commercial waterway for the transport of ivory and GOLD from the interior to the SWAHILI COAST ports of INHAMBANE, MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND, and SOFALA. The region was inhabited by Bantu-speaking groups such as the Tonga, MAKUA, and YAO. These peoples were typically agrarian and stateless, but their societies became more organized as they increasingly turned away from AGRICULTURE to become more active as hunters as the coastal demand for ivory and animal hides increased.

In the 16th century the arrival of Portuguese seafaring merchants radically altered the nature of trade in the area. When they realized the profits to be made from the great amounts of gold and ivory that were being traded locally, the Europeans began violently forcing the coastal Arab merchants to leave the ports. They also attempted to force African gold suppliers on the interior, including the MWENE MUTAPA traders, to deal exclusively with them, with mixed success.

Although they created much resentment among the local peoples, by the end of the 17th century the Portuguese traders had established trading forts up and down the Swahili Coast and as far south as MAPUTO. Because of the fierce resistance they met in the northern interior, especially from the ZIMBA people, the Portuguese settled mostly along the coast. However, Portuguese traders also settled throughout the Zambezi River valley, especially near the trading centers of SENA and TETE. These settlers often began families with African wives. They also used African workers to grow their crops, transport their trade goods to the fairs, and protect their landholdings, called PRAZOS. In the course of their activities, the prazeros started what would become known as the mestizo, or "mixed," culture of Mozambique. Some of the prazeros grew rich and powerful trading gold and ivory.

However, as the gold and ivory trades dwindled because of the disruption caused by the Portuguese incursions, many of the prazeros turned to the trade in human captives to make a living. The captives, most of whom were shipped to the Portuguese colonies in the Americas were largely supplied by Yao slave traders, who used firearms purchased from Arab arms dealers in slave raids on peoples from the interior. The extensive presence of Portuguese settlers in Mozambique led Portugal to declare the region a colony in the middle of the 18th century.

In the middle of the 19th century waves of NGONI peoples fleeing ZULU expansion came north from the Natal region of present-day South Africa to settle in the interior. The Ngoni clashed often with the Portuguese colonists, but their resistance was not enough to dissuade Portugal from further establishing its colonial presence.

See also: MOZAMBIQUE (Vols. I, II, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); QUELIMANE (Vol. III); SABI RIVER (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Further reading: Mario Joaquim Azevedo, Historical Dictionary of Mozambique (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2003).

Mozambique Island

Mozambique Island   Coral island located off of the mainland coast of East Africa, across the Mozambique Channel from the island of MADAGASCAR. Beginning in the 16th century Mozambique Island served as a Portuguese trading outpost and commercial center and was the capital of Portuguese East Africa until the 19th century. The present-day country of MOZAMBIQUE was named after this island.

From the 10th through the 15th centuries Mozambique Island was used as a port by Zanj and Swahili traders along the SWAHILI COAST. Then, in 1498, Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama landed on Mozambique Island while mapping the southern route to India. Recognizing the need for a safe port between the trading centers of KILWA, to the north, and SOFALA, to the south, the Portuguese established Mozambique Island as a trade settlement around 1505. Under the direction of Francisco de Almeida, the island became a stopover for the Portuguese merchants on the Indian spice route as well as a trading center for those Portuguese traders who were active in the established ivory and GOLD trade and the trade in human beings.

Portuguese activity in the area disrupted the established Muslim-controlled coastal trade, leading to several confrontations. With their powder, arms, and larger vessels, the Portuguese rather easily established superiority in the area. Because of its strategic location, Mozambique Island was becoming a busy Indian Ocean port, handling more merchandise than even Sofala, and by 1522 the Portuguese had begun building St. Sebastian's Fort in order to protect their interests.

Between 1600 and 1608 the Portuguese moved to monopolize the increasingly lucrative trade fairs in the area. First they forged agreements with the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom, which controlled inland trade routes in the area. Then they secured MOMBASA, another Indian Ocean port to the north. This action effectively cut off Arab merchants from the protection of their northern allies, thereby strengthening Portuguese control of the coastal routes.

Despite their military and naval might, the Portuguese at this time were reluctant to penetrate areas beyond Mozambique Island, to the north of the ZAMBEZI RIVER, which were occupied by the powerful MARAVI peoples. Instead they acquired land from the Mwene Mutapa kingdom, in Zambezia, and instituted the *PRAZOS* system, a semifeudal arrangement that allowed Portuguese settlers to run their leased estates as they saw fit. The *prazos* system resulted in the dissolution of the Mwene Mutapa kingdom by the end of the 17th century.

During the 17th and 18th centuries Portuguese interest in the area intensified, but the hard living conditions, the long distance from the Portuguese homeland, and the difficulty of realizing a quick profit from their trading activities made it an increasingly unattractive place for settlement. Most Portuguese trading activity during this period was limited to fairs conducted with peoples from the interior along the lower Zambezi River. After about 1750, the Portuguese began to intensify gold MINING and trading in the area, trying to participate in the BISA TRADING NETWORK, which also moved large amounts of ivory to the coast for export.

By the beginning of the 19th century the Portuguese were using Mozambique Island as a port for sending large numbers of Africans to their colonies in the Americas, especially Brazil.

See also: GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. II); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Mpondo (Pondo)   NGUNI people who have inhabited the area between the Mtata and Mtamvuna rivers in present-day SOUTH AFRICA for nearly two centuries. The Mpondo were forced to flee their homelands during the MFECANE, a series of ZULU military campaigns begun in the 1820s. Chief Faku reorganized the Mpondo and established an agricultural state west of the Mzinvubu River between present-day Durban and Port Edward.

Good trade relations with the Europeans coupled with increased agricultural productivity created a seemingly stable Mpondo nation. However, internal conflict among rival clans made the Mpondo vulnerable to European conquest. Mpondo territories, coveted for their agricultural richness as well as for grazing lands, were overtaken by the British and incorporated into CAPE COLONY in 1894.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SHAKA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Timothy Joseph Stapleton, *Faku: Rulership and Colonialism in the Mpondo Kingdom c. 1760* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001).

Mpongwe   West African people inhabiting the coastal regions of the present-day countries of GABON, CAMEROON, and EQUATORIAL GUINEA. Although the exact timeframe is unknown, the Mpongwe migrated to their present-day location throughout the first millennium. During these migrations the Mpongwe split into multiple clans, each headed by an *oga*, or chief. These early Mpongwe were farmers, fishers, hunters, and skilled artisans who traded among themselves.

With the increase of European coastal trade in the 16th century, the Mpongwe assumed a new role as mediators in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. This relationship with European merchants allowed the Mpongwe to prosper. Despite a smallpox epidemic that cut the Mpongwe population in half during the early 19th century, the Mpongwe continued to be a powerful force in coastal West Africa.

See also: DISEASE IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III).

Mshweshwe (Moshesh, Moshoeshoe)   (1786-1870) *Founder and king of the Sotho nation*

Mshweshwe united SOTHO refugees fleeing the Zulu-led MFECANE (the crushing). During the early 19th century he relocated his people to an impenetrable mountain plateau at THABA BOSIU, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA. He then engaged in wars against both Britain and the BOERS, who were attempting to colonize southern Africa.

Ultimately the Sotho were not powerful enough to prevent encroachment upon their lands. In order to prevent the Boers and other Europeans from settling Sotho lands, Mshweshwe sought British protection in 1868. The region officially became a British protectorate and was renamed Basutoland.

See also: BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Mswati I (Mswazi) (1820–1868) *Chief of the Ngwane; one of the founding fathers of the Swaziland state*

In 1750 the Ngwane people left the area around MA-PUTO in present-day MOZAMBIQUE and moved southward settling in the northern part of the ZULU empire. However, they were unable to compete with the Zulu militarily, so in the 1800s they moved just north of the land claimed by the Zulu establishing what is today SWAZILAND. In the 1840s Mswati I assumed leadership of the Ngwane, who came to be known as the SWAZI, taking their name from a variation on Mswati's name.

Muhammad Ali (Muhammad Ali Pasha; Mehmet Ali) (1769–1849) *Founder of the modern Egyptian state*

Originally from Albania, Muhammad Ali arrived in EGYPT in 1798, assisting the Ottoman Empire in driving French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) out of its Egyptian province. Following a protracted political struggle in CAIRO, in 1806 the Cairenes invited Muhammad Ali to become Egypt's viceroy, or governor, for the Ottoman Empire.

Under Muhammad Ali, Egypt began transforming itself into a modern nation able to compete with European powers in TRADE AND COMMERCE. He built a canal between Alexandria and the Nile to expedite the movement of goods. To improve the ECONOMY he forced a systematization of imports and exports. In AGRICULTURE he introduced the cultivation of hemp and COTTON and then built textile mills to process it. He built steel mills to support his industrial complex.

Regarding education, he invited European instructors to teach the best students who would then go to European countries for higher education. He introduced an educational system of schools and colleges, and promoted literacy by supporting publishing houses.

In government, Muhammad Ali formulated a new constitution, implemented a new system of taxation, and introduced health legislation. He constructed a new military complex to strengthen Egypt's armed forces. The new army was a civilian army, raised by conscript, that trained Egyptian peasants.

Besides being a crafty statesman, Muhammad Ali also displayed formidable talent as a military technician. He put down the Greek rebellion against the Ottomans in 1821 and then led Egypt to military victories that earned him greater autonomy within the Ottoman Empire. His successes did not go unnoticed, however, as the European powers—Britain, France, and Russia, in particular—moved to check Egyptian expansion. Muhammad Ali's Egypt continued as a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire, although the pasha enjoyed much autonomy and even managed to make the leadership of Egypt a hereditary right to be passed on to his son, Ibrahim Pasha.

See also: ISMAIL, KHEDIVE (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Muhammad Bano, Askia (Muhammad IV Bani) (r. 1586–1588) *Grandson of Muhammad Touré and eighth askia of the Songhai Empire*

Upon the death of Askia DAUD, in 1582, al-Hajj Muhammad II (r. 1582–1586) was chosen by his brothers to succeed their father as the seventh *askia,* in spite of the fact that Askia Daud had wanted his eldest son, Muhammad Benkan, to take the throne. Like many *askias* before him, however, al-Hajj felt threatened by his other brothers and treated them harshly. His fears were not unfounded. In 1586 he was dethroned in favor of another brother, Muhammad Bano.

Though Bano's brothers elected him as their eighth *askia,* they disliked his leadership and set into motion a plan to overthrow him. Askia Bano quickly uncovered the conspiracy and disciplined all those who had betrayed him.

In 1588 another plot against Askia Bano was developed. This time it came from the western SONGHAI provinces, and it was led by al-Sadduk, the *balama* from TIMBUKTU. Askia Bano perished unexpectedly on the same day he sent the Songhai troops to deal with the dissidents.

Bano's brother Ishaq II (r. 1588–1591) was chosen as successor, becoming the ninth *askia* of the Songhai Empire. He immediately began to deal with al-Sadduk, who had been designated by his army as the next *askia.* After killing al-Sadduk, Ishaq took a firm stand with the western provinces, but the civil war upset the stability and power that the Songhai Empire had previously enjoyed. As a result, Songhai became vulnerable to the Moroccans, who invaded in 1591.

See also: ASKIA DYNASTY (Vol. III); MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vol. II).

Muhammad Bello (c. 1781–1837) *Sultan of the Sokoto Caliphate and son of Fulani religious leader Usman dan Fodio*

Led by FULANI cleric USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), and commanded by both Muhammad Bello and his uncle, Abdullahi dan Fodio (c. 1756–1828), the FULANI JIHADS (holy wars) began in 1804. They became widely successful attempts to convert the regional peoples from a variation of the Muslim RELIGION mixed with more traditional rituals and practices to the *sharia,* a more pure form of Islamic law. The main result of the jihad was the formation of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, a vast empire formed from such conquered kingdoms as the HAUSA STATES.

Initially the caliphate was ruled by Usman dan Fodio (also known as the *Shehu,* or "Chief"). At his retirement

from the jihad movement in 1812, Muhammad Bello was given the northern and eastern emirates to govern, while Abdullahi dan Fodio was given the emirates to the south and west. Upon the Shehu's death in 1817, Muhammad Bello was granted his father's title as *amir al-muminin* (commander of the faithful) of Sokoto.

A religious scholar who published works on law, SCI-ENCE, history, and the Muslim faith, Muhammad Bello adamantly continued the work of the jihad. His major accomplishments in this included converting further territories to Islam and enlarging the borders of the caliphate. Bello's success as the leader of Sokoto allowed both trade and learning to flourish. This was especially true in the area of education for women, which he believed to be important for any learned Muslim society.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III).

Muhammad Touré, Askia (r. 1493–1528) *Ruler of the Songhai Empire in West Africa*

Askia Muhammad Touré assumed the throne of the SONGHAI Empire in 1493 after the death of Sunni Ali (1464–1492), the leader of the Sunni dynasty. He established Islam as the official state RELIGION, and he consolidated the region of west-central Sudan into one political unit.

Muhammad controlled a vast area, with lands, according to some sources, extending to the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the salt mines of Taghaza to the northwest, to Bendugu in the southwest, and to Busa in the southeast. He also gained control of trade routes that stretched to Tripoli and EGYPT. In time Muhammad subdued the Mossi state of Yatenga, and his army established a colony in the Tuareg sultanate on the Aïr Massif, giving him access to the caravan markets to the north.

Oral tradition has it that Muhammad was able to communicate with the *jinni,* spirits that have supernatural powers, such as the ability to change shapes. Some sources claim that the *jinni* were responsible for the appointment of Muhammad to caliphate. Oral traditions from a later period assert that Muhammad even became a *jinni* himself.

Muhammad spent much of his time in Gao, the capital, organizing his state. He created a complex system of tithes and taxes, initiated regulations for AGRICULTURE, and arranged for the selection and training of regional governors. He also established Islam as the official religion of the Songhai nobility. Among his other acts was to create for his brother Umar (fl c. 1518) a powerful position and

title—*kurmina fari*—allowing Umar to govern the western provinces and to act for Muhammad in the ruler's absence.

Muhammad's reign ended in 1528 when his son Musa (r. 1528–1531) took power by means of a series of successful plots. Ultimately Muhammad was banished to an island, remaining there until 1537, when his son Askia Ismail (r. 1537–1539) came to power and recalled his father to the capital.

Further reading: David Conrad, *The Songhay Empire* (New York: F. Watts, 1998); Thomas A. Hale, ed.; recounted by Nouhou Malio with the assistance of Mounkaila Maiga [et al.], *The Epic of Askia Mohammed* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1996).

Muradid dynasty (Muradite) From 1631 to 1702, ruling family of the nominally independent Ottoman province of TUNISIA in North Africa. Instead of using the traditional Ottoman civil title *dey* to denote their status as ruler, the Muradids adopted the military title *bey* in respect of their origin as local military commanders. In principle, they ruled in the name of the Ottoman sultan; in practice, Istanbul had little control over ALGIERS, Tunisia, and TRIPOLI.

The dynasty was established by the descendants of a soldier named Murad Corso (r. 1628–1631) who came from the island of Corsica (then under the control of Genoa), in the Mediterranean Sea, northwest of Tunisia. Corso was known to have formed a powerful army that defeated the unruly ethnic groups to the south. These campaigns put him in favor with Murad IV (1612–1640), the reigning Ottoman sultan. The sultan honored Corso in 1631 by granting him the nonhereditary title of pasha and giving him the right to confer the title of bey on his heirs. This made the House of Murad relatively independent of the power of the local deys, or leaders of the COR-SAIRS in ALGERIA, who, in years to come and in years past, kept trying to intervene in Tunisian affairs.

The Muradids gained approval by identifying with the people by seeing themselves as Tunisian. (This was something that the Ottoman deys never did.) They brought both the urban merchants and the rural peoples into their government and, despite periods of local unrest, countered Algerian ambitions in the region.

European economic interests dominated Tunisia during Mudadid era. With the curtailment of corsair activity along the BARBARY COAST and because of poor harvests inland, the Muradid beys were forced to depend on European trade. They signed commercial agreements with France in 1662, 1672, and 1685 giving France substantial privileges. The beys had some success controlling the Tunisian side of this trade by creating government monopolies, but European traders dominated the economy. The Muradid dynasty ended in 1702, giving way to the HUSSEINID DYNASTY, which came to power in 1705.

music   The traditional sources that historians have relied on to understand the various influences as well as the social, political, and religious role that music has had on African societies include ARCHAEOLOGY, illustrations, oral history, writings, and, more recently, musical notations and sound recording.

Archaeological sources include bronze plaques and iron findings such as lamellophones, or bells. Archaeologists have been able to place the introduction of the *dundun* pressure drum to the western savanna around the 15th century thanks to the illustrations on plaques discovered in the present-day BENIN CITY, in NIGERIA. Excavations have also dated the use of three kinds of bells (the double iron clapperless bell, the pellet bell, and the tubular bell with clappers) to the 15th century. These bells have been found in the KATANGA region of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, as well as in parts of ZIMBABWE.

The artistic depictions of musical instruments such as horns, bells, drums, and bow lutes on bronze plaques have been an important source for historians in documenting African music traditions, particularly in terms of their ceremonial or religious significance. Also available to historians, from the 15th century onwards, are the illustrations of travelers and explorers such as Dutchman Jan Huvghen van Linschoten (1563–1611), whose work is the first documented proof of the existence of mouth-bows along the coast of MOZAMBIQUE, in southeast Africa, in the 16th century. Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi (unknown–1692) produced several watercolors in the 17th century during his visits to the Central African Atlantic coast kingdoms of KONGO, NDONGO, and MATAMBA. From the work of travelers like Van Linschoten and Cavazzi, much can be learned about the culture, playing methods, and tuning layout of African musical instruments and the periods in which they recorded their observations.

European musical notations made in the 18th and 19th centuries are not entirely reliable as historical sources. While they offer the musicologist an approximate idea of what the sound was like, the music cannot be directly produced from notations, as the Western system fails to address or encompass the full nature of African music. In addition the musical interpretation from one listener to another is so subjective that it is impossible to give an accurate account of African music based solely on these notations.

Like many aspects of African life, African music has always been affected by both external and internal influences, such as migration patterns, trade, politics, economics, war, religious and cultural shifts, clashes or assimilation, climate fluctuations, NATURAL RESOURCES, population growth or decline, and ecological factors.

African migrations took place for a variety of reasons. People traveled great distances in search of new land or prosperity. Many were forced out of their own regions by invasions and war as well as from changes in the climate. For instance, ethnic groups migrated southward when the Sahara dried up, circa 3000 BCE, and when they moved, they brought with them and were introduced to new forms and styles of music, instruments, and dance. When the MAASAI migrated many centuries later, their vocal songs had a profound effect on the vocals of the Gogo of central TANZANIA, as is demonstrated in their *nindo* and *msunyunho* chants. Likewise, migrations that took place in the 17th century were responsible for bringing lamellophones with iron keys from the ZAMBEZI RIVER valley to locations as far north as the Lunda kingdom of KAZEMBE and the Luba province of KATANGA, and as far west as ANGOLA. The limitations of traveling affected the style and design of these instruments and they eventually were made smaller so they were easier to transport.

Historians are also able to use, albeit in a limited and indirect way, information about African music from locations outside of Africa, most significantly in Latin America. Between the 18th and 19th centuries Europeans did not have access to areas such as inland Angola and Mozambique but were able to study the music and instruments that Africans brought with them to the New World. For instance, there is a link between 18th and 19th century *orisha* worship of the Yoruba of present-day Nigeria and the music of the Candomble religious cult in Brazil in South America.

African music not only influenced music on other continents but itself was influenced by people arriving from other parts of the world. *Goombay*, a drum dance from the Maroons of Jamaica, was brought to SIERRA LEONE in 1800 when the British settled Maroon rebels there. Eventually *goombay* infiltrated into areas of present-day GHANA, Nigeria, BURKINA FASO, Republic of MALI, IVORY COAST, and CAMEROON. Colonialism brought marching bands to West Africa in the 19th century.

Islamic musical influences resulted from the trans-Saharan trade in West Africa and from Indian Ocean trade in East Africa. The Muslim people of northern ETHIOPIA can trace their musical heritage from their interaction with Muslims on the Red Sea coast. Further south, Arabian music and instruments, such as the guitar-like *oud,* were commonplace on the SWAHILI COAST. In central southern Africa, the NGUNI and SOTHO musical traditions incorporated Khoisan bows, songs, and dances.

Powerful kingdoms and states had a great impact on the cultural traditions of music. For example, the Turks of the Ottoman Empire standardized the use of oboes, long trumpets, and barrel drums in court ensembles. Musicians, and particularly bards and the griots of West

Africa, have long held prestigious roles within African society. Through oral and musical traditions they would pass on to the next generation the histories of their ancestors. They also provided advice or counsel to the king. It was often the "talking drummer" who relayed messages to the monarchy about the state of the empire, such as plans for the abdication of the king.

See also: DRUMS (Vol. I); GRIOT (Vol. II); MUSIC (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

musumba Word used to describe the royal center of the LUNDA EMPIRE, which began in the 16th century and was located east of the lower Kasai River in what is now southern Democratic Republic of the CONGO. *Musumba* derives from the Bantu word for a center of royal activity.

Each Lunda ruler, or *mwata yamvo,* assembled his court in the *musumba,* a region that was surrounded by a moat and earthen wall. Within the *musumba* were neatly laid out roads, public squares, and several courtyards enclosed by stakes. These areas served both political and ritual functions, including royal burials.

The king and his council, or *citentam,* ruled from the *musumba.* The council was made up of ritual titleholders, military officials, representatives of the Lunda colonies, and other administrators. Here the *mwata yamvo* received tribute from his territories, coordinated Lunda trade, and directed the empire's expansion.

The *musumba* was situated on the route along which the Lunda transported captives abducted on raids against neighboring peoples. The *mwata yamvo* conducted raids to the north and northeast, including the Luba. Beginning in the 17th century, captives were either brought to the capital to work the Lunda fields or sold into the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE on the coast.

mwami Head of the TUTSI political structure; believed to be of divine lineage. According to Tutsi mythology, three children were born in heaven and placed on earth by accident. One of these children, Kigwa, was the founder of the most powerful Tutsi family and the being to whom the Tutsi *mwamis* have traditionally traced their beginnings. As early as the 1300s the Tutsi, who were always a pastoralist, or cattle-raising, people, began to settle throughout present-day RWANDA and BURUNDI, an area that had been occupied by the HUTU people for centuries. Because they possessed cattle and had superior skills in warfare, the Tutsi slowly gained political control over the Hutu. By the 1800s the Hutu were completely under Tutsi rule.

The *mwami* was at the top of the Tutsi political, economic, and social pyramid, presiding as king in the Tutsi's monarchical society. The *mwami* controlled all affairs of the state and eventually took possession of all

Hutu land. Therefore, a contractual relationship, called the *ubuhake*, was formed between the Hutu and Tutsi. Under this system the Hutu became indentured servants in exchange for the use of Tutsi land and cattle. This feudal system was so strong that it remained intact through the period of German and Belgian colonial rule that lasted from the late 19th century well into the 20th.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RUANDA-URUNDI (Vol. IV).

Mwari The high god of the Shona people of present-day ZIMBABWE, considered a fertility god and rain-giver. Elaborate Mwari worship practices were an expression of the shared values and beliefs of the Shona people and also served to centralize their religious authority in the oracle at the main Mwari shrine, which was located near present-day Fort Victoria. Mwari worship practices continue to this day.

According to the tradition of the ROZWI people, a Shona subgroup that came to rule Zimbabwe about the beginning of the 18th century, the Mbire clan, from whose ranks the Mwari priests came, migrated south from the Lake Tanganyika region in the 14th century. (There is still a religious tradition surrounding a rain god named "Muali" in the Tanganyika region.) The cult gained strength after that as Shona monarchs attempted to unify the diverse tribes in the area south of the ZAMBEZI RIVER. Later, in the late 17th century, Rozwi kings conquered the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom of Zimbabwe, located to the south of the Zambezi River, and instituted the Mwari worship practices.

Neither male nor female, Mwari is considered a fertility god and rain-giver. Mwari's multiple functions are indicated by the various praise-names that are used to invoke the god during worship ceremonies. *Dzivaguru,* the most common praise-name, means "great pool" and refers directly to Mwari's ability to send rain to the people; *Mbuya* means "grandmother"; *Zendere* is Mwari's emanation as a young girl; *Sororezhou* means "head of the elephant" and probably refers to Mwari's manifestation as a clap of thunder; *Nyadenga* means "possessor of the sky"; *Wokumusoro* means "the one above"; and *Musikavanhu* means "creator of humankind."

At Zimbabwe the Rozwi's Mwari worship tradition was combined with the preexisting ancestor-worshiping rituals of the people of Mwene Mutapa. That tradition centered on a figure named Chaminuka, who evolved

into the "Son of Mwari," although the two religious systems retained their individual identities and traditions. Mwari was certainly important, but the spirits of ancestors were considered even more powerful than Mwari in traditional Shona religious practices.

Although the date and reason for moving the shrine are not certain, the Rozwi kings relocated the main Mwari shrine from its original place north of Zimbabwe, at present-day Fort Victoria, to a cave at Matonjeni in the Matopo Hills, near modern Bulawayo, about 125 miles (200 km) to the west. Despite the shrine's new location the Mwari tradition remained strong among the Shona, and a number of other shrines appeared in the Matopa Hills. The tradition's influence could be seen in the way Shona chiefs demonstrated their loyalty to the Rozwi kings by their affiliation with Mwari and the shrines.

In the 1830s Mwari's authority gained even more influence. At that time the Ndebele, an NGUNI subgroup, fled north into Zimbabwe to escape the military expansion of the ZULU. Ndebele priests, rather than trying to change the Mwari tradition, respected its power and incorporated it into their own religious rituals. Later in the 19th century the Mwari worship practices would prove influential again when the warring Shona and Ndebele people were united by their shared tradition against a common enemy in the form of European colonists.

See also: RELIGION (Vol. III); SHONA (Vols. II, IV); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III).

Further reading: Gwinyai H. Muzorewa, *Mwari: the Great Being God: God is God* (Lanham Md.: University Press of America, 2001).

Mwene Mutapa (Mwene Matapa, Mwene Mutabe, Monomotapa, Mwenenutapa, Mbire)

Title of the monarchs who ruled the ZIMBABWE plateau between the ZAMBEZI and Limpopo rivers from the 15th century through the 17th centuries; also the name of the kingdom over which these monarchs ruled. By the late 15th century the Mwene Mutapa state was an active trading kingdom, with a virtual monopoly on the ivory, GOLD, and salt trades in the region and the trade in human beings. Gold was collected from gold fields and panned from the Mazoe River in the interior parts of the kingdom and then brought by caravan to the Indian Ocean ports of SOFALA and QUELIMANE, where it was traded for valuable Arab and Indian goods such as glass, ceramics, spices, and cloth. The height of Mwene Mutapa trading power coincided with the rise of the great East African Swahili and Arab ruling dynasties that built their kingdoms on profits from the gold trade.

By the beginning of the 16th century Swahili, MARAVI, Arab, and even Portuguese traders from around the region all participated in the fairs that were conducted in Mwene Mutapa territory near the Zambezi Valley.

After the 1530s, however, the Portuguese presented a serious threat to Mwene Mutapa as they moved inland from their coastal trading posts. By 1571 the Portuguese had begun hostile invasions for the purpose of seizing Mwene Mutapa's gold mines. In order to keep peace, and probably because the its hold on power may have been slipping, around 1575 the kingdom forged a trade agreement with Portugal that prohibited Arab and Muslim merchants from trading in Mwene Mutapa territory. Around 1623 the kingdom was invaded by warriors from the Maravi federation of states, located to the north of the Zambezi, leaving Mwene Mutapa vulnerable to incursions from the east. The Portuguese took advantage of the situation and had seized vast expanses of Mwene Mutapa territory by 1629. The territory was subsequently divided into estates called *PRAZOS,* which were leased to Portuguese settlers by the Portuguese king.

By the middle of the 17th century the influx of Portuguese merchants and *prazeros,* as the Portuguese lessees were called, had done irreparable damage to the Mwene Mutapa kingdom, which previously had vehemently opposed the spread of foreign influences in their territory. By the late 1600s the weakened kingdom was rather easily conquered by the emerging ROZWI kingdom. By the end of the century the militaristic Rozwi had expelled both the Portuguese and Mwene Mutapa traders from the Zambezi River valley. These conditions enabled the Rozwi to dominate the region and reduce the Mwene Mutapa to a minor state.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); LIMPOPO RIVER (Vol. II); MWENE MUTAPA (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SALT MINING (Vol. II); SENA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); TETE (Vol. III).

Mzilikazi (Umsiligasi, Mozelekatse) (1790–1868)

Founder of the Ndebele kingdom in what is now Zimbabwe

During the period of war and migration known as the MFECANE, the ZULU leader, SHAKA (1787–1828), succeeded in defeating several neighboring peoples, including the Ndwandwe. This brought the Khumalo clan, led by Mzilikazi, under Zulu control. Mzilikazi refused to submit to Zulu authority and, following an unsuccessful rebellion, began leading his followers to the highveld of the Transvaal. From there, beginning circa 1822, the clan raided areas occupied by the SOTHO peoples.

Using variations of the military techniques and organizational system of the Zulu, Mzilikazi was able to subjugate neighboring peoples and organize the strong, centralized nation of Ndebele. However, he continued to suffer attacks from both the Zulu and the BOERS. By 1837 Mzilikazi was forced to move his people once again, this time leading them north of the Limpopo River into what is now ZIMBABWE. There Mzilikazi overcame the Shona people led by the ROZWI rulers of the CHANGAMIRE DY-

NASTY. He then built his kingdom anew. The Ndebele remained strong enough to repel repeated attacks by the Boers, who eventually made peace with Mzilikazi in 1852. Gold was discovered in the region in 1867, bringing increased numbers of European settlers, and unable to control the influx of outsiders, the Ndebele nation ultimately disintegrated.

See also: LIMPOPO RIVER (Vols. I, II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); SHONA (Vols. II, IV); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III).

Further reading: R. Kent Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa* (London: Collings, 1978).

N

Nabahani dynasty Swahili rulers of PATE ISLAND originally from the OMANI SULTANATE; they were at the height of their power in the 1600s and 1700s. The Nabahani family of Oman settled in Pate in the 1200s but did not attain power until the 1600s. During the second half of the 17th century the Nabahanis rebelled, on numerous occasions, against Portuguese influence, contributing to the decline of Portuguese power in the region. (The Portuguese first visited Pate around 1510.) The Nabahanis also struggled against other rulers, including the MASRUI dynasty, for dominance on the East African coast. The Nabahanis retained control of Pate well into the 1800s and at times extended their rule to PEMBA ISLAND and KILWA. In Songo Mnara, just south of Kilwa, an impressive Nabahani mosque still stands today.

> The Nabahani commissioned court records, which are referred to as the *Chronicle of Pate.* Some of the earliest Swahili poetry that can be definitively dated was included in the chronicle, probably composed during the 14th century. The poems' formal style was derived from Arabic verse, but its subjects and spirit reflected Swahili culture. One of the poems included in the records, *al-Inkishafi* (The Soul's Awakening), chronicled the economic decline of Pate in terms of man's neglect of God. *Al-Inkishafi* eloquently describes the sinful acquisitiveness of island merchants, who it says consorted with women on beds inlaid with ivory and silver.

Nafata (r. c. 1795–1802) *Sultan of the Hausa state of Gobir*

When Sultan Nafata became *sarkin* (ruler) of GOBIR about 1795, he faced the growing threat of a jihad from the forces led by USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), a FULANI cleric also from Gobir. Fodio's rigorous teachings were accepted and welcomed early in his career, but by the mid-1780s he had become a threat to the authorities of the HAUSA STATES for his ability to attract a large group of followers demanding political and religious change. Usman dan Fodio was also considered dangerous for his attempts to "purify" Islam by outlawing the practice of traditional religion, calling it "pagan" because it was not based on true Islamic law, or *sharia.*

> Usman dan Fodio's teachings were initially so well received he was brought to the royal court of Gobir to tutor young rulers, including Nafata's son, Yunfa, in the Islamic faith.

Earlier, in 1789, the reigning *sarkin* of Gobir, Sultan Bawa (r. c. 1781–1790), met with Usman dan Fodio (also known as the *Shehu,* meaning "chief") initially to assassinate the religious leader. When the strength of the Usman dan Fodio's following became apparent, however, Bawa negotiated terms of economic and religious change instead, including the freeing of religious prisoners, the right to preach Islam, the prohibition of taxation, and the right of Muslims to identify themselves by wearing

veils or turbans. These reforms brought the state of Gobir to the verge of becoming an independent theocratic state, and this shift in power worried the traditionalist sultanate.

After Bawa's death he was succeeded briefly by a son who was killed in war. A few years later Nafata gained control as sultan of Gobir. Reacting partly to pressure from the nobility as well as from a desire to preserve the sultanate, Nafata soon rescinded the rights granted to Muslims by Sultan Bawa. Nafata also persecuted believers and made attempts to force resident Muslims to practice traditional religion. These actions by Sultan Nafata caused Usman dan Fodio to encourage his followers to arm and defend themselves, a step toward jihad because Muslim reform was generally sought first through peaceful processes.

Before his death in 1802, Nafata clashed strongly with Usman, only increasing tensions between the religious leader and the sultanate of Gobir. However, it was not until the reign of Nafata's son and successor, Yunfa (r. c. 1802–1808), that Usman dan Fodio felt compelled to go on the hajj (or pilgrimage to Mecca), which prefaced the start of the jihad in 1804.

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); MECCA (Vol. II); *SHARIA* (Vol. II).

Naimbana (r. 1720–1793) *King of the Temne peoples of present-day Sierra Leone*

By 1786 the British government agreed to help the London-based Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor by sending a group of free blacks to West Africa to form a colony. On April 9, 1787, the *Nautilus* sailed with 344 blacks and 115 whites and landed on May 9, 1787, off the coast of what is now SIERRA LEONE. Once on land the British sought to purchase land from the Temne peoples and their ruler, King Naimbana.

Without Naimbana's knowledge, an agreement was soon made with one of his local chiefs named Tombo, called "King Tom" by the English. King Tom, who could not understand nor read the agreement, signed an initial treaty on June 11, 1787, permanently giving the British claim to the piece of land that was thereafter known as the Province of Freedom. The town that was then built for the former slaves was called Granville Town after the expedition's promoter, Granville Sharp.

After the death of King Tom, Naimbana realized the implications of the land agreement with the British and immediately called for a new treaty to be made. The British complied and the treaty was again confirmed, with Naimbana's signature, in 1788.

Naimbana was said to have been a kind ruler who expressed a desire to learn Christianity and had an interest in European-style education. In 1791 his son, known as Prince John Frederic Naimbana, was sent to England to attend school but later died on his trip back to Sierra Leone. Naimbana's capital was the city of Robana, situated up the Rokel River, where he ruled with absolute power but was known always to consult with his kingdom's chiefs in matters of importance.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Mary Louise Clifford, *From Slavery to Freetown; Black Loyalists After the American Revolution* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company Inc., 1999).

Nama Subgroup of the nomadic KHOIKHOI inhabiting the southern region of present-day NAMIBIA. Little is known of Nama history prior to 1800, but it is thought that they moved into the Namibia region early in the 17th century. They were originally part of a larger migration of Khoisan-speaking people who came up from the south in search of grazing lands and reliable water sources. The Nama Khoikhoi established their territory, NAMALAND, in areas directly north and south of the ORANGE RIVER, which they called the Gariep (Great) River. The ORLAMS, another Khoikhoi subgroup, migrated to regions to the south of the Nama.

The Nama were herders, and the patterns of their life revolved around the challenges of raising fat-tailed sheep and cattle in an arid environment. They were often plagued by droughts and FOOD shortages, so they celebrated with ancient traditional religious rituals when the seasonal rains finally came. On the occasions when the nomadic Nama could not produce food from their cattle, they would resort to bartering with SAN hunter-gatherers or even hunt and gather themselves.

By the middle of the 17th century the Nama were firmly established as the dominant ethnic group of southern Namibia. They carried out trade with the Ovambo kingdoms to the north, exchanging animal hides and milk for metal goods and other handicrafts. Around the middle of the century Dutch settlers and copper prospectors began to come across the Olifants River, just north of CAPE TOWN on the southern edge of Namaland. Starting around 1660 there were regular clashes between the Nama and the recent Dutch arrivals, with the Nama eventually accepting nominal Dutch sovereignty by the end of the century.

By the end of the 18th century five of the seven major Nama clans had united as the "Red Nation," so called because of the reddish tint to their dark skin. The Dama, a fellow Khoikhoi subgroup that lived to the north of the Nama, were referred to as the "Black Nation." Dama were often hired as servants of the Nama, tending to their herds and sometimes cultivating a small plot of their land.

The northern boundary of Nama territory abutted land ruled by the HERERO, another pastoralist group. The relationship between Nama and Herero was complex, as they had frequent battles over grazing lands and water

The Bantu-speaking Ovambo people of Namibia traditionally constructed enclosures like this kraal. The kraal, shown in a 1983 photograph, is a traditional enclosed set of individual family compounds grouped around a central meeting place. © *Nicole Duplaix/Corbis*

rights, but they also traded with each other and even intermarried. When European firearms were introduced in the late 18th century, their battles became more deadly.

Present-day Namibia remained an uncharted region of southern Africa until the beginning of the 19th century, when European powers began sending more mineral prospectors and MISSIONARIES hoping to convert the Nama to Christianity. The Europeans were not always welcome, however, as Britain and Germany both sent missionaries who were killed by plundering bands of Nama. Due in large part to these violent reactions, the Nama Khoikhoi, called *Hottentots* by the Dutch, developed a reputation in Europe as one of the fiercest groups in Africa.

See also: HOTTENOT (Vol. III); NAMA (Vol. IV); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); OVAMBO (Vols. II, IV); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Namaland (Namaqualand) Region historically inhabited by the NAMA people of southern NAMIBIA and the northern Cape Province of SOUTH AFRICA. The ORANGE RIVER divides Namaland into Great Namaland to the north and Little Namaland to the south. Today the northern limit of Namaland is the city of Windhoek, its eastern border is the Kalahari Desert, and it borders the rugged Atlantic coast to the west. The history of this region of Africa before 1800 is unreliable, but it is known that the indigenous Nama people herded their cattle in the area and occasionally clashed with local HERERO and SAN groups over land disputes and accusations of stolen cattle.

As early as the 17th century Namaland was also the site of violent disputes between the Nama and Dutch and British settlers. The Europeans came up from the southern Cape region of present-day South Africa, prospecting for copper and looking for suitable farming and grazing lands to support further settlement. In the late 19th century many Europeans came to Namaland to try to mine and trade diamonds, which were found in great concentrations along the floodplains and other alluvial areas of Namibia.

See also: COPPER (Vol. II); HOTTENTOT (Vol. III); KALAHARI DESERT (Vols. I, II); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Brigitte Lau, *Southern and Central Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time* (Windhoek, Namibia: National Archives, Dept. of Nat. Education, 1987).

Namibia Present-day country measuring approximately 313,300 square miles (824,400 sq km) and located along

the coast of southwest Africa. Namibia is bordered by ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, and SOUTH AFRICA. Bantu-speaking peoples migrated to the region between the ninth and 14th centuries and settled the area of present-day Namibia. These peoples established mixed agricultural and pastoral communities that generally lacked any centralized authority. However, several groups, including the Ovambo, Okavango, and HERERO, founded centralized confederations. These peoples dominated the northern and central regions of Namibia, monopolizing NATURAL RESOURCES and the trade routes throughout southwest Africa. The southern regions of Namibia were the exclusive territory of the Khoisan-speaking NAMA people, who probably arrived in the region early in the 17th century.

Namibia's climate is harsh. Strong, blinding winds blow across the Namib Desert, which runs along most of the Namibian coast, making it dangerous territory. One stretch of coast was so littered by bleached animal bones that European explorers referred to it as the SKELETON COAST. Due to its climate and isolated geographical location, little is known about Namibia prior to the 19th century. Several Portuguese sailors touched down on the Namibian coast in the late 1400s, but few foreigners explored the interior until the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY sponsored a brief expedition in the 1650s. The rocky coastline made it virtually impossible to land there. While American, Dutch, French, and British whaling vessels operated along the coast during the 1700s, it wasn't until the 1790s that Europeans, especially the Dutch, began settling the region.

See also: NAMIBIA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); OVAMBO (Vols. II, IV).

Further reading: M. Hinz, *Without Chiefs There Would Be No Game* (Windhoek, Namibia: Clarkes, 2003).

natural resources   Africa's natural resources, including its lush forests and significant mineral resources such as coal, copper, diamonds, GOLD, iron, natural gas, and petroleum make Africa one of the world's richest continents. Except for some metals, however, the mineral resources were not commercially exploited in any widespread way before the colonial period, many not until the 20th century.

Copper, gold, and iron were first exploited by Africans thousands of years ago. The use of copper to make castings dates as far back as 6000 BCE. About 3500 BCE copper was first alloyed with tin to make bronze, a more durable material for making both weapons and adornments. Iron was mined and worked in the ancient kingdom of Aksum before 750 BCE, and recent archaeological evidence points to the development of ironworking technology in East Africa as early as 1400 BCE. Gold was both an important trading commodity and source of adorn-

ment since 5000 BCE in ancient EGYPT and early in the common era in West Africa.

Africa's vast resources first gained worldwide attention in the 15th century. The Portuguese explored the coastal regions of the continent in order to establish trade routes to India. They also sought to tap into the gold and ivory trades and the trade in human beings along Africa's eastern and western coasts. This natural wealth spurred European imperialism. Much of the continent's natural and human resources were exploited for the benefit of the ruling nations. It is difficult to ascertain the exact effect this exploitation had on the course of history.

Much of Africa's natural wealth is contained in its mineral deposits. Africa has major portions of the world's reserves of bauxite, cobalt, tantalum, and germanium. The continent is a major producer of coal and contains one of the largest uranium-producing regions in the world. The sedimentary Precambrian rocks of western Africa make the continent one of the world's greatest producers of iron ore. Southern Africa contains one-half of the world's gold reserve and nearly all of the world's supply of chromium.

Africa also contains vast nonmetallic minerals. Some of the largest kaolin, bentonite, and fuller's earth deposits are found on the continent. There are also large sodium deposits, and present-day MADAGASCAR is the world's foremost producer of flake graphite. Many of the world's building materials come from Africa, as there are huge quantities of basalt, pumice, granite, marble, and limestone.

Africa is best known for its immense deposits of precious stones. Today more than 40 percent of the world's industrial diamonds come from African mines. Africa also has large deposits of gem diamonds, garnets, opals, amethyst, emeralds, and topaz.

Immense botanical resources are also prevalent in Africa. Lush forestation provides valuable timber, and vast expanses of grassland allow for diverse populations of mammals. The tremendous numbers of animals, such as water buffalo, oxen, horses, mules, camels, sheep, pigs, and antelope, are used in land cultivation, TRANSPORTATION, FOOD, tourism, skins, and even game hunting.

See also: COPPER (Vols. I, II); COPPERBELT (Vol. V); COPPER MINES (Vol. II); EBONY (Vols. I, III); ELEPHANTS (Vol. I); IVORY (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vols. III); MINING (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vols. IV, V).

Ndlambe (Ndlamba)   South African ethnic group residing in the Eastern Cape province and related to the XHOSA. They are one of the nine groups, including the ZULU and the Thembu, who make up the NGUNI people. They speak a language unique among the Bantu because it combines Bantu elements with imploding clicking sounds that were absorbed into their language

through intermarriage with the region's earlier Khoisan-speaking peoples.

Ndlambe (c. 1740–1828) is also the name of a Ndlambe regent who acted on behalf of his nephew, NGQIKA (1775–1829). Throughout his regency, Ndlambe continually looked for opportunities to raise his status. When Ngqika came of age, he accepted his position as sovereign of all the Xhosas, much to the dismay of Ndlambe. Thereafter, the two became rivals.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries the Ndlambe people joined forces with the GQUNUKWEBE to resist the incursion of Dutch farmers known as BOERS. Much of this contention arose from land and cattle disputes.

As a result of a steady increase in the European settler population and mismanagement of property, there was a huge land shortage on the eastern frontier in the early 19th century. About 1811–12 the British embarked on a massive campaign to push the Gqunukwebe, Zuurveld, and Ndlambe peoples across the Fish River. At the same time, the British worked to their advantage the hostilities that arose as a result of this mass exodus. Conflict between Ngqika's followers and those of his enemy Ndlambe became more intense. As Ngqika's people had always inhabited the region beyond the Fish River, Ngqika was not affected directly by the efforts of the Europeans. In the 1818 Battle of Amalinde, the Ndlambe people conquered Ngqika's forces.

The Ndlambe and Ngqika were in the process of consolidating under Chief Makanna (d. 1820), a subject of Ndlambe's, when the British, with the help of Ngqika, tried to intervene. Under Makanna the Ndlambe retaliated by invading Grahamstown. No sooner did it appear that the Ndlambe would be victorious than the British reinforcements came through. Makanna surrendered and was quickly banished to isolated Robben Island, in Table Bay, 5 miles (8 km) west of the mainland. He died a year later trying to escape. The British designated Ngqika leader of all Xhosa in the Fish River territory.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Ndongo Early 16th-century kingdom of the MBUNDU, a Bantu-speaking peoples from a region of what is now northern ANGOLA. The Mbundu who founded this kingdom are often called the Ndongo after the kingdom's name. The Ndongo recognized the authority of the KONGO KINGDOM in the early 16th century. By the 1540s, however, they attempted to free themselves of these feudal bonds.

The modern country of Angola gets its name from *ngola,* the title of Ndongo's ruler.

As part of their efforts the Ndongo began to establish commercial ties with Portuguese merchants in order to curb the Kongo trade monopoly. Despite KONGO efforts to maintain this monopoly, the Ndongo defeated the Kongo in 1556 and achieved their independence.

The Ndongo soon became embroiled in constant conflict with the Portuguese. The Portuguese Crown authorized the conquest and Christianization of Ndongo in 1571. The Ndongo held off Portugal's colonial efforts for nearly a century, in part by banding together with the Kongo and IMBANGALA peoples. Portuguese forces, however, ultimately prevailed, and the Ndongo were incorporated into Portuguese Angola in 1671.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Netherlands and Africa The Netherlands' interest in Africa was the result of economic and political necessity. In the 16th century the Dutch were the leading northern European distributors of African goods brought to Europe through Spanish and Portuguese commerce. The provinces of the Netherlands, ruled by Philip II of Spain (1527–1598) as part of his inheritance, rebelled against the Spanish Crown, finally gaining independence in 1609. As a result of this conflict, however, the Dutch sea merchants of the united Netherlands' provinces were cut off from Asian and African goods arriving through Lisbon in Portugal, which was a Spanish holding at the time. Therefore they quickly sought a direct means of obtaining these goods, which led to increased military and commercial competition with Portugal and Spain.

Even before independence the Dutch were able to supplant the Portuguese as the most powerful European force involved in the Indian Ocean spice trade. They developed a commercial empire under the leadership of the national DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY, which was established in 1602 near the Cape of Good Hope. This development was matched on the Atlantic coast, as the Dutch looked to monopolize the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE to the Americas. Led by officers from the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, the Dutch attacked Portuguese and Spanish strongholds in West Africa, eventually seizing fortified trading outposts on GORÉE ISLAND, Arguin Island, and at São Jorge da Mina (ELMINA). For a few years in the mid-17th century the Netherlands had a virtual monopoly on the supply of captives coming from West Africa.

In 1652 the East India Company was charged with founding a station along the South African coast to resupply its ships traveling between Europe and the Indian Ocean. The station was not intended to be permanent, but by 1657 the company had to grant farming rights to its employees in order to increase FOOD production for the Dutch who worked there. To maintain the necessary LABOR force, the Dutch began acquiring captive labor from East Africa—and from India and Indonesia, where

they maintained strong trading ties—and the once-small shipping depot became converted into a permanent colony centered around CAPE TOWN. The company began to augment the inconsistent KHOIKHOI cattle supply with its own herds, and disputes over grazing land led to armed conflict with the Khoikhoi people. Dutch soldiers fought using superior European weapons and easily defeated the Khoikhoi. Smallpox, brought to the Cape by Dutch traders, further decimated the Khoikhoi people, who had no immunity to the disease.

Dutch is a Germanic language spoken by people from the "Low Countries" (modern Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Belgium, where it is called Flemish). The English used the term *Dutch* to refer to people from the Republic of the United Netherlands, which was established in 1588 and lasted until 1795.

During the 18th century Dutch and other European colonists immigrated to the cape in waves. Vast stretches of arable land were settled beyond the coast, and a group of farmers known as BOERS, or Trekboers, moved into the northern reaches of the colony, encroaching upon the lands of the XHOSA people. This resulted in an explosive relationship between the colonists and the Xhosa. Forts were erected to protect colonists from attacks, and in 1780 a colonial border was established at the Great Fish River to separate settlers from the Xhosa. Those Xhosa residing west of the river were forcibly removed from their homelands, resulting in nearly a century of war.

By the turn of the 18th century the Dutch had lost their trading superiority to the French and British, who captured many of their coastal strongholds. By 1806 the CAPE COLONY was a British protectorate.

See also: CAPE FRONTIER WARS (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PROTECTORATE (Vol. IV); SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III).

Newton, John   (1725–1807) *English seaman, trader, minister, and author*

Newton's book *An Authentic Narrative* is a valuable first-hand account of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE during the 18th century. In 1788 Newton also wrote an antislavery pamphlet, *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade,* that was influential in convincing the British House of Commons to consider abolishing the trade in human beings.

John Newton was born to a London maritime merchant and a deeply religious mother. He became a sailor while still in his teens, working on a Mediterranean commercial vessel and later sailed as a midshipman with the British Royal Navy. Eventually Newton was transferred out of the navy and got hired on as a mate on an Africa-bound trading ship. Once in Africa he ended up working for a European named Clow, a farmer and slave trader in SIERRA LEONE. After a disagreement with the white trader's black African "wife," Newton was forced to work on the plantation as a manual laborer. After about one year of this work Newton was happy to see his fortunes change when another slave trader arrived and hired him to work on his ship. Newton wrote later that it was at this time, about 1748, that he had a powerful religious experience during an especially rough transatlantic voyage.

Eventually, about 1750, Newton came to be the first in command on his own ship, which carried cargoes of enslaved Africans. His journal entries from this time, which he used to compose *An Authentic Narrative,* describe brutal conditions in the holds of these ships and the cruel treatment of the typically poor and uneducated sailors who worked the ships. In 1756 Newton retired from his captaincy because of illness and returned to England, where he eventually became an ordained Anglican minister, hymn writer, and author.

In *An Authentic Narrative,* written around 1764, he expresses remorse for his past actions and emphasizes that his livelihood as a trader in human beings was always in conflict with his professed Christian religion, though he did not realize it at the time. By the time he wrote *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade,* he describes the buying and selling of human beings as a "business at which my heart now shudders." Newton died in England in 1807.

When he returned to England, Newton became a minister in the small town of Olney, in Buckinghamshire. He became a close friend of the English poet William Cowper (1731–1800), and the two collaborated on a collection of church hymns, or songs of praise. One of the most popular of these Olney Hymns was adapted to an African-American spiritual melody to become the well-known "Amazing Grace."

Ngazargamu   Capital of KANEM-BORNU, from its establishment by Mai Ali Gaji (fl. 1470s), about 1472, until 1808. Ngazargamu remained the capital of Kanem-Bornu even after the trading empire managed to defeat the BULALA people and recapture Njimi, Kanem-Bornu's

original capital, in the early 1500s. Despite Njimi's historical significance to Kanem-Bornu, the rulers elected to remain in Ngazargamu, which offered richer lands for farming and livestock. Ngazargamu was also known for its cloth production.

In the early 19th century the FULANI living in what is now NIGERIA fell under the influence of the Islamic religious scholar USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817). Considering the people of Kanem-Bornu to be irreligious, the Fulani launched a holy war that ended in 1808 with the destruction of the Kanem-Bornu capital.

See also: BORNU (Vol. II); FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); NGAZARGAMU (Vol. II).

Ngbandi (Gbandi, Mogwandi)
Ethnic group that, between the 15th and 16th centuries, migrated west from southern regions of the present-day Republic of the SUDAN. Ngbandi groups settled in the northwest region of the CONGO and also on the left bank of the Ubangi River, in what is today the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

The Ngbandi speak an ADAMAWA-Ubangi language that belongs to the Niger-Congo language family. Their language is similar to that of the BANDA and Baya. They are also related to the Ngbaka people.

One group of Ngbandi established the Nzakara kingdom in the 16th century while others set up feudal systems. In the 18th century Ngbandi from the Bandia clan conquered territory belonging to another Sudanic group, the AZANDE, eventually combining with them, adopting the Azande's language and customs.

Traditionally the Ngbandi were a hunting and gathering society but they gradually moved into AGRICULTURE, producing primarily grains and nuts as well as fruits and vegetables. Their society is organized by patrilineal descent. They have long been skilled artisans known for their knives, harps, statues, wood carvings, and masks. Some of these items were traded with neighboring peoples.

Ngonde
Ethnic group of present-day TANZANIA. For centuries, the Ngonde lived in villages that were organized by age-sets, meaning that the inhabitants were all of approximately the same age. Eventually, however, the Ngonde were centralized under a king, known as the *kyungu*. Although exactly when this took place is unknown, according to Ngonde traditions, the first *kyungu* held his position for approximately 10 generations before the arrival of Arab traders in their area toward the end of the 18th century.

See also: AGE SETS (Vol. I); ARABS (Vol. II); SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Further reading: Owen J. M. Kalinga, *A History of the Ngonde Kingdom of Malawi* (New York: Mouton, 1985).

Ngoni (Angoni, Abangoni, Mangoni, Wangoni)
Ethnic grouping of 12 NGUNI peoples originally inhabiting modern-day Natal in SOUTH AFRICA. The Ngoni were forced to flee their homelands during the MFECANE (the crushing), a period of migrations caused by the ZULU military campaigns of the early 19th century. They migrated to areas in present-day MOZAMBIQUE, MALAWI, TANZANIA, and ZAMBIA, settling into small patrilineal states. The Ngoni factions were able to increase their territory by conquering neighboring peoples, utilizing the same military techniques used by the Zulu who had displaced them.

Each Ngoni group attained regional dominance for nearly 50 years. However, by the end of the 19th century, Portugal, Britain, and Germany had placed the Ngoni under colonial rule.

Ngoyo (Ngoy)
Kingdom that lasted from the 16th to the 19th centuries on the west coast of Central Africa, just north of the mouth of the Congo River. The kingdom of Ngoyo probably started during the late 15th century in the lush equatorial rain forest north of the Congo River. Like the neighboring kingdom of LOANGO, Ngoyo was originally a tributary state of the KONGO KINGDOM. Loango broke from Kongo during the 16th century, and Ngoyo followed in the 17th century. Although there was tension among the three kingdoms, they continued to maintain close ties through trade and the shared language of Kikongo. Ngoyo continued to pay tribute to the Loango king, or *maniloango,* who was often married to an Ngoyo princess. By the 18th century, however, Ngoyo's wealth from trade at its port of CABINDA and its formidable military enabled the state to become an independent power, equal in status to the larger kingdoms of the region.

During the 18th century Ngoyo and SOYO, another breakaway state from the Kongo kingdom, vied for control of the burgeoning northern trade with the Portuguese, French, Dutch, and British. The Ngoyo port of Cabinda began to divert trade from the southern Portuguese port of LUANDA and from the nearby port of Mpinda at the mouth of the Congo River, which belonged to Soyo. As the local trade became increasingly lucrative, the two kingdoms frequently warred with each another.

The northern trade in captives increased substantially during this period, reaching its peak during the late 1700s. It heightened tensions with Ngoyo's neighbors, especially the KONGO, whose territory was often plundered for captives. These captives were increasingly traded at Cabinda rather than at the more remote port of Luanda, prompting Portuguese intervention in Ngoyo. In 1783, anxious to establish a foothold in the north coast of ANGOLA and subdue their rivals, the Portuguese built a fort at Cabinda. But Ngoyo quickly ousted them with the help

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); KALAHARI DESERT (Vol. I, II); SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III).

Nkole (Ankole, Banyankole Nkore, Nyankole)

Bantu-speaking people living in what is now UGANDA; also the name of the kingdom they established at the beginning of the 15th century. The Nkole are made up of the cattle-raising TUTSI and the agricultural HUTU. Nkole's Tutsi members descended from Nilotic pastoralists who, between the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries, migrated into the region from the northeast. Upon their arrival in the region, they peacefully began to establish dominion over the agricultural Hutu.

By the early 16th century Nkole was led by kings from the HINDA ruling clan. The Hinda belonged to the Hima, a cattle-owning social caste made up mostly of Tutsis. About 1520 the Hinda rulers were able to achieve independence from the neighboring kingdom of BUNYORO with the aid of a natural phenomenon: in the midst of the Battle of Biharwe, the area underwent a solar eclipse, which Bunyoro's BITO rulers took as a sign to leave Nkole. During the first half of the 18th century Nkole again warred with Bunyoro. This time, the *mugabe,* or king, of Nkore expelled Bunyoro's Bito rulers permanently.

Although they were an ethnic minority, the Tutsi instituted a hierarchical political system with Tutsi court officials and regional chiefs serving as the highest authorities. The majority Hutu, descendants of the region's original Bantu-speaking inhabitants, made up the Nkole underclass. They were forced to pay tribute to the Tutsi and were obliged to feed the Tutsi lords and care for their herds; in return, Tutsi warriors protected the kingdom. The Tutsi and Hutu traditionally were forbidden to intermarry. In Nkole society the Hutu were considered legally inferior and were not allowed to possess their own cattle, which were considered a symbol of status. To prevent Hutu rebellion, only Tutsi men were allowed to serve in the army.

See also: NKOLE (Vol. II).

Niger

Large, landlocked West African country measuring approximately 458,100 square miles (1,186,500 sq km) and bordered by LIBYA, CHAD, NIGERIA, Republic of BENIN, BURKINA FASO, Republic of MALI, and ALGERIA. The present-day borders of Niger were created during 20th-century French colonial occupation. Prior to the period of European colonization, several important kingdoms occupied parts of the country.

From the 14th century on, the region around the AÏR MASSIF, which is a group of mountains in central Niger rising 6,628 feet (2,020 m) at its highest peak, changed hands several times. It was important as a center of trans-Saharan trade with the regions to the south and west. The region also was important because of the copper mines at Takedda, a small kingdom ruled by TUAREGS that later developed into a sultanate centered around AGADES, the chief city of the region. The Tuareg Aïr sultanate was captured by SONGHAI in 1515, and it later fell to KANEM-BORNU in the 17th century.

The main power to the west was the SONGHAI Empire, which ruled successfully in portions of Niger and Mali until the late 16th century. To the southeast, around the Lake CHAD area, were the KANURI peoples of the Kanem-Bornu empire, who flourished until the early 1800s. This empire ultimately began losing territory to the emerging SOKOTO CALIPHATE.

Between the NIGER RIVER in the extreme southwest and Lake Chad in the southeast lay the powerful HAUSA STATES. These walled city-states reached their pinnacle in the 17th and 18th centuries before succumbing to the early 19th-century FULANI JIHADS led by Islamic cleric USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817). The jihad launched in 1804 succeeded in incorporating the Hausa States—and later Kanem-Bornu—into the vast SOKOTO CALIPHATE, which stretched throughout the northern regions of Nigeria and the southern regions of Niger.

See also: NIGER (Vols. I, II, IV, V); TAKEDDA (Vol. II).

Niger expeditions

European interest in exploring the regions of West Africa and charting the course of the NIGER RIVER began late in the 18th century with the founding, in 1788, of the British Africa Association (known formally as the Association for the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa). The first expedition down the Niger did not begin, however, until Scotland's Mungo PARK (1771–1806) traveled the waterways for the Africa Association during two separate journeys that began, respectively, in 1795 and 1805. Although, with these journeys, Park succeeded in mapping a major portion of the river from SEGU to Bussa, he drowned in 1806 during an assault by a Bussa-area people.

Between 1823 and 1825 British explorer Hugh Clapperton (1788–1827) also made attempts to explore the Niger and its waterways, focusing his efforts in the northern region of present-day NIGERIA. After his death near the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, his former servant, Richard Lander, continued Clapperton's efforts at charting the Niger. Lander eventually made his way from the Hausa state of KANO to the YORUBALAND coastline of present-day Nigeria. After his journey he returned to England, publishing both Clapperton's and his own memoirs. Clapperton's journals, published in 1830, are entitled *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa* and *Subsequent Adventures of the Author.* Lander's memoirs, *The Journal of Richard Lander from Kano to the Sea Coast,* were published in 1829.

At the request of the British government, Lander again explored the Niger River, this time accompanied by his brother John. The Landers began their expedition on March 22, 1830, and were successful at drafting a map of the river that picked up where Park's expeditions left off at Bussa and extended to the river's eventual outflow into the Atlantic Ocean. Lander died while on a journey back up the Niger, but his exploits were posthumously published in 1832 with the title *Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger.*

See also: EXPLORATION (Vol. III).

Nigeria   West African country located on the Atlantic coast and bounded by the present-day nations of CHAD, CAMEROON, NIGER, and Republic of Benin. Nigeria covers approximately 356,700 square miles (923,900 sq km) of southeastern West Africa. By the 16th century, when the Portuguese had firmly established trade contacts with parts of West Africa, the numerous states and kingdoms in the region were governed by two different systems. The first was a centralized system controlled generally by a monarch, who usually held both religious and secular authority. This monarch exercised sole control over the kingdom's lands and resided in the kingdom's capital, which also served as the kingdom's main trading center. KANEM-BORNU, the OYO EMPIRE, and the kingdom of BENIN all flourished under this centralized system; ruling dynasties grew increasingly wealthy from tribute collected from the outlying, generally agrarian, provinces.

Other precolonial states in this area had decentralized governments. In these cases, smaller groups of villages were governed by councils of elders and the heads of the families within each village. The concepts of house and FAMILY were essential to these decentralized states, and most villages tended toward self-government. Examples of these states include those of the EFIK and the IGBO peoples, which, along with councils of elders, also included the use of secret societies, such as the EKPE SOCIETY of the Efik people, whose function was to collect tribute, educate the younger generations, and enforce laws or punishments when required.

The vast territory of empires and states in Nigeria from the 16th century onward were highly active in the trading of captives, FOOD, PALM OIL, and metals with both the interior and the Europeans. Kingdoms such as Oyo, Benin, ITSEKIRI, and the HAUSA STATES owed their economic success to their contact with Europeans, especially the Portuguese and, later, the British, with their demand for humans captives, which reached its peak in the 17th and 18th centuries.

While the trade in captives dominated Nigeria in the 17th century, other factors were gaining in importance. The kingdom of Oyo had become a major transfer point for internal and external trade. Oyo also built up a pow-

erful army, led by a large cavalry, that brought the empire both economic and military success. The dominance of Oyo lasted until the 18th century when political unrest began to undermine the kingdom and set the stage for the FULANI JIHADS, or holy wars, that destroyed Oyo in the early 19th century. Thereafter Oyo became known as Old Oyo. About 1830 a new city, also named Oyo, was built 62 miles (100 km) to the south.

The Hausa States of Nigeria were also experiencing a period of economic prosperity during the late 17th century because of the efforts of a series of rulers who increased the educational and political strength of their respective states. Hausaland continued to gain strength and territory into the next century but, like Oyo, was unable to withstand the might of the FULANI JIHADS. Between 1804 and 1808, the Muslim FULANI leader, USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), successfully captured the Hausa States and incorporated them into the SOKOTO CALIPHATE.

The year 1807 brought the abolition of the slave trade by the British Parliament. Even though the trade in human beings continued over the next few decades and the demand for palm oil increased, the once-powerful kingdoms and states of Nigeria began to decline. The modern boundaries of Nigeria were set in 1861, when the former capital of LAGOS was officially annexed by Britain, a move that presaged the coming colonial era.

See also: NIGERIA (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Toyin Falola and Steven J. Salm, *Nigerian Cities* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2004).

Niger River   Major West African river, the fourth-longest in the world. Although the complete course of the river was not mapped until after 1830, the river's geography and length had long been under speculation by African and European mapmakers.

The waterways of the Niger were an important means of TRANSPORTATION and commerce in West Africa even before Europeans began to use it extensively in the 18th century. The most important precolonial kingdoms and states of West Africa, including the empires of ancient Ghana, Mali, and SONGHAI, relied on the Niger for trade and territorial conquest. Further, during the 15th through the 19th centuries newer kingdoms, including BENIN, BONNY, Oyo, Ife, and BORGU, were established around the valley areas of the Niger and utilized the river for commerce.

The fact that the Niger flows from east to west was first mentioned in 1550 in the writings of the Arab traveler LEO AFRICANUS (1485–1554). The Arab geographer al-Idrisi (c. 1100–1165), whose major work, the *Kitab nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-afaq* (The pleasure excursion of one who is eager to traverse the regions of the world), was finally published in Rome in 1592, also

wrote of the east-west flow of the river and speculated that the Niger emptied into the Atlantic Ocean at SENEGAL. In 1796 a Scot named Mungo PARK (1771–1806) mapped the course of the river from SEGU as far as Bussa, but it was not until the 1830 expedition of John and Richard Lander (the latter the servant of Captain Hugh Clapperton (1788–1827), who had made expeditions to chart the Niger from 1823 to 1825) that the rest of the Niger's course, from Bussa to its outflowing from the delta at the Bight of BENIN into the Atlantic Ocean, was finally defined.

See also: NIGER DELTA (Vol. I); NIGER EXPEDITIONS (Vol. III); NIGER RIVER (Vol. I).

Nilotes   A pastoralist people of the southern Sudan, the Nilotes traced their ancestry to the Late Stone Age. Between 200 BCE and 1000 CE, the Southern Nilotes, known as the Paranilotes, migrated into the highlands east of Lake VICTORIA. Then, around 1500, the western Nilotes of the southern Sudan moved in clan groups to the area northeast of Lake Victoria. One of these LUO-speaking clans, the BITO, deposed the Chwezi, took control of the Kitara Complex, and began the new dynasty of BUNYORO-KITARA. The Bito established several other kingdoms, including Buganda, Koki, Kiziba, and Toro. The Bito adopted some of the traditions of the Chwezi and also adopted the Bantu language. Thus the Bito ruled without much opposition from their Bantu-speaking subjects, and the merger of the two cultures formed a new one that had elements of each of the parent cultures.

In other cases the Bito imposed their political systems and language on the people they conquered. In the highlands the Luo sent out minor chiefs from already established chieftainships to rule over non-Luo-speaking groups. The impact of the Nilote migrations went beyond the assimilation and integration of other cultures, however. Some peoples responded to the invaders by withdrawing into other areas. For example, the pastoral HINDA withdrew to NKOLE, Karagwe, and RWANDA—where they were known as TUTSI—and established new kingdoms there. The later migrations of the eastern Nilotes were responsible for the formation of the Karamojong of northeast Uganda and the MAASAI of central KENYA.

See also: CHWEZI DYNASTY (Vol. II); KITARA COMPLEX (Vol. II); NILOTES (Vols. I, II); KARAMOJONG (Vol. II).

Further reading: Audrey Butt, *The Nilotes of the Sudan and Uganda* (London: International African Institute, 1964).

Nkole (Ankole, Banyankole, Nkore, Nyankole) Bantu-speaking people living in what is now UGANDA; also the name of their kingdom established at the beginning of the 15th century. The Nkole are made up of the cattle-raising TUTSI and the agricultural HUTU. The Nkole occupied a kingdom in what is now the Mbarara district of Uganda. Nkole's Tutsi members descended from Nilotic pastoralists who migrated into the region from the northeast from the end of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th centuries. Upon their arrival in the region, they peacefully began to establish dominion over the Hutu.

By the early 16th century the Nkole kingdom was led by the HINDA ruling dynasty of the Hima caste, made up mostly of Tutsi. The Hinda rulers were able to achieve independence from the neighboring kingdom of BUNYORO in 1520 with the aid of a natural phenomenon: in the midst of the Battle of Biharwe, a solar eclipse occurred, which the Bunyoro rulers took as a sign to leave Nkole. During the first half of the 18th century Nkole again warred with Bunyoro. This time the *mugabe,* or king, of Nkore expelled Bunyoro's BITO rulers permanently.

Although they were an ethnic minority, the Tutsi instituted a hierarchical political system with Tutsi court officials and regional chiefs serving as the highest authorities. The majority Hutu, descendants of the region's original Bantu-speaking inhabitants, made up the Nkole underclass. They were forced to pay tribute to the Tutsi and were obliged to feed the Tutsi lords and care for their herds; in return, Tutsi warriors protected the kingdom. The Tutsi and Hutu traditionally were forbidden to intermarry. In Nkole society the Hutu were considered legally inferior and were not allowed to possess their own cattle, which were considered a symbol of status. To prevent Hutu rebellion, only Tutsi men were allowed to serve in the army.

See also: NKOLE (Vol. II).

Nsibidi writing   System of writing found in CAMEROON and NIGERIA. Probably invented as early as the 18th century, the Nsibidi form of script was made up of symbols and characters that represented words and ideas. It was used generally by the EKOI and EFIK peoples as a form of communication within the Ekpe (leopard) secret society. Nsibidi writings were used to record court proceedings, anecdotes, and traditional adages, as well as for tattoos, wall inscriptions, mask decorations, carvings, and drawings.

See also: EKPE SOCIETY (Vol. III).

Ntinde   XHOSA subgroup from the Eastern Cape Province of SOUTH AFRICA. According to oral history the Ntinde group descended from a man of the same name whose father, Togu, was the Xhosa chief and whose mother was the daughter of Chief Ngosini of the neighboring Lawo people. In the 17th century Ntinde and his

brother Ketshe migrated with their followers to the region between the Chalumna and Buffalo rivers. The Ntinde royal and administrative center was located just east of the Keiskama River. By the late 18th century many Ntinde people had settled in the Zuurveld region.

Between the 18th and 19th centuries the Ntinde, as well as the neighboring Xhosa groups, including the Gcaleka, Ngqika, NDLAMBE, GQUNUKWEBE, Dushane, and Qayi, fought against Dutch farmers, known as BOERS, in a series of conflicts known as the CAPE FRONTIER WARS. The Boers were eventually victorious and the CAPE COLONY took control of the Xhosa territory.

Nuba   Ethnic group residing in the Nuba Hills located in the predominantly Arab KORDOFAN province in the central part of the present-day Republic of the SUDAN. During the 16th century the Nuba migrated to their present location in the mountains, probably to escape raids by Baggara and Kababish Arabs in the Sudan.

There are several Nuba groups, each of which has its own distinct traditions and customs. The central and northern groups are organized by patrilineal descent while the southern groups follow matrilineal descent. They are all tied linguistically, however, speaking Kordofanian languages that belong to the Nilo-Saharan language family. The exact origin of the Nuba is unknown; it is thought that they are one of several people who migrated to ancient Meroë after its decline in the fourth century.

Traditionally the Nuba have farmed and kept livestock. Although some Nuba have converted to Islam, many have held onto their traditional religious beliefs and customs, which are based on animal sacrifice and the honoring of ancestors. In Nuba society rain priests and headmen hold prominent positions of authority. It is important to note that the people of the Nuba Hills are often confused with Nubians, due to the similar spelling of their names. However, these two groups are unrelated.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); MEROË (Vol. I); NUBA (Vol. I).

Nuer   Seminomadic pastoralists of the southern region of the present-day Republic of the SUDAN. Like the neighboring DINKA, the Nuer are a Nilotic group that has inhabited the arid savanna on either side of the Nile River for thousands of years. Little is known of the history of the Nuer people before the 19th century, when Turkish and Egyptian forces arrived in the Sudan to establish trade monopolies. However, oral tradition and anthropological studies have been used to reconstruct some of their activity.

Between the 16th and 19th centuries the Nuer continued their traditional lifestyle of moving seasonally and living off of the products of their cattle. They also continued their practice of raiding the cattle of neighboring groups, including the LUO, SHILLUK, and especially the Dinka. Infighting among the Nuer was common, as they lacked a centralized authority, but during times of conflict against outsiders the Nuer would put their differences aside and unite against the foreign enemy.

In the 1820s the Nuer and other southern Sudanic peoples were subjected to predatory raids by the Turkish forces of the Ottoman Empire, which occupied northern Sudan. Later in the 19th century Nuer territories were claimed by France, Belgium, and Britain, although the Nuer themselves did not feel the effects of colonial rule until the 20th century.

See also: NUER (Vol. I).

Nupe   Inhabitants of a region in present-day west-central NIGERIA centered on the confluence of the NIGER RIVER and the Kaduna river; also the state they founded. In the 16th century the Nupe state was continuously at war with its Hausa State neighbor, KEBBI, as well as with smaller local states. By the late 19th century Nupe was one of the most powerful states in central Nigeria. Bida, the chief Nupe city, established trade relations with the British Royal Niger Company in 1871. Subsequent trade disputes led to the British occupation of Bida, beginning in 1901. In 1908 the Nupe state was incorporated into the new British protectorate of Nigeria.

Traditionally the Nupe were known for their glass beads, brass trays, fine cloth, and leatherwork. Farming played a major role in the Nupe ECONOMY, with rice, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), COTTON, and shea nuts all being cultivated for commercial trade. The area also had a large fishing industry. Primarily Muslims, the Nupe also maintained traditional rituals.

See also: IDAH (Vol. III); ROYAL NIGER COMPANY (Vol. IV).

Nyakyusa   Bantu-speaking ethnic group that has long resided in the region of present-day TANZANIA. Unlike many other Bantu-speaking peoples, the Nyakyusa maintained a long-standing tradition of organizing their villages according to age sets rather than kin. There also was a rapid proliferation of independent chiefdoms that were divided in each generation.

> **Among the Nyakyusa, inheritances were passed down to a person from neither the father nor the mother. Instead, inheritance was from brother to brother.**

Skilled agriculturalists, the Nyakyusa raised bananas, finger millet, cassava, sweet potatoes, and, after its introduction from South America, MAIZE (corn). Cultivation generally was carried out by men and boys. Cattle were raised as well. The dialect they speak is one of the few Bantu languages that does not make use of tones.

See also: AGE SETS (Vol. I); BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. II).

Nyamwezi   Second-largest ethnic group of present-day TANZANIA. Their name translates as "the people of the moon," which probably originates from their location in the west. The Bantu-speaking Nyamwezi moved into their homeland about 1350. They have long been noted for the wooden statues—semi-abstract depictions of various ancestors—that are used in their religious rituals. Ethnologists have observed close similarities between Nyamwezi religious beliefs and practices and those of the KIMBU, another Bantu-speaking people living further to the south.

Originally farmers and herders and living in a decentralized group of chiefdoms in a dry but fertile land, the Nyamwezi became important traders between 1700 and 1800. During this time entire families and clans would gather their cattle and take them as far west as the CONGO forest. There the Nyamwezi would exchange the cattle for captives, wax, ivory, and copper. The copper they sold to the kingdoms surrounding Lake Tanganyika, where it was used to make ceremonial items and personal adornments. Other trade goods were carried to the east coast and traded for cowries, metal tools, and cloth.

The lands of the Nyamwezi were well situated to give them a commercial advantage. A major caravan route extended eastward from the principal town of Unyanyembe to Bagamoyo on the mainland directly opposite the island of ZANZIBAR on the coast, covering a total of some 500 miles (805 km). Additional caravan routes extended to Lake Victoria and Lake Tanganyika. The Nyamwezi developed a high level of skill—and pride in their skill—as porters on the great caravans to the coast. Caravan pack animals, usually mules, were lightly loaded, and most of the merchandise on these trips was carried by human porters. The Nyamwezi held a virtual monopoly on the carrying trade.

The Nyamwezi were less skillful as traders, lacking the effective bargaining skills and understanding of commercial credit that would give them an advantage in Zanzibar. Thus as the 19th century went on, the Nyamwezi formed a number of commercial alliances with coastal Arabs. These agreements allowed the Nyamwezi to share in the profits of the Arab trading expeditions that made their way through Nyamwezi territory.

See also: NYAMWEZI (Vol. IV); SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Further reading: Laura S. Kurtz, *Historical Dictionary of Tanzania* (Metuchen, N.J. and London: Scarecrow Press, 1978); Aylward Shorter, *Chiefship in Western Tanzania* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Nyanza   Province in present-day southwestern KENYA that was primarily inhabited by LUO and Gusii peoples in the 16th through the 18th centuries. Nyanza's Nilotic-speaking Luo inhabitants originally came from the Bahr el-Ghazal area in present-day southern Republic of the SUDAN, beginning in the 16th century. Because of overpopulation and changing environmental conditions, the Luo migrated in search of new land for nearly two centuries. They first headed north into DINKA and NUER territory, and then they headed south into present-day UGANDA, where it is believed that the group split up into subgroups. The Alur Luo settled near Lake Albert, a second Luo group occupied ACHOLI, and a third ended up in the Lake Kyoga region. Lake Kyoga was only a temporary home for latter group of Luo migrants, as they were quickly forced south by a new wave of Luo invaders, eventually landing on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria in the present-day city of Nyanza.

Many of the Bantu communities in Uganda assimilated with the Luo migrants while others resisted Luo domination and were gradually pushed into southern Nyanza during the 17th and 18th centuries. The right to live and work on the land was contingent on whether one belonged to a prominent clan, so both Luo and Bantu societies began to organize themselves in geographically based clans. At the same time, small chiefdoms were beginning to develop in the region around the lower Nzoia and Yala rivers. The largest Bantu chiefdom in the region was Wanga, and the largest Luo chiefdom was Alego. After periodic wars and rivalry the two groups eventually came together and formed one chiefdom.

Toward the end of the 18th century Wanga expanded with the help of the pastoralist MAASAI warriors. Chief Netia of the Wanga agreed to allow the Maasai to settle in the region on the condition that their warriors were at the disposal of the Wanga. Although Wanga gained territory through this tactic, the chiefdom never grew to rival the large Nilotic-speaking states to the west of Lake Victoria.

See also: VICTORIA, LAKE (Vol. I).

Nyika (Nyiha)   Ethnic group of present-day TANZANIA, thought to have originated in Mbizi. Traditionally the Nyika were hunters, but they eventually became agriculturalists and cattle herders. In the mid-19th century, during the rule of Omani Sultan SAYYID SAID (1791–1856), the Nyika became traders in MOMBASA and other towns in East Africa, exchanging captives and other goods between the KAMBA, Arab, Swahili, and Indian coast merchants.

See also: OMANI SULTANATE (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Nzima (Nzema, Apollonia)

Ethnic group and kingdom located on the coast of present-day GHANA that, in the 18th century, flourished in the region around the Tano and Ankobra rivers. Europeans often called the territory Apollonia, and in 1768 the British constructed Fort Apollonia at Beyin in the Nzima kingdom.

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In 1707, a young Nzima boy was taken to Europe by the Dutch and presented to the Duke of Wolfenbüttel. The boy was given the name William Amo and went on to attend the University of Halle in 1727 to study law and philosophy before earning his doctorate at the University of Wittenberg in 1734. Despite distinguishing himself as a scholar, Amo was eventually forced to leave Europe in 1747 due to increasing racial tensions.

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The Nzima are a subgroup of the AKAN peoples who migrated to the Guinea coast from the regions around the Ashanti-controlled city of KUMASI beginning in the late 17th century. The Nzima kingdom itself was founded by three brothers, Amihere II (fl. 1760s), Annor Blay Ackah, and Bua Kpanyili, who ruled the trading states of Ankobra, Jomoro, and Abripiquem, respectively. In the early 18th century the brothers decided to combine their states to form one large kingdom and continued to prosper by trading salt, fish, and GOLD with European merchants. The Nzima kingdom rose to the height of its power in the 1760s under Amihere II (fl. 1760s), who expanded the boundaries of his kingdom. Nzima grew as it absorbed other groups who migrated into the territory and continued to be a strong force on the coast of Ghana throughout the 18th century.

See also: ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vol. III); GOLD COAST (Vol. III).

Nzinga, Queen (Jinga, Nzingha) (c. 1582–1663)
Queen of the Mbundu people in present-day Angola

Nzinga was the daughter of King Kiluanji of the NDONGO and MATAMBA kingdoms of the MBUNDU people. These kingdoms were located in the Malanje highlands region of present-day Angola. A dictatorial ruler, King Kiluanji was dethroned by his people, after which his illegitimate son Mbandi (fl. 1610s) rose to power and forced Nzinga to flee the kingdom in order to keep her from claiming the throne.

About 1617, however, the Portuguese invaded the Malanje highlands, and Nzinga was called upon by her brother to help secure the independence of Ndongo. In 1622 she went to LUANDA and brokered an arrangement that, in addition to freeing a number of Portuguese captives in exchange for Portuguese recognition of the Ndongo kingdom, guaranteed the kingdom's assistance in the trading network. It was reported that during this meeting, Nzinga found an ingenious way to demonstrate her equality to the Portuguese governor by using one of her female attendants as a human throne when no seat was offered to her by the governor.

Also around this time, Nzinga converted to Christianity and accepted the name Dona Anna de Sousa (or Souza). Apparently, this was done primarily for political reasons and to ingratiate herself to the Portuguese. This view is supported by the fact that, when her pact with Portugal subsequently fell apart, she is reported to have abandoned Christianity. Ironically she is reputed to have reconverted for sincere religious reasons during the last years of her life.

When Nzinga's brother proved himself to be unable to resist impending colonization, Nzinga formed her own army using warriors of the IMBANGALA people. Claiming both trading rights and the throne of Matamba, she used Matamba as her home base for numerous attacks on the Portuguese and their figurehead rulers in Ndongo. She even formed a strategic alliance with the Dutch in order to fight the Portuguese. The alliance failed to produce results, and after the combined forces were defeated Nzinga regrouped her own army and continued to mount attacks on the opposition. When her forces were finally worn down, Nzinga eventually agreed to negotiate peacefully with the Portuguese, yielding to them on trade issues. She died on December 17, 1663.

Nzinga was famous for her bravery and for the inclusion of women in both her armies and her royal entourage. She was also known for always taking personal command and being at the forefront of every battle, even those that took place late in her life.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); WOMEN IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III).

Nzinga Nkuwu (r. c. 1490) *King of Kongo*

The KONGO KINGDOM, inhabited by Bantu-speaking peoples, was established at the mouth of the Congo River in the 14th century. Nzinga Nkuwu was the fifth *manikongo,* or king. Although the king was referred to as *nzambi mpunga,* or "superior person," the king's person was not considered sacred, only his power.

A Portuguese sailor named Diego Cão sailed into the mouth of the Congo River in 1483 and found Kongo villages there. He returned in 1485 and again in 1491. On this third visit he brought missionary priests, soldiers,

and trade goods. The MISSIONARIES baptized Nzinga Nkuwu and built a church. The king converted in the hope that it would help him develop trade relations with the Portuguese. He later abandoned Catholicism, but his son and successor, Nzinga Mbemba I (r. 1506–1543), became a devoted Catholic, taking the name AFONSO I and making Catholicism the state religion of Kongo.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III).

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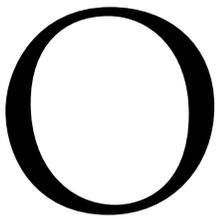
Obiri Yeboa (Nana Obiri Yeboa, Obiri Yeboa Manu) (r. c. 1660–1680) *Chief of Kwaman and uncle of the first* asantehene*, Osei Tutu*

Obiri Yeboa succeeded his brother, Oti Akenten (r. c. 1630–1660), as chief of the Kwaman, near the Ashanti town of KUMASI. After inheriting his brother's title he assumed his brother's ongoing conflict with the Domaa, against whom he declared war. Obiri Yeboa was known for his ambitious plans regarding the future of the ASHANTI EMPIRE. It was his goal to unite the states under one chief, thus making them powerful enough to be freed from their overlords, the DENKYIRA, who controlled trade in the region and to whom the Kwaman were paying tribute. Ultimately he convinced other Ashanti chiefs to establish a confederation, thereby strengthening the political unity of the various clan states, which led to the founding of the Ashanti Empire. Obiri was unable to see his plans of Ashanti unification come to fruition, as he was killed in battle with the Domaa.

See also: OSEI TUTU (Vol. III); OYOKO (Vol. III).

Ogaden Plain Dry and desolate lowland region in southeastern ETHIOPIA, north of the Shebelle River near the eastern limit of the Horn of Africa. Ogaden was primarily occupied by Somali people who, by 1500, had pushed out OROMO pastoralists to establish themselves in the region. The Somali of Ogaden conducted trade with the HARER caravans that moved along the southern Ethiopian provinces on their way to the port cities of the BENADIR COAST, on the Indian Ocean in today's SOMALIA.

Ogaden became a source of contention between Ethiopia and Somalia with the military conquests of AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543), the 16th-century ruler of the Islamic state of ADAL. In the 17th century the Somali of Ogaden faced a new threat as the Oromo infiltrated back into Ogaden and overran many parts of Ethiopia. This left the Christian monarchy in a state of disarray and ushering in a period of anarchy known as the ZEMENE MESAFINT, or "The Age of Princes."

See also: SOMALI (Vol. II).

Old Calabar City along the CROSS RIVER in present-day southwestern NIGERIA, near the Niger Delta. Founded by the EFIK peoples and made into a trading center in the early 17th century, Old Calabar was highly successful in trading with both the Europeans and the peoples of the hinterland well into the 19th century. The Efik traded fish, PALM OIL, and bananas with peoples of the hinterlands. To the Europeans, however, they exported mostly ivory and human captives, for which they obtained pewter items, beads, iron, cloth, and copper. In the 17th century, for instance, a male captive could be bought for 38 copper bars, while a female was obtained for either 36 or 37 bars. When the trade of human beings was abolished by the British in the early 19th century, palm oil and kernels became the main export commodity of Old Calabar.

The Efik founded several communities in and near Old Calabar, including Atakpa (Duke Town), Obutong (Old Town), Creek Town, Qua Town, and Henshaw Town. These towns initially operated separately and were generally equal on a political level. Eventually, they were united under Old Calabar by the members of the EKPE SOCIETY, a secret society made up of influential Efik males.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); NIGER DELTA (Vol. I); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Further reading: A. J. H. Latham, *Old Calabar, 1600–1891: The Impact of the International Economy upon a Traditional Society* (Oxford, U.K..: Clarendon Press, 1973).

Omani Sultanate Succession of rulers of Oman, located on the coast of the Arabian Peninsula, between the present-day countries of Yemen and the United Arab Emirates. An Islamic country from the seventh century, Oman was occupied by the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century. After slightly more than a century of Portuguese occupation, during which time Oman served as port of call for Portuguese ships going back and forth to India, the Omanis revolted. Driven from their headquarters at Hormuz, the Portuguese fell back on Muscat, which they managed to hold until 1650. The Omanis then succeeded in ridding themselves entirely of the Portuguese, establishing their own independent state.

Beginning in the mid-17th century Oman created an extensive trading empire that, by the end of the next century, extended throughout the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean and stretched as far as the East African coast. In 1749 the BUSAIDI dynasty assumed control in Oman, and the Busaidi sultans—who have ruled Oman right up to the 21st century—extended Omani power and wealth even further.

The Omani Sultanate reached its peak in the early years of the 19th century under SAYYID SAID (1791–1856). Shrewdly manipulating the European powers, Said also pushed East Africa into new industries and trading systems. These transformed ZANZIBAR into a thriving center for the clove trade and led to the establishment of trade networks that brought ivory and slaves to the sultanate for export to Arabia, Europe, and the United States. All this helped turn Oman into the dominant regional power.

See also: MOMBASA (Vol. III).

Further reading: C. S. Nicholls, *The Swahili Coast: Politics, Diplomacy and trade on the East African Littoral, 1798–1856* (New York: Africana Pub. Corp., 1971).

Omdurman Second-largest city in the Republic of the SUDAN, located north of KHARTOUM on the Nile River.

Al-Khandaq Fort in Oman in southeast Arabia. This castle-like fort was built in the early 1600s in what is now the town of Buraimi. The power of the Omani sultans was felt up and down the Swahili coast throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. *© Arthur Thévenart/Corbis*

Omdurman is an ancient Islamic center and is the site of Sudan's College for Arabic and Islamic Studies. The tomb of al-Mahdi is located in Omdurman. Born Muhammad Ahmad (1844–1885), al-Mahdi was one of the most respected and influential religious leaders in the history of present-day Sudan.

See also: MAHDI, MUHAMMAD AHMAD AL- (Vol. IV); OMDURMAN, BATTLE OF (Vol. IV).

Onitsha   Trading town in what is now southern NIGERIA, east of the NIGER RIVER in the state of Anambra; it became the capital of the small IGBO kingdom of the same name. In the 16th century, during the reign of Oba Esigie (c. 1517–c. 1550) a group of Igbo people from Ado na Idu, west of the kingdom of BENIN, immigrated to the Onitsha region. This led to the establishment of a number of communities, including Aboh, along the Niger. These ultimately were referred to as *Umuchima,* after Chima (fl. early 1500s), the leader of the area's inhabitants. Unlike other Igbo communities, these tended to follow the monarchic systems of Benin.

At the town of Illah, Chima's group divided into several factions, with some people going to Agbor and others to Aboh, while a third group founded Onitsha. Before these people reached Onitsha, however, Chima died, and his son Oraeze deceitfully beat out his rivals for the vacant leadership position of and proclaimed himself king.

Opokuware II   (c. 1700–1750) *Great Ashanti warrior and king and creator of the Great Oath of the Ashanti*

Opokuware was related to the great OSEI TUTU (r. c. 1680–1717), the first *asantehene,* or ruler, of the unified Ashanti nation, which eventually became the predominant power of West Africa's GOLD COAST. Chosen by Osei Tutu to be his successor, Opokuware eventually assumed the title of *asantehene* following Osei Tutu's death in 1717.

As a means of further unifying his people, Opokuware created what became known as the Great Oath of the Ashanti. The oath was based on the words *Koromante ne memeneda,* which referred to "Saturday," and "Kormante," the day and place of Osei Tutu's death. The oath made binding—and unrecantable—any pledge with which it was uttered. As a result it played an important role in pledges of allegiance between chiefs and the *asantehene,* because the oath bound the chiefs and their ruler together forever.

Opokuware's initial concern as a ruler was restoring stability to his kingdom. Once that was achieved, however, his chief interest became expanding and consolidating Ashanti power and prestige. He soon moved against the Sehwi state, which, in 1717, had attacked KUMASI, the Ashanti capital, during the war with AKYEM. Opokuware quickly defeated Sehwi, incorporating vast amounts of territory into the ASHANTI EMPIRE. He then attacked the states of TEKYIMAN and Gyaman, conquering these lands that lay to the northwest. By 1726 he had also subjugated AKWAMU, to the northeast, and had begun what would become a long-term war with WASSAW, which lay to the southwest. Soon Opokuware's domain encompassed virtually all of present-day GHANA.

By the 1730s, however, Opokuware was confronted with a threat in the form of the rising power of Akyem. In 1742 Opokuware and his army attacked and defeated Akyem, spreading Ashanti political and economic dominance to the coast. After subsequent attacks on DAGOMBA, which took place in 1744–45, the Ashanti became the Gold Coast's largest supplier of captives, ivory, and GOLD.

After this Opokuware worked to centralize and improve the administration of his kingdom. One of his primary moves was to decrease the power of the various provincial chiefs, or governors, by increasing the number of subordinates who would be directly reporting to the *asantehene.* The provincial chieftains rebelled, and their initial uprisings forced Opokuware to flee from Kumasi. Stirred on by this, such subjugated peoples as the Akyem and Wassaw revolted, attempting to free themselves of Ashanti domination.

Ultimately Opokuware overcame this opposition. By the time he died, in 1750, he had forced the governors to accept his reorganization of the government and prevented the newly expanded Ashanti nation from falling apart. The seeds of disaffection, however, had been sown, and in subsequent years discontent and rebellion continued to afflict the kingdom.

See also: OYOKO (Vol. III).

Oran (Wahran, Ouahran)   Port and city located on the Mediterranean coast of northwest ALGERIA. During the 10th century merchants from Andalusia, Spain, founded the port of Oran, giving themselves much-desired access to the inland trading routes of North Africa. The short-lived TLEMCEN kingdom, established about 1437, maintained Oran as its main port, which helped the city secure its importance as a trading center until the early 16th century.

Oran became a port for PIRATES, known as CORSAIRS, during the first decade of the 16th century. Initially the port harbored Muslim Spaniards, in 1492 and 1502, who sought to escape pressure to convert to the Catholic faith. Between 1509 and the early 18th century, several Mediterranean

countries wanting trading privileges fought over the port. Ultimately, this battle narrowed to the Ottoman Turks and Spain, with the Turks gaining control by the latter part of the 18th century. By 1831, however, France had taken control of Oran, using the port as a military base until the Algerian religious leader Abd al-Qadir (1807–1883) seized power in 1832.

See also: OTTOMON EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Orange River Located in southern Africa, this 1,200-mile (1,931-km) river stretches from LESOTHO across the Republic of SOUTH AFRICA, through both the Kalahari and Namib deserts to the Atlantic Ocean. The Orange River was known to the KHOIKHOI people as the Gariep, or "Great," River. In 1779 a Scottish merchant who worked for the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY renamed the river in honor of the royal Dutch House of Orange.

The first inhabitants along the Orange River were the Khoikhoi people, who most likely settled there some time after the 14th century. During the 18th century it was settled by TSWANA people. Around the same time, Europeans made their way across the river. The BASOTHO and GRIQUA came to the region a century later, as did MISSIONARIES and Dutch Trekboers (BOERS) fleeing the British.

The Orange River and the surrounding territory were at the center of many of the disputes that took place between the various groups that settled in the area. In 1848, the British under Sir Harry Smith claimed the land extending from the Orange River to the Vaal River, designating it the Orange River Sovereignty. After six years of strife over the territory, the British handed it over to Boer farmers in 1854, at which time the Boers established the Orange Free State.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); KALAHARI DESERT (Vols. I, II); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ORANGE FREE STATE (Vol. IV); ORANGE RIVER (Vol. I).

Orlams (Oorlams) A subgroup of the KHOIKHOI people, related to the Amraal, Berseba, Bethanie, and Witbooi. They lived mainly in western southern Africa, where they still reside today. During the 18th century the Orlams, like the Kora and GRIQUA, migrated northward to avoid the expansion of the BOERS. As a result they were able, for a time, to preserve some degree of independence.

Oromo (Galla) Ethno-linguistic group that migrated in the 16th century from southeast ETHIOPIA to their present locations in the northern, central, and western parts of the country. They also settled as far south as the Tana River region in KENYA. The Oromo are also known as the *Galla,* primarily by the AMHARA; however, it is a word that has been phased out for its derogatory implications.

The Oromo were originally pastoralists who organized in small bands and initiated attacks not only on their Christian and Muslim neighbors but among their own groups as well. The Oromo expansion was due in part to a population explosion that forced the Oromo to search for new land for themselves and pastures for their cattle. Because the Oromo had no centralized political system, each group tended to adopt the culture and RELIGION of the people among whom they settled. For instance, as the Oromo in the eastern and northern provinces mixed with the SIDAMO and Amhara people, they gradually changed their way of life from pastoralism to AGRICULTURE. And depending on where they lived, most Oromo converted either to Islam or Christianity. Even so, many maintained their language and sense of Oromo ethnicity, and some even held on to their traditional religion, especially in the south.

Prior to the Oromo invasions, the greatest threat to the Ethiopian Christian kingdom had come from the Muslim state of ADAL. By the 17th century, however, the Oromo dominated most of the northeastern and western territory, including Arsi, GOJJAM, SHOA, Welega, Harerge, and Welo. During this time the Ethiopian Christian state fell into a period of political anarchy and decentralization known as ZEMENE MESAFINT (The Age of Princes). In the 18th century the YEJJU, a Muslim Oromo group, nominally converted to Christianity and dominated GONDAR for almost 100 years.

The Ethiopian kingdom had been so devastated by the Oromo that it took more than a century to rebuild the fragmented monarchy. During this time the Oromo became acculturated to either the Muslim or Christian segments of Ethiopian society, where they have remained, making up almost half the population of Ethiopia at the beginning of the 21st century.

See also: OROMO (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History, 1570–1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Orungu Kingdom and peoples located around the mouth of the Ogooué River along the coast of present-day GABON. The Orungu kingdom developed in the early 17th century after the Orungu peoples (formerly known as the Ombéké) migrated down the Ogooué to establish themselves at places near the Ogooué estuary. It was there that the Orungu traded wood and ivory with a subgroup of the MPONGWE called the Adyumba, who then taught the Orungu how to work iron and build boats.

During the latter parts of the 17th century the Orungu migrated further toward the Cape Lopez area, as well as into portions of what is now the northern coast of Gabon. With this move came clashes with the Adyumba for control of the trade with Europeans.

The Orungu eventually prevailed and became dominant in the region and began trading in ivory, EBONY, beeswax, and honey with merchants from Portugal, France, Spain, and Britain. When the slave trade began to gain momentum in the area during the mid-18th century, the Orungu used their positions along the Ogooué River to transport captives down the river's waterways to sell to European slave traders. This allowed the Orungu to flourish until the mid to late 19th century, when French occupation and the forced end of the slave trade—which had continued well beyond the 1807 decree by the British to abolish the slave trade—reduced their power in the region.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Osei Kwadwo (Osei Kojo) (c. 1740–1777) *Ashanti king*

In 1764 Osei Kwadwo became the *asantehene,* or king, of the ASHANTI EMPIRE when Kusi Obodum (r. c. 1750–1764) was deposed. He acquired the title during a time of strife. The rebellion of their neighbors to the south, the Twifo, WASSAW to the southwest, and AKYEM to the southeast denied Ashanti traders access to the coast, leaving the Ashanti unable to purchase weapons and goods from the Europeans. Kwadwo's first act as king was to suppress the rebellion. He enlisted the aid of the FANTE, who were also blocked from accessing the trade routes. In 1765 the Ashanti and the Fante attacked, causing the Twifo and Wassaw to retreat. In subsequent battles, the allied forces of the Ashanti and Fante also defeated Akyem. The alliance between the Ashanti and the Fante unraveled, however, when the Ashanti established a camp within Fante territory. A battle ensued, which the Ashanti lost.

Osei Kwadwo had to face a new threat with the re-emergence of the Akyem and its new king, Obirikoran, who had become an ally of two of the region's smaller chiefdoms, the KROBO and the Akwapim. Fearing that the Akyem would also form an alliance with the Fante, Osei Kwadwo quickly moved against them. Although the Akyem were defeated and their king deposed, the Ashanti were beaten by the Krobo.

In the early 1770s Osei Kwadwo headed north to conquer the DAGOMBA in a campaign that provided the Ashanti with a large number of captives, who were sent to the coast and sold to the Europeans.

One important administrative change that Osei Kwadwo made during his reign was the appointment and installation of Ashanti nobles as regional commissioners. These administrators were responsible for overseeing the provinces in the name of the kingdom. He also dis-patched representatives to other towns on the coast in order to guarantee that European traders paid rent for their forts and castles, an action that enabled the Ashanti to exercise control over the coast more effectively.

See also: TWIFO (Vol. II).

Osei Tutu (c. 1680–c. 1717) *Warrior king of the Ashanti Empire; credited as the creator of the Golden Stool*

Osei Tutu became the fourth ruler of the ASHANTI EMPIRE—and the first to hold the title *asantehene*—upon the death of his uncle, OBIRI YEBOA (r. c. 1660–1680). Osei Tutu's greatest accomplishment was the unification of local clan groups into the powerful ASHANTI EMPIRE.

From the mid-16th century to the late 17th century a number of clan groups that had migrated into the region of KUMASI, in what is now GHANA, formed several AKAN states, including Ashanti and DENKYIRA. Being the most powerful of these Akan states at the time, Denkyira reaped most of the benefits generated by the trade of GOLD and kola nuts in the region. However, the oppressive Denkyira rule created dissent among the other Akan groups. Osei Tutu used this deep hatred of Denkyira to merge the smaller states into one union.

The first step toward unification was the creation of the GOLDEN STOOL, a symbol that was used to solidify the creation of the new kingdom. Osei Tutu named KUMASI his capital and established an annual unifying event, the Odwira Festival, for all the states to attend. He designed a new constitution, appointing himself the divine king and forming a council of the heads of the states.

The last step in creating the Ashanti Empire was to remove the Denkyira from power. Between 1699 and 1701 Osei Tutu led a newly formed army into war and defeated Denkyira. One of the primary effects of this was to allow the Ashanti access to trade with Europe. Under Osei Tutu's rule, the Ashanti Empire tripled in size and became a strong warring nation. His rule continued until 1717, when he was killed during a war against AKYEM, another Akan state.

See also: OYOKO (Vol. III).

Oshogbo Town in the southwestern part of present-day NIGERIA located on the Oshun River in the state of Osun. Founded in the 17th century by ILESHA settlers from Ibokun, Oshogbo was, until the 19th century, tributary to the kingdom of Ilesha. The Ilesha strategically picked the Oshogbo site so they could observe the activities of the Oyo, who had expanded their kingdom and trade route to the nearby town of Ede. The Ilesha also wanted to monitor the *timi,* the Ede ruler designated by the Oyo.

According to oral tradition, Oshogbo was founded by the goddess Oshun, after whom the Oshun River is named.

Legend states that Oshun placed the town beside the deepest levels of the river so that the people of Oshogbo would have an abundance of fish. The king of Oshogbo was called *ataoja* (*atewogbeja*), which means "the one who accepts the fish." Tradition maintained that the first *ataoja* was Laro, who, it was said, fed the fish of the river Oshun and for his good deed was given a potion that ensured fertility among the Oshogbo women. The two most notable shrines dedicated to the goddess Oshun are the Ile Oshun and the Ojubo Oshun.

Although primarily an agricultural society, the Oshogbo people have long been famous for their weaving and for a dying procedure called *adire*. In earlier times the process was used for renewing old cloth. In more recent times, however, it has become an important industry. In it, starch is painted or stencilled onto cloth using techniques similar to tie-dying. Although *adire* cloth now is seen in many different colors, it was originally produced only in an indigo blue.

Osu (Christiansborg)

Coastal GA-DANGME village, in present-day GHANA, that ultimately became one of the nuclei of ACCRA, Ghana's modern capital and its largest city. During the 17th century traders from many European countries were looking for accessible ports along what they called the GOLD COAST of West Africa. Beginning in the 1650s, they established trading forts at Fort James, Fort Crèvecoeur, and Christiansborg Castle. These grew into, respectively, James Town, Dutch Accra, and Osu, the three towns around which the city of Accra eventually developed. Like the other independent Ga-Dangme towns, Osu had its own royal stool, or symbol of leadership.

In 1661 the town passed from Swedish to Danish hands, at which time the Danes built Christiansborg Castle, naming it after King Christian IV of Denmark. Then, between 1679 and 1683, the castle was a Portuguese possession. It was acquired by the British in 1850, at which time it began serving as their colonial headquarters in the region.

See also: DENMARK AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); TRADING STATIONS, EUROPEAN (Vol. III).

Ottoman Empire and Africa

Vast and powerful Islamic empire that lasted from 1290 to 1922. It was ruled from the province of Anatolia, located in the western region of what is now the country of Turkey.

By the mid-16th century the Ottoman Empire stretched over portions of southeast Europe and most of the Middle East. It controlled most of North Africa, including present-day ALGERIA, TUNISIA, LIBYA, and EGYPT. MOROCCO, too, came under the Ottoman influence, but

The "conqueror," Muhammad II (r. 1451–1481), ruler of the Ottoman Empire. Here he is depicted in the turban of a sultan. His capture of the city of Constantinople, in 1453, brought about the fall of the Byzantine Empire. © *Bettmann/Corbis*

its strong sultans managed to escape the political domination endured by the the rest of North Africa.

Located in what is now the Turkish city of Istanbul, the government of the Ottoman Empire became known as Bâbiâli (in Turkish), or Sublime Porte (from the French), both meaning "High Gate" or "Gate of the Eminent," in reference to the gate that guarded the city's government buildings.

Established by the Turkish chief Osman (r. c. 1290–1324) in the early 14th century, the Ottoman Empire completed numerous conquests over the next two centuries to rule areas in the present-day Balkan Peninsula, as well as in several other modern European countries, including Austria and Hungary.

Beginning around the early 16th century, however, the focus of Ottoman expansion shifted to the continent of Africa with the reign of the ninth Ottoman ruler, Selim

Ottoman Empire in Africa 1683–1699

FRANCE

Danube R.

Vienna

Venice

SPAIN

Don R.

Adriatic Sea

Belgrade   Nicopolis

Kafa

Black Sea

Ceuta

Rome

Sofia

Salonika

Istanbul

Sinop

Chaldiran

Caspian Sea

Algiers

Ankara

PERSIA

Tunis

MOREA

Aegean
Sea

Aydin

Adana

Mediterranean Sea

RHODES

Tigris R.

Euphrates R.

Basra

Tripoli

Jerusalem

Persian Gulf

Alexandria

Suez

Cairo

Nile R.

ARABIA

AFRICA

Medina

Mecca

Red Sea

■ (black)	Ottoman Turks, 1300
■ (dark gray)	Acquisitions, 1300–59
▦ (horizontal lines)	Acquisitions, 1359–1451
▨ (light gray)	Acquisitions, 1451–81
▩ (dotted gray)	Acquisitions, 1512–20
▥ (vertical lines)	Acquisitions, 1520–66
▦ (dense dots)	Acquisitions, 1566–1683

—— Boundary of the Ottoman
Empire at its greatest extent, 1683–99

0   500 Miles

0   500 Kilometers

I (r. 1512–1520). The reign of Selim I, who was known as "the Grim," was characterized by a militant territorial expansion that nearly doubled the size of the empire. In 1516–17 Selim led the effort to establish a new sultanate in what is now Egypt. The war pitted his artillery-laden army corps, known as Janissaries, against the sword-carrying Egyptian MAMLUKS. Emerging victorious, Selim became the spiritual and secular ruler of the new Ottoman territory of Egypt by assuming the Islamic title of *caliph*. During the same time, he also sent the Turkish pirate Khayr ad-Din Barbarossa (c. 1466–1546) to the west, where he succeeded in taking the city of AL-GIERS, in present-day Algeria, in the name of Selim I and Ottoman rule.

After Selim I died, in 1520, the sultanate passed to his son, Suleyman I (r. 1520–1566), who eventually came to be called "the Magnificent" for bringing the Ottoman Empire to the height of its power. Under Suleyman's reign, larger areas of what is now Algeria were taken, and Barbarossa was put in command of the Ottoman naval forces. By 1551 the city of TRIPOLI in present-day Libya was overtaken by Suleyman's forces, and, as the annexa-

tion of regions of North Africa became more widespread, the influence of the empire was felt further to the west in what is now Morocco. Fearing the threat of a possible invasion, the Moroccan sultan, Muhammad II (r. 1540–1557), led an invasion to capture Algiers from the Ottomans in 1554. Although Muhammad's forces were successful in capturing the Algerian city of TLEMCEN, they were unable to either depose the Turks from Algeria or loosen the empire's hold over the rest of northern Africa.

The final Ottoman conquest of the North African territories came in 1574, under the reign of Selim II (r. 1566–1574), when the city of Tunis, in what is now Tunisia, was captured from Spain. While the empire continued to grow with the taking of Tunis and other European territories, the reign of Selim II, who became known as "the Drunkard," was characterized by other political setbacks, which would mark the beginning of the empire's slow decline.

Over the next two centuries the relationship of the Ottoman Empire to North Africa was one of tension and political change. Whereas in the 16th century the North African territories were controlled by Turkish rulers, by

the 17th century local military leaders had regained control of their governments. These provinces then began to operate as tributary states, rather than true Ottoman territories, and gained wealth and power by engaging in the pirating of European ships. Although piracy was effectively outlawed in 1699, the practice continued in the waters off of North Africa well into the 18th century.

Although northern Africans resented Ottoman rule, the majority of them were allied with the Turks through their common Islamic beliefs. So, despite the resentment, the Ottomans were often looked to for diplomatic and military aid against non-Muslim powers. In 1574, for instance, Mai IDRIS ALAWMA (r. 1571–1603) of the KANEM-BORNU empire in the central Sudan region needed Ottoman aid. He sent an envoy to Istanbul to ask the reigning Ottoman sultan, Murad III (r. 1574–1595), for protection for his people in Turkish territories and for help in containing threats from the TUAREGS. Three years later, in 1577, Murad III sent a letter of agreement to help the empire. Later diplomatic efforts between the Ottomans and Kanem-Bornu brought about political ties and beneficial trading agreements.

The country of Morocco also forged a relationship with the empire in the late 18th century, the purpose of which was mostly to obtain firearms for Moroccan soldiers, as well as to establish the Turks as a political ally against the threat of French invasion.

Even though the Ottomans never ruled beyond North Africa, their influence was also felt in the present-day African countries of ERITREA, DJIBOUTI, Republic of the SUDAN, TANZANIA, and in ZANZIBAR.

During the course of the 18th century the Ottoman Empire's decline began in earnest as a succession of wars broke out in Europe and internal dissension within the Turkish military ranks increased. In Egypt the warrior Mamluks were also regaining their strength, and in 1757 an influential Mamluk bey, or governor, named Ali Bey al-Ghazzawi (1728–1773), came to power. Known as al-Djinn (the Devil), Ali Bey led a revolt against the Ottoman Empire in 1769 after which he proclaimed himself sultan of Egypt and asserted his country's independence from the Ottomans. His reign lasted until he was defeated by Turkish forces in 1773 and was forced to give up the title of bey to his rival. Though the Ottomans once again had control over Egypt, their rule lasted only another quarter of a century. At that time France was becoming increasingly powerful under Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821). Napoleon advanced from Europe, setting his sights on

taking Egypt from the Ottomans. In July of 1798, he succeeded in defeating the Mamluks at what became known as the Battle of the Pyramids. Later, in July of 1799, he defeated the Ottoman armies under the leadership of Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) at the city of Aboukir to take control of Egypt.

The Ottoman Empire was ruled by the Osmanli dynasty. The word _Ottoman_ comes from the anglicized version of _Osmanli_, which translates as "sons of Osman."

Egypt remained under French rule until 1801, when the Ottomans once again regained control of their former territory. Their rule was short-lived, however, and by 1805 the Egyptians were able to regain much of their independence under the pasha, or military commander, known as MUHAMMAD ALI (r. 1805–1848). Despite this setback the Ottoman Empire still held sway over what is now Algeria, Libya, and Tunisia until the latter part of the 19th century, when Algeria and Tunisia were lost to the French. Tripoli, in Libya, was the only Ottoman territory to remain under the empire's dominion until it, too, was taken by the Italians, in the early 20th century.

See also: CORSAIRS (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Justin McCarthy, _The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923_ (New York: Longman, 1997); Donald Quataert, _The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922_ (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Ouagadougou (Wagadugu)   Capital city of the Mossi state of the same name, located in present-day central BURKINA FASO. Ouagadougou, the city, was founded in the mid-11th century; the Ouagadougou kingdom was founded in the 15th century, and the city then became the seat of the Mossi _mogho naba,_ or ruler. The MOSSI STATES, or kingdoms, included YATENGA, DAGOMBA, FADA-N-GURMA, Nanumba, and MAMPRUSI.

Although the Mossi States never unified to become a true empire, they maintained a strong military presence and occupied a vast stretch of land in the area of present-day northern GHANA and Burkina Faso. The Ouagadougou ECONOMY was based mostly on the trading of local agricultural products, but Ouagadougou did achieve some regional economic importance because it lay between the GOLD-producing AKAN states of the forests and the trans-Saharan trade centers of TIMBUKTU, JENNE, and Gao. Traders carried gold north to be brought across the

desert and came back with salt and dried fish, which were sold at Ouagadougou's central market.

The Mossi exported some COTTON, iron tools, and slave laborers, and they imported kola nuts from the forest regions to the south. The Yarse, Muslim merchants who lived in Ouagadougou, conducted trade with DYULA merchants, whose commercial ties stretched eastward to the HAUSA STATES in present-day NIGERIA, and westward to present-day SENEGAL. In the 19th century Ouagadougou also traded with the FULANI traders of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE.

Ouagadougou began its rise to prominence among the Mossi States in the 15th century under Niandfo (c. 1441–1511). The *mogho naba* became powerful collecting agricultural products from the outlying villages and levying heavy taxes on the sale of captives in the kingdom. The city reached its height during the rule of Mogho Naba Waraga (c. 1666–1681), who organized the royal court and laid out the city so that his residence was near those of his senior officials and earth priests.

See also: OUAGADOUGOU (Vol. II, V).

Ovimbundu Large Umbundu-speaking ethnic group of what is now ANGOLA in western Central Africa; major intermediaries in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE after the end of the 1700s. The Ovimbundu lived in the highlands of the BENGUELA plateau below the Kwanza River and the NDONGO kingdom of the MBUNDU. They were primarily agriculturalists who cultivated MAIZE, beans, and other vegetables, as well as fruits. The Ovimbundu also engaged in hunting, fishing, ironworking, cattle herding, and salt MINING.

During the 17th and 18th centuries IMBANGALA emigrants from the LUNDA EMPIRE founded states among the Ovimbundu. In the 1700s there were more than 20 Ovimbundu kingdoms, the smaller of which were generally tributaries of the larger ones, which included Bailundu, Bié (Bihe), and Wambu. The Ovimbundu kingdoms were ruled by the king, his queen, and his royal council and court. The council consisted of members of the royal dynasty, as well as free men and slaves, and had the power to both elect and depose the king. The Ovimbundu king was an important religious leader but held less political power than his equivalent in the Lunda states or the KONGO KINGDOM. His principal authority lay in representing the kingdom to foreign powers, waging war, and dispensing justice.

The Ovimbundu kingdoms were divided into districts and sometimes subdistricts, each containing a number of villages (*ovaimbo*) that were presided over by a local patriarch (*sekulu*). Some districts resembled independent tributary kingdoms, which were governed by princes who established ruling dynasties in their territory. Other districts were administered by officials appointed by the king, and still others were governed by local chiefs whose positions were inherited.

The center of Ovimbundu village life was the dance floor. Each village (*imbo*) was divided into four units (*ovitawila*), and the dance floor was placed in the largest unit. The dance floor, where festivals and ceremonies were held, was the social and religious heart of the village. Dancing was vital to the Ovimbundu, who danced from the afternoon through the night, and often for several days in a row. They had a saying: "When you see a drum, dance: A drum may not be seen twice."

Besides the dance floor, the men's clubhouse was an important village institution. Men and boys gathered in the clubhouse every evening for meals of corn porridge and relish, beans, meat, mushrooms, or greens. Here the men discussed work, settled disputes, gossiped, and educated their youth.

During the 17th century the Portuguese began trying to penetrate the interior of Angola. But steep mountains isolated them from the Benguela highlands, and they did not succeed in infiltrating the region until the next century. In 1769 the Portuguese built their first *presidio,* or fort, in the highlands, causing clashes with the Ovimbundu that led to major wars from 1774 to 1776. At the end of the conflict, during which two Ovimbundu kings were captured, the Ovimbundu began trading reluctantly with the Portuguese. By the end of the century the Ovimbundu were major players in the slave trade, raiding neighboring groups to the east and southeast, whom they referred to as *ovingangela,* or "less than human." By 1800 the Ovimbundu were important intermediaries in the regional trade networks between the ports of LUANDA and LOANGO and the interior, where they exchanged cloth, guns, alcohol, corn, and PALM OIL for wax, ivory, and slaves.

See also: DANCE (Vol. I); OVIMBUNDU (Vols. II, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Oyo empire Located in southwestern NIGERIA, this Yoruba state flourished from the mid-17th to mid-18th centuries. At the height of its power, from 1650 to 1750, the Oyo empire controlled the region between the Volta and Niger rivers, including the kingdoms of BENIN, and NUPE, as well as the areas occupied by the EGBA. Historians generally consider Oyo the most important of the early Yoruba states.

The ruler of Oyo was called the *alafin*. He initially ruled from Igboho and, after the late 18th century, from Old Oyo. Oyo was a relatively minor state at the beginning of the 16th century and was even conquered, in 1550, by its northern neighbors, BORGU and Nupe. Under the leadership of Alafin Orompoto (fl. 1560–1570), however, Oyo began to strengthen and expand. Orompoto, who had acquired a great deal of wealth in commercial trading, could afford to finance a trained army and a force of cavalry. As its military forces became more powerful, so did the kingdom.

By the 18th century Oyo territory had grown substantially, as did its ECONOMY, which flourished as a result of increased trade with the Europeans. In 1738, at the peak of Oyo's military power, it subjugated the kingdom of DAHOMEY (in today's Republic of BENIN). Although a series of struggles between Oyo and Dahomey to its west ensued, the Oyo empire dominated Dahomey until 1748, when Dahomey once again rebelled.

The Oyo empire dominated a vast region, but each state was governed by its own administration. The states, however, were required to pay yearly tribute, and in return for their homage and loyalty to the *alafin,* they were protected by the empire's military forces.

During the rule of Alafin Abiodun (r. 1770–1789), the empire continued to prosper economically, but with a lack of interest in the army, the kingdom became vulnerable to its enemies both at home and abroad. By the time Alafin Awole (fl. 1793) succeeded the throne, the empire was in steady decline. Disgruntled tributary states, internal strife within the government, and the loss of trade routes all contributed to the downfall of the Oyo empire. It was finally conquered by the FULANI early in the 19th century.

See also: OYO KINGDOM (Vol. II); OYO MESSI (Vol. II); TEGBESU (Vol. III); VOLTA BASIN (Vol. III); YORUBA (Vol. II); YORUBALAND (Vol. III).

Further reading: Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire c. 1600–c. 1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1977).

Oyoko AKAN royal clan that ruled the ASHANTI EMPIRE for nearly 200 years. Under the first Oyoko ruler, OBIRI YEBOA (d. c. 1680), the Ashanti embarked on a series of campaigns against the rival DENKYIRA state. They succeeded in conquering the Denkyira, under the second Oyoko king, OSEI TUTU (d. 1712), and established themselves as the dominant military and commercial power along the GOLD COAST of present-day GHANA.

Considered the founder of the Ashanti nation, Osei Tutu continued the Ashanti conquests and established the GOLDEN STOOL as the kingdom's sacred symbol. By the time the third Oyoko king, OPOKUWARE II, died in 1750, the Ashanti ruled supreme along the Gold Coast. The Ashanti, led by the Oyoko clan, maintained their power until the mid-1800s.

Ozolua (Ozolua the Conqueror, Prince Okpame) (r. 1481–1504) *Warrior king of the kingdom of Benin*

Prince Okpame, as Ozolua was then known, had been exiled from the kingdom of BENIN since the death of his father, Ewuare, in 1473. While in exile he remained active, conducting military campaigns against the Uzea, Uromi, Akoko, NUPE, Igallas, and Igbirras.

After a series of unsuccessful rulers the people of Benin asked Prince Okpame to return. In 1481 he was designated Oba (King) Ozolua at Usama and later assumed the title *ogie-akpolo-kpolo,* meaning "emperor." Ozolua led Benin to victory in as many as 200 battles and was celebrated for his military prowess. Many of his campaigns were against the Iye-korhimowo people who occupied the region east of the Orhiomwo River. Much of Ozolua's success can be attributed to his relationship with the Portuguese, who supplied him with firearms and weaponry. At the height of Ozolua's rule Benin's borders stretched across present-day southwestern NIGERIA from the NIGER RIVER to LAGOS, on the coast.

Eventually Ozolua's troops grew tired of his appetite for war and turned against him. After an attack on Uromi, near the Niger River, Ozolua's general, Laisolobi, betrayed him and assisted in his assassination. Ozolua was succeeded by his son Esigie (r. c. 1504–1550).

See also: EWUARE (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

P

palm oil Liquid extracted from the fermented fruit of the oil palm, a tree found throughout regions of West Africa. Groups including the IGBO, EFIK, IJO, Yoruba, ITSEKIRI, and Ijesha, all located in present-day NIGERIA, were successful traders of palm oil. The extent to which palm oil was traded slowly increased after the 16th century, when the Europeans began to acquire more of the product to ship overseas. Thereafter, palm oil was brought from the Nigerian interior to the coast and bartered for other African goods, such as ivory, GOLD, yams, salt, and kola nuts, while European traders offered such items as metals and weapons for the oil.

During the 17th and 18th centuries when the West African trading ECONOMY was dominated by the slave trade, palm oil was a minor trade item. The most popular palm oil at that time was red palm oil, which was a staple product on the slave ships crossing the Atlantic. By the late 18th century, however, palm oil was being exported in larger amounts to both France and England, where it was used not only for foodstuffs but also for making candle wax, and as a lubricant for machinery. After the British abolished their slave trade, in 1807, the demand for palm oil jumped significantly. For instance, in the year 1790, only 130 tons (132 metric tons) were sent overseas, generally in large casks, or barrels. By 1810 the amount was up to 1,287 tons (1,308 metric tons), and it had reached 10,673 tons (10,844 metric tons) by 1830.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. IV); ILESHA (Vol. III); PALM OIL (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Palm oil being pressed at Whydah, along the Gold Coast of West Africa. The oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*), the fruit of which is pressed to produce the oil, is native to Africa and was exported to Malaysia, Indonesia, and other areas around the globe. *© Corbis*

Pare Bantu-speaking group that has long resided in the Pare Mountains, an area named after them in present-day northeastern TANZANIA, south of Mt. Kilimanjaro. Although little is known about the early history of the various peoples inhabiting the area, it is believed that, about 1500, the ruling clan of blacksmiths, the Washana, was overthrown by a clan known as the Wasuya. At about the same time, another group, the Wag-

wamba, moved into the southern part of the region and were joined by various groups originating in the Taita Hills as well as nearby mountains and grassland regions. Between these two zones a middle area was populated by peoples from North and South Pare. This area eventually became home to people migrating from areas outside Pare as well.

Between then and the 19th century various trade routes and caravan routes passed through the region, and it became known as an area in which ivory and human captives were traded. Until the mid-1800s the Pare remained quite separate from the neighboring Gweno people. Gradually, however, the two groups grew closer together, and in time they came to be seen as similar; today they are indistinguishable.

The Pare were in frequent contact with the neighboring MAASAI, and the two peoples found many ways in which to interact. For their tools, for example, the Maasai needed iron, a material manufactured by the Pare. In turn, the Pare needed the livestock that was fairly abundant among the Maasai. As a result the two peoples developed the custom of leaving offerings for each other at Pare religious shrines.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); KILIMANJARO, MOUNT (Vol. I); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Park, Mungo (1771–1806) *Scottish explorer known for his travels on the Niger River*

In 1795 Park, a surgeon, led an expedition funded by the British African Association to study the course of the NIGER RIVER. From the mouth of the Gambia River, Park journeyed nearly 200 miles (322 km) upstream to the British trading post of Pisania. In 1796 he reached the BAMBARA state of SEGU, in today's Republic of MALI. His account of this journey, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, was published in 1797.

Mungo Park's reports from his first Niger Expedition contained information about shea butter, a greasy substance extracted from the nut of the shea tree and used both in cooking and as a skin moisturizer. Because of Park's report, the scientific name for shea butter is *Butyrospermum parkii.*

The British government asked Park to lead another expedition up the Niger in 1805. His team made it to BAMAKO and then continued through the interior delta. They made it as far as Bussa, in present-day NIGERIA, before being attacked by unknown indigenous inhabitants. Park drowned in the attack.

See also: EXPLORATION (Vol. III); GAMBIA RIVER (Vol. II); NIGER RIVER (Vol. I); SHEA BUTTER (Vol. I).

Further reading: Mungo Park (Kate Ferguson Marsters, ed.), *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000).

pashalik of Timbuktu Reign of pashas, or military commanders, sent to govern the city of TIMBUKTU from 1591 until 1617; the pashas were sent to this city, in present-day Republic of MALI, by the sultan of what is now MOROCCO. These pashas were elected by the army and were generally Timbuktu-born descendants of the original Moroccan military officers.

The first such pasha to govern the merchant city of Timbuktu was JUDAR PASHA (fl. 16th–17th c.). A military officer, Judar led the formidable Moroccan force that, in 1591, overcame the SONGHAI armies controlling the city. He was, however, quickly relieved of his office by the Moroccan sultan, Mawlay ABD AL-MANSUR (r. 1578–1603), when Judar attempted to return the army to Morocco in exchange for a monetary deal with the Songhai ruler, Askia Ishaq II (r. 1588–1591). Judar Pasha's replacement, a military officer named Mahmud bin Zarkun (d. 1594), drove the Songhai from Timbuktu and began the process of exiling Muslim scholars from the city's famed SANKORE UNIVERSITY. After Zarkun was killed by the Songhai, Judar briefly came back into service before the role of pasha was once again passed to another.

By 1617 the office had been filled eight times. In the years that followed, the pashalik began to lose touch with the Moroccan sultanate, and most of the subsequent pashas were born in Timbuktu. Without the financial and military aid of Morocco, the pashalik slowly began to become less stable, and the reigns of the pashas grew shorter. By 1660, for example, 19 pashas had taken office; by 1750 another 86 had attempted to govern the affairs of Timbuktu—with most being forcibly ousted from their elected post. By the late 18th century the office was handed down a hereditary line of succession, but the era of the pashalik did not last much longer. The last pasha, known as Uthman, ruled Timbuktu just before the TUAREGS permanently routed the Moroccans from the city in 1833.

The reigning pasha was generally in charge of both the military as well as the MAKHZAN, or local treasury house, that was used for the collection of taxes. Beyond requiring approval for any newly elected chief, the pashas rarely intervened in the political affairs of the remaining

Songhai peoples. At the beginning of a new term in office, each new pasha demanded that the local brokers of Timbuktu pay him tribute, which he in turn shared with the men under his command. When a particular pasha became greedy about his wealth, his army was known to immediately remove him from power.

See also: ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II).

Pate Island Small mangrove-lined island in the LAMU archipelago off the coast of KENYA. Pate was an important trading post and, from the 15th to the 18th centuries, was one of the great city-states of the SWAHILI COAST. The island was ruled by the NABAHANI DYNASTY, which originated in Oman, Arabia, starting in the 17th century.

Pate's KISWAHILI-speaking inhabitants lived in towns protected by sturdy coral walls. They built ships, wove cloth, and cultivated crops. The people of Pate maintained a close relationship with Kenya's other coastal port cities, including MALINDI and MOMBASA, from which they obtained ivory, iron, and other items that they could not get on the island.

During the 16th and 17th centuries Pate developed a sophisticated cloth industry. Weavers there produced high-quality silk and embroidered COTTON, which they traded with Arabs, the Portuguese, and the African peoples of the Swahili coast. Fine cloth was a symbol of wealth and status in Swahili society, and it was worn primarily by kings and cultured aristocrats.

Beginning in the 16th century Pate came under constant siege from warring Swahili and Arab dynasties, as well as from the Portuguese, who established settlements there in the 1500s. The Portuguese built Christian missions as well as a factory and a customhouse to administer taxes on trade. The Muslim inhabitants soon grew restless under Portuguese influence and appealed for assistance to the imam of the OMANI SULTANATE, under whose protection the island fell. During the second half of the 17th century Omani Arabs sacked the Portuguese forts at Pate. The older Swahili families did not resign themselves to Omani rule, however. As a result, in 1727, they formed an alliance with the Portuguese to oust the Omanis, but turned against them soon after.

When the BUSAIDI dynasty gained power in Oman, in 1741, the rival MASRUI dynasty, which ruled in the nearby coastal city of Mombasa, took the opportunity to declare itself independent from Oman and extend its influence to other settlements in the area. The two families continued to fight among themselves as well as with the Nabahani for control of Pate well into the 19th century.

See also: PATE (Vol. II).

Pemba Island Island off the northeastern coast of present-day TANZANIA. A lush, green island, it was one of the leading city-states of the SWAHILI COAST. Its population, which included the descendants of Persian Gulf traders who immigrated to the island well before the 10th century, was long engaged in both trade and AGRICULTURE. Over the centuries Pemba became the landing place for many of the immigrants arriving on the East Africa coast from Arabia and Asia. The island was taken by the Portuguese during the 16th century, but at the end of the 17th century it fell under the influence of the OMANI SULTANATE. Several periods of unrest marked the island's history between the Portuguese pullback and the 19th century, when the Omanis, under SAYYID SAID (1791–1856), solidified their control.

See also: PEMBA ISLAND (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Pende Large ethno-linguistic subgroup of the MBUNDU that emigrated from ANGOLA in the 1600s. Before the 17th century the Pende lived to the northeast of the LIBOLO, SONGO, and the kingdom of NDONGO, and the KONGO KINGDOM lay to the northwest. The Pende controlled valuable salt mines, whose wealth encouraged the emergence of several Pende kingdoms. Pende kings derived their power from the *lunga,* a sacred emblem of lineage that was believed to have originated in the waters, along with the ancestors of the Pende. The *lunga* usually took the form of a human figure sculpted in wood, and the guardian of the *lunga* controlled the waterways, rainfall, and fields of his territory. During the 1500s the power of the Pende *lunga* kings declined due to the expansion of the neighboring kingdom of MATAMBA and the rise of a different system of Pende kingship, the *ngola a kiluanje.* During the same period, some Pende groups were absorbed by the Libolo to create a new ethno-linguistic subgroup called *Mbondo.*

In the late 16th century the Portuguese founded the colony of Angola and began expanding the slave trade. In response to these developments the Pende migrated further into the interior, east of the Kasai River and the Kongo kingdom. From their new home outside of the immediate sphere of Portuguese influence, the Pende established relations with the other peoples of Angola in order to continue their salt-trading activities.

About the turn of the 18th century the Pende came under the influence of the LUNDA EMPIRE, though they managed to retain most of their own cultural traditions. The Lunda introduced new ruling titles to the Pende,

who were required to pay tribute to the Lunda *mwata yamvo,* or king.

See also: SCULPTURE (Vol. I); SALT MINING (Vol. II); SALT TRADE (Vol. II).

Phalaborwa mines Important copper and iron mines located in the present-day eastern Transvaal province of SOUTH AFRICA. Beginning about the 16th century Phalaborwa was ruled by the SOTHO people. Known as a copper-rich area since before the eighth century, the Phalaborwa region began to gain prominence during the 16th and 17th centuries. (It was at that time that the Sotho moved northward into Phalaborwa from parts of what is now SWAZILAND.) Even though the number of Sotho who lived in Phalaborwa was small, the emerging line of chiefs built upon the already profitable MINING industry. In part this was achieved by trading iron and copper bars and, in part, by making agricultural utensils. The latter were traded with their agrarian neighbors for FOOD and cattle.

By the mid-18th century the success of the Phalaborwa mines allowed the Sotho to assert control over the neighboring Lovedu peoples, which led to an even greater stake in the iron and copper trade. Nevertheless, the Sotho's domination of the area was short-lived, primarily because the lack of good soil left them unable to establish an agricultural community. (The Phalaborwa region also harbored the cattle-killing tsetse fly, which further limited the Sotho's efforts at establishing themselves in the region.) The mining industry, however, continued to thrive, despite the lack of a large, powerful state. The mines, in fact, remained consistently profitable throughout the 19th century.

See also: COPPER (Vols. I, II); IRON (Vol. II); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III).

pirates Maritime mercenaries who travel from port to port attacking and plundering commercial vessels for profit. Although piracy had been practiced in various parts of the world since before the common era, pirates were not too common around Africa until the beginning of the 16th century, with the beginnings of truly international sea trade.

The most successful pirates working the Mediterranean coast of North Africa were known as CORSAIRS. The Ottoman Empire employed groups of corsairs, some of them Greek, to help them control the movement of European trading ships along the Mediterranean coast. In the early 16th century the Ottoman government even formed an alliance with the Turkish brothers and corsairs, Khayr al-Din (d. 1546) and Aruj (d. 1518) Barbarossa. The Barbarossas helped the Ottomans challenge Spain for control of what is now the Mediterranean coast

of ALGERIA. Although Aruj was killed during the ensuing battles, Khayr al-Din was eventually successful in bringing the city of ALGIERS under Ottoman rule by 1518. Al-Din was later made an admiral of the Ottoman navy by Sultan Suleyman I (r. 1520–1566). Barbarossa also helped the Turks establish a presence at the port of Tunis, in TUNISIA, which along with Algiers would eventually become two of the main ports for the empire.

Piracy, in fact, contributed to the economies of many coastal cities in northern Africa. Until the early 19th century, coastal towns in present-day MOROCCO and Ottoman territories of Algeria, Tunisia, LIBYA, and EGYPT (an area known collectively as the BARBARY COAST), derived much of their income by trading pirated goods. Until the late 18th century the main targets of Barbary pirates were European ships from France, Britain, the Netherlands, and Italian city-states. After the end of the American Revolution in 1783, North African pirating ships took to plundering American ships on the Atlantic, too.

The Europeans and Americans were heavily involved in piracy themselves and often competed against one another for control over the best sea routes and their ports. In East Africa the European pirates worked the Indian Ocean trade routes, intercepting ships laden with goods either destined for or coming from ports on the SWAHILI COAST. Pirates were especially active around the island of ZANZIBAR, located about 22 miles (35 km) off the coast of TANZANIA. Portuguese pirates were well aware of the value of the ivory, metals, and cereals that made up the cargo of the Indian Ocean trading ships. Their raids were frequent beginning around 1503.

Another island that was a favorite haunt of pirates was MADAGASCAR, located about 250 miles (400 km) off the coast of what is now MOZAMBIQUE, in southeastern Africa. Madagascar became a pirate haven toward the end of the 17th century, and there was even rumored to be a utopian-style republic, Libertalia, founded by a band of like-minded American, French, and British pirates. Although the existence of Libertalia has not been confirmed, it is certain that the island of Madagascar was home to hundreds of European, Arab, Persian, and Indian sailors seeking individual wealth through piracy. Many of these pirates were active in the trade of human captives and used islands as their bases for raids on the coastal kingdoms of Africa and Madagascar.

A form of legalized European piracy called privateering began in the latter part of the 16th century. Similar to the Turkish corsairs of the Mediterranean, privateers were commissioned by their governments to attack and loot enemy ships as a means of protecting their nation's interests. The written commission that legalized the raids of privateers was called a "letter of marque." If a privateer carried a letter of marque, he was spared the harsh punishment of imprisonment, hanging, or beheading that was normal punishment for such actions.

Other bounty sailors who preyed on seagoing commercial ships were the buccaneers, who were mainly of French, British, and Dutch origin. Buccaneers operated much the same way as pirates but they were active in the Caribbean Sea, plundering ships around such places as Jamaica, Haiti, southern Mexico, and Brazil. The ships on which they preyed were often bound for Europe and filled with proceeds from the transatlantic African slave trade.

The word *buccaneer* comes from the Taino/Arawak word for the grill, or *boucan,* on which beef was smoked to preserve it for sale or later use. The Spanish call this method of cooking *barbacoa,* from which the English word *barbecue* is derived. Originally, the buccaneers were the illegal cattle hunters in western Hispaniola (modern Haiti) who used this kind of grill. The term later became applied to pirates operating in the region.

Piracy in northern Africa began to decline around the turn of the 17th century. After their 1697 defeat by the combined forces of Austria, Poland, and the Italian city-state of Venice, the Ottoman Turks were forced to sign what became known as the Treaty of Karlowitz. Among other things, this pact between the Turks and the three European powers required the Turkish government to defend European merchant ships from North African pirates. Nevertheless, raids on the European vessels continued for almost two more decades, until the Ottoman sultan Ahmet (Ahmed) III (r. 1703–1730) pressured his corsairs into stopping attacks on the foreign trading ships. Despite European efforts to put an end to the corsairs, piracy remained a profitable activity along the Barbary Coast well into the 18th century.

The end of the American Revolution brought about major changes in the status of the sea adventurers of the Barbary Coast. In 1786, three years after the end of the Revolutionary War, the U.S. government and North African leaders from Morocco and the Ottoman Empire began signing treaties that called for the respectful and fair treatment of crews and cargo on ships from all signatory countries. The first of these agreements, known as the Barbary Treaties, was signed by the Moroccan sultan Sidi Muhammad Ben Abdullah (r. 1757–1790), and American diplomatic ministers Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) and John Adams, who helped to draft the treaty in conjunction with fellow diplomat Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790). In the 19th century the United States continued forging diplomatic relations by signing eight more treaties with North African states. Included in these treaties were three agreements with Algeria (1795, 1815,

and 1816), three with TRIPOLI in present-day Libya (1796, 1797, and 1805), one with Tunis (1797) and one more with Morocco (1836). Although pirating continued into the 19th century, these treaties contributed to reducing the violent and often merciless activities of pirates, corsairs, and privateers.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVERY (Vol. II, III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. II, III).

Pokomo   Bantu-speaking ethnic group located along the banks of the Tana River in southeastern KENYA. The Pokomo are related to the MIJIKENDA and trace their origins to the Kashur people, who, in the 16th century, were dispersed by the movement of OROMO pastoralists from southern ETHIOPIA. Ancestral Pokomo first lived in SHUNGWAYA, near the border between Kenya and present-day southern SOMALIA, and eventually spread to the islands of LAMU, Manda, and Pate. Pokomo traders began using caravan routes to bring grains north to the SWAHILI COAST port of BRAVA, where they traded for cloth, glass beads, and metal goods, including Arabian and Persian flintlocks.

In the middle of the 17th century the Pokomo settled along the fertile floodplains of the Tana River, between the KAMBA and Orma peoples of southern Kenya. Along the Tana they cultivated a wide array of crops, including rice, MAIZE, bananas (plantains), mangoes, squash, pumpkins, and coconut palms. They also fished and raised small domestic animals like chickens and dogs. It is thought that the Pokomo also tried to raise cattle, but Oromo and MAASAI pastoralists raided their herds and put an end to that practice.

Both the Oromo and Somali call the Pokomo *Munyo,* which means "sedentary farmer."

The Pokomo are divided into four major subgroups: the Upper Pokomo, who are mostly Muslims; the Lower Pokomo, who are mostly Christians; the Welwan, or Elwana; and the Korokoro, also known as the Munyo Yaya. Each Pokomo group is organized into patrilineal clans that are further divided into age sets.

See also: POKOMO (Vol. II).

pombeiros   Professional slave traders of Central Africa. During the late 1560s the IMBANGALA people overtook the KONGO KINGDOM and exiled its ruler, King Alvaro I (r. 1567–1576). With the aid of the Portuguese, Alvaro I was

restored to the throne in 1574. However, his power over the kingdom had become diminished, and in order to maintain Portuguese military aid, it became crucial for Alvaro to meet their demand for captives.

To accomplish this, Alvaro had to combat growing competition from the Dutch. Therefore, professional African and European slave traders created an alternative route that, it was hoped, would circumvent the Dutch slave trade. These traders working this new route became known by the Portuguese term *pombeiros*. Over time *pombeiro* came to be used to refer to all professional traders of human captives in the region.

See also: NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Popo (Mina, Peda, Xwla)

West African ethnic group inhabiting two small coastal kingdoms located west of WHYDAH on the Gulf of Guinea. The ports of Little Popo and Great Popo were situated in Aného and Agbanakan, near the border between present-day GHANA and TOGO. Known as Mina and the GOLD COAST in the 17th century, the stretch of coast that marked the Popo kingdoms was an important center during the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. One of the most important of the Portuguese trading posts and slave depots, ELMINA, was built near there. It also served as a place where kings from the coastal kingdom of Whydah sought asylum during raids from DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN) to the north. The EWE-speaking Popo, who inhabit the Popo coast, are descended from GA-DANGME and FANTE peoples who migrated into the region during the 17th century. Because of their linguistic affinities, the Popo are sometimes categorized as an Ewe subgroup.

According to oral tradition, the Popo kingdoms were founded by descendants of Oduduwa, the legendary founder of Ile-Ife, the principal city of the Oyo people. Historians now believe that the Popo ties to Ile-Ife did not arise until the 18th century, when the OYO EMPIRE subjugated their kingdoms and revised Popo traditions in order to justify demanding tribute from them.

See also: ILE-IFE (Vol. II); ODUDUWA (Vol. II); POPO (Vol. II).

Porto Novo

City located on the Porto Novo lagoon, an inlet on the Gulf of Guinea on the coast of West Africa. Originally the town of Ajase, in the 18th century Porto Novo became a part of the DAHOMEY kingdom, then a trading center for the OYO EMPIRE, and ultimately a Portuguese slave-trading center. Today it is the capital of Republic of BENIN. About 1625 a prince named Te-Agdalin from the ruling family of ALLADA founded the town of Ajase. In the 1720s, King AGAJA (c. 1673–1740)

of ABOMEY—a kingdom later known as DAHOMEY—conquered neighboring kingdoms, including Allada and WHYDAH; led by Allada royalty, Porto Novo remained independent. Throughout the 18th century the slave trade dominated the region's ECONOMY, and Ajase and the Dahomey coastal towns became busy slave-trading ports. By the 1750s the OYO EMPIRE, which traded heavily with the Portuguese, dominated the area, and Dahomey became an Oyo tributary kingdom.

About the same time, Portuguese traders renamed Asaje, calling it *Porto Novo* (New Port). Porto Novo began to lose its importance later in the 18th century, with the fall of the Oyo empire, and was further weakened by conflicts with LAGOS, Dahomey, and the EGBA peoples of NIGERIA.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Portugal and Africa

Portuguese sailors sparked European interest in Africa as they explored further and further down the West African Atlantic Ocean coast during the latter half of the 15th century. After 1500, when Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) rounded the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of the continent, the entire African coastline was opened for European EXPLORATION. Nevertheless Portugal was unique among European countries in that it was heavily involved in ventures along both West and East African coasts. Portuguese merchants maintained a virtual monopoly on European trade with sub-Saharan Africa for nearly 100 years.

By the late 15th century Portugal's empire stretched from Brazil to China. Therefore, Portugal did not have the resources to devote to permanent settlement or conquest on the African continent. Portugal's interest in Africa was strictly trade-related, as it looked to exchange manufactured European goods for African cloth, beads, peppers, and slaves. The Portuguese established a series of trading forts along West Africa's GOLD COAST, in present-day GHANA, in hopes of drawing some of the GOLD trade away from the trans-Saharan routes. Although the Portuguese held many of these coastal fortresses until the Dutch conquests of the 17th century, they made little impact further inland.

One exception was the Portuguese interaction with the KONGO KINGDOM, in present day Democratic Republic of the CONGO and ANGOLA. Since Diogo Cão (fl. 1480) discovered the mouth of the Congo River in 1483, the Portuguese had exchanged ambassadors with the people of the Kongo kingdom. The Kongo people welcomed MISSIONARIES and sought technical aid from the Portuguese, but the Europeans were more interested in supplying slave LABOR to their nearby island possession of São Tomé. Portugal's insatiable demand for slave labor and its imperious attitude regarding the people of the Kongo led to the

eventual disintegration of the kingdom. By the 18th century the Kongo state was all but defunct.

The Portuguese sought a similar relationship with the powerful kingdom of BENIN, further north up the West African coast. They occupied a trading outpost at UGHOTON as early as 1487 but lacked the resources to dominate Benin and soon lost interest in the region. About the same time, Angola became appealing to Portuguese slave traders. A small missionary settlement was established in 1575 and was soon placed under direct control of the Portuguese monarch. Military force was used to ensure the continuous supply of slave labor to work the plantations in Portugal's New World colonies, especially Brazil.

On the east coast of Africa the Portuguese relied on naval superiority to occupy many of the coastal Swahili city-states, including KILWA, ZANZIBAR, and MOMBASA, where they built FORT JESUS. After defeating an outgunned Muslim navy in 1509, Portugal remained the dominant Indian Ocean power until the end of the 17th century, when it was ousted from the region by Arabs of the OMANI SULTANATE. The Portuguese established strongholds up and down the eastern coast, from present-day SOMALIA to SOFALA in MOZAMBIQUE, in order to gain access to the lucrative, interior gold trade run by the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom. To access this trade, the Portuguese Crown awarded PRAZOS, or large estates, to hardy traders and backwoodsmen who were willing to settle in interior regions of southeastern Africa. The most successful Portuguese trading centers, or fairs, were located on the ZAMBEZI RIVER at SENA and TETE. Portuguese *prazeros* often took local women for their wives, and by the beginning of the 17th century, there was a new class of *mestizos,* or mixed-blood individuals, in the region. Despite years spent among the native population trying to develop trading ties in this region, the profits from these endeavors were small and slow in coming.

With the exception of Kongo and Angola, the Portuguese presence in Africa prior to 1800 had little impact. As a result of Portugal's absorption by Spain in the late 16th century, the Dutch had overtaken Portugal's control of the West African coast by the mid-1600s. Some small settlements and trading companies remained in operation, but most Portuguese activity was limited to the exportation of slave labor from Angola.

See also: AFONSO I (Vol. III); AGE OF DISCOVERY (Vol. II); ALVARES, FRANCISCO (Vol. III); CHICO REI (Vol. III); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); DELAGOA BAY (Vol. III); ELMINA (Vol. III); IMBANGALA (Vol. III); MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND (Vol. III); NZINGA NKUWU (Vol. III); NZINGA, QUEEN (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); TRADING OUTPOSTS, EUROPEAN (Vol. III).

Further reading: David Birmingham, *Portugal and Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

prazos Land grants allocated by the Portuguese government to colonial settlers beginning in the 16th century. The assigning of *prazos* was a system of land tenure through which the Portuguese Crown received income by leasing land in Africa to Portuguese settlers, traders, and backwoodsmen called *sertanejos.* The leaseholders, or *prazeros,* were given rights by local rulers to acquire captives and to cultivate the land, though their safety was not guaranteed. For that reason, many *prazeros* hired Africans to help them protect their *prazos* and ran them like medieval feudal kingdoms in Europe.

Prazos were especially prevalent in the eastern region of the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom, near the ZAMBEZI RIVER valley in MOZAMBIQUE. Through the *prazo* system, the Portuguese were able to become involved in local politics and extend their colonial influence.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ROZWI (Vol. III).

Further reading: Allen F. Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution; The Zambesi Prazos, 1750–1902* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972).

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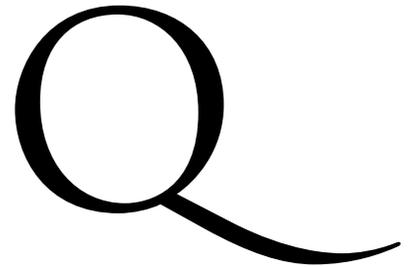
Qadiriyya Islamic Sufi brotherhood popular in western Africa and the Nile River valley. In 1166 Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, a Sufi scholar and mystic, died in Baghdad, in what is now Iraq. By the end of the 12th century his followers, called the Qadiriyya, had spread his teachings to the Sudan, in northeast Africa. By the 19th century Qadiriyya SUFISM had spread throughout western Africa, as well, brought there by Muslim traders along trans-Saharan trade routes. Like other Sufi brotherhoods, the Qadiriyya order stressed faith and submission through personal interaction with God. Followers strived to reach a state of divine meditation that allowed them to connect with God and perform magic and miracles.

Sufism emerged in the seventh century in the Middle East. It spread to Africa by the 12th century and became widespread in the 19th century, in both North Africa and in sub-Saharan Africa.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); KUNTA (Vol. III); SUFISM (Vol. II, IV).

Quelimane Indian Ocean port town in east-central MOZAMBIQUE. Established in 1544 as a Portuguese trading station, Quelimane maintained an active market for the trading of human captives throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. By 1761 it was important enough to be recognized as a colonial town; it was recognized as a township in 1763.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

R

religion As in earlier centuries, African religious practices continued along well-worn paths in many parts of the continent, especially south of the Sahara. In more traditional societies elders and ritual specialists—including priests, oracles, medicine men, and prophets—continued to engage in time-honored religious rituals as they sought to understand and engage with the supernatural world. Even in this context, however, religious practices were not static, and they often evolved to keep pace with other changes affecting African culture. However, more dramatic changes took place outside the realm of traditional religion.

During period just prior to colonial European conquest, the monotheistic religion of Islam became an even greater religious force across the belt of savanna grasslands south of the Sahara desert, in the Horn of Africa, and along the SWAHILI COAST. Of particular importance in the West African interior were a series of jihads in the 18th and early 19th centuries led largely by FULANI religious leaders deeply immersed in SUFISM. The most important of these jihads was that of USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817), which led to the founding of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, in what is today northern NIGERIA.

Christianity also became a greater influence after 1500. The Orthodox Church in ETHIOPIA faced severe challenges in the war between Ethiopia and the Muslim forces led by AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543). The church gradually recovered, however, and by 1850 it was again a major force in the recovering Ethiopian state. In other parts of the continent Christian MISSIONARIES from Europe began to arrive in Africa alongside European traders. One of the earliest areas where missionaries succeeded was in western Central Africa, beginning early in the 16th century with the conversion of the kings of KONGO to Christianity. By and large, however, missionaries were not active in most of the continent until the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, for example, British missionaries led the efforts to care for captives freed by British naval vessels as part of the effort to suppress the Atlantic SLAVE TRADE. They also laid the basis for an African church leadership in the second half of the 19th century. Similarly, other British missionaries in southern Africa, particularly in the eastern CAPE COLONY, built the foundation for a vibrant African church through their work in evangelization and EDUCATION. Up to 1850, one of the principal differences between Christianity and other religions in Africa was that the leadership rested primarily in the hands of European missionaries. It was not until after 1850 that a genuinely African church came into widespread existence.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); ANIMISM (Vol. I); AROCHUKWU ORACLE (Vol. III); CHRISTIANITY (Vols. I, II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); CRUSADES, THE (Vol. II); DIVINATION (Vol. I); DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II); IFA (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MARABOUT WAR (Vol. III); MBONA (Vol. III); MWARI (Vol. III); QADIRIYYA (Vol. III); RELIGION (Vols. I, II, IV, V); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SHRINE (Vol. I); ZAWAYA (Vol. III).

Réunion Island Volcanic island, uninhabited before the era of European EXPLORATION, located 420 miles (680 km) east of MADAGASCAR and 110 miles (180 km) southwest of MAURITIUS. Until the Suez Canal opened in 1869, Réunion was a port of call on voyages to India and Asia.

Cartographer Pedro Reinel, who charted the west coast of Africa about 1485, was the first mapmaker to draw the now standard 32-point compass rose as a legend on a chart to show compass directions. On his chart of West Africa, he used a fleur-de-lis to point to north and a cross (for the Holy Land) to point to east. Reinel's son Jorge (fl. c. 1510–1540) was also a renowned mapmaker.

By most accounts the 16th-century Portuguese explorer Pedro de Mascarenhas landed at Réunion Island during his expedition to India in the early 1500s. Others, however, suggest that in 1507 Tristão da Cunha (c. 1460–c. 1514), another Portuguese explorer, was the first European to land at Réunion. Some sources, however, claim Phoenicians, Indians, and Arabs knew of the island much earlier. Regardless, the island was first charted by the Portuguese mapmaker Pedro Reinel (fl. c. 1485–1522) in 1518, under the name Santa Apolonia Island.

In 1642 the French visited the island for the first time. When mutineers exiled there from Madagascar were found in perfect health, though they were expected to be dead, the French took possession of the island, made attractive because of its prime location along the Indian Ocean trade routes. The newly renamed Île Bourbon was not formally settled until 1665 when the French East India Company established a rest station for ships en route to India. A plantation ECONOMY quickly developed, incorporating forced LABOR for coffee and sugar production. In 1764 the East India Company went bankrupt, and the island became the property of the king of France. In 1792, during the French Revolution (1789–99) in Europe, the island was renamed Île de la Réunion (Réunion Island) by the French National Convention in memory of the union of troops from Marseilles who burned Tuileries, a royal palace in Paris, in 1781. In 1806 the island was renamed Île Bonaparte, after Emperor Napoleon I (1769–1821). In 1810 Britain took possession of the island, calling it Île Bourbon once again, but in 1815, they returned it to France, under whose control it has remained.

Royal African Company
Organization chartered by the British government in 1663 as the Company of Royal Adventurers to combat the Dutch monopoly on West African trade. Beginning in the early 17th century the Dutch started the practice of chartering companies—such as the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY and DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY—to trade with Africa and transport captives to America. These types of companies were granted exclusive trade rights by their respective governments and provided with military protection under which they pursued their commercial and expansionist endeavors. In return they were expected to build and maintain forts to protect the European trading posts along the coast.

It was not until the 1660s that other European powers attempted to thwart the Dutch monopoly in West Africa. The Company of Royal Adventurers, later the Royal African Company, held a monopoly on the English slave trade until 1698, when the industry was opened to all English traders.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVERY (Vol. III).

Rozwi (Rozvi)
Name given to the Shona people who were ruled by the leaders of the CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY, in present-day ZIMBABWE. The Changamire-Rozwi empire dominated southeastern Africa in the 18th century. Changamire, a title first assumed by a wealthy herdsman named Dombo (d. 1696), rose to prominence in the area south of the ZAMBEZI RIVER in the 1680s. Changamire Dombo organized a formidable army by recruiting young, single males from the surrounding SHONA KINGDOMS related to the disintegrating MWENE MUTAPA kingdom. He then used these soldiers to extract tribute payments of cattle and FOOD from the very kingdoms that had supplied the them.

Rozwi, meaning "the destroyers," was originally the name given to the Shona warriors of the Changamire's army. Over time, the name came to refer to all of the people of the empire.

Before the end of the 18th century Changamire Dombo and his well-trained army drove Portuguese settlers from their interior settlements, or PRAZOS, thereby assuming control of the lucrative southeast-African GOLD trade. The Changamire-Rozwi simultaneously came to control the burgeoning southeastern IVORY TRADE, and cemented their commercial dominance by not even allowing the Portuguese to travel through Rozwi territory.

By the early 18th century the powerful Changamire-Rozwi state had grown into an empire that covered most of the territory south of the Zambezi River, from Tonga territory in the west to the SABI RIVER in the east.

Succession disputes weakened the Changamire dynasty, and the empire was subsequently destroyed in the 1830s during the MFECANE, a period of forced migrations caused by ZULU invasions from the south.

Rwanda Country in the southern GREAT LAKES REGION of eastern Central Africa measuring 9,600 square miles (24,900 sq km). Today Rwanda borders on the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, TANZANIA, BURUNDI and UGANDA. Located just south of the equator, Rwanda was also the name of a kingdom occupied by HUTU, TUTSI, and pygmoid Twa during the precolonial period. The country's capital and largest city is Kigali.

During the 14th and 15th centuries Tutsi cattle herders began settling among the agriculturalist Bantu-speaking Hutu already occupying the area. As the 15th century progressed Rwanda assumed the aspect of a stratified, feudal society. Due to their cattle ownership and military prowess, the Tutsi emerged as the ruling class. The Hutu, on the other hand, were peasant farmers, supplying the Tutsi with FOOD in exchange for protection from outside threats. The Twa, for their part, remained hunter-gatherers. Eventually, Rwanda emerged under a Tutsi king, or MWAMI, named Ruganzu Bwimba (r. c. 1532–1559). The precolonial government of Rwanda was highly centralized and revolved around the divine rule of the *mwami*. The *mwami* occupied the highest position in a strict hierarchy of power, and all authority descended from him.

As in BUGANDA, the kings of Rwanda consolidated their power by appointing chiefs rather than allowing accession based on heredity. The *mwami* divided the kingdom and ruled with the help of a council of great chiefs, known as *Batware Bintebe*. A group of lesser chiefs governed districts, with each district divided into hills. The hill chiefs presented the *mwami* with tributes of food, labor, and milk that they gathered from the common people who lived in the villages.

Both Hutu and Tutsi practiced polygamy, but the Tutsi to a far lesser extent, due to economic circumstances. The Hutu were farmers, and their wives and children were the primary source of LABOR. More wives (and thus more children) meant that more land could be cultivated. On the other hand, Tutsi cows were tended by men because the cattle had to be defended against raiders. Therefore, Tutsi men had less incentive to take more wives.

In the 1600s Mwami Ruganza Ndori, a Tutsi, ruled the kingdom, and later Mwami Kigeri Rwabugiri unified many of the outlying Rwandan states. The kingdom reached the height of its power during the rule of Mutara II, in the early 19th century, and under Kigeri IV, who ruled from 1853 to 1895. Kigeri IV established a Rwandan army, led by powerful chiefs, whom he equipped with guns purchased from traders from the East African coast.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RUANDA-URUNDI (Vol. IV); RWANDA (Vol. I, II, IV, V).

S

Sabi River (Save) River in southern East Africa that was the main waterway for the transport of GOLD from the interior to the Indian Ocean port town of SOFALA, in MOZAMBIQUE. The Sabi River rises in ZIMBABWE and runs in a southerly direction before joining the Lundi River near the Mozambique border. From its confluence with the Lundi to its mouth on the Mozambique Channel, the river is also known as the Save.

At the height of its influence in the 16th century, the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom was supplying Swahili and Muslim Arab coastal traders with great amounts of gold from its goldfields between the Zambezi and Sabi rivers. Since the most important gold-trading center, Sofala, lay only about 50 miles (80 km) north of the mouth of the river, the Sabi was the preferred means of transport to the coast. Other trade goods transported by canoe on the Sabi included ivory, iron tools, tortoiseshell, cloth, salt, and handcrafts.

By about 1525 armed Portuguese settlers had taken Sofala from the previous Muslim inhabitants, disrupting the dynamics of the gold trade in the region. During the rest of the 16th century, as Sofala declined as a major gold-trading port, the ZAMBEZI RIVER to the north became the primary means of transporting the Mwene Mutapa gold to the coast.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); TSONGA (Vol. III).

Sadi Abd al-Rahman (c. 1569–1655) *Islamic scholar and historian*

Sadi Abd al-Rahman was born about 1569 in the prosperous trading city of TIMBUKTU, in what is now the Republic of MALI. He was educated at the city's well-known Islamic institution, SANKORE UNIVERSITY. In 1591 al-Rahman was a witness to the devastation caused when elite military forces from MOROCCO invaded the city and deposed the previously established rule of SONGHAI.

One result of the Moroccan occupation of Timbuktu was that many Muslim scholars were driven out, with followers of the religion suffering many casualties. It was because of the events and outcomes he lived through that al-Rahman decided to write the text known as the *TA'RIKH AL-SUDAN,* (History, or Chronicle, of the Sudan). This book became widely known as one of the best sources for the history of the western Sudan. It also was a chronicle of the powerful Songhai Empire and its rulers, detailing events from the latter half of the 15th century through most of the 17th century.

See also: ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II); *TA'RIKH AL-FATTASH* (Vol. III).

Sadian dynasty Islamic dynasty that ruled MOROCCO during the 16th century. The Sadians were a sharifian dynasty, which meant that they traced their lineage back to the prophet Muhammad. This greatly legitimized their authority within Morocco. In the mid-16th century the Sadians sought to oust Morocco's ruling dynasty, the Wattasids, and their Portuguese allies in Agadir.

In 1525 the Sadians took control of MARRAKECH, and they soon controlled all of southern Morocco. In 1541 they were able to expel Portuguese settlers and traders from Agadir. By 1550 the Sadians had driven the Portuguese from the Moroccan coast and captured the Wattasid capital of FEZ.

The Sadian dynasty reached its peak during the reign of Ahmad al-Mansur (1578–1603), under whom Moroccans were able to repel Ottoman expansion from ALGIERS. This gave the country a unique identity from the rest of the MAGHRIB. Al-Mansur also built the country's first professional army, and in 1591 they succeeded in conquering the SONGHAI. After al-Mansur's death, in 1603, Morocco split into several principalities until the Alawite dynasty reunited the country in the 1640s.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Sakalava   Ethnic group and empire that emerged in the 17th century, unifying several kingdoms in western MADAGASCAR. The origins of the Sakalava are not clear, but their larger historical significance began around 1650. By the end of the 18th century the Sakalava empire ruled most of the western half of Madagascar, united by a common dialect and shared religious beliefs.

Around 1660 the MAROSERANA ruling dynasty of the southern region of Mahafaly began a campaign of territorial expansion under Andrianahifotsy (c. 1660–1685). That leader, whose name means "White King," led his Sakalava warriors north, conquering smaller Malagasy kingdoms as they went. Eventually, in the 1670s, they established the kingdom of MENABE.

Upon his death Andrianahifotsy was succeeded by his son Tsimanongarivo (fl. 1696), who migrated northward, conquered the Muslim Iboina, and founded the kingdom of Boina. By that time the kingdom ruled by the Maroserana leaders had taken on the aspects of an empire.

Conflicting Sakalava oral traditions suggest that the Sakalava name comes either from the Sakalava River, where they first settled, or from a previous group called the *Suculambe*.

Sakalava society under the Maroserana kings was divided into a "white" (perhaps Indian) ruling class and an underclass of Malagasy and Malagasy-Bantu people. The upper class was made up of cattle herders and warriors who were supported by the fishers and sedentary farmers who made up the lower class. Despite these differences, the Sakalava kings and subjects alike conformed to customs defined by their oral history and a strong tradition of honoring their ancestors.

By the beginning of the 18th century the Sakalava were active seafaring merchants. At the height of their power, the towns of Tulear, in the south, and MAHAJANGA (Majunga), in the north, were the most important trading ports of the Sakalava. Along with rice and beeswax, the Sakalava also began to trade in humans. They exchanged Malagasy captives for European firearms and manufactured goods, and, later in the 18th century, they traded their excellent cattle for MAKUA people from the African mainland. With the guns acquired from trade, the Sakalava empire built up an imposing army of skilled warriors. As the Sakalava came to understand the power of guns, their trading activity increased. By late in the 18th century it was a common practice for Sakalava traders to conduct raids by sea on the people of the COMOROS, to the north of Madagascar. Because of the difficulty of travel over the terrain in western Madagascar, the Sakalava usually relied on sea routes for travel. They were expert oarsmen and built large outriggers that could hold up to 50 people.

Sakalava religious practices involved the *dady,* or "ancestor cult." The relics—including teeth, bones, nails, and hair—of deceased kings were carefully preserved and became a source of power for those who possessed them. Warriors often kept these relics in decorated boxes that they attached to their belts, carrying them into battle for the protection that they thought they provided.

Though their power was unchallenged in western Madagascar, by about 1710 the Sakalava had been greatly diluted by intermarriage with the peoples they conquered. Internal power struggles weakened the ruling hierarchy, and the growing influence of Islam on the traditional RELIGION negatively affected the homogeneous cultural identity that previously unified their empire. Still they controlled nearly one-third of the island until the early 19th century, when the kingdom of MERINA began invading Sakalava territories from the east.

San (Sarwa)   Khoisan-speaking nomadic hunter-gatherers of southern Africa. The San of today primarily inhabit semiarid areas in BOTSWANA, NAMIBIA, and ANGOLA. It was to these regions that the San fled, as early as the third century, when faced with waves of migrating Bantu-speaking agriculturalists. The arrival of European settlers in the 17th century forced them even further from their original hunting grounds.

The Dutch who settled on the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 established CAPE TOWN, first as a supply station for ships to Asia and then as a permanent settlement. At that time the San lived on the fringes of the CAPE COLONY, beyond the lands surrounding the colony that the KHOIKHOI

inhabited. Although they lived by highly prescribed rituals, the San were nomadic and lived in autonomous bands, lacking central leadership. For this reason the Dutch settlers considered the San to be wild *Bosjiemen* (Bushmen), and viewed them as nothing more than mischievous bandits who plagued them with their cattle raids. During the 17th and 18th centuries these harsh judgments were used by the Dutch governors of the colony to justify ordering the murder of San people. The sporadic Dutch-San Wars, which lasted from 1676 to 1861, marked two centuries of ruthless conflict as Europeans dispatched punitive expeditions, called *commandos,* in retaliation for San cattle raids. Records for the years 1785–95 indicate that 2,500 San were killed and an additional 700 taken captive and held in bondage. Those who lived in the inhospitable Kalahari Desert generally survived; those who lived beyond its fringes did not.

See also: NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SAN (Vol. I); SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III).

Sancho, Ignatius (1729–1780) *Former slave who later became the first African writer published in England*

Before Britain emancipated persons held in slavery, in 1834, Ignatius Sancho was one of a handful of blacks who reached success as butlers or valets, the highest levels in British domestic service. Born on a ship from the Guinea Coast bound for the Spanish West Indies, Ignatius was orphaned early in life. His mother died in transit, and his father committed suicide. At the age of two, his master took him to Greenwich, England, where the boy worked in servitude for three sisters. They nicknamed him Sancho after a perceived resemblance to Sancho Panza, the servant in the novel *Don Quixote,* by Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616).

The wealthy and powerful duke of Montague befriended Ignatius and took an active interest in educating him. His friendship with the duke gave him a small taste of freedom not usually afforded to Africans, and he ran away. Sancho passed through a number of jobs until he became the butler to the duke's widow. Upon her death he was left a small sum of money and an annuity for life that Sancho used in 1773 to open a small grocery store with his wife on a fashionable street in London. In his spare time he composed MUSIC and indulged in a love for letter writing. His letters to the popular writer Laurence Sterne (1713–1768), the author of *Tristram Shandy,* were collected and published in 1782, two years after Sancho's death. In those letters he asks Sterne to use his influence on people's minds and speak out to oppose SLAVERY.

Further reading: Reyahn King, et al., eds. *Ignatius Sancho: An African Man of Letters* (Wappingers Falls, N.Y.: Antique Collectors Club, 1997); Ignatius Sancho, Vincent Caretta, ed. *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African* (New York: Penguin, 1998).

Sankore University Historic institution of Islamic education located in the city of TIMBUKTU in present-day Republic of MALI. Sankore University was established during the reign of Mansa Musa I (r. c. 1312–1332) of the Mali Empire. It was formed around the great Sankore mosque built during Mansa Musa's lifetime by an architect from Granada named Abu Ishaq al-Sahili. (See photo next page.) Under the rule of the SONGHAI leader Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (r. 1493–1528), Sankore University began to flourish as a center of Islamic learning. Throughout the 16th century the university was known to have held more than 20,000 Muslim students and had up to 180 *madrasas,* or Quranic schools. Islamic scholars throughout the western Sudan, as well as the entire Muslim community, traveled to Timbuktu in order to attend the renowned university and be educated in such subjects as RELIGION, Islamic law, and Arabic literature.

Throughout their education, students at Sankore lived with and were taught by other renowned scholars. After their education was completed, the students were given documentation of their *isnad*— the chain of scholars in their line of study from which each previous scholar was taught—and formed a sort of line of succession to the teacher who originated that particular field of study.

The university at Sankore also became known for educating three of the most important Islamic scholars of the 16th and early 17th centuries: Mahmud Kati (b. 1468), Abd al-Rahman SADI (b. 1516) and Ahmad Baba (b. 1556). Kati, who was a part of the royal cabinet of Askia Muhammad I, was famous for writing the *TA'RIKH AL-FATTASH* (History of the seeker of knowledge). Along with another historical compilation written by as-Sadi called *TA'RIKH AL-SUDAN,* these books were known to be two documents from which later historians gained most of their knowledge about the western Sudan. The works of Ahmad Baba were also crucial, as he wrote many books about Islamic law as well as a series of biogra-phies on famous Islamic teachers. Some of Baba's works became so widely read that they are still in use by Muslim scholars today.

In 1591 a Moroccan army sacked the city of Timbuktu, killing or dispersing most of the Muslims who resided there. Sankore University, however, remained standing and eventually reclaimed its status as an important Islamic academic institution in the western Sudan.

See also: ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vol. II); MUSA I, MANSA (Vol. II); SAHILI, AL- (Vol. II).

The Sankore mosque in Timbuktu, around which Sankore University arose. By the 16th century Sankore was an important center of Islamic learning. The photograph shows the Sankore mosque as it looked in the mid- to late 20th century. © Sandro Vannini/Corbis

São Salvador   Capital of the KONGO KINGDOM located in the central hills south of the Congo River, in what is now ANGOLA. At its height, in 1650, São Salvador was a densely populated stone city inhabited by more than 60,000 people. Formerly called *Mbanza Kongo,* São Salvador was occupied largely by the ruling classes, which enjoyed a high standard of living. The king, the royal council and other noblemen, judges, and a supporting bureaucracy of secretaries, military officials, tax collectors, and personal servants all lived there. Beginning in the 16th century São Salvador was also the seat of the Catholic Church in Kongo, and was home to many clergymen, MISSIONARIES, and cathedrals.

The king's palace was so huge that it was said to form a second city within São Salvador. The noblemen also lived in large complexes in the town and owned plantations in the fertile plains just outside it, where peasants cultivated millet, sorghum, and cassava. The ruling classes levied taxes on the surrounding rural villages, or *lubata*, which were paid in the form of LABOR, metal goods, cloth, and animal products.

During the second half of the 17th century succession disputes brought war to the capital. Challengers from SOYO and elsewhere sacked the city, looting property and burning buildings. By the end of the 1670s most of the inhabitants had fled and the crops in the surrounding fields were left untended. According to a Capuchin monk named Michele da Torre di Camerino, who reported about his visit to the area, São Salvador was so deserted at this time that the elephants had taken it over, tramping through the ruins and feasting on banana trees.

The city was repopulated in the early 1700s by the followers of DOÑA BEATRIX (c. 1684–1706), and the Portuguese king, Pedro IV, rebuilt São Salvador a few decades later. However, the city never regained the splendor that it had achieved as capital of the Kongo kingdom.

See also: MBANZA KONGO (Vol. II).

Further reading: John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition 1641–1718* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

São Tomé and Príncipe   Country measuring about 390 square miles (1,010 sq km) made up of the volcanic islands of São Tomé (600 square miles) and Príncipe (40

square miles), as well as a number of smaller islets. The smallest country in Africa, São Tomé and Príncipe is located off the coast of GABON, in western Central Africa. São Tomé is the major city and capital. The country's population descended from six ethnic groups, which moved to the islands after 1400. A large portion of the original population descended from Africans formerly held in bondage.

The Portuguese sent to the islands African captives, exiles, criminals, and Jewish orphans, all of whom assimilated to form a Creole population called *Forros*. Throughout the 16th century the two islands prospered from sugar production. The Portuguese brought Africans in large numbers to work on their plantations (*roças*). Toward the end of the century, however, sugar production steadily decreased. In part this was due to the fact that São Tomé's LABOR force revolted against the conditions they endured at the hands of their Portuguese overlords. In addition, the crops from these islands could not compete, in either quality or quantity, with what Brazil was producing.

In the 17th century the Portuguese turned their attention to the slave trade in order to rebuild the failing ECONOMY. The islands not only served as a stopover for slave ships on the way to the Americas but they also became an important trading center for the slave market. In 1753 the capital was moved from São Tomé to Santo Antonio, on Príncipe Island.

When the slave trade was abolished, in the 19th century, São Tomé once again became the capital, with coffee and then cocoa being the colony's economic staples. Although enslaving humans was no longer legal, a form of SLAVERY existed in the practice of forced labor.

Working conditions were particularly deplorable in the islands' cocoa plantations. When, in the early 20th century, this was made known to the European public, both Britain and Germany led public boycotts against chocolate made from the islands' cocoa.

See also: COCOA (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE (Vols. I, II, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Sayyid Said (Sa'id Imam, Sa'id ibn Sultan)
(1791–1856) *Ruler of Oman, Muscat, and Zanzibar*

Said came to the throne of the OMANI SULTANATE in 1804, supposedly to share power with his brother Salim. However, his cousin Badr seized power, and it

was not until two years later that Said was able to engineer the murder of Badr and take power. Reserving for himself the title *sayyid,* which was one of respect, he allowed his brother to retain nominal control of Oman until Salim's death in 1824.

Said assumed power in a time of turbulence in the region, with Britain and France fighting for control of the Indian Ocean, PIRATES raiding local shipping, and internal battles in Oman and other Arabian states causing still further conflict. Said, however, gradually solidified his power and expanded Oman's sphere of interest.

During his early years he shrewdly played the European powers against each another, using the security he gained from this to defeat the Masruis of ZANZIBAR, who were his main rivals for power in East Africa. By 1837 he was virtually in complete control of Zanzibar and the East African coast. He transferred his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar during this period and, realizing the potential of a new industry, transformed Zanzibar into a thriving clove-growing commercial center. He also revolutionized the traditional trading system of the region, and soon Zanzibar caravans were bringing ivory, captives, and other products of the African interior to the coast. Said's wide-ranging trade network carried these products to Arabia, India, Europe, and even the United States. He died at sea, in 1856.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vol. II); BUSAIDI (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

science Historically, Africans have made contributions to scientific inquiry in the fields of mathematics, engineering, astrology, metallurgy, and MEDICINE. Between the 16th and 19th centuries these fields continued to develop. The study of mathematics, which had a great tradition in North Africa, spread throughout parts of sub-Saharan Africa, and botany, or the science of plants and their uses, became more sophisticated, extensive, and complex.

During the 17th century the *ulama,* or scholars, of the kingdom of KANEM-BORNU, located in the Lake CHAD region in the central Sudan, had become skilled astrologists and mathematicians. Of special concern was *ilm al-awfaq,* or the science of magic squares, a mathematical principle whereby a group of numbers, each only occurring once, are placed into a matrix so that the sums of the numbers in each column, row or diagonal are always equal. These scholars also studied a science called *ilm al-huruf* (the science of letter magic), or cryptology. This and other secret sciences, known as occult sciences, became so avidly and widely studied by Islamic scholars that they were eventually denounced by the *ulama* as being damaging to the more conservative and practical studies of Quranic interpretation and Islamic law.

European science benefited from significant advancements made by Europeans working in Africa in the field of botany, since Africa was host to numerous species of flora that were unknown in Europe at the time. In the 17th and 18th centuries numerous European expeditions came to the continent to conduct research on, identify, and catalog the new species of plants. The area around the Cape of Good Hope, on the coast of present-day SOUTH AFRICA, was rich in different species of plant life. One of this area's most thoroughgoing explorers was Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828), a Swedish doctor and botanist. Thunberg studied the plants of southern Africa during three expeditions between 1772 and 1775, eventually earning the nickname, "The Father of South African Botany."

In the Hausaland area of present-day NIGERIA, the indigenous African knowledge of botany was combined with the knowledge of biology to produce organic chemicals that were effective as early weapons of biological warfare. Traditional African scientists inherited the knowledge gained through thousands of years of observations made of the reactions that were produced by various secretions and toxins from plants and animals. Their scientific knowledge was employed to dominate their opposition during wartime. Hausa soldiers made poison for arrowheads using a toxin referred to as the *dafin zabgai mai kare dangi* (poison that can destroy a whole generation). It caused asphyxia and eventually killed its victim if he or she went untreated. The poison was made either from a concoction of several kinds of plants and barks, or from the venom extracted from the heads of snakes and millipedes.

African warriors and medicine men alike realized that, even as some biological potions increased their abilities and heightened their perceptive powers, others served only to decrease their effectiveness in war. For this reason, alcohol and TOBACCO were forbidden to warriors before a battle, since they impaired the senses, coordination, and alertness.

Biological chemicals derived from plants and animals also had other uses in battle, sometimes being applied to make a warrior fearless and strong or to make an enemy fearful and weak. Also in Nigeria, a potion was used to make an enemy soldier extremely nearsighted, rendering him nearly blind and unable to fight. Warriors also were known to attempt to gain an extra source of power simply by displaying a plant that was known to have powerful chemical properties. These charms might be used to decorate the bodies of the warrior and his horse.

Across much of West Africa the study of sciences accelerated during the 18th and 19th centuries by virtue of various Islamic jihads, or wars fought for religious reasons. Muslim leaders generally held scholarship and the sciences in high regard and promoted scientific study in the regions they conquered.

See also: SCIENCE (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Ivan Van Sertima, ed. *Blacks in Science: Ancient and Modern* (London.: Transaction Books, 1983); Gloria Thomas-Emeagwali, ed., *Science and Technology in African History with Case Studies from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, and Zambia* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992).

Sefuwa African dynasty of *mais,* or kings, who, from about 1075 through the 19th century, ruled KANEM-BORNU in the region surrounding Lake CHAD. The most notable of the Sefuwa kings was Mai IDRIS ALAWMA (r. 1571–1603). It was during his reign that the dynasty saw the height of its military power and economic prosperity. Eventually FULANI warriors captured the Sefuwa capital of NGAZARGAMU, in Bornu, leading to the fall of the Sefuwa dynasty, in 1846.

See also: BORNU (Vol. II); KANEM (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF WEST AFRICA (Vol. III).

Further reading: Augustin F. C. Holl, *The Diwan Revisited: Literacy, State Formation and the Rise of Kanuri Domination (AD 1200–1600)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Sefwi (Sahwi, Segwi) Subgroup of the West African AKAN peoples that spent most of its history dominated by neighboring powers. The Sefwi lived in the western region of present-day GHANA. Much of their early history is unrecorded, but it is known that, by the end of the 17th century, the Sefwi were under the dominion of DENKYIRA. By 1717 the Sefwi were strong enough to invade the neighboring Ashanti, sacking their capital, KUMASI, and pillaging the royal mausoleums. Several members of the Ashanti royal family were murdered during the conflict, including the mother of the Ashanti ruler, OPOKUWARE II (c. 1700–1750). The Ashanti counterattacked, eventually conquering the Sefwi and annexing them to the ASHANTI EMPIRE until the late 1800s.

Segu (Segou) BAMBARA kingdom located between the Senegal and Niger rivers in what is now the Republic of MALI. Segu and KAARTA, its sister kingdom, are known for succeeding SONGHAI in regional dominance from the 17th century until their defeat by the TUKULOR, in the mid-19th century.

Although the state of Segu was established about 1650 by Kaladian Kulibali (r. c. 1652–1682), a Bambara chief, Segu also has a foundation legend built on the story of two brothers named Nia Ngolo and Barama Ngolo. These brothers were known for pillaging other towns and were said to have come to live and establish their kingdom at the trading city of Segu prior to 1650. Regardless, it is neither the Ngolo brothers nor Kaladian Kulibali whom the people of Segu regard as their founder. Rather it was Mamari KULIBALI (r. 1712–1755), the great-grandson of Kaladian Kulibali, who was credited with founding the kingdom of Segu as well as becoming its first *fama*, or king.

Known as "The Commander," Mamari Kulibali led an aggressive military expansion that came to include territories such as the southwestern market village of BAMAKO along the NIGER RIVER, as well as the former Songhai-controlled trading centers of JENNE and TIMBUKTU, to the northeast. He also formed special armies such as the *ton djon*—a group that guarded the king and was made up of soldiers captured or conscripted from rival peoples—as well as a navy that utilized canoes for TRANSPORTATION up and down the Niger River.

After Mamari Kulibali's death, in 1766, there was a power struggle for the throne amongst his successors and some powerful members of the *ton djon.* In 1766 Ngolo DIARRA (r. 1766–1790), a member of the the *ton djon,* was able to become *fama* and establish a dynasty that survived throughout the remainder of Segu's history. Diarra became known as the most powerful king of Segu as he increased the size and influence of his state, defeating such other states as MACINA and gaining a more firm hold of Timbuktu and Jenne. In 1790 Diarra was killed in a battle against the MOSSI STATES, leading to another succession struggle. Diarra's son, Monson, became king in 1790, reigning successfully until 1808 after further expanding Segu's territory.

The kingdom of Segu began its decline in the years after King Monson's death. In 1862 the weakened Segu state was conquered during the jihad of al-Hajj Umar Tal (1794–1864) and became part of the Islamic Tukulor empire.

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); TUKULOR EMPIRE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: B. O. Oloruntimehin, *The Segu Tukulor Empire* (London: Longman, 1972).

Sena Trading town located on the banks of the ZAMBEZI RIVER, in present-day MOZAMBIQUE. Sena was established early in the 16th century by Portuguese traders who wished to take advantage of its position on the best water route between the GOLD fields of the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom and the Swahili trading network on the Indian Ocean coast. It also lay near the confluence with the Shire River, the major waterway of the MARAVI traders of the Lake Nyasa region, to the north.

Sena was located in Tonga territory in the Zambezi valley, surrounded by cultivated fields that easily supported its relatively small population. Toward the end of the 16th century the declining Mwene Mutapa kingdom to the southwest made pacts that allowed Portuguese traders to occupy land in the Zambezi valley, including the towns of Sena and TETE, farther up the river. Although the Portuguese were subsequently attacked by Lunda warriors from the KAZEMBE kingdom (which the Portuguese had helped to establish), by the beginning of the 1600s the Portuguese had a strong presence in central Mozambique. *Prazeros*, as Portuguese landowners were called, had secured large fortified holdings around the Sena settlement and had bought or captured many native inhabitants to work their land and protect their interests. Around 1630 the most powerful *prazero* in Sena was Sisnando Dias Bayao (d. c. 1645). With the help of his African laborers, Bayao managed to take territory on the opposite side of the Zambezi from the chiefs of the Maravi federation. Controlling land on both sides of the river allowed Bayao to offer safe crossing to favored traders, while at the same time letting him deny passage to the unwelcome African, Muslim, and Arab merchants who also settled and traded in the region.

From his stronghold at Sena, Bayao and his followers expanded southward and exerted their influence in political skirmishes in the BUTUA region until being driven out by the CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY. After Bayao's death, around 1645, the Changamire came to control the areas surrounding Sena and made trade agreements that excluded the Portuguese from participating in the gold-trading fairs along the Zambezi. By the end of the 17th century Portuguese trading activity in the region had practically come to a standstill.

Toward the middle of the 18th century the few remaining Portuguese traders in Sena revived their gold-trading activities with the MANYIKA chiefs to the south. Under a new agreement, though, the Portuguese were forced out of all MINING activities and had to offer large annual tributes to the Manyika in order to occupy the lucrative gold-trading fairs. As the Sena trading fairs proved to be less and less profitable, both Portuguese and Muslim merchants gradually moved away from the gold and ivory trades and into the burgeoning trade in humans. By the end of the 18th century Sena, like other outposts in the region, had become a stop on the routes that brought captives from inland regions to the Indian Ocean coast for export to French colonies in the MASCARENE ISLANDS or to the Americas.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); LUNDA EMPIRE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); *PRAZOS* (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Senegal   Country located in West Africa measuring about 76,000 square miles (196,800 sq km). It is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, MAURITANIA to the north, the Republic of MALI to the east, and GUINEA and GUINEA-BISSAU to the south. DAKAR, Senegal's capital and largest city, is located near Africa's westernmost point.

Beginning in the eighth century, most of present-day Senegal was part of the ancient Ghana Empire. From the 11th to the 14th centuries, however, the powerful Tekrur kingdom of the TUKULOR dominated the eastern regions, using conversion to Islam to unify the people they conquered. By the 14th century non-islamic Wolof kingdoms were also gaining strength and supplanting the Tekrur kingdom between the Senegal River and the coast. The Wolof kingdoms included Walo, KAYOR, Baol, and the Serer kingdoms of Sine and Saloum.

It was the Portuguese explorations of the 15th century and their subsequent commercial activities that turned the West African coast into a major trading outpost by the 16th century. At that time, England, France, and the Netherlands began moving in on Portugal's commercial monopoly. Dutch merchants set up trading posts along the coast, the most notable on GORÉE ISLAND in 1588, and by the mid-17th century they controlled almost all trade in the region. But by the end of the century it was the British and French who were vying for commercial dominance. The British operated from the Gambia River and the French from the Senegal River, where they set up a trading post on Saint-Louis Island. The French moved in on Dutch territory and, in 1677, took Gorée Island away from them. The European influence had a devastating impact on the WOLOF EMPIRE in particular. The empire eventually fragmented, with its various states breaking away and establishing independence.

Meanwhile, Muslim clerics facilitated the spread of Islam during the 17th century. Their opposition to slave trading enlisted them in a series of expeditions between 1673 and 1677 in which they attempted to hinder European trading activities on the coast. The clerics were no match for the French, whose superior weaponry put an end to the rebellions, but the Muslim influence nonetheless converted many of the West African peoples whose villages were often raided for their inhabitants.

The antagonism between Britain and France continued on into the 18th century and culminated with the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, a worldwide conflict fought in Europe, North America, and India between 1756 and 1763. From 1756 to 1815 control over French posts went back and forth between the two rival nations until the British eventually handed everything back at the Congress of Vienna, in 1815.

The trade in humans began to decline early in the 19th century as a result of the industrialization of Europe and the decreased demand for forced LABOR in the Americas. France compensated first by extending its commerce to the Casamance region, south of The GAMBIA, along the Gambia River, and then, by the mid-century, developing the trade in GROUNDNUTS (peanuts).

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SENEGAL (Vols. I, II, IV, V); SERER (Vol. II); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); TUKULOR EMPIRE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Basil Davidson, *A History of West Africa 1000–1800* (London: Longman, 1977).

Senegambia   Region in West Africa that includes the present-day countries of SENEGAL and The GAMBIA. It was a British Crown colony from 1765 to 1779, passed briefly to French control, until 1783, and then reverted to British control. In 1763 Britain and France ended their Seven Years' War, and the British returned GORÉE ISLAND to the French as a peace offering. Over the next two years the British found that the French trading operations were a threat to their own commercial interests. So, in 1765, they reevaluated their deal with France and established the Province of Senegambia, which was made up of the three small islands of Saint-Louis, Gorée, and James island.

The colony of Senegambia was run by a governor, who chose his own council. Colonel Charles O'Hara was the first governor and headed the colony from 1765 to 1775; his three companies of troops were called "O'Hara's Corps," but the name was later changed to the Royal African Corps. O'Hara held his office for almost 11 years, during which time he was continually at odds with the French over trading territory.

Matthias MacNamara was the second governor of Senegambia, but his leadership was short-lived, lasting only from November 1775 to April 1777, as internal conflicts with his lieutenant resulted in his dismissal. After the death of John Clark, the province's third governor, in 1778, the colony was substantially weakened.

In 1779 the French destroyed the fort at James Island, leaving it in such a state of disrepair that the British did not occupy it again. In the 1783 Treaty of Versailles, the British handed the Province of Senegambia over to the French but retained control of the Gambia River and James Island.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SENEGAMBIA CONFEDERATION (Vol. V); SENEGAMBIA REGION (Vol. IV).

Sennar (Senaar, Sennaar)   City located in central Republic of the SUDAN that served as the capital city of the FUNJ sultanate from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The people of Sennar lived in small farming communities and paid taxes to their local overlords, as well as to the sultan, in exchange for the use of the land. Society was organized

by matrilineal descent. Although Islam was the state RELI-GION and Arabic the state language, many of Sennar's farmers maintained traditional African beliefs and spoke African languages.

In 1504 the Funj sultanate was founded at Sennar by Amara Dunqas, who established the Funj dynasty, the family that ruled in the Nilotic Sudan from the 16th to the 19th centuries. For the Funj the 16th century was a turbulent time, as they were engaged in numerous territorial conflicts with Arabs from the surrounding regions around the Blue and White Nile rivers. By the 17th century Sennar under Funj leadership reached its political, economic, and territorial zenith.

Sennar's most notable warrior-king was Badi II Abu Dagn (r. 1644–1680). During his reign he extended the kingdom's territory and established a powerful military caste comprised primarily of warriors he had captured during his many campaigns. Eventually these captives began to compete with the Funj aristocracy for control of important state offices. They united and rebelled against the nobility and their traditional power. Under the Funj king Badi IV Abu Shulukh (r. 1724–1762), the power of the aristocracy was broken and the king became an absolute ruler, with the support of his army. By 1762 the army, too, was out of control, and they revolted against the monarchy, driving Badi IV Abu Shulukh out. The power of the succeeding Funj kings rapidly dwindled. In 1821 Sennar was conquered by the Egyptians under MUHAMMAD ALI (1769–1849), whose dynasty ruled EGYPT until the middle of the 20th century.

Senufo (Senuofo) West African people who inhabited areas of northern IVORY COAST and southeastern parts of present-day Republic of MALI. After the deterioration of the Mali Empire in the 16th century, the Senufo moved southwards and began to inhabit land in central Ivory Coast, in a region that would become the short-lived kingdom of Sakasso, in the mid-18th century. During the 17th century, however, the Senufo were forced to flee the Sakasso region in an attempt to escape subjugation by the Mandinka peoples.

The early 18th century again forced the migrations of the Senufo, who had resisted conversion to Islam when they were under Malian control, when the Muslim Juula peoples established themselves in the region and began the foundation of the KONG kingdom. The Senufo were still unable to establish themselves in a region until the 18th century, when they finally settled near the kingdom of Korhogo. They remained a fairly independent and diverse group throughout most of the 19th century until another faction of Senufo, the Muslim Senufo who had remained in the original region of Sakassa, began to attack and overthrow the non-Muslim Senufo settlements to the south.

The Senufo were traditionally an agrarian group who spoke more than four different dialects of the Gur branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Their FAMILY units were based along matrilineal lines, and marriages were often arranged. The Senufo were also widely recognized as skilled carvers of wooden masks and sculptures.

See also: MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II).

Seychelles Island country covering approximately 180 square miles (470 sq km) located off mainland Africa, north of MADAGASCAR, in the Indian Ocean. Victoria is the capital and largest city. The country is made up of 115 islands, of which Mahe is the largest. Approximately 85 percent of the population lives on Mahe island. Other major islands are Praslin and La Digue. During the 18th century the islands served as an important Indian Ocean trading base. According to legend, the Seychelles were visited by Arab and Phoenician traders before the beginning of the common era. The first recorded sighting of the islands, however, was by Vasco da Gama (1460–1524), in 1502, when he discovered part of this uninhabited island group and named it the Amirantes Islands.

In 1609 the British made the first documented landing, when members of the British East India Company spent several days restocking their ships there with supplies and produce, especially tortoises, which they boiled for meat. After several visits by the French in 1742 and 1744, France formally claimed the Seychelles, on November 9, 1756, and renamed them after the French minister of finance, Jean Moreau de Sechelles.

Colonization began in 1778, when French planters and their captive African laborers settled the area to grow crops used to supply passing French trading vessels. The islands were also utilized to smuggle captive Africans into nearby MAURITIUS. The French lost control of the Seychelles in 1814, when the islands were signed over to Britain in the Treaty of Paris. The British, however, acquired the islands only as a means of halting French trade and saw little use for them. After 1834, the year in which Britain, having outlawed the slave trade in 1807, formally emancipated all slaves, more than 6,000 Africans were freed, causing many of the settlers to flee the islands with their enslaved workers.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SEYCHELLES (Vols. I, II, IV, V); GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. II).

Shaka (Chaka, Tshaka) (1787–1828) *Great Zulu warrior chief and empire builder*

Shaka was born the son of a ZULU chief but spent his childhood living in exile and disgrace with his mother, whom his father had repudiated. The Zulu of the time were only one of many Bantu-speaking NGUNI clans in

what is now SOUTH AFRICA. At the age of 23 Shaka was commissioned by DINGISWAYO (d. 1817), the head of the clan that had taken in the young Shaka, to serve as a warrior for the Mtetwa (Mthethwa) clan of the North (Natal) division of the Nguni people, where he served with honor for six years.

Shaka's childhood was a troubled one. His father, Senzangakona, was a chieftain of the Zulu clan, but his flirtation with Nandi, a princess from the neighboring Elangeni clan, who bore Shaka out of wedlock, defied Zulu laws and customs. The union of Senzangakona and Nandi brought conflict, shame, and humiliation to the young Shaka, whose name is derived from *iShaka,* the Zulu name for an intestinal beetle that was blamed for menstrual irregularities. By the age of six he was taken by his mother to live with the Elangeni clan. In 1802 the Elangeni drove them out, and Shaka and his mother eventually found refuge with the Dietsheni, a subgroup of the powerful Mtetwa clan. Shaka harbored a deep hatred for his persecutors for the rest of his life.

After the death of his father, in 1816, Shaka was discharged from military service, and Dingiswayo dispatched him to rule the Zulu clan. The first task he set for himself was the reorganization of the Zulu military. He introduced a short thrusting spear, called an *assegai,* and trained his soldiers in the tactics of hand-to-hand combat. More important, he also developed innovative military strategies. To this end he divided each of his available regiments, collectively called the *impi,* into four fighting units, each with its own battle plan. One group would attack the enemy head on, while two groups moved around the flanks and encircled the enemy. During these maneuvers the fourth group remained in reserve, ready to aid wherever it was needed. Shaka also was a proponent of total warfare. His strategy was to destroy his enemies as completely as possible, incorporating any survivors into the Zulu. Within a year he had quadrupled the number of people who owed him allegiance.

After the death of Dingiswayo, in 1817, Shaka decided to further increase the power of the Zulu, beginning by taking over the only nearby clans who could threaten him, the Ndwandwe and Qwabe. Then, over the next 10 years, he launched a series of annual campaigns against the clans to the south, which set off mass migrations of people seeking to escape the Zulu aggression. By 1820 these attacks, known as the MFECANE (The Crushing), eventually broke down the clan system and left an estimated 2 million people dead.

Throughout his life Shaka was obsessively fearful of being replaced by an heir. Thus, although he had at the height of his power more than 1,200 wives, he called them his "sisters" and practiced a form of external sexual intercourse, called *ukuHlobonga,* allowed to the unmarried, that led to no offspring.

The death of his mother, in 1827, had a profound effect on Shaka. His grief was so extreme—some authorities call it deranged—that he ordered the executions of several men. The chaos that followed quickly led to the almost immediate deaths of 7,000 Zulu. In reverence for his mother, he ordered his clan to starve itself. Shaka's erratic behavior ultimately led to his death, in 1828, at the hands of a group of his military leaders and his half-brothers, DINGANE and Mhlangana.

See also: WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Further reading: John Laband, *The Rise & Fall of the Zulu Nation* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 1997).

Shambaa Agricultural people who have long lived in the Usambara Mountains, in the northeastern portion of present-day TANZANIA. The region they inhabit is called *Shambaai.* Their language, also known as Shambaa, is a Bantu language. The pantheon of their traditional RELIGION is divided into two kinds of deities: those associated with ancestors and those associated with nature. Observances involve rituals owed to the ancestors of each FAMILY.

The Shambaa have lived in their homeland since at least the 18th century. They primarily inhabit the mountainous part of the region but are close enough to the lowlands to have ready access to the nearby plains. This allows them to use the mountainsides for growing crops and the plains for hunting game and tending herds. Given the prevalence of famine in Africa, this economic flexibility meant that the Shambaa had a far greater chance for survival than some other groups.

Although hunting and the IVORY TRADE were important supplements, AGRICULTURE was the mainstay of the Shambaa ECONOMY. However, before the beginning of the 19th century revenue from the ivory trade apparently was the property of Shambaa kings and chiefs and was not shared with the population in general.

During the early part of their history, tribute also formed an important part of the Shambaa economy and society. The tribute system grew as new groups were added to the Shambaa kingdom. New arrivals showed their allegiance and submission to the larger group by paying tribute in the form of services, livestock, and other products. In return the Shambaa king supplied his new subjects with meat.

This tribute system that developed over time was relatively informal and based on the king's needs. When he desired particular goods or services, he simply sent

out courtiers to collect what was wanted. Collectors could also go out in quest of tribute on their own accord; they simply had to supply the king with his proper share.

A large population was to the king's advantage, as it increased his royal wealth in the form of tribute and LABOR on his farms and allowed him to increase his military force. This led to attempts to further Shambaa size, either by conquest or assimilation.

Among the Shambaa, the amount of tribute that a subject owed to the king did not depend upon how much that individual owned or produced but rather on services requested of the king. Thus, the more frequently a subject came to the king to settle a dispute or request other assistance, the more he or she owed in tribute.

In the early 19th century political control of Shambaai passed to the king of the Kalindi, Mbegha (fl. c 1800), who, according to tradition, was awarded the kingship of Shambaai because he managed to kill the bush pigs that had been destroying Shambaa land. The Kalindi rulers further centralized Shambaa government, establishing a system of lesser kingdoms and chiefdoms, ruled primarily by the royal sons.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); BANTU LANGUAGES (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: Steven Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom: A History* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).

Shamba Bolongongo   (r. 1600–1620) *Greatest of the Shongo kings of the Kuba kingdom*

Shamba Bolongongo, the ninety-third KUBA *nyim,* or king, introduced to the kingdom the cultivation of MAIZE, TOBACCO, beans, and cassava, and expanded trade both east and west. He also strengthened the central government and expanded the territory of the Kuba kingdom. His reign inspired a golden age in Kuba culture.

Shamba was widely admired as a peacemaker among his people. He encouraged the pursuit of arts and crafts and relegated warfare to a standing army. He forbade the use of a traditional BUSHONGO weapon, the *shongo,* or throwing knife. Shamba's philosophy of peace was represented by his famous decree: "Kill neither man, woman nor child. Are they not the children of Chembe (God), and have they not the right to live?"

Weaving, sculpture, pottery, and other arts flourished under the king's rule. The practice of honoring Bushongo royalty by portraying them in sculpture, called *ndop,* began with Shamba Bolongongo.

Shamba was often represented in Kuba sculpture. One example is an elegant carved wooden figure that depicts Shamba Bolongongo sitting with legs crossed on a low throne, with his left hand holding a ceremonial sword and his other hand resting on his right knee. He wears a crown and dons bracelets around his wrists and ankles. Geometric patterns crisscross his stomach and extend around to his back.

Shankella   Name given by rival AMHARA and Tigray peoples to the Hamitic-Nilotic groups that inhabited the region along what is now the border between the Republic of the SUDAN and ETHIOPIA. According to Arabic records, the Shankella originally came from KHARTOUM, the capital of present-day Republic of the Sudan, and eventually settled in the villages of Alguma, Amoda, Afillo, Bisaka, Debatara, Debintana, Henditaga, Karakada, Saderda, Tabara, Tagada, and Tamada. They were an agricultural people made up of several sub-groups, each with its own culture and language. The most notable groups include the Kunama, Barya, and Bani Shangul.

Between the 15th and 18th centuries the Shankella endured a series of attacks and invasions by soldiers from the Ethiopian Christian empire. They were often the targets of raiders from both sides of the Ethiopia-Sudan border. The Shankella were less desired as captives than the OROMO or SIDAMO, who were favored for their lighter skin and what was believed to be a milder temperament. On the hierarchy of captives the Shankella were at the lowest level, and they paid for their low status by being given the least desirable work, such as hard domestic LABOR or fieldwork.

Shilluk (Collo)   Nilotic people inhabiting the area along the White Nile and Sobat rivers in present-day Republic of the SUDAN. The Shilluk settled in their present location during the early 16th century. In the early 17th century, they began to expand their territory, overtaking the frontier areas surrounding the Nile River. By the second half of the 17th century a centralized state was established under the rule of the *reth,* or divine king, who was elected from the sons of former kings. The *reth* was the representative and the reincarnation of the mythical hero Nyiking, the legendary founder of the Shilluk,

and his health was thought to be closely related to the spiritual and material health of the people.

The Shilluk, who led a lifestyle that was both pastoral and agricultural, remained in control of the region until the early 19th century, when MUHAMMAD ALI (1769–1849), the pasha of EGYPT, established Turco-Egyptian rule in the area.

See also: DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II); NILE RIVER (Vol. I).

Shirazi dynasty   Powerful Swahili families who were instrumental in developing Indian Ocean trade; the Shirazi controlled many of the city-states that supported a flourishing urban culture along the East African coast. Beginning in the 1600s the Shirazi dynasty declined at MOMBASA, ZANZIBAR, and other coastal cities, due in part to the increasing influence of the Portuguese and Omanis, who sought to control the ocean trade. Some Shirazi, however, made deals with the OMANI SULTANATE, which allowed the Shirazi to retain their local authority. The Shirazi remained in power in some coastal towns well into the 19th century.

Previously, it was thought that the Shirazi came from the Persian city of Shiraz. In both African and Arab societies, however, genealogy communicated social status. People adopted a more desirable genealogy to reflect a new social identity. Often, the name of a prestigious foreign place was taken as a _nisba,_ or family name. Currently, scholars think that Swahili people on the African coast adopted Shirazi as their _nisba_ to indicate their elite status as merchants, since some of the Arab traders they dealt with had come from Shiraz. The term _Shirazi_ has also been used generally to distinguish older Swahili families from people who arrived more recently, during the 19th and 20th centuries.

See also: AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY (Vol. V); SHIRAZI ARABS (Vol. II); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

Shoa (Shewa, Showa)   Province of ETHIOPIA located between the Blue Nile and the Awash rivers. Throughout Ethiopia's long and turbulent history, Shoa has been an important political region. Indeed, between the 10th and 14th centuries many of Shoa's towns, including Tegulet and Dabra Berhan, were royal centers and residences for local rulers.

In 1528, during the Battle of Shimbra Kure, a Muslim army from neighboring ADAL, headed by Ahmad ibn-

Ibrahim al-Ghazi (1506–1543), also known as AHMAD GRAÑ, overthrew the Ethiopian emperor LEBNA DENGEL (r. c. 1508–1540) and took Shoa as well as the neighboring regions of Dawara, AMHARA, and Lasta. Before Lebna Dengel's death, in 1540, he appealed to the Portuguese for aid. A year later Portugal supplied the Ethiopians with 400 musketeers.

Subsequently the governor of Tigray revamped his military forces, training them to fight in the style of the Europeans. These forces went on to defeat Ahmad Grañ's army. Their success did not last for long, however, because Ahmad Grañ sought the help of the Ottomans and, in 1542, conquered substantial portions of the Christian empire of Ethiopia.

As a result Ethiopian emperor Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559) implemented a new military strategy, switching to a strike-and-run war against the Muslims. This left Ahmad Grañ's men unsure when Galawdewos would strike next. In 1543, after a long and vicious battle, Grañ was killed in action. His army fled, and Ethiopia once again belonged to the Christian empire.

During the 17th century OROMO pastoralists moved to the area and dominated Shoa as they did in other Ethiopian territories, including Arsi, Welega, GOJJAM, Harege, and Welo. Many Oromo settled in these regions and, over the years, took up AGRICULTURE and adopted the culture and RELIGION (either Muslim or Christian) of the societies in which they lived.

Resentment against the Oromo was strong, however, especially in Shoa. There the Amhara had been pushed out and were forced to live in Manz, a plateau high in the mountains northeast of Shoa. But Shoa was resilient, and the kingdom's rulers, including Negassi Kristos Warada Qal (r. c. 1703), Sebastiye (r. 1705–1720), Abiye (r. 1720–1745), and Amha Iyasu (r. 1745–1775), spent much of the 18th century regaining the territory lost to the Oromo. As a result, Shoa had grown considerably by the end of the 19th century.

See also: AKSUM (Vols. I, II); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SHOA (Vol. IV); TIGRAY (Vols. I, IV, V).

Shona kingdoms   Kingdoms established by the Shona peoples in present-day ZIMBABWE, ZAMBIA, and MOZAMBIQUE. During the first millennium Shona peoples began to move into the region south of the ZAMBEZI RIVER that had once been inhabited by the SAN. The Shona intermarried with other Bantu-speaking peoples already there, either absorbing them or pushing them south, and began to mine the deposits of GOLD, establishing thousands of small mines. The Shona began to form centralized states in the 11th century, foremost among them Great Zimbabwe, which flourished in the 12th through the 15th centuries and grew prosperous on the gold and ivory trades. By the middle of the 15th century

the Shona had extended their territory from the Indian Ocean to the Kalahari Desert.

Great Zimbabwe was succeeded by two offshoots of the Shona kingdoms: the gold-trading Torwa empire to the west and the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom to the northeast. The ROZWI kingdom of the Shona, ruled by the CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY, dominated the region until the mid-19th century. At that time the Shona kingdom went into a state of decline as migrating NGUNI groups conquered the region.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SHONA (Vols. II, IV); TOGWA (Vol. III).

Shungwaya   Supposedly the ancestral homeland of the MIJIKENDA and POKOMO people of the KENYA coast of East Africa. According to the oral traditions of both the Mijikenda and Swahili peoples, the Mijikenda left the town of Shungwaya during the 16th century, migrating to the coastal hinterlands fairly rapidly. This, however, seems to be refuted by the bulk of the historical and archaeological evidence available, since the various Mijikenda peoples seem to have been in place near the coast substantially before the 16th century. Nor do the governmental traditions of the Mijikenda seem related to either the system of kingship or the Islamic religion associated with Shungwaya.

Sidamo (Sidama)   Culturally diverse people groups who, until the 16th century, populated much of southwestern ETHIOPIA. The major Sidamo groups include Bako, Amar, Gibe, GIMIRA, Janjero, Kaffa, Maji, and WOLAMO. The Sidamo, who speak dialects of the Cushitic language family, founded several kingdoms that were firmly established by 1400, among which KAFFA and Janjero were the largest. The religious and political structures of all the Sidamo kingdoms were similar in that they worshiped a pagan god, whom their king was believed to represent. Especially among the Kaffa, Janjero, and Gibe, caste distinction between the royalty, nobility, and commoners was strictly observed. Upon the king's death there were elaborate ceremonies (some involving animal sacrifice), during which his successor was chosen from among his sons.

The Sidamo were primarily agricultural and cattle-rearing people who also participated in the trade of salt, cloth, cattle, and, more significantly, GOLD. They used iron bars for their currency.

By the 16th century the OROMO moved into the region, conquered the Sidamo people, and dismantled their monarchies. During this time, many Sidamo converted to Islam, although there were also Christian converts and groups that managed to preserve their traditional religions.

See also: AHMAD GRAÑ (Vol. III); SIDAMO (Vol. II).

Sierra Leone   Country measuring about 27,700 square miles (71,700 sq km) located in West Africa. It is bordered by GUINEA to the north and east, LIBERIA to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The capital and largest city is FREETOWN, located on the coast.

Sierra Leone was known for becoming a refuge for freed Africans from abroad. From the 15th century to well into the 18th century, Sierra Leone took active part in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, although it was a minor source of captives. The Temne people lived along the coast when the Portuguese arrived. By 1425 the Portuguese had built a fort on the site of what is today Freetown, and from then on European merchant ships visited the coast in search of ivory and humans. In the mid-1500s the Mande migrated there from what is now Liberia. The British built trading posts on Bund and York islands during the 1600s, but the land was under the control of no European state. In the early 1700s FULANI and Mande Muslims from FOUTA DJALLON converted many Temne to Islam.

In 1787 a group of emancipated Africans from England attempted to form a colony for other Africans. This original colony was unsuccessful until 1791, when an English antislavery group formed the Sierra Leone Company and took up the cause, establishing the settlement of Freetown as a safe harbor for Africans once held in servitude in Europe, Jamaica, and the United States.

In 1807 the slave trade was officially abolished by the British Parliament, and in 1808 a naval base was established at Sierra Leone by the British to accept ex-slaves into the country and help incorporate them into a new life of freedom. By the time the last ship stopped in Sierra Leone, in 1864, more than 50,000 Africans from abroad had been brought to the country by the British navy.

As these people, commonly called Krios (Creoles), came from various homelands, they generally lacked a common RELIGION, language, and cultural background, and the government then combined forces with Protestant MISSIONARIES and other Freetown pastors to adopt a policy that would Christianize the Krios and create a uniform community. This unification met with great success and saw the establishment in 1827 of Fourah Bay College, a part of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, which educated and trained many Africans and their children to work as missionaries or in such fields as teaching and business.

See also: FOURAH BAY COLLEGE (Vol. IV); KRIO (Vol. IV); SIERRA LEONE (Vol. I, II, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vol. III).

Further reading: Joe A. D. Alie, *A New History of Sierra Leone* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).

Sijilmasa   Trans-Saharan trading center located in what is now MOROCCO. Once a flourishing city, Sijilmasa was

described by the Arab traveler and historian Leo Africanus (c. 1485–c. 1554) as a mere shadow of its former grand self, with the gated walls that formerly surrounded the city lying in ruins. Although technically ruled by the Sadian dynasty of the Moroccan city of Marrakech, Sijilmasa during the early 1600s was practically independent, with people living in more than 350 *ksours,* or villages. By the late 17th century, however, Morocco had come under the rule of the powerful Alawite dynasty, and during the reign of Mawlay Ismail (c. 1645–1727) Sijilmasa was once again occupied by Moroccan forces. During Mawlay Ismail's reign the city was outfitted with an extensive irrigation system that made agricultural activities much more viable.

Thought to have fathered as many as 700 children, Mawlay Ismail faced succession conflicts when his numerous sons came of age. After attempting first to give each of them some form of commanding office, Ismail later deposed all but one of his sons and sent them to live in Sijilmasa. There they were given houses, land, and a number of bondservants to help cultivate the land.

See also: SIJILMASA (Vol. II).

Further reading: Julian Clancy-Smith, ed., *North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War* (Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass, 2001).

Simien (Semyen) Ethiopian province located south of Tigray, near Lake Tana. The BETA ISRAEL have inhabited the region in and around Simien since the 14th century. As a Hamitic group who practice a form of Judaism, the Beta Israel have been in conflict with their Muslim and Christian neighbors for centuries, and as a result have been the target of many attacks and invasions.

The first order of business of Emperor Minas (r. 1560–1564), after succeeding his brother Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559) as emperor of ETHIOPIA, was to attack the Beta Israel who were living in the Simien Mountains. Although the campaign was not a success, it gave Minas the opportunity to replace the governor of Tigray with one of his own men. In the latter half of the 16th century Emperor Sarsa Dengel (r. 1564–1597) turned his attention to Simien, Wagera, and Dembya. He led several missions against the Beta Israel, ultimately occupying their areas. Susenyos (r. 1607–1632) continued Sarsa Dengel's war against the Beta Israel, his campaign even more ruthless. Under Susenyos any Beta Israel

who refused to convert to Christianity were killed or sold into captivity. As a result of these and other activities the Beta Israel were eventually driven out of the region altogether.

See also: TIGRAY (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Skeleton Coast Stretch of arid shoreline in northeast NAMIBIA that is bordered by the Namib Desert. Throughout the ages, many animals—and people—who could not survive the desert's harsh, waterless environment eventually perished in its sands. The area got its name from early European sea explorers who were impressed by the great number of sun-bleached human and animal bones that had been exposed by the blasting wind. The nomadic KHOIKHOI were the only group to inhabit this arid environment.

Slave Coast Coastal stretch on the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa that is made up of the coastlines of the three present-day countries of TOGO, Republic of BENIN, and NIGERIA. By the mid-16th century Europeans had named the lower coastal area of West Africa according to the trade commodities found in each specific region. The westernmost of these areas was known for the abundance of elephants—and therefore ivory tusks—and became known as the IVORY COAST. The stretch to the east of the Ivory Coast became known for its abundance of GOLD mines and was quickly named the GOLD COAST (now GHANA). When human beings became an important trade commodity around the 17th century, the West African coastal regions below the Gold Coast became known as a plentiful source of captives. The Slave Coast was loosely defined as the region between the mouths of two rivers—the NIGER RIVER in the east and the Volta River in the west.

The same stretch of coastline referred to as the Slave Coast is also called the Bight of BENIN.

Although such European powers as Portugal, Spain, France, Denmark, and Sweden all attempted to control the commerce in the area, the Slave Coast was dominated especially by the Dutch and British, who worked with indigenous traders well into the 19th century.

See also: DENMARK AND AFRICA (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVERY (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III).

slave rebellions   Historical records show that many Africans never accepted SLAVERY and rebelled against, ran away from, and resisted enslavement at every opportunity, some even killing themselves rather than submitting to bondage.

In North America   Letters and diaries from the American South in the 1800s indicate that slaveholders lived in constant fear of rebellion. In 1791 the ferocity of the initial slave revolt in Haiti, on the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean, made it clear to Europeans that unrest easily led to violence. In this revolt 280 sugar plantations were destroyed and 2,000 European planters and their families killed. In some instances their children's bodies impaled on stakes and used as standards to lead the rebels. The French responded by committing equally gruesome atrocities against the rebelling Africans.

> **To repress and control slave rebellion, especially in those places, such as South Carolina and the Caribbean islands, where persons in slavery outnumbered the free sometimes ten to one, Africans were forbidden to meet in groups or to learn to read, and they lived under the constant scrutiny of their overseers. Families were often separated, further increasing their isolation from one another and from white society.**

In 1800 an African named Gabriel Prosser (c. 1775–1800) led the first large- scale revolt of enslaved Africans in the United States. His plan was to create an independent black state in Virginia, with himself as its head. His plan to march on Richmond, Virginia, at the head of an army of 1,000 followers failed because heavy rains washed out the bridges and flooded the roads that led to the arsenal and powderhouse. The state militia captured Prosser and 34 of his followers before they could regroup their forces. All were hanged.

In 1811 nearly 500 Africans on a plantation near New Orleans, Louisiana, took up weapons with the intent of marching on New Orleans and freeing all the Africans there. They killed an unrecorded number of people and burned a number of plantations along the way until they were stopped by government troops 10 miles (16 km) from the city.

In 1821 a freedman named Denmark Vesey (c. 1767–1822) began to organize the most extensive slave revolt ever planned in the United States, which was to take place among the African laborers in the plantations surrounding Charleston, South Carolina. By 1822 he and his fellow leaders had gained widespread support in the region. However, the rebels were betrayed from within by a traitor who knew all their plans, and Vesey and his lieutenants were hanged. In 1831 Nat Turner (c. 1800–1831) led 75 followers in what was to become the only rebellion by Africans in United States history that did not quickly die out. It took place near Jerusalem, Virginia; 60 whites were killed, including Turner's "master" and his family. (The only local family spared was one that held no one in bondage.) Hundreds of whites fled, and many left the state for good. Turner was captured and hanged, but whites became keenly aware of the anger and resentment among Africans unwillingly held in bondage.

Unrest among Africans was not restricted to the Southern states. An insurrection in New York City in 1712 led to the murder of nine whites and the execution of 17 blacks. In 1741, again in New York City, where one in five inhabitants was an African in bondage, a number of conspiracy trials were held as a result of a series of incidents of arson and burglary that led many to believe that an African revolt was immanent. The supposed revolt's "leader," Ceasar, and five other Africans were hanged. Some historians have compared these trials to the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692.

In Haiti   In the 1780s, 20,000 whites, 30,000 free persons of color, and an unknown but large number of fugitive Africans called *maroons* lived in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, as Haiti was then known. An estimated 500,000 Africans worked on the sugar, coffee, indigo, and other plantations in the colony. The slave system in Haiti had the reputation of being the cruelest in the Western Hemisphere. Recalcitrant Africans in other colonies were threatened with being sent there. Despite a willingness to admit the human status of slaves, at least on religious grounds, the French plantation owners in Haiti were known to work their African laborers to death, preferring to replace them rather than to improve their living and working conditions—a common practice in Brazil and in many parts of the Caribbean and North America. In 1791 a religious leader named Boukman Dutty (d. 1791) led a revolt that in its ferocity expressed the African population's desire for vengeance as well as liberty. France at the time was embroiled in the French Revolution (1789–99), its own revolt against the monarchy that made France a republic.

Leadership of the revolt in Haiti was soon assumed by the charismatic 50-year-old general named François Dominique Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803), who had once been held in bondage. Toussaint's ability to play the three contenders for the island, the French, British, and Spanish, against each other won him the allegiance of the French, who made Toussaint governor-general of the island and Haiti a French protectorate. Toussaint's rule came to an end when, in 1802, Napoleon sent an army of 20,000 soldiers to invade Haiti and restore slavery. A guerrilla war led by Toussaint ensued. Although Toussaint made peace with the French and retired from office, in 1802, he was

tricked into a meeting, arrested, and sent to France, where he died in prison, in April 1803. In 1804 Haiti won its independence from France and became the first black republic in the Western Hemisphere.

Elsewhere in the Caribbean Most slave revolts in the Caribbean, as elsewhere, involved a limited number of Africans and were quickly quelled. The more prominent of them occurred in Brazil (1630), in St. Kitts–Nevis (1639), in Jamaica, (1720, the so-called First Maroon War), in Surinam (1733), in Monserrat (1768), and in Belize (1773). In most cases the rebellions were crushed.

At Sea Two famous revolts occurred at sea after the 19th century began: the revolt aboard the *Amistad* on a voyage from West Africa to Cuba in 1839 and the revolt on board the American brig *Creole* on a voyage from Richmond and Hampton Roads in Virginia to New Orleans in 1841. Those held responsible for the revolt aboard the *Amistad* were defended in court by former president John Quincy Adams (1767–1848). In a judgment that surprised many people of the time, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the 53 Africans aboard the *Amistad,* who overwhelmed the crew and brought their vessel into American waters for protection, were justified in their actions. With the help of missionary and abolitionist groups, the mutineers returned home to SIERRA LEONE, in 1842.

No such clemency was shown to the mutineers aboard the *Creole.* Because their legal status as slaves made them, according to the law of the day, the property of American citizens, the courts demanded their return by the British, who had declared them free when they landed at Nassau in the Bahamas. The British later agreed to compensate the Americans for their loss.

In the Arab World The largest revolt of African bondsmen in Islamic times occurred in what is now Iraq in the ninth century among laborers in the salt marshes. Known to historians as the Revolt of the Zanj (from the Arabic word for "black"), the longest of the rebellions lasted from 868 to 883. The ranks of the enslaved blacks were augmented by black soldiers who defected from the army of the Abassid caliph in large numbers. The revolt spread to within 70 miles (113 km) of Baghdad until it was quelled by the army with the offer of amnesty and rewards to rebels who chose to surrender.

No other revolts of any magnitude are recorded. It may be speculated that differences in the status of slaves in Islam, the greater ability of slaves in Islam to win their freedom and join the general populace, the number of females in the urban slave population, and the relatively infrequent concentration of many fieldworkers in a single place contributed to the lack of organized resistance and unrest. Further, groups originally made up of slaves, such as the MAMLUKS of EGYPT and the Janissaries of the Ottoman Empire, could attain their freedom and reach positions of high authority and influence in their societies.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVERY, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); ZANJ (Vol. II).

slavery Slavery is a condition in which human beings are kept in a state of forced servitude. Many non-African historians use the term as a shorthand to encompass all forms of slavery, giving the misleading impression that all systems of servitude and bondage are alike. They are not. The brutal and dehumanizing system of chattel slavery that arose in the Americas and into which millions of Africans were abducted against their wills, sold, and held as the property of their purchasers was a Western, non-African development. Numerous so-called SLAVE REBELLIONS attest to the unwillingness of Africans to accept this attack on their humanity and limitation on their freedom.

Scholars of African culture note that the system of domestic bondage or slavery that existed in West Africa before Portuguese explorers arrived in 1441 bore little resemblance to chattel slavery, a system unique to the Americas, by which human beings were legally defined as property. In African society, prisoners of war, people who violated a traditional custom or prohibition or committed a crime, and people who were unable or unwilling to settle a just debt could be held in a condition of servitude. This condition was not perpetual. These slaves were not considered property, and they enjoyed certain rights. Families were typically not separated, and children of the enslaved were not automatically slaves. People held in a state of slavery often married into the kinship group of their masters and became members of their masters' extended families.

Islam took root in Africa starting in the seventh century, first in North Africa and along the SWAHILI COAST and later in West Africa. Muslim law provided protections for persons in slave status, but these protections resulted in reinforcing the institution of slavery in Muslim lands. Most slaves performed domestic tasks, but some did field LABOR or comparable jobs. In the parts of North Africa occupied by the Ottoman Empire, slaves entered military or government service, sometimes achieving high rank. Even though books often call people held in this kind of servitude slaves, the distinction between chattel slavery and what might be called "traditional slavery" or servitude should be noted.

Slavery after 1441 became the story of chattel slavery in the Americas and its impact on African life. It is possible that some Africans transported into slavery in the Americas already lived in a traditional form of slavery in their own states or villages. It is probable, however, that the majority were abducted in raids against their people and transported as captives in chains to work in the mines and, later, the fields of the New World.

The African Slave Trade
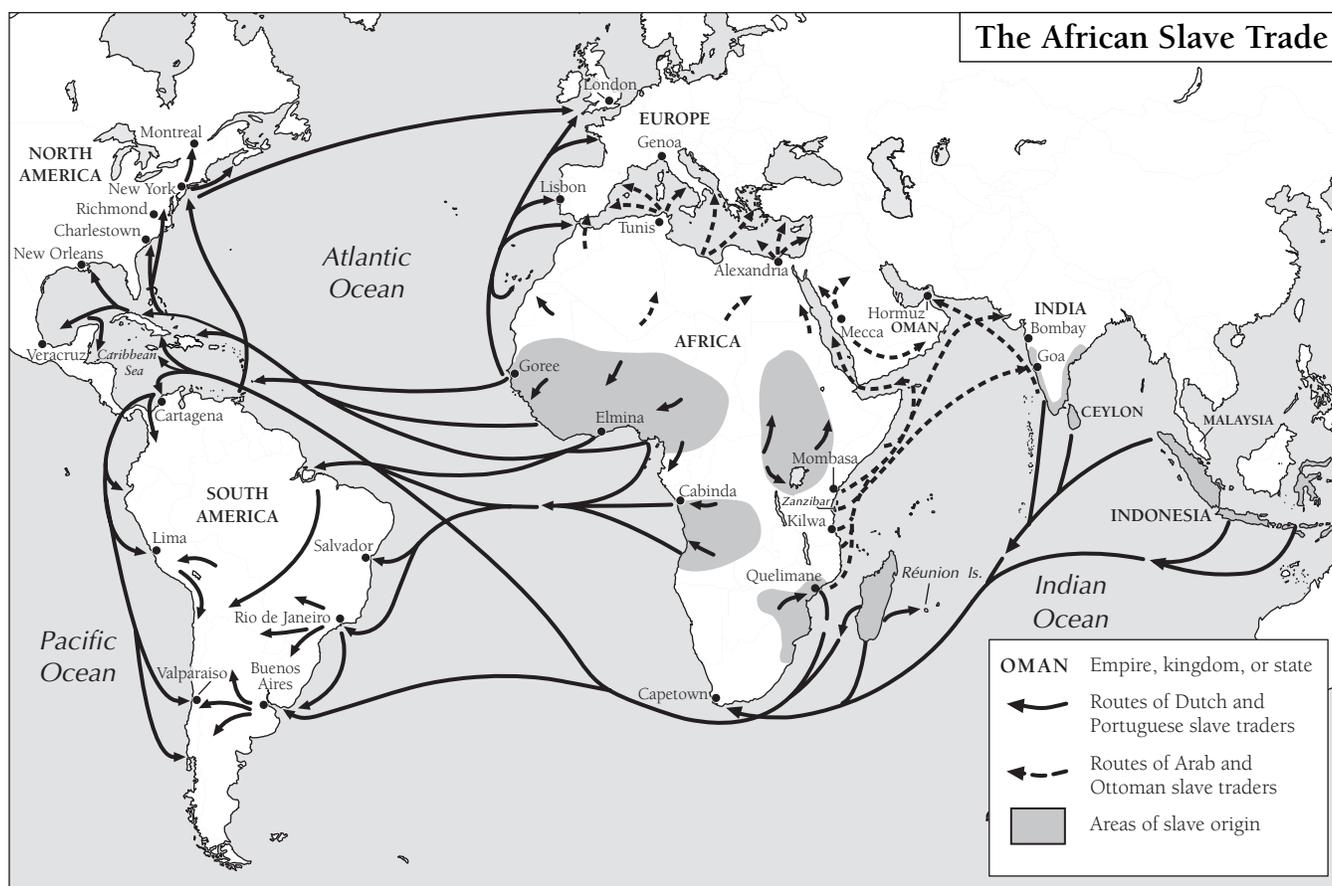
Background and Overview During the Age of Discovery that began in the 1430s, Europe, led by Portugal, began to expand beyond its borders, exploring first the coast of Africa and later the Americas. The prevalent cultural and religious attitudes of the day among Europeans legitimized slavery in their minds. When the exploitation of commercial resources in the Western Hemisphere required a large labor force, they did not hesitate to enslave the native American populations of the lands they colonized. When this source of labor dwindled, they increasingly imported African laborers and held them in a state of chattel slavery.

In 1415 the Muslim city of CEUTA, a center of the North African slave trade, became Portugal's first permanent conquest in Africa. Ceuta is located directly across from the Iberian Peninsula on the Moroccan side of the Strait of Gibraltar, a channel that is at its narrowest point just 8 miles (13 km) wide. Ceuta was the gateway to the Atlantic and the starting point for the explorations of the West African coast and the Atlantic islands that Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) of Portugal sponsored in the years following 1420. In 1441 the first African captives from West Africa were brought to Portugal.

At first the Portuguese trade in human captives took place directly between West Africa and Europe, cir-

cumventing the Arab traders in Ceuta and in other North African ports, and provided servants and farm laborers for Spain, Portugal, and other parts of Europe. Europeans did not enter into the African (domestic) slave trade. Very soon, however, a much more extensive transatlantic trade in humans began to emerge in response to the need to supplement or replace native workers on plantations in the Americas. With the influence of superior European weaponry, a system of raiding villages and abducting people was begun, without regard to any concept of slavery as previously practiced in Africa, and it was totally foreign to those who were suddenly caught up in its practices.

The first voyages of slave ships from Africa to the Western Hemisphere began in the 1520s. Their human cargo sailed on Portuguese vessels destined for the Spanish colonies on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola (now Haiti and the Dominican Republic).

As the need for laborers grew or their commercial interest in Africa expanded, other European kingdoms joined the Portuguese in the trade in Africans. These include the Spanish (after 1479), the English (1562), the Dutch (1625), the French (1640), the Swedes (1649), the Danes and Norwegians (1651), and the German states (1685). After declaring its independence from Britain, in

1776, the United States continued North American involvement in the slave trade, which began as early as 1619, in the Jamestown colony in Virginia. The largest traders overall, however, were Portugal, France, and especially Britain. By the middle of the 18th century Britain was the most active exporter; British ships carried more than half of all the enslaved Africans being transported across the Atlantic.

The transatlantic SLAVE TRADE from ports in ANGOLA, SENEGAMBIA, in West Africa, and MOZAMBIQUE, in East Africa, was of long duration and did not end even when formal declarations to abolish slavery were promulgated by the major slave-trading countries in the 19th century. These declarations served only to make slaving operations covert; British and American naval vessels on antislavery patrols on the African coast were generally evaded and their cargoes of human beings were carried off to the plantations of the New World.

The process of abolition and emancipation took most of the 19th century to accomplish worldwide. Wide-ranging abolition movements arose after the start of the Industrial Revolution, which began in Britain about 1760 and spread to Europe and then to the United States in the 19th century. Some historians argue that the shift from an ECONOMY based on AGRICULTURE to an economy based on industry and manufacturing enabled abolition to occur because it made the system of chattel slavery less economically advantageous. As evidence of this, they cite the fact that abolition occurred earlier in industrialized areas such as Britain and the New England states, where manufacturing dominated the economy, and it spread more slowly in the agrarian economies of the American South and the Caribbean region, where extensive field labor was still required.

Abolition Formal abolition of chattel slavery did not necessarily entail the emancipation, or freeing, of
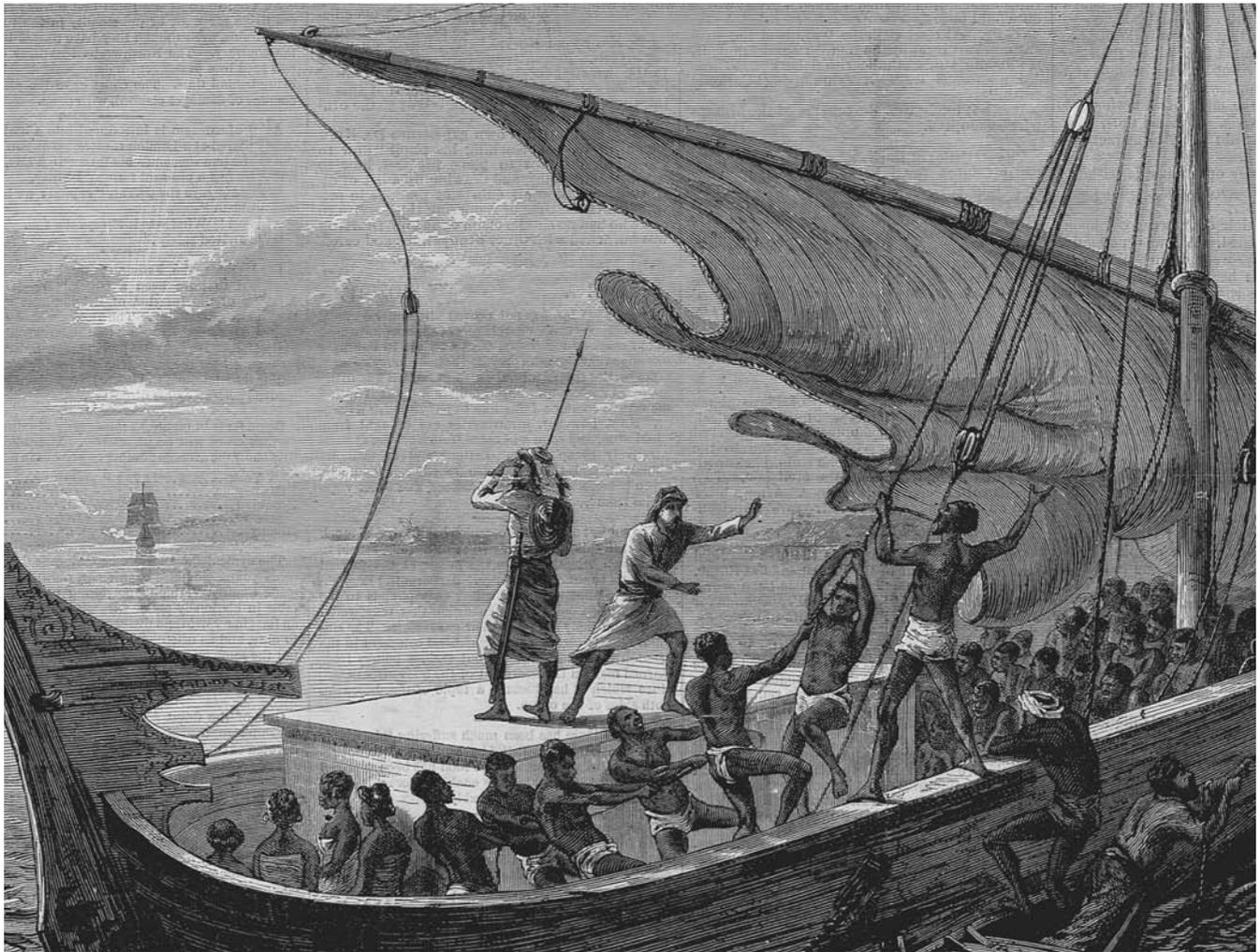
Arab dhow trying to elude a British warship on an antislavery patrol. Lateen-rigged dhows like this one transported slaves up the Swahili Coast and on to Arabia. *© Corbis*

peoples already enslaved, which often occurred at a later date. France temporarily outlawed the slave trade in the aftermath of the French Revolution, during the early 1790s, but soon lifted the ban and did not reimpose it until 1817. In 1805 the Danish government forbade its citizens from taking part in the slave trade. Sweden banned the slave trade in 1813, and Netherlands followed in 1814. The United Kingdom officially outlawed the slave trade in 1807, and in 1834 Africans living in British lands were emancipated.

In the United States the path to abolition was complicated by the slave-based economies of the southern states. In order to win the ratification votes of the southern states, a clause prohibiting the federal government from interfering with the slave trade until 1808 was included in the U.S. Constitution (1787). When the clause expired, the slave trade was outlawed, but the United States did not emancipate captive Africans until 1863, at the height of the Civil War (1860–65). The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1865, formally abolished slavery in the United States.

Among the other major exporters of captive Africans, similar patterns occurred. In 1814 Spain agreed to stop the slave trade to everywhere except her own possessions, and in 1820 Spain extended the ban to all its possessions except Cuba. In 1880 Spain emancipated the Africans in all of its colonies except Cuba; Africans in slavery in Cuba were not emancipated until 1886. Portugal outlawed slavery in 1816 but continued shipping Africans to Brazil, its largest colony, whose sugar plantations absorbed the greatest number of Africans sent to the New World. The Portuguese did not emancipate Africans in Brazil until 1888.

In the Muslim world, the forced servitude of Africans persisted longer than in the Americas. The first Muslim ruler to outlaw slavery was the bey, or ruler, of the North African city of Tunis. In 1846 he ordered every African freed who desired it. Abolition was completed after the French occupation in the 1880s. The Ottoman Empire, which ruled EGYPT as a province from 1517 to 1789 from its capital at Istanbul (formerly Constantinople) in modern Turkey, began the process of emancipation in 1830, but only for Christian slaves. Those who had become Muslim remained in bondage.

In 1857, at the insistence of Britain, the Ottoman Empire outlawed the slave trade throughout the empire except in the Hijaz, the region along the Red Sea in western Saudi Arabia. However, African captives shipped from TRIPOLI and Benghazi in what is today LIBYA still reached the Ottoman Empire in large numbers well into the 1870s. The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and later the Sudan curtailed the slave trade from Africa to Arabia and Iran and drove it underground until it finally ended between the two world wars (1914–18 and 1939–45).

After the period of enslavement came what historians call "the scramble for Africa"—the partitioning of Africa by the major Western powers. In a series of conquests consolidated at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, the African continent was divided among the seven major European contenders. France and Britain built the largest colonial empires in Africa, but Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Germany, and Italy also had substantial African possessions.

The Human Cost Africa's greatest export from 1530 to 1830 was its people. Records indicate that at least 10 million Africans from West Africa and Central Africa were landed alive in North and South America and the Caribbean and sold as slaves to work in the plantation-based economies of the region during those years. If deaths in transit are calculated, an additional 2 million people can be added to that number. An average of 20,000 Africans per year were taken into chattel slavery during the 1600s, a number that leapt to between 50,000 and 100,000 Africans per year for much of the 1700s. Less conservative historians argue that much of the trade in slaves went unrecorded and that the actual total is twice or more the conservative estimate, or somewhere between 24 million and 50 million Africans.

Slavery in all its forms, however, took its human toll on Africa both before and after the European involvement in the slave trade. Between the seventh century and the late 19th century, roughly 14 million Africans were transported into the Islamic world and beyond in trans-Saharan trade or from ports along the Swahili Coast. Traditional forms of slavery also thrived in West African states throughout this period. When the Berber Almoravid empire of North Africa attacked the ancient Ghana Empire in the 11th century, the conquerors found thousands of African captives at the trans-Saharan trading town of Audaghost, which was then under Ghana's control. Ghana's successor states, the Mali Empire and the SONGHAI Empire, took thousands of captives in their wars of expansion. Historians believe that, during the 19th century, the SOKOTO CALIPHATE in what is now northwestern NIGERIA may have utilized the labor of as many as 2.5 million captives to produce the PALM OIL, cloves, and other products it sold to its European trading partners.

Nevertheless, the transatlantic slave trade significantly differed from the practice of slavery in other parts of the world, including earlier times in Africa. Never before had so many people been forcibly uprooted from their places of birth. The status and treat-

ment of the abducted captives was extremely brutal, the single business of enterprise of the transatlantic slave trade all but dominated African life.

The Economic Cost The slave trade brought West Africa into the international economy not as a partner but as a market to exploit and a source of cheap labor to ensure the profita bility of enterprises elsewhere. Slavery deprived Africa of the productive labor of significant numbers of its youngest and healthiest people. In places where the Islamic slave trade across the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea was dominant, local populations often had their women and children carried off into bondage, often as concubines or menial laborers, to other parts of the Muslim world. The European slave trade deprived Africa of its strongest young males, who were carried off in chains to do productive labor in the Americas. Populations often became unbalanced, with a surplus of males existing in some areas and a surplus of females in others. The ability to develop a local, labor-intensive AGRICULTURE was thereby impaired.

Slavery and the slave trade also arrested the development of local industries. The availability of cheap European textiles undermined the local production of cloth, and the availability of cheap European manufactured goods caused local production of metal goods to dwindle, thus blocking the growth of a local ironworking industry.

See also: AGE OF DISCOVERY (Vol. II); AUDAGHOST (Vol. II); IRONWORKING (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF WEST AFRICA (Vol. II); MIDDLE PASSAGE (Vol. III); PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vols. I, IV); SLAVERY, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD (Vol. III); SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

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slavery, cultural and historical attitudes toward The earliest form of "slavery" in human history is sometimes called domestic servitude, to distinguish it from the chattel SLAVERY that characterized the Americas beginning in the 16th and 17th centuries. The institution of chattel slavery, by which human beings were legally considered property, was responsible for the wide-scale uprooting and enslavement of African peoples brought on by the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE of the 1500s to the 1800s. In domestic servitude, people were bought, sold, or kidnapped into bondage as a way to obtain LABOR. Captives were enslaved as spoils of war; debtors or the children of debtors were enslaved to settle debts. Criminals were bonded and sent to work at hard labor for a long period of time, even a lifetime. In the Middle East, families were known to sell a child into slavery, and adults even sold themselves into bondage if times were difficult.

In domestic servitude the bonded had whatever rights the owner decided to grant. Traditional servitude respected FAMILY bonds, allowing slaves to marry and not separating spouses from one another or from their children—but there was no obligation to do so. The children of bonded labor remained in servitude or were freed as local customs dictated. Owners often had the right to punish a bonded person without penalty.

The Widespread Acceptance of Servitude Servitude is not unique to Africa or the African experience but was commonly accepted in Europe, the Arab world, and the Mediterranean world before the 19th century. In the ancient world, the Greeks and Romans kept large numbers of bonded laborers for work both at home and in their overseas colonies in North Africa. These laborers were considered chattel, or the property of their owners, and had no legal rights. The Egyptians and Nubians also kept bonded laborers, although in these societies, their numbers were fewer and persons in slave status were not considered chattel. Domestic servitude was also practiced in Babylon and in Palestine, the ancient Jews were kept as bonded labor by the Egyptians and Babylonians, and the Old Testament indicates that the Jewish people themselves kept "slaves."

During the European Middle Ages, Europe was often a source of slaves for the Arab world. Viking raiders sailing from Scandinavia in the years 800 to 1050 often raided the coast of Britain and France for slaves that they sold as far east as Constantinople (now Istanbul). From the eighth to the 11th centuries Rouen in France was a major transfer point for Irish and Flemish slaves being shipped to the Arabian Peninsula.

Religious, political, and commercial rivalry and military conflict between Muslims and Christians, which started during the Crusades (1096–1272), expanded greatly during the 14th century. Attacks by the Muslim Ottoman Empire against Christian eastern Europe made the

Captive Africans in chains in Zanzibar. Slavery was not abolished until 1873 on the island of Zanzibar, off the Swahili coast. This photograph was taken during the 19th century. © *Bojan Brecelj/Corbis*

Balkans and the Black Sea region an active source of slaves for the Ottoman slave markets in Constantinople, KAFFA in the Crimea, Tana-Azov on the Black Sea, and, in the 16th century, Alexandria and CAIRO in EGYPT. In the Ottoman Empire of the mid-1500s, bonded laborers from sources in Africa, Europe, and the Caucasus took part in both the military and civil service and served as craftspeople, bureaucrats, domestic servants, and concubines.

The English word *slave,* from Medieval Latin *sclavus* through Old French *esclave,* is derived from the word for Slav, an indication of the number of Slavic peoples of Europe who were enslaved by Muslim raiders in the Middle Ages.

Domestic servitude, that is, slavery not associated with the export slave trade, was also part of Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa before Europeans arrived. The no-madic TUAREGS of the Sahara kept bonded labor, although the living conditions of laborers and masters may have differed very little. Among the peoples of West Africa and Central Africa, taking captives was an ordinary practice of war. Some of these captives remained in bondage locally and became incorporated in local lineages and kinship groups. Others were exchanged for trade goods and transported north across the Sahara along the caravan routes or sold to Arab merchants involved in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean trade. The Berber Massufa people who controlled the salt mines at Taghaza and the kings of the AKAN state of BONO, who controlled the Akan GOLD fields, often used the labor of captive Africans to mine the products that made Africa prosperous for centuries.

As with Muslim-Christian slave-taking, RELIGION and politics were intermeshed when Muslim states in Africa expanded into the lands where traditional African religion was practiced. The Muslim kingdoms and empires in West Africa, notably the early empires of Ghana, Mali and SONGHAI, and the later Muslim states such as FOUTA TORO, FOUTA DJALLON, and the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, which were established as a result of the FULANI JIHADS of the 18th and

19th centuries, took thousands of nonbelievers captive in their wars of conquest and expansion.

Religious Attitudes Toward Slavery Both the Old Testament and the New Testament of the Bible recognize and accept slavery, as it was practiced in biblical times, as a fact of life, and both insist on the need to treat slaves humanely because they are fellow human beings. Christianity's emphasis on salvation and its focus on the afterlife have been raised in defense of Scriptural tolerance of slavery. In this view all believers are equal in the eyes of God but not necessarily according to human law, which mattered less in the divine plan. Slaves were told to submit to their masters, and masters were enjoined to treat their slaves with consideration. These beliefs remained largely unexamined despite mounting evidence of the brutality of chattel slavery in the Americas. Local church authorities in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Americas generally sided with the land owners and the status quo.

By the 19th century in the West, the horrors of chattel slavery made slavery of any kind no longer defensible. Protestant religious thinkers in the two dominant slave-trading states of the period led the movement to abolish it. These reformers included William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879) and the liberal Congregationalist minister Henry Ward Beecher (1813–1887) in the United States and Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846) and the evangelical Christian activist William Wilberforce (1759–1833) in Britain.

The Quran condoned slavery but improved the position of slaves in Muslim society by considering them more than just the chattel, or property, of their owners but as human beings. Islam recognizes the social inequality of master and slave but gives persons in slavery, if they are Muslim, a certain religious and social status that makes them the religious equal of a freeborn Muslim and the superior of the freeborn nonbeliever. In practice, the enslavement of free Muslims was discouraged and, later, prohibited. Freeborn Muslims could no longer be sold or sell themselves into slavery, nor could they be reduced to slave status to pay a debt. However, a non-Muslim slave who converted to Islam did not have to be freed, and a Muslim child born to parents in bondage remained in slave status. The slave population could only grow by the addition of individuals born of slave parents or captured in war, and these were soon limited to nonbelievers captured in a jihad, or holy war. (In Africa, Muslim rulers sometimes proclaimed a jihad without looking too closely at a neighboring people's religion. In the Fulani jihads of the 19th century, backsliding Muslims were considered legitimate targets for attack.) Captives were often liberated as an act of piety, and children born of a mother in bondage were frequently freed and accepted as family members.

The downside of the Muslim position on the status of slaves was the constant need to replenish their numbers from markets in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The birth rate among people in slave status was low. Many males were imported as eunuchs (the Quran forbids mutilation, so the castration had to be done at the border). Military slaves, such as the MAMLUKS in Egypt or the elite Turkish corps of Janissaries, the main fighting force of the Ottoman Empire from the late 14th century to 1826, rose to positions of great prominence and won their freedom, making their children also free. Marriage between persons in slavery was discouraged, and casual procreation forbidden. The death rate from disease and epidemics was high, especially among imported Africans, who had no prior exposure to the diseases of the Mediterranean world. Thus, the need for the services of slaves in many capacities overwhelmed the Quran's humanitarian reforms; massive numbers of slaves had to be imported from the outside.

The main sources of slaves in the Arabic world were Africans and peoples from the Eurasian steppes and the Caucasus. Blacks from West and Central Africa entered the Islamic world from ports in MOROCCO, TUNISIA, and LIBYA. From East Africa, they were transported along the Nile to Egypt or ferried across the Red Sea or Indian Ocean to Arabia, Iraq, Iran, and other parts of the Muslim world. Later routes led from KANO by way of AGADES and Ghadames to TRIPOLI, and from WADAI and DARFUR in present-day Republic of the SUDAN via Bornu and Tibesti in CHAD to Kufra and Cyrenaica in Libya.

The abolition of slavery took longer in Islamic countries. Because slavery was sanctioned by the Quran and regulated by Islamic law, Muslim states believed that they could not abolish outright what Allah allowed any more than they could permit what Allah forbade. Thus conservative 19th-century Muslim scholars, especially in Mecca and Medina, who spoke out against abolition believed they were upholding the law of personal status, a key principal of Islam. In parts of the Arabian Peninsula, slavery persisted until the middle of the 20th century.

Slavery and Racism Slavery in Africa and in Islam was generally not based exclusively on race. Language, dress, name, religion, and customs were often the factors used to distinguish between master and slave, and it was a distinction by class. In South America, in the Caribbean, and in North America, however, discrimination by race separated Africans from other members of the population, and this form of discrimination affected the lives of Africans in the New World long after the institution of slavery was abolished.

Historically, in Africa, in Egypt, and in other societies where both slave and master were the same race, slaves were frequently released from bondage; when races differed, as in the plantation economies of the West Indies and the American South, freedom was granted rarely or not at all. Plantation owners imposed on enslaved Africans a heavy degree of social isolation that treated them in a dehumanizing manner. Fear of revolt further served to distance owners from those held in bondage. And even if slaves managed to win their freedom, the color of their skin often presented obstacles to their success and marginalized them in society

To justify the enslavement of Africans it became common in the 18th and 19th centuries among people of European background to assume that blacks both in Africa and in the New World were inferior in nature to Europeans and that they were better off Christianized and abducted from their homeland than left in an Africa depicted as "primitive" and "barbaric." To uphold this erroneous view, Africans in bondage were often stereotyped in ART and literature as little better than children—irresponsible, lazy, and unable to handle freedom and practical matters. Biblical justifications and arguments based on skull size, dental structure, and posture were also used as pseudo-scientific proofs of European superiority.

The Roots of European Racism Europe's sense of superiority has its roots in the 1500s. Europe at the start of the 16th century was finally free of the threat of Islam, its main religious, political, and commercial rival. After the expulsion of the Moors in 1492, the Christian kingdoms of Spain and the new kingdom of Portugal no longer shared the Iberian Peninsula with the kingdoms of Muslim Spain. In the East, the power of the Ottoman Empire was receding after its unsuccessful siege of Vienna in modern-day Austria in 1529. At the same time, European technology began to surpass what other civilizations offered and allowed it to expand (and defend) its commercial interests far beyond its borders. By that time, the exploration and exploitation of the Americas and the West African coast were well under way. The superiority of European technology, especially its firearms, over traditional societies led to a belief in the superiority of European peoples over all others.

The conversion of nonbelievers provided a religious motivation for conquest. Roman Catholic MISSIONARIES often accompanied the Spanish conquistadores on their voyages to the New World; their task was to Christianize the native peoples that the soldiers conquered. In Africa, the Portuguese generally baptized African captives before loading them aboard ship for the Americas. Although instruction was perfunctory and the captives had no understanding of what baptism meant, important to the Portuguese and the Spanish was the assumption that they were doing God's work by saving souls.

Forces within Christianity turned Christianity's focus from heresy and dogma to the exclusion of the human rights of others. The Protestant Reformation, led by the German theologian Martin Luther (1483–1546) and the French reformer John Calvin (1507–1574), plunged Europe into a long period of bitter religious intolerance and commercial rivalry between Protestants and Catholics. Often, in the Protestant view, material prosperity and commercial success were signs of divine favor. The Protestant countries of Europe, including England and Holland, developed strong, trade-based economies that soon involved them deeply in the slave trade. Protestant slave traders and slaveholders discouraged conversion because of church restrictions on enslaving and exploiting fellow Christians.

The first peoples enslaved in the Western Hemisphere were not Africans but Native American peoples in the newly explored lands of the Americas, whom the Spanish captured and put to work in fields and mines. The mission to Christianize these pagan peoples was used to justify seizure of their lands. Because their traditional lifestyles differed from European ways, the Native Americans were regarded as primitive, ignorant savages. When native populations dwindled from smallpox and other diseases to which they lacked immunity, these stereotypes were transferred to the African captives who were brought over in chains to take their places, with no hope of return to the land of their birth and a short life of hard labor ahead of them.

In the minds of the colonizers, the system of chattel slavery became a necessity to the ECONOMY in the Western Hemisphere. Forcibly imported Africans did jobs that whites from Europe were unwilling to do and for which the dwindling populations of Native Americans were insufficient. In the view of the plantation owners, the low cost of transporting Africans across the Atlantic into slavery made slavery attractive, and the use of slaves from African sources soon supplanted labor from other sources, including the poor white deportees, convicts, and indentured servants from Europe. Race replaced the prior tests of economic and social status to determine who lived in bondage and who was free. The transatlantic slave trade created a system of slavery that because of race, extensiveness, duration, the emphasis on profit, and the denial of human rights was different from any system of slavery that preceded it.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); SALT MINING (Vol. II); SLAVE TRADE, EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN (Vol. III); SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

slavery in South Africa The Dutch farmers and pastoralists who laid claim to the KHOIKHOI people's lands at

the southern tip of Africa, in what is now SOUTH AFRICA, did not practice the kind of large-scale plantation AGRICULTURE that occurred in other parts of the world. But both the CAPE COLONY and CAPE TOWN, its principal settlement, depended on the LABOR of enslaved Africans for their existence and prosperity during the years of Dutch rule. Following Dutch rule the Cape Colony was briefly in French hands, from 1781 to 1784. It was occupied by the British from 1795 to 1803, during the Napoleonic Wars in Europe (1792–1815), and then reverted to Dutch control until 1806, when it was formally ceded to Britain. In 1838, when Britain emancipated all slaves in South Africa, some 38,000 people, predominately Africans, lived in bondage in Cape Town.

Located roughly halfway between Europe and India, the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa was a logical stopping point on the journey to the East Indies, where the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the British were building commercial empires in India and Southeast Asia. The nomadic-pastoralist Khoikhoi people inhabited the lands surrounding Table Bay; archaeological evidence indicates that their ancestors had been grazing sheep and cattle on the land for more than 1,500 years. Evidence of agriculture dates from at least the third century, if not earlier. Present in more isolated areas were small bands of hunter-gatherer SAN, who are distinguished from the Khoikhoi only by their occupation. To the north and the east, at the fringes of the region, were XHOSA and other Bantu-speaking peoples.

The Founding of the Cape Colony After Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) first rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, sailors would put ashore there to collect fresh FOOD and water and timber for masts and to make any needed repairs. Shipwrecked sailors waited for rescue or tried to make their way toward the SWAHILI COAST. The British government resisted the urging of its sea captains to establish a base at the Cape of Good Hope. Finally, in 1650, the directors of the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY ordered the establishment of a garrison, a fort, and a small, self-sufficient supply station at the cape for Dutch ships.

The Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602, was chartered by the Dutch government to protect Dutch trading interests in the Indian Ocean and to maintain the Dutch commercial empire in the East Indies. Much of the Indonesian archipelago was under its control. It became corrupt, fell into debt, and had its charter revoked by the government in 1799.

In 1652 Jan van Riebeeck (1619–1677) arrived at Table Bay with a garrison of 80 men under contract with the company to establish the Cape Colony. They set up a garden and traded TOBACCO, copper, and other European goods with the Khoikhoi in exchange for sheep and cattle. The Khoikhoi were also expected to provide the heavy LABOR needed to build roads and erect buildings.

Because the Dutch needed Khoikhoi cattle to meet their own dietary needs and to sell to passing ships, van Riebeeck was originally under orders from the company to treat the Khoikhoi, whom the Dutch called *Hottentots,* with the respect due to free people. The Khoikhoi, however, were not willing to sell enough cattle and sheep to meet the growing demands of the Europeans or to work for poor pay under the harsh conditions imposed by the Europeans. Van Riebeeck accordingly encouraged the company to import slaves to undertake the most difficult work. Some thought was given to enslaving the Khoikhoi, but the suggestion was rejected as foolhardy on the grounds that the Khoikhoi outnumbered the 200 colonists almost 100 to 1.

Between 1652 and 1657 the company made a number of mostly unsuccessful attempts to obtain slaves from other Dutch territories. The only ones brought in were a handful of Malay people from Java in the East Indies who worked in bondage as domestic servants in van Riebeeck's house.

In 1657, to strengthen the colony after a shaky start, the Dutch East India Company released nine men from their contracts and gave them land along the Liesbeek River to cultivate as *freeburghers,* or free citizens. This action transformed the Cape from supply station to settlement and set the stage for the racially stratified society that characterized the Cape Colony thereafter.

Finally, in 1658, the Cape Colony was able to get its first shipments of African captives: 200 from DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN) and 200 taken from a Portuguese ship captured off the coast of ANGOLA. These were the only persons held as slaves in South Africa who were brought in from West Africa. The remainder of Africans in bondage came from East Africa, MOZAMBIQUE, and MADAGASCAR. Large numbers of non-Africans were brought from Dutch East India Company territories in India, Ceylon, and Indonesia to perform the agricultural and other menial tasks the colonists needed done. (Over time, the descendants of these racially diverse peoples intermarried and, with ex-slaves and Khoikhoi servants, formed the nucleus of what the white colonists of the 19th century called the Cape Coloured People.)

Records at the end of the 17th century indicate that a very large percentage of those in bondage were male and their numbers had to be replenished with constant imports to maintain and increase growth. Africans and others were imported at the rate of 200 to 300 per year; by 1700 the roughly 25,000 people in bondage outnum-

bered the 21,000 Europeans in the cape. Utilizing the labor of people in servitude became a symbol of status and wealth for white people. In the more arable areas near the coast, almost every colonist had someone in bondage to work the land, though few had more than ten people.

Between 1659 and 1676 the number of *freeburghers* increased, and their farms extended outward from Cape Colony. These farms encroached on the Khoikhoi's open pastures and led the colonists to engage in a number of skirmishes with the Khoikhoi. These armed conflicts ended in a treaty that granted the Dutch *freeburghers,* or BOERS (from the Dutch word *boer,* meaning "farmer"), sovereignty over the land they had settled. Khoikhoi society disintegrated: Some moved away from the cape; others found work as shepherds on Boer farms.

A smallpox epidemic in 1713, caused by infected blankets taken off a European ship, caused the deaths of many Africans and non-Africans in servitude and an estimated 90 percent of the indigenous Khoikhoi who lived closest to Cape Town. Neither group had natural immunity to this unfamiliar disease.

The Growth of the Colony   After 1700 the colony underwent a strong period of expansion inland. Earlier, farming had been limited to the fertile, well-watered valleys near Cape Town. However, after that land was bought up by the wealthier *freeburghers* and because few white immigrants were willing to work the land for others if they could own the land themselves, a new group of cattle-raising Boers arose. These colonial pastoralists, often called *Trekboers,* moved onto the arid, less desirable lands that belonged to the Khoikhoi because land there, except for the payment of a small fee to the Dutch East India Company, was treated as if it belonged to no one and was free for the taking. The farms that the Trekboers established inland averaged 6,000 acres (2,500 hectares). When the land was overgrazed, they simply bought more land from the company and moved on.

The Trekboers traveled by wagon, accompanied by their families and a few slaves. However, they often employed Khoikhoi servants from among the dispossessed children of the Khoikhoi that their local militia groups, called *commandos,* killed in large numbers. Such raids were mounted with great frequency, both to protect the colonists' farms and to enlarge their territory. These children worked as unpaid servants—"apprentices," according to some sources—well into adult life, whereupon they were released from service with nowhere to go. The hunter-gatherer San in the interior fared no better. They

were pushed back into less desirable areas where they were forced to survive by raiding the cattle herds of the Boers, an offense used to justify their systematic eradication as a conscious decision of the Dutch governors of the Cape Colony. The period of the Dutch-San Wars (1676–1795) was a time of brutal, though sporadic, conflict between the two peoples. San males who did not retreat into the inhospitable Kalahari Desert were captured and killed; women and children were enslaved.

Illustrating the unenlightened thinking of the times, debate persisted among the Boers about whether or not the Khoikhoi and San peoples were the same species as whites. As late as 1913, the Cape Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church had an intense debate on whether the San, whom they called *Bushmen,* should be considered human beings or animals.

Apartheid   The series of laws that the descendants of the Dutch colonists passed to formally establish the strict system of racial segregation known as *apartheid* (from AFRIKAANS, meaning "aparthood" or "separateness") did not come into being in South Africa until between 1910 and 1940. These rigid laws, which black South Africans openly resisted whenever possible, radically restricted the rights of native peoples and made them second-class citizens in their own land. The racial and political climate that led to the passage of these laws had its origins in the racial stratification of Cape Town society, the forced servitude and virtual enslavement of the Khoikhoi and San peoples in the 1700s and 1800s, and the feelings of racial superiority on the part of European South Africans over native South Africans, both free and in bondage.

See also: APARTHEID (Vols. IV, V); CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE (Vol. IV); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV); SLAVERY, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

slave trade, expansion of European involvement in the   Although records on African life before the 16th century are meager, it is known that various forms of servitude and bondage existed for hundreds of years both in North Africa and below the Sahara. In North Africa, SLAVERY originated in Roman times, before 300 CE, following customary practices in the Roman homeland in present-day Italy. The Arab peoples in North Africa before the rise of Islam in the seventh century also trafficked in slaves,

who were sent to and from destinations in EGYPT, Europe, and the Near East. After North Africa was converted to Islam, a trans-Saharan slave trade arose in the 10th to the 14th centuries to bring captives, very often women, to Islamic markets in the north, where they would become agricultural laborers, household workers, and concubines.

The kind of servitude or bondage imposed by Africans on one another bore little resemblance to the chattel slavery imposed on Africans by Europeans. In Africa, warring peoples taking part in even small-scale skirmishes took captives, who were then kept in bondage. The females and children of these captives were used to provide field LABOR and to extend the kinship groups of the captors. In time, these newcomers were assimilated into the people and, very often, were emancipated. Bondage servants were a sign of a ruler's wealth and position and were often in evidence at the royal court. When Mansa Musa I (d. 1332) of the Mali Empire set out on his famous pilgrimage to Mecca, in 1324, 500 captive retainers carrying bars of GOLD accompanied the entourage of 60,000. Not every person in bondage status was African; captive Turks, Asians, and Europeans were known to be present at his court.

Among later states of the region, the Muslim SONGHAI Empire (c. 1400–1591) held large numbers of war captives by virtue of expansion and conquest. To the east, a third of the population of Kanem and more than a third of Bornu lived in bondage status; most were acquired in war or by raiding neighboring peoples. Neither Arab nor European slavers ventured very far inland for fear of malaria and other diseases; instead, they armed coastal peoples and forced them to raid their neighbors and kidnap men, women, and children. These neighbors were often enemies of long standing, and often Europeans took advantage of this enmity and their own superior weaponry to coerce one neighbor to side with them.

Gold and salt were the two most important non-living commodities in trans-Saharan trade. The brutal work of MINING salt in the Berber-run mines at Idjil, in MAURITANIA, and Taghaza, in the desert near MOROCCO, was done by captives in bondage. Gold was a major source of West African wealth and a main reason why the Portuguese were initially attracted to Africa. Though strong even in the earlier days of Islam, the gold trade grew considerably in the 10th century with the rise of the Fatimid Caliphate and surged again in the 11th century when the Almoravid dynasty of Morocco united Muslim North Africa and Muslim Spain.

The major sources of gold in West Africa were the gold fields of Bambuk and Bure, the gold-bearing areas along the Black Volta River, and the AKAN gold fields, where most of the backbreaking labor was done by people in bondage. When, in the early 1480s. the Portuguese built their first trading fort in sub-Saharan Africa, they built it in Akan territory (present-day GHANA) and named

it São Jorge da Mina Castle, better known as ELMINA (The Mine) for its original use in the gold trade. Soon Elmina was used both as a holding station for West African captives shipped across the Atlantic and for captives (some 12,000 between 1500 and 1535) that the Portuguese sold to the Akan people to labor in the mines. The presence of this labor force allowed the Akan to expand operations from alluvial panning to below-surface mining and also to clear their land for farming.

Roots of European Involvement The kingdoms of Europe in the 15th century still faced a powerful and aggressive Muslim foe, the Ottoman Empire, which had a foothold in the Balkans as early as 1346. From their geographically advantageous position on both shores of the Mediterranean Sea, they controlled the sea and land trade routes to the Far East and grew rich on the high tariffs they charged on goods exported from Asia and Africa.

Starting in 1420 Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) of Portugal sponsored a series of voyages along the Atlantic coast of Morocco that continued, after 1441, with voyages along the West African coast as far south as SIERRA LEONE. Navigational and shipbuilding advances enabled Portuguese sailors to sail further along the African coast than they earlier could. In 1441 Portuguese captain Antão Gonçalves landed at the Rio de Ouro (River of Gold) near what is now Villa Cisneros, in today's Mauritania, and returned home with a small number of captives for Prince Henry.

By 1448 more than 1,000 Africans had been abducted; the number rose to 1,000 per year in the 1450s, as a systematic trade in humans arose. Some of these Africans were taken in bondage to Portugal, where they undertook the most common tasks in traditional slavery. They were sent into the countryside to alleviate local agricultural labor shortages on the large estates that Christians had acquired from Portuguese Muslims during the late Middle Ages. In the cities and great houses, they worked as exotic domestic servants and became status symbols for their masters. In the Mediterranean region, more accustomed to diverse populations than Northern Europe was, persons in bondage were considered human and could buy their freedom.

Starting as early as 1502, Africans were kidnapped and transported across the Atlantic Ocean. This trade was based solely on commercial interests and paved the way for the development of the system of chattel slavery in plantation-based economies that became standard in the Americas. Unlike traditional forms of servitude, chattel slavery meant that these humans were, under law, considered the property of their masters. The Africans were transported in bondage to Portugal's newly acquired islands of the Azores and Madeira, located roughly half-way to the New World. There, far from home, they were forced to work on sugarcane plantations and in the sugar mills, where the cane was ground into raw granulated sugar.

Slavery and sugar have a long connection. The plantation system, which requires large tracts of land, originated in the kingdom of Palestine in the 12th and 13th centuries. Slaves, often of Syrian or Arab origin, were used in the 14th century to produce sugar plantations on Cyprus. Slave or coerced labor was also used on the plantations in Sicily, where use of the rolling mill, which increased productivity, was also introduced. The Sicilian plantations became the model for the Portuguese plantations on the Atlantic islands and later in Brazil.

Once primarily used as a MEDICINE, sugar, produced from sugarcane, was increasingly in demand as trade brought new products to Europe's tables: coffee from Africa, tea from China, and chocolate from the Americas. Sugar was now diffiicult to access in Palestine and Cyprus and other Mediterranean islands that were in Muslim hands. The plantation system that developed in the New World was highly profitable but also labor-intensive. Kidnapped Africans provided that labor.

At the same time these Portuguese voyages of EXPLORATION were happening in the West, Europe was being pressured once again from the East. In 1453 the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed II, captured Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire and one of the leading cities of Christendom. The church reacted strongly. The papal bull, or decree, *Romanus Pontifex* (1455), written by Pope Nicholas V (1397–1455), empowered the king of Portugal to enslave and seize the land and property of "all Saracens and pagans whatsoever and all other enemies of Christ." (Portugal and Spain later used the language of this bull to justify their conquests in the New World and justify kidnapping Africans.) The bull also gave Portugal a monopoly over Africa.

In about 1456, the Portuguese explorer Diogo Gomes (d. 1484) sailed beyond the Geba River in what is now GUINEA-BISSAU and on his return sailed 200 miles (322 km) inland up the Gambia River to Cantor (now Kuntaur in The GAMBIA), then under SONGHAI rule, where he met traders from TIMBUKTU. In 1461 the Portuguese built their first trading fort in the region on Arguin Bay, along the coast of present-day Mauritania. Arguin Island became the major conduit for the Portuguese slave trade, with captives from local Arab and indigenous sources being transported to the Portuguese homeland or to the sugar plantations on the Atlantic islands.

Built originally as a depot for the gold trade, Elmina became a major staging area for the trade in humans destined for Portugal and the sugar plantations and, later, for the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE to the Americas. By 1500 Portugal had established sugar plantations on most of the Atlantic islands under their control: the Azores, Madeira, the Canary Islands, the Cape Verde Islands, the Bissagos Islands, SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE, and Bom.

As the 15th century came to a close Portugal and neighboring Spain were in the ascendancy. The fall of the kingdom of Grenada in Muslim Spain and the expulsion in 1492 of Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula (shared by Portugal and Spain) ended Muslim rule in western Europe and released Spain's and Portugal's energies for other conquests. By 1498 the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) had sailed around the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa. This voyage and subsequent voyages around Africa to India in 1502–1503 and in 1524 opened up the sea route to India and the East and made Portugal a dominant power in world trade. The Ottoman Empire's unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1529 ended the political and military threat of Islam to the kingdoms of continental Europe.

Portugal's purpose in Africa in the 1400s and the 1500s was not to establish colonies but to form secure trading links with coastal West Africa. The African coast provided few good harbors, so many of the early trading forts were built on islands. Kept from moving much past the coast by the power of the African rulers in the inland kingdoms, the Portuguese forced coastal peoples to act as their go-betweens and enforcers to trade European-made goods for ivory, gold, ostrich feathers, and gum Arabic from the interior. When captives could not be purchased for European goods, force was used to kidnap them and bring them to the coast. The European presence in West Africa also had repercussions in North Africa. It diverted the flow of trans-Saharan trade and weakened North Africa as a commercial center.

The large sugarcane plantations on the island of São Tomé in the Atlantic became, for a time in the 16th century, the world's largest producers of sugar. The production techniques used there provided the model for highly successful sugarcane plantations in Portuguese Brazil. Uninhabited when discovered by Portugal, probably in 1470, São Tomé was settled in the 1480s by men from Portugal, many of whom were *conversos,* or "new Christians," the name given to the newly baptized converts from Judaism expelled from Spain and Portugal by the Spanish Inquisition. The Africans they imported to do productive labor in the cane fields and sugar mills formed a majority of the population, and the ECONOMY of the island was fully based on forced labor. It has been argued that exporting African captives to São Tomé was the start of the transatlantic slave trade.

See also: GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. III); GEBA RIVER (Vol. II); HENRY THE NAVIGATOR, PRINCE (Vol. II); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV); SLAVERY, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ATTI-

TUDES TOWARD (Vol. III); SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

slave trade, the transatlantic The transport of millions of Africans across the Atlantic Ocean by the Portuguese, the Spanish, the British, the Dutch and other European peoples. These Africans were kidnapped from their homelands, shipped in chains across the ocean, and then sold into servitude against their wills to buyers in European-founded colonies and settlements in North and South America and the Caribbean. There the captives lived and worked as the legal property of their masters. The system of enslavement they endured in the Americas had few, if any, parallels in the African experience.

Historians disagree about the extent of the transatlantic trade in humans. The most conservative estimates, based on shipping records and other documents, indicate that 10 million Africans were landed and sold into bondage; an additional 2 million died aboard ship. Less conservative estimates, based on the probability that many transactions went unrecorded, suggest that between 24 million and 50 million Africans were shipped to the Americas between the 1530s and the 1830s.

The transatlantic trade was not solely based in West Africa, although it began and first flourished there and many of the major ports of embarkation were located along that coast. Although ports along the East and North African coasts were generally associated with destinations in the Arabian Peninsula, these ports, too, were sometimes used for the TRANSPORTATION of Africans to the Americas.

When the Portuguese first landed on the SENEGAL coast, in 1441, the first Africans they captured were brought back to Portugal and other parts of Europe, where they became exotic domestic servants and field laborers. By the time that Columbus sailed to the Americas, in 1492, African workers were already producing much of Europe's sugar in plantations on the Portuguese-owned islands of Madeira and São Tomé, off the western coast of Africa, as well as on many other Portuguese-owned islands in the Atlantic.

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI (c. 1431–1504) sought to solve conflicting territorial claims between Spain and Portugal that had arisen following Columbus's first voyage to the Caribbean. Accordingly, he established a line of demarcation between the two countries' land claims. The Treaty of Tordesillas, based on this edict and signed in 1494, set up an imaginary north-south line at a point 1,185 miles (1,907 km) west of the Portuguese-owned Cape Verde Islands in the Atlantic Ocean. The line passed through the edge of Brazil roughly 800 miles (1,287 km) inland from present-day Recife. The treaty gave Portugal possession of any unclaimed territory to the east of that line and Spain similar rights to lands west of the line.

Portugal's monopoly over Africa was preserved, and, but for a small (later expanded) portion of Brazil, Spain received exclusive rights to the Americas.

In 1502 Spain began importing captive Africans into New Spain. Their primary goal was to alleviate LABOR shortages that had been caused by the deaths of the Native American populations, their original labor pool. These people died in huge numbers from diseases to which they lacked prior exposure and, hence, immunity. The first Africans in New Spain labored in the GOLD and silver mines. Soon, however, setting a pattern that remained true until the abolition of the slave trade, the captives' dominant occupation became the tending major cash crops. In the Caribbean islands, the crop was sugar; in Brazil, first sugar and then coffee; later, in North America, first TOBACCO and then COTTON. With less room for expansion because of the Treaty of Tordesillas, the Dutch, the British, and the French provided ships to transport Africans to the Americas. Before long, however, they established colonies and settlements of their own.

Competition for Control The Portuguese dominated the West African slave trade until the early 1600s, when Dutch competitors began to vie with them for control. The Dutch armed their ships and captured Portugal's trading forts along the coast. The government-sponsored DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, chartered in Amsterdam in 1621, dedicated a 40-ship fleet exclusively to the coastal slave trade. To increase their wealth, the Dutch served as go-betweens for other European countries, exporting Africans to the British, French, and Spanish colonies in the New World, as well as to Dutch colonies in Brazil and elsewhere in the Americas. By the middle of the 1600s, the Dutch were in firm control of the West African trade in African captives.

Britain and France, however, contended with the Dutch for control, using tactics that the Dutch had used on the Portuguese. They built trading forts and established government-sponsored trading companies to oversee operations. The British were the main competitors of the Dutch in Lower Guinea, and they soon gained control of the entire Grain, Ivory, and Gold coasts, an area stretching from the Cestos River in LIBERIA through present-day GHANA. Founded in London in 1672, the ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY held the monopoly on the trade in African captives until 1698, when all Englishmen were given the right to take part. Trade laws were also used to protect the British trade. The various Navigation Acts passed by the British Parliament in 1660 and subsequent years required that goods shipped to its colonies had to be carried in British ships. Such laws effectively excluded the Dutch and the French from selling Africans to British colonies in the New World. Jamaica was the single largest British market. In 1763 nearly 150 ships with a combined capacity for 40,000 captives, sailed from the British ports of London, Liverpool, and Bristol.

West Africa Every part of the Atlantic coast of West Africa from Senegal to southern ANGOLA was involved in the trafficking of captive Africans. SENEGAMBIA was the most important early source of captives. Ghana, known then as the GOLD COAST, had the greatest concentration of trading forts. Of the 42 forts built along the coast, 36 were in Ghana, including ELMINA, Cape Coast Castle, Fort Coromantine, and Fort Metal Cross. In addition to Ghana and the Senegambia, other major staging areas were SIERRA LEONE, the Bight of BENIN, and the Bight of Biafra, in southern NIGERIA.

At the same time that the English were contending with the Dutch in Lower Guinea, in the early 1600s, the French were active further up the coast. In 1638 the French established an outpost at the mouth of the Senegal River. They built Fort Saint-Louis in 1659 and, in 1677, took claim to GORÉE ISLAND, a trading fort that had previously belonged to the Portuguese and then the Dutch. The French exported Africans, gum arabic from Senegalese acacia trees, gold, and ivory from the Senegal coast until the late 1700s.

In 1673 the French founded the Senegal Company for the purpose of transporting Africans to the West Indies and to Guyana in South America. In 1684 the Senegal Company was replaced by the Guyana Company. In 1701 the French received the *ASIENTO,* or license, from Spain to be the exclusive supplier of African captives to the Spanish-controlled territories in the Americas. From then until 1713 the French transported cargoes of humans to Venezuela in exchange for cocoa.

During those years, Spain was preoccupied in Europe by the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), which was motivated in part by competition for West African trade. This war had begun after the death of Charles II (1661–1700), who had died without an heir. By the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (1714) that resolved Spain's conflicts with France and other European kingdoms, the Dutch were all but eliminated as a major trading power. The *asiento* passed to the British, who then dominated the slave trade until the British Parliament banned it in 1807.

Although they were relatively minor players, Sweden, Denmark, and Brandenburg, a state in what is today eastern Germany, followed the British, French, and Dutch model and between 1680 and 1700 established government-sponsored Africa companies for the slave trade. All had forts along the Gold Coast.

The British also dominated the area known as the SLAVE COAST, stretching from the Volta River to LAGOS across the modern countries of TOGO, Republic of BENIN, and Nigeria. SENEGAL alternated between French and British control until 1814, at which time it was awarded to France by the Treaty of Paris that ended the Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815) between France and Britain.

King George II of England, in 1750, took what had earlier been a royal monopoly and opened it to all, declaring, "It shall be lawful for all His Majesty's subjects to trade and traffic to and from any port or place in Africa, between the port of Sallee, in South Barbary [modern Salé on the Atlantic coast of Morocco], and the Cape of Good Hope."

Central Africa The majority of captives sold into slavery from Central Africa became part of the transat-
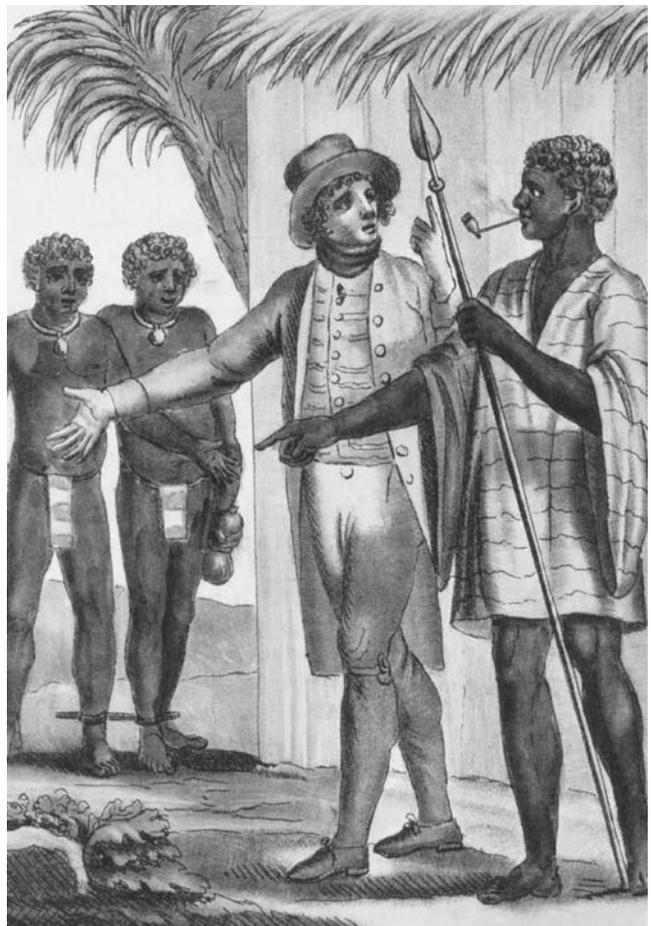
European slave merchant at Gorée. This 1796 illustration by Grasset de St. Sauveur and Labrousse shows a European man dealing with an African go-between for captives. © *Gianni Dagli/Corbis*
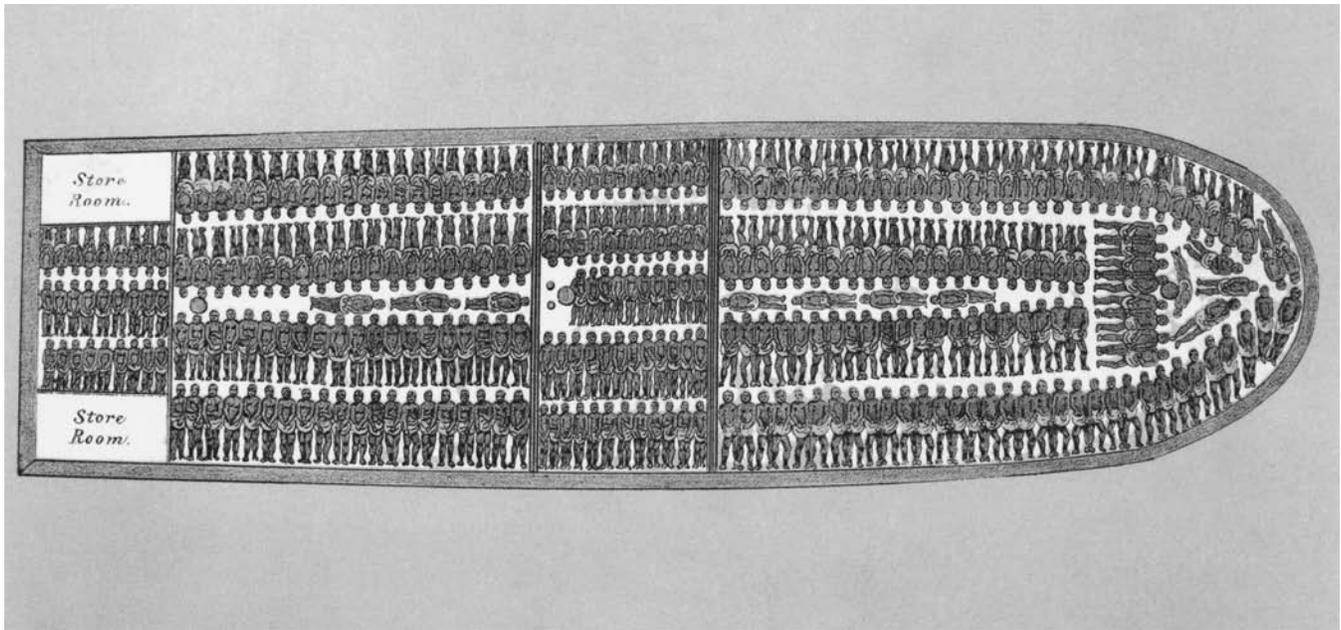
Nineteenth-century diagram of the lower deck of a ship used in the slave trade. This vessel carried captive Africans between Africa and the Americas before the U.S. Civil War (1860–65). © Bettmann/Corbis

lantic slave trade, although some were sent to the AKAN gold fields or to the Portuguese plantations on the islands in the Atlantic. In one of their rare incursions inland, Portuguese traders in search of precious metals gained a foothold at the royal court of the KONGO KINGDOM. There, for a time, they placed on the throne a convert who took the name AFONSO I (c. 1451–1543), who sent his army on raids to abduct captives from his neighbors. Popular rebellion against the Portuguese broke out after Afonso's death; it was quelled finally in the 1570s.

As the trade in humans grew in importance, the LUNDA EMPIRE became a commercial force in the southern savanna. Beginning in the middle of the 18th century, the Lunda, with their ancillary KASANJE kingdom in what is now Angola, effectively monopolized trade in Central Africa. The Lunda mercantile network eventually reached as far as the ZAMBEZI RIVER and the Indian Ocean. Much of the Lunda economy was based on the trade in kidnapped Africans, and the Lunda kingdom actively sent raiders through the countryside for the express purpose of capturing people for sale to the Portuguese.

The Triangular Trade   Africans shipped to and sold in the Americas sold for two or three times what they cost to purchase in Africa; thus, the trade in humans became one of the most important enterprises of the 17th century. In order to make each voyage as profitable as possible, a "triangular trade" was established between Europe, Africa, and the West Indies. The British colonies in North America sometimes added a fourth stopover, forming a "quadrilateral trade." Ships

left Europe laden with iron and copper bars, brass pots and kettles, cowrie shells, textiles, alcohol, and, in the 17th and 18th centuries, antiquated guns and gun powder. Landing in Africa, the ship captains met with the European agents at the trading forts along the African coast and representatives of the local kings and exchanged their goods for cargoes of captives. Two hundred to 600 captives per ship were loaded in chains below decks for the so-called MIDDLE PASSAGE to the Americas, during which many captives aboard died. On arrival in the West Indies, the Africans who survived the ordeal of the journey were traded for local agricultural products, especially sugar, to be sold in Europe after the third leg of the voyage. In the quadrilateral trade, West Indian molasses, a by-product of sugar production, was carried to the New England distilleries for the manufacture of rum. At every point along the route, large sums of money were made; a profit of at least 100 percent was expected.

Large-scale sugar plantations, established first in Brazil and, after 1645, in the Caribbean islands, were enormously profitable. Plantations in Cuba gave more than a 30 percent return on capital investment; those in Barbados returned 40 to 50 percent. These islands became societies whose economies relied heavily on the labor of African captives. In 1789, one-third of the population of Cuba was comprised of Africans. Between 1730 and 1834, up to 90 percent of the populations of Jamaica, Antigua, and Grenada were Africans. In Brazil in 1800, half the population was African.

As early as 1619 whites from England could pay their passage to the British colonies in North America by working as indentured servants for a period of four to seven years. By 1680, however, the system of indentured servitude had all but disappeared because planters realized that they could make more money using the labor of captives from Africa and because changes in the law made slave owning more attractive. At first the Africans tended the tobacco crops that grew along the Chesapeake Bay and the rice fields of South Carolina, which was the American colony—and, later, state—with the largest plantation-based economy. In the minds of the Carolina planters, the ideal African field laborer was a tall, healthy male from Senegambia between the ages of 14 and 18, free of blemishes, and as dark as possible. In the 18th century the cost of an African averaged between £100 and £200 sterling, equaling slightly more than $11,000 to $23,000 in today's money.

Most of the Africans in the southern United States were not imported directly from Africa. Instead they were transshipped from the West Indies, where most of them had labored on the sugar plantations. The American plantation owners thought that a period of prior bondage made them more docile and tractable. Unlike the British, French, and Dutch planters in the Caribbean, these American plant-ers generally came to the New World to build a new life rather than return some day to Europe with their wealth.

What sugar did to increase the number of captive Africans needed in the Caribbean islands, the cotton gin, invented in 1793 by American Eli Whitney (1765–1825), did for the plantations in the southern states. By 1850 nearly two-thirds of the field hands in the United States were working on cotton plantations. Over 60 percent of the population of South Carolina in 1720 were African. As the Civil War began in 1860, 55 percent of the people in Mississippi were African.

Triangular Trade Late 1700s

A cotton gin (short for *engine*) is a mechanical device to separate cotton fibers from the seeds. Previously this time-consuming task had been done by hand.

How Africans Were Obtained The fear of disease and the military power of kingdoms in the interior kept the European traders from mounting their own expeditions. Instead, they frequently coerced coastal peoples by the threat of force or the enticement of trade to become their go-betweens.

Although in Africa, some Africans in traditional forms of bondage were criminals and outcasts, many were captives taken in war. The supply of captives at the coast was usually related to the frequency and intensity of wars fought in the interior. When the kingdom of BENIN, for instance, was undergoing a period of expansion in the late 15th century, many captives were taken, and some became available for sale to the Portuguese; in the 16th century, however, the rulers of Benin refused to trade in captives. Similarly the FULANI JIHADS of the 18th century, during which the Muslim FULANI were expanding into the lands bordering the kingdoms of FOUTA DJALLON and FOUTA TORO, many prisoners of war became available along the coast. Wars waged by the expanding OYO and ASHANTI empires during the 17th and 18th centuries also added dramatically to the numbers of available captives. When captives were unavailable, men, women, and children were kidnapped from their homes and sent to the coast.

Historians record that a trickle of captives, some 20 or 30 at a time, generally reached the coast daily from road or river networks that stretched inland. At the coast, when the European traders arrived, the captives were examined for fitness for labor. Once a price was agreed on, the captives were loaded on the next available ship. On board they were chained below decks in inhumane conditions. In many ships the captives were secured to specially built platforms that allowed little room for movement but that maximized the cargo capacity of the ship. They sailed, often with insufficient food and water and the stench of their own excrement, for the weeks or months it took to reach their destinations. During that time they were rarely allowed above deck except in death, in which case their bodies were thrown overboard. Historians estimate that between 15 percent and 30 percent of the captive Africans died from disease, malnutrition, or mistreatment during these voyages.

When the passage was completed and the ships reached landfall in the West Indies, the captives again underwent the same kind of degrading inspection that had
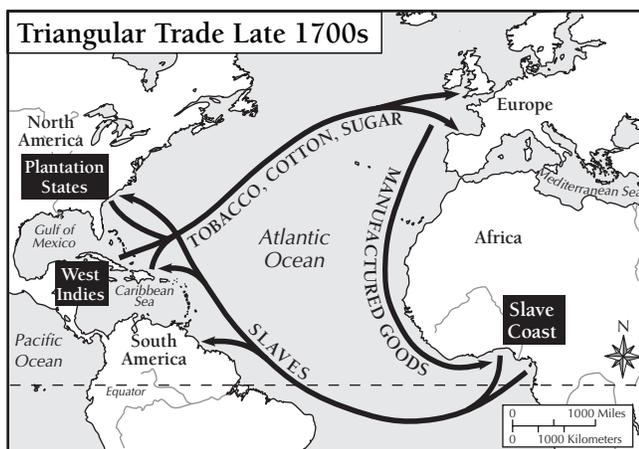
A cargo of Africans from a Dutch man-of-war being unloaded at Jamestown, Virginia. The painting is undated. © *Bettmann/Corbis*

occurred in Africa, followed by sale at auction to the highest bidder. Records show that in the harsh working conditions of the plantation system more than 30 percent of the Africans died within the first three years. Few survived past 10 years.

See also: SLAVERY, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN (Vol. III); SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

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slave trade on the Swahili Coast

The SWAHILI COAST, with its important market towns of MOGADISHU, Shanga, KILWA, and MOMBASA, was already an important center of commerce and the terminus of a large network of inland trade routes by the time the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and landed there, in 1498. The cities were united by a common culture and RELIGION (Islam) and the Swahili language, which served as the common language of commerce and trade among the Arabs, Persians, and Africans who lived along the coast.

Although some persons in bondage in Muslim lands worked in the fields, a widespread system of forced servitude never took root among Arab peoples as it did in the Americas and the Caribbean as a result of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Keeping slaves was a status symbol, a visible measure of an owner's wealth and prestige. A 10th-century caliph of Baghdad had over 10,000 servants at his palace. Rulers of the Muslim states in West Africa utilized captives taken in war in much the same way.

By 1510 the Portuguese were able to dominate portions of the East African coast from Kilwa, in what is now southern TANZANIA, to Mombasa, in present-day KENYA, and, with those cities, the trade routes to India. Threats from Ottoman Empire expeditions descending from the north and the need to protect their position in Mombasa led to the construction of FORT JESUS, the Portuguese stronghold there, in 1593–94. Despite some setbacks in the Persian Gulf islands of Hormuz and Muscat in the 1620s at the hands of the shah of Persia's forces, Portugal controlled trade in the western Indian Ocean until 1652, when the imam (religious leader) of Oman in the Arabian Peninsula in Muslim Asia began to foment resistance to Portuguese rule.

In 1696 a fleet and army from Oman lay siege to Mombassa, and by 1698 the Omani had successfully driven the Portuguese out. ZANZIBAR, south of Mombasa, fell to Omani forces a few years later. The Omani, however, became preoccupied by conflicts at home and for the next 100 years, despite minor resurgences of Portuguese power, the Swahili Coast was free of outside domination. During the 18th century Mombasa reached the height of its influence under the MASRUI dynasty of Mombasa. The Masrui had Omani roots but were rivals of the Sadian clan that ruled Oman. The Masrui were able to control rival factions in the cities along the coast and maintain good commercial relations with the Bantu-speaking NYIKA people inland.

The Arab Indian Ocean Slave Trade The Arab Indian Ocean slave trade dates back at least to the seventh century, when many slaves from Africa, Asia, and Europe were taken to work in bondage on the plantations of the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1278) in what is today Iraq. Slaves were also shipped as far as Muslim lands in India and Indonesia, where they worked as soldiers, household servants, and concubines. The trade in humans declined after the ninth century because Arab and Asian markets became more interested in African goods, especially ivory and GOLD, than humans.

The trade in humans revived as the 17th century ended. At this time the sultan of Oman needed laborers for his date plantations on the coastal plain of Al-Batinah along the Gulf of Oman, and the French needed workers for their sugar plantations on the Indian Ocean islands of Réunion and MAURITIUS. As many as 20,000 Africans annually were sold in the markets on Zanzibar and PEMBA ISLAND, off the coast of present-day Tanzania. The Arab trade in captives persisted in Zanzibar well into the 19th century, undeterred by British antislavery patrols in the Indian Ocean.

Contemporary accounts indicate that the Zanzibar slave trade was known for its brutality. Groups of captives, who were abducted from as far away as the present-day border of Tanzania and MALAWI, were marched to the coast in leg irons or carrying heavy wooden yokes. In some cases, they were forced to act as bearers for the ivory that the caravans also carried. After weeks or months of marching, the caravans arrived in Kilwa, Bagamoyo, and other ports along the coast. There, 200 to 600 captives at a time were packed into 100-foot (30-m)-long dhows and shipped to Zanzibar. Sold to the highest bidders, the captives were then brought to their final destinations in Zanzibar or the Indian Ocean islands.

European Involvement   Mombasa, north of Zanzibar and the chief port of present-day KENYA, was founded by Arab traders in the 11th century. Vasco da Gama visited it in 1498, on his first voyage to India. Subsequently the superior military and naval strength of the Portuguese allowed them to dominate the poorly defended cities along the coast. In 1502 they forced the ruler of Kilwa to pay tribute. The following year they sacked Mombasa and Kilwa and soon built Fort Jesus in Mombasa and erected a customshouse on PATE ISLAND. By 1506 the Portuguese dominated the coast and the trade routes to India. Mombasa was at that point the chief city of the coast. What lured the Portuguese was trade in ambergris, gold, coral, and ivory.

Portuguese power was broken, in 1698, after Mombasa was besieged by the combined forces of the sultanates of Oman and Pate led by Seif bin Sultan Seif al-Yarubi (1649–1679) of Oman. When Oman placed garrisons in Kilwa, Zanzibar and Pemba, the Portuguese fled to MOZAMBIQUE, which, in the 18th century was a center of the East African slave trade.

Farther south along the coast, at what is now the town of MAPUTO, a Portuguese trader named Lourenço Marques reached the lower ZAMBEZI RIVER in 1544. This river, a major artery into the interior, rises in ZAMBIA and empties into the Indian Ocean at the 250-mile (402-km)-wide Mozambique Channel between MADAGASCAR and the African mainland. At the mouth of the Zambezi, Portuguese merchants exchanged trade goods, including firearms, for gold and ivory from the interior. Later a Portuguese trading fort, which was finally completed in 1787, was built at Maputo.

European slave traders did not begin operating in the Indian Ocean until the mid-17th century. When the French East India Company settled Réunion and Mauritius (collectively called the MASCARENE ISLANDS) in the Indian Ocean, the French established coffee and, later, sugarcane plantations there. Although some Africans were shipped around the Cape of Good Hope to the Caribbean, especially Saint-Domingue (present-day Haiti), the majority went to the Mascarene Islands, where slaves from Madagascar, India, and Malaysia also labored.

In the early 1700s the Bantu-speaking NGONI and YAO peoples moved into the region from the south and became the intermediaries between the Portuguese and Swahili traders along the coast and the CHEWA, the NYANZA, and other peoples in the Zumbo, MANYIKA, and TETE regions of the interior. Like the ZULU, the Ngoni practiced universal military conscription and divided their warriors into regiments by age set. They expanded by warring with their neighbors, taking many captives. The Ngoni incorporated some of the captives into their kinship groups; others were handed over to Swahili Coast traders. Because of their involvement in the coastal trade, the Islamized Yao became one of the most prosperous peoples in the region. By 1800 Yao trading networks reached as far inland as the tip of Lake Nyasa in what is now Malawi. There, traders from Portugal and Portuguese India had established semi-independent great estates, called *prazos,* along the Zambezi River in an attempt to colonize the region; these traders trafficked extensively in gold and captives along the coast.

In the early 1800s, when the supply of captives from West Africa began to dwindle because of British restrictions on the slave trade, the Indian Ocean slave trade intensified in order to supply labor for the Portuguese plantations in Brazil, the sugar plantations on Réunion and Mauritius, and the plantations of the sultan of Oman on Zanzibar. By the 1820s Mozambique had surpassed ANGOLA as a source of captives.
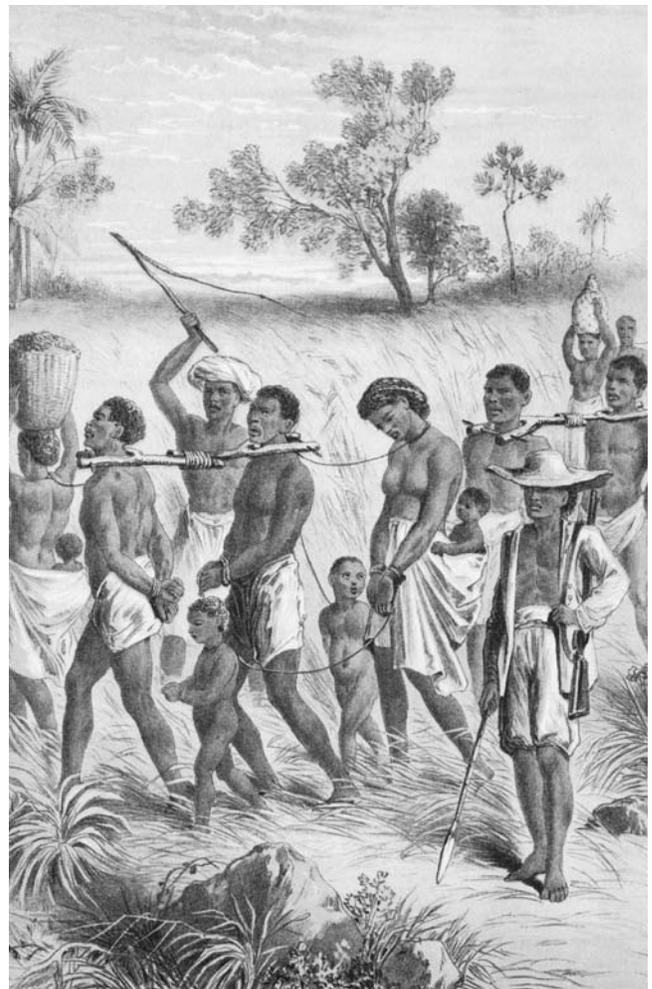
Captive African men, women, and children yoked together. Groups of captives were forced by their abductors to walk hundreds of miles from the interior to the Swahili coast. Illustrations like this one were often used to blame the enslavement of Africans on the complicity of other Africans. Undated lithograph. © Bettmann/Corbis

See also: DHOW (Vol. II); GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. III); SLAVERY, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN (Vol. III); SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

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Sofala   Swahili city-state on the east coast of Africa. Located in what is now MOZAMBIQUE. At the mouth of the Sofala River, Sofala was the southernmost point of Islamic culture on the African coast and a center of the GOLD and ivory trades. The oldest harbor in southern Africa, Sofala was visited as early as 915 by Arabs in search of gold from the interior. During the 14th and 15th centuries it was an outpost of the sultanate of KILWA and the coastal depot for trade goods carried in from Great Zimbabwe and the other SHONA KINGDOMS located in what is now the Karanga Province of ZIMBABWE. Sofala's importance began to decline in the 1500s.

The Portuguese conquered local resistance in Sofala with cannons and crossbows. They razed the town before hunting down its Islamic leader, the blind Sheikh Yusuf (d. 1505). They beat him and cut off his head, which they fixed on a lance and displayed at their new fort as a warning to potential challengers.

Hearing tales of Sofala's "infinite gold," the Portuguese wrested the port city from its Swahili rulers in 1505. The Portuguese goal was to control the gold trade, which had been previously monopolized by the coastal city-state of Kilwa, in what is now TANZANIA.

Internal conflicts between inland Bantu groups and a thriving black market trade with the Arabs limited the amount of gold obtained by the Portuguese. What gold they did get, they rerouted south around the Cape of Good Hope for trade in Europe. Arab and African merchants, who had been doing business with each other for almost a thousand years, started to bypass Sofala in favor of trading posts at Kilwa and in the Zambezi valley. The leader of the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom set up markets in villages throughout the interior, where the Portuguese could not easily penetrate. The Sofala gold trade thus began to decline in importance, although the region continued to supply captives to the French and Portuguese for the next two centuries.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SOFALA (Vol. II); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV).

Further reading: T. H. Elkiss, *The Quest for an African Eldorado: Sofala, Southern Zambezia, and the Portuguese, 1500–1865* (Waltham, Mass.: Crossroads Press, 1981); Michael N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Sokoto Caliphate   Located in northeastern NIGERIA, the largest empire in 19th-century West Africa. Sokoto was formed from the HAUSA STATES and other territories conquered by the FULANI JIHADS led by USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817). In 1804 this FULANI scholar and cleric set out to convert the surrounding regions of West Africa to Islam. His instrument of conversion was a Muslim holy war, the headquarters of which was the town of Sokoto. Located along the Sokoto (KEBBI) River, a main tributary of the NIGER RIVER, Sokoto was situated on an important Saharan trade route.

Between 1804 and 1808 the *shehu* (chief) Fodio and his followers succeeded in defeating the seven main Hausa States, or Hausa Bakwai, made up of KANO, ZARIA, (formerly Zazzau) GOBIR, Rano, Daura, KATSINA, and Biram. These states, located between Lake CHAD and the NIGER RIVER, were then incorporated as emirates of the emerging caliphate. Meanwhile the Fulani jihad began to move to points southward, conquering the outlying Hausa states of ILORIN and NUPE. In time, it reached all the way to the northern borders of YORUBALAND, destroying such well-known kingdoms as Old Oyo. In 1809 the town of Sokoto became the official capital of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, an empire that stretched over 181,468 square miles (470,000 sq km).

Within the caliphate, individual emirates retained their independent authority even though they were required to pay tribute to the capital at Sokoto. They also had to pledge their allegiance to the reigning religious leader, who was called the *amir al-muminin* (commander of the faithful). Usman dan Fodio remained *amir al-muminin* until his death, in 1817, at which time his son, MUHAMMAD BELLO (c. 1781–1837), assumed the title. The caliphate operated as a theocracy and in subsequent years became a center for religious learning in West Africa. Trade was a main source of income, with items such as salt, leather goods, kola nuts, cloth, brass, spice, and captives being the primary articles exchanged. During the 1820s Sokoto became known for the large mosques built to honor Usman dan Fodio and his son, called the Masallacin Shehu and Masallacin Bello.

The Sokoto Caliphate remained powerful throughout the 19th century. During this time it took the jihad in new directions, leading, for example, to the replace-

Sokoto Caliphate and Neighboring States, c. 1830

SAHARA DESERT

Bilma

SULTANATE OF AÏR
• Agades

• Agadem

Timbuktu •
Niger R.

MACINA

Jenne •

YATENGA
• Wahiguya

Zinder •
BORNU
Lake Chad

Maradi •

FADA-N-GURMA

• Say   Gwandu   Wurno

Hadejia R.

SEGU

OUAGADOUGOU
• Ouagadougou
Tenkodogo •

Sokoto

Kano •

• Zaria

TENKODOGO

Bobo Dioulasso •

Kandi •

Illo • • Yelwa

Bauchi •   • Gombe

• Wa

Bovay •

Black Volta R.

Kwande • Nikki • Bussa

Benue R.

ADAMAWA

Oti R.

Jugu •
Sandiro •

NUPE Bida

ILORIN
Kabba •

Bonduku •

Ilorin •

• Ife

Lokoja •
• Idah

Abomey •

Niger R.

Lagos •

Keta •

Accra •

▨ Sokoto Caliphate	**NUPE** Empire, kingdom, or state
▦ Northern Mossi states	── Boundary of empire, kingdom or state
▤ Borgu states	

0   200 Miles
0   200 Kms

Map area

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ment of the SEFUWA dynasty of KANEM-BORNU in favor of the al-Kanemi dynasty. The solidarity of the caliphate was not tested until the last years of the 19th century, when the British, French, and German powers began to attack, breaking up the caliphate and putting it under European rule.

See also: BIRAM (Vol. II); DAURA (Vol. II); OYO EMPIRE (Vol. III); RANO (Vol. II); SOKOTO CALIPHATE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (New York: Humanities Press, 1967); Ibraheem Sulaiman, *The Islamic State and the Challenge of History: Ideals, Policies, and Operation of the Sokoto Caliphate* (New York: Mansell Pub., 1987).

Somalia   Country measuring approximately 246,000 square miles (637,100 sq km) located in northeastern Africa. It is bordered by Republic of DJIBOUTI to the northwest, KENYA to the southwest, and ETHIOPIA to the west. Located north of the equator, between the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, Somalia occupies the coastal territory of what is called the Horn of Africa. MOGADISHU is the capital city and main port. At various times the country

has also been known as Somaliland. The region was named after the Somali peoples, migrants from the Yemen in the Arabian Peninsula who occupied the territory as early as the 10th century. Other early inhabitants of Somalia included the OROMO, non-Muslim pastoralists who migrated into western Somaliland from Ethiopia prior to the 16th century, and the AFAR, a Cushitic-speaking ethnic group related to the Somali.

Historically, the six or seven major Somali clans that have dominated the region have been defined by their environment. Those living in the rugged interior regions practiced nomadic pastoralism, and those living along the coastal plains practiced trade, mostly with Arab merchants. Somalian cities that have figured prominently in history include the Indian Ocean ports of Mogadishu, Marka, and BRAVA, and the cities of ZEILA (now Seylac) and BERBERA on the Gulf of Aden, to the north.

Somaliland was crossed by several major trade routes that brought ivory from the African interior to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean ports for export to the Arabian and Indian markets. GOLD was brought north along the coast from southern ports, including ZANZIBAR off the coast of present-day TANZANIA and SOFALA in MOZAMBIQUE. Por-

tuguese seamen first visited the coast of Somaliland as early as 1499. By 1505 they had made their way up the coast from their military outposts in Mozambique and occupied the trade town of Brava, south of Mogadishu. However, during the rest of the 16th century, the Portuguese were unable to control the trade in Somaliland's other coastal cities in their efforts to monopolize the lucrative gold and ivory trades.

In the early 16th century the Muslim state of ADAL, located in what is now northwest Somalia, rose to power under the leadership of AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543). This cosmopolitan kingdom prospered largely because of the lucrative commerce in Zeila, a Somalian trading center on the Gulf of Aden. Zeila's merchants exchanged Arabian cloth, glass, and weapons for African goods, including ivory, hardwoods, and animal skins, that were brought by caravan from the interior, and Adal grew rich by taxing and regulating the trade.

By 1533 Adal had conquered many of the formerly Christian territories of neighboring Ethiopia. Grañ was killed in battle in 1543, and Adal subsequently went into a rapid decline. The disintegration of Adal was accelerated by the arrival of waves of Oromo migrants, who had been moving into the region steadily, even prior to the 16th century.

In the 17th and 18th centuries various Somali groups, Arab clans, and Portuguese explorers, traders, and soldiers fought over the trading towns of Somalia's Indian Ocean coast, sometimes called the BENADIR COAST. At the same time, rival Somali and Oromo clans fought to control the hinterland and the important caravan routes there.

In the early 19th century Somaliland fell under the nominal rule of the Arab OMANI SULTANATE, whose East African center of power was Zanzibar, an island located south of Somaliland off the coast of modern Tanzania.

See also: ADEN, GULF OF (Vol. II); MARKA (Vol. II); SOMALI (Vol. II); SOMALIA (Vol. I, II, IV, V).

Songhai (Songhay)   West African empire that reached its zenith in the 16th century, largely due to the leadership of its two greatest rulers, Sunni Ali (r. 1464–1492) and Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (1493–1528). Even though it was under Sunni Ali that the Songhai kingdom underwent its greatest expansion, he was not favored by his

Songhai Empire, c. 1492–1618

SAHARA DESERT

Map area

Tichit

Arawan

Audaghost

Walata

Agades

Kumbi Saleh

Bassikinu

Timbuktu

Gao

Nioro

Kukiya

Niger R.

Jenne

Niger R.

Bakoye R.

Segu

KEBBI

Katsina

Kangaba

Ouagadougou

Kano

Kourous

Zaria

Black Volta

White Volta

	Songhai c. 1492		·······	Boundary of Hausa States c. 1497
	Songhai c. 1520		**KEBBI**	Hausa State
–·–·–	Boundary of Pashalik of Timbuktu 1618		*Black Volta*	Gold field

0   200 Miles

0   200 Kms

Muslim contemporaries. His reputed pagan leanings, coupled with his seemingly weak support of his Islamic faith, made him many enemies within his own government. He also earned a reputation as a violent and merciless leader for his attacks on TIMBUKTU (1468) and on JENNE (1473). In his latter years, however, Sunni Ali apparently mellowed somewhat, even marrying the mother of the king of Timbuktu as an offering of peace for his past deeds. By the time of his death, in 1492, he had secured control over most of the Middle and Upper Niger.

Not long after Sunni Ali's death, a Muslim general in Sunni Ali's army, Muhammad Touré, later called Askia the Great, seized the throne and became the first in a line of kings known as the ASKIA DYNASTY. Early in his reign Askia Muhammad went on a two-year pilgrimage to Mecca. Although he led many expeditions that expanded the borders of Songhai, it was his reorganization of the state and his contributions to culture, RELIGION, and education that made him one of the most celebrated leaders of his time. In 1528 the elderly and ill Muhmmad Touré was deposed by his son, Askia Musa, which led to a series of skirmishes for control of the empire. Between 1528 and 1582 there were five *askias:* Muhammad Musa (r. 1528–1531), Muhammad Benkan (r. 1531–1537), Ismail (r. 1537–1539), Ishaq I (r. 1539–1549), and Askia DAUD (r. 1549–1582).

In the late 16th century Sultan ABD AL-MANSUR (c. 1549–1603) of MOROCCO set out to conquer the Songhai Empire. It took the Moroccan army of 4,000 troops six months to cross the Sahara, a feat that most believed impossible for such a large military force. Though al-Mansur's army was greatly reduced by the end of the journey, his men were equipped with guns, which put the Songhai soldiers at a serious disadvantage. The Moroccan army was victorious in the ensuing battle, winning a major victory in 1591. Songhai refused to submit, however, and conflict between Songhai and Morocco lasted well into the 17th century.

Meanwhile, descendants of the Askia dynasty continued to rule the area in what is now NIGER until 1660. Thereafter what remained of the Songhai Empire was divided into smaller principalities and chiefdoms. These remained independent, until 1898, when they were conquered by the French.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vol. II); SONGHAI (Vol. II); SUNNI ALI (Vol. II); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. III).

Songo   Subgroup of the MBUNDU peoples that lived between the Kwango and Kwanza rivers in what is now northeastern ANGOLA. Songo are unique among the Mbundu in that they did not develop an extensive king-dom and preferred instead to organize as a segmentary society, ruled by geneaological ties. Because of their lack of a central power, invading rulers of the LUNDA EMPIRE, called *kinguri,* easily settled in Songo lands in the middle 16th century and eventually established a kingdom there. The Songo people were fishers, farmers, and hunters. They were also highly skilled sculptors and mask makers, and were well known for their craftsmanship.

Soninke (Sarakole, Serahhule, Marka, Wakore)
Mande-speaking people, mostly Muslims, inhabiting parts of what are now Republic of MALI, SENEGAL, The GAMBIA, and MAURITANIA. At one time the rulers of the powerful Ghana Empire, by the 16th century the Soninke people had dispersed over vast stretches and formed smaller states.

One such Soninke state was Gadiago, established along the upper Senegal River in what is now Senegal. Founded in the early to mid-17th century, Gadiago was the home of skilled traders who marketed their grain, kola nuts, and GOLD along north-south trade routes and traded captives and gold along the east-west routes. Soninke traders transported most of their goods to the coastline over the waterways of the Senegal River, but they also made use of the overland trade routes. In the Gambia region, they used land routes that were controlled by the DYAKANKE people.

By the 18th century many Soninke groups were involved in the trade of humans. Through their trading endeavors, Soninke men accumulated great wealth, even acquiring their own captive workforce to tend their lands while they traveled to other cities to conduct trade. During this time and into the 19th century, the Soninke were steadily coming under the influence of the French, who would later colonize Soninke territories as part of what became French West Africa.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); SLAVERY (Vol. III); SONINKE (Vol. II) TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III).

Sotho (Basotho, Suthu, Suto)   People of southern
Africa who speak the Bantu language of Sesotho. The ancestors of the Sotho began migrating to their present-day locations during the 11th century. They settled in large, scattered villages, relying on AGRICULTURE and animal husbandry for their livelihood.

The Sotho people, also called the *Basotho,* are made up of three separate ethnic groupings: the Sotho proper, who live in present-day LESOTHO; the TSWANA of BOTSWANA; and the Sotho residing in Transvaal. The area that is present-day Lesotho was occupied by SAN hunter-gatherers as late as the 16th century. Toward the beginning of the 17th century, however, Bantu-speaking peoples

began to migrate to the area and intermarry with the native San.

The Sotho identity was forged in the early to mid-1800s, when neighboring ZULU clans invaded the area, killing many of the San and Bantu speakers. The ruler MSHWESHWE (c. 1786–1870) gathered refugees from the remaining clans at the mountain stronghold of Butha Buthe. This eclectic mix of peoples formed the first Sotho nation. Conflicts with neighboring groups continued, and by July 1824 the Sotho were on the verge of defeat. Mshweshwe moved his people to a less vulnerable settlement at THABA BOSIU.

For the next 40 years the mountain settlement at Thaba Bosiu withstood attacks from the Ndebele, Griquas, BOERS, and British. In 1868 the Boers overtook the Sotho lands. Mshweshwe appealed to the British for help, and the country became a British protectorate in March of 1868. The Sotho nation was preserved, but the country remained under British control until it became an independent nation, in 1966.

The Sotho were traditionally ruled by a system of hereditary chieftains. Control began at the village level and rose through a series of district headmen, all of whom had ultimate responsibility to a paramount chief. The paramount chief was allowed to make provisional decrees, but the legal code was based primarily on custom. Today, Lesotho is a constitutional monarchy, but the traditional legal code is now published law applied by the court system.

The ECONOMY of the Sotho has always relied heavily on agriculture and animal husbandry. Grains and cereals have been important crops throughout the centuries, but corn is the primary staple crop today. Cattle, sheep, and goats also play an important role in the Sotho economy. Most families possess livestock that can be used for various subsistence and income-producing purposes.

The honoring of ancestors is the traditional religion practiced by the Sotho. Although there is a belief in a supreme being, and Christianity has greatly influenced religious belief, ancestral worship remains the practical religion of the people.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV); SOTHO (Vol. IV).

South Africa Country measuring 470,700 square miles (1,219,100 sq km) bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Indian Ocean to the south and east, NAMIBIA to the northwest, ZIMBABWE and BOTSWANA to the north, and MOZAMBIQUE and SWAZILAND to the northeast. South Africa completely surrounds LESOTHO, which is situated in the eastern central plain. Today South Africa's administrative capital is Pretoria, but it also has CAPE TOWN as the legislative center and Bloemfontein as the judicial center.

Prior to 1500, the southern and western regions of present-day South Africa were inhabited by Khoisan-speaking SAN and KHOIKHOI peoples. Khoikhoi subgroups included ORLAMS and NAMA herders who, by the 1600s, moved north and settled near Namibia north of the ORANGE RIVER. Bantu-speakers, who arrived after the Khoisan speakers, occupied the fertile valleys of the eastern regions stretching north to Mozambique. The Bantu-speaking groups were made up of the XHOSA and their subgroups, including the MPONDO, Thembu, Mpondomise, NGQIKA, NDLAMBE, GQUNUKWEBE, and ZULU. In the 17th century the Xhosa people migrated west and north from the Fish River area, incorporating some Khoikhoi into their villages. Xhosa pastoralists amassed wealth through cattle-raiding in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Europeans first reached the southern tip of South Africa when the Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias (c. 1450–1500) sailed around the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. By the middle of the 16th century the Portuguese had begun trading in Indian Ocean coastal areas north of South Africa. The real impact of Europeans in the region was not felt until 1652, when the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY established its trading station at Cape Town, on the southern Atlantic coast. Beginning in 1657 the company began assigning land to farmers so they could cultivate agricultural products. These, it was hoped, would supply the Dutch ships sailing to and from the Indian Ocean around the cape. The land had been occupied by Khoikhoi hunter-gatherers, who began peaceful trading relations with the BOERS that lasted until the late 18th century. During this time Khoikhoi hunters exchanged their meat, skins, and ivory for Dutch cloth and manufactured metal goods. Smallpox, introduced to the region by the Dutch, killed a great number of Khoikhoi, and their vacated land was then occupied by Dutch settlers. Some Khoikhoi women bore children by the Dutch men, and a mixed race called *Cape Coloureds* emerged by the middle of the 18th century.

Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama (1460–1524) sailed past the southeastern coast of South Africa on Christmas Day, 1497. He named the land he saw beyond the coast *Terra Natalis,* or "Christmas Land." The term *Natal,* which is Portuguese for "Christmas," was later used to name the southeastern province of colonial South Africa.

Early Dutch settlers who moved into the interior were called *Boers,* or *Trekboers.* The Dutch came in relatively small numbers, so to work their land they imported forced LABOR from East Africa, MADAGASCAR, and Asia.
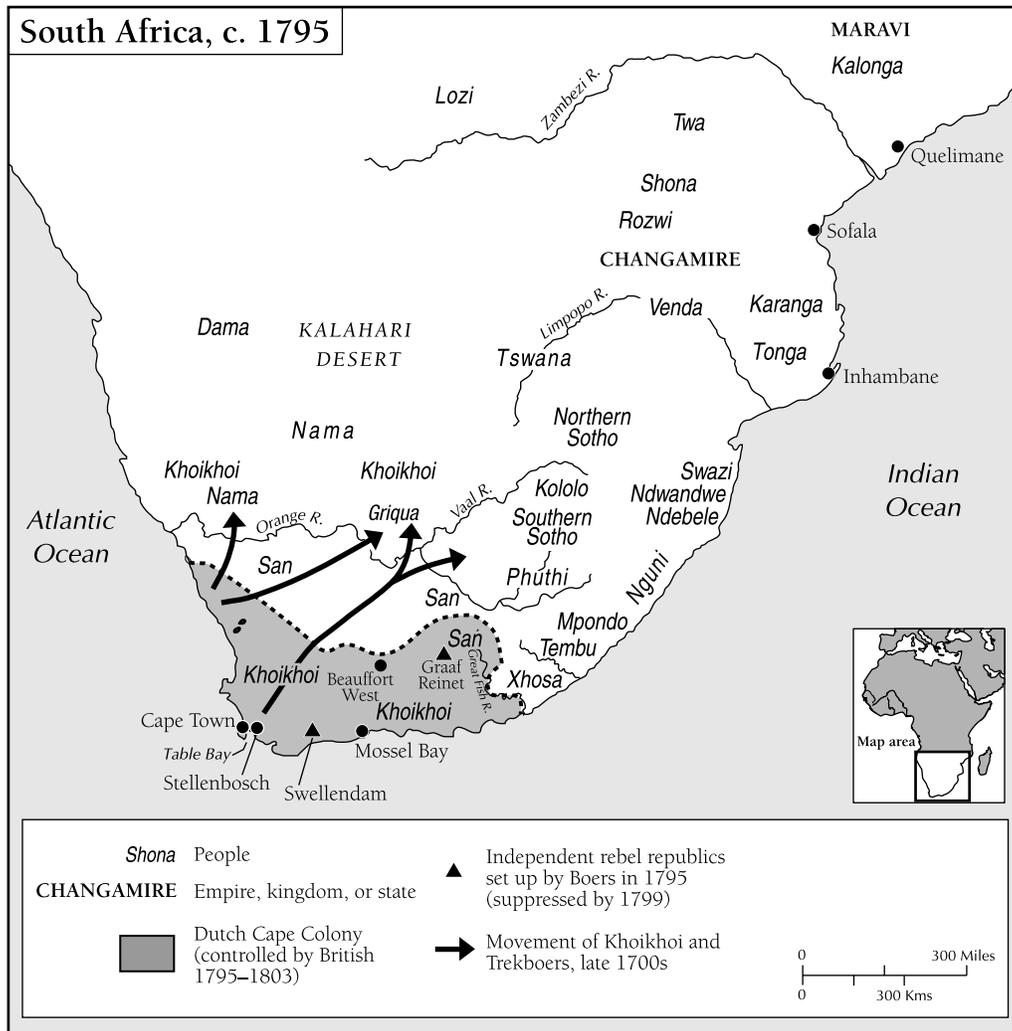
South Africa, c. 1795

These workers were incorporated into an increasingly diverse population.

After 1700 the TSWANA, a SOTHO subgroup, occupied the northern territories of modern South Africa, near the Botswana border. Agriculturalist Sotho groups inhabited the region between modern Pretoria and SWAZILAND and also the northern slope of the Drakensberg Mountains (in modern Lesotho), where they traded with Khoikhoi pastoralists.

Throughout the 17th century Xhosa groups and Boers traded peacefully in the southern regions of southern Africa. The Dutch traded beads, nails, glass, and metal items for cattle and ivory. But as the Xhosa expanded west and Trekboers moved east, they met near the Fish River by about 1770 and fought over scarce resources.

During the last quarter of the 18th century the southern region of the continent was threatened with the prospect of armed conflicts between Boers and various Xhosa groups. In 1779 violence erupted in the fertile Zuurveld region, marking the beginning of the CAPE FRONTIER WARS. By the end of the 18th century the Dutch East India Company was in dire financial straits, and the British government assumed control of the Dutch Cape Town holdings. They returned the administrative duties of the CAPE COLONY to the Dutch, in 1803, but assumed them again, in 1806. The British did not fare much better than the Dutch in dealing with the Xhosa, and under British control the region continued to be wracked by violent armed conflicts until the late 1800s.

During the 1820s drought, famine, and scarce resources caused warrior NGUNI groups from southern Africa's eastern region to begin campaigns of territorial expansion. Among the groups involved in these migrations were the Nguni-speaking Ndwandwe, Ngwane, Mthethwa, and Zulu. Led by their storied chief SHAKA (1787–1828), the Zulu emerged victorious and forced the other groups to leave the region. The Ndwandwe moved north into Mozambique to found the Gaza state and the Ngwane were pushed west to found the Swazi kingdom. The powerful Ndebele kingdom was also

founded at this time by MZILIKAZI (1790–1868), a Khumalo chief. This time of forced migration of people from southeast Africa was called MFECANE, or "The Crushing."

Throughout the 19th century the British controlled Cape Colony and adopted laws that restricted Boer movement and expansion. The Boers reacted by moving further inland, establishing permanent European settlements in the interior, which they defended tenaciously against attacks by Xhosa-speaking groups. The pattern of rule by the white European minority over the indigenous black majority led to the colonial race troubles that plagued South Africa into the late 20th century.

See also: CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE (Vol. IV); SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. III); SOUTH AFRICA (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Robert Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001).

Soyo (Mbanza Soyo, Sonyo) Kongo settlement, located on the African Atlantic coast just south of the Congo River, that declared its independence in the 17th century. By the 1600s, the town of Soyo, with a population of 30,000 by the end of the 17th century, was the largest in the Kongo after SÃO SALVADOR. An independent court consisting of a prince, his royal household, and other titled nobility ruled the region. The nobility owned large plantations outside the city and supported a powerful military force. Soyo was also an important trading center for ivory, cloth, copper, and animal skins from the interior. The city competed with LOANGO for control of these lucrative trade items.

After Soyo declared its independence from the KONGO KINGDOM, in 1636, the Kongo kings waged war with the province to try to bring it back under their control. Soyo was victorious with the help of firearms that they purchased from the Dutch, who traded heavily at the port of Mpinda. The English, Portuguese, and eventually the French also traded there. Along with LUANDA, Mpinda was the main port for shipping captives from the Kongo kingdom to the Americas during the 17th century.

By the 1640s Soyo's independence from the kingdom was reluctantly recognized by the Kongo kingdom. The province soon became a refuge for challengers to the sovereignty of São Salvador (formerly Mbanza Kongo), the capital of the Kongo kingdom, and its armies sacked that city during the succession disputes of the latter half of the 17th century. After the subsequent decline of São Salvador, the city of Soyo was the only large urban settlement in the Kongo region.

See also: MBANZA KONGO (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Spain and Africa Spanish activity in Africa throughout the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries was limited. While Spain continued to battle various Muslim factions throughout North Africa, they were never able to gain more than a few coastal footholds in the region. Most of Spain's interest in Africa at this time lay in their need to supply a workforce for the plantations in their New World possessions. In 1580 Portugal became a holding of the Spanish Crown, so Spain was able to rely on Portuguese naval superiority to help feed their insatiable demand for captive LABOR. Consequently Spanish ports developed into leading centers of the trade in human beings.

Previously a Portuguese outpost, the town of CEUTA on the Mediterranean coast of MOROCCO became a Spanish holding in 1580 (and was still administered by Spain in the early 21st century). From Ceuta, Spain supplemented the Portuguese raids against Africans with raids of their own on North African Muslim populations. Spain's contributions to the era of European colonization in Africa in the 19th century were minimal.

See also: ANDALUS, AL- (Vol. II); ALMOHADS (Vol. II); ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); CHARLES V, EMPEROR (Vol. III); CRUSADES, THE (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Stuart, John See CUGOANO, OTTABAH.

Suakin (Sawakin) Trading port located on the Red Sea coast of present-day Republic of the SUDAN. Before 1500 Suakin served as trading center, especially for the export of Sudanese captives to Arabia and the Middle East. For nearly three centuries, Suakin competed with the nearby port of Aidhab, but Aidhab was destroyed in 1428. Suakin then flourished as the most important port on the Red Sea coast. It also became a major stopover point for African pilgrims heading across the Red Sea to Mecca, on the Arabian Peninsula. Suakin continued to prosper as Indian, Persian, Chinese, and Portuguese merchants met there to trade cloth, glass beads, and spices for humans, gum, incense, and ivory.

Beginning in the 16th century, Turks of the Ottoman Empire in EGYPT dominated commercial activity at Suakin. Throughout the 18th century FUNJ sultans from SENNAR, in present-day Republic of the Sudan, used Suakin as their main port. In the 19th century, however, Suakin lost much of its trade as a result of Sennar's decline, Red Sea PIRATES, and political pressure from the Turks.

See also: MECCA (Vol. II); RED SEA (Vol. I); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II); SLAVERY (Vol. III).

Sudan, Republic of the Country measuring 966,800 square miles (2,504,000 sq km) located in northeastern

Africa. It is bordered by EGYPT and LIBYA to the north; ETHIOPIA and ERITREA to the east; KENYA, UGANDA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the south; and CHAD and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to the west. Sudan is the largest country in Africa. KHARTOUM is its largest city and capital.

By the end of the 15th century the armies of the MAMLUKS in Egypt had moved south and overtaken the Christian kingdom of Nubia. But in the early 1500s the Ottoman Empire conquered Egypt, driving the Mamluks into their northern Nubia stronghold. The Turks pursued the Mamluks and established Ottoman rule along the Nubian coast of the Red Sea. Ottoman power, however, did not effectively extend further inland, and the Turks relied on the conquered Mamluks to maintain peace in the interior.

Meanwhile, Amara Dunqas (fl. early 1500s) established the FUNJ kingdom farther south, in SENNAR, in 1504. During his reign Dunqas adopted Islam, which quickly spread throughout the region. The Funj gained control of the major trade routes that ran between West Africa, Ethiopia, and Egypt. Their prosperity allowed them to rule over much of present-day eastern Sudan into the 18th century.

In 1596 the independent DARFUR emerged to the west of the Funj kingdom. Darfur became a powerful and prosperous state by controlling the trans-Saharan trade routes to KANEM-BORNU, near Lake CHAD. Important trade goods included salt, ivory, and humans. Led by SULIMAN SOLONG (r. c. 1640–1680), the FUR sultanate established Islam as its official RELIGION in the 17th century, and by the 18th century most of the surrounding region also was Muslim.

See also: KASSALA (Vol. III); KORDOFAN (Vol. III); NUBIA, CHRISTIAN (Vol. II); SUDAN, REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. I, II, IV, V); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II).

Sufism   Religious movement within Islam that emphasizes mysticism and personal interaction with God. Sufism emerged in the Middle East during the seventh century and had spread to the African continent by the 12th century. It was a common Islamic movement by the 1800s. While some scholars consider Sufism to have non-Islamic roots, most modern historians attribute its development to ascetic Muslim sects.

The mystical component of Sufism is central to its followers, who believe that a personal connection with God is attainable through loyalty and a strict humility. The road to mystic enlightenment begins with repenting for one's sins. The Sufi would then follow the orders of a mystical guide (sheikh), who encourages meditation, abstinence, renunciation, and poverty.

The final stage of a Sufi's conversion to asceticism is *marifah* (interior knowledge), the union of God and his follower. A euphoric sensation reportedly follows, until ultimately the Sufi's whole self is transformed into a remembrance of God. In this final and ideal state (as a *shaykh*), the Sufi believes that meditation can transport him between the human and spiritual worlds, enabling him to perform miracles.

The sheikhs pass down their divine knowledge to other followers through a series of initiation rites. Followers can then begin the arduous process toward asceticism. The relationship between sheikh and pupil paralleled the relationships found in lineage societies, thus making Sufism particularly popular in these societies.

During the 1700s Sufism spread throughout sub-Saharan Africa. In the 19th century Sufism made its way through West Africa, where its stability and hierarchical structure made it popular among nomadic Muslims. Many of the leaders of the FULANI JIHADS of the 19th century in West Africa were members of Sufi brotherhoods. The purpose of these jihads was to convert the unbeliever and to restore the fervor and orthodoxy of Muslims whose observance of Islamic law had become lax. The founders of the Muslim state of FOUTA DJALLON, including the influential cleric Alfa Ba (fl. 1725), were members of the large, loosely organized QADIRIYYA Sufi brotherhood, the oldest Sufi order in Islam, which traces its origins to the preaching of 12th-century cleric Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (1078–1166) in Baghdad. USMAN DAN FODIO (1754– 1817), the founder of the powerful SOKOTO CALIPHATE (1808–1903), was also a member of the Qadiriyya order. Ahamadu ibn Hammadi (c. 1745–1844), who preached the jihad that led to the foundation of the Muslim state of MACINA, near TIMBUKTU, and Umar Tal (c. 1797–1864), the founder of the vast Muslim TUKULOR empire, were both members of the fundamentalist Tijaniyya brotherhood, founded about 1781 in FEZ, MOROCCO, by Ahmad al-Tijani (1737–1815). The Tijaniyya order became the largest and most influential Sufi brotherhood in West Africa.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV, V); SUFISM (Vols. II, IV); UMAR TAL (Vol. IV).

Suliman Solong (Sulayman Solondungu) (r. c. 1640–1660) *First Muslim sultan of Darfur, in present-day Republic of the Sudan*

In the early 17th century Suliman Solong successfully conquered the TUNJUR peoples, a group that had ruled the kingdom of DARFUR since the 13th century. He proclaimed himself sultan about 1640, made Islam the official RELIGION, and successfully established Darfur as a Muslim sultanate. The FUR, after whom Darfur is named, have worn Arab dress and taken Arab names ever since Suliman Solong's reign.

Although Islamic influences had already become increasingly present in the western Sudan, Suliman Solong was credited with incorporating Muslim practices and

giving the religion a strong foundation in the region. Known as a great warrior, he also carved larger boundaries for his sultanate by conducting battles, with the help of Arab nomads, around the territory of the Jebel Marra Mountains, the highest region of the Sudan. After his death, around 1660, his heirs created the beginnings of a powerful Islamic ruling family, known as the KAYRA DYNASTY, which ruled Darfur, with a brief interruption between 1874 and 1898, until 1916.

The son of an Arab woman, Suliman Solong brought Arabic dress and customs to Darfur, thereby earning him the nickname "The Arab."

See also: ARABS, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III).

Sumbwa
Ethnic group long residing in present-day TANZANIA. Although the Sumbwa have traditionally maintained that they originate from the Bantu-speaking Ha people, Sumbwa political and social structures are much more like those of the NYAMWEZI than those of the Ha. They practice traditional African RELIGION.

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries the Sumbwa became great traders, transporting the copper and copper products, for which they were well known, from present-day KATANGA Province in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to western Tanzania. They also were early practitioners of the IVORY TRADE.

See also: COPPER (Vols. I, II); COPPER MINES (Vol. II).

Susu (Soso, Soussou, Soosoo)
West African ethnic group located in present-day SIERRA LEONE, GUINEA, and SENEGAL. The Susu had migrated to the FOUTA DJALLON region of what is now Guinea in the 15th century, but they were soon displaced by waves of FULANI peoples moving into the area. During the early 16th century the Susu were mainly located on the coastal regions of Guinea and Sierra Leone, where they were involved with other coastal peoples in the trade of cloth, GOLD, salt, and iron. By the mid-16th century clashes with an inland group from Sierra Leone, known as Manes or Sumbas (meaning "cannibals"), led the Susu to begin trading northwards at the Rio Nuñez. Although the Susu were strongly tied to their animist RELIGION, many were converted to Islam during the FULANI JIHADS led by Ibrahim Sori (fl. 1725) and Karamoko Alfa (r. 1725–1750), which swept the Fouta Djallon and beyond beginning in 1727. By the late 18th century the Susu kings had all converted to Islam, and the Susu had become intermediaries in the growing trade in human beings.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. III); SUSU (Vol. II).

Swahili Coast
Area along the East African shoreline on the Indian Ocean. Generally, the term refers to both the coastal area proper and to the adjacent islands, including the COMOROS and the LAMU archipelago and the islands of MOMBASA, PEMBA, ZANZIBAR, Mafia, and Kerimba.

When the Portuguese first sailed north along the Swahili Coast in 1498, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, they were amazed at the wealth of the coastal cities and the extent of their trade. Determined to seize control of it, they sailed into the harbors of the important towns, their ships bristling with cannons, and threatened to bombard the shore if their demands for tribute were not met. The year 1505 saw even more determined attacks on the towns of the Swahili Coast. After pillaging the towns, the Portuguese established forts at KILWA, SOFALA, and MOZAMBIQUE, thus gaining control of the coastal GOLD trade between Sofala and the highland plateau of present-day ZIMBABWE.

History The Swahili Coast had its "golden age" some time after the 13th century, and this period lasted until approximately the 15th century. When the Portuguese arrived, around 1498, they found a thriving culture along the East African coast, one with learning, wealth, and power. Indeed, Swahili entrepreneurs had created a complex society successfully amalgamating African and Asian elements as well as the input and contributions of wave after wave of new immigrants.

Swahili power was essentially economic and cultural, not military, and the Swahili proved no match for the better-armed Portuguese, who were more interested in conquest and possession than in establishing trading relationships. After a brief period the Portuguese began capturing city after city, beginning with Kilwa, which fell to them in 1505. In their campaign, which was based on the notions of displacing Islam and taking possession of both the gold and spice trade, the Portuguese carried out a ruthless policy of looting towns, while selling some inhabitants into forced LABOR and massacring others.

In spite of this, Portuguese control was never very successful. The Portuguese lacked the numbers to enforce their system and authority over such a vast area. As a result, although they managed to collect tribute from local rulers and demand those rulers' declaration of fealty to the Portuguese king, they were unable to control smuggling and other activities that demonstrated Swahili independence. Beyond this, the Swahili, the MIJIKENDA, and others adopted, probably without planning, a policy of noncooperation that slowed the East African ECONOMY to the point that even the Sofala gold mines—which had

produced vast fortunes—were barely profitable under Portuguese control.

By the late 17th century the Portuguese were losing influence in the region, and, with the help of the Omanis, the Swahili gradually took back control. By 1729 the Portuguese were gone, never—except for a brief revival a few years later—to return.

Unfortunately for the Africans the Omanis increasingly took control over East Africa themselves, so the resurgence of Swahili independence was short-lived. As a result the Swahili Coast became, in effect, part of the OMANI SULTANATE, a situation that lasted into the 19th century.

Some historians suggest that the decline of Swahili culture and power was caused by the Portuguese conquest, which they point to as having destroyed a thriving culture. Others, however, believe that Swahili culture was, for various reasons, already on the decline when the Portuguese arrived. Scholars taking this view point, for example, cite a widespread drought that affected the area before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498. This, they note, forced people to dig canals for irrigation, to relocate, and to take other steps to provide themselves with the water they needed for survival. Ultimately, the drought led to a flight into the few usable lands that remained, creating a competition for land and water that resulted in increased conflict and, at times, open warfare. Instead of the peaceful competition between city-states that had dominated East Africa for centuries, by the beginning of the 16th century Pate was battling with Lamu, MALINDI was fighting against Mombasa, and Kilwa was in conflict with Sofala over the control of the gold and ivory trades.

Regardless of whether the Portuguese were solely responsible for the decline of the Swahili Coast or whether they ultimately accentuated and sped up a process that was already in progress, the result was the same. Trade declined, and the general prosperity that had long marked the region vanished. Local industries along the coast foundered to the point that even the once-thriving weaving industry of Pate, MOGADISHU, Mombasa, and Kilwa were destroyed, and the people of those cities were reduced to dependence upon textiles imported from India. Ironwork—once so important to Malindi, Sofala, and other city-states—also stopped. In time, the people of city-states like Mombasa, Barawa, and Sofala—once merchants and independent farmers—were reduced to making straw mats and baskets for sale to the Portuguese.

With the expulsion of the Portuguese in the early 18th century, and the arrival of the Omanis, the situation improved, and the coast revived. Although it never quite regained the levels that it had had before the 16th century, it once again became a commercial and cultural center.

See also: SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, IV).

Further reading: Chapurukha M. Kusimba, *The Rise and Fall of the Swahili States* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press, 1999); John Middleton, *The World of the Swahili* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992); Michael N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Swazi   Ethnic group living in SWAZILAND and in parts of SOUTH AFRICA. The Swazi descended from the Ngwane, a NGUNI subgroup. In the 19th century the Ngwane fled the MFECANE, an era of territorial expansion by the militant ZULU, led by SHAKA (1787–1828). The Ngwane ruler of the time, Sobhuza, wisely appeased Shaka and led his people to the central highlands of present-day Swaziland. Once there Sobhuza brought together a number of clans and began centralizing his power. By the 1840s Sobhuza's son and successor, MSWATI I (1820–1868), was recognized by his British allies as the rightful king of his people, the Swazi. Throughout the rest of the 19th century and into the era of European colonialism, Britain helped Mswati defend his kingdom against Zulu aggression. Today the Swazi number at least 1,000,000. They speak Sati, a Bantu language related to Zulu.

Swaziland   Officially known as the Kingdom of Swaziland, country measuring approximately 6,700 square miles (17,400 sq km) located in southern Africa. It is bordered to the north, west and south by SOUTH AFRICA and to the east by MOZAMBIQUE.

In about 1750, people of the Ngwane clan left the MAPUTO area and settled in northern Zululand (present-day eastern South Africa). Unable to compete with the ZULU for territorial supremacy, they moved north and, in the 1800s, settled in present-day Swaziland. They were united under several strong leaders. Their most important leader was King MSWATI I (1820–1868), from whom they got their name. Mswati I ruled in the 1840s and expanded their kingdom to the north and south. In order to safeguard his kingdom against Zulu raids, Mswati asked the British authorities in South Africa for assistance. The subsequent agreements with the British in South Africa led to British claims on resources, and administrative authority. Boers, too, made claims on SWAZI territory until 1902, when Britain won the Anglo-Boer War and assumed control.

See also: SWAZILAND (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: J. S. M. Matsebula, *A History of Swaziland* (Cape Town, South Africa: Longman Southern Africa, 1972).

Swellendam   Third-oldest town in SOUTH AFRICA and former Boer republic located in present-day Western Cape

Province. Situated on the Breede River Valley, the town was first established in 1743 by the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY and was named for Hendrik Swellengrebel—governor of CAPE TOW from 1739 to 1751—and his wife. In 1795 a local Boer revolt against the authority of the East India Company led to the dismissal of a company magistrate and the establishment of Swellendam as a Boer republic. The republic lasted three months, until the British occupied the Cape later that same year.

T

Tabora (Kazeh) Capital of the NYAMWEZI people; located in the west-central part of what is now TANZANIA. Officially founded in 1852, Tabora was an important part of the trade linking peoples of the Congo basin, to the west, with merchants on the SWAHILI COAST of East Africa. The Nyamwezi, also known as the Banyamwezi, brought iron, copper, salt, ivory, and captives from the interior to the coast. These items were exchanged for Arabian cloth, spices, tools, and firearms. In later centuries, this trade represented an important supplement to the primarily agricultural economy of the Bantu-speaking Nyamwezi.

See also: NYAMWEZI (Vols. III, IV); MIRAMBO (Vol. IV).

Tananarive (Antananarivo) City located in the central highlands of MADAGASCAR that was the capital of the MERINA empire. Formerly known as Analamanga, Tananarive is located on an isolated plateau near the Ikopa River. Its location allowed the local Merina to avoid the influence of the SAKALAVA people, who created an empire as they conquered most of the western half of the island of Madagascar in the 17th century. Tananarive became the official center of the Merina kingdom about the end of the 18th century, when King ANDRIANAMPOINIMERINA (r. c. 1782–1810) used the city as the location for his government, courts, and land administration. Under Andrianampoinimerina, the city was fortified and transformed into the center of a flourishing Merina culture.

Andrianampoinimerina was suspicious of foreign influence in the capital and didn't allow interested European powers, especially the French and British, to establish a presence there. However, under Radama I (r. 1810–1828), Andrianampoinimerina's successor, the Merina were more tolerant of foreign influence, and during the early 19th century the capital was home to several European MISSIONARIES, among them English Protestants and French Jesuits.

> **The city, which is the capital of the modern Republic of Madagascar, was renamed Antanana-rivo in 1977, under the revolutionary socialist regime of Didier Ratsiraka (1936–   ).**

Tangier Port city and capital of present-day MOROCCO and an important trading post for over 2,000 years. Situated on a limestone hill between the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea, Tangier was founded by Phoenician traders in ancient times. Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Visigoths, and Arabs subsequently ruled it. Under Arab rule, which lasted from 682 to 1471, Tangier became an important trade center and royal city.

In 1471 the Portuguese and Spanish battled for control of this strategically positioned town. The Portuguese were victorious and continued to rule Tangier until 1662, when the Portuguese princess Catherine of Braganza transferred control of Tangier to England upon her marriage to Charles II of England (r. 1660–1685). During their brief 25-year rule, the English built extensive forts around the ancient town.

The fall of Tangier in Morocco to a European army. The city was occupied by the Spanish and the Portuguese until 1662. The tapestry is from the 15th century. © *Archivo Iconogtafico, S.A./Corbis*

In 1684 the Moroccan sultan, MAWLAY ISMAIL (c. 1645–1727), staged a successful trade blockade, forcing the English to return Tangier to Morocco. Although British trade still dominated the Tangier economy, the city flourished under Moroccan control and became its capital, in the 19th century.

Morocco became a French protectorate, in 1912, but Tangier was spared French rule. It was granted special status as an international zone jointly governed by Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Tanzania   Country measuring approximately 342,100 square miles (886,000 sq km) that includes ZANZIBAR, PEMBA ISLAND, and Mafia Island, all located offshore, in the Indian Ocean. Mainland Tanzania borders UGANDA and KENYA to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, MOZAMBIQUE, MALAWI, and ZAMBIA to the south, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, BURUNDI, and RWANDA to the west. DAR ES SALAAM is the capital and largest city.

The arrival of the Portuguese at the end of the 15th century undermined Arab dominance in the region. In contrast to the earlier Arab immigrants, who had developed an extensive trading network that reached into the interior, the Portuguese did not develop positive relations with the indigenous peoples. As a result Portuguese influence led to the disruption of both town life and trade and ultimately to a general decline.

At the end of the 16th century a group from southeastern Africa, the ZIMBA, began a violent incursion along the coast. This drove many groups into the interior, where they mingled with what was left of the older population as well as with new immigrants who were arriving from southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The exact makeup of such groups, however, including those living farther in the interior, is not precisely known. Indeed the only group specifically mentioned by the Portuguese were the Sageju, who were located near the city-state of MALINDI.

Many of the groups associated with Tanzania's interior—ranging from the Taita and CHAGGA to the SHAMBAA and KIKUYU—identify a town known as SHUNGWAYA as their origin. This common origin seems unlikely, however, since few of these people exhibit the traditions of centralized kingship and Islam associated with Shungwaya.

In 1698 the Portuguese were defeated by a combination of local forces and Arabs from the OMANI SULTANATE. This, except for a brief Portuguese revival around the year 1725, ushered in what amounted to a second period of Arab ascendancy, this time under the aegis of the sultans of Oman. Omani influence increased during the 18th century with the rise to power of the BUSAIDI dynasty, in Oman, and the appearance on the political scene of the MASRUI family, in ZANZIBAR. This reached its culmination during the reign of Sultan SAYYID SAID (1791–1856), who not only solidified Omani power in East Africa but eventually transferred his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar. This period saw the development of trade and the growth of wealth in many parts of the region, as new caravan routes began to cross the interior and commerce in GOLD, captives, and ivory increased. In fact it was the possibility of participating in this commerce that began to draw European colonial powers back to the region as the 19th century continued.

See also: ARABS, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV); TANZANIA (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: John Iliffe, et al., *A Modern History of Tanzania* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Ta'rikh al-Fattash   Narrative of the western Sudan region written in the 16th century. Although the work is attributed mostly to the Islamic scholar Mahmud Kati (b. 1468), it was actually completed by Kati's sons and grandsons. *Ta'rikh al-Fattash* means "history of the seeker of knowledge," and the book chronicles the history of the empires of Ghana (fl. ninth–11th centuries) and Mali (fl. 12th–15th centuries), both of which were located primarily in present-day Republic of MALI.

Kati was part of the entourage that accompanied Askia (King) Muhammad Touré (r. 1493–1528) of the SONGHAI Empire on his journey to Mecca. In his writing Kati details the life and reign of this influential ruler. He then goes on to relate the history of the Sudan, describing in detail how, in 1591, an invading Moroccan army used their European firearms to topple Songhai and take control of the crucial trading city of TIMBUKTU.

While the *Ta'rikh al-Fattash* was widely known throughout the Muslim world, it was not as accessible to Europeans as the *TA'RIKH AL-SUDAN*. This other 17th-century chronicle was written by the scholar Abd al-Rahman SADI (c. 1569–1655), who, like Mahmud Kati, was born in Timbuktu and educated at that city's famed institution of Islamic learning, SANKORE UNIVERSITY.

See also: MUHAMMAD TOURÉ, ASKIA (Vol II); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II).

Ta'rikh al-Sudan   Text written in the early to mid-17th century by the Muslim scholar Abd al-Rahman SADI (c. 1569–1655); its title means "History (or Chronicle) of the Sudan." The work eventually became the best-known historical reference to events taking place in the western Sudan region from the mid-15th to the late 17th centuries.

Dealing with the region that became present-day Republic of MALI and NIGER and focusing on events that occurred from about 1464 to well into the 17th century, *Ta'rikh al-Sudan* narrates the rise and fall of the SONGHAI Empire and its various rulers. The *Ta'rikh al-Sudan* also recounts the shaping of some of the major cities that came into contact with the Songhai, including the well-known trading towns of TIMBUKTU and JENNE, both of which were located in what is now the Rpublic of Mali. Indeed, since the *Ta'rikh al-Sudan* was popular in the Muslim areas of Africa and, later, became the basis of early European knowledge of the history of western Sudan, this chronicle represents the source for much of what we know about these two merchant centers.

Sadi himself was born in Timbuktu and attended the city's prestigious SANKORE UNIVERSITY, where he studied Islam before he began writing the *Ta'rikh al-Sudan.* These personal roots played an important part in Sadi's writing, since he claimed in his preface that his purpose for writing the *Ta'rikh al-Sudan* was to chronicle the life of his homeland in the wake of the devastation caused by the Moroccan invasion of Timbuktu, in 1591.

It is likely that many Europeans assumed the *Ta'rikh al-Sudan* was written by another well-known Muslim scholar, Ahmad Baba (b. 1556), who wrote texts that are still in use today. In 1853, however, the identity of the true author became known when the the German geographer and explorer Heinrich Barth found the original manuscript of Sadi's work in the city of Guandu, in present-day NIGERIA.

See also: HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II); *TA'RIKH AL-FATTASH* (Vol. III).

Tegbesu (Tegbisu, Bossa Ahadee)   (r. 1740–1774)
King of Dahomey

When King AGAJA (1708–1732) of DAHOMEY died, a bitter fight for succession ensued. King Tegbesu was elected to the throne in 1740. To secure his position, he assassinated or sold into SLAVERY all of his rivals and their followers, as well as anyone who had the potential to threaten his kingship. He changed the rules of succession, stating that only direct descendents of a ruler could be in line for the throne and that the king could choose which of his sons would succeed him. Tegbesu also implemented the *Ilari* system of the OYO EMPIRE into his government. *Ilaris* were messengers, easily recognizable because they shaved half their heads, who carried messages back and forth from the coast. In addition, they spied on the various Dahomey chiefs and reported their activities back to Tegbesu.

Tegbesu inherited an impoverished kingdom that continually suffered from attacks from Oyo for not paying its annual tribute. In 1748 Tegbesu signed a treaty with Oyo, which, according to oral tradition, stipulated that Dahomey owed a yearly tribute of "40 men, 40 women, 40 guns, and 400 loads of cowries and corals." Despite being tributary to Oyo, Dahomey still had some autonomy, especially in regards to its military. In an attempt to improve the economy of Dahomey, Tegbesu tried to expand his trade routes. He decided to attack the Mahi people, a FON subgroup living to the north, along what is now the border between TOGO and the Republic of BENIN, because the Mahi's heavy tariffs were cutting into Dahomey's profits from the slave trade. Though Tegbesu managed to conquer the Mahi, Dahomey's position in the slave trade continued to decline. By the time of Tegbesu's death, in 1774, the economic situation had reached a desperate point. Tegbesu was succeeded by his son KPENGLA (r. 1774–1789).

Teke (Bateke)   Bantu-speaking ethnic group that occupied the region north of the Malebo Pool, near Brazzaville in the modern Republic of the CONGO. The Teke, whose kingdom was called *Anziko,* are related to the neighboring KONGO, Woyo, Kunyi, Bembe, and Vili people. In the 16th century the Teke developed a reputation as a fractious and independent people, rebelling against the domination of LOANGO and the KONGO KINGDOMS.

With their independence secured, in the 17th century the Teke became influential traders. The coastal Loango kingdom to their west had established trading ties with Portuguese and Dutch merchants, who wanted ivory to bring back to Europe. (By that time, ivory was in short supply on the coast, since elephants had been hunted for centuries.) Loango employed the Teke as intermediaries between them and the ivory hunters from the interior, thereby exposing the Teke to European manufactured goods and bringing the Teke into the European trade circles. The Teke also supplied Loango with large amounts of copper, which they mined on the Teke Plateau using slave LABOR. During the era of European colonialism, in the 19th century, the Teke kingdom fell within a French protectorate.

See also: COPPER (Vols. I, II, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); PROTECTORATE (Vol. IV).

Tekla Haymonot (Takla Haymanot, Tekla Haimanot) (r. c. 1706–1708) *Ethiopian king*

Tekla Haymonot's father was known to his subjects as IYASU I (Iyasu the Great) and was the most celebrated Ethiopian king of his time. Iyasu I was a stellar military leader who often participated in expeditions that took him away from his capital at GONDAR. Upon arriving home from one of his campaigns, he was informed that his favorite concubine had died. Deeply saddened by the news, he fled to a remote island on Lake Tana.

Tekla Haymonot took advantage of his father's absence and enlisted the support of his mother, Malakotawit, to seize the throne. Upon hearing of his son's and wife's betrayal, Iyasu I tried to reclaim his throne but to no avail. Tekla Haymonot protected his position as emperor by having his father murdered. His reign was met with a great deal of hostility, and it marked the beginning of an unstable period in the Ethiopian monarchy that lasted several decades. Tekla Haymonot himself was killed in, 1708, by followers of Iyasu I.

See also: ETHIOPIA (Vol. III).

Tekyiman (Techiman, Takyiman)   City and trading center of the AKAN people, located in the central Brong-Ahafo region of present-day GHANA. Tekyiman was a major trade destination along a route that led northwest from the kingdom of DENKYIRA. The lands around this kingdom produced large amounts of GOLD, which were then shipped on the northwest route to Tekyiman and BEGHO, another Akan trading city, to be traded for other African and European goods.

> The FANTE people of the coastal regions of present-day Ghana are also linked to Tekyiman, as the city enters into part of their foundation legend. While the time frame of the legend is uncertain, ranging between the 15th to the 17th centuries, Fante oral tradition states that the warrior leaders Obrumankoma, Odapagyan, and Oson led their ancestors from Tekyiman to their present locations along the southern Ghanaian coast.

Beginning about 1698 OSEI TUTU (r. c. 1650–1717), the king of the ASHANTI EMPIRE, began a four-year war to conquer Denkyira. His purpose was to obtain the rights to the trade routes reaching Tekyiman and Begho, as well as to the lucrative Denkyira gold-producing lands. He also aimed to control another trade route running northeast to the city of Kafaba. While Osei Tutu's war destroyed the Denkyira kingdom, the city of Tekyiman did not come under Ashanti rule until it was conquered during the reign of OPOKUWARE II (r. 1720–1750).

Tenda (Tanda)   Western Atlantic ethnic group native to eastern SENEGAL and the area along the Gambia River that they still inhabit. The agriculturalist Tenda are related to the Coniagui (Konagi), Bassari, Badyaranke, Bedik, and Jalonke peoples. The region of the Gambia beyond Barrakunda Falls in which they lived was sometimes known as DYULA country because of the large number of Muslim Dyula traders who settled there. From the 15th century on, a brisk trade in slaves, salt, wax, and animal skins existed along the coast.

The commerce of the region was heavily reliant on the fortunes of the SONGHAI Empire, its main trading partner, in what is now the Republic of MALI. In the 17th century, when this important trading state fell to musket-bearing armies from MOROCCO, the local trade routes were redirected to KANO, in what is now northern NIGERIA, and to WADAI, in present-day CHAD. The loss of these routes had a devastating impact on the Tenda economy.

For most of the 18th and 19th centuries the fundamentalist Muslim state of FOUTA DJALLON raided the animist Tenda, selling captives from these attacks into slavery. Subsequently many Tenda fled to mountainous regions in southeastern Senegal and GUINEA-BISSAU.

Tengella   (r. c. 1490–c. 1512) *Fulani ruler and founder of the Denianke dynasty in Fouta Toro at the end of the 15th century*

Tengella and his son Koly Tengella (fl. c. 1530) were members of the pastoralist FULANI group that had been migrating southwards from the Termes since the 13th century in search of suitable grazing lands and water. For centuries, the Fulani, who settled in FOUTA TORO, BONDU, MACINA, and FOUTA DJALLON, lived under the rule of indigenous chiefs who generally fell under the sovereignty of the great Mali Empire. Eventually Tengella organized his army in an effort to conquer all of SENEGAL, moving northwards from Fouta Djallon.

Between 1481 and 1512 Tengella encountered opposition from Mande-speaking peoples as he expanded his Fulani territory. After crossing the Gambia River and occupying Bondu, Tengella and his son separated, with Koly continuing northward to conquer Fouta Toro. Tengella, on the other hand, traveled east toward the kingdom of Zara, which had been under siege by Umar Komzagho (fl. 1500), a prince of the SONGHAI Empire.

Tengella was killed in a confrontation with the Gao army, part of the Songhai forces, when invading Umar Komzagho's state. According to the TA'RIKH AL-SUDAN, Tengella died around 1511 or 1512; the TA'RIKH AL-FATTASH lists the date of his death as 1512 or 1513.

In an attempt to give the Denianke line of rulers a more legitimate history, Fulani peoples later claimed that Koly Tengella was actually a descendent of Sundiata Keita (d. 1255), the founder of the Mali Empire.

In Fouta Toro, Koly Tengella encountered lesser chiefs who, after freeing themselves from Mali, had become quarrelsome and divided. Taking advantage of these fractious chiefs, Koly invaded Fouta Toro, settling in the capital of Anyam Godo. Koly later attacked the Jolof kingdom, killing its king, and went on to conquer territories of the Moors and the WOLOF EMPIRE. The DENIANKE DYNASTY ruled over Fouta Toro until the first half of the 18th century.

See also: MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); MANDE (Vols. I, II, IV); SUNDIATA (Vol. II).

Tete (Nhungue)   Town on the banks of the ZAMBEZI RIVER, in present-day MOZAMBIQUE; it was established as a Portuguese trading center, in the 1530s. The town may have previously existed as a Zambezi settlement of Onhaquoro, though evidence is inconclusive.

The Portuguese, who began trading in southern East Africa shortly after their arrival at the beginning of the 16th century, settled in Tete in an effort to control the GOLD trade. They had previously attempted to dominate the market through their port in SOFALA, but Muslim and Swahili traders simply diverted their gold-trade routes to bypass that port city. Tete, located about 185 miles (298 km) up the Zambezi from its mouth on the Indian Ocean, was established to intercept this trade and to position the Portuguese closer to the gold sources, mostly in the kingdom of the MWENE MUTAPA. Goods brought to the Tete fairs were traded as far away as KALONGA territories, to the north, near Lake Malawi.

In 1575 the Portuguese established trade relations with the Mwene Mutapa, and they were subsequently granted exclusive gold-trade rights. Gold flowed freely along the Portuguese trade routes through Tete to the coast for export. However, the influence of the Portuguese seriously weakened the Mwene Mutapa kingdom, and toward the end of the 17th century the formerly glorious kingdom fell victim to the more militaristic ROZWI king-

dom. The Rozwi also mounted a serious challenge to the Portuguese traders, eventually driving them from the region. This enabled the Rozwi to dominate the area and end Tete's importance as a gold port.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Thaba Bosiu (Thaba Bosigo)   Settlement in the Drakensberg Mountains of present-day LESOTHO, from which emerged the kingdom of SOTHO. During the MFECANE of the early 1820s, the ZULU drove thousands of Sotho people, also known as Basotho, from their homelands. MSHWESHWE (c. 1815–1870), leader of the Kwena clan, united these Sotho refugees and relocated them to Thaba Bosiu. Located on a mountaintop plateau, Thaba Bosiu proved to be unassailable by enemy forces. From this mountain fortress Mshweshwe was able to expand his kingdom to include all of present-day Lesotho and parts of the Orange Free State.

See also: BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); ORANGE FREE STATE (Vol. IV).

Tibesti (Tibesti Mountains, Tibesti Massif)   Mountainous region in the northern part of present-day CHAD and southern LIBYA, in the central part of the southern Sahara desert. Though there are no major trading centers in Tibesti, from the 16th through the 19th centuries the region was important because of the trading caravans that passed through it. Muslim Arab merchants brought cloth, salt, and glass beads from the northern FEZZAN region to the Saharan trading centers of the HAUSA STATES, near Lake CHAD, where they were traded for slaves, GOLD, pepper, kola nuts, and other items from sub-Saharan regions. Also passing through the Tibesti region was a popular trade route that was followed by Muslims from West Africa on their hajj, or pilgrimage, to the city of Mecca, in Saudi Arabia.

The land around the Tibesti Massif is arid and inhospitable, but the region is visually impressive. Emi Koussi, a dormant volcano located in the southern part of Tibesti, is the highest point in the Sahara.

The Tibesti region was the home of the Teda people, a Muslim group of desert warriors of mixed Arab and black descent who survived in the harsh Tibesti climate by herding and practicing limited AGRICULTURE. Their animals included goats and camels and they mostly cultivated DATE PALMS. The Teda also controlled the caravan routes that

passed through their territory, raiding them with merciless efficiency and carrying off plunder and slaves.

See also: CARAVAN ROUTES (Vol. I); SAHARA DESERT (Vols. I, II); TEDA (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Timbuktu (Timbuctu, Tombouctou)   Historic trading city and center of Muslim scholarship located along the NIGER RIVER in the central region of present-day Republic of MALI. Founded in the 12th century by nomadic TUAREGS, the city of Timbuktu came under the rule of the Mali Empire before falling to SONGHAI in the 15th century. A prominent feature of Timbuktu during this period was SANKORE UNIVERSITY, a mosque and center for Islamic learning that once accomodated as many as 25,000 Muslim scholars.

Although Timbuktu suffered a great deal of destruction during its conquest by Songhai's Sunni Ali (r. 1464–1492), it revived under succeeding rulers of the empire. Songhai continued to rule over Timbuktu until a powerful army from MOROCCO, led by the Sadid commander JUDAR PASHA (c. late 16th–early 17th centuries), invaded and conquered it, in 1591. By 1593 the city had fallen into decline, as the Moroccans arrested, killed, or expelled the residents who were assumed to be hostile toward their rule.

During the next two centuries trade was greatly reduced in the area, but Timbuktu nevertheless remained a valuable city, sacked and taken over by different groups who desired control of its markets. Timbuktu was ruled by FULANI peoples as well as by the BAMBARA ruler Mamari KULIBALI (r. 1712–1755), who conquered the city during his reign over the kingdom of SEGU. In 1737 the Tuaregs gained control of the city, holding it until the middle of the 19th century, when first the Fulani, and later the French came to dominate the region.

See also: ALI, SUNNI (Vol. II); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); PASHALIK OF TIMBUKTU (Vol. III); SADIAN DYNASTY (Vol. III); TIMBUKTU (Vol. II, IV).

Further reading: Richard L. Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants, and Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700–1914* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987).

Tlemcen (Tilimsan)   Important trading center located in ALGERIA, near the present-day border with MOROCCO. This one-time intellectual and artistic center in the MAGHRIB was known for its distinctive Muslim ARCHITECTURE. The city has more buildings built prior to the 15th century than any other city in Algeria.

From the 13th century to the 15th century the city was a religious and cultural center of Islam. It also served as the capital of the kingdom of Tlemcen under the Abd

al-Wadid dynasty, becoming an important commercial center on the trade routes in coastal North Africa. After a period of decline that started in the late 1300s, the city was in Spanish hands for a time following 1510, when Spain ineffectively tried to control the North Africa coast in support of its commercial ventures. In 1559 Tlemcen fell to Ottoman Turks from Algeria. It remained in their hands until 1842, except for a brief period of rule by the sultan of Morocco. It finally was captured and fortified by the French in 1842.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); TLEMCEN (Vol. II).

tobacco   Plant with coarse, large leaves grown in warm climates and traditionally cultivated for nicotine, the addictive substance found in its leaves. While tobacco was used mostly for smoking purposes, it was also sometimes used as a medicinal treatment for various maladies. First found and grown in North America, tobacco was brought to Africa in the late 16th century or early 17th century by Europeans involved in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. While the tobacco plant was initially an imported product, it was quickly adopted in Africa and became a cash crop by the latter half of the 17th century in regions of southern africa and portions of what are now ZIMBABWE and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

One of the major tobacco-producing states in the Central African region was Kuba, in the CONGO region. The Kuba people, known as Bakuba, began growing the crop in the 17th century after trade routes from the Atlantic coastline brought the plant to the interior. In the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom of present-day Zimbabwe, however, tobacco was not a cash crop but instead was used by local groups to pay tribute to the rulers of the CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY.

By the 18th century tobacco had become highly prized in many regions of Africa and was one of the most commonly traded commodities in West Africa. By this time the Dutch also had introduced the tobacco plant to the island of MAURITIUS, located east of MADAGASCAR, in the Indian Ocean, where it became a staple crop.

Tobacco was used as a form of currency during the slave-trade era. For instance, a female African slave could be bought in the Americas for 120 pounds (54 kg) of tobacco.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. III); CASH CROPS (Vol. IV); MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Togo   Present-day West African country measuring approximately 22,000 square miles (57,000 sq km) and bordered by BURKINA FASO and NIGER to the north, the Republic of BENIN to the east, the Gulf of Guinea to the south, and GHANA to the west. Togo's southern ancestors came from Benin and Ghana, while those in northern Togo came from Burkina Faso and Niger. The migration of these groups took place between the 16th century and the 19th century.

During the 15th and 16th centuries Portuguese explorers and traders visited what is now the Togo coast. For the next 200 years Europeans used the coastal region as a raiding area for captives, and Togo and its surrounding area became known as the SLAVE COAST. European influence was greater in the south of the country, nearer the coast. Lomé, the capital city, is situated in the southern part of the country. Today, most of the country's Christians live in the south. German traders and MISSIONARIES began arriving in Togo in the first half of the 19th century. In 1884 German diplomat Gustav Nachtigal signed a treaty with King Mlapa III of Togodo, which led to the creation of German Togoland. Togo then became a German protectorate.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); LOMÉ (Vol. V); PROTECTORATE (Vol. IV); TOGO (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Togwa (Torwa, Toloa)   Dynasty of the SHONA KINGDOMS that flourished between the 15th and 17th centuries in the BUTUA (Guruhuswa) region of present-day southwestern ZIMBABWE. The Togwa dynasty got its name from a ruler of the southern part of the state of MWENE MUTAPA. According to tradition, in the late 15th century Togwa (fl. 1490) and his contemporary, Changa, revolted against Matope, the ruler of the Mwene Mutapa. Changa took the throne, but he was soon vanquished. Togwa fled south and became the leader of a kingdom in Butua that controlled the area from Shangwe to the SABI RIVER, in the north, and as far as the Limpopo River, in the south. The kingdom's later rulers, who bore the title of *mambo,* named their dynasty after Togwa.

In Butua, especially in its capital of KHAMI, the Togwa continued the stone-building techniques of Great Zimbabwe. Terraced hillsides and dry stone walls were a hallmark of the kingdom. This apparently led Shona traditions to link the Togwa with Great Zimbabwe itself, although the city had ceased to be an important political center several centuries before.

The Togwa dynasty remained in effective control of Butua for some time, maintaining power until it was overthrown by the CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY. According to various sources, this took place some time between the end of the 16th and the end of the 17th centuries.

See also: CHANGAMIRE (Vol. II); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); LIMPOPO RIVER (Vol. II); SHONA (Vol. I).

Tondibi, Battle of   Clash that took place in 1591 between soldiers from MOROCCO and SONGHAI. The Battle of Tondibi led to the demise of the Songhai Empire. In the latter half of the 16th century, Sultan ABD AL-MANSUR (r. 1578–1603) of Morocco made several unsuccessful attempts to take control of the lucrative Taghaza salt mines. When he finally took the mines, in 1586, he found them deserted, as Askia al-Hajj Muhammad (r. 1582–1586), the Songhai king, had been warned of al-Mansur's impending attack. The *askia* refused to allow anyone to trade at Taghaza, and he opened the mines of Taodeni. Al-Mansur later sent a threatening letter to the new Songhai king, Askia Ishaq II (r. 1588–1591), who rebuffed the sultan. This enraged al-Mansur, and he immediately set his sights on the Songhai GOLD mines. Knowing that the Songhai Empire was in trouble from its civil war, al-Mansur organized an expedition that he hoped would force a resolution to the issue.

A Spanish commander by the name of JUDAR PASHA (c. 16th–17th centuries) was put in command of the 4,000 troops, 8,000 camels, and 1,000 horses that al-Mansur assigned to the mission. Judar's forces endured countless difficulties during the journey in the desert and lost many men. By the time they got across their numbers were significantly depleted, perhaps down to as few as 2,000 or even 1,000 troops. But the Moroccan army had firearms, and the Songhai did not. When Judar's forces reached Tondibi, they were met by a a Songhai army of vastly superior numbers. (Estimates range from anywhere from 20,000 or 30,000 to up to 100,000 Songhai.) Despite their numeric disadvantage, the Moroccans' weap-onry and military tactics made them a superior fighting force. As a result the Battle of Tondibi led to a decisive defeat of the Songhai.

Askia Ishaq II called a truce and began negotiations with Judar. Seeing little evidence of the vast riches that he had been led to expect, Judar demanded that the *askia* deliver 12,500 ounces of gold to stop the war and another 1,000 in exchange for Judar's evacuation of TIMBUKTU. When he was informed of all this, al-Mansur became so angry that he promptly replaced Judar with another pasha, Mahmud ibn Zergun (r. 1591–1618), also known as Mahmud Zarqun.

Mahmud was more ruthless than Judar had been. He hunted down Askia Ishaq and had him killed. Mahmud then slaughtered the succeeding *askia* and his court. He was unable, however, to deal so easily with the next *askia,* Nuh, who retreated to Dendi and escaped Mahmud's grasp. Mahmud continued his reign of terror, seizing the riches of Songhai's wealthy and driving out from Timbuktu the city's scholars and artists. Mahmud's ruthless attempts to subdue the Songhai ended only when he met his death while pursuing Nuh. It was left to Mahmud's successor, Mansur, to kill Nuh and put to an end the once-great Songhai Empire.

See also: ASKIA DYNASTY (Vol. III); TAGHAZA (Vol. II).

Torodbe   Clan of Muslim scholars and clerics who, starting in the late 17th century, established theocracies in FOUTA TORO and FOUTA DJALLON. The Torodbe, from the central provinces of Fouta Toro, served as counselors and administrators in nominally Muslim and non-Muslim states as far east as today's Republic of the SUDAN.

The Torodbe were heirs to the legacy of Nasir al-Din (fl. 1700s), a Muslim cleric who led the movement to supplant the DENIANKE DYNASTY—who were nominally Muslims—in BONDU in the 17th century. The Torodbe believed in the superiority of Islam and strictly adhered to Islamic law. Because of their strong beliefs, they resented serving non-Muslim overlords and paying taxes to them. Another source of frustration for them was military conscription, a policy that forced them to fight alongside non-Muslims against true believers.

Wishing to overthrow unjust regimes throughout the Fouta Toro region, the Torodbe initiated a revolution in the early 18th century, moving first on Fouta Djallon, in 1725. By 1776 they had conquered Fouta Djallon and had also taken Fouta Toro by pushing out the Denianke ruler. These Torodbe campaigns ultimately led to the establishment of small Islamic theocracies in Fouta Toro and Fouta Djallon. Despite the devoutness proclaimed by the Torodbe leaders, their theocratic states were Muslim more in name than in practice.

During the 18th century the Muslim theocracy in Fouta Toro lived on the most fertile lands and collected rents from the conquered Foutanke people. They implemented an aristocratic constitution by which descendants from the ranking Muslim families elected a weak central authority, the *almami,* into office. In the 19th century the French were able to expand into Torodbe-led territories in West Africa because of aristocratic divisions and the weak, fractious central government of the *almami.*

trade and commerce   See ASIENTO (Vol. III); BISA TRADING NETWORK (Vol. III); CAPE COLONY (Vol. III); CORSAIRS (Vol. III); DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (Vol. III); DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY (Vol. III); DYULA (Vols. II, III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); GOLD (Vol. III); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); MALAGUETTA PEPPER (Vol. III); MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PALM OIL (Vol. III); PIRATES (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. I, II, IV, V); TRADING STATIONS, EUROPEAN (Vol. III).

trading stations, European   Commercial outposts located mostly along the African coastlines that were established by European powers in order to trade with indigenous African groups. In the 15th century the Portuguese were the first Europeans to begin establishing trading stations on West Africa's coast. They established outposts on islands off the coast—the Cape Verde Islands, SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE, and FERNANDO PO. Later, outposts were built on GORÉE ISLAND, Bolama, Îles de Loos, and other islands closer to the coast.

Usually, a local African ruler controlled the land and charged the Europeans rent, collected taxes from them, and offered protection in return for a share of the trading profits. The local rulers also helped establish ties to indigenous commercial networks located inland.

The Portuguese traders were soon joined by the Dutch, English, French, and Spanish. One of the most famous Portuguese trading stations was the fortress-castle of ELMINA, meaning "the mine," which was located along the coast of the GOLD-producing regions of present-day GHANA. Established in 1482, Elmina was probably the most important gold-trading station in the tropical areas of West Africa until 1637, when the Dutch gained control of it and used the castle to house captives awaiting transport overseas.

By the 16th century Europeans had built numerous trading stations near river mouths and at the ends of profitable caravan routes from the interior. Trade items that passed through the stations in West Africa included ivory, CLOTH AND TEXTILES, beeswax, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), EBONY, weapons, PALM OIL, and human captives. The goods were either bartered at the trade station for other items or held until the next ship laden with goods and captives left for Europe.

On the Atlantic coast of Central Africa, in what is now GABON, outposts were built by the Dutch, French, and English at the mouth of the Ogooué River by the late 16th century. Until well into the 19th century, groups including the Vili and ORUNGU used waterways as well as land routes to transport captives and other goods down the river to the European trading stations.

East Africa, too, had its share of European trading stations and fairs. Early in the 16th century Portuguese seamen established outposts on MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND and in SOFALA on the southern coast. By 1599 they also built FORT JESUS in MOMBASA on the coast of present-day KENYA. By the middle of the 17th century the French had established Fort Dauphin, a small trading outpost on the Indian Ocean island of MADAGASCAR, and had begun trading in the nearby MASCARENE ISLANDS.

Trading Posts and Slave Depots

EUROPE

Paris

FRANCE
Marseilles
Genoa
Toulon
ITALY
Rome
Barcelona
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
SPAIN
Seville
Granada
Naples
Istanbul
(Constantinople)
Anatola
Ceuta
Tunis
Mediterranean Sea
Tripoli
Alexandria
Cairo
Baghdad
Basra
Bandar
Abas
Shiraz
Hormuz

Atlantic
Ocean

Canary Is. (SPAIN)

Berber

Nile

Moor

Jedda
Mecca
Arabian
Peninsula
OMAN

Arguin

Fulani
Wolof
Serer

Suakin
Red Sea

Gorée
Susu

Mandingo
Baule

Hausa
Fulani

Khartoum
Blue Nile
Massawa
White Nile
Hadeida
Mocha
Aden
Zeila
Berbera
Horn of
Africa

Vai

Ashanti

Fon

Yoruba
Eur
Igbo
Efik
Niger R.
Calabar

Akwamu
Fante
Elmina
Lagos
Bonny
Seke

Mogadishu

Congo R.

SÃO TOMÉ AND
PRÍNCIPE
GABON

Cabinda

Indian
Ocean

Mombasa
Zanzibar
Kilwa
Ibo
COMOROS

Luanda

Atlantic Ocean

Quelimane

MADAGASCAR

MAURITIUS
Réunion
(FRANCE)

N

OMAN   Empire, kingdom, or state

Akwamu People

→ Trade route

   Areas of origin

Cape Town
Cape of Good Hope

0   800 Miles

0   800 Kms

Factories The settlers, merchants, and soldiers who lived at the African trading outposts were hardy, sometimes lawless individuals—invariably men—who were able to survive far from the familiarity of their native Europe. The compounds they built were also called *factories*, with the heads of the stations called *factors*. Factors acted as agents for the governments or the major European commercial firms that sent them to Africa. The factors employed a variety of sub-agents, some of whom were indigenous Africans.

Factories were typically made up of a trading station, simple residences, warehouses for goods, repair facilities

for ships, and a barracoon, or corral, for holding captive African men, women, and children. The buildings often resembled military forts with gates and heavily fortified walls intended to protect the occupants from the hostile actions of any local populations that might object to the foreign intruders.

Some European traders—Portuguese *prazeros,* for instance—moved from the coastal outposts and settled on land in the African interior. Once establishing themselves on their PRAZOS, or royal land grants, they often married African women and started families. Though the living conditions at African trading stations were generally difficult and many Europeans died from tropical fevers, the trade was usually profitable enough to attract more traders. By the end of the 17th century the French, English, and Dutch had set up stations along the eastern coastline of Africa where regular trade fairs were conducted and ivory, gold, and captives were sent for export.

Whereas these trading stations were immensely profitable for the European powers that controlled them, their establishment also increased the wealth and importance of many smaller African states located on or near the coastal regions. Some groups capitalized on their ability to trade directly with the Europeans, while other groups, such as the FANTE of present-day Ghana, became powerful middlemen who brought the wares produced by the groups of the African interior to the trading stations.

See also: CAPE COLONY (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. II); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVERY (Vol. III); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. III).

Tripoli (Tarablus al-Gharb)   Capital of LIBYA, located along the Mediterranean coast. During the early 16th century the Christian-Muslim conflict that had characterized the Mediterranean area for centuries found its way to Tripoli. Christian Spain captured the port city in 1510, but its rule lasted a mere 40 years. In 1551 the Ottoman Empire gained indirect control of Tripoli; its reign would span nearly three and a half centuries.

Tripoli thrived due to Mediterranean trade. However, its wealth was derived from a unique source, since most of its assets were accumulated through the CORSAIRS. Much of this wealth came from the booty they amassed from their attacks on Christian merchant ships. The corsairs also managed to do a thriving business in "protection," demanding payments for ensuring the safe passage of European vessels through corsair-infested waters.

The United States attacked Tripoli from 1801 to 1805 in an attempt to end assaults on American vessels that refused to pay the corsairs for protection. The cor-

sairs' profits soon declined, and the Ottoman Empire initiated a more direct control of the city.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Tsonga (Thonga)   Bantu-speaking people who inhabit present-day MOZAMBIQUE and northern SOUTH AFRICA. Prior to the 16th century the Tsonga migrated from the north, settling throughout the region between the SABI RIVER and St. Lucia Bay. They settled in independent clans, and for centuries they apparently considered themselves to be separate peoples rather than a single ethnic group. As a result the Tsonga were not unified for several centuries.

The Tsonga traditionally have been agriculturalists, growing cassava, corn, millet, and sorghum. They also have engaged in fishing and a limited amount of trade. By the late 18th century many Tsonga men worked as migrant laborers in ZIMBABWE and South Africa.

Tswana   Agro-pastoral people of present-day BOTSWANA, SOUTH AFRICA, and NAMIBIA. Ancestors of the Tswana migrated into the Tswapong Hill, near present-day Botswana, as early as the first century and settled in present-day Transvaal in the 11th or 12th century. By the early 1600s the Tswana had settled in Botswana and Bophuthatswana, where they established powerful chiefdoms. These settlements were disrupted during the MFECANE of the early 19th century, when Ndebele peoples, fleeing the ZULU conquest, attacked the Tswana and forced them into the Kalahari Desert and areas along the Limpopo River. The greatly weakened Tswana fell to the BOERS, in 1837.

See also: TSWANA (Vols. I, IV).

Tuaregs   Saharan group long associated with the AÏR MASSIF of present-day NIGER and the city of TIMBUKTU of present-day Republic of MALI. Tuaregs claim BERBERS as their ancestors and have enjoyed autonomy throughout their history by being successful traders. In the early 16th century the Tuareg capital of AGADES, situated at the south end of the Aïr Massif, was captured by the SONGHAI Empire. Still the Tuaregs were able to remain strong in the area by retaining control of the trade in salt and GOLD and the caravan routes that linked the Sahara with LIBYA and EGYPT.

By the early 17th century the nomadic Tuaregs migrated toward the Middle NIGER RIVER, becoming a prominent force in the trading activities of that region as well. Their ability to hold sway over the area's trade and pasture lands helped them to finally displace the Songhai Empire. In 1680 they conquered the Songhai city of Gao, located on the northern banks of the Niger, and used it as their base for the 1737 recapture of the original Tuareg settlement of Timbuktu.

For the Tuaregs who had remained in the Aïr Massif region, however, the 17th century brought conflict from the kingdom of KANEM-BORNU and its most powerful ruler, Mai IDRIS ALAWMA (r. c. 1580–1617). Conflicts with Kanem-Bornu continued for almost two centuries, with the Tuaregs slowly contributing to the decline of the powerful kingdom. Their greatest victory over Kanem-Bornu came around 1800, when the Tuaregs conquered and demolished the kingdom's important tributary state of Gaskeru.

The Tuaregs are known for a form of writing known as *tifinagh,* which is historically connected to ancient Libya and remains specific to their group of peoples.

See also: TUAREGS (Vols. I, II, IV).

Further reading: Johannes Nicolaisen and Ida Nicolaisen, *The Pastoral Tuareg: Ecology, Culture and Society* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997).

Tukulor (Toucouleur, Tukolor) Muslim peoples located mostly in the river valley of present-day SENEGAL, as well as parts of present-day Republic of MALI and MAURITANIA. The Tukulor are a FULANI subgroup closely related to the Wolof and Serer peoples and speak a Fulani language known as Fulfulde. The name *Tukulor* derives from their traditional 10th-century Islamic kingdom of Tekrur. This first Tukulor kingdom was superseded, in the mid-16th century, by a group comprised of both Fulani and non-Muslim Mandinka peoples who banded together and formed the DENIANKE DYNASTY in the former Tekrur region—now called FOUTA TORO—of Senegal. The Tukulor again became prominent in the latter half of the 18th century when Islam gained adherents in West Africa.

In 1776 the Tukulor conquered the reigning Denianke king and declared Suleyman Bal (fl. 1770), the sultan of their newly founded theocratic state in Fouta Toro. Later, in 1852, a Tukulor scholar named al-Hajj Umar Tal (1794–1864) rose to power and launched a widespread jihad that conquered kingdoms such as the BAMBARA states and MACINA and created the vast Tukulor empire.

See also: FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); SERER (Vol. II); TUKULOR (Vol. II); TUKULOR EMPIRE (Vol. IV); WOLOF (Vols. II, IV).

Tumbuka Ethnic group living in ZAMBIA and MALAWI. Today the Tumbuka number approximately 150,000 and speak a Bantu language. The Tumbuka were traditional farmers, growing grains and raising livestock. In the 19th century they were largely conquered by the more militaristic NGONI, who came from the south.

Tunisia Country in North Africa measuring approximately 60,000 square miles (155,400 sq km) and bordered by the Mediterranean Sea to the north and east, LIBYA to the southeast, and ALGERIA to the west. Berber Hafsids succeeded the Almohads and ruled Tunisia from 1230 to 1574. During this period Tunisia prospered.

After consolidating his control of the central MAGHRIB, in 1534 the Turkish corsair Khayr ad-Din Barbarossa (d. 1546) successfully seized the coastal town of Tunis. The ruling Hafsids were forced to seek refuge in Spain. With the help of Emperor CHARLES V (1500–1558), the Hafsid sultan, Hassan, was restored to the throne when the Spanish recaptured Tunis, in 1535.

The Muslim Hafsids served as a crucial ally of Spain as it struggled with the Ottoman Empire for control of the Mediterranean Sea. Tunisia was often center stage in this conflict between the two powers. In 1569 the Turks regained control of Tunis for a brief time until the city fell, in 1573, to the military leader and illegitimate son of Charles V, Don Juan of Austria (1547–1578). However, in 1574, the Turks returned with a massive army and naval fleet. They ousted the Hafsids and Spanish from the city, and Tunisia became an Ottoman province.

Authority in Tunisia was placed in the hands of a pasha, or governor, who was appointed for a one-year term by the Ottoman sultan. Janissaries, Christian soldiers originally of Balkan peasant stock who were conscripted into a lifetime of military service, assisted the pasha. The Janissaries served as an elite self-governing military body that, in 1591, wrested control of the government away from the pasha. The Janissaries' own elected leader—or *dey*—became the head of government, and the pasha's role was reduced to that of a ceremonial figurehead.

Since the Barbary CORSAIRS generated the country's income through piracy, the Janissaries' role was simply to maintain order and collect taxes. The job of regulating the tribes living in the interior fell on a civilian official, or bey, who had the support of a private army made up of local Tunisian recruits. One of these officials, Corsican renegade Murad Bey (d. 1631), became so powerful in the Tunisian interior that he was also able to secure for himself and his heirs the role of pasha. Thus began a political struggle between the Janissaries and the bey-pashas that lasted throughout the 17th century.

During the mid-1660s the bey-pasha gradually overtook the *dey* and his Janissaries as the major power within the government. The bey-pasha had established an identity characterized by order and stability. While indirect Ottoman rule was restored to Tunisia, the country became, in effect, an independent state ruled by the heredity bey-pashas.

Amid the struggles between the Janissaries and the bey-pasha, during the 17th and 18th centuries Tunisia was also threatened by outside interference from ALGIERS, which sought to dominate the various Ottoman subgovernments of North Africa. Eventually, in 1702, an officer of the Janissaries, Ibrahim al Sharif (r. 1702–1705), murdered the bey-pasha and took control of the government. However, in 1705 Janissaries from Algiers removed Ibrahim from office and seized control of Tunis. The Algerian commander planned to reinstall Ibrahim in office as his puppet, but a Tunisian Janissary, Hussein ben Ali (d. 1715), was able to secure the Ottoman sultan's appointment as pasha. With Hussein ben Ali's death, the Ottoman government tried to install a pasha of its own choosing. However, the military and religious supporters of the Husseinid dynasty thwarted their plan. The HUSSEINID DYNASTY remained in power throughout the 18th century.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV); TUNISIA (Vol. I, II, IV, V).

Tunjur

Tunjur Ethnic group that, during the early 16th century, established the WADAI kingdom, in what is now CHAD. The origin of the Tunjur is obscure. According to some sources, they are of mixed Arab and Nubian origin; other sources believe that the Tunjur originated in Nubia and were influenced by Arab nomads, whose language they adopted. Still other sources believe that the Tunjur originated in TUNISIA. The Tunjur apparently began migrating into the DARFUR area during the 14th century, gradually gaining economic and political power.

In the 16th century the Tunjur were ousted from Darfur and eventually migrated to the Wadai region, an inhospitable area east of Lake CHAD near the border of present-day Republic of the SUDAN. There the Tunjur established their own kingdom, which lasted until the early 17th century.

At that time the Muslim Maba people, headed by Abd-el-Kerim (fl. 1610–1640), mounted a revolt against the Tunjur. This led to the installation of an Islamic leadership at Wadai, and the non-Muslim Tunjur migrated once again, this time farther west. The Tunjur finally arrived in the area of Kanem, where they defeated the BULALA kingdom and assumed a dominant role among the peoples of the region. The Tunjur allied themselves with Wadai in an attempt to maintain their independence, but it was not long before an invasion from Bornu subdued the Tunjur and brought Kanem back under the control of Bornu.

See also: BORNU (Vol. II); KANEM (Vol. II); KANEM-BORNU (Vol. II); SLAVERY, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD (Vol. III).

Tutsi

Tutsi (Batusi, Batutsi, Tussi, Watusi, Watutsi, Hima) Nilotic pastoralists of East Africa in what are now BURUNDI and RWANDA; called Hima in other kingdoms in the region. Prior to 1500 the Tutsi began migrating south to the hills of the GREAT LAKES REGION. Most of these Tutsi were members of the cattle-owning Hima caste, although a small minority belonged to the agricultural Iru class. Over the next few centuries the Tutsi slowly established dominion over the HUTU and Twa agriculturalists who were living in the area.

During the early stages of their settlement, the Tutsi probably incorporated Hutu chiefs into their ethnic group. For some time Hutu who owned cattle or otherwise attained a high position in society continued to be absorbed into the Tutsi class. The Tutsi also adopted many aspects of Hutu culture, including the Bantu language and the institution of divine kingship.

In Rwanda the Tutsi served as patrons (*shebuja*) to Hutu clients (*guragu*), who tended their cattle in return for Tutsi patronage and protection. Gradually, the Tutsi almost exclusively came to occupy the positions of kings, chiefs, military officers, and court officials.

The late 18th century saw the Tutsi in firm control of the territory that would become Rwanda, transforming it into the largest and most powerful precolonial state in the southern Great Lakes region. The government was run by a king, or MWAMI, to whom regional rulers swore allegiance. The Tutsi government reached the pinnacle of its power under two kings, Mutara I (r. early 19th century) and Kigeri IV (r. 1853–1895), the latter of whom established a well-armed standing army for his country.

In Burundi the Tutsi also occupied a privileged economic status because they owned cattle, although they did not enjoy the overwhelming political power they possessed in Rwanda. In Burundi the Tutsi were subservient to the *ganwa,* or royal princes, who comprised the kingdom's ruling class.

See also: HIMA (Vol. II); IRU (Vol. II); TUTSI (Vol. II, IV, V).

U

Uganda Country in East Africa measuring approximately 91,100 square miles (236,000 sq km) bordered by the Republic of the SUDAN to the north, KENYA to the east, TANZANIA and RWANDA to the south, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the west. Kampala is its largest city and capital. In precolonial East Africa, Uganda was occupied by the kingdoms of BUNYORO, BUGANDA, Toro, and NKOLE, among others.

In the 14th and 15th centuries the pastoralist Chwezi rulers conquered the Bantu-speaking farmers in the Kitara Complex of kingdoms. This Chwezi-controlled region represented Uganda's first unified state and had multiple capitals at Bigo, Mubende, Munsa, Kibengo, and Bugoma, in the western part of the country. Chwezi rule, which was responsible for developing the region's monarchical system of government, lasted in places into the early 16th century. However, in the early 15th century, in the northern part of Uganda, the Chwezi rulers were replaced by rulers of the BITO clan, Nilotic LUO-speaking pastoralists who invaded from the Sudan. They founded the kingdom of Bunyoro, in the north. According to some traditions, the Chwezi rulers moved south and gave rise to the HINDA states, which were controlled by TUTSI monarchs.

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the Bito clan founded several subsidiary states whose vulnerability to invasion ensured their allegiance to the Bito. These states included Bukoli, Bugabula, Bugwere, Bulamogi, Kiziba, and Toro. The Bito also allied themselves with the states of Nkole, Buganda, BUSOGA, Karagwe, and Rwanda. The Bito empire grew so large that it could barely sustain itself, with internal revolts substantially weakening the regime.

At the same time that Bunyoro-Kitara was declining, Buganda, the neighboring kingdom of the GANDA people,

was gradually expanding. By the 17th century its territory included a number of outlying kingdoms including Butambala, Gomba, Mawokota, and Singo. The people of Buganda, also called the Baganda, were a mix of Luo- and Bantu-speaking clans, many of whom migrated from Bunyoro-Kitara. Buganda's success was a result not only of its territorial conquests but also of its increased wealth through trade. This, in turn, produced loyal subjects and a strong military. By the 19th century Buganda surpassed Bunyoro-Kitara as the largest and most powerful kingdom in East Africa.

The Nkole kingdom, founded by Ruhinda (fl. late 15th century), was made up of Hima pastoralists, who became the ruling class, and Iru agriculturalists, who became their subjects. The dichotomy between these groups caused much internal strife and revolt. Nkole's problems worsened in the 17th century as Bunyoro-Kitara began to usurp portions of their territory. In the 18th century Bunyoro-Kitara removed Nkole's ruler, Ntare IV (1700–1725), the ninth *mugabe,* or king, from his throne. However, he soon reclaimed it and devoted his energy to strengthening his military. The Nkole kingdom continued to expand until the 19th century.

See also: BIGO (Vol. II); CHWEZI DYNASTY (Vol. II); KITARA COMPLEX (Vol. II); NKOLE (Vols. II, III); UGANDA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); TORO (Vol. II).

Further reading: Thomas P. Ofcansky, *Uganda: Tarnished Pearl of Africa* (New York: Westview Books, 1996).

Ughoton (Gwato) West African town located about 19 miles (30 km) from present-day BENIN CITY. In 1487

the Portuguese visited Ughoton and soon after set up a trading post in an attempt to reap the commercial benefits of the trades in both pepper and human captives from Ughoton's proximity to Benin City, the chief city of the kingdom of BENIN. To strengthen commercial ties, Esigie (1504–1550), the *oba* (ruler) under whom Benin attained its greatest splendor, sent a traditional priest of Olorun named Ohen-Okun from Ughoton to Portugal to ask the Portuguese king to send Christian priests to Benin.

Early in the 16th century the Portuguese abandoned Ughoton because trade was not proving to be as profitable as they had anticipated. English and Dutch merchants followed the Portuguese into the region, but by the 17th century the center of trade in Benin had been relocated from Ughoton to Arbo (Arogbo), in the neighboring Warri kingdom in the Niger Delta, where it was away from the control of the *oba.*

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. I, III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); WARRI (Vol. II).

Usman dan Fodio (Usuman or Uthman dan Fodio) (1754–1817) *Muslim mystic, cleric, and leader of the Fulani Jihads*

Fodio was born Usman ibn Muhammad Fudi ibn Usman ibn Salih, in the Hausa state of GOBIR, in present-day NIGERIA. He was educated in both Arabic and Fulfulde, the language of his native FULANI people. His parents were Islamic scholars, and his father was a religious leader, or imam, who taught Usman how to read as well as recite the Quran. The second major influence in his life was Jibril ibn Umar, a teacher from the city of AGADES who admitted Usman to the QADIRIYYA brotherhood and other Sufi orders.

At 20 years of age Usman dan Fodio (*Fodio* meaning either "learned man" or "jurist" in Fulfulde) began preaching a grassroots version of Islam and became successful in reaching the farmers, women, and other more isolated peoples of Gobir. His teachings earned him a great number of followers as well as a reputation as a scholar who spoke out against the elite of Hausaland who, as he said, broke the laws of Islam by adopting such practices as taxation. Many Hausa people identified Usman with the Mahdi, a long-awaited Muslim redeemer. Usman disavowed the identification but encouraged the righteous indignation of his followers against irreligion.

By the late 18th century Usman dan Fodio, who was also known by this time as the Shehu (Chief), had become the political enemy of the sultan of Gobir, the authority of the emirate. In 1802 Sultan Yunfa (r. 1780–1808) gave an order to suppress Fodio's followers. At this point the Fodio went on a hajj, or spiritual pilgrimage to Mecca, and was subsequently appointed by his fellow Muslims to the position of imam. Combined with his massive following of rural Hausa people also dissatisfied by the ruling classes of Hausaland, Usman dan Fodio launched a major jihad, in 1804. Over the next four years Usman's forces conquered the states of Hausaland, leading to the founding of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE.

Fodio ruled over the Sokoto Caliphate and its emirates until 1812, when he was succeeded by his son MUHAMMAD BELLO (c. 1781–1837), in the northern and eastern regions, and by his brother, Abdullahi dan Fodio, in the southern and western regions. Usman dan Fodio's later life was spent teaching and writing poetry and other works on the Islamic life and faith. By the time of his death, in 1817, Usman dan Fodio had 12 wives and possibly one concubine and had fathered 37 children, some of whom held positions of authority in the Sokoto Caliphate or followed in his footsteps as religious teachers and leaders.

See also: FULFULDE (Vol. I); FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV); JIHAD (Vols. II, IV); MAHDI (Vol. II).

Further reading: Mervyn Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usuman dan Fodio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

V

Vai (Vey, Vei, Gallinas) West African people mainly located in SIERRA LEONE and LIBERIA. The nickname *Gallinas,* meaning "chickens," was given to the Vai by the early Portuguese in reference to the indigenous breed which inhabited the region. Related to the Mandinka peoples, the Vai speak a Niger-Congo Mande language and are largely Muslims.

Vai society operates with the help of secret societies. Both the Sande women's society and the Poro men's society serve to help the group through various aspects of daily life, including the EDUCATION of young children and the reinforcing of laws through disciplinary actions. Generally an agrarian and fishing community, the Vai were also active in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, prior to its general abolition in the early 19th century.

The Vai are most notable, however, for their system of writing, which was invented in the early 19th century by Duala Bukere. This writing system, categorized by linguists as a *syllabary,* is now made up of 212 characters, which represent syllables rather than single sounds, as the English alphabet does. It was said to have come to Bukere in a dream. It has developed beyond its earliest pictographic origins. Vai script is used to record laws and traditional tales, to keep accounts, and to translate the Bible.

See also: ALPHABETS AND SCRIPTS (Vol. I); MANDE (Vols. I, II); LITERACY (Vol. IV); SECRET SOCIETIES (Vol. I).

Vassa, Gustavus See EQUIANO, OLAUDAH.

Venda (Bavenda) Bantu-speaking people of SOUTH AFRICA. The Venda have occupied the mountainous region south of the Limpopo River since the 13th century. In the early 18th century the Venda people, also known as the *Bavenda,* established fortified chiefdoms throughout their territory, allowing them to defend themselves against invaders from the south. Able to fend off even the powerful ZULU warriors, the Venda were one of the last groups in the region to fall under European control. It was not until the late 1800s that the Venda lost their independence and became a part of the Transvaal.

See also: LIMPOPO RIVER (Vols. I, II); TRANSVAAL (Vol. IV); VENDA (Vol. II).

Vili See LOANGO.

Volta basin Located in present-day central GHANA, between the Gambaga Scarp and the Konkori Scarp and between the Kwahu Plateau and TOGO. Today the Volta basin is sparsely populated with farmers, but at one time was a place of great activity and prosperity.

About the 15th century small bands of horse-mounted immigrants from the east peacefully conquered the Gur-speaking inhabitants of the Volta basin. The two groups assimilated, and by the 16th century they had established several independent kingdoms, including Dagbon (the kingdom of the DAGOMBA) and MAMPRUSI, and the MOSSI STATES of OUAGADOUGOU and YATENGA. Many of these kingdoms and states thrived economically from AGRICULTURE and from trading GOLD, kola nuts, and captives as well as livestock, grains, and other FOOD crops.

Despite suffering a severe blow at the hands of the SONGHAI Empire, Yatenga grew to become a powerful king-

dom by the latter half of the 17th century. The Yatenga nobility (*nakomse*) acquired a great amount of power at the beginning of the 18th century, surpassing that of the *naba* (Mossi chief). This caused dissension within the kingdom and led to various conflicts over the throne.

Throughout the 17th century, Dagbon was under increasing threat by Gbanya warriors of the GONJA state to the south. After almost a century of battling Gonja, the Dagomba were pushed out of their capital in 1700. In 1713 the Dagomba fought back and defeated Gonja and founded a new capital at Yendi. In the mid-18th century Dagbon and Gonja were subjugated by the growing ASHANTI EMPIRE. About the same time, Wattara mercenaries of Mande origin came to the Volta basin from the west. They were called *Chakossi* by the Dagomba and Mamprusi, and they assisted the Mamprusi in their conflicts with the Gurma of FADA-N-GURMA. The Volta basin region was colonized by the French in the 19th century.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); VOLTA LAKE (Vol. V); VOLTA RIVER (Vols. I, II).

W

Wadai Kingdom that was located in present-day eastern CHAD. Wadai reached its height as an independent power during the mid- to late 19th century. Founded in the 16th century, Wadai was initially ruled by the Daju dynasty, which had been forced out of DARFUR by the TUNJUR people. Later the Tunjur were themselves ousted from Darfur by the KAYRA DYNASTY. The Tunjur then migrated to Wadai, where they founded a kingdom that lasted until the early 17th century. It was then that the Muslim Maba people revolted against the non-Muslim Tunjur. About 1630 the Maba, led by Abd-el-Kerim (fl. 1610–1640), established a Muslim dynasty that remained in power for several centuries.

Wadai was situated at the crossroads of two major trade routes. One ran from the Upper Nile, in the east, to the western limits of KANEM-BORNU, near Lake Chad. The second route ran northward from Wadai to Banghazi, on the Mediterranean coast of present-day LIBYA. As a result Wadai quickly became a prosperous kingdom. By the 1790s Wadai was expanding into the Bornu kingdom, to the west. During this period Wadai was characterized by remarkable political stability, leading trade to increase even further, with caravans using the safer routes that ran through the Wadai region.

See also: TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Walata (Oualata) Town in present-day southeastern MAURITANIA that, between the 13th and 15th centuries, was a major commercial center on a trans-Saharan trade route. By the 14th century, however, as the trans-Saharan routes began to change, Walata started to lose its importance and, like TIMBUKTU, it was conquered by the TU-

AREGS. When the great SONGHAI ruler Sunni Ali (r. c. 1464–1492) conquered Timbuktu, in 1468, the Tuareg chief and many of the city's Sanhaja scholars took refuge in Walata. Although Sunni Ali never formally occupied the city, he took control of it in 1480. This prevented the Mossi from annexing the nearly ruined city. Among Sunni Ali's projects for the city was a plan to build a canal from Lake Faguibine to Walata, but he never completed the project. Walata eventually was subjugated by the Songhai in the 16th century.

See also: SANHAJA BERBERS (Vol. II); SUNNI ALI (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); WALATA (Vol. II).

Walvis Bay Town on the Atlantic Ocean coast of west-central NAMIBIA. In the 1480s Portuguese explorers became the first Europeans to enter Walvis Bay. They originally called it Conception Bay, but after the 16th century it became known as Whale Bay, because of the constant presence of the large aquatic mammals in the area. In the 17th century Dutch expolrers sailed up from SOUTH AFRICA to explore the area and reported skirmishes with the local NAMA people. In addition to the Nama, the inhospitable Namib Desert made it impossible for European sailors to access the interior from Walvis Bay.

See also: WALVIS BAY (Vols. IV, V).

warfare and weapons Between the 15th and 19th centuries the ability to wage war in Africa was abetted by important changes in firepower and tactics. While spears and arrows were the primary weapons in earlier centuries, firearms reached Africa as early as 1432,

when the MAMLUKS introduced the smoothbore harquebus, an early form of musket, into EGYPT. Such weapons changed the balance of power in every clash in which they were used.

Although battles rarely lasted more than a day and often less, the empires of the savanna, Mali and SONGHAI in particular, had for centuries fielded large armies of infantry and cavalry to achieve their commercial and territorial aims. By the start of the 19th century large and powerful indigenous armies were found elsewhere in Africa, as well. The ZULU of eastern southern Africa organized their young men into highly disciplined and structured regiments. Their confidence and physical preparedness made them a formidable fighting force against both indigenous armies and European colonial forces, who began arriving later in the 19th century.

A tradition of women warriors dates back in Africa to ancient times in EGYPT and Nubia. In more recent times, the notable Queen NZINGA (c. 1581–1663) was a fierce warrior who, through warfare and political intrigue, managed to fend off the hostile advances of the Portuguese for many years. She was assisted in this by a band of female warriors who became noted for their courage and tenacity on the battlefield.

The Introduction of Firearms   Gunpowder is first mentioned in a Chinese manuscript dating from 1044. The Arabs received the formula for gunpowder by way of India and Persia. By 1304 the Arabs had made a gun that had an iron-reinforced bamboo barrel; in 1324 the Marinid rulers of MOROCCO used cannons at the siege of Huesca in Spain—the first recorded use of gunpowder in Europe.

Early firearms were heavy, slow to load and fire, relatively inaccurate beyond short distances, and capable of only a low sustained rate of fire. The sword and other edged weapons remained important in close-quarters fighting for many years. Firearms, however, gave the side that employed them a significant advantage in a battle when soldiers faced conventionally armed foes. Even so, their use was not always accepted without resistance. When the Mamluks introduced the harquebus into Egypt in 1432 and trained Sudanese infantry to fire them, the

Zulu soldiers running to the attack. The short thrusting spears, called *assagais*, that the soldiers carried were deadly at close quarters. *© Corbis*

weapon was not popular with the cavalry because it scared the horses and burned soldiers' hands and clothes.

Sometimes generically called muskets, early fire-arms were also known by specific names that indicated the means whereby the gunner ignited the gunpowder and discharged the weapon. This mechanism is called the lock, and there are various kinds. The most familiar is the flintlock, because it was used on the muskets carried by soldiers during the American Revolution. The lock of a flintlock strikes a piece of flint against steel to produce a spark that in subsequent steps sets off the explosion inside the gun barrel that propels a shot out of the barrel. Earlier forms of locks were matchlocks, which used a smoldering wick, or match, to ignite the powder, and wheel locks, which used a wheel much like the one in a modern disposable lighter to produce the spark. The harquebus is named for the metal hooks mounted below the barrel to absorb recoil; this weapon was so heavy it had to be fired from a support. All of these firearms were muzzle-loaded smoothbores, which means they lacked the grooves cut into the barrel of the modern rifle; without such rifling, these weapons were notoriously inaccurate. Muskets shot a round lead ball that could be as large as .75 inch (19 mm) in diameter.

Ship-mounted weapons also came into use in Africa at roughly this time. The squat two- and three-masted 35- to 90-ton (27- to 82-metric ton) caravels of the early Portuguese explorers mounted mostly small swivel cannons. When Antão Gonçalves (fl. 1440s) landed in SENEGAMBIA in 1444 to abduct Africans, his slow-firing guns had difficulty hitting the fast-moving canoes full of archers sent to chase him off. Larger guns called for larger ships. By the time Vasco da Gama (1460–1524) sailed around the Horn of Africa to reach the port of Calicut in India in 1502, his larger, full-rigged ships had broadside guns. On his way to India, in 1505, Portuguese admiral Francisco de Almeida (c. 1450–1510) led a fleet of 21 ships that explored the SWAHILI COAST of Africa. He captured KILWA in present-day TANZANIA, where he built a fort, and then sailed up the coast to bombard and destroy MOMBASA. In 1509 Almeida's cannons dominated the Muslim galleys at the battle of Diu off the southern coast of India in the Indian Ocean and won dominance over the spice trade for Portugal.

The Effect of Firearms The side that had firearms had a decisive advantage over the side that was armed only with traditional weapons. The kingdom of BENIN, in West Africa, and the KONGO KINGDOM, on the western coast of Central Africa, both had armed forces that were typical of the indigenous armies at the end of the 15th century. Portuguese merchants landing in BENIN CITY in 1485 later reported that the soldiers of the Edo people were armed with iron swords, wooden shields, and iron-tipped spears. In addition their archers used poisoned arrows. Members of the Leopard Hunters Guild, a military secret society, wore helmets and armor made from the skin of the scaly anteater, one of the few animals capable of resisting a leopard. This armor was thought to have magical properties.

In 1491 the Kongo kingdom boasted an army of 20,000 soldiers organized as infantry, musicians, and priests. They were armed with wooden clubs, buffalo-hide shields, bows with iron-tipped arrows, and metal-tipped spears. They wore uniforms of palm leaves, animal skins, and feathered headdresses; bells, rattles, and amulets offered wearers magical protection. Most battles were preceded by three days of dancing and chanting, in which soldiers focused their growing fury. Clashes were brief and relatively bloodless. Most battles lasted less than a day, with the loser retreating in disarray, the victor in full pursuit, taking captives. Casualties were few.

The soldiers of Benin and Kongo were probably armed and trained much like the soldiers of the SONGHAI Empire in what is today the Republic of MALI. Muslim Songhai traditionally dominated the trans-Saharan trade routes and the supply of GOLD that was sent north to Morocco and other states in North Africa. At the end of the 16th century, however, Songhai was torn by rivalries within its royal family. These encouraged the Sadian sultan of Morocco, Ahmad al-Mansur (1549–1603), to intervene. In order to improve its trading position with the Europeans, Morocco needed the trade routes and the gold that Songhai controlled.

After first trying to seize the salt mines at Taghaza, which were an important part of the gold-salt trade, al-Mansur decided, in 1591, to seize the important trading city of Gao. He dispatched an army under the command of JUDAR PASHA (c. 16th–17th centuries), a Spanish Muslim eunuch, to capture the city. Judar Pasha's army was made up of 4,000 Moroccan, Andalusian, and Turkish soldiers; they were armed with 2,500 muskets and transported and supplied by 10,000 camels. Later that year, the Moroccan forces met and decisively defeated a much larger army of about 20,000 Songhai infantry and cavalry at the battle of TONDIBI, near Gao. The firearms carried by Judar Pasha's army panicked the horses of the Songhai cavalry, which had never before encountered these weapons. This battle represents the first major use of firearms in West Africa savanna. Its major cities of Gao, TIMBUKTU, and Jenne-Jeno soon overrun, Songhai became a province of the sultanate of Morocco.

Firearms were even quicker to appear in the Horn of Africa, perhaps because of its proximity to the Ottoman Empire. By 1515 Swahili Coast traders were selling Turkish-made matchlocks in the interior of East Africa, but these firearms had little effect. Not many were sold, and gunpowder was scarce. Turkish-made weapons made an appearance again in 1541, when the Ottoman Turks sent 900 Arab, Turkish, and Albanian musketeers, plus some cannon, into Muslim SOMALIA to support the jihad led by the sultan AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543) of ADAL against the Christians of ETHIOPIA. In response the Portuguese supplied a force of 400 matchlock-armed soldiers to help the Ethiopian emperor, LEBNA DENGEL (r. 1508–1530), regain control of the highlands, which had fallen into Muslim hands. Ethiopian craftsmen soon learned how to make copies of these Portuguese weapons, and within a century more than 100,000 of these matchlocks were manufactured in northeastern Ethiopia alone. Clumsy and slow to handle, they were easy to make and repair. Artillery was slower to be copied. The Ethiopians did not manufacture their own cannon until after 1850.

Improvements in Firearms In the middle of the 16th century Dutch gunsmiths developed a simpler version of the expensive matchlock musket. It was called a *snaphaunce* (from a Low Dutch word meaning "pecking hen") for the way its hammer moved. Unlike the later flintlock, which had a closed flash pan, the hammer of the *snaphaunce* struck a piece of flint against a stationary piece of steel and dropped a spark into an open flash pan below, where a small charge of gunpowder lay exposed as a primer for the main charge inside the gun barrel.

In 1605 the Danes introduced *snaphaunce* muskets into West Africa and exchanged them for trade goods and captives. These muskets found their way into the hands of inland peoples and added a new element to West African warfare.

During the 17th century North Africa was developing its own firearm-manufacturing capabilities, using iron brought north along the caravan routes. Arabs and BERBERS in southeastern Morocco used *snaphaunce* muskets crafted by mostly Jewish gunsmiths who lived in the *kasars* (fortified towns) of the Tafilalt and Figuig regions. These muskets were highly ornate and of fine quality.

The flintlock, the next step in the evolution of the musket, had a covered flash pan that was exposed only when the flint struck a hinged steel plate called the *frizzen* and a spark dropped down. Various models of the flintlock musket, including British "Brown Bess" musket of 1682, became the standard infantry firearm in Europe and North America.

Flintlocks became obsolete in the mid-1800s, when the percussion cap replaced the flintlock mechanism. The percussion cap contains a chemical that explodes when struck, sending a jet of flame through a hole in the back of the gun barrel to ignite the gunpowder inside.

Large numbers of European muskets were sold in Morocco during the 18th and 19th centuries. Many were surplus military weapons, available after European armies adopted percussion cap rifles. Flintlocks were popular among the Arabs in Africa, but percussion cap muskets never were. The percussion caps were hard to buy and could not be manufactured locally.

Changes in Patterns of Warfare Firearms gradually became a standard military weapon among African peoples, although traditional edged weapons and war clubs also remained in use. (This pattern is similar to military practices outside Africa, where the sword, bayonet, and lance remained in common use even into the 20th century.) By 1700 the ASHANTI EMPIRE, centered in the forests of southern GHANA, was arming its conscript soldiers with muskets.

Ashanti nobility carried richly decorated ceremonial swords (*afena*) as badges of rank. Common soldiers often fought using iron-tipped spears and poisoned arrows. Although formally Muslim, the Ashanti believed in protective magic and on their bodies wore charms to bewitch or confuse their enemies and amulets to defend them against injury and sickness. Many of these, including ones from traditional priests, contained verses from the Quran. They also believed in the magical power of ritual objects, sometimes called *fetishes,* which are contact points with the spirit world and to which devotees offer blood sacrifice.

Among the pastoralist MAASAI people, as with other peoples of East Africa, firearms were uncommon in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Maasai, who were reknowned for their fighting skills, continued to use their traditional weapons: the long spear; the *rungu,* a club which is both a striking and a throwing weapon and is lethal to 50 feet (15 m); and the knife, about 18 inches (46 cm) long and sharpened on both edges.

Their military training was handled in traditional ways. Maasai society is organized into age sets whose members pass together through the stages of junior warrior, senior warrior, junior elder, and senior elder, when they are finally entitled to make decisions for the whole people. As junior warriors (called *morans)* they live in isolation in the bush, developing the strength, courage, and endurance that characterize the Maasai warrior. When an age set undergoes the ritual to become elders, their long hair is shaved off and they are told: "Now that you are an elder, drop your weapons and use your head and wisdom instead."

The Bantu-speaking Zulu people of South Africa represent a major improvement in tactics and organization. The Zulu were originally one of a number of NGUNI clans. They were formed into a nation by SHAKA (c. 1787–1828), who gave the clan name to the new empire he founded. The changes in weaponry, organization, and tactics that Shaka instituted had a profound effect on the peace of southern Africa for the better part of the 18th

century. Shaka's achievements have won him the title of "Black Napoleon," after his contemporary, the French general and tactician Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821).

Shaka changed the standard armament of his troops. He replaced the long, thin throwing spears that were suitable for conventional battles with the long-bladed, short shafted stabbing spear called an *assagai.* The *assagai* forced Zulu soldiers to fight at close quarters, where their weapon could inflict serious wounds. The *assagai* has been compared with the short Roman thrusting sword, or gladius, that made the Roman legionnaire a fearsome opponent in close combat. Soldiers also often carried a heavy club called a *knobkerrie* (from the AFRIKAANS *knopkierie,* meaning "knob club") and a long shield. Zulu battles were marked by many casualties.

Shaka then instituted a rigid regimental system based on age sets. Members of each regiment, or *impi,* were distinguishable by uniform markings on their shields and by headdresses and ornaments. They lived in separate military kraals, or villages, and were governed by strict rules regarding marriage. Soldiers had to remain celibate until they became elders; violations were punishable by death. Any soldier who showed signs of fear was also killed. Regiments were trained in fighting skills and in endurance, so that soldiers could run for 50 miles a day to reach the site of battle and begin combat without need to rest. On maneuvers they lived off the land, commandeering supplies and cattle from the villages they passed. A troop of boys carrying the soldiers' cooking pots and sleeping mats followed behind.

Shaka trained his soldiers in unit tactics and developed a basic strategy—a pincer, or buffalo horns, formation—that he employed with success in every battle. The regiments in the "chest," or center of the line of battle, attacked up the middle, while the regiments on each flank, or "horn," raced out to encircle the enemy and attack from behind. A final set of regiments, the "loins," stayed in reserve, to fill any gap in the line and to reinforce any part of the ring as it enclosed the foe. The reserves waited with their backs to the fighting so that they would not be caught up in the excitement of battle. Troop movements were indicated by officers called *indunas,* who used hand signals to direct flow of battle.

Shaka fought his opponents with ferocious brutality. By 1817 Zulu territory had expanded fourfold. His army helped him create the most powerful kingdom in the history of southern Africa. He is credited with saving the region from European domination during his lifetime.

See also: WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Wargla (Ouargla) North African market town in present-day north-central ALGERIA that was founded by BERBERS in the 11th century. Despite a brief period of occupation by the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, Wargla

was able to remain an independent Berber trade center throughout most of its history. Merchants in Wargla prepared caravans of luxury goods for shipment to regions of sub-Saharan Africa. North African horses, captives, copper, cowries, and foodstuffs were popular trade items. Berber merchant rule in the city ended in the second half of the 19th century, when the French captured Wargla.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Wassaw (Warshas, Wassa) Forested region located just north of GOLD COAST in West Africa. Wassaw was one of several AKAN chiefdoms established in the 16th century that, under pressure from the confederation of Akan ADANSI states, were forced to seek new territories. The Akan were drawn to Wassaw for both its own GOLD resources and its trade routes to the Gold Coast.

Although Wassaw was not a particularly aggressive nation, its efforts to protect its valuable gold resources led it to become involved in numerous conflicts. In the late 17th century the DENKYIRA, under the Agona dynasty, conquered Wassaw as well as Adom, Fetu, and the Sehwi states. For most of the 18th century Wassaw and the ASHANTI EMPIRE battled over Wassaw's trade routes. These conflicts were exacerbated by British interference. By the late 19th century Wassaw joined the FANTE confederacy of states previously dominated by the Ashanti.

Wegbaja (c. 1645–c. 1680) *King of Abomey and self-proclaimed first king of Dahomey, in West Africa*

Wegbaja, the grandson of Do-Aklin (fl. early 1600s), the founder of what was then the ABOMEY kingdom, is considered the first true leader of the kingdom of DAHOMEY. He is credited with strengthening Abomey, establishing its independence from the kingdom of ALLADA, expanding the kingdom's borders into the surrounding region, and transforming it into the larger, more powerful kingdom of Dahomey.

By reorganizing his various armies and introducing new training techniques and fighting tactics, Wegbaja was responsible for several innovations that enabled his kingdom to flourish. These led to decisive victories over invading armies and allowed Dahomey to expand its power along the coast. He also promoted the idea of a cohesive kingdom by reforming religious practices to focus on the idea of a sacred kingship rather than on ancestor worship.

See also: ANCESTOR WORSHIP (Vol. I); DIVINE RULE (Vols. I, II).

Western Sahara Country in North Africa measuring approximately 103,000 square miles (266,800 sq km) bordered by MOROCCO to the north, ALGERIA to the north-

east, MAURITANIA to the southeast, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The capital and largest city is Laayoune. The Western Sahara has a small polulation of about 220,000 due to it environment. Much of the land is barren and rocky, and it gets little rainfall. The majority of the population, made up of BERBERS and Arabs, is nomadic.

Spain first claimed the area in 1509, but Morocco ruled it from 1524. Spain reclaimed it in 1860 and made it one of its provinces later known as the Province of Spanish Sahara. In 1884–85, at the Berlin Conference, Spain claimed the coastal stretch between Cape Bojador and Cape Blanc and called the mineral-rich region Río De Oro (Gold River). The regions of Río de Oro and La Aguera were merged to form the Spanish Sahara. Spain ruled the Western Sahara until 1976 when it gave control of the country to Morocco and Mauritania.

See also: SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); SPANISH SAHARA (Vol. IV); WESTERN SAHARA (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Wheatly, Phillis (Phillis Peters)   (c. 1753–1784)
Senegalese captive and first published African-American poet

Phillis Wheatly was brought to America from her native SENEGAL in 1761 and was purchased by John and Susannah Wheatly of Boston. They quickly recognized her intellectual abilities and set about teaching her the Bible and classical literature at a time when it was rare for a woman, and especially a woman slave, to have a formal education. At 14 years of age she published her first poem in a Boston broadside, or newspaper, and achieved considerable renown.

Later, in 1770, the publication of her "Elegiac Poem," which commemorated the death of Reverend George Whitehead, caused a sensation. She followed up that poem with another entitled "On Being Brought from Africa to America," first published in 1773, in which she laments having lost her freedom. Unable to find an American publisher for a collection of her poetry, Wheatly sailed to England, where she found a London publisher for *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral.*

Back in America, in 1776 Wheatly wrote her poem, "To His Excellency General Washington," and the future first president subsequently met with her to thank her for her heartfelt work. Despite her early success, Phillis Wheatly died young in relative poverty.

See also: CUGOANO, OTTOBAH (Vol. III); EQUIANO, OLAUDAH (Vol. III).

Further reading: Phillis Wheatly, *Complete Writings,* Vincent Carretta, ed. (New York: Penguin, 2001).

Whydah (Ouidah)   Port city and coastal kingdom located on the Gulf of Guinea that served as a European trading post for the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. The kingdom of Whydah was founded by AJA peoples during the 16th century, about the same time as the neighboring kingdoms of PORTO NOVO and ABOMEY. It wasn't until the 17th century, however, that it gained in importance as a major trade center, with the most valuable trade items passing through the markets at Whydah being salt, European manufactured goods, and captives. Whydah's highly structured, centralized government and its proximity to the coast attracted Dutch, Portuguese, English, and French traders, all of whom established trading stations (called *factories*) and forts along its shore. The French East India Company was the first to build a factory there, in 1671. By the 1680s Whydah had won its independence from the kingdom of ALLADA, to which it had been paying tribute.

See also: TRADING STATIONS, EUROPEAN (Vol. III).

Wolamo (Ometo, Walamo, Welamo)   Southern SIDAMO group that established a kingdom of the same name within what is now ETHIOPIA. The Wolamo speak Omotic, a Cushitic language written using the Ge'ez alphabet. They are also known as the Ometo for their proximity to the Omo River valley.

Although many Wolamo adopted Islam or Monophysite Christianity, many of their traditional beliefs and rites remained an important part of their culture. Traditionally agriculturalists, the Wolamo produced grains such as barley and teff, as well as COTTON, and coffee. They were also involved in cattle breeding and bee keeping.

The first king of Wolamo, Moti Lami (Motelemy), came from DAMOT and ruled during the latter half of the 13th century. A later ruling dynasty, the Wolaitamala, came from Mount Kucha and controlled not only Wolamo but also Kucha, Gamo, Kullo, and Boroda. In the 16th century, waves of OROMO immigrants began dominating the Sidamo groups, including Wolamo.

The most notable Wolamo rulers were Gazenja, an early 17th-century king who led his people to several victories over the Oromo, and Kawo Kote, who in the late 1700s made the Wolamo kingdom known throughout the region. By 1830 Wolamo and many other Oro states were subject to the king of KAFFA.

See also: CHRISTIANTIY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); COFFEE (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III).

Wolof Empire   West African empire in present-day SENEGAL. By the 15th century, the Wolof Empire included the states of Jolof, KAYOR, Walo, BAULE, SERER, and Saloum in its extensive sphere of influence. Initially Jolof was the most important of all the Wolof states. Not only was it the founding state but it was the place from where the *burba jolof,* or Wolof ruler, reigned and where all Wolof tradition originated. When seafaring Portuguese traders arrived in West Africa, in the 15th century, Jolof's

disadvantage as a landlocked state became apparent. With the prospect of increased wealth from maritime trade with the Europeans, the Wolof coastal states felt little incentive to remain within the empire. This internal unrest, made worse by invasions by Mauritanian Moors and other enemies, severely strained the resources and power of the Wolof Empire and jeopardized the leadership of the *burba jolof*.

The most notable internal revolt occurred late in the 15th century when Burba Biram (r. c. 1481) named as his successor his full brother, Bemoy, over his half brothers. When Bemoy took the throne, Biram's half brothers led a rebellion that sent Bemoy to ask for protection from the Portuguese, bringing increasing political unrest. In 1556 Kayor, the largest of all the Wolof states, rose up against the *burba jolof* and declared itself independent. The kingdom chose its own ruler, whom they called *damel*. Confident of its military prowess, Kayor conquered Baule, thereby cutting Wolof off from its two largest centers of commerce.

Further turmoil marked the 17th century. In 1670 Mauritanian marabouts convinced the Wolof people to rebel against their leaders by promising that they would show them how to grow crops by magic, without the effort of planting. With the help of the Wolof people, the Mauritanians successfully defeated the leaders of Kayor and Walo and the *burba jolof*. However, when their crops failed to grow, the Wolof reinstated their royal families and banished the Mauritanians from the region.

See also: WOLOF (Vols. II, IV); WOLOF EMPIRE (Vol. II).

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women in precolonial Africa

women in precolonial Africa   In the period between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the role of women in Africa varied by region. Among some groups whose cultures prized the matrilineal side of their families, women held positions of power and authority. In the predominantly Islamic areas of Africa, however, women were respected but considered socially inferior. Historically, most ideas of women in Africa prior to the 16th century came from legends and the reconstruction of historical findings. But the arrival of Europeans who traveled and wrote of their experiences in Africa left historians with a written record of how, in the eyes of the Europeans, women lived and were perceived by their families, villages, and peers.

Mother Figures, Helpers, and Healers   In many parts of Africa, such as in YORUBALAND and the region around the CROSS RIVER in present-day NIGERIA, women of various ethnic groups were seen as an integral part of society and a counterpart to the male members of the village. Though not necessarily perceived as the social

equals of men, in these societies, including the Yoruba, women were respected as the producers of life and a continuation of the all-important FAMILY lineage, and they were therefore highly regarded. This notion of women being the source of life was common among groups that practiced more traditional religions. Among those groups, the female was linked with fertility and abundance and was often represented by symbols of the earth, moon, and water. In some regions of Africa, the birth of a daughter was cause for much celebration, since girls were able to reproduce and ensure the family's growth.

Fertility goddesses were worshiped with great reverence throughout most areas of sub-Saharan Africa. Two such goddesses were Atetie, of the OROMO people of East Africa, and Eka-Abassi, of the IGBO of West Africa.

Women were expected to help other women in their village during pregnancy and childbirth. For instance, among the MAASAI of present-day TANZANIA and KENYA, women used the art of massage to help ensure an unborn child was correctly positioned within the womb for a healthy birth. Midwifery was also practiced—among some groups, on a professional level—and midwives helped with all aspects of childbirth, from labor to the first few days of the infant's life. Healing the sick was also an important responsibility for women of many different ethnic groups. Some became the assistants to the chief priests, or medicine men, and assisted in diagnosing and treating the ailing. Among the MENDE peoples, located mostly in present-day SIERRA LEONE, the women of the female secret society assumed an important role during times of sickness in the village, consulting the oracle of healing, who answered questions of the victim's health and the likelihood of recovery.

Farmers, Gatherers, Artisans, and Merchants Whether Islamic, Christian, or practitioners of a traditional RELIGION, precolonial African women were hardworking and were more often than not involved in helping the men with various aspects of the daily workings of the household and village. This included collecting firewood and water, and, among peoples whose religion did not forbid women from handling animals, helping with the upkeep of livestock. In most groups, while the men were responsible for hunting prey and fishing, the women were responsible for cultivating crops and gathering roots and vegetables. Food preparation was possibly the most important domestic task, and women were expected to dry fruits and meats and pound out grain for the making of bread and beer. It was noted that many women performed their daily tasks

with their infant children in animal-hide slings on their backs and often worked several hours longer per day than their male counterparts.

From an early age women were also taught the skills of basket weaving, pottery making, and the spinning and dyeing of cloth. Handcrafts were used both within the household and for trading purposes with other African groups, as well as with the European traders who began arriving in greater numbers in the 16th century. Women from West African ethnic groups such as the Mandinka and the Ashanti were particularly well known for their weaving and dyeing techniques to make elaborate cloths such as the Ashanti's royal *kente* cloth, which originated around the 17th century and was made from raffia strips and, later, from COTTON. These items, along with other goods produced by women—including jewelry, beads, leather objects, and storage jugs made from calabash gourds—were all sold at trading centers by both men and women to the benefit of their respective economies. In West Africa there also were women who participated in the GOLD trade by MINING gold dust for the Dutch and English during the 17th and 18th centuries. Despite the fact that they were only allowed to work for six weeks out of the year, these women succeeded in securing some income for themselves through the tedious and often disappointing work of gold mining.

Among the Yoruba, women known as *iyalode* were given the important responsibility of protecting women who sold goods in marketplaces.

In contrast to women in these societies, women occupied a much different social role among the Islamic groups of North Africa, the Sudan, and other parts of West and East Africa. Initially, little changed by way of women's complementary role to the men of their group and their duties outside the home. As Islam became more entrenched in some African societies, however, women were relegated to much less prestigious secondary roles in their society. Some personal freedoms, such as the right of a woman to leave her house without permission from her husband, were greatly diminished. Even as the tenets of Islam allowed for great advances in scholarship and commerce, the religion also called for a strong patriarchal society wherein women had few functions outside of the immediate household.

Warriors and Queens   African history has many legends and tales of women soldiers and warriors who fought with or without the company of men to great success and notoriety. Two such notable women were Queen NZINGA (c. 1581–1663), who ruled in present-day AN-GOLA, and Queen AMINA (r. c. 15th or 16th century?), empress of the Hausa State of ZARIA, in Nigeria. Known for maintaining her people's freedom from the Portuguese, Queen Nzinga was also famous for her band of loyal and fierce female warriors, which helped her resist the Portuguese invaders until her death, in 1663. Amina, too, was reknowned for shrewd military and political tactics that helped extend her nation's boundaries all the way to the Atlantic coast.

Queens Nzinga and Amina were not the only noted female warriors in Africa. In the CONGO, for example, during the 1640s, Queen Llinga, armed with a sword, ax, and bow and arrows, led forces of women warriors against the Portuguese. Not long after, in the 18th century, the HERERO of modern-day NAMIBIA were led by the warrior queen Kaipkire, who successfully battled against British slavers.

Princesses, queens, and queen mothers also played a significant role in many kingdoms in Africa before the colonial era. European writers who visited some of the powerful African kingdoms during the 17th and 18th centuries described the role of favored women in the royal courts in great detail. In the WOLOF EMPIRE, located in what is now SENEGAL, for example, a number of women held high positions within the palace, with the Wolof queen apparently possessing virtually the same rights as the king himself. Beyond this, in many parts of Africa, the daughters of a chief or king possessed considerable amounts of wealth and had numerous opportunities open to them. Among the KONGO people, princesses had the right to force their husbands to remain monogamous during their marriage. Succession to positions of authority from the maternal line was a common practice in the empire of Mali and the ASHANTI EMPIRE in today's GHANA, where kingship was passed down to the son of the king's sister instead of the son of the king himself.

Nevertheless it was the queen and queen mother who were held in the highest regard throughout most African royal courts. In the Wolof Empire and in MWENE MUTAPA, for example, both women were regular advisers to the king. In the Congo region, queens frequently became regents or co-regents when a king died and his successor was considered too young to rule. Regarded as wise and powerful, Mwene Mutapa queen mothers held the title of "mother of all kings," and their opinions on royal matters carried much weight with the king and his council of advisers. Elsewhere some queens and queen mothers held the power to influence the choice of the king's successor. Queen mothers were also often able to

hold land, their own living quarters, and their own courts (sometimes protected by a standing army).

Europeans Bring Changes In the 19th century, with the various European powers establishing a more permanent presence in parts of Africa, the role of women slowly began to change. While the centuries prior had afforded women of most groups a chance to be productive in their communities, as well as their households and immediate families, colonialism brought about a more advanced network of commercial AGRICULTURE that became the exclusive domain of men. Chances at education, too, were curtailed as the women were generally made to stay and tend the homesteads. Regardless, for many women, the precolonial period was one of continued respect and opportunity that came with their roles both within the family as mothers, and also outside the home, as skilled artisans, farmers, healers, and warriors.

See also: QUEENS AND QUEEN MOTHERS (Vol. II); WOMEN IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN MEDIEVEL AFRICA (Vol. II).

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X

Xhosa (Xosa, Kaffir) Subgroup of the Nguni-speaking peoples of present-day South Africa. The Xhosa trace their foundation to a group of Bantu speakers—Nguni is a Bantu language—who migrated into the area as early as the third century, settling in agricultural and pastoral villages.

According to oral history a king named Cirha forged the Xhosa kingdom out of the Bantu-speaking people who migrated to southern Africa. Cirha was later overthrown by his brother, Tshawe, who founded the dynasty to which all Xhosa kings trace their lineage.

Traditionally, Xhosa villages were organized into independent, patrilineal chiefdoms; polygamy was accepted. When the son of a chief reached a certain age, he was required to move from his village with his wife and family to start a new Xhosa settlement. In this way the Xhosa spread throughout southern Africa, becoming especially concentrated in the area between the Kei and Fish rivers, near the coast. For more than 1,000 years the Xhosa continued small-scale farming, hunted wild game, raised their herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and mingled with the Khoisan-speaking pastoralist groups that had settled in the area prior to Bantu expansion (c. 500 BCE–1000 CE).

Dutch settlers began moving to South Africa in the middle of the 17th century, establishing a trading outpost and maritime resupply station at Cape Town, near the Cape of Good Hope. By the late 1760s Dutch-African farmers known as Boers, or Trekboers, had begun moving into the fertile Xhosa pasturelands in the Zuurveld region from their settlements on the southern tip of the continent. This infiltration of European settlers was initially tolerated by the Xhosa, but the Dutch began claiming larger and larger expanses of Xhosa land.

In 1779 a Xhosa herder was killed in a Boer cattle raid near the Fish River, triggering violent reactions among the Xhosa and leading to a series of armed conflicts called the Cape Frontier Wars, or Boer-Xhosa Wars. The conflicts lasted until the late 1800s. While the Xhosa were able to fend off the Boers, they eventually succumbed to the British, who gained control of the Cape in 1806.

See also: Xhosa (Vols. II, IV, V).

Further reading: J. B. Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1982).

Y

Yaka See IMBANGALA.

Yao Bantu-speaking people inhabiting MALAWI, TANZANIA, and MOZAMBIQUE. The Yao were subsistence farmers and ivory hunters until the 17th century, when they began to emerge as prosperous traders of ivory and human captives. Their increased trading activity curtailed Portuguese ivory collecting around the ZAMBEZI RIVER and also caused the decline of the MARAVI confederation, in the mid-18th century. Yao traders opened up routes between the African interior and Indian Ocean coastal ports including MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND, KILWA, and ZANZIBAR. In the 18th century Yao traders acted as intermediaries in the BISA TRADING NETWORK, which brought ivory through the heart of Yao territory from regions of present-day ZAMBIA and Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

Many Arab and European traders relied upon the Yao to meet their demand for captives as well as ivory. In the 18th century the Yao acquired firearms from Arab traders on the coast and invaded Malawi from western Mozambique. The people they did not kill they captured to sell into bondage.

See also: IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); YAO (Vol. IV).

Yatenga (Wahiguya) One of the MOSSI STATES, located in present-day BURKINA FASO. Originally much of what became Yatenga was part of Zandoma, a state in the original Mossi kingdom founded about 1170. Yatenga became independent of Zandoma around 1540, under its chief, or *naba,* Yadega, who supplanted his tutor, Naba Swida, and declared himself chief of a small new state.

> **Yatenga comes from *Yadega-tenga,* meaning "the land of Yadega."**

Yadega's successors gradually expanded the realm. In the late 16th century Naba Lambwega held sway over the remnants of Zandoma and incorporated the kingdom of Lurum, to the east, into his territory. In the 17th and early 18th centuries Yatenga's expansion continued, generally by establishing Mossi chieftancies to replace local rulers. In the middle of the 18th century Yatenga became embroiled in a series of clashes with the neighboring state of Yako, today a province of Burkina Faso, which vied to control two local chiefdoms. These disputes lasted into the early 1800s.

Although they shared a number of cultural practices, the Mossi States never coalesced into a homogeneous society. By the end of the 18th century Yatenga society was made up of three groups: the Mossi themselves, Fulfulde-speaking FULANI peoples (who call themselves Fulbe), and a Silmi-Mossi group. The Fulani had the status of guests, since they grazed their herds on a broad strip of Mossi territory that was, since the 17th century, leased to them. The Silmi-Mossi were sedentary pastoralists, who resulted from the intermarriage of Mossi women and Fulbe men.

See also: FULFULDE (Vol. I); YATENGA (Vol. II).

Yejju   Province in ETHIOPIA inhabited by the OROMO people during their mass migrations in the 16th century. The Oromo of this region were primarily Muslim and the name of their ruling family was Were Shaikh.

The leaders of Yejju superficially adopted Christianity late in the 18th century in order to secure their power over GONDAR. Ras Ali Gwangwil (unknown–1788), known as "Ali the Great," was the first to be baptized. After his death, in 1788, there was an intense battle for the throne. During this time the people of Yejju not only fought each other but also plundered Gondar and Begemdir, leaving a trail of death and destruction behind them. In 1803 Ras GUGSA (r. 1803–1825) took the throne, maintaining order through his strict and often violent rule. The battle for control of Yejju continued on into the 18th century, but rulers such as Faris Ali (r. 1831–1853) were able to prevent the many attempts by Ethiopia's emperors to absorb the region.

Yendi Dabari   One-time capital of Dagbon, the kingdom of the DAGOMBA people, located near the contemporary village of Dapeli, in present-day GHANA; its name means "Ruins of Yendi." Although the exact origins of Yendi Dabari are not known, it was, according to oral tradition, founded by Nyagse, the first ruler, or *Ya Na,* of Dagbon. Archaeological excavations suggest that it predates the 17th century. These archaeological excavations also suggest that Dagbon was exposed to Islam sometime during the 16th century, long before the reign of its first Muslim king, Muhammadu Zangina (r. c. 1700–1714). The kingdom's introduction to the religion was most likely made through such Muslim traders as the DYULA.

Among the notable discoveries made at the Yendi Dabari excavations is a two-storied rectangular structure surrounded by a wall that was probably the residence of the Dagomba ruler. Other artifacts found include iron tools, pottery, pipes, and elaborately decorated bowls, jars, and pots.

Like many towns in northern Ghana, Yendi Dabari benefited from trade with AKAN kingdoms and the HAUSA STATES. Indeed it was in attempt to gain the riches from this trade that GONJA attacked Dagbon during the late 17th century. By the early 1700s the Dagomba capital was moved eastward to the site of modern-day Yendi. There Dagomba's twelfth king, Luro (r. c. 1715), attempted to hold off the Gonja invasion. The Gonja, however, proved too powerful, and the Dagomba were pushed out of the White Volta area.

Yishaq (Bahr-Negash Yeshaq)   (c. 1540–1580)
Ruler of Eritrea

The title *bahr negash* means "lord of the sea." Appointed by the Ethiopian emperor, the *bahr negash* was the governor of central ERITREA and the coastal regions of Massawa and Zula, in present-day ERITREA. After the 1530s the *bahr negash's* rule became autonomous as a result of the jihad waged by the Muslim warrior AHMAD GRAÑ (c. 1506–1543), which cost Christian ETHIOPIA most of its territory.

In 1535 Ahmad had conquered Ethiopia, forcing the Christian emperor LEBNA DENGEL (r. c. 1508–1540) to hide within in his own country. During this time Yishaq's father, Bahr Nehash Degana, abandoned his position and joined the Muslim forces. Yishaq, however, remained loyal to Ethiopia and his fallen king, and he too spent the next few years in hiding. In 1541 the Portuguese, who were fellow Christians, finally answered Lebna Dengel's appeal for help. Christavão da Gama (fl. c. 1540s), the son of the explorer Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524), arrived at Massawa with 400 reinforcements. Yishaq joined in the campaign against Ahmad's army, defeating Ahmad Grañ at Akele Guzai. He also helped the new emperor, Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559), in the campaigns that, in 1543, threw back the Muslims and killed their celebrated leader.

In 1557 the Ottoman Empire helped Yishaq build a fort at Debarwa, his capital. For a time this prevented the Ethiopians from encroaching on his territory. However, the following year, the Ottomans invaded the Ethiopian highlands, only to be turned back by Yishaq. Despite this friction, Yishaq once again turned to the Ottomans for help in 1560–61, when he found himself at odds with Galawdewos's successor, Minas (r. c. 1559–1563). He also called on the Ottomans again for support against Minas's successor, Sarsa Dengel (r. c. 1563–1580). Despite their aid, however, in 1578 Yishaq and the leader of the ADAL state were defeated and killed by Sarsa Dengel in a battle at Adi Qoro, in Tigray. From this time on the power of the *bahr negash* was substantially limited.

See also: MASSAWA (Vol. II).

Yorubaland   Located in southwestern NIGERIA, this region was home to several cities that were bound to one another through ethnicity, ancestral heritage, and RELIGION. In time these city-states developed into kingdoms and even empires. At different times, Ile-Ife, Oyo, IJEBU, and Benin were the largest and most powerful of these states. They managed to thrive for nearly 800 years.

Although Ile-Ife was the first state to emerge, and the place where all Yoruba religion and tradition originated, by the 15th century it had begun to lose its political importance to the rising kingdoms of Benin and Oyo.

The Yoruba states participated in a complex political system in which each was at once tributary to the *oni,* or ruler, of Ile-Ife and autonomous in its own right. Each city was ruled by its own *oba,* but on matters that affected or threatened the Yorubaland as a whole, Ile-Ife had the

ultimate authority. As Yorubaland expanded economically and territorially, the various kingdoms started to become dissatisfied with such limitations on their power.

As the first state to break away, the kingdom of Benin owed its success to both a strong military and substantial economic wealth, the latter of which was based on trade with the Portuguese. Benin became a kingdom, forming a system of government that was more centralized than that of the other Yoruba states, although in terms of religious practices Benin remained loyal to the *oni* of Ife.

Many changes came about in the 15th century under Benin's Oba Ewuare (c. 1440–1480), who is said to have killed his younger brother in order to obtain the throne. With Ewuare as leader, the kingdom of Benin expanded substantially. By the 17th century, it held most of southeastern Yorubaland, the IGBO area on the western part of the NIGER RIVER, the northern EDO regions, the towns of Akure and Owo, and the areas in and around Ekiti.

In the mid-16th century Oyo was plundered by its NUPE and BORGU neighbors. It took Oyo nearly two centuries to recapture the lost territory. During the 17th and 18th centuries Oyo grew into a powerful empire, with its main source of wealth being the export of human captives. Between 1730 and 1750 Oyo overthrew DAHOMEY, whose interference with Oyo's trade routes was becoming an increasing threat to the stability of the empire. With Dahomey out of the way, Oyo focused on developing its relationship with the Europeans. Trade was conducted through Badagri, LAGOS, and Ajase, ports that came to be known collectively as the SLAVE COAST. By the 18th century Oyo controlled a vast region in northern Yorubaland that extended from the Opara River to Sabe and from the Moshi River to Borgu. It also controlled a number of small kingdoms and tributary states. In the latter half of the 18th century Oyo's ruler, the *alafin,* moved the capital of Oyo from Igboho to Old Oyo.

The downfall of the OYO EMPIRE came with the breakdown of its political administration, which eventually collapsed due to internal strife and opposition to the central government. The *alafin's* wealth had corrupted his leadership, and many of the chiefs refused to accept his authority. To add to its problems, Oyo lost its trade routes. With a depleted economy, an unstable government, and a weakened military, Oyo became vulnerable to its enemies from abroad. The FON of Dahomey made a bid for power in the 18th century and inflicted a serious defeat on Oyo. In 1837 the FULANI seized what remained of the once mighty empire.

When the Oyo empire fell in the 18th century the rest of Yorubaland declined as well. What resulted was a series of civil wars that led to the dismantling of all the Yoruba states.

See also: *ALAFIN* (Vol. II); BENIN CITY (Vol. III); *OBA* (Vol. II); OLD OYO (Vol. II); *ONI* OF IFE (Vol. II); YORUBA (Vols. I, II, IV, V); YORUBALAND (Vol. II).

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Z

Zaghawa Seminomadic people located throughout the central regions of the southern Sahara, especially around Lake CHAD. In the sixth or seventh century the Zaghawa helped to lay the foundations for the kingdom of Kanem, which came to be ruled by the KANURI people. Throughout their history the Zaghawa were active traders, using the numerous caravan routes that crossed their territory to transport goods across the Sahara into the northern reaches of Africa.

In the early 17th century the Zaghawa territories, including the states of Kobe and Dar Kimr, were contested by the two powerful Muslim sultanates of WADAI, in present-day CHAD, and DARFUR, in present-day Republic of the SUDAN. Also during the 17th century Abdullay Boru, from Kobe, became the first Zaghawa ruler to convert to Islam.

By the 18th century the leaders of the KAYRA DYNASTY of Darfur had aligned themselves with the Zaghawa through political maneuvering and marriage alliances. Thereafter, Zaghawa rulers, called sultans, were chosen by the sultan of Darfur.

See also: CARAVAN ROUTES (Vol. I); KANEM (Vol. II); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II).

Zaïre See Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

Zambezi River (Zambesi) River flowing from west to east across southern Africa before emptying into the Indian Ocean on the MOZAMBIQUE coast. Though it is exceedingly difficult to navigate because of its shallowness and its many gorges and falls, between the 16th and 19th centuries the Zambezi was an important means for the movement of people and trade goods, especially CLOTH AND TEXTILES, GOLD, and ivory.

East of the Barotse Plain, the Zambezi River passes over the dramatic 335-foot (102-m) Victoria Falls. The rumble and mist produced by the falling water inspired local Bantu speakers to name it *Mosi o tunya* (smoke that thunders). In 1855 the explorer David Livingstone named the falls in honor of the British queen. Victoria Falls is approximately twice as high and, at almost 1 mile (1.6 km), about twice as wide as the well-known Niagara Falls, on the United States–Canada border.

Before being dammed in the 20th century the Zambezi carried so much silt and sand to the shore that its several mouths could shift drastically in a very short amount of time. For example, the buildings at the trading port of QUELIMANE were used without incident one year only to be abandoned the next because of flooding caused by the drastically different flow of the river.

Despite its poor soil and dry climate, the region surrounding the lower Zambezi, known as Zambezia, was heavily populated by the end of the 15th century. A busy trading center had developed at INGOMBE ILEDE at the confluence of the Kafue and Zambezi rivers, and people from all over were attracted by the region's lucrative trade. The gold sources were controlled by the rulers of

the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom, a Karanga state that established several trading markets, or fairs, at sites throughout the Zambezi valley, including Zumbo and possibly Onhaquoro (later the Portuguese town of TETE). These fairs were attended by Indian, Arab, and Muslim traders from the SWAHILI COAST who settled in the Zambezi valley and transported their trade goods to the fairs in canoes on the Zambezi waterway as well as by overland routes. The Muslim presence at the fairs was so strong that the Mwene Mutapa court even had a Muslim representative with jurisdiction over the disputes between Muslim traders. By taxing each transaction at their trade fairs, the Mwene Mutapa kingdom became very wealthy and powerful.

At the beginning of the 16th century, though, the Mwene Mutapa monopoly on the gold trade was being challenged by the newly arrived Portuguese. From the Mwene Mutapa the Portuguese acquired large landholdings, or PRAZOS, all along the Zambezi. The landholders, or prazeros, bought many African captives to defend their interests and cultivate their land. The prazeros also became heavily involved in the trading and the politics of the region. Their new arrangement disrupted the regular trading patterns that had been established by the coastal Swahili traders, and the Mwene Mutapa kingdom went into what would be a long, steady decline.

Gold remained the most important trade item in the Zambezi valley, but the Portuguese found that the IVORY TRADE was also quite lucrative. By 1530 they had established a trading station on the Indian Ocean coast at Quelimane, which at the time was at one of the mouths of the Zambezi. At the station the Portuguese processed substantial amounts of ivory from the African interior and prepared it for export to India.

Because of the decline of the Mwene Mutapa, the rise of the ivory trade, and the continuing importance of the gold trade, the Zambezi valley became the site of conflicts over the next 200 years. The power struggles that ensued involved not only the Mwene Mutapa kingdom, Portuguese traders, and Swahili traders, but also the CHANGAMIRE DYNASTY, MANYIKA, Tonga, and Barue peoples to the south, and the MARAVI, MAKUA, and YAO peoples to the north.

Trading fairs along the lower Zambezi continued throughout the 17th century, with the most important ones being the Portuguese settlements of Tete and SENA. Although the Portuguese were few in number—in 1633 there were only about 200 settlers in the region—they still were able to bar the Muslim Swahili traders from entering the Zambezi to participate in the trading fairs. Swahili merchants responded by simply using overland routes to bypass the Portuguese blockades, and their trading activities continued nearly unabated.

In the late 17th century the ROZWI rulers of the Changamire kingdom turned the tables on the Portuguese

and excluded them from trading in Manyika territory to the south of the Zambezi. The ban was short-lived—the Portuguese were able to reestablish trade in the region by the 1720s—but their influence in the area had been diminished.

By the middle of the 18th century the once-plentiful gold sources around the lower Zambezi were nearly unworkable and much of the MINING activity had moved to the untapped gold fields to the north. About the same time, the Portuguese established a new trade fair at Zumbo, near the confluence with the Luangwe River, in order to be closer to the new gold sources and to trade more directly with the groups living to the north and south of the river. By the end of the 18th century the Portuguese traders in Zumbo had developed trade contacts with the Bisa and with the expanding LUNDA EMPIRE to the northwest.

Early in the 19th century trade along the Zambezi was upset by the invasions of NGONI warriors, who were chased from their homelands south of the Zambezi by ZULU military campaigns and territorial expansion.

See also: LIVINGSTONE, DAVID (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vol. I).

Zambia Country in southern Africa measuring approximately 290,600 square miles (752,700 sq km). It is bordered by TANZANIA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the north; MALAWI and MOZAMBIQUE to the east; ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA, and BOTSWANA to the south; and ANGOLA to the west. Lusaka is its capital and largest city. The Zambia region is an elevated plateau that was home to Bantu-speaking groups that practiced AGRICULTURE, farming, and MINING. The town of INGOMBE ILEDE, located in southern Zambia, at the confluence of the Zambezi and Kafue rivers, was a popular trading center until it was abandoned in the 16th century. Early European contacts, which began in the 16th century, were primarily with Portuguese traders. Ivory and copper were the first items exchaged, but the trade in human captives soon came to define European-African relations for centuries to come.

In the 17th century Bantu speakers moved into Zambia from the kingdoms of the LUNDA EMPIRE to the north when land became scarce there. The Bisa people became renowned ivory traders, acting as intermediaries between Lunda traders and merchants in Mozambique and farther north along the SWAHILI COAST. The LOZI people, probably related to the people of the eastern Lunda kingdoms, migrated to the Zambezi floodplains, where they cultivated subsistence crops. In the 18th century the BEMBA people joined the Bisa and the Lozi in the region. Ivory hunters and warriors, the Bemba practiced some agriculture and moved when resources became scarce.

The 19th century was a pivotal period in the region's history. The Kololo people from the north and the NGONI from the south invaded and conquered large portions of the country.

See also: BISA TRADING NETWORK (Vol. III); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); ZAMBIA (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

Further reading: Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (New York: African Publishing Co., 1976).

Zamfara One of the seven so-called illegitimate HAUSA STATES located in present-day NIGERIA between the NIGER RIVER and Lake CHAD. Possibly inhabited as early as the 11th century, the state of Zamfara only truly began to gain importance in the mid-14th to 15th centuries. Along with its sister states—which vary according to different sources but are generally thought to include ILORIN, Gwari, NUPE, KEBBI, KWARARAFA (also known as Jukun), and Yauri—Zamfara is considered one of the seven Banza Bakwai, or "bastard," states supposedly formed by Prince Bayajidda of Baghdad. According to oral tradition, the seven "true" Hausa States, or Hausa Bakwai, of Daura, Rano, KANO, Zazzau (later known as ZARIA), Biram, GOBIR, and KATSINA were established for the seven children born to the prince and a Hausa queen. According to that tradition, the Banza Bakwai were created to be ruled by Prince Bayajidda's seven illegitimate children born of concubines.

As the whole of Hausaland lacked a sense of unity, it was common for the states to wage war against one another for tribute as well as for rights to the profitable trans-Saharan trading routes. During the early 18th century Zamfara became a major force within the Hausa States, defeating the powerful state of Kano and becoming the chief rival of the equally strong Katsina. Throughout the century, Zamfara continued to be a dominant presence in Hausaland. However, this changed in the 19th century, when the state of Gobir gained control over the region. Constant battles had a debilitating effect, and ultimately Zamfara's weakness made it susceptible to a forcible takeover. This came through the FULANI jihad waged in 1804 by USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817). The Fulani scholar and religious leader sought to convert the peoples of Hausaland to a purer form of Islam than the mixture of Islam and traditional religious customs that they were practicing. With the success of the jihad, Zamfara and the other Hausa States were then incorporated as emirates into Usman dan Fodio's vast kingdom, which became known as the SOKOTO CALIPHATE.

Zanzibar Island and city off the East African coast. Although its history probably dates back to 1200 BCE or even earlier, little is known definitely about the early history of Zanzibar. Its name is believed to come from the Persian words *zanj* (meaning "black") and *bar* (coast), and the term *Zanzibar* was at one time used by Arab geographers to refer to all of the East African coast. Eventually, however, the term was reserved for only the island that is now known by that name.

From the second to the 15th centuries Zanzibar was essentially ruled by a network of Arab and Persian traders, who mixed with various local populations and under whom commerce expanded. During this period immigration from Arabia, Persia, and India brought in a host of new residents, who joined the long-standing Haidmu and Tumbatu inhabitants, both of whom apparently were of Shirazi origin.

The period known as the First Arab Period is described in the *Chronicle of Kilwa,* which tells how a Persian merchant set sail, along with his six sons, across the Indian Ocean for Zanzibar and PEMBA ISLAND. There, according to the chronicle, the Persians established Kizimkazi in 1107, a date that is generally accepted as the first firm timeframe in the history of Zanzibar.

The arrival of Portuguese explorers and soldiers, beginning in the last years of the 15th century, radically transformed Zanzibar. Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) himself stopped at Zanzibar, in 1499, later attacking it, in 1503 and 1509, and destroying the main town. Using their superior military might, the Portuguese gained control of Zanzibar, forcing the local ruler to become a vassal of the king of Portugal. In time the Portuguese assumed power over much of East Africa, holding sway for 200 years. The Portuguese, however, were too thinly spread in the area to maintain firm control. Also, they encountered continued resistance from the local KISWAHILI-speaking inhabitants. As a result, by 1698 they had lost control of Zanzibar and other holdings in the region.

At this time the second period of Arab dominance began, and Zanzibar, as well as much of East Africa, came under the influence of the OMANI SULTANATE. The various city-states of the region, however, frequently fell back into their old habits of rivalry and warfare, especially between the BUSAIDI and MASRUI families, the two dominant dynasties battling for control of Zanzibar. This instability, along with continued resistance to Arab domination from local African people, kept the region in turmoil for much of this second Arab period.

Eventually the Busaidi family won out in the battle for supremacy among the Omanis, and the dynasty transformed Zanzibar into an important commercial entity. By the time of the powerful sultan SAYYID SAID (1791–1856),

An illustration from around 1815 of Stone Town, the old city of Zanzibar. The old city is the site of winding alleys, bazaars, old mosques, and large Arab houses, whose builders vied with one another in extravagance. Zanzibar was one of the most important centers of Indian Ocean trade. © *Bojan Brecelj/Corbis*

Zanzibar was the dominant state in the region, a position it continued to hold during the colonial period that followed.

See also: INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); PIRATES (Vol. III); SHIRAZI ARABS (Vol. III); ZANZIBAR (Vol. II, IV, V).

Further reading: Norman Robert Bennett, *Arab Versus European: Diplomacy and War in Nineteenth-Century East Central Africa* (New York: Africana Pub. Co., 1986).

Zaramo Largest ethnic group of DAR ES SALAAM in TANZANIA, on Africa's SWAHILI COAST. Historically, there are two main clans of Zaramo: the Shomvi, who live along the coast, and the Pazi, who live in the hills. Artistically, the Zaramo are noted for their wood carving and drums. For centuries their traditional culture has been intertwined with Islamic religion and law.

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Zaria Capital city of Zazzau, one of the original HAUSA STATES, located in present-day NIGERIA. Founded as early as the 11th century, Zazzau, was one of the seven "true" states of Hausaland known as Hausa Bakwai. Beginning in the 15th century the state's southern location made it the central region for the capture of people for the northern Hausa States during their involvement in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Zazzau was also a trading market for other goods, such as animal hides and grains, with merchants from the Sahara.

Zazzau and other Hausa States were converted to Islam by the 15th century. The writings of Arab traveler LEO AFRICANUS (1485–1554) tell of Zazzau's conquest by SONGHAI ruler Askia MUHAMMAD TOURÉ (d. 1538). Perhaps the most notable ruler of Zazzau, however, was the legendary Queen AMINA (r. c. 15th century?). Famous for building defensive walls around the city of Zaria, Amina was a great warrior-queen and military strategist. Her successful conquest of neighboring Hausa States allowed her to extract tributes from even the influential states of KATSINA and KANO.

Near the end of the 16th century Zazzau, by then renamed Zaria, was conquered by KWARARAFA, a "bastard" Hausa state centered near Ibi. Zaria remained under Kwararafa rule until 1734, when it became a tributary state of KANEM-BORNU, located near Lake CHAD. In 1804 the fundamentalist FULANI leader USMAN DAN FODIO (1754–1817) launched a jihad and conquered the whole

of Hausaland, incorporating it into the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. By the end of the jihad, in 1808, Zaria was under Fulani rule. In 1835 it became an emirate ruled by both the sultan of Sokoto and a local emir.

See also: ZAZZAU (Vol. II).

Zawaya Muslim Berber clerics of the central Sahara who wandered North Africa, studying at Islamic retreats called *zawiya*. By the beginning of the 16th century nomadic Zawaya clerics had attained positions of power in various cities throughout MOROCCO and the central Sahara.

The Zawaya were the spiritual descendants of the Almoravids, a reformist group of Islamic BERBERS from the Sanhaja confederation who ruled the MAGHRIB and much of southern Spain in the 11th and 12th centuries. The root of *Almoravid* is the Arabic word *ribat,* meaning "retreat," which has a meaning similar to the word *zawiya.*

Early in the 16th century the Sanhaja Berbers of Morocco actively resisted Arab influence by trying to preserve their own Berber language and by attempting to unify several of their clans under a single leader. Overwhelmed by the Arab migrations, though, a group of respected Sanhaja Berbers renounced their warrior status and instead pursued Islam as a means of gaining influence. Islam had been brought to North Africa by an early wave of Arab invaders starting in the seventh century. Ironically, the Zawaya of the 16th century used Islam as a political tool against a later wave of Arab immigrants in order to regain some power in the region.

Prior to their becoming holy men, the Zawaya adhered to the Berber custom of following matrilineal descent, but their new emphasis on Islam caused them to retrace their descent along patrilineal lines back to the prophet Muhammad.

By the beginning of the 17th century Zawaya retreats had become centers of political power as well as centers of Islamic learning. The SADIAN DYNASTY (1510–1613), a line of Zawaya clerics, led Moroccan efforts to end Portuguese occupation and called for resistance to the invasion of the Ottoman Empire. Their influence spread so that between 1640 and 1660 Berber forces, influenced by the teachings of Zawaya clerics, occupied most of the major cities of northern Morocco.

Toward the end of the 17th century the Zawaya sultan, Mawlay al-Rashid (d. c. 1672), established the Alawid ruling dynasty (1668–present). Rashid success-

fully repressed other Islamic clerical brotherhoods in Morocco and recaptured the Moroccan city of FEZ. After al-Rashid it was clear that the Zawaya movement would not evolve into a new Berber dynasty, as the Almoravid movement had done centuries earlier.

See also: ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

Zazzau See ZARIA.

Zeila (Saylac, Zayla) Chief port of the northern coast of present-day SOMALIA, along the Gulf of Aden, and capital of the Muslim kingdom of ADAL. Zeila was a walled town and the chief port for commerce between traders from the Ethiopian hinterland and sea merchants from Arabia and Persia. Items brought from the interior included ivory, human captives, coffee, animal skins, gums, incense, and ostrich feathers. These goods were traded for cloth, metalwork, dates, iron, pottery, and weapons. Firearms were first introduced into Somalia, in 1515, when Arabian traders brought them to Zeila.

Zeila became the target of European aggression in 1516 when Portuguese sea captains sacked the town in their attempts to control Red Sea and East African maritime trade. After the attack, the nearby port of BERBERA assumed the importance that Zeila had enjoyed until it, too, was pillaged. Between the middle of the 16th and the middle of the 17th centuries, Portuguese expeditions in ETHIOPIA periodically attacked Zeila, disrupting long-established trade relations in the region.

Seeking protection from the Portuguese, Zeila eventually swore allegiance to the sultan of Yemen, across the Gulf of Aden, late in the 16th century. By the 18th century the Ottoman Empire had replaced the Yemeni rulers in Zeila. The port would become critical during the European colonial era because of its strategic location near the Red Sea.

See also: OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ZEILA (Vol. II).

Zemene Mesafint (Age of Princes) Period of anarchy and political unrest in ETHIOPIA that lasted from 1769 to 1855; known in English as the "Age of Princes." It was at this time that the central government collapsed and the provinces of Begemder, DAMOT, SIMIEN, SHOA, Tigray, and Wag-Lasta became autonomous.

The event that precipitated Ethiopia's fall into a period of anarchy happened when Ras Mikael Sehul (c. 1692–1794), the *ras,* or governor, of Tigray Province, helped the emperor resist a takeover of the government by the Muslim OROMO people. He occupied the capital by

force and had himself proclaimed regent. He then orchestrated the assassination of the emperors Iyoas (r. 1755–1769) and Yohannes II (r. 1769). Mikael Sehul handpicked the next emperor, the ineffective Tekla Haymonot II (r. 1769–1777), whom he, as regent, was able to control and manipulate.

This dynamic between the Ethiopian emperor and his nobles, or regents, continued for nearly 100 years. As a result the emperor became a figure with no power or authority. During this period what was once the vast domain of the Christian empire became a region characterized by warfare and violence, bred not only by politics but also by conflicts within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Ras GUGSA (r. 1800–1825), the regional lord of YEJJU stands out as having a successful reign at GONDAR. This was in part due to his having the foresight to reach out to the Christian lords. He did this by offering them his daughters' hands in marriage. Ras Gugsa's grandson Ali Alula (r. 1831–1853) became lord of Yejju, in 1831. His reign was as ineffectual as his father's and uncles' had been, although he managed to hold onto Begemder and GOJJAM during his leadership.

In 1853 Kassa Haylu, later crowned Téwodros II (1855–1868), conquered Ali Alula and put an end to the Age of Princes. Although his rule was met with a certain amount of instability, Téwodros II is credited with consolidating the empire and paving the way for the elimination of the feudal system that destroyed the Christian empire and its monarchy in the first place.

See also: TÉWODROS II (Vol. IV); TIGRAY (Vols. I, IV, V).

Zimba East African ethnic group indigenous to the region southwest of Lake Malawi in present-day MALAWI, ZAMBIA, and MOZAMBIQUE. The Zimba are probably related to the Karanga, the original Bantu-speaking settlers of the region to the west of Lake Malawi. In the 15th century Zimba territory was overrun by the groups that would come to constitute the MARAVI, a loosely organized confederation of peoples in and around Malawi that came to power in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Maravi group most closely associated with the Zimba are the Lundu peoples, who split from the KALONGA chiefdom in the middle of the 16th century, migrated south, and peacefully assimilated the Zimba into their chiefdom.

In the 16th century Portuguese spice traders had settled MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND, Angoche, and QUELIMANE, on East Africa's southern coast to the west of Zimba territory, but had not attempted to move into the inhospitable inland regions to the north of the ZAMBEZI RIVER. In the second half of the century, though, they attempted to monopolize the region's lucrative IVORY TRADE. In response a Lundu group, probably led by fierce Zimba warriors, pushed east into the coastal region between KILWA

and MOMBASA, disrupting the ivory trade and leaving death and destruction in their wake.

In 1592 the Portuguese attacked the Maravi groups who lived to the south of Lake Malawi. They were forcefully repelled by these Maravi, whom they called *mazimba*, and were subsequently routed from SENA, an important trading center on the Zambezi. Tales of Zimba fierceness kept the Portuguese from making further attempts to settle lands to the north and west of Mozambique Island until the middle of the 17th century.

By the middle of the 18th century the Portuguese, seeking to capitalize on the area's GOLD trade, had assumed control of most of the former Zimba territory. When slave trading became a force in the region, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Zimba were subject to raids by Arab, YAO, and European traders from the east. Also during this period some of the Zimba were subjugated by the Macanga, a chiefdom ruled by the descendants of Portuguese Indian immigrants.

See also: KARANGA (Vol. II); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Zimbabwe Country in southern Africa measuring approximately 150,900 square miles (390,800 sq km) and bordered by ZAMBIA to the north, MOZAMBIQUE to the east, SOUTH AFRICA to the south, and BOTSWANA to the west. The present-day capital and largest city is Harare.

Bantu-speaking Shona people dominated the region that is Zimbabwe by the 10th century. As competition for the ivory and GOLD trades increased in the 14th century, distinct centralized SHONA KINGDOMS emerged throughout the region. The first major kingdoms, Great Zimbabwe and Torwa, emerged by the mid-1500s. Also around this time, the MWENE MUTAPA kingdom was established. This kingdom, which came to power in northeastern Zimbabwe, was built on the gold trade. In the late 17th century the kings of the ROZWI dynasty emerged, conquered the Mwene Mutapa, and seized control of the gold trade.

The MFECANE, or "The Crushing," a mass migration caused by ZULU expansion in the early 19th century, forced new peoples into Shona lands. The movement of people led to the establishment of the Ndebele kingdom but also eventually caused the disintegration of some Shona states—including the kingdom led by the Rozwi kings—that had been weakened by earlier NGONI assaults.

See also: GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); HARARE (Vol. V); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); ZIMBABWE (Vols. I, II, IV, V).

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Zulu (AmaZulu) Clan of the Bantu-speaking NGUNI people of Natal, in SOUTH AFRICA. The Nguni were divided into the Mthethwa, Elangeni, Ndwandwe, and Zulu clans. These were part of a larger people, including the NDLAMBE, Gcaleka, Thembu, MPONDO, Mpondomise, Bhaca, and Hlubi clans, who inhabited much of southern Africa. Early in the 1800s the Zulu clan became predominant and gave its name to a new empire.

Each Zulu clan, which was highly patriarchal, had its own chief, who was the senior male. By virtue of patrilineal descent, he had both religious and political authority. The clan chief was its leader in war and its law giver and judge in peacetime. Most clan leaders were related by marriage to the local king.

Traditional Zulu religion was based on a belief in a supreme being and supernatural powers. The king performed seasonal rituals in the name of the people to propitiate his royal ancestors at planting time and in times of drought or famine.

The Zulu clans were both pastoral and agricultural. The women grew millet, and the men tended the cattle. Marriages were generally arranged between clans, and cattle were used as *lobola,* or bride-wealth. Women moved to the villages of their mates. Polygamy was practiced, and wives were ranked by seniority, starting with the chief wife, who was the mother of the heir. In some circumstances widows married the dead husband's brother.

In 1807 DINGISWAYO (d. 1817) of the Mthethwa clan began the process of absorbing nearby Nguni clans into a larger centralized state. He also began a trade relationship with the Portuguese at MOZAMBIQUE. Dingiswayo was assassinated, in 1817, by the head of the rival Ndwandwe clan. For his heir, Dingiswayo had chosen SHAKA (1787–1828) of the Zulu clan. Shaka made the Zulu the dominant Nguni clan in the region and continued the process of expansion and conquest that Dingiswayo had begun.

Under Shaka, the Zulu nation developed into a military power, dominating the region for most of the 19th century and engaging in wars of expansion against its neighbors and the colonial powers. Zulu expansion led to the MFECANE of the 1820s and 1830s, which forced the

Zulu warriors, circa 1865, shown in traditional dress. Their distinctive headgear, the markings on their shields, and the ornaments on their clothing were used to distinguish members of different regiments in battle. *© Corbis*

migration of many peoples and permanently changed the social and political structure of southern Africa. The Zulu empire fell after of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. In that confrontation, Zulu armies effectively fought the British army to a standstill until the Zulu leader, Cetshwayo (c. 1826–1884), was defeated at Ulundi.

See also: ANGLO-ZULU WAR (Vol. IV); BRIDE-WEALTH (Vol. I); CETSHWAYO (Vol. IV); ZULU (Vols. IV, V).

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GLOSSARY

agriculturalists Sociological term for "farmers."

agro-pastoralists People who practice both farming and animal husbandry.

alafin Yoruba word for "ruler" or "king."

Allah Arabic for "God" or "Supreme Being."

Americo-Liberian Liberians of African-American ancestry.

ancestor worship Misnomer for the traditional practice of honoring and recognizing the memory and spirits of deceased family members.

al-Andalus Arabic term for Muslim Spain.

animism Belief that inanimate objects have a soul or life force.

anglophone English speaking.

apartheid Afrikaans word that means "separateness"; a formal system and policy of racial segregation and political and economic discrimination against South Africa's nonwhite majority.

aphrodesiac Food or other agent thought to arouse or increase sexual desire.

askia Arabic word meaning "general" that was applied to the Songhai kings. Capitalized, the word refers to a dynasty of Songhai rulers.

assimilados Portuguese word for Africans who had assimilated into the colonial culture.

Australopithicus africanus Hominid species that branched off into *Homo habilis* and *A. robustus*.

Australopithicus anamensis Second-oldest species of the hominid *Australopithicus*.

Australopithicus ramadus Oldest of the apelike, hominid species of *Australopithicus*.

Australopithicus robustus A sturdy species of *Australopithicus* that came after *A. africanus* and appears to have been an evolutionary dead end. *Australopithecus robustus* roamed the Earth at the same time as *Homo habilis*.

balkanization The breaking apart of regions or units into smaller groups.

barter Trading system in which goods are exchanged for items of equal value.

bey Governor in the Ottoman Empire.

Bilad al-Sudan Arabic for "Land of the Blacks."

bride price The payment made by a groom and his family to compensate the bride's father for the loss of her services because of marriage.

British Commonwealth Organization of sovereign states that were former colonies under the British Empire.

caliph Title for Muslim rulers who claim to be the secular and religious successors of the Prophet Muhammad.

caliphate Muslim state ruled by a caliph.

caravel A small, maneuverable ship used by the Portuguese during the Age of Discovery.

caste A division of society based on wealth, privilege, rank, or occupation.

circumcision The cutting of the clitoris (also called clitorectomy or clitoridectomy) or the prepuce of the penis; a rite of passage in many African societies.

cire perdu French for "lost wax," a technique used to cast metals.

clan   A group that traces its descent from a common ancestor.

conflict diamonds   Gems that are sold or traded extra-legally in order to fund wars.

conquistadores   Spanish for "conquerors"; term used to describe the Spanish leaders of the conquest of the Americas during the 1500s.

constitutional monarchy   State with a constitution that is ruled by a king or queen.

customary law   Established traditions, customs, or practices that govern daily life and interaction.

degredados   Portuguese criminals who were sent to Africa by the Portuguese king to perform hazardous duties related to exploration and colonization.

dhow   Arabic word for a wooden sailing vessel with a triangular sail that was commonly used to transport trade goods.

diaspora   Word used to describe a large, readily distinguishable group of people settled far from their ancestral homelands.

divination   The interpretation of supernatural signs, usually done by a medicine man or priest.

djembe   African drum, often called "the healing drum" because of its use in healing ceremonies.

emir   A Muslim ruler or commander.

emirate   A state ruled by an emir.

endogamy   Marriage within one's ethnic group, as required by custom or law.

enset   Another name for the "false banana" plant common in Africa.

ethnic group   Term used to signify people who share a common culture.

ethno-linguistic   Word used to describe a group whose individuals share racial characteristics and a common language.

eunuch   A man who has been castrated (had his testicles removed), generally so that he might be trusted to watch over a ruler's wife or wives.

francophone   French speaking.

government transparency   Feature of an open society in which the decisions and the policy-making process of leaders are open to public scrutiny.

griot   Storyteller, common in West African cultures, who preserves and relates the oral history of his people, often with musical accompaniment.

gross domestic product (GDP)   Total value of goods and services produced by a nation's economy, within that nation. GDP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

gross national product (GNP)   Total value of goods and services produced by the residents of a nation, both within the nation as well as beyond its borders. Like GDP, GNP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

hajj   In Islam, a pilgrimage to Mecca.

hajjiyy   "Pilgrim" in Arabic.

hegira   Arabic for "flight" or "exodus"; generally used to describe the move of the Muslim prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina.

hominid   Biological term used to describe the various branches of the Hominidae, the family from which modern humans descend according to evolutionary theory.

ideology   A coherent or systematic way of looking at human life and culture.

imam   A spiritual and political leader of a Muslim state.

imamate   The region or state ruled by an imam.

indigénat   Separate legal code used by France in its judicial dealings with the indigenous African population of its colonies.

infidel   Term used as an epithet to describe one who is unfaithful or an unbeliever with respect to a particular religion .

infrastructure   Basic physical, economic, and social facilities and institutions of a community or country .

Janissary   From the Turkish for "new soldier," a member of an elite Ottoman military corps.

jebel   "Mountain" in Arabic.

kabaka The word for "king" in Babito and Buganda cultures.

kemet Egyptian for "black earth."

kora Small percussion instrument played by some griots.

kraal Enclosure for cattle or a group of houses surrounding such an enclosure.

lineage A group whose individuals trace their descent from a common ancestor; usually a subgroup of a larger clan.

lingua franca Common language used by speakers of different languages.

Luso-African Word that describes the combined Portuguese and African cultures, especially the offspring of Portuguese settlers and indigenous African women. (The Latin name for the area of the Iberian Peninsula occupied by modern Portugal was Lusitania.)

madrasa Theological school for the interpretation of Islamic law.

Mahdi Arabic word for "enlightened one," or "righteous leader"; specifically, the Muslim savior who, in Islamic belief, is to arrive shortly before the end of time.

mamluk Arabic for "one who is owned"; capitalized, it is a member of an elite military unit made up of captives enslaved and used by Islamic rulers to serve in Middle Eastern and North African armies.

mansa Mande term for "king" or "emperor."

marabout A mystical Muslim spiritual leader.

massif A mountainous geological feature.

mastaba Arabic for an inscribed stone tomb.

matrilineal Relating to descent on the maternal, or mother's, side.

medina Arabic word for the old section of a city.

megaliths Archaeological term meaning "large rocks"; used to describe stelae and such features as cairns and tumuli that mark important places or events for many ancient cultures.

mestizo Adjective meaning "of mixed blood."

mfecane Zulu word meaning "the crushing." When capitalized, the word refers to the nineteenth-century Zulu conquests that caused the mass migration of peoples in southern Africa.

microliths Archaeological term meaning "small rocks"; used to describe sharpened stone blade tools of Stone Age cultures.

Monophysite Related to the Christian tradition that holds that Jesus Christ had only one (divine) nature.

Moor An Arab or Berber conqueror of al-Andalus (Muslim Spain).

mulatto The offspring of a Negroid (black) person and a Caucasoid (white) person.

mwami Head of the Tutsi political structure, believed to be of divine lineage.

negusa negast "King of kings" in Ethiopic; traditional title given to the ruler of Ethiopia.

neocolonialism Political or economic policies by which former colonial powers maintain their control of former colonies.

Nilotic Relating to peoples of the Nile, or Nile River basin, used especially to describe the languages spoken by these peoples.

Nsibidi Secret script of the Ekoi people of Nigeria.

oba Yoruba king or chieftain.

pasha A high-ranking official in the Ottoman Empire.

pashalik Territory or province of the Ottoman Empire governed by a pasha.

pass book A feature of apartheid-era South Africa, pass books were identification documents that black Africans, but not whites, were required by law to carry at all times.

pastoralists People whose livelihood and society center on raising livestock.

patriarch Male head of a family, organization, or society.

patrilineal Relating to descent through the paternal, or father's, side.

poll tax A tax of a fixed amount per person levied on adults.

polygyny The practice of having more than one wife or female mate at one time.

prazeros Portuguese settlers in Africa who held prazos.

prazos Similar to feudal estates, parcels of land in Africa that were leased to Portuguese settlers by the Portuguese king.

primogeniture A hereditary system common in Africa by which the eldest child, or more commonly, the eldest son, receives all of a family's inheritance.

proverb A short popular expression or adage. Proverbs are tools for passing on traditional wisdom orally.

pygmy Greek for "fist," a unit of measurement; used to describe the short-statured Mbuti people.

qadi Arabic for "judge."

Quran (also spelled Koran) Arabic for "recitation," and the name of the book of Muslim sacred writings.

ras A title meaning "regional ruler" in Ethiopia.

rondavel Small, round homes common in southern Africa.

salaam Arabic for "peace."

sarki Hausa word for "king."

scarification Symbolic markings made by pricking, scraping, or cutting the skin.

secret society Formal organizations united by an oath of secrecy and constituted for political or religious purposes.

shantytowns A town or part of a town consisting mostly of crudely built dwellings.

sharia Muslim law, which governs the civil and religious behavior of believers.

sharif In Islamic culture, one of noble ancestry.

sheikh (shaykh, sheik) Arabic word for patrilineal clan leaders.

sirocco Name given to a certain type of strong wind in the Sahara Desert.

souk Arabic word for "market."

stelae Large stone objects, usually phallus-shaped, whose markings generally contain information important to those who produced them.

stratified Arranged into sharply defined classes.

stratigraphy The study of sequences of sediments, soils, and rocks; used by archaeologists to determine the approximate age of a region.

sultan The king or sovereign of a Muslim state.

sultanate The lands or territory ruled by a sultan.

syncretism The combining of religious beliefs to form a new religion.

taboo (adj.) forbidden by custom, usually because of the fear of retribution by supernatural forces; (n.) a prohibition based on morality or social custom.

tafsir Arabic for "interpretation," especially as regards the Quran.

taqwa In Islam, the internal ability to determine right from wrong.

taro Another name for the cocoyam, an edible tuber common throughout Africa.

tauf Puddled mud that, when dried, serves as the foundation for some homes in sub-Saharan Africa.

teff A grass native to Africa that can be threshed to produce flour.

theocracy Government of a state by officials who are thought to be guided by God.

ulamaa Islamic learned men, the inheritors of the tradition of the prophet Muhammad.

vizier A high-ranking official in a Muslim state, esp. within the Ottoman Empire.

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Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN HISTORY
AND CULTURE

VOLUME IV

THE COLONIAL ERA

(1850 TO 1960)

R. Hunt Davis, Jr., Editor

A Learning Source Book

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

For my students who have gone on to teach
about the African past and present

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Colonial Africa, 1914

ATLANTIC OCEAN

SPANISH MOROCCO

MOROCCO

TUNISIA

Mediterranean Sea

Black Sea

Caspian Sea

LIBYA

EGYPT

ALGERIA

SPANISH SAHARA

MAURITANIA

Red Sea

NIGER

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

SENEGAL

GAMBIA

ERITREA

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

FRENCH SOUDAN

SOMALILAND

GUINEA

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

DAHOMEY

NORTHERN NIGERIA

FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (OUBANGUI-CHARI)

ETHIOPIA

SIERRA LEONE

IVORY COAST

LIBERIA

GOLD COAST

SOUTHERN NIGERIA

KAMERUN

TOGOLAND

UGANDA

BRITISH EAST AFRICA

SPANISH GUINEA

BELGIAN CONGO

FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (GABON AND FRENCH CONGO)

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

CABINDA

INDIAN OCEAN

ANGOLA

NORTHERN RHODESIA

NYASALAND

ATLANTIC OCEAN

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

MOZAMBIQUE

MADAGASCAR

Walvis Bay (BR)

BECHUANALAND

N

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

SWAZILAND

BASUTOLAND

Independent	
Portuguese	
British	
French	
Belgian	
German	
Spanish	
Italian	

0   800 Miles

0   800 Kms

Political Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

MOROCCO

TUNISIA

Mediterranean Sea

Canary Is. (SPAIN)

WESTERN SAHARA

ALGERIA

LIBYA

EGYPT

Red Sea

MAURITANIA

CAPE VERDE

MALI

NIGER

CHAD

ERITREA

REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

DJIBOUTI

SENEGAL

THE GAMBIA

BURKINA FASO

ETHIOPIA

GUINEA-BISSAU

GUINEA

NIGERIA

SIERRA LEONE

IVORY COAST

GHANA

BENIN

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

SOMALIA

LIBERIA

TOGO

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE

GABON

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

UGANDA

RWANDA

KENYA

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

BURUNDI

SEYCHELLES

Cabinda (ANGOLA)

TANZANIA

Indian Ocean

Atlantic Ocean

ANGOLA

MALAWI

COMOROS

ZAMBIA

MADAGASCAR

MOZAMBIQUE

NAMIBIA

ZIMBABWE

MAURITIUS

Réunion (FRANCE)

BOTSWANA

SWAZILAND

N

SOUTH AFRICA

LESOTHO

1 North Africa
2 East Africa
3 West Africa
4 Central Africa
5 Southern Africa

0   800 Miles

0   800 Kms

Physical Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

Mediterranean Sea

ATLAS MTS.

AHAGGAR MTS.

LIBYAN DESERT

Nile R.

Arabian Desert

Red Sea

S A H A R A   D E S E R T

TIBESTI MTS.

S A H E L

CHAD BASIN

NIGER BASIN

Niger R.

Cape Verde Is.

FOUTA DJALLON HIGHLANDS

Lake Chad

SUDAN BASIN

Blue Nile

Lake Tana

Gulf of Aden

Horn of Africa

ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS

OGADEN DESERT

White Nile

Lake Volta

Benue R.

Niger R.

Bight of Benin

Bight of Bonny

Lake Albert

Lake Turkana

Congo R.

equator

CONGO BASIN

▲ Mt. Kenya

▲ Mt. Kilimanjaro

Lake Victoria

Lake Tanganyika

Pemba I.

Zanzibar

Atlantic Ocean

Indian Ocean

BIHE PLATEAU

Lake Nyasa

Zambezi R.

Mozambique Channel

NAMIB DESERT

KALAHARI DESERT

Orange R.

GREAT KAROO

DRAKENSBURG MTS.

Cape of Good Hope

N

Legend

- ■ Alpine and montane
- Tropical forest
- Savanna and steppe
- Desert
- Temperate grassland
- Mediterranean vegetation

0		800 Miles
0		800 Kms

CONTENTS

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T

HOW TO USE THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA

This encyclopedia is organized chronologically, dividing the African past into five major eras. This division serves to make it easier to study the vastness and complexity of African history and culture. It also allows students and general readers to go directly to the volume or volumes they wish to consult.

Volume I, *Ancient Africa,* deals with Africa up to approximately 500 CE (roughly, in terms of classical European history, to the Fall of the Roman Empire and the dissolution of the Ancient World on the eve of the emergence of Islam). The volume also includes articles on the continent's key geographical features and major language families. In addition you will find articles that deal with certain basic aspects of African life that, in essential ways, remain relatively constant throughout time. For example, rites of passage, funeral customs, the payment of bride-wealth, and rituals related to spirit possession are features common to many African societies. Although these features can evolve in different cultures in radically different ways, their basic purpose remains constant. Accordingly, rather than try to cover the evolution of these cultural features in each volume, we offer a more general explanation in Volume I, with the understanding that the details of these cultural touchstones can vary widely from people to people and change over time.

On the other hand there are entries related to key cultural and social dimensions whose changes are easier to observe over time. Such entries appear in each of the volumes and include architecture, art, clothing and dress, economics, family, music, religion, warfare, and the role of women.

Volume II, *African Kingdoms,* focuses on what may be loosely termed "medieval Africa," from the sixth century to the beginning of the 16th century. This is the period that witnessed the rise and spread of Islam and, to a lesser degree, Arab expansion throughout much of the northern and eastern regions of the continent. It also saw the flowering of some of Africa's greatest indigenous kingdoms and empires. Other Africans, such as the Maasai and Kikuyu living in and around present-day Kenya, did not live in powerful states during this time yet developed their own dynamic cultures.

Volume III, *From Conquest to Colonization,* continues Africa's story from roughly 1500 to 1850. During this era Africa became increasingly involved with the Atlantic world due to European maritime exploration and subsequent interaction through trade and cultural exchanges. This period also included the rise of the transatlantic slave trade, which in turn created the African Diaspora, and the beginnings of European colonization. As a result, it marks a period when the dynamics shaping African culture and society began to shift.

Volume IV, *The Colonial Era,* covers Africa during the years 1850–1960. This historical period begins with Europe's conquest of the continent, leading to the era of colonial rule. Political control enabled Europe to extend its economic control as well, turning Africa into a vast supply depot of raw materials. Volume IV also covers the rise of nationalist movements and the great struggle Africans undertook to regain their independence.

Volume V, *Independent Africa,* deals with the continent since 1960, when Africans began regaining their independence and started to once again live in sovereign states. (This process, of course, took longer in the southern portion of the continent than in other parts.) In common with the rest of the world's people, however, Africans have faced a host of new and challenging problems, some of which are specific to Africa, while others are of a more global nature.

In addition to the aforementioned cultural entries that appear in all five volumes, there are entries for each of the present-day countries of the continent as identified on the Political Map found at the front of each volume. Readers can thus learn about the key developments in a given country within a given time period or across the entire span of African history. There are also articles on individual ethnic groups of Africa in each of the volumes. Since there are more than a thousand identifiable groups, it has been necessary to limit coverage to the major or key groups within a given period. Thus, a group that might be historically important in one period may not be

sufficiently important, or may not even have existed, in a period covered by one or more other volumes. Likewise, there are entries on the major cities of the continent for given time periods, including, in Volume V, all the present national capitals. Another key set of entries common to all volumes concerns historically important persons. In general, historians are more readily able to identify these individuals for recent periods than for earlier times. As a result the latter volumes contain more individual biographical entries. An exception here is the case of Ancient Egypt, where historical records have enabled us to learn about the roles of prominent individuals.

In preparing these volumes, every attempt has been made to make this encyclopedia as accessible and easy to use as possible. At the front of each volume, readers will find an introduction and a timeline specific to the historical era covered in the volume. There are also three full-page maps, two of which appear in all five volumes (the current political map and a physical map), and one that is specific to the volume's time period. In addition the front of each volume contains a volume-specific list of the photographs, illustrations, and maps found therein. The List of Entries at the front of each volume is the same in all volumes and enables the reader to quickly get an overview of the entries within the individual volumes, as well as for the five-volume set. Entries are arranged alphabetically, letter-by-letter within each volume.

Entry headwords use the most commonly found spelling or representation of that spelling, with other frequently used spellings in parentheses. The question of spelling, of course, is always a major issue when dealing with languages utilizing an alphabet or a script different than that used for English. Changes in orthography and the challenges of transliteration can produce several variants of a word. Where there are important variants in spelling, this encyclopedia presents as many as possible, but only within the entries themselves. For easy access to variant and alternate spelling, readers should consult the index at the end of each volume, which lists and cross-references the alternate spellings that appear in the text.

Each volume contains an index that has references to subjects in the specific volume, and the cumulative index at the end of Volume V provides easy access across the volumes. A cumulative glossary appears in each volume and provides additional assistance.

The entries serve to provide the reader with basic rather than exhaustive information regarding the subject at hand. To help those who wish to read further, each entry is linked with other entries in that volume via cross-references indicated by SMALL CAPITALS. In addition the majority of entries are followed by a **See also** section, which provides cross-references to relevant entries in the other four volumes. The reader may find it useful to begin with one of the general articles—such as the ones dealing with archaeology, dance, oral traditions, or women—or to start with an entry on a specific country or an historically important state and follow the cross-references to discover more detailed information. Readers should be aware that cross-references, both those embedded in the text and those in the **See also** section, use only entry headword spellings and not variant spellings. For those readers who wish to research a topic beyond the material provided in individual and cross-referenced entries, there is also a **Further reading** section at the end of many entries. Bibliographical references listed here guide readers to more in-depth resources in a particular area.

Finally, readers can consult the **Suggested Readings** in the back of each volume. These volume-specific bibliographies contain general studies—such as atlases, histories of the continent, and broad works on culture, society, and people—as well as specialized studies that typically cover specific topics or regions. For the most part, these two bibliographic aids contain those recently published works that are most likely to be available in libraries, especially well-stocked city and college libraries. Readers should also be aware that a growing number of sources are available online in the form of e-books and other formats. The World Wide Web is also a good place to look for current events and developments that have occurred since the publication of this encyclopedia.

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

This volume covers a complex and event-filled period in African history. In 1850 most of the continent was under the rule of Africans, though there were portents of the colonial era to come. These included the French invasion and control over Algeria, beginning in the 1830s, various small colonial footholds on the West African coast, and the steadily expanding white settlement in South Africa. By 1960 Africa was again on its way to regaining its independence. Indeed, 1960 is sometimes called "the Year of Africa," since it marked the achievement of independence for so many African countries. The 110 intervening years saw the full-scale colonial conquest of Africa, the establishment of European colonial rule throughout the continent (except for nominally independent Liberia and for Ethiopia), the emergence of nationalist movements, and their gradual triumph throughout much of the continent in the 1950s. The end of the colonial era was not complete, however, until South Africa's democratic election, in 1994. These dramatic changes in the political scene found parallels in the economies, societies, and cultures of the continent.

During the last decades of precolonial independence, African leaders were busily engaged in state building. Egypt, under Khedive Ismail, extended its control over the Nilotic Sudan. To the southeast, a trio of strong emperors—culminating with Menelik—reestablished the political unity of Ethiopia. In the western Sudan, Islamic reformers such as al-Hajj Umar Tal continued establishing states based on Islamic principles, while the Sokoto Caliphate of northern Nigeria reached its zenith. The Ashanti Empire continued its expansion in the forest zone of West Africa, as did other states. Turmoil gripped Yorubaland, however, as various states struggled for supremacy in the aftermath of the Oyo Empire's collapse. In the East African interior, Kabaka Mutesa led Buganda to a position of regional dominance, while, further south, Mirambo built a powerful though short-lived state among the Nyamwezi. Zanzibar's ruling Busaidi dynasty of Arabs established control over much of the Swahili Coast and,

under Barghash, pushed inland along the trade routes from the coast. Further south, Lobengula consolidated Ndebele rule over much of present-day Zimbabwe, while in South Africa Cetshwayo was leading a resurgent Zulu kingdom.

Colonial rule brought a rapid end to the era of independent African states and powerful African rulers. The people of coastal cities and societies had for some time been in contact with Europeans and had been responding to or adapting elements of European culture to fit their own societies. These Westernized entities included the Fante Confederation and organizations such as the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society. Individuals who steered a middle course between their own African cultures and those of the European colonizers included Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, James Africanus Beale Horton, and John Tengo Jabavu. Also, major European colonies had taken root in North Africa and South Africa well before the 1884–85 Berlin Conference that signaled the final European assault that ended in the continent's partition.

Colonialism became the dominant force in Africa after the 1880s, disrupting societies deeply rooted in their own histories and cultures. Africans often vigorously resisted, leading to extended conflicts such as the Cape Frontier Wars between the Xhosa and the Cape Colony, the Anglo-Ashanti Wars, and the Italo-Ethiopian Wars. Major battles included those at Omdurman, Isandlwana, and Adowa, the last two being rare African victories. Charismatic figures emerged to lead the African resistance, including Morocco's Abd el-Krim, Yaa Asantewa in the Ashanti Empire, Jaja and Nana Olomu in the Niger Delta, the Ndebele king Lobengula, and the Zulu king Cetshwayo. One of the more fervent forms of resistance emerged based on Islam. Leaders of Islamic anticolonial movements included Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi, the Khalifa Abdallahi ibn Muhammad, who led the Mahdiyya in the Sudan, and the Somali nationalist Muhammad Abdullah Hassan. After the colonial conquest, there were some initial armed revolts, such

as the Chimurenga in Zimbabwe and the Maji-Maji Rebellion in Tanzania. On the whole, however, colonial military forces ruthlessly and effectively suppressed these uprisings. Large-scale revolutionary movements against colonial rule did not again resurface until after World War II had come to an end, in 1945.

Once colonial control was established, the European conquerors focused on how best to establish "colonial rule," which took a number of different forms following specific philosophies. Africans, in turn, had to come to terms with the colonial presence. Throughout the continent individuals such as Ferhat Abbas in Algeria, Egypt's Duse Mohammed Ali, Joseph Ephraim Casely-Hayford in the Gold Coast, Blaise Diagne in Senegal, Sir Apolo Kagwa in Uganda, Harry Thuku of Kenya, and South Africa's John L. Dube developed nascent political organizations and labor unions to assert African interests within the colonial framework. Many became involved with African-Americans in the context of Pan-Africanism, which helped promote the political demand of "Africa for the Africans" that helped spawn a more assertive African nationalism. A new generation of nationalists emerged that included Habib Bourguiba in Tunisia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Léopold Senghor of Senegal, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, the Congo's Patrice Lumumba, and Zimbabwe's Ndabaningi Sithole. They founded political parties that promoted nationalism and independence. Ghana's independence, in 1957, marked the first major success. Usually independence came relatively peacefully, often facilitated by the United Nations. However, bitter and prolonged struggles took place in Algeria and in Kenya, and the reluctance of colonial powers to grant rights to Africans foreshadowed future conflict in the Portuguese colonies and southern Africa, more generally.

The influence of colonialism extended well beyond the political sphere. The colonial culture that evolved included a substantial religious dimension. Christianity played a significant social and political role throughout the continent, with a steady expansion under both European and African leadership that built on the missionary efforts of the previous century. This expansion, in turn, led to interaction with indigenous religions, regional variation, and the emergence of independent churches under individuals such as the Prophet William Wade Harris and Alice Lenshina. Parallel to the expansion of Christianity was a growth of Western-style education that included founding schools and universities such as Achimota College and Fort Hare College. This Western-style education increasingly took over from indigenous education and competed in the colonial era with Islamic education. A major development of education was the expansion of literacy in Arabic, European, and indigenous languages. Literacy, in turn, led to the emergence of popular newspapers and magazines. African published literature began to appear, with some authors, such as Tanzania's Shaaban Robert, utilizing indigenous languages. Others, such as Léopold Senghor and Chinua Achebe, wrote in the colonial languages. Significant cultural changes also took place in the spheres of architecture, art, and music. Many of these cultural changes were associated with the growth of cities and the evolving urban life and culture.

The colonial economy, too, underwent drastic changes and became increasingly geared to exports. Industrialization was limited outside of South Africa. Transportation and other aspects of the colonial infrastructure, including the further development of port cities and building of major dams, were primarily designed to facilitate the export economy. Agriculture was the economic mainstay. While subsistence agriculture continued to produce food crops, cash crops increasingly dominated the agricultural sector. African peasants grew many of the cash crops, especially in West Africa, but in the Belgian Congo and elsewhere, European concessionaire companies ran large plantations. White farmers predominated in southern Africa. Mineral exploitation was the other critical component of the colonial export economy, with large European-run firms such as Union Miniere controlling the mining industry.

By 1960, then, the political map of Africa had changed dramatically, as had African society and culture. As Africans entered a new era of independence, conditions of life would be vastly different from those of the years prior to 1850.

TIME LINE (1840–1964)

1840	Busaidi dynasty completes move of its capital from Oman to the island of Zanzibar
	As many as 100,000 Europeans are living in Algeria
1840s–1850s	Groundnuts (peanuts) become a valuable cash crop in the Senegambia region
1850–1860	Muslim Sokoto Caliphate reaches height of influence, encompassing more than 30 West African emirates
1853–1859	Muhammad Ali ibn al-Sanusi, a Sufi holy man, leads efforts to expel European colonialists from North Africa
1854–1873	Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone traverses southern and East Africa, adding much to Europeans' knowledge of the continent
1856–1857	Xhosa people kill their cattle in an ill-fated attempt to free themselves from British colonialism
1860–1884	Mirambo rules largest Nyamwezi state in present-day Tanzania
1864–1893	Ahmadu Séku leads West Africa's Tukulor Empire
1866	Discovery of the huge Eureka Diamond, near the Orange River, launches South Africa's Mineral Revolution

1868–1873	Non-Ashanti Akan states along the Gold Coast form the Fante Confederation
1869	Egypt's Suez Canal opens
1869–1887	Jaja rules over the merchant kingdom of Opobo, in Nigeria
1873–1874	Britain lays siege to Kumasi, the Ashanti capital, and declares the Gold Coast Colony, in present-day Ghana
1877–1893	Yoruba states engage in civil war in southwestern Nigeria
1879	Anglo-Zulu War in Natal, South Africa; Zulus win the Battle of Isandlwana only to later lose the war
1884–1885	European powers meet at the Berlin Conference to discuss the colonial partition of Africa, launching an intense period of colonial conquest
	Belgium's King Leopold gains international recognition of his personal rule over the Congo, leading to the Congo Free State
1885	The Mahdi, a warrior and holy man named Muhammad Ahmad, dies shortly after his victory over the Egyptian forces in the Sudan
1887	Ethiopian emperor Menelik II makes Addis Ababa his capital

Gold mining begins on South Africa's Witwatersrand

1888 De Beers Consolidated Mines founded, establishing diamond cartel in South Africa

King Lobengula signs a treaty with Cecil Rhodes, permitting Rhodes to search for minerals in Ndebele lands

1888–1892 Kingdom of Buganda is embroiled in religious civil war

1893 French defeat Tukulor Empire of Ahmadu Seku

1893–1914 Pacifist and human rights champion Mohandas Gandhi works among the Indian population in South Africa

1895 Failed Jameson Raid leads to the resignation of Cecil Rhodes as prime minister of Britain's Cape Colony

1896 Ethiopians defeat Italian forces at the Battle of Adowa

1896–1897 First Chimurenga rebellion in Southern Rhodesia (today's Zimbabwe)

1896–1901 Britain imports 30,000 indentured laborers from India to work on the railways in British East Africa

1897 British forces burn and loot Benin city in southern Nigeria

1898 Aborigines' Rights Protection Society founded in Gold Coast Colony (present-day Ghana)

France defeats Samori Touré's Mandinka empire in West Africa

1898–1899 Britain defeats Mahdist forces at Battle of Omdurman, establishing dominion over present-day Sudan

1899–1902 Anglo-Boer War in South Africa

1900 Muslim slave trader and empire builder Rabih bin Fadlallah is killed by French forces near Lake Chad

1903 Britain conquers Sokoto Caliphate in Northern Nigeria

1904–1908 Herero and Nama people are decimated during their rebellion against occupying German forces in South West Africa (today's Namibia)

1905–1906 Spirit medium Kinjikitile inspires unsuccessful Maji-Maji rebellion in southern German East Africa (present-day Tanzania)

1906 Bambatha, a Zondi chief, leads the last Zulu rebellion against British colonialists in Natal, South Africa

1908 Belgian government takes over the former Congo Free State of King Leopold II

1910 Formation of the Union of South Africa

1912 Moulay Hafid signs the Treaty of Fez, making Morocco a French protectorate

South African Native National Congress founded; it is later renamed the African National Congress

1914 Blaise Diagne of Senegal is first African elected as a deputy to the French National Assembly

1914–1918 World War I in Europe

1915 John Chilembwe leads failed "Rising" rebellion in Nyasaland (present-day Malawi)

1916	French forces put down final major Tuareg rebellion in Aïr
1917	Marcus Garvey moves his Universal Negro Improvement Association to New York, spreading message of racial pride and African unity
1919	League of Nations founded with Liberia and the Union of South Africa the only African states among its forty-two founding members
1920	English soap manufacturer William Lever acquires the Royal Niger Company to gain access to African palm oil
1921–1934	Thousands of African laborers die building the railway from Pointe-Noir to Brazzaville, in French Congo
1922	Doctrine of British colonial rule known as the "Dual Mandate" described in book published by colonial administrator F. J. Lugard
	The tomb of King Tutankhamun is discovered in Egypt
1924–1965	Humanitarian Albert Schweitzer directs his famed missionary hospital at Lambaréné, in present-day Gabon
1926	In Morocco, the Rif Republic of Abd el-Krim is dismantled by combined French and Spanish forces
1929–1930	Women of Aba, Nigeria, lead a successful revolt against British colonial taxation
1929–1939	Great Depression affects economic markets worldwide
1930	Ras (Prince) Tafari Makonnen from Harer becomes emperor of Ethiopia, taking the name Haile Selassie

1932	Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, the authoritarian prime minister, comes to power in Portugal
1935–1936	Italo-Ethiopian War in Ethiopia; Haile Selassie flees to England
1937	Gold Coast cocoa farmers strike to protest British agricultural policy in African colonies
	In Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe founds *The West African Pilot*, an influential nationalist newspaper
1939–1945	World War II
1944	Heads of state of the Francophone African countries meet at Brazzaville to discuss post-war arrangements
1945	United Nations established, with Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa among its founding states
1946	Felix Houphouët-Boigny and Ahmed Sekou found the African Democratic Assembly; effective African independence and nationalism movements spread throughout the continent
1946–1956	British colonial police, later joined by the British army, brutally repress anti-colonial Mau Mau insurrection, in Kenya
1947	Alioune Diop founds *Presence Africaine*, an influential journal for black intellectuals from around the world
1948	Afrikaner-led Nationalist Party wins South African elections and begins instituting racist apartheid laws
1949	With the slogan, "Self Government Now," Kwame Nkrumah founds the radical Convention Peoples Party in Gold Coast

1951	Libya's independence acknowledged by the United Nations
1952	*Palm Wine Drunkard*, by Amos Tutuola, is the first book written in English to be published by an African author
	Free Officers Committee, headed by Gamal Abdel Nasser, seizes power in Egypt
1953	Several hundred African workers killed by Portuguese colonial police in the Batepa Massacre, in São Tome and Príncipe
1953–1963	Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia united as the Central African Federation
1954–1962	*New Age,* a militant national newspaper opposing white rule, published in South Africa
	Algerian War coming to an end with France recognizing Algeria's independence
1955	Bandung Afro-Asian Conference, held in Indonesia, lays the groundwork for the Non-Aligned Movement
	Freedom Charter calling for a non-racial South Africa adopted by the multi-racial Congress of Democrats
1955–1959	Construction of the Kariba Dam, at the time, the largest dam project in the world
1956	Morocco, Tunisia, and Sudan achieve independence
1956	Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal, leading to war with Britain, France, and Israel; UN peacekeeping forces intervene

1957	Ghana achieves independence
	Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* published
1958	Guinea declares independence
1958–1966	Hendrik Verwoerd, an ardent advocate of apartheid, serves as prime minister of South Africa
1959	The Pan-Africanist Congress, a black militant organization, founded in South Africa
1960	Benin, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of Congo, Dahomey, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, and Upper Volta all achieve independence
	Police kill 69 black protesters in Sharpeville, South Africa
	South Africa's Albert Lutuli awarded Nobel Peace Prize
1961	Tanganyika, Sierra Leone achieve independence
	Recently elected prime minister Patrice Lumumba assassinated, sparking political crisis in the Congo
1962	Algeria, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda achieve independence
1963	Kenya achieves independence
1964	Malawi and Zambia achieve independence

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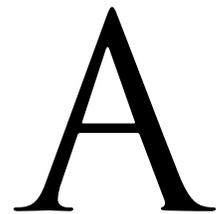
Aba Women's Revolt (1929–30) First major revolt by women in the West African region. Organized by rural women living in the Oweri and Calabar provinces of present-day NIGERIA, the revolt demonstrated the women's ability to organize powerful resistance to the British colonial administration in Eastern Nigeria. The Ogu Ndem, or Women's War, so surprised British administrators that, out of embarrassment, they preferred to call it a mere riot. There were many causes for the revolt, but the primary ones involved the economic policies implemented by the colonial administration in heavily populated Eastern Nigeria. The most onerous policy was the colonial TAXATION of Africans, which, during the Great Depression, brought tremendous hardship upon the people. As a result the simple attempt of a colonial census taker to question a woman in the village of Oloko sparked off the Aba Women's Revolt.

According to reports, a widow named Nawanyeruwa was asked by the census taker to state the number of people, goats, and sheep in her household. In the past the colonial census was taken for the purposes of increasing taxation. Convinced that this new census would again lead to a rise in taxes, the widow angrily asked the census taker, an IGBO man, whether his own mother was ever counted. (In traditional Igbo society, women did not pay taxes.) After the encounter Nawanyeruwa quickly rushed to the town square, where the women were meeting to discuss the present tax problem. Hearing the widow's story and believing that they would be the next to be counted, the women invited other women from the neighboring towns and villages to join them in protest.

In response to the call, within a few days more than 10,000 women gathered in the town. They pressured the warrant chief, an Igbo man named Okugo, to have the colonial government stop further taxation or resign his chieftancy. Women throughout Igboland took to the streets demanding not only that women be exempted from paying taxes, but that the unpopular warrant chiefs be removed from their positions immediately. Demonstrations and sit-down strikes took place in all major Igboland towns and cities. The outcry forced the British district officer to put Okugo on trial for assaulting two women during the revolt in Okolo, and the warrant chief was eventually found guilty and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

The women who figured prominently in the Aba revolt are still admired in Igbo society. Nawanyeruwa is honored for sparking the revolt. The Oloko Trio—Ikonnia, Mwannedia, and Nwugo—became known as the "Emissaries of Peace, and Apostles on Non-Violence." Madam Mary Okezie (1906–1999) is remembered as the intellectual leader of the Nigerian women's movement, an elegant writer of petitions and letters.

Although the situation seemed improved, the women were outraged further when a reckless British driver accidentally hit and killed two of the protesters in Aba. In response, Aba women burned down government office buildings and European-owned businesses, causing the colonial administration to send the police and army to put

down the revolt. Recognizing the power of the women's movement, the colonial administration struck a compromise with the women leaders from Oloko, asking them to end their revolt and go around the region to explain that women would never again be asked to pay taxes.

In 1930 the colonial administration set up a commission to study the causes of the revolt. The most important of the commission's many conclusions was that women should be given a greater role in the decisions affecting the way their society is run. In this way the women of the Aba revolt provided a precedent for the future role of women in Nigeria.

The Aba Women's Revolt was a harbinger of the influence that rural Igbo women would exert on future political activities. As a consequence of the revolt the system of warrant chieftancy was abolished, and women were appointed to the Native Court system, which was responsible for advising the colonial administration. These changes paved the way for the national political movements that led to Nigerian independence.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Michael Crowther, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd, 1968).

Abbas, Ferhat (1899–1985) *Algerian nationalist*

The son of a middle-class family from Constantine, ALGERIA, Ferhat Abbas was a pharmacist by training. Until 1936 his political philosophy was that of a liberal reformer. He believed in assimilation with France and took part in a movement that demanded equal rights for Algerian Muslims under French rule. The objectives of Abbas and other *évolués,* as the more French-oriented Algerians were called, was to have Algeria become a full-fledged province of France with all its population being French citizens.

In 1938 Abbas reversed his thinking and became a nationalist. He founded a political party called the Algerian Popular Union, which advocated equal rights for French and Muslims and the preservation of Muslim culture. In 1943, during World War II (1939–45), Abbas helped to write the "Manifesto of the Algerian People," which called for an Algerian state but stopped short of demanding independence from France.

At the end of the war Abbas became a deputy to the Constituent Assembly, in Paris, where he spoke out in support of Algerian self-rule. French authorities arrested him in 1945 for participating in anticolonial demonstrations, not freeing him until the following year. Upon his release he founded a middle-class political party, the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto, which in the 1946 legislative elections won 11 of the 13 seats allocated for Muslim Algerians in the Constituent Assembly.

The emergence of the rural, peasant-led NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN) at the forefront of the Algerian struggle against France caught Abbas by surprise. While increasingly supportive of the FLN cause, he did not become a member until April 1956, when he escaped from Algeria to CAIRO, EGYPT, to join the organization. In 1959 Ferhat Abbas became the first president of the Temporary Government of the Algerian Republic, in exile. His position as president was largely ceremonial, however, since the real power within the FLN lay with Ahmed BEN BELLA (1916–   ) and Houari Boumédienne (1927–1978).

After Algeria gained independence, in 1962, Abbas became president of the Algerian National Assembly, but President Ben Bella imprisoned him for opposing his attempt to reduce the National Assembly's role in government. When Boumédienne overthrew Ben Bella, in 1965, he released Abbas, who then focused on writing. Abbas provides an insider's view of the Algerian revolution through publications such as his 1980 book, *Autopsy of a War: The Dawn.* In 1992 the university in Sétif, which was founded in 1978, was renamed Ferhat Abbas University in his honor.

See also: BOUMÉDIENNE, HOUARI (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Abder-Rahmane Derradji, *A Concise History of Political Violence in Algeria, 1954–2000: Brothers in Faith, Enemies in Arms* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 2002).

Abdallahi ibn Muhammad (Abdullahi ibn Muhammad; The Khalifa) (1846–1899) *Leader of the Mahdist movement in the Sudan*

A member of the nomadic Baggara ethnic group living in the DARFUR region of present-day Republic of the SUDAN, Abdallahi played an instrumental role in the creation of the Mahdist movement that transformed his native country in the late 19th century. Along with other Muslims of his time, he expected the coming of the *mahdi,* the long-awaited redeemer ordained by God to appear at "the end of time" to fill the world with his justice. In 1881, after a long search for this holy figure, he encountered Muhammad Ahmad (1844–1885) and proclaimed him to be the *mahdi.* In return, Muhammad Ahmad named Abdallahi as his *khalifa,* or successor, and gave him the title of "commander of the armies" with control over the administrations of the expanding Mahdist state. Muhammad Ahmad's aim was to overthrow the Egyptian colonial government of the Sudan. In the subsequent four years of fighting, Abdallahi commanded the Black Flag division of the Mahdist army, composed of Baggara warriors.

In 1885, less than six month after securing victory, Muhammad Ahmad, by then widely known as Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI, died. Abdallahi succeeded him as the leader of the MAHDIYYA, as al-Mahdi's movement had become known. Abdallahi chose Omdurman as his capital over the former capital of KHARTOUM, on the other side of the Nile River. Taking the title of *khalifa al-mahdi,* (the successor of the mahdi), Abdallahi consolidated his power over his rivals, ruling in an autocratic manner. A number of his policies caused discontent and rebellion, especially his abandonment of al-Mahdi's fiscal reforms and his return to the hated, Ottoman forms of taxation that al-Mahdi had condemned during Egyptian rule. Abdallahi also reinstituted a secular government managed by a bureaucracy made up of Sudanese civil servants who had worked for the previous Egyptian administration. Moreover, he continued to rule through a military rather than a civilian government.

For al-Mahdi, rule over the Sudan was to have been the first step toward a revived Islamic state; for Abdallahi, the goal was a strong Sudanese state. Accordingly, he struggled to formalize the Sudan's international boundaries by expanding east toward ETHIOPIA, north toward EGYPT, and west into the Sultanate of Darfur. Fighting erupted, with mixed results. In 1887 Mahdist troops made a successful large-scale raid deep into Ethiopia. In 1889, however, a combined British and Egyptian force soundly defeated the Abdallahi's army when it attempted to push into southern Egypt. Britain also was determined to avenge the death of British general Charles George GORDON (1833–1885), who had been killed at the siege of Khartoum in 1885. In a two-stage advance that began in 1896, British forces attacked and defeated the Mahdist state, with the final decisive confrontation at the Battle of OMDURMAN (1898). Khalifa Abdallahi escaped with some of his forces, only to be killed during his army's defeat at the Battle at Umm Diwaykarat, in 1899.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881–1898,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); P. M. Holt and M. W. Daly, *A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day* (London: Longman, 1988).

Abd el-Krim, Mohamed ben (Abdel Karim, Muhammad ben; Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi) (c. 1880–1963)   *Moroccan political and military leader*

A member of a privileged Berber family, Abd el-Krim became a dedicated opponent of European rule in North Africa, organizing political and military resistance and founding a short-lived independent republic. Eventually, however, he was unable to resist the com-bined forces of Spain and France, which forced his surrender and sent him into exile.

Born in Adjir, MOROCCO, about 1880, Abd el-Krim was educated at both Spanish and traditional Muslim schools. This included two years at the renowned Qarawiyyin University, in Fez, where he studied Islam and was exposed to the Islamic reformist ideas of the Young Turks. Still quite young, he began a career in the colonial administration. After a brief period in the Bureau of Native Affairs, he became, in 1918, a judge in the Melilla district, along the northern Mediterranean coast of Morocco. His experiences there, transformed him, and he became convinced that North Africa should be free of COLONIAL RULE. While serving as a judge Abd el-Krim also edited the Arabic section of the local Spanish newspaper, *El Telegrama del Rif.*

Abd el-Krim's opposition to Spanish rule increased until it eventually landed him in prison. A series of adventures, including a prison escape, led him to Melilla once again, and then back to Adjir. There, in 1919, he began organizing more radical resistance to colonial rule. Within a short time he assembled an effective fighting force that, in July 1921, defeated a major element of the occupying Spanish army, capturing or killing thousands of soldiers; the Spanish commanding general was among the dead. Seizing on that victory, Abd el-Krim founded the Republic of the RIF, organized along modernist Islamic lines, with himself as its first president.

Abd el-Krim's republic proved to be short-lived. Although he was temporarily successful in defeating attempts at regaining control by both Spain and France, eventually those powers combined to send more than 250,000 troops against Abd el-Krim's independent republic. Outnumbered and possessing grossly inferior weapons, Abd el-Krim was forced to surrender on May 27, 1926. He was then exiled to RÉUNION ISLAND, where he spent the next 20 years of his life.

After World War II (1939–45) he was given permission to move to France. Still a committed anticolonialist, he switched destinations en route, and, in 1947, he accepted an offer of political asylum in CAIRO, EGYPT. There he remained active in anticolonialist affairs, heading the Liberation Committee of the Arab West. Abd el-Krim's staunch opposition to colonialism was not softened even by the arrival of Moroccan independence, in 1956. When King MUHAMMAD V (1910–1961) invited the aging rebel back to his homeland, Abd el-Krim refused, saying that he would not return until North Africa was free of all French troops. He died in Cairo on February 6, 1963.

See also: BERBERS (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SPANISH MOROCCO (Vol. IV).

Further reading: C. R. Pennell, *A Country with a Government and a Flag: the Rif War in Morocco, 1921–1926* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1986).

Abeokuta Capital of the Ogun State in present-day southwestern NIGERIA. Abeokuta was founded in 1830 by refugees from the Egba sub-group of the YORUBA that were seeking an escape from the civil wars that swept their country. Its name stems from this and means "refuge among rocks."

Within a decade of Abeokuta's founding, MISSIONARIES of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) arrived. Joining them were members of the KRIO group from SIERRA LEONE who had originated in the area but ended up as captives in the transatlantic slave trade. Abeokuta became a thriving commercial town as well as one of Yorubaland's centers of Christianity and Western-style EDUCATION. One of its most famous inhabitants was Samuel JOHNSON (1846–1901), an ordained Anglican minister and early historian of the Yoruba.

In the 1870s the more westernized elements in the Abeokuta citizenry established the Egba United Board of Management (EUBM) to share the governing of the town with the older elite. The EUBM sought to halt the expanding British colonial authority emanating from the LAGOS Colony. Ultimately, however, the EUBM proved to be a divisive force, and by 1872 it had lost most of its power.

As part of its attempt to arrest the rising tide of European influence, in 1867 the EUBM forced European CMS missionaries to leave Abeokuta. Later, even the Yoruba minister James "Holy" Johnson (c. 1836–1917) was expelled.

In 1893 the British forced Abeokuta to sign a treaty that limited its independence, and the community once again became a center of CMS activities. Still, it was not until 1914 that Abeokuta, by then a town of 60,000, came fully under British COLONIAL RULE. Even then, a spirit of independence remained. In 1918 anger at British colonial rule led local citizens to tear up the railroad tracks that ran through town on the way from the coast to the northern interior. There were a number of fatalities, which led to a dispatch of 1,000 British troops. The ensuing battle led to about 500 rebel deaths. This action restored British authority, which remained firmly established throughout the rest of the colonial period.

See also: ABEOKUTA (Vol. III); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); EGBA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); YORUBALAND (Vols. II, III).

Abidjan Former capital city of present-day IVORY COAST. The coastal city of Abidjan became part of FRENCH WEST AFRICA in 1893. Its location on the Ébrié Lagoon, an arm of the Gulf of Guinea, made Abidjan an ideal site for both a railroad and a port. Abidjan began to grow after it was made the terminus for a railroad from the interio, in 1904. Port facilities for ocean-going vessels were not built until after 1950, when the Vridi Canal was cut through the sandbar that protected the deep, sheltered lagoon from the Gulf of Guinea.

In 1934 the capital of the French colony of Ivory Coast was moved from Bingerville to Abidjan. At that time the inhabitants of Abidjan numbered only about 17,000. The city remained the administrative and commercial capital of the colony until 1960, when Ivory Coast declared its independence from France. Abidjan then became the capital of the new nation.

Abidjan's growth was a result of rapid colonial development. Large numbers of workers from Ivory Coast and other areas of French West Africa migrated to the city, drawn by the availability of jobs. The city also became the intellectual center of Ivory Coast when the National University of Ivory Coast was opened, in 1958. By the time of independence, in 1960, Abidjan's population had reached 180,000.

See also: ABIDJAN (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY, FÉLIX (Vols. IV, V); YAMOUSSOUKRO (Vol. V).

Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS)
Early African-nationalist organization based in the GOLD COAST COLONY (today's GHANA). The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw an increase in African opposition to the expansion of European COLONIAL RULE. One expression of this opposition was the founding of the Fante National Political and Cultural Society. Organized in 1898 in the town of CAPE COAST, the organization assembled the educated Fante elite for the purpose of limiting the adverse impact of Western culture on traditional Fante culture. John Mensah SARBAH (1864–1910), a Western-educated lawyer, led the movement. While he and other society members approved of Western scientific knowledge, political ideas, and economic practices, they simultaneously opposed the excessive adoption of English ways and insisted that Africans should retain their names, their dress, and their languages. In short, they should not become "black Englishmen."

In 1897 the Fante National Political and Cultural Society transformed itself into the larger, multiethnic Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS). The first key issue for the ARPS was the Land Bill, which was legislation proposed by the British that would have given the colonial administration the power to take over all empty lands in the Gold Coast. The bill was strongly opposed by the people of the Gold Coast and of neighboring West African states as well. The ARPS was at the forefront of

protests against the bill, reminding fellow West Africans about the detrimental results of the allocation of African land to white settlers in KENYA, SOUTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE), and SOUTH AFRICA. The ARPS used a formidable press campaign, particularly its own newly founded newspaper, the *Gold Coast Aborigines,* to criticize the Land Bill and British colonial policies in general. Members organized letter-writing campaigns to the British Parliament, and Sarbah, along with fellow lawyer and ARPS member Awoonor Renner, spoke out against the bill in the Gold Coast Legislative Council. In May 1898 the society sent a delegation to London to present its case to both the House of Commons and the British public. They were effective, for Parliament not only dropped the Land Bill, but also decided to abandon the equally unpopular Hut Tax legislation.

After the success of the anti–Land Bill campaign, the ARPS continued to pay attention to other bills before the British Parliament, requesting that the society be consulted before passing legislation affecting the Gold Coast. The ARPS opposed the imposition of direct taxes, called for better educational opportunities, and demanded constitutional reforms that would involve the Fante elite more broadly in government. By 1905 the demands had resulted in the construction of some elementary and secondary schools in Cape Coast.

The society also succeeded in bringing together Western-educated and traditional elites to oppose colonial policies and injustice. Above all else the question of land ownership was one on which both sides agreed. Within a few years, however, this solidarity faded when the British introduced indirect rule, a policy that gave the traditional rulers more power over their own people and greater influence with the colonial administration.

Other nationalist organizations emerged to challenge the primacy of the ARPS, and by 1927 the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA had replaced it in importance. The legacy of the ARPS persisted, however, for it laid the groundwork for future West African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV).

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Accra Capital of present-day GHANA, located on the Gulf of Guinea. Accra's origins lie in three principal coastal villages built by the Ga people, each of which played host to a European settlement: Nleshi, with a British fort; Kinka, with a Dutch fort; and, 2 miles away,

Osu, with a Danish fort. In 1850 the British purchased the Danish fort and consolidated their power by assuming control of the Dutch fort as well, in 1868. The villages and forts eventually merged to form Accra. Britain established the GOLD COAST COLONY in 1874, and in 1877 the colony's capital was moved from CAPE COAST to Accra.

Accra's development differed markedly from that of other colonial port cities in Africa. Its origins resulted in a dual African and colonial character, allowing the city to remain the center of Ga life while still serving as a colonial capital. This dual nature was perhaps reflected most clearly by Carl REINDORF (1834–1917), a Presbyterian minister of Danish and Ga heritage, who was an important figure in Accra and a chronicler of the history of the Gold Coast.

Although it had fewer than 20,000 inhabitants in 1891, by 1931 Accra had more than tripled in population. By the 1930s the city had developed much of what would be its present-day street plan, and growth proceeded at a rapid pace. In 1957 Accra became the capital of the newly independent nation of Ghana. On April 15, 1958, Accra hosted the initial Conference of Independent African States, the first pan-African conference held in an African city.

See also: ACCRA (Vol. II, III, V); ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vol. III, IV); GA (Vols. II, III).

Achebe, Chinua (1930–   ) *Nigerian author*

Born Albert Chinualumogu Achebe in eastern NIGERIA, Achebe was raised as a Christian within IGBO cultural surroundings. He was educated in English and attended the Government College, in Umuahia, before going on to University College, IBADAN, where he was a member of its first graduating class, in 1953. While studying history and theology at the university he became interested in indigenous cultures and decided to use his Igbo name rather than his Christian one.

In the 1950s Achebe worked for the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. During this time he began to develop a distinctive literary voice that drew upon traditional culture. The negative portrayal of Africans in European novels prompted Achebe to launch his own literary career. The two books that influenced him the most in this regard were *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad (1857–1924), published in 1899, and *Mr. Johnson* by Joyce Cary (1888–1957), published in 1939. *Heart of Darkness* inspired Achebe to write, and *Mr. Johnson,* which was set in the familiar surroundings of his native Nigeria, gave Achebe a point of departure for refuting the negative stereotypes that Carey and other European authors presented when depicting Africans.

In 1958 Achebe published THINGS FALL APART, which earned him a global reputation as the foremost African novelist writing in English. He conceived of it as chal-

lenging the usual European portrayal of Africans. His method was to utilize the LANGUAGE and literature of the colonizer to challenge the very system of colonialism. This was the first of a number of both fiction and nonfiction books that were to make Achebe one of Africa's leading writers of the second half of the 20th century.

See also: ACHEBE, CHINUA (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Ezenwa-Ohaeto, *Chinua Achebe: A Biography* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1997).

Achimota College   Model, comprehensive secondary school located in ACCRA, GHANA. Originally Prince of Wales College, Achimota College was founded in 1927 by British governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg (1869–1930). The initial investment in the school, more than £600,000 sterling, was unusually large for launching an African school at that time. The student body was coeducational and consisted of both Africans and Europeans. The curriculum offered general secondary EDUCATION, post-secondary technical education, and teacher training. Within 10 years of its founding Achimota was also enrolling university students. Its student body was made up of 32 degree-track students in addition to 180 secondary students, and nearly 2,000 teacher-training students.

> **The piano keyboard on the Achimota College seal symbolizes cooperation between blacks and whites. About 30 years earlier the African-American educator Booker T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915) may have been the first to utilize this symbol in this way.**

Achimota's first principal was the Reverend. A. G. Fraser, a missionary from Britain. James E. K. AGGREY (1875–1927), a Ghanaian educated in North Carolina who had been strongly influenced by Booker T. Washington, was appointed assistant vice principal. The government absorbed the cost of tuition but required students to pay nominal school fees to enhance their respect for the education they received. Successful students competed for scholarships to study at British universities. Achimota College moved to a separate campus in 1948 and was called the University College of the Gold Coast. In 1957 the college's name was changed to the University of Ghana at Legon.

See also: EDUCATION (Vol. V).

Addis Ababa   Capital and largest city in ETHIOPIA, located on a plateau near the geographic center of the country. Ethiopia, its history dating as far back as the first century BCE, has had a number of capitals in the course of its rich history. Previous capitals fell into decline once the surrounding forests had been depleted for fuel and building supplies, and the kings and their courts moved on to more plentiful regions. Addis Ababa proved a more permanent seat of government than its predecessors.

In 1887 MENELIK II (1844–1913) founded Addis Ababa (meaning "new flower" in Amharic) in the SHOA province, where he was the ruler. In 1889, when Menelik became Ethiopia's emperor, he established Addis Ababa as the national capital. The city developed around the palace, Saint George's Cathedral, and the central market, known as the *Arada*.

Menelik's defeat of Italian forces in the Battle of ADOWA (1896) dispelled the threat of colonization and led to an influx to the city of European and Asian investors, merchants, and craftsmen, many of whom had a new respect for Menelik and Ethiopia. By 1900 the city's population had reached 40,000. The linking of Addis Ababa with the French-colonial port of DJIBOUTI via railway, in 1917, provided access to the sea and further solidified the city's status as Ethiopia's political and economic center.

> **When Menelik, facing a wood shortage, planned to move the capital, the entrenched foreign population protested. As an alternative Menelik encouraged the planting of eucalyptus trees in a large-scale reforestation effort that eventually earned the city the nickname "Eucalyptopolis."**

Ethiopia resisted colonization until 1936, when the government of Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) collapsed in the face of the invading Italian army. The resulting occupation, which lasted until 1941, had a tremendous impact on Addis Ababa. The Italians imposed a policy of neighborhood segregation, establishing Italian-only areas within the city. They changed the name of the Arada to the *Piazza* and converted it to a commercial district, moving the original market to Mercato. They also drove away many foreign proprietors, upsetting the local economy. Despite the social disruption caused by the Italian occupation the physical base of the city was much improved by the modern housing, roads, and other infrastructure constructed by Italian and Ethiopian workers during the occupation. By 1965 the city's population had surpassed 440,000.

See also: ADDIS ABABA (Vol. V); AMHARA (Vol. IV); AMHARIC (Vols. I, II); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Adowa, Battle of (Battle of Adwa) Decisive victory by Ethiopian forces, March 1, 1896, that led Italy to temporarily abandon its attempt to conquer ETHIOPIA. In 1889, the same year that he proclaimed himself *negus nagast* (king of kings) of Ethiopia, MENELIK II (1844–1913) entered into the Treaty of Wichele (Ucciali) with Italy. The Italians recently had occupied the Red Sea port of Assab, in ERITREA, where they established a colony. Menelik soon accused the Italians of misconstruing a clause in the treaty to claim a PROTECTORATE over Ethiopia, and in 1891 he denounced their claims. Confident that his forces, which he had been arming with modern weapons, were more than a match for any Italian invasion, Menelik then declared that he was ready to rid the region of the Italian presence.

Determined to put on a display of power, in 1895 the Italian government sent General Oreste Baratieri (1841–1901) to Ethiopia, where he met with some early success. Returning to Rome to a hero's reception, Baratieri vowed he would not only defeat the Ethiopian army, but would bring Menelik back to Rome in a cage. Menelik, however, had assembled a huge army of 196,000 soldiers, half of them with state-of-the-art weapons, near the Ethiopian town of Adowa. Baratieri was unaware of the size of the force opposing him until a column of 1,300 *askari* (Eritrean troops under Italian officers) was annihilated at Amba Alagi by a force of 30,000 Ethiopians. Baratieri then had his troops dig in at Adigrat, hoping to lure Menelik into attacking the relatively secure Italian positions. Menelik, however, could better afford to wait, for it was his home territory. Finally, after several long months and with his troops reduced to half their rations, Baratieri had no other choice but to attack.

The treacherous Ethiopian terrain, which had protected Ethiopians from their enemies for centuries, proved too much for the advancing Italian forces. Maneuvering in the dark and over a difficult and unfamiliar landscape, it was not long before they fell into complete disarray. Recognizing the plight of the opposing forces, the Ethiopians attacked. For a time the Italian force was able to hold them at bay. Eventually, though, the numbers and effective armaments of the Ethiopians proved insurmountable, and the Italians were completely defeated after having lost 289 of their officers, 2,918 European soldiers, and 2,000 *askari*. Others were missing or wounded, and several hundred were taken prisoner. Ethiopian casualties also were high, with 7,000 dead and 10,000 wounded.

News of the disastrous defeat caused an uproar in Italy, bringing down the government in power and leading to a change in policy toward Ethiopia. That October, with the Treaty of Addis Ababa, the Italian government made peace with Menelik, recognizing Ethiopia's independence. Around the world the people of the AFRICAN DIASPORA celebrated the news of the Ethiopian victory, seeing it as a sign of power and independence on the part of Africans and people of African descent.

A number of Europeans and *askari* were taken prisoner. Initially some 70 Italians and more than 200 *askari* were tortured to death before Menelik learned what was happening and put a stop to it. The prisoners were then marched to Menelik's capital, ADDIS ABABA, where they were held. Eventually the Italian government ransomed the European soldiers. The *askari,* however, met with a worse fate. As Tigrayans from Eritrea, they were considered to be traitors by Menelik, and they were given the traditional Ethiopian punishment for treason—the loss of the right hand and left foot.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

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Afghani, Jamal al-Din al- (Jamal al-Din Afghani) (1838–1897) *Teacher, political agitator, and developer of a pan-Islamic philosophy*

Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani was an intellectual and activist who believed that Islam could find a middle position between a conservative rejection of everything Western and a liberal, blind acceptance of it. Politically he advocated pan-Islamism, a philosophy urging all Muslim nations to unite in combating European domination. He presented and defended his reformist and modernist view of Islam in newspaper articles, lectures, polemics, and other writings.

As a youth al-Afghani studied at various Quranic schools in Afghanistan, Iran, and India. He intentionally obscured whether he was born in Iran or Afghanistan and which of the two major sects of Islam—Shiite or Sunni—he belonged, believing that people in the Islamic world would accept or reject his ideas based on these factors.

In 1870 al-Afghani traveled to EGYPT and taught at al-Azhar University, in CAIRO. There he clashed with conservative Muslims over his reformist ideas. After leaving al-Azhar he opened an independent academy that attracted a number of young Egyptians who later became political leaders or Islamic reformers. These included Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), one of the greatest

Muslim thinkers of the late 19th century, and Sad Zaghlul (1857–1927), the founder of the WAFD PARTY and leader of Egypt's independence struggle after World War I (1914–18).

Al-Afghani's opinions brought him into direct conflict with Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), viceroy of Egypt under the Ottoman Empire. Between 1870 and 1879 Khedive Ismail's thinking became more Eurocentric. In addition, Ismail's financial mismanagement had emptied the government treasury, and he was under great pressure from Egypt's European creditors. Al-Afghani chafed at the Egyptian government's commitment to secularization. He became politically active when Britain and France assumed control of Egypt's financial affairs. Seeking to implement a program of political and social reforms, al-Afghani branded Khedive Ismail's spending a mismanagement of public funds. He worked behind the scenes with Ismail's son, Muhammad Tawfiq Pasha (1852–1892), to depose Ismail. However, once Tawfiq became khedive, he ignored the reforms and in 1879 expelled al-Afghani from Egypt.

In 1881 al-Afghani published *The Refutation of the Materialists,* a book in which he asserted the superiority of Islam over other religions. Islam, he argued, was the religion best able to overcome materialism, which he viewed as the enemy of religion and culture. Al-Afghani's philosophy of Islamic renewal and resistance to Western domination continues to influence Egyptian thought today.

See also: ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); MALIKI SUNNI DOCTRINE (Vol. III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE (Vol. III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SHIISM (Vol. III).

African Democratic Assembly (Rassemblement Democratique Africain, RDA) Multi-colony, multi-ethnic, political organization of FRENCH WEST AFRICA. In 1946, at the BAMAKO Conference, a group of African elites and politicians, led by Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993) and Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984), founded the RDA as the first inter-territorial political organization in Africa. The RDA called for full equality among all citizens and quickly became popular in IVORY COAST, Houphouët-Boigny's home. Eventually the RDA established a presence in all of French West Africa except MAURITANIA, and it also became active in other French African colonies such as CHAD and GABON.

Although Houphouët-Boigny claimed that the organization was not a political party, the RDA spawned associated, individual political parties in each of the constituent territories. In GUINEA, for example, the Democratic Party of Guinea, founded in 1947, evolved from the RDA. In addition, the RDA inspired opposition parties as the elites and politicians struggled with the concept of colonial federation. In SENEGAL, for example, Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001) founded the Senegalese Democratic Bloc in 1948.

Those who followed Houphouët-Boigny supported the concept of territorialism, also endorsed by France, which envisioned each colony as an independent nation-state that would bargain on its own terms with France. In contrast, those who followed Senghor supported the concept of federation so that those colonies lacking resources (land-locked colonies like NIGER, UPPER VOLTA [now BURKINA FASO], and FRENCH SOUDAN [now the Republic of MALI]) would be more economically viable and thus able to negotiate with France from a position of strength.

Initially the RDA was radically anti-imperialistic and held strong ties with the French Communist Party. Although the French government was wary of this association, as well as the RDA's anti-imperialist ideology, France accepted and encouraged the growth of political parties as long as it felt that it could regulate them. France responded to the ideology and philosophy of the RDA by taking measures to diffuse its strength by running opposition candidates, removing supporters from government employment, and occasionally jailing its leaders. These moves weakened the RDA, and France eventually persuaded Houphouët-Boigny to split from the more radical RDA elements. He was also encouraged to sever the party's ties with the French Communists. As a result the RDA survived and soon resumed its prominent role in French West African politics. Houphouët-Boigny, for his part, became the most influential politician in French-speaking Africa.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

African diaspora The mass dispersion throughout the world of peoples of African culture or origin. The history of the African diaspora is tied, though not exclusively, to the SLAVE TRADE. The Indian Ocean and trans-Saharan slave trades, which existed centuries before their Atlantic counterpart developed, initiated the beginnings of African communities in the Middle East and Asia as early as the first century BCE. By the 18th century the practice of SLAVERY had resulted in groups of African captives on nearly every continent. To varying degrees of success, enslaved Africans struggled to maintain their cultural and ethnic identities under the immense hardships of slavery. Through their efforts the languages, values, and traditions of many African ethnic groups were spread throughout the world.

The African diaspora, however, was not a one-way phenomenon. In 1787, for example, former slaves from Britain, Canada, and the Caribbean founded the FREETOWN settlement in SIERRA LEONE, and in 1821 another group of freed captives from the United States established LIBERIA. These "repatriated" Africans, who themselves belonged to various ethnicities, developed new cultures that blended with Western influences. The results were the

development of groups such as the KRIO in Sierra Leone and the Americo-Liberians in Liberia. These Africans were highly influential in bringing Western EDUCATION, culture, and ideas into Africa. These Western influences, however, were not always welcome.

Members of the African diaspora had an immense impact on African history during the colonial era. Many of the diaspora's leading figures of the time, such as Edward Wilmont BLYDEN (1832–1912), Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940), and W. E. B. DU BOIS (1868–1963) helped fuel African nationalism and develop PAN-AFRICANISM and NÉGRITUDE. They also created movements and organizations outside of Africa, such as the BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENTS, the Harlem Renaissance, and the Nation of Islam.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ETHIOPIANISM (Vol. IV); RASTAFARIANISM (Vol. V); RECAPTIVES (Vol. IV); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

African National Congress (ANC) South African political organization that led the resistance movement against APARTHEID. Upon its inception, in 1910, the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA made it clear that black Africans would not have an equal political voice. In response, Pixley ka Isaka Seme (1882–1951) invited all Africans to form a national organization to provide a platform for political action. As a result of Seme's call a broad spectrum of African leaders came together at Bloemfontein, in 1912, and founded the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), with John L. DUBE (1871–1946) as the organization's first president. Though it supported various strikes and protests during the early stages of its existence, the nascent SANNC took a decidedly conservative approach in its struggle against the racist South African government.

In 1914 the SANNC sent a delegation to Britain to convey African objections to the 1913 Natives' Land Act, which prevented Africans from buying land outside the "Native Reserves" and forced thousands of Africans from their homelands. The delegation included Dube and Sol T. PLAATJE (1876–1932), the SANNC's first secretary-general. Officials in Britain, however, responded to the group's concerns with determined apathy, and the delegation returned to South Africa having accomplished little.

Many of the SANNC's early leaders were educated in Britain and the United States, and they believed in the power of persuasion and the sanctity of the legislative process. As a result the SANNC was slow to gain a mass following. During much of the 1920s the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, which fought against unfair working conditions through effective use of strikes and other militant actions, was more active and popular than the SANNC. In 1923 the SANNC changed its name to the African National Congress.

As the 1920s came to an end the ANC continued to founder in its fight against the South African government and in its efforts at gaining a larger base of support. As a result the organization experienced an internal rift between moderate and militant factions. The lack of results produced by the moderates allowed the ascension of a more radical leadership, with Josiah Gumede (1870–1947) assuming the ANC presidency, in 1927. Under Gumede's stewardship the organization began to work closely with the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). However, strong opposition to Gumede and his support for the CPSA perpetuated the ANC's infighting and led to Gumede's electoral defeat at the 1930 convention.

Gumede was succeeded by Seme, who attempted to return the ANC to a more moderate style. However, there was still a portion of the ANC's membership disillusioned with this approach, and the organization was effectively paralyzed by internal strife throughout the 1930s. In 1940 Alfred Xuma (1893–1962) became president of the ANC. Xuma was effective in making the ANC more efficient, but, like Seme, he was a moderate, and the call for a more aggressive form of resistance soon made Xuma's stance obsolete.

In 1944 a group of young ANC members, unhappy with the organization's moderate leadership, formed the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL). The group was led by Anton Lembede (1914–1947) and also included Walter SISULU (1912–2003), Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993), and Nelson MANDELA (1918–). The ANCYL promoted African nationalism and believed that a militant resistance, including massive strikes and protests was the best way to achieve success in the fight against the South African government.

The ANCYL benefited from the increasing URBANIZATION that took place in South Africa during the 1940s, as the concentration of young African males in urban areas led to the formation of local activist organizations, whose members were mostly favorable toward the Youth League's call for militancy. At the same time the ANC, which had historically been composed of intellectuals and elites, evolved to include more working-class Africans in its membership. By 1947 the ANC Youth League had largely taken control of the ANC with Lembebe, Tambo, and Ashby Mda (1916–) sitting on the national executive committee.

During this time the ANCYL developed a model of activism called the Progamme of Action, which endorsed the active use of civil disobedience. In 1948 the South African National Party (NP), running on a pro-segregation

platform, won the national elections, ushering in the era of apartheid. The NP's victory rallied support for the Program of Action. The following year James Moroko (1891–1985) of the Youth League was elected to succeed Xuma as ANC president, confirming the primacy of the Youth League faction within the organization. The ANC allowed women to join the organization beginning in 1943, and in 1948 the ANC Women's League was formed.

The rise of the ANCYL brought other changes to the ANC's philosophy on activism. The new leaders believed that the ANC could benefit by working with other activist organizations, and they soon created a joint planning council in collaboration with heads of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC). Emboldened by its alliances with other anti-apartheid groups, in 1952 the ANC launched a defiance campaign, calling on the population to defy apartheid laws with the hope that the resulting mass arrests would overwhelm the police and justice systems. The campaign garnered widespread support, and thousands were arrested. Though the effort failed to bring about any legislative changes, it strengthened the ANC's relationships with other activist groups and swelled the ANC's paid membership from under 10,000 to more than 100,000 in less than a year.

Seeking to coordinate South Africa's various anti-apartheid organizations, the ANC, SAIC, South African Coloured People's Organization, South African Congress of Democrats (a white anti-apartheid group), and the multiracial South African Congress of Trade Unions organized a mass meeting called the Congress of the People. At the congress, held in 1955, the groups introduced the FREEDOM CHARTER, an alternative to the apartheid system based on tenets of racial equality and the equal distribution of South Africa's land and resources. Near the end of the congress police surrounded the meeting, took the names of the attendees, and ordered them to leave.

The next year the government claimed that the Freedom Charter encouraged illegal, Communist activity. Using the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, the government arrested 156 leaders of the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations and charged them with high treason, a crime punishable by death. The trial lasted five years, but all of the defendants were eventually freed. During the trial the ANC was still active organizing strikes and campaigning against pass laws, which controlled the movement of black Africans throughout South Africa.

Though popular support for the ANC continued to increase, the organization experienced an internal rift toward the end of the 1950s. Some ANC members, calling themselves Africanists, were unhappy with the policy of cooperation with non-black organizations. Unable to reconcile their views with the non-racist policies of the ANC, the Africanists broke from the organization and founded the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC), in 1959, with Robert SOBUKWE (1924–1978) as president.

Looking to upstage the ANC, the PAC organized an anti-pass-law campaign to begin 10 days before a similar ANC campaign was set to begin. In March 1960 the PAC urged people to gather at police stations without their passes and offer themselves for arrest. One of the larger demonstrations occurred in the city of Sharpeville, where more than 5,000 protesters gathered at the police station. Toward the end of the day, in a peaceful but increasingly tense atmosphere, police opened fire, killing at least 69 of the demonstrators.

The Sharpeville incident marked a turning point for the ANC, which soon was banned and had to move its operations underground. At the same time many within the ANC leadership came to believe that in order to achieve political change in South Africa they would have to accept the use of violence. This led to the formation of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Mandela was named its commander in chief and began the ANC's armed resistance in 1961.

See also: AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (Vol. V); AFRIKANERS (Vols. IV, V); JABAVU, DAVIDSON DON TENGO (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SHARPEVILLE (Vol. V); UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Vol. V).

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Afrikaans South African LANGUAGE of the AFRIKANERS, which was developed from a dialect of Netherlandic, or Dutch, spoken by European colonists in SOUTH AFRICA in the late 18th century. In the 19th century Christian MISSIONARIES began to codify the Afrikaans language to produce religious tracts. This effort ultimately led to the appearance, in 1859, of the Afrikaans language periodical *De Bode van Genadendal,* which published literature and accounts of church matters for black and white Christians. In 1876 a small group of white, Afrikaner nationalists established the first Afrikaans-only newspaper, *Di Patriot,* to promote the transformation of Afrikaans from a spoken to a written language. Codification of the language continued through 1915. Its standardization was completed under the auspices of the Afrikaner scholars of the Academy for Language, Literature, and Arts, which was established for that purpose in 1909.

The standardization of Afrikaans became the cultural core of the growing nationalist movement that arose after the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902). In 1925 Afrikaans replaced Dutch to become, with English, one of South Africa's two official languages. The political dominance of Afrikaans was institutionalized when the conservative,

Afrikaner-dominated Nationalist Party won a major electoral victory in 1948. Because it was the language of government, EDUCATION, and the political elite, Afrikaans came to represent white privilege and the statutory exclusion of other races through the ongoing implementation of APARTHEID.

See also: AFRIKAANS (Vols. III, V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Afrikaner Republics (Boer Republics)
Known individually as the TRANSVAAL and the ORANGE FREE STATE, states that emerged in the interior of SOUTH AFRICA during the latter half of the 19th century. Beginning in 1835 AFRIKANERS, who were settlers of Dutch and mixed European origins from the CAPE COLONY, began migrating north of the Orange River in search of arable land and hoping for greater independence from British COLONIAL RULE. Called the Great Boer Trek, the migration of Afrikaner *voortrekkers* (pioneers) led to conflict with several indigenous peoples, most notably the SOTHO, NDEBELE, TSWANA, and ZULU.

Formerly called *BOERS,* the Afrikaner settlers formed small states that were constituted as republics reminiscent of the Dutch Batavian Republic, which had briefly ruled the Cape Colony at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1845, however, Britain annexed NATAL, which lead to most of the trekkers retruning to the interior high veld. Then, in 1848, the British annexed the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers, naming it the Orange River Sovereignty. In 1854, after Britain withdrew its claims to the area in the Convention of Bloemfontein, Afrikaner settlers declared the independence of the Orange Free State.

During the latter half of the 1850s the republics of the Transvaal united to form the South African Republic (SAR). But the discovery of precious minerals, first DIAMONDS, in 1867, and then GOLD, in 1886, sparked the interest of the British imperial officials. As a result of this so-called MINERAL REVOLUTION the British annexed the SAR in 1877. Three years later Afrikaners rose in rebellion and inflicted a significant defeat on the British at Majuba Hill, leading to British recognition of the SAR's independence, in 1881. Paul KRUGER (1825–1904) became the republic's new president. During this time tensions arose between Afrikaner farmers and the English-speaking miners and fortune seekers—perjoritavely called UITLANDERS.

In 1899 conflict erupted between Britain and the Afrikaner Republics. The subsequent hard-fought ANGLO-BOER WAR involved the large-scale use of guerrilla tactics by Afrikaner commandos. On the British side the war included the severe PACIFICATION of civilian populations, primarily through the use of concentration camps. Britain managed to finally stamp out Afrikaner resistance, and the Treaty of VEREENIGING, signed in May 1902, concluded the war. Both the SAR and the Orange Free State were granted self-government by 1907, and in 1910 they were incorporated into the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, along with Natal and the Cape Colony.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); JAMESON RAID (Vol. IV).

Afrikaners
White South Africans, predominantly of Dutch or Huguenot Calvinist ancestry, who speak the LANGUAGE of AFRIKAANS and have historically held the belief of white and Christian supremacy. Used to refer to the Boer people, the term became more prevalent after the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902).

Between 1835 and the early 1840s many BOERS of the CAPE COLONY, though not the majority, moved farther inland to escape Britain's increasing influence on the political and social structure of the colony. Known as the "Great Boer Trek," the Boer migration met with determined resistance from various African tribes. Eventually, however, the Boers established secure settlements and founded the AFRIKANER REPUBLICS of the TRANSVAAL and ORANGE FREE STATE.

After the Anglo-Boer War the British quickly granted self-governing constitutions to the former Afrikaner states, now colonies of Britain. As Britain moved to incorporate the colonies into a union with the CAPE COLONY and NATAL, Afrikaners used their political position to ensure their continued dominance of the African population. Following the formation of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA the African population for the most part remained disenfranchised.

Unsatisfied with mere political domination, the Afrikaner-led union government pushed for further subjugation of the indigenous population. The Native's Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 confined African land ownership rights to less than 15 percent of the country's total land area. Further legislation reserved skilled employment for whites, limited African's from living permanently in the cities, and eventually ended the limited parliamentary representation for non-Europeans. These and other racist policies became the framework for the establishment of the APARTHEID system that was formally put into effect following the 1948 election.

Afrikaner Nationalism Afrikaners achieved their goals by dominating the political realm of the Union as well as that of the successor Republic of SOUTH AFRICA. From 1910 until 1994, when Nelson MANDELA (1918–) won election, every prime minister was an Afrikaner, including Louis BOTHA (1862–1919), Jan Christiaan SMUTS (1870–1950), J. B. M. HERTZOG (1866–1942), and D. F. MALAN (1874–1959). In addition, Afrikaners possessed cohesive political objectives and a sense of community

that was lacking in their English-speaking counterparts. Together these characteristics of the Afrikaner population formed a strong foundation for Afrikaner nationalism.

Afrikaner nationalism was marked by its attempts to promote the use of the Afrikaans language over English, to gain full political autonomy from Britain, to alleviate the relative poverty of rural Afrikaners, and to further strengthen white supremacy. In 1914 the National Party (NP) was founded to advance these concerns, and the party grew quickly as Afrikaners became disillusioned by Prime Minister Botha's conciliatory relationship with Britain.

During the 1920s Afrikaner nationalists supported strikes by white LABOR UNIONS that were upset with a movement to relax the rules on labor preferences for whites working in the GOLD mines. In 1922 the strikers, having seized JOHANNESBURG, took up fortified positions and declared the establishment of the White Workers' Republic. Smuts, now prime minister, quickly crushed the rebel strikers. His victory was short-lived, however, for much of the white labor force began to support Hertzog, who subsequently won the 1924 election and became prime minister.

Hertzog immediately began implementing a legislative agenda that paralleled the ideology of Afrikaner nationalists. His efforts were soon stymied, as political and economic pressures related to the Great Depression (c. 1929–39) shifted Hertzog's focus from promoting Afrikaner nationalism to ensuring his reelection in 1934. To strengthen his position, Hertzog formed a partnership with the previously defeated Smuts. The Hertzog-Smuts partnership succeeded, and their newly formed United Party (UP) carried the elections; Hertzog remained prime minister and Smuts became his deputy prime minister. Many Afrikaners, however, were unhappy with the alliance. Some of those disillusioned with the UP helped form the Purified National Party, which was led by D. F. Malan.

In 1938 Malan helped organize a reenactment of the Great Boer Trek, which was to highlight the hardships of past Afrikaners. After the reenactment the Voortrekker Monument was constructed outside PRETORIA to commemorate and glorify the supposed heroic efforts of the Afrikaners and to depict the falsely alledged perfidy of Africans.

Despite Smuts's supposed moderate regard for Afrikaner nationalism, his partnership with Hertzog introduced a wave of legislation that decreased the rights of Africans. Still, the more ardent Afrikaner nationalists were dissatisfied, and their discontent only swelled with the events of World War II (1939–45).

As war broke out, South Africa's leadership was split on what action the country should take. Hertzog preferred neutrality, while Smuts favored enlisting on the side of Britain, as South Africa had done in World War I (1914–18). Smuts prevailed in Parliament and once again became prime minister. Hertzog essentially was left out of South African political life until his death, in 1942.

Attracted by the tenets of Nazism, including its anti-semitic and "master race" ideologies, many Afrikaners supported alliance with Germany during World War II. Malan and the NP worked to suppress some of the more extreme pro-Nazi sentiment and organizations, especially as the tide of war shifted against Germany.

Afrikaner nationalists flocked to Malan and the NP, and after the war he was in a strong position to challenge Smuts and the UP in the 1948 elections. Running on a platform supporting total segregation, which they called *apartheid*, the NP, with the help of the unequal electoral weight given to Afrikaner-dominated rural areas, defeated Smuts. Malan became prime minister, and the NP took control of the government of South Africa. Afrikaner-nationalist ideology, even greater than that witnessed during the Hertzog era, infused the country's government.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vol. V); GREAT BOER TREK (Vol. III); KRUGER, PAUL (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

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Aggrey, James E. Kwegyir (1875–1927) *Prominent African educator during the colonial era*

James E. Kwegyir Aggrey was born in Anomabo in the Central Region of the British GOLD COAST COLONY (present-day GHANA). Educated in Wesleyan Methodist schools, he taught in Gold Coast mission schools before going to the United States to attend Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina. He graduated with a bachelor's degree, in 1902. There he met Rose Douglas, whom he married, in 1905. In 1921 and 1924 Aggrey was the only African on the two Phelps-Stokes Commissions on EDUCATION in Africa. The commissions examined schools in colonial Africa and made policy recommendations. As a member of the two commissions, Aggrey served as an intermediary between blacks and whites. He also pro-

vided links between education in Africa and in the southern United States. In 1924 he was appointed assistant vice principal of the newly established ACHIMOTA COLLEGE in the Gold Coast. In 1927 Aggrey was in New York City writing his doctoral dissertation at Columbia University when he became ill and died suddenly. His wife returned to Salisbury, where she subsequently became a school principal.

agriculture At the middle of the 19th century the vast majority of Africans lived in rural areas and supported themselves through agriculture. Thus they were living as their ancestors had lived for many centuries or, in some parts of the continent, for millennia. Agricultural practices had not been unchanging in the past. Indeed, the "American food complex" of crops such as maize (corn), GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), and cassava had been spreading throughout large areas as major crops of the continent since about the beginning of the 16th century. Nor was

agriculture simply for subsistence purposes, for Africans had long been trading surpluses of what they raised for other foodstuffs or for items produced by craftspeople in another village. These trade items included iron axes and hoes, salt, baskets, and cloth, among other things. Even so, until the 19th century most agriculture involved producing long-familiar crops and raising familiar animal breeds for consumption at the local level.

By 1850 long-standing patterns of agriculture were already beginning to change in many parts of the continent. This change centered on the large-scale production of CASH CROPS for external markets. This was later to become a principal feature of African agriculture during the colonial period and afterward. European INDUSTRIALIZATION had created a market for agricultural commodities from the tropics, especially oil crops such as groundnuts and PALM OIL. African producers, mostly in West Africa, responded by producing crops designated for consumption outside the continent. For example, British imports of palm oil, which amounted to 1,000 tons in 1810, reached

Trying to fight off swarms of locusts, these South African agricultural laborers headed out to protect crops with insecticide. Photo taken c. 1935.
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30,000 tons in 1953. The income generated from the sale of palm oil often went toward the purchase of imported European manufactured goods. In this way parts of Africa were beginning to become dependent upon world trade.

While West Africa was becoming increasingly engaged in producing cash crops prior to COLONIAL RULE, two areas of the continent were undergoing changes in agricultural practices due to the presence of European SETTLERS. These were SOUTH AFRICA, where Europeans had begun to settle and farm in the last half of the 17th century, and ALGERIA, where Europeans started settling by the 1820s. By the 1850s white farmers were becoming increasingly well established and were growing crops for European-style diets. The local population, with its land no longer used for traditional purposes, was reduced to working on white-owned farms for wages and had to fight for the right to work small garden areas and graze a few animals.

By the 1930s wine produced on white-owned farms in Algeria accounted for more than half of the colony's EXPORTS. Over the first half of the 20th century these farms were becoming increasingly mechanized. The result was a sharp decline in indigenous Algerian sharecroppers on whom the white landowners had at first depended for farm LABOR. By 1954 there were only 60,000 sharecroppers left from the 350,000 or so at the beginning of the century.

With the onset of colonial rule, cash-crop-commodity production for both export and settler farming expanded dramatically. Also, a new feature of the colonial ECONOMY emerged: the foreign-owned plantation. While groundnuts and palm oil produced by African farmers met local FOOD needs, RUBBER, sisal, and palm oil for export were increasingly grown on large, industrialized plantations. The huge Firestone rubber plantation in LIBERIA was a prime example.

African farmers also increasingly produced new crops strictly for export, including COCOA, COFFEE, and COTTON. Prior to World War II (1939–45), cash crops, whether grown by African peasant farmers, large-scale white commercial farmers, or European-owned plantations, constituted the core of African colonial economies.

Colonial governments therefore encouraged this production and engaged in agricultural research to improve the output of such crops. FOOD CROPS, on the other hand, were neglected. The agricultural labor force often was diverted to cash-crop production. In some areas, such as the

cocoa-producing regions of GHANA, this encouraged the cultivation of food crops in neighboring areas for sale to the workers on the cocoa farms. In many of the cotton-producing areas, however, the intensive labor demands of the crop led to a lack of sufficient labor for food crops. Severe food shortages often resulted. Nor did the economy promote the production of African food crops such as sorghum, yams, millet, and cassava for marketing to the growing urban areas. Colonial governments did support European farmers in producing crops for markets within Africa. An example is the South African government's support of the large-scale farming of maize for the South African cities. Conversely, there was a near total neglect of food crops grown by Africans for market. Instead the governments viewed African food-crop production as subsistence agriculture.

After World War II Africa underwent a dramatic population growth. Between 1900 and 1950 the population was growing at an already substantial annual rate of 1.2 percent. Then, in the 1950s alone, it grew by another 30 percent. The colonial emphasis on the production of export agricultural economies at the expense of food-crop production left Africa ill-prepared to increase or even sustain existing per-capita food production. This altered paradigm of African agriculture became another colonial legacy that burdened the newly independent African countries.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, II, III, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV).

Ahmadu Séku (Ahmadu Sefu, Ahmadu ibn Umar Tal) (d. 1898) *Head of the Tukulor empire*

Ahmadu Séku was the son of a HAUSA-slave mother and the Islamic reformist UMAR TAL (1794–1864), who led the JIHAD that established the TUKULOR EMPIRE in the region of the Upper Senegal and Upper Niger Rivers in the 1850s. Umar Tal had resisted French colonial military expansion, but by the late 1850s the two sides established a cease-fire. Internal rebellions threatened Umar Tal's rule, and it was in an attempt to suppress one such rebellion, in Macina, that he was killed, in 1864.

His son, Ahmadu—one of 50 children that Umar Tal fathered—finally assumed his father's position after a bitter succession dispute. Ahmadu inherited two of the principal problems that had faced Umar as the leader of the Tukulor empire. First he had to struggle incessantly to suppress internal rebellions, and second, starting in the 1870s, he had to face a resurgence of French colonial ambition in the West African interior. Out of necessity, in 1887 Ahmadu's Tukulor empire and France formed a temporary alliance against common African opponents. Within two years, however, the French had resumed their COLONIAL CONQUEST of former Tukulor territories, folding them into the interior portions of FRENCH WEST AFRICA. Ahmadu resisted, but the French were too pow-

erful, and by 1893 they had overwhelmed his forces. After staying on the move for a couple of years, Ahmadu settled in the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, his mother's homeland, where he died, in 1898.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MACINA (Vol. III).

Further reading: A. S. Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sudan: a Study in French Military Imperialism* (London: Cambridge U.P., 1969); B. O. Oloruntimehin, *The Segu Tukulor Empire* (London: Longman, 1972).

Akan   West African linguistic and ethnic group, located mostly in southern GHANA and IVORY COAST. Akan is part of the Kwa group of Niger-Congo languages. The Akan people are made up of several main dialect groups: the Ashanti, Fante, Akuapem, Akwamu, Akyem, Brong, and several others. In 1960 nearly 40 percent of the population of Ghana spoke a dialect of Akan, and it remains the most important LANGUAGE of the region. Akan is the language of the Ashanti religion, which is still actively practiced in Ghana.

Akan was the language of the Fante coastal peoples, who were among the first to experience direct COLONIAL RULE in West Africa. Akan was also the language of the ASHANTI EMPIRE, which flourished from the 17th century until the British, after a long and intense struggle, annexed it in 1895 as part of the GOLD COAST COLONY.

See also: AKAN (Vols. I, II, III); AKYEM (Vol. II, III); ASHANTI (Vol. II); FANTE (Vols. II, III); LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I).

Alexandria   Port city on the Mediterranean Sea and second largest city in present-day EGYPT. The rich and diverse history of Alexandria extends back to the founding of the city by the Macedonian king, Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE), in 332 BCE. In addition to being a major port, the city became known as a cultural and EDUCATION center, and immigrants from many nations gave it an international feel. Symbols of culture and wealth were constructed, including the immense Alexandria library and the Pharos lighthouse, which by the second century CE was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

After enjoying a reputation as one of Egypt's most important cities, Alexandria began a period of decline in 968, when conquering Arabs moved Egypt's capital to CAIRO. In 1517 Alexandria became part of the Ottoman Empire. By the time Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) arrived to take the city in 1798, Alexandria had fallen from being the world's second-largest city to little more than a fishing village of approximately 5,000 inhabitants. The arrival of Napoleon's forces, however, marked a reintroduction of Egypt to the European world.

By 1805 Muhammad Ali (1769–1849) took control of Egypt as the Ottoman Empire's appointed pasha. Under this Albanian-born officer Alexandria's importance was revived. The opening of two waterways—the Mahmudiyya Canal, linking Alexandria to the Nile River, in 1820, and the SUEZ CANAL, in 1869—increased the port traffic. By 1881 there was a movement among citizens for Egyptian leadership of the city. Britain, which had been increasingly influential in Egypt, put down the movement and by the end of 1882 had assumed control of the country. At the beginning of the 20th century Alexandria's population stood at about 320,000, more than five times what it had been a half-century earlier. By this time the city had assumed strategic importance to Britain, as it served as the main naval base in the region during World War I (1914–18) and World War II (1939–45).

In 1957, after the Suez-Sinai War of 1956 (one of the ARAB-ISRAELI WARS), an anti-Western sentiment mounted and led to the forced exile of all French and British from Alexandria. By this time there were more than 1.5 million people living in Alexandria. Since then the city has embraced its Egyptian identity in place of its former international profile.

See also: ALEXANDER THE GREAT (Vol. I); ARABS (Vol. II); ARABS, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MACEDONIA (Vol. I); MEDITERRANEAN SEA (Vols. I, II); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Michael J. Reimer, *Colonial Bridgehead: Government and Society in Alexandria, 1807–1882* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997).

Algeria   North African country covering about 919,600 square miles (2,381,800 sq km) and bordered by the Mediterranean Sea and the present-day countries of MOROCCO, WESTERN SAHARA, MAURITANIA, MALI, NIGER, LIBYA, and TUNISIA.

Once part of the Berber Almoravid and Almohad empires in the 13th century and earlier, Algeria was the first country of the MAGHRIB to be ruled by the Ottoman Empire. In 1830 France conquered Algeria as part of its campaign to rid the Mediterranean of North African seaborne raiders known as *corsairs.* By 1837 the last provincial governor appointed by the Ottoman Empire had surrendered to the French. As soon as they were fully in control, France opened the country to European SETTLERS, and by 1840 there were approximately 100,000 Europeans living in Algeria.

In an effort to consolidate their control over the country, the French attacked the Berber-speaking peoples living in the mountainous region known as the Kabylia. The major resistance was led by Abd al-Qadir (1808–1883),

who, after 15 years of opposing the French, finally surrendered, in 1847, and was exiled to Damascus, Syria. The majority of the indigenous people living in and farming the land taken over by the French were Muslim BERBERS and Arabs. Although they had not completely secured the southern boundaries of Algeria, the French stepped up their efforts to colonize the coastal region with its temperate climate, good rainfall, and rich soil. They gave grants of colonial land to French veterans as well as to Italians, Spaniards, Maltese, and Germans. Taxes paid by the indigenous Muslim population financed the colony of settlers, or colons, as they came to be known. By 1848 there were approximately 105,000 colons, whose primary occupation was farming COTTON, roses, tobacco, and grapes for wine.

Around 1850 the indigenous Muslim population suffered greatly from the loss of their fertile lands to colons and from plagues of locusts and disease that descended on the region. In 1852 Napoleon III (1808–1873) tried to reverse the colons' attempts to colonize the Berbers. For this he became in some ways the figure to whom the indigenous population looked for protection against colons' claims on their land.

During the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) the Kabylia Berbers rebelled, led by the son of Abd al-Qadir. France brutally suppressed the revolt and gave the most fertile land in the Kabylia to new European settlers. When Napoleon III fell from power, in 1870, the European settlers exerted even greater influence in the region. Beginning in 1874 the French imposed the *indigénat,* a legal code for the indigenous Algerian population. The code allowed the government to accuse Muslims of a long list of illegal acts and then punish them with imprisonment or the confiscation of their property. In 1879 France administratively incorporated Algeria so that the Europeans living there could receive full French citizenship. Although administered by a governor-general, Algeria was reorganized into three French departments, or states, in which colons had the right to elect a municipal government and send deputies to the French National Assembly. While the Europeans were considered citizens, the Muslims were considered French subjects, thereby leaving them without the right to assemble, carry weapons, or move about within the country without permission. By 1880 the colons numbered about 375,000, but they successfully manipulated the local government and the French Assembly to maintain their advantage over local Muslims, who numbered about 3 million.

By the beginning of the 20th century European Algeria enjoyed the benefits of political and economic autonomy and had begun modernizing its infrastructure. Muslim Algerians, however, received little benefit from this modernization and continued to be burdened by poverty. The French National Assembly attempted to reward Algerian participation and support in World War I (1914–19) by offering French citizenship to Muslims if they would abandon Muslim law. The National Assembly hoped to increase Muslim representation in local government and give more property owners and veterans the right to vote. European Algerians, however, thwarted these efforts and retained political power.

The 1920s saw the rise of nationalism among Muslims who, because they had attended French-Arab schools in Algeria or had been educated in France, were more secular in their outlook and thinking. Seeking full citizenship rights as early as 1912, these nationalists had organized themselves under the name of the Party of Young Algeria. The "Young Algerians," as they were known, were led by Ferhat ABBAS (1899–1985), among others. They sought assimilation with France and equality of Europeans and Muslims.

In 1931 Ferhat Abbas published *De la colonie vers la province: le jeune Algérien* (From a colony toward a province: The young Algerian), a collection of articles by Algerian nationalists that made a case for citizenship in a province of France.

Another source of anticolonial resistance was Messali Hadj (1898–1974) and the French Communist party, which in 1926 founded L'Etoile Nord Africaine (The Star of North Africa) movement. It called for full independence from France and for a Muslim-controlled state.

A third reform movement, created after World War I in the rural areas of Algeria, was based on a common desire among many Muslims to resist further assimilation into French culture. This movement worked through Islamic NEWSPAPERS, publications, and EDUCATION to recreate an Arab cultural identity and to emphasize a return to the centrality of the Quran (the Muslim holy book) and the Hadith (the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad) . In 1931 one of the primary leaders of this movement, the religious scholar Abd al ben Badis (1889–1940), founded the Association of Muslims of Algeria. It sought to support his mission of combating assimilation and resisting French efforts to divide Arabs and Berbers. In response European Algerians banded together under a nationalist banner of being *pieds noirs* (descendants of the pioneer settlers) and dedicated themselves to the protection of white privilege.

Following the fall of France to Germany (1940) in World War II (1939–45), the pro-Nazi Vichy government controlled Algeria. Beginning in 1942, however, Algeria was the North African headquarters of the Allied forces. In 1944 General Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970), the Free French leader, announced that French citizen-

ship was being extended to thousands of indigenous Algerians regardless of their religion. This gave Muslims access to all civilian and military occupations, and their representation in the local assemblies increased from one-third to two-fifths.

In the aftermath of war an economic crisis spurred the inhabitants of the towns of Sétif and Guelma to revolt under the banner of "Down with fascism and colonialism." The ensuing clash left, at a conservative estimate, 6,000 indigenous Algerian Muslims dead at the hands of the French colonial police. This so-called Sétif Massacre served to strengthen the resolve of the Algerian nationalists. Responding to growing anti-French sentiment the French National Assembly passed the Algerian Statute, in 1947. This created an appearance of equality between European and Muslim citizens by establishing a parliamentary assembly consisting of two elected assemblies, one for the European Algerians and one for the Algerian Muslims. The statute gave official recognition to the Berber and Arabic languages and to Islamic religious interests. While the subsequent elections for the Europeans appeared to be free and fair, the French government manipulated the Muslim elections by excluding major Muslim parties and postponing political reforms. In 1948 revolutionary fighters founded the Organisation Sécrete (Secret Organization). Along with Ahmed BEN BELLA (1918–   ), they plotted the violent overthrow of COLONIAL RULE, financing the campaign by robbing 3 million francs from the Bank of Oran.

By 1954 the indigenous Algerian Muslim population felt that it had nothing to lose. Half of their 8.7 million people were under the age of 20. Two-thirds were the rural poor practicing subsistence farming on lands that were steadily declining in productivity and acreage. Another million were the urban unemployed or underemployed. Illiteracy among Muslims was around 90 percent, and few had access to higher education. In light of this, exiled Algerians founded the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN). The organization's founding fathers came from Algeria's working classes and its peasants.

The FLN started its guerrilla activities in rural areas. France responded by placing a standing army of 400,000 men in Algeria. Public fear became the weapon of both sides, and each side committed atrocities. In an effort to restrict the movement of Muslim fighters and materials, the French constructed electrified barriers along Algeria's borders with Morocco and Tunisia. By 1956 the fighting spread to the urban area, and by 1958 the French government was under pressure to resolve the conflict. European Algerians and the French military, however, subverted French civilian authority. The prolonged war in Algeria, along with the humiliating defeat of French troops, in 1954, at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in Indochina (present-day Vietnam), con-

tributed to the fall of the Fourth French Republic (1947–59). Charles de Gaulle returned to power and formed the Fifth Republic.

In 1959 de Gaulle decided to allow Algerians the right to self-determination and held a referendum by which Algerians could choose among three alternatives: independence, continued association with France, or assimilation. Independence was the road chosen, and, in 1959, Ferhat Abbas became the leader of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. The French government began direct negotiations with the FLN in 1960, and that same year the colons and dissident elements in the French military rose in rebellion and seized ALGIERS, the capital. The rebellion failed, however, in its goal of keeping Algeria French because most in France now wanted the country to shed what had becom known as the "Algerian problem."

In 1962 France formally recognized Algeria's sovereignty. In the end the cost of this independence was tremendous. Hundreds of thousands of people—perhaps as much as 10 percent of Algeria's population—had been killed or wounded in the long years of unrelenting warfare. At independence nearly the entire COLON community left the country. This set the stage for a new era in Algeria's history, an era as momentous as that which began in 1830, the year of the original French invasion that led to the colonization of the country.

See also: ALGERIA (Vols. I, II, III, V); ALGIERS, BATTLE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ISLAM (Vol. III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Algiers   Capital and port city located on the Mediterranean coast of ALGERIA. Beginning with the French conquest of the city, in 1830, many European SETTLERS from France, Italy, Malta, and Germany came to occupy Algiers and the surrounding territory. Protected by French military might, these settlers, called *colons*, took the best land and displaced the native-born Muslim Algerians, clearing the way for Algiers to become a center of French colonial power in North Africa.

During the early 20th century native Algerians tried to regain some of the political power that the French had stripped from them during the long years of occupation. Their efforts were thwarted, however, by the onset of

World War II (1939–45). While France was occupied by German forces from 1942 to 1944, Algiers served as the North African center for the Free French government of General Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970). As the war progressed the city became the headquarters for all of the Allied forces in North Africa.

At the end of the war native Algerians once again called for more autonomy in the region. Increasing friction and violence finally led to a widespread anti-French uprising, in 1954. Principally supported by the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN), the fighting quickly spread from the countryside to the coastal cities such as Algiers, where the majority of the Europeans lived.

In late 1957 civil unrest within Algiers itself led to French military action in what became known as the BATTLE OF ALGIERS. This prolonged conflict played out in the streets between French troops and townspeople, mainly in the older, Muslim parts of the city. By 1958, in light of mounting anti-French sentiment, the European population of Algiers also rose in revolt. Fearing that France would grant Algeria its independence, the colons demanded that Algeria remain united to France. The revolt of the colons contributed to the toppling of the Fourth French Republic (1947–59) and brought Charles de Gaulle and the Fifth Republic to power. Algeria went on to win its independence, in 1962, with Algiers becoming its capital.

See also: ALGIERS (Vols. III, V); COLON (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Zeynep Celik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1997).

Algiers, Battle of (1957) Prolonged battle in the capital of ALGERIA that came to symbolize the violence and ruthlessness of the Algerian struggle for independence from France. In December 1956 Muslim Algerians assassinated Amédée Froger (1881–1956), president of the federation of mayors of Algeria and spokesperson for the community of European SETTLERS known as colons. This killing was yet another incident in the prolonged and violent Algerian war for independence. Infuriated members of the settler community retaliated by attacking Muslims in a brutal outbreak of Arab-bashing that led to several Muslim deaths. The governor-general of Algeria, Robert Lacoste (1898–1989), reacted by using the "special power" recently granted his government to call up the French army's 10th Paratrooper Division under General Jacques Massu (1908–2002). Massu was given orders to terminate all Muslim Arab resistance to French authority.

On January 7, 1957, 8,000 paratroopers moved into the city, beginning the Battle of Algiers. Throughout January explosions rocked the city, spreading panic among its

inhabitants. On January 28 the leadership of the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN) called for an eight-day general strike. The FLN, which was spearheading Muslim nationalist resistance, sought to close down all business in ALGIERS and throughout Algeria. Using wartime strategies to break the strike, the army divided Algiers into sectors of 5,000 inhabitants and treated them as though they were an opposing army. Although the FLN fought back fiercely, the French army dismantled the FLN's "autonomous zone of Algiers" that was centered primarily in the Casbah, which included the older, Muslim parts of the city. Making a large number of arrests, the army systematically put people in concentration camps for processing, used torture to gain information, and drove the FLN fighters out of the city. A lasting victory over the FLN proved elusive, however, and in 1962 France recognized the independence of Algeria.

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In 1966 director Gillo Pontecorvo released his film *The Battle of Algiers.* It received critical acclaim and important awards. Pontecorvo utilized a "newsreel" style of filming to enable his audience to identify with the struggle of an entire people rather than an individual protagonist.

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See also: COLON (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol IV).

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Ali, Duse Muhammad (1866–1945) *Egyptian-born journalist and pan-Africanist*

Born in 1866 to an Egyptian father and Sudanese mother, Duse Muhammad Ali spent his early childhood years in ALEXANDRIA. About 1875 Ali's father, an army officer, sent him to England in the hopes that he would become a surgeon. By 1882, however, Ali was on his own, a result of his father's death and the flight of his mother and sisters to the Sudan. Instead of medicine, Ali studied history. Then, rather than become a teacher, he began a career as an actor and playwright, touring with several different theater companies.

Despite his years in London, Ali became interested in not only Egyptian nationalism, but also PAN-AFRICANISM. His first book, *In the Land of the Pharaohs,* published in

1911, was considered a major statement of the Egyptian nationalist cause, and it led to Ali's participation in the First Universal Races Congress held in London that same year. The following year Ali founded *The African Times and Orient Review,* a journal that Ali declared to be dedicated to "the interests of the Coloured races of the World." *The Review,* which was published at various times as a monthly and a weekly, became a major platform for the ideas and ideology of pan-Africanism.

During this period Ali met the noted pan-Africanist Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940), who worked for *The Review* for a time. Ali, in turn, helped edit Garvey's newspaper, *Negro World,* while visiting New York.

During the early 1930s Ali moved to LAGOS, the capital of the British colony of NIGERIA, where he worked for the *Nigerian Daily Times* and the *Nigerian Daily Telegraph.* In 1932 he launched a weekly newspaper, the *Comet,* as a vehicle for promoting Nigerian nationalism. Shortly before his death, in 1944, Ali chaired the inaugural meeting of Nigeria's first nationalist political party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons.

See also: NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV).

Alliance High School (1926–   ) Premier institution of secondary EDUCATION and the first secondary school in KENYA to provide a high-school curriculum to both male and female African students. In 1926 the European Alliance of Protestant Missions, in cooperation with the colonial government, founded Alliance High School in a town near the capital city of NAIROBI. Much of the money for building the initial facility came from funds that Africans had collected in memory of African soldiers who had died in World War I. The school opened with an all-male student body numbering 27. Women were admitted from 1938 until 1951, then, in 1948, a separate Alliance High School for Girls was opened nearby

Following a missionary heritage, Alliance High School provided an education in a Christian setting. Its students were the brightest and most promising young people from all over Kenya. They underwent a rigorous course of study that stressed service to the community and the nation, as stated in the school motto, "Strong to Serve." Graduates of Alliance High School became prominent in fields such as teaching, politics, law, architecture, engineering, and medicine.

From early on European missionaries dominated the school's teaching and administrative posts. The first African teacher was Eliud Mathu (d. 2002), who in 1944 became the first African member of Kenya's Legislative Council. In 1974 the school named its first African headmaster, Jackson M. Githaiga, and Africans have led the school ever since.

Amhara One of the major ethnic groups of modern-day ETHIOPIA that historically has exerted great influence over Ethiopian culture; also the name for the region covering approximately 171,000 square miles (442,890 sq km) in northwestern and north-central Ethiopia.

Under the restored Solomonic dynasty, which ruled Ethiopia from 1270 to 1974, all but one of Ethiopia's emperors came from among the Amhara. Historically Amharans also had made up the core membership of the ETHIOPIAN ORTHODX CHURCH. In 1889 MENELIK II (1844–1913), who was from the southern Amhara border kingdom of SHOA, became the Ethiopian emperor. Before becoming emperor, Menelik, as king of Shoa, expanded Amhara cultural and political dominance southward, establishing control over many OROMO areas.

As emperor, Menelik brought Amhara to even greater cultural prominence in an expanded Ethiopian empire. This dominance, however, stirred resentment among Tigrayans, especially since TIGRAY lay at the heart of the ancient city Aksum, out of which Ethiopia had emerged. Tigrayans also vividly remembered that the emperor preceding Menelik, YOHANNES IV (c. 1831–1889), was from Tigray.

Menelik's reign, which ended with his death, in 1913, was followed by a period when various princes from throughout Ethiopia fought to become the next emperor. Finally, in the mid-1920s, the Amharic-speaking Ras Tafari (1892–1975) consolidated his power and positioned himself to become Emperor HAILE SELASSIE. While under the brief Italian occupation prior to World War II (1939–45), the colonial administration tended to favor non-Amhara peoples of Ethiopia—Oromo, Tigrayans, and Somali Muslims—over the Amhara. With the restoration of Haile Selassie to the throne in 1941, however, the Amhara resumed their accustomed position of running the Ethiopian state. As the country modernized and the EDUCATION system expanded, LITERACY grew to unprecedented levels. Consequently, Amharic, as the official LANGUAGE of Ethiopian government, commerce, and education, grew in status vis-à-vis the country's other languages.

> The overthrow of Haile Selassie's government in 1974 and the subsequent Marxist regime ended the control of the Amhara nobility over national life. In 1989 Amharic lost its status as the official national language.

Amhara cultural dominance played an important part in the independence wars of neighboring ERITREA as well. In 1955 Amharic speaker Biteweded Asfaha Woldemikael (1914–   ) was made the chief executive of Eritrea, and his decision to change the official language of the Er-

itrean government from Italian to Amharic, replacing Tigrinya and Arabic, inflamed Eritrean ethnic rivalries that persisted through the rest of the century.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, III); AMHARIC (Vols. I, II); ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR (Vol. IV).

ANC See AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Anglo-American Corporation Giant MINING company that had an enormous impact on the economy of SOUTH AFRICA. In 1917 the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa was established by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer (1880–1957). It was originally founded as a mining firm to exploit the rich GOLD deposits of the eastern WITWATERSRAND, a ridge to the east of JOHANNESBURG. The capital needed to start up the Anglo-American Corporation (AAC) was raised mainly in Britain and the United States, thus accounting for the company's name. In South Africa the AAC stood as the dominant player in the country's lucrative DIAMOND industry during the 1920s, becoming a major shareholder in DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD., which remained a separate legal entity despite Oppenheimer's becoming its chairman in 1929. In time the AAC also became a force in the coal-mining, platinum-mining, and chemical industries and was also instrumental in developing the COPPER-mining industry in the COPPERBELT region of southern Central Africa. Upon Oppenheimer's death his son, Harry Oppenheimer (1908–2000), like his father a member of South Africa's Parliament, took control of the AAC.

In the context of South African politics the Oppenheimers were liberals and opposed the strict enforcement of APARTHEID. Opposition groups received funds from the Oppenheimers to challenge the ruling National Party, which was committed to a policy of white supremacy.

The AAC remains South Africa's largest company and one of the biggest mining and natural resource companies in the world. It is listed on both the Johannesburg and London stock exchanges.

See also: MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V); MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS (Vol. V).

Anglo-Ashanti Wars Series of armed conflicts between Britain and the ASHANTI EMPIRE that took place over most of the 19th century. Around the beginning of the 19th century the coastal trade of the Ashanti Empire,

in present-day GHANA, was threatened by the commercial activities of British merchants and expeditionary forces. Some Africans, however, especially those on the coast, saw the British as potential allies whose military backing would allow them to strike a significant blow against the powerful Ashanti. The local rivalries grew from the Ashanti practice of raiding neighboring kingdoms to take prisoners, which would later be traded for European goods or forced to work the Ashanti GOLD fields. By 1824 the Ashanti felt it necessary to expel their enemies from their territory, so they sent an army of an estimated 10,000 warriors to rout a smaller force made up of British, Fante, and Denkyira soldiers.

After the Ashanti victory over the British in 1824 the empire's leaders sent a message to any foreigners who might have designs on their territory, displaying the head of defeated British governor Charles MacCarthy (1769–1824) at the Ashanti capital of KUMASI.

In 1826 the British and their allies avenged their 1824 loss by defeating the Ashanti army at the Battle of Kantamanto, effectively putting an end to the first Anglo-Ashanti war. Following the war the Ashanti established peace with Britain and acknowledged the independence of other coastal peoples, including the Fante and Akyem. Because of their heavy losses the British reduced their military presence in the region and an extended period of relative peace followed.

In 1872 Britain bought the remaining Dutch forts along the Gold Coast, leaving it as the only European power in the region. Within a year violence erupted again. As the British moved inland toward Kumasi, Ashanti forces moved toward the coast to confront them. Although the skilled Ashanti bowmen, musketeers, and spearmen fought well, they could not repel the British forces, who were equipped with breech-loading rifles and artillery. In the end the British burned and looted Kumasi and forced the Ashanti to renounce their claims to all territories south of the Pra River. By 1874 Britain had formally declared the GOLD COAST COLONY over the entire coast, and Ashanti influence in the region declined over the next 15 years.

By the early 1890s the Ashanti were again building military strength and began efforts to end the British occupation of Kumasi. The British—who were now facing the additional threat of French colonial claims to the north and west of the Gold Coast—finally decided to secure its claim to the Gold Coast interior regions. In 1895–96 they assailed Kumasi with cannon fire, forcing the *asantehene* (king), Agyeman PREMPEH (1870–1931), to

accept exile to avert a full-scale war and the total destruction of the Ashanti capital.

Following a short cease-fire, the Ashanti again restored their army, and by 1901 their leaders were no longer willing to abide the foreign occupation. Launching offensives under the direction of the bold military leader Yaa ASANTEWA (1850–1921), who was the mother of a prominent chief, the Ashanti began efforts to reclaim their city. Despite early victories, however, superior firepower—and the arrival of reinforcements from SIERRA LEONE and NIGERIA—helped the British to victory. Witnesses claimed that Yaa Asantewa was the last Ashanti person to lay down arms. The victory cemented the British claim to sovereignty over the Gold Coast, marking the end of the Anglo-Ashanti Wars and the beginning of the true colonial era in British West Africa.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); PARTITION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Robert B. Edgerton, *The Fall of the Ashante Empire: The Hundred-year War for Africa's Gold Coast* (New York: The Free Press, 1995).

Anglo-Boer War Conflict within southern Africa lasting from 1899 to 1902. The war was the culmination of a series of disputes and conflicts between the AFRIKAANS-speaking BOERS of the TRANSVAAL and English MINING and imperial interests.

The Great Boer Trek of the mid-19th century had led to the creation of the AFRIKANER REPUBLICS of the Transvaal and the ORANGE FREE STATE. In 1877 the British peaceably annexed the Transvaal, but in 1880, unhappy with the timetable for the fulfillment of British promises of self-government, the Boers revolted. In 1881 an armistice was reached, but the status of Boer independence was still unclear.

This uncertainty within the Transvaal was further complicated, in 1886, by the discovery of GOLD. The find resulted in renewed British interest in the area as well as a mass influx of English mine capitalists, mine managers, and miners, who became perjoritavely known as UIT-LANDERS (outsiders) among the Boers they soon outnumbered. Despite their greater numbers the Uitlanders remained disenfranchised and exercised little political power. The unhappiness with the Boer government on the part of English colonial and imperial interests culminated, in 1895, with the ill-fated JAMESON RAID, which was designed to cause an uprising against Boer authority.

With the failure of the raid and Boer-English relations at an all-time low, both sides took measures to solidify their military positions in preparation for future conflicts. As British military reinforcement of the CAPE COLONY and NATAL grew, the Boer republics became convinced that Britain was preparing for war. In 1899 Paul KRUGER (1825–1904), president of the Transvaal, issued an ultimatum to Britain with a list of demands to be met within 48 hours. The demands went unfulfilled, and the Boers attacked the British on October 11, 1899.

Initially unprepared for war, the British met defeat in a number of early battles. An especially brutal period of British military failure, one in which they lost three major engagements, was named the "Black Week" (December 10–15, 1899). Despite their success the Boers were unable to administer a decisive blow to British forces, and eventually the arrival of British reinforcements rendered the Boer advantage fleeting.

At the beginning of 1900 Field Marshall Lord Frederick Sleigh Roberts (1832–1914) and his chief of staff, Lord Horatio Herbert KITCHENER (1850–1916), arrived in SOUTH AFRICA to take over command of the British forces. Their arrival marked a turning point in the war, as Roberts quickly went on the offensive. He lifted the Boer siege of cities such as KIMBERLEY and Mafeking, and in February his forces struck a devastating blow to the Boers with the defeat and surrender of General Piet Cronje (1835–1911). Roberts then began his march toward the Transvaal capital of PRETORIA. President Kruger fled to Europe, and Roberts entered the city unopposed in June. With the Boers on the defensive and spread thin, Roberts believed the war would soon be over. He thus relinquished command to Lord Kitchener.

The war was far from finished, however, as the Boers turned to guerrilla tactics with a focus on disrupting the British lines of communication and transportation. The Boer mounted riflemen, conditioned by years of living in the open environment of the vast southern African hinterland, made up a formidable and mobile fighting force that was difficult to capture. They lived off the land and restocked their ammunition and supplies with occasional raids on British outposts.

The Boers' elusiveness frustrated Lord Kitchener who, determined to end the war, abandoned conventional military tactics and began a "scorched-earth" offensive. Under this policy, Kitchener's troops sought to destroy anything that could sustain the Boer commandos. Thousands of Boer farms were razed, and the Boer women and children were interned in concentration camps, as were many African farm workers. Thousands died from malnutrition and disease in the camps, and the memory of their deaths helped fuel Afrikaner nationalism in the 20th century.

The Boers, on the run and desperate, made futile efforts at taking the offensive, but were consistently turned back by superior British forces. As Kitchener's tactics began to take their toll, the Boers eventually capitulated, signing the Treaty of VEREENIGING in 1902.

See also: BOTHA, LOUIS (Vol. IV); CAPE TOWN (Vols. III, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GREAT BOER TREK (Vol. III).

Further reading: Bill Nasson, *The South African War, 1899–1902* (London: Arnold, 1999).

Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1899–1955) Joint British and Egyptian government that ruled the territory that is present-day Republic of the SUDAN. The word *condominium,* from Latin, means "joint dominion," or "joint sovereignty."

Sudan had become part of an expanding EGYPT in 1821 when the forces of Muhammad Ali (1769–1849), the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt, invaded and annexed the Sudan. Subsequent Egyptian rulers repressed revolts and brought prosperity to the land. When Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), who governed Egypt from 1863 to 1879, came to power, his attempts to modernize and secularize Egypt caused deep resentment in the Sudan. In 1879, led by religious reformer Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1885), the Sudanese began to resist Egyptian rule. By 1883 al-Mahdi's forces were in control of the Sudan. When al-Mahdi died in 1885 his *khalifa,* or successor, ABDALLAHI IBN MUHAMMAD (1846–1899), continued al-Mahdi's policies.

In 1898 a joint British and Egyptian military expedition reasserted Egyptian control over the Sudan, defeating the Mahdist forces at the Battle of OMDURMAN. Concerned about further Mahdist revolt, the British were unwilling to allow the Sudan to revert solely to Egyptian rule. Accordingly, on July 10, 1899, Britain established an agreement of joint authority called the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, which remained in effect until 1955. By the terms of this agreement, the Sudanese state became a political entity separate from Egypt.

Dominated from the start by Britain, the condominium was not a relationship of equal partners. Though formally appointed by the khedive, the governor-general who administered the Sudan was actually named by the British. He officially reported to the British Foreign Office in CAIRO, but the governor-general administered the Sudan as if it were a British colony. Most of the administrative personnel were British army officers attached to the Egyptian army. Beginning in 1901 these administrators were gradually replaced by civilians from Britain. Egyptians filled the midlevel posts, and Sudanese held the lower-level positions. In 1910 the British-Egyptian alliance appointed a legislative council that retained power until 1948, when a partly elected legislative assembly superceded it.

With the overthrow of the government of King FARUK (1920–1965) in 1952, Britain and the new Egyptian government reached an agreement that called for Sudanese self-determination. Sudanese nationalists prevailed over those desiring continued union with Egypt, with the result that on January 1, 1956, the Sudan became an independent country.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GEZIRA SCHEME (Vol. IV); MAHDIYYA (Vol. IV).

Anglo-Zulu War (1879) Crucial conflict between the ZULU kingdom and Britain taking place in what is now the province of NATAL, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA. In 1872 the Zulu gained a capable, energetic, and ambitious new ruler, CETSHWAYO (c. 1826–1884), who ascended the throne after the death of Mpande (r. 1840–1872), his father. Cetshwayo was eager to maintain good relations with the neighboring British colony of Natal, but he was also intent on strengthening his own position within his kingdom. Thus he began to build up his army, a move that the British officials in Natal viewed with exaggerated alarm. British colonial power was expanding into the interior of South Africa at the time, in part because of the emergence of the DIAMOND MINING industry that was centered in KIMBERLEY. Britain had annexed the diamond fields in 1872, and in 1877 they seized control of the TRANSVAAL, one the two independent AFRIKANER REPUBLICS. Cetshwayo and the Zulus welcomed this move, since they had long been at odds with the BOERS, or AFRIKANERS, in the region. Their enthusiasm for Britain's presence in the interior of South Africa soon waned, however, as the British turned their focus on independent Zululand.

In 1878, on the basis of trumped-up charges stemming from a Zulu assault on opponents in Natal, the British high commissioner, Sir Henry Bartle Frere (1815–1884), issued an ultimatum to which he knew Cetshwayo would never agree. Essentially, he had demanded that the Zulu king forfeit his judicial authority, pay humiliating reparations, and disband the powerful Zulu army. When Cetshwayo's inevitable refusal came, the British invaded Zululand on January 11, 1879. This initiated the Anglo-Zulu War, a war fought between the armies of a modern, European industrial state and an African state that continued to rely, for the most part, on its traditional weaponry and methods of fighting.

The war was fought in two phases. Initially the British brimmed with confidence and believed that their 18,000 troops would readily defeat Cetshwayo. However, Lord Chelmsford (1868–1913), the British commander, was unprepared for the size, the discipline, and the courage of the Zulu army. The British invaded Zululand with Chelmsford in command of the central column. He divided his forces, and on January 22, at ISANDLWANA, the British suffered a crushing defeat. Using its traditional battle strategy and tactics, the Zulu killed more than 1,300 of the 1,700 troops, though they also suffered high casualties. Only the determined stand of a British garrison of 150 troops against 4,000 Zulu soldiers at Rorke's Drift managed to keep the British military disaster from becoming complete.

The second phase of the war began once the British regrouped, added reinforcements, and returned to the offensive. The Zulu managed to win some minor engagements, but they could not stave off a British military victory. In the end their tactics of seeking to engage their opponents in hand-to-hand fighting faltered in the face of breech-load-

ing rifles. On July 4, 1879, Chelmsford reached the Zulu capital of Ulundi. After a fierce battle in which his 5,000 men defeated an army of 20,000 Zulu soldiers, the British commander burned Ulundi, which consisted largely of grass-woven, beehive-shaped dwellings, to the ground. The British also captured Cetshwayo and sent him into exile in CAPE TOWN. Britain had, with great difficulty, conquered the Zulu army, but it would not annex the Zulu kingdom until 1887.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Jeff Guy, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom* (London: Longman, 1979); Donald R. Morris, *The Washing of the Spears* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965).

Angola Southwest African country, about 476,200 square miles (1,233,400 sq km) in area, that is bordered by the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the north and northeast, ZAMBIA to the east, NAMIBIA to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. Also part of Angola is the province of Cabinda, a coastal enclave separated from the main part of the country by the Congo River and a narrow coastal strip of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Between 1850 and 1960 Angola evolved from being a major source for the Portuguese SLAVE TRADE to moving, albeit slowly, toward national independence.

By the turn of the 20th century Portugal was internationally recognized as sovereign in Angola. However, Angolans—among them, the KONGO, Mbundu, OVIMBUNDU, and Cuanhama peoples—began to stiffen their resistance to Portuguese rule in their homeland. As a result, Portugal's control became increasingly insecure in the decades leading up to World War I (1914–18).

By the 1930s, however, Portugal had reestablished its firm grip on the country. During that decade the conservative regime of Portuguese Prime Minister António Salazar (1889–1970) placed great emphasis on creating strong nationalist pride through maintaining Portugal's overseas possessions.

The marginalization of Angolans continued unabated through the World War II era (1939–45). Although SLAVERY was illegal, Angolan men were forced to work for the government without pay if they were unable to pay colonial taxes. As of 1950 a mere 30,000 of the estimated 4 million Africans in Angola enjoyed even minimal political or civil rights. The only African Angolans recognized by the state were the *assimilados,* so named for their having learned Portuguese and assimilated into Portuguese colonial society. The remaining millions of indigenous people were still considered "uncivilized" by the colonial authorities.

From 1950 to 1961 Salazar organized a wave of migration from Portugal to Angola, increasing the popula-

tion of whites from 80,000 to 200,000. However, this did not advance the official Portuguese aim of increasing assimilation within Angola. Instead the influx of immigrants further worsened the plight of Angola's African majority. The new arrivals, generally an uneducated lot, took jobs away from Africans in low-skill professions and reacted violently to liberal reforms favoring Africans.

African political consciousness developed rapidly after World War II. As colony after colony gained independence from European rule, Angolans, too, demanded liberation. Under the authoritarian rule of Salazar the colonial government had scoffed at Angolan liberation movements. However, the movements of the 1950s and 1960s—which often espoused liberal and Marxist ideologies—posed a much more serious threat to Portuguese rule. Early on the organization with the most influence was the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA), founded in 1956 and led by Agostinho Neto (1922–1979).

With the Angolan nationalist and liberation movements growing increasingly insistent, Portugal responded by sending in its secret police (PIDE). With tactics that included arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, PIDE became the most effective tool of the authorities for intimidating the populace and for quelling civil disturbances.

Portugal's policing action in Angola was part of a greater colonial scheme called *lusotropicology.* Under this largely fictional ideology, Portugal claimed to be creating a superior society that supported racial integration and Christian conversion. It also led Portugal to claim that it would never discuss self-determination for its overseas territories.

Despite Portugal's best efforts to continue its COLONIAL RULE, the tension in Angola eventually reached the boiling point, resulting in armed, rebel insurrection. In 1961 Holden Roberto (1923–), at the time a leader of the Union of Angolan Peoples, split from the group to form the more militant National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, FNLA). By the following year Roberto was organizing raids on Portuguese-owned businesses and farms as well as on government installations throughout Angola. The swiftness and lethality of the FNLA's early assaults shocked the Portuguese authorities and the international community alike and were met with a severe military response.

During the 1960s the fight for Angolan independence became more intense, resulting in other armed factions

joining the fray. Ultimately this made Angola a key player during the Cold War between the forces of communism and the forces of democracy.

See also: ANGOLA (Vols. I, II, III, V); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NETO, AGOSTINHO (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); ROBERTO, HOLDEN (Vol. V).

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anthropology and Africa Academic discipline concerned with the study of humans and their societies. Of particular concern to anthropology as a westernized social science has been an understanding of how human societies and their cultures have developed. In this regard, one of modern anthropology's defining works is *Primitive Culture,* published by Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917), in 1871. This and similar works shifted the focus of early anthropology to the study of so-called primitive peoples, a focus that has remained to this day. This was particularly relevant to Africa during the time of European COLONIAL CONQUEST. In addition, with the establishment of COLONIAL RULE over most of Africa by 1900, European anthropologists began to utilize Africa to conduct studies of human society and culture. This enabled anthropologists to develop and test their theories while at the same time provide information to colonial administrators about the peoples they ruled.

The majority of the early anthropologists in Africa were scholarly amateurs who had developed a professional or personal interest in learning more about the people in whose midst they resided. Some were colonial administrators who had a goal of learning to govern more effectively. One of the most prominent and widely published of these amateur scholars was Robert Sutherland Rattray (1881–1938). A colonial official in the GOLD COAST COLONY (modern-day GHANA), he became the first government-appointed anthropologist in colonial Africa. Rattray's work, which primarily dealt with the Ashanti, was undertaken in the context of the system of "indirect rule," which allowed Britain to govern through local African rulers. Rattray's *Ashanti,* published in 1923, contained the type of detailed ethnographic information that helped facilitate British rule over the Gold Coast.

Over time anthropologist R. S. Rattray became acquainted with African societies and cultures firsthand rather than through formal academic study. As a youth he left school to join the sixth Imperial Yeomanry and fight in the ANGLO-BOER WAR in SOUTH AFRICA. At the end of the war he became an adventurer in southern Central and East Africa, where he began his study of African peoples. This led to the eventual publication of *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja,* with English Translation and Notes (1907), the first of his many books. In 1907 he joined the colonial administration of the Gold Coast Colony as a customs officer. There he studied the HAUSA language because the Hausa from northern NIGERIA made up much of the colonial police and army in British West Africa. After four years he went on leave to return to England to study anthropology at Oxford. He returned to the Gold Coast in time to join with the British assault on the German colony of TOGOLAND at the onset of World War I (1914–18), receiving a commission as captain, a title he used for the rest of his life. A few years after the war he received an appointment as the official government anthropologist of the colony, a position he held until his retirement at the end of 1929. In this position he conducted the research for several additional books, focusing on the Ashanti. In 1929 Oxford University recognized his work with the award of an honorary doctorate.

Christian MISSIONARIES made a significant addition to the ranks of early anthropologists in Africa. Their goal was the conversion of Africans to Christianity, and many missionaries believed that in-depth knowledge of African societies would facilitate this process. One such individual was the Swiss, Protestant missionary, Henri Alexandre Junod (1863–1934). Junod worked among the Tsonga people in the DELAGOA BAY region of MOZAMBIQUE for the better part of two decades before returning home in 1920. Early on he published a grammar of one of the Tsonga dialects. Then, in 1912 and 1913, he published his major work, a two-volume study entitled *The Life of a South African Tribe.* This classic study made the case for a scientific approach to ethnography based on the in-depth observation of one ethnic group over a long period of time. Junod published a revised, second edition of the work in 1927.

Another of these missionary-scholars, John Roscoe (1861–1932), was a contemporary of Junod. Affiliated with the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY in UGANDA from 1884 to 1909, Roscoe was closely associated with the BUGANDA aristocrat, Sir Apolo KAGWA (1865–1927). As with Kagwa's

1905 study of his own people, Roscoe's *The Baganda: An Account of Their Native Customs and Beliefs* (1911) drew from numerous interviews that provided information gathered from those knowledgeable about Buganda's history. He returned to Uganda, in 1919, as the leader of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition, which was sponsored by the Royal Society to gather extensive information on the colony's peoples. In addition to publishing a general account of the expedition, Roscoe published detailed material on three of Uganda's ethnic groups.

Academic anthropologists did not begin working in Africa until the mid-1920s. One of these was the English social anthropologist Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard (1902–1973). Evans-Pritchard, who held a doctorate in anthropology from the London School of Economics, conducted field research among the Azande of the northern Congo and neighboring areas of what is today the Republic of the SUDAN. He later extended his studies to include the Nuer of southern Sudan.

Rather than producing descriptive studies of a single ethnic group, Evans-Pritchard constructed his studies around an issue in social theory. His first major work, *Witchcraft: Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937), dealt with the internal logic of a particular African belief system. His subsequent study, *The Nuer* (1940), examined the political organization of a people who lacked a formal system of government. These two works produced a fundamental shift in the direction of anthropological study of Africa and led to a host of both specialized and theoretically oriented studies.

By the 1930s the direction and emphasis of anthropology had changed, but it still continued to focus on what Europeans considered "primitive" or "traditional" societies. In some ways this represented a contrast with anthropology's initial period, during which amateur anthropology and colonial administration often went hand in hand. Instead academic anthropologists began to concentrate on a "traditional" Africa seemingly untouched by colonialism. It was not until after World War II (1939–45) that a few anthropologists began to study the effects of colonialism on Africans. These pioneers included J. Clyde Mitchell (1918–1995), who from 1946 until 1955 was a researcher at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in NORTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZAMBIA). In *The Kalela Dance* (1956), Mitchell wrote that he had "attempted an analysis of certain aspects of the system of social relationships among Africans in the towns of Northern Rhodesia." Such studies remained limited, however, as anthropologists mostly continued to pursue research on so-called traditional societies.

By 1960 anthropologists had produced substantial bodies of work on Africa's peoples. However, almost all of these studies were completed by outsiders, most of whom were British and based both in European universities and research institutes as well as the few universities on the continent. As such, anthropology remained very much a colonial discipline.

See also: ANTHROPOLOGY AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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apartheid AFRIKAANS word literally meaning "aparthood" or "separateness." Apartheid was the name given to the system of racial segregation and inequality that was incorporated into the laws of SOUTH AFRICA for much of the 20th century. It was grounded in the belief—held by most whites during the colonial era—that the people of Africa were inferior.

Though apartheid is largely based on the philosophy of white supremacy, also called *BAASSKAP,* many of the legislative acts that paved the way for a racially segregated South Africa were driven by economic considerations. Both the British administration and the subsequent Afrikaner leaders of South Africa were concerned with monopolizing the profits from the country's rich diamond and GOLD mines. As a result they continuously passed legislation that excluded black Africans from the economic benefits of the MINING industry. By 1893 Africans could not legally hold certain skilled positions in South Africa's mines. Black mineworkers also were forced to live in fenced, guarded compounds until they finished their work contracts.

In 1910, less than a decade after the British victory in the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), Britain unified CAPE COLONY, NATAL, and the former AFRIKANER REPUBLICS of the TRANSVAAL and the ORANGE FREE STATE in the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. With no black parliamentary representation and an ineffective English-speaking electorate, the government of the union fell under control of the AFRIKANERS. Once in control of the union government, Afrikaners began passing legislation to give even greater preferential treatment to whites. Beginning in 1911 the all-white South African government systematically passed more than 300 laws to guarantee the separation and inferior social, political, and economic status of blacks and other non-whites in South Africa. The laws made it difficult, if not impossible, for blacks to secure jobs, to move freely about the country, to vote, and to mingle with whites.

One early law that established a foundation for later apartheid legislation was the Native's Land Act of 1913. This racist law designated less than 7 percent of the land in the union for blacks even though they made up more than two-thirds of the population. The remaining land was reserved for whites, who made up only one-fifth of the population.
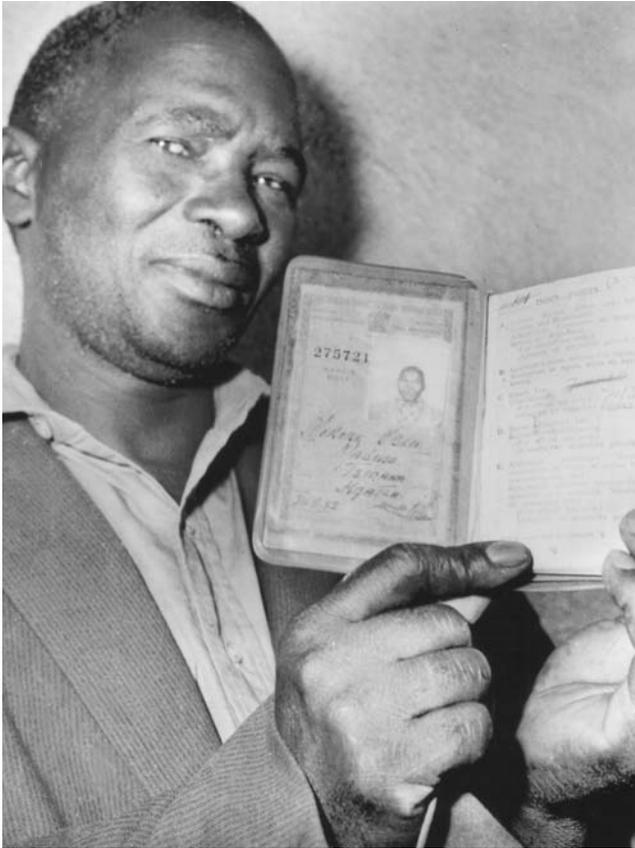
Although protests went on for many years, in 1960 passbooks like this one were a fact of life for blacks under South Africa's apartheid policies. © *AP Wirephoto*

After the elections of 1948, during which the term *apartheid* entered the South African political vocabulary, the Afrikaner National Party (NP) assumed the reigns of power and quickly began passing wide-ranging, racist legislation. Laws passed in the 1950s divided cities into racially segregated areas and further restricted the freedoms of blacks and non-whites, including Indians, Asians, and CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 established a separate system of EDUCATION for blacks, one in which they were taught only the skills necessary for them to partake in Bantu culture as defined by the government.

> A leading proponent of apartheid was Hendrik VER-WOERD (1901–1966), who is frequently cited as the architect of the racist system. Verwoerd was minister of Native Affairs from 1950 to 1958 and was prime minister from 1958 until his death in 1966.

During the 1950s black political organizations such as the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), the South African Indian Congress, and the more militant PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS organized rallies against apartheid. They especially targeted the pass laws, which made it mandatory for blacks to carry a passbook at all times.

> A passbook contained a photo of its holder as well as other information such as address, employment record, and taxes paid. Not carrying a passbook was a crime, and during the 1950s an average of 500,000 people were arrested for this offense each year.

Despite the efforts of black activists, an increasingly oppressive police state backed the apartheid system, and the government became even harsher in suppressing opposition groups. Annoyed by international criticism of apartheid, the Union of South Africa became more defiant in its efforts to preserve the system. Apartheid continued unabated into the 1960s and became even more entrenched when, in 1961, South Africa broke all ties with the British Commonwealth and declared itself a republic.

See also: APARTHEID (Vol. V); BANTUSTANS (Vol. V); MANDELA, NELSON (Vols. IV, V); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Vol. V).

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Arab-Israeli Wars Series of conflicts in 1948–49, 1956, and later years between Arabs and Jewish settlers in Palestine. The Arab-Israeli Wars led to pan-Arab condemnation of Israel and roused most African countries to sever ties with what they viewed as a racist, Zionist regime.

The anti-Semitic feelings and acts that journalist Theodore Herzl (1860–1904) experienced in his native Vienna, Austria, led him to publish a book titled *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State, 1896). This book generated the political movement called *Zionism,* which had as its goal the establishment of a separate Jewish state in the region of Palestine.

The right of the Jewish people to a homeland in Palestine was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and reaffirmed by the League of Nations in 1919. Small numbers of Jewish settlers had already begun to

migrate to Palestine before World War I (1914–18). Immigration increased between World War I and World War II (1939–45) and after the wars. Thus by the late 1940s the population of Palestine was roughly one-third Jewish and two-thirds Arab. Conflict and tension marked the relationship between the two segments of people.

On October 6, 1946, the move to establish the modern state of Israel received strong support when United States president Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) released a statement indicating American support for a "viable Jewish state" in Palestine. Four months later Britain terminated its MANDATE over Palestine. On May 14, 1948, Israel became an independent nation. The first Arab-Israeli War broke out the same day.

This initial Arab-Israeli War is sometimes called the Palestine War of 1948 or Israel's War for Independence. A coalition of Arab forces from EGYPT, Transjordan (now Jordan), Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon occupied the Arab portion of Palestine and the Jewish section of Jerusalem. By early 1949 Israeli forces had driven back the Arab forces and occupied all of Palestine except for the Gaza Strip. Israel then signed armistice agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria to establish Israel's new boundaries.

The second Arab-Israeli War, sometimes called the Suez War of 1956, broke out as a result of continued strain between the Arab world and Israel. Tensions had worsened when the Egyptian nationalist leader, Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), an outspoken advocate of pan-Arabism, became president of Egypt in 1954. The war had three chief causes. The Arab nations believed that Israel's continued presence in the Sinai Peninsula contradicted the 1947 United Nations PARTITION agreement, which mandated a Palestinian state as well as a Jewish state. Further upsetting the Arab states was Israel's unwillingness to repatriate the Palestinians who were displaced by the first Arab-Israeli War. The third and perhaps most important factor was that Nasser closed the SUEZ CANAL to Israeli ships. He also blockaded the Straits of Tiran at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba in order to gain control of shipping to the Israeli port of Eilat. Shortly thereafter Nasser caused an international crisis when he nationalized the canal.

France, Britain, and Israel secretly planned to regain control of the canal from Egypt, with Israel leading the operation. Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula, which was Egyptian territory, overcame Egypt's defenses, and captured a majority of the peninsula. In 1957 a United Nations Emergency Force was stationed in the region, and peace was restored for the time. In March 1957, under pressure from the United States, Israel withdrew its forces from the territory it captured in Sinai. The canal was reopened under international control and Egyptian management. Israel won the war but did not gain any concessions from Egypt. Thus the stage was set for the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.

See also: ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vol. V); ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. V); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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archaeology Archaeology involves the systematic recovery and study of material culture representing past human life and activities. It emerged as a modern academic discipline in the 19th century, and archaeologists began studying Africa from the discipline's inception. EGYPT and the ancient civilizations of the Nile were the focus of the earliest archaeological study in Africa. This study soon assumed its own particular set of concerns and developed into a discipline of its own called EGYPTOLOGY. It originated with the scholars who had accompanied Napoleon I (1769–1821) when he invaded Egypt in 1798. In 1858 the appointment of the French archaeologist Auguste Mariette (1821–1881) as conservator of monuments in Egypt and director of the Antiquities Service was an important milestone in the advancement of archaeology in Egypt. By 1900 the Egyptian Museum in CAIRO, which Mariette established, held a significant collection of artifacts.

Until the 1960s the work in Egypt was typical of the early practice of archaeology in Africa, which focused on literate civilizations of the Mediterranean areas and, to a lesser degree, the Horn of Africa. Archaeologists in this tradition focused on the monumental remains of past human culture and activities. The practice of archaeology gradually became much more scientific and careful in its approach. The English archaeologist William Flinders Petrie (1853–1942) pioneered this approach in Egypt.

Another important pioneer of scientific archaeology in Egypt was the American scholar George Andrew Reisner (1867–1942), who first started excavating in Upper Egypt in 1898. When work began on raising the height of the ASWAN DAM, in 1907, Reisner started an archaeological survey of the area between the First Cataract of the Nile and the border of the Republic of the SUDAN. From 1913 to 1916 he undertook extensive excavations at the site of Kerma located at the Third Cataract, at Gebel Barkal and related sites further to the south, and finally at the site of Meroë. His focus was on monumental remains of the Nubian kingdom of Kush, including its temples, pyramids, and cemeteries.

As archaeology developed in the 20th century, ancient Carthage and Roman North Africa, which took its place, were also subjects of interest. For example, in the 1920s archaeologists began to excavate the ancient Punic city of

Lepcis Magna, located in the TRIPOLITANIA region of present-day LIBYA. Founded in the 10th century BCE, Lepcis Magna grew as a Roman settlement until it was sacked in the year 523 CE. Many of its buildings have been amazingly preserved. Aksum, located in northeastern ETHIOPIA, was another literate civilization that attracted archaeological attention. In 1906 a German archaeological expedition undertook the first serious research, attracted by the distinctive towering carved granite stelae, one of which was 108 feet (33 m) tall. The founding of the Ethiopian Institute of Archaeology led to extensive research in the country in the 1950s and early 1960s.

In sub-Saharan Africa one of the few early monumental archaeological sites was Great Zimbabwe. Though not built by a literate culture, its massive stone walls and other impressive architecture attracted the attention of Europeans associated with prospector and MINING magnate Cecil RHODES (1853–1902). Unfortunately they looted the site in their search for GOLD and other valuable objects. By the time the first professional archaeologist, Gertrude Caton-Thompson (1888–1985), researched the sites in 1928, vandalism had sharply reduced the evidence available for recovery.

Gertrude Caton-Thompson first began working as an archaeologist in Egypt in 1921. She already had extensive research experience, including conducting an archaeological and geological survey in the Fayum region of Egypt and serving as the field director of the Royal Anthropological Institute before undertaking the archaeological survey of Great Zimbabwe. Her book, *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reactions* (1931), was the first scholarly work on the topic and remains an important reference.

In sub-Saharan Africa the only other location where major archaeological research was conducted on literate societies with monumental remains was in the trading towns of the SWAHILI COAST. Significant research did not occur until the 1950s, with the work of James S. Kirkman (1906–1989). He focused on the external influence of ISLAM on the coast, as is evident from the title of his 1954 book, *Gedi the Great Mosque: Architecture and Finds*.

The second major trend in the practice of archaeology in Africa before 1960 was the interest in the prehistory of southern and eastern Africa. Here the focus was on both human origins and early human material culture. At the turn of the century SOUTH AFRICA, with its substantial European-settler population and research-oriented universities, initiated this concern with prehistory. Stone implements such as axes and cutting tools that were found over several decades led to efforts to reconstruct the context in which they had been used. A key individual in this effort was Louis Albert Péringuey (1855–1924), who from 1906 until his death was the director of the South African Museum in CAPE TOWN. In the 1920s Professor A. J. H. Goodwin (1909–1959), who is viewed as South Africa's first professionally trained archaeologist, contributed valuable insights to African archaeology. In particular he came to understand that the Stone Age cultures of southern Africa needed to be understood on their own terms and not in terms of the nomenclature and classification of the Stone Age cultures of Europe. Others who built on this work included J. Desmond Clark (1916–2002), the long-time director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA).

Another dimension of prehistory had to do with hominid evolution. South Africa–based scholars took the lead here as well. In late 1924 Raymond A. Dart (1893–1988), the newly appointed chair of anatomy at the University of the WITWATERSRAND, in JOHANNESBURG, came into the possession of a child's skull which had been found at Taung in BOTSWANA (hence the popular name of the Taung Child). This was to be the first early hominid fossil known as *Australopithecus africanus* (southern ape of Africa). Dart's discovery launched the modern era of paleoanthropology. A subsequent find, in 1936, of the first adult *Australopithecine* in the Sterkfontein caves near Krugersdorp in the TRANSVAAL served to confirm the significance of Dart's assessment of the Taung skull.

Of great importance was the research conducted by the husband and wife team of Louis LEAKEY (1903–1972) and Mary LEAKEY (1913–1996). Their expeditions in various parts of East Africa in the 1920s and 1930s led to important discoveries of prehistoric tools in the Great Rift Valley. Their finds proved that hominids had inhabited this area far earlier than was commonly believed. In 1931 they began their work at Olduvai Gorge in present-day TANZANIA, and over the next three decades it became the world's most important site for research on the ancestors of modern humans. By 1961 the Leakeys had established that the ancestral human-like creatures in the region dated back more than 20 million years, far longer than anyone had anticipated.

By 1960 archaeologists had developed a detailed understanding of the material culture of the literate societies of North Africa and of past human life and activities in the region. Studies in the prehistory of eastern and southern Africa also pointed to Africa as the birthplace of human beings. However, little was known about the more recent past of the societies and cultures of sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, archaeological scholarship was exclusively the domain of scholars of European origin and ancestry, although political independence was to lead to substantial new directions in the practice of archaeology on the African continent.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. I, II, III, V); CARTHAGE (Vol. I); GEBEL BARKAL (Vol. I); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); HUMAN ORIGINS (Vol. I); KUSH (Vol. I); MEROË (Vol. I); OLDU-VAI GORGE (Vol. I); STONE AGE (Vol. I); TAUNG CHILD (Vol. I).

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architecture Indigenous architecture changed as Africans came more securely under European subjugation in the 19th century. Across the continent European-styled cities emerged, filled with indigenous African components. Ranging from wood structures in the tropical woodlands to sundried brick in the Sahara, indigenous African architecture depended upon the natural resources provided by the environment for construction materials. Found in many African villages, towns, and cities were round, thatch-roofed houses within walled enclosures that held extended families. Compounds included a central open courtyard, a communal meeting place, and perhaps a porch.

In Muslim areas the Arabian-style mosque combined with indigenous African mysticism and aesthetics to create unique local mosques. When Europeans or Americans settled in Africa they brought with them construction methods, materials, and ideas about architectural styles with which they were most familiar. European SETTLERS, traders, and MISSIONARIES constructed the buildings that they knew from their own cultures and used them as an expression of economic wealth and political authority. As these new urban planning and architectural styles were introduced, Africans contributed their own indigenous styles to create new African forms.

In the BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENTS of the 1820s, African-Americans settled the colony of LIBERIA on the West Coast of Africa. Some brought with them architectural styles from North Carolina and Virginia. However, because they were not trained architects and because the construction materials available to them were different, Liberian houses resembled the settlers' former homes only in appearance. Other returnees who had been emancipated in Brazil found their way to LAGOS, in present-day NIGERIA, where a Brazilian quarter is identifiable by its architecture. Settlers also built a Brazilian-style cathedral in ABEOKUTA.

The European colonizers sought to change the face of urban Africa. Where urban areas already existed, Europeans often changed the city structure by adding a Europeanized city adjacent to the existing city. Where a specific architectural style existed, Europeans added or subtracted architectural elements to make a hybrid regional architecture called *arabisances.* Where no city existed, they executed urban planning. Until the 1950s European civil engineers built capital cities containing schools, hospitals, and government buildings. After the 1950s they increasingly used architects instead of engi-

neers. In many cases Europeans adopted or adapted indigenous African design into their regional architecture. The porch is one such example. Europeans built two-story buildings that had a porch on both levels, windows parallel to each other, and louvered shutters that maintained privacy while allowing a breeze to pass through. Another indigenous element used by the Europeans was the central courtyard. In Saint-Louis, SENEGAL, the first colonial capital of FRENCH WEST AFRICA, houses were built around an interior courtyard and with a second-floor porch. Constructed in the 1950s and 1960s, buildings at the University of Ghana, in Lagos, are situated around an open courtyard.

In MOROCCO the French moved the capital from Fez to the existing city of Rabat to evade Moroccan resistance to their rule. As a consequence Rabat came to resemble a French city, with broad thoroughfares, streets intersecting at many different angles, and roundabouts. To the existing Arabian-styled Tetouan railway station the French added two towers reminiscent of medieval France. At the same time Muslim architects adapted to the changing urban environment by using Western building materials and techniques to build traditional-looking mosques.

The westernizing and modernizing of independent EGYPT was furthered by Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), who created a European-styled CAIRO adjacent to old Cairo in an effort to make his capital comparable to the grand capital cities of Europe.

The British brought with them English ideas of urban planning, artistic style, and housing construction. When they came to CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, British planners used European architectural styles in construction. The Standard Bank building, for example, is in the Classical style, and St. George's Cathedral is in the Gothic style. Reflecting the segregation of South African society, British settlers built their houses with separate servants' quarters.

European architecture is evident in other British-ruled colonies as well. When the British planned ACCRA, in the GOLD COAST COLONY (present-day GHANA), they used Renaissance styles for construction of the customs house and post office. In Lagos they built Catholic and Anglican cathedrals in the Gothic style, but used the Italian Renaissance style for governmental buildings. Colonial architecture in NAIROBI, KENYA is characterized by Victorian-style buildings.

The French often created planned cities in the capitals of their colonies. In 1857 they built DAKAR (in present-day Senegal) with a plan based on the prevailing 19th-century, European Renaissance, urban design. Similarly, in 1893, the Europeans planning Conakry, in GUINEA, consciously designed buildings to resemble the neoclassical government buildings in Paris.

The Portuguese-designed city of Maputo, MOZAMBIQUE, has government office buildings in the colonial Renaissance style.

This photograph from around 1899 shows an example of the highly ornate Arab-style architecture of North Africa. *© Library of Congress*

Architectural changes appeared first in Africa's urban areas, but, in time, they also appeared in the rural hinterland. In some of these places, as Africans adopted and adapted new architectural styles, the traditional round, sun-dried brick houses with thatched roofs were replaced by European-styled, rectangular, multi-room houses made of concrete block with roofs of zinc or corrugated iron. Because of this shift in architectural styles, Africans traded the outdoor communal spaces and good ventilation of their traditional compounds for more modernized designs that often had stuffy interior spaces that overheated in the dry season.

Although many Africans adopted some European architectural styles, groups like the FULANI of Nigeria and the MAASAI of Kenya and TANZANIA continued their seminomadic lifestyle, even though the colonial administrations pressured them to become sedentary. As part of this lifestyle, they continued to live in portable, collapsible tents made of hides or found materials.

As urban areas grew rural peoples were attracted to their luxuries and the promise of jobs. Because they did not possess "proper" Western education, many of these people ended up working in an informal economy, providing needed goods or services. Unable to afford houses or apartments in town, these people often lived in "shantytowns" made from scrap lumber and metal. Those who could afford it rented one-room apartments, often sleeping indoors and using the city sidewalk for their living space. If these apartments were built around a courtyard, it was common for tenants to use that space like the communal areas in the rural village compound.

Until World War II (1939–45) the design of official buildings was reserved for European architects. In the 1940s and 1950s, however, Africans began going to professional schools to study architecture. Because, in general, they were trained in Europe or in the United States, many of these newly minted architects brought together Western rationalism and African mysticism to create a new, wholly African style.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vols. I, II, III); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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armies, colonial European colonial powers deployed armed forces to their colonies to defend borders and also to suppress hostile indigenous populations (a process called PACIFICATION). Some European nations—France, Britain, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal—employed many black Africans in their colonial armies. Spain, on the other hand, recruited very few black-African soldiers but did have military units made up of African Berber mercenaries. These troops aided Francisco Franco (1892–1975) in his assaults on the Spanish mainland launched from North Africa during the Spanish Civil War (1936–39). Indigenous African troops were used as both soldiers and laborers, depending on the needs of the regular colonial armies.

In the 17th century the first colonial armies were sent by both France and Britain to the SENEGAMBIA REGION of West Africa. Soon both British and French military forces were recruiting local Africans to help them gain control of the coastal trading regions. These African units frequently proved effective in spite of the fact that basic training in the colonial armies included only instruction in the vernacular LANGUAGE of command, drill movements, handling a rifle, and marching. While peacetime recruitment often drew interest, during wartime, response was usually so low that colonial administrations had to force conscription on their African subjects in the 20th century. Both before and after World War I (1914–18) and World War II (1939–45), local chiefs were made to supply men from their populations. This practice was extremely unpopular and led to a number of protests. In addition, it was not uncommon for Africans recruited by forced conscription to desert.

French Colonial Armies The example of the French colonial armies illustrates the recruitment, uses, and changing roles of Africans in the military from 1850 to the era of African independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

In 1820 black Africans in France's Battalion d'Afrique (Africa Battalion), in SENEGAL, constituted only a small fraction of the soldiers in France's colonial army. By 1823, however, the French administration was able to field all-African units, and within a few years France employed African soldiers throughout its colonial empire. For example, WOLOF soldiers from Senegal were sent to MADAGASCAR in 1827 and a few years later they were even sent abroad to French Guyana, in South America.

Early on, Africans were used mainly as laborers to support French soldiers. However, the need for greater numbers of African soldiers increased as tropical diseases decimated the ranks of the white soldiers in sub-Saharan Africa. Although SLAVERY was formally abolished in France's colonies in 1848, in West Africa the French still increased their colonial ranks by purchasing slaves who they then indentured to military service for up to 14 years.

In Senegal the French military tried to rely on volunteer soldiers from the free population of Saint-Louis, but free African men usually rejected military service; the work was demeaning and men did not want to risk losing social status for associating and working with slaves.

In 1857 the governor of FRENCH WEST AFRICA, Louis FAIDHERBE (1818–1889), created the first permanent units of black soldiers for France, the TIRAILLEURS SÉNÉGALAIS. Unlike French commanders before him, Faidherbe believed that Africans could become effective combat soldiers, and he embarked on a campaign to change the status of Africans in the military. African troops had their own distinct uniforms and were segregated into their own companies with French officers. Trained to be infantry soldiers, the Tirailleurs received higher pay and incentive bonuses and shared in the spoils of war. The African troops were mainly drawn from savanna peoples, and the Bamana language became the secondary military vernacular after French patois. Since Africans could be promoted to the ranks of Native Officers, military service became the vehicle of advancement for Africans in French colonial society.

Following the French conquest of the empire of SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900) in 1898, Touré's officers were incorporated into the Tirailleurs Sénégalais. Also, four of Touré's sons joined the cavalry units of the French Frontier Guard.

From 1890 until 1904 the demand for African soldiers outpaced the supply as France used the auxiliaries to subdue West African resistance to their occupation. French commanders paid enlistment bonuses to recruit soldiers and to encourage veterans to reenlist, and they also paid enlistment bonuses to troops who helped indenture more slaves.

In World War I Blaise DIAGNE (1872–1934), the French National Assembly delegate from Senegal, launched a recruitment campaign to increase the numbers of French troops fighting against the armies of the German colonies of KAMERUN (today's CAMEROON) and TOGOLAND. Armée d'Afrique units recruited by Diagne also were employed in Europe on the Western Front.

In 1919, after universal male conscription was systematically introduced in French West Africa, Muslim leaders who had witnessed the devastation of the European war wanted to protect their followers from unwanted foreign

influence. They therefore discouraged them from joining the colonial army, risking French military reprisal.

During World War II FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA provided the base of operations for the Free French resistance movement led by General Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970). Tens of thousands of African troops helped de Gaulle and the allies to victory both at home in Africa and abroad.

Following the war, soldiers from the Armée d'Afrique provided internal security in French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. Later, during the transition to independence between 1958 and 1960, French African colonial soldiers returned to their home territories to become the military and police forces for the newly independent nations. In many places French military officers continued to direct African enlisted personnel.

British Colonial Armies The experience of African troops in British colonies was similar to that of the troops in the French colonies. In the early 1800s the British Royal Africa Corps recruited local African troops for military service in both East and West Africa. British military policy in the 1860s revolved around the might of the British navy, since wherever Britain controlled the coast the interior fell under their control within 20 years. The ROYAL NIGER COMPANY used a navy on the Niger and Benue rivers for communication, to supply its outposts, and to protect its investment against smugglers.

In 1897 Colonel Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) created the West Africa Frontier Force (WAFF) to be a federal, interterritorial army to combat French incursions into the region that was to become British-ruled NIGERIA. Commanded by British army officers with a small contingent of British non-commissioned officers (NCOs), the WAFF became the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF), in 1928. In peacetime there was no shortage of men wanting to join the ranks of the military, and a clean bill of health was the determining factor for selection.

In the 1860s, Captain John Glover (1829–1885) formed a military force from HAUSA and YORUBA mercenaries. Known as "Glover's Hausas," they helped defend the colony of LAGOS and also fought in the ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS. Although English was the official language, Glover's troops spoke the Hausa language and it was used as the language of command. As late as 1950 British officers and non-commissioned officers appointed by the Colonial Office in West Africa were expected to learn Hausa.

In BRITISH EAST AFRICA the King's African Rifles (KAR) was formed in 1902. The KAR brought together soldiers from the former Central African Rifles Battalions of NYASA-LAND, the East African Rifles of the East Africa Protectorate, the KENYA Rifles, and the UGANDA Rifles. During World War I KAR units fought in the GERMAN EAST AFRICA campaigns.

In World War II the KAR expanded as Britain controlled more territories and participated in the 1942–43 Madagascar campaign. The first African officers were appointed about this time.

After the war the RWAFF increasingly played the role of safeguarding internal security. By 1956 each regiment was developed as a regional force, and served, in effect, as a nascent national army. For example, the Ghana Military Force became the Ghana Army at independence in 1957. Of Britain's former West African colonies, only The GAMBIA disbanded its army in favor of a civilian police force. The main task of the new armies was to maintain internal security, and the armies were supplemented with the addition of small navies and air forces. In East Africa the King's African Rifles trained as combat troops and were used to suppress the MAU MAU in Kenya.

German Colonial Armies In German protectorates (SOUTH WEST AFRICA, German South East Africa, Kamerun, and Togoland), the colonial forces were called the *Schutztruppe*. At the beginning of World War I German officers of the Schutztruppe commanded more than 1,500 African troops in Kamerun and more than 2,400 African troops in GERMAN EAST AFRICA. Although the Germans were known for their sometimes brutal racism in the administration of their African protectorates, it is thought that German officers treated African troops with a professional, if paternalistic, respect on the battlefield.

Belgian Colonial Armies By the end of the 1880s Belgium's King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) had military personnel, the Force Publique, protecting his CONGO FREE STATE colony. Like other European colonial armies, the Force Publique recruited Africans into their ranks. Unlike other colonies, however, soldiers in the Belgian territory were inadequately supervised, and the armies often became nothing more than raiding parties for rogue administrators interested in personal gain.

During World War I, however, the Force Publique experienced some success in helping Britain contain the advancing German Schutztruppe in East Africa. Belgium also dispatched a Force Publique battalion to help France take parts of Kamerun from Germany. Similar to other European colonial armies, between the world wars, Belgian armies were used to preserve the peace and maintain internal security. During World War II African troops from the Congo aided the Allies in defeating German and Italian forces throughout the continent.

Unlike Britain and France, Belgium did not train African troops for officer positions. In 1961, when the Democratic Republic of the CONGO declared independence from Belgian rule, the lack of clear lines of command

among African military personnel exacerbated the widespread instability of the country.

Portuguese Colonial Armies Around the time of World War I, in ANGOLA and northern South West Africa, Portuguese colonial armies recruited Africans, most notably Himba men, to help them pacify the region.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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art Dominated by indigenous works representing knowledge, power, and beauty in daily life, African art forms were influenced by European and American art in the 19th century and they, in turn, influenced the art of Europe and the Americas in the 20th century.

Because of the diversity of ethnic groups on the African continent, African art cannot be identified under the names of movements such as *impressionism* or *cubism* in Europe. Art among Africans has a function in society and is used for the beautification of daily life; it is a part of life rather than an imitation of it. Across the continent, style in African art is based on simplification and exaggeration for emphasis.

Much of African art is the symbolic representation of knowledge and power, both religious and political. A YORUBA divination tray is marked with important symbols known only to the *babalawo,* the diviner. Carved statues often represent ancestors who are well remembered and who work within the spirit world to help the family. An intricately carved staff can imbue its holder with power. The indigenous leader of KANKAN, GUINEA, for example, possesses a staff that has been passed from generation to generation. Among the Ashanti of present-day GHANA, a carved wooden stool represents the seat of power while the Golden Stool is the symbol for the collective soul of the Ashanti people.

Indigenous art for daily life is exhibited through carvings in wood, ivory, stone, and metals, cloth weaving, clay pottery, beadwork, and personal adornment such as scarification. A common purpose of indigenous artistic forms

was, and still is, to generate beauty in daily life by decorating the practical and functional items in society.

The production of art is usually divided by gender in each society. For example, among the Senufo of present-day IVORY COAST, the men are the weavers and the women are the potters, while the converse may be true elsewhere. Whether male or female, however, the African artist must produce objects that are based on the aesthetically acceptable standards of the community.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans and later, Americans, the most obvious outside influence on African art came from Islam. In Islamic communities the symbols of religious power reflected Muslim aesthetic ideals, which prohibit statues or three dimensional representations but allow geometrical patterns and embellishments of scripture written in Arabic.

During the early 19th century some African descendants who had been removed to Europe and the Americas during the SLAVE TRADE, returned to Africa during the BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENTS. These returnees brought with them the new art styles that they had learned, sharing them with indigenous Africans who then adopted and adapted these features into their own aesthetic sensibilities.

During the early 20th century African artifacts from Central and West Africa, especially masks, became fashionable items in curio shops and were displayed in the emerging ethnographic museums in Europe. At this juncture of European art history, artists were rebelling against the naturalist stereotypes and began incorporating African techniques of stylization to create a new artistic style. Although Europeans did not consider African artifacts to be on a par with European fine art, as European artists began referring to them more frequently, the artifacts became categorized as "tribal" or "primitive" art.

Credited with the "discovery" of tribal art in 1906, the French artist Henri Matisse (1869–1954) also introduced Spanish painter Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) to the simplified forms and earth tones produced by Africans. After visiting the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in Paris, Picasso incorporated four different African masks in the creation of his renowned painting, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907). This initiated the European art movement known as Primitivism, which in turn became the foundation for cubism, one of the most influential movements in the history of Western art.

See also: ART (Vols. I, II, III, V); DIVINATION (Vol. I); GOLDEN STOOL (Vol. III); MASKS (Vol. I).

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Asantewa, Yaa (Queen Mother of Ejisu)

(1850–1921) *Leader of the Ashanti Empire*

Yaa Asantewa was born to the Ashanti royal family in the village of Ejisu, about 10 miles east of KUMASI, the Ashanti capital located in present-day south-central GHANA. Throughout her life her native region was the site of ongoing violence between the ASHANTI EMPIRE and the occupying British colonial forces. In 1874 Britain took control of Kumasi and declared the region part of its GOLD COAST COLONY. In 1888, following a bitter five-year civil war, the beleaguered Ashanti confederation chose Agyeman PREMPEH (1870–1931), a close ally of Yaa Asantewa's son, as the rightful *asantehene,* or king.

By 1896 the Ashanti were once again a powerful force in the region. In an attempt to reassert control over their colony the British advanced on Kumasi once more, capturing Prempeh in the process. In an attempt to bring the fighting to a quick end, the British demanded that the defeated *asantehene* be sent into exile. Capitulating to the demand, Prempeh, along with leading chiefs—including Yaa Asantewa's son—was eventually sent to the remote Indian Ocean island of SEYCHELLES. Without their king the Ashanti people rallied around Yaa Asantewa, who had assumed the powerful office of the Queen Mother in the absence of most of the Ashanti male leadership.

Early in 1900 the colonial governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Arnold Hodgson, made the mistake of demanding to sit on the Ashanti Golden Stool, a sacred object that represented the unity and independence of the Ashanti people. This unforgivable gaffe was met with the silent withdrawal of the Ashanti people, who immediately made plans for an attack on the British stronghold at Kumasi. Under Yaa Asantewa's active leadership, Ashanti warriors fought a fierce six-month battle for Kumasi. Eventually, in September 1900, British reinforcements with automatic weapons arrived to bring an end to the uprising, now remembered as the Yaa Asantewa War. According to some witnesses, Yaa Asantewa was the last Ashanti warrior captured. She, too, was sent to Seychelles.

In exile, Yaa Asantewa's encyclopedic knowledge of her own royal lineage was instrumental in helping Prempeh I compile *The History of Ashanti Kings and the Whole Country Itself,* begun in 1907. Proud and defiant to the end, she died in exile circa 1921.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV): GHANA (Vols. I, II, III, V): GOLDEN STOOL (Vol. III); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Ashanti Empire Territory ruled by the Ashanti, a West African AKAN group; at its height the Ashanti Empire covered most of present-day GHANA. In the 17th century the first Ashanti *asantehene,* or king, Osei Tutu (c. 1680–c. 1717), founded his capital of KUMASI, a market town along a trade route in the dense forests of the south-central region of present-day Ghana. With the sacred Golden Stool as a powerful symbol of unity, Osei Tutu and the succeeding *asantehenes* joined all of the local Ashanti chiefdoms into a formidable state.

Once it had centralized its power the Ashanti kingdom employed its massive and well-trained army to dominate other Akan kingdoms, including Denkyira and Akyem, as well as the MOSSI STATES to the north, such as Dagomba. Waging frequent wars, they captured thousands of prisoners, whom they used to increase their own ranks, to clear the forest for AGRICULTURE, and to work their lucrative GOLD fields. Prisoners were also traded on the coast for European goods. As a result of this military and commercial might the Ashanti kingdom evolved into an empire.

In 1807, however, Britain outlawed slave trading and began actively discouraging the trade in human captives on the southern coast of Ashanti territory (called the Gold Coast by Europeans for the massive amounts of the precious metal that were traded there). Over the next two decades British merchants and expeditionary forces continued to encroach on Ashanti territory, sparking the ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS, a series of battles that gradually weakened the Ashanti Empire during the 19th century.

In 1873 the British began an invasion of Kumasi, burning buildings and looting storehouses. The subsequent occupation of the city and the establishment of the British GOLD COAST COLONY to the south of Kumasi marked a shift in the region's power structure. Then, following the death of Asantehene Kwaku Dua II (d. 1884), a problem of succession embroiled the Ashanti in turmoil over who would be named the next *asantehene*. During this void in leadership, questions arose over the direction the empire should take. Some Ashanti chiefs and counselors recommended that the empire join with the Gold Coast Colony, while others vehemently disagreed. Since the Ashanti are a matrilineal society, royal women and queen mothers chose the *asantehene*. Queen Mother Yaa Akyaa (1845–1917) supported the accession of her son Agyeman PREMPEH (1870–1931), and after five years of civil war Agyeman Prempeh was finally appointed *asantehene.*

The internal warfare weakened the Ashanti Empire, but it did not fall easily. By 1896 its reorganized army attempted to expel the British from Kumasi. However, British forces overwhelmed the Ashanti army with superior firepower, seized Agyeman Prempeh, and eventually exiled him and his mother to the distant island of SEYCHELLES in the Indian Ocean.

Many Ashanti considered the exiling of Agyeman Prempeh to be a victory for their people. The primary objective was to preserve the sanctity of the Golden Stool, which, as the symbolic soul of their nation, was much more important than the destiny of any particular *asantehene.* The victorious British colonial governor demanded that the Ashanti royalty hand over the stool for him to sit on—an unpardonable offense that led to further conflict.

Because the rightful king and his mother had been exiled along with her own son, Yaa ASANTEWA (1850–1921), Queen Mother of a component state in the empire, assumed leadership. In 1901 she challenged the men by leading the last efforts to end the British occupation of Kumasi. Carrying a machete and a British-made 30.03 rifle, Yaa Asantewa led her army. Although eventually defeated, she escaped capture for three years. In the end, however, she, too, was exiled to the Seychelles.

After the Ashanti were defeated their gold fields were co-opted by British MINING interests, and the colonial administration set about building railroads from Kumasi to the coast. When Agyeman Prempeh was allowed to return to Kumasi, in 1924, he was celebrated once again as the mighty *asantehene,* but the former glory of the Ashanti Empire was a distant memory.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vol. III); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GOLDEN STOOL (Vol. III); OSEI TUTU (Vol. III).

Further reading: Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

Asian communities   During the colonial era large numbers of Asians were brought to Africa to supply British colonies with cheap LABOR. Some of these laborers were Chinese or Indonesian, but the majority were from India, which was part of the British Empire at the time. Significant Asian populations lived on the Indian Ocean islands of MADAGASCAR, MAURITIUS, and RÉUNION ISLAND, but the largest Asian communities lived, and still live, in SOUTH AFRICA and in BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

During the middle of the 19th century European-owned companies established South Africa's sugarcane industry along the Indian Ocean coast, in what was Britain's NATAL colony. Between the 1850s and 1910 the British administration recruited an estimated 150,000 Asians to work as indentured laborers for five-year terms. Most worked on the sugar plantations, but others were employed as railway workers, miners, and domestic servants for British and Afrikaner households. At the end of their contracts many of the Indian laborers stayed in the area. By the end of the 19th century they had formed an educated middle class composed of merchants and small-business owners in addition to constituting a working class. As such, they were able to develop a measure of political influence that was unattainable to the country's black majority.

The most famous Indian to live in South Africa was a young, British-trained lawyer named Mohandas GANDHI (1869–1948). After arriving in DURBAN in 1893, Gandhi worked for more than 20 years as a social activist. His style of political leadership later had a profound impact on leaders of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

In the 20th century the Afrikaner-dominated South African government tended to see the country's Indians as a homogenous community. Despite the government's tendency to lump the Indians together, however, there were religious, ethnic, and cultural differences among the various groups within the community. For example, some Indians were Hindi, some were Sikhs, and others were Muslims. In many ways immigrants from India's northern Punjabi district were as culturally distinct from the southern Goan Indians as they were from their Afrikaner neighbors.

Between 1896 and 1901 the British colonial government brought more than 30,000 indentured Indian workers to supply labor on the railway between the cities of KAMPALA, in present-day UGANDA, and MOMBASA, on the coast of KENYA. The workers who survived the difficult project settled throughout British East Africa, establishing Asian communities all down the SWAHILI COAST from Mombasa to DAR ES SALAAM, located on the coast of TANGANYIKA (present-day mainland TANZANIA).

Britain's East African railroads were notoriously difficult to build, and many workers died from disease brought on by poor living conditions and a harsh working environment. In addition, man-eating lions and other large predators terrorized the worker camps. In all an estimated 2,500 workers died during the construction of the Mombasa-Kampala railway.

Indian merchants along the Indian Ocean coast developed commercial ties to Asia and the Middle East, as well as throughout Africa. Similar to the Asian immigrants in South Africa, in the 20th century Asian settlers in East Africa made up an educated middle class that had some political power.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II).

Further reading: Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban, 1910–1990* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1995).

Asmara (Asmera)
Capital and largest city of ERITREA, located near the Red Sea in the Eritrean highlands. Situated at an elevation of 7,700 feet (2,347 m), Asmara was originally a minor TIGRAY village before becoming the military headquarters of Emperor YOHANNES IV (1831–1889) of ETHIOPIA. His successor, Emperor MENELIK II (1844–1913), ceded Asmara and the surrounding region to Italy under the terms of the Treaty of Wichale (1889). Italy later used Asmara as a base from which to invade Ethiopia in 1895.

The following year, however, Ethiopia thoroughly routed the Italian invaders at the Battle of ADOWA, and the subsequent Treaty of Addis Ababa recognized Ethiopia's sovereignty and Italy's claim only to Eritrea. The Italian governor at the time selected Asmara over the port city of Massawa, some 40 miles (65 km) away, as the colony's capital because of its cooler highland climate.

Asmara came to assume the character of an Italian colonial city, and by 1925 had 10,000 inhabitants. A focal point of the city was the Piazza Roma Asmara, with the Bank of Italy, built in 1926, as one of its principal landmarks. Another important colonial building was the Catholic cathedral, erected in 1922. Yet in terms of its overall population, Asmara remained a Tigrayan city, with its indigenous population made up of equal numbers of Muslims and Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. In 1935, in an event that was a precursor to World War II (1939–45), Italy again utilized Asmara as its base for an invasion of Ethiopia. Although the Italian forces succeeded this time, British forces later defeated the Italians in 1941, restoring independence to Ethiopia and taking over Eritrea. The city continued as the British administrative capital until 1952, when a United Nations resolution made Eritrea a federated province of Ethiopia, with Asmara as its provincial capital. In 1993, when Eritrea became an independent nation, Asmara became the national capital.

See also: ASMARA (Vols. II, V); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Aswan Dam
Either of two Egyptian dams across the Nile River. The Aswan "Low" Dam was completed in 1902. It was supplanted in the 1960s by the much larger Aswan "High" Dam. Because EGYPT is relatively rainless, the annual flood of the Nile River is what makes the land suitable for farming. However, the volume of floodwater can change significantly from year to year—from 12 bil-

lion cubic meters in a lean year to 155 billion cubic meters in a heavy year. Egypt needed to control these floodwaters in order to guarantee a stable amount of water to grow crops for the country's expanding population. In addition, developing industries needed a new source of electricity to fuel their growth. A dam at Aswan, 590 miles (949 km) south of CAIRO, provided clear answers to both of these needs.

In 1898 Egypt employed British engineers to begin construction of what would be the first, or Low, Aswan Dam. A number of Britain's foremost engineers participated in the project, including Sir Benjamin Baker (1840–1907) and Sir John Aird. The dam was completed in 1902. Measuring over 100 feet (30 m) in height and nearly 1.5 miles (2.4 km) in length, the dam was an extraordinary engineering feat for its time.

It soon became apparent, however, that this was not sufficient. The primary problem was that the dam's reservoir area could not accommodate an extreme Nile flood. This produced dangerously high levels of water pressure against the dam's concrete and granite structure. Efforts to increase the height and width of the dam, first from 1907 to 1912 and then again from 1929 to 1934, failed to produce a significant solution.

Planning for a second Aswan Dam, located 4 miles (6.4 km) upstream from the first dam, began in the early 1950s. In November 1959 the Nile Water Agreement between Egypt and present-day Republic of the SUDAN paved the way for construction to begin on the Aswan High Dam. This new dam, which would not be completed until 1970, involved Cold War politics in its construction and produced sweeping changes not only in Egypt's topology, but in its native ecology and culture as well. The dam also affected the archaeological study of the remnants of the ancient civilizations of Egyptian Nubia and Sudanese Nubia.

See also: ASWAN (Vol. I); ASWAN DAM (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV) KUSH (Vol. I); MEDITERRANEAN SEA (Vols. I, II); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); NILE VALLEY (Vol. I); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II).

Atlantic Charter
Declaration issued by the United States and Britain that seemed to promise a shift toward the end of colonialism. During World War II (1939–45) United States president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) met aboard a warship in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of Newfoundland. At the conclusion of this meeting, in August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill issued a joint declaration that became known as the Atlantic Charter. It outlined their principles, intent, and vision for the postwar world that would follow upon the defeat of Germany and Japan. The third article of the declaration stated that the United States and Britain would "respect the right of all

peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live," and that they sought to have "sovereign rights and self government restored to those [peoples] who have been forcibly deprived of them."

In the context of the NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS occurring in most parts of Africa at the time—political efforts that sought a greater measure of power sharing, self rule, or outright independence—the Atlantic Charter appeared to signal a profound shift in Western policy toward the African colonies. African intellectuals widely quoted the third article, for it raised hopes for a drastically changed postwar political landscape, one in which Africans would exercise greater autonomy and work toward independence. When none of these expectations were realized after the war, the perceived duplicity of the declaration tended to embitter political moderates and give momentum to anticolonial nationalist movements.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Awolowo, Obafemi (1909–1987) *Nigerian statesman and Yoruba national leader*

Popularly known as "Awo," Obafemi Awolowo was born to Christian parents in the YORUBA town of Ikene, in what was then the British PROTECTORATE of Southern NIGERIA. Because of his father's early death, Awolowo had a very difficult childhood. As a youth he attended various schools in towns in Western Nigeria before gaining admission, in 1927, to Wesley College, in IBADAN.

Forced to drop out of the college in 1928, he pursued various means of earning a living. In 1934 he moved to LAGOS and at various times engaged in money lending, public letter writing (most colonial Nigerians could neither read nor write), public transport, and produce trading. He did all of these with some success but also incurred huge debts and losses. In 1937 he married a businesswoman, Hannah Idowu Dideolu Adelana. During this period he also became active in the labor union movement, and in 1943 he was one of the founders of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress.

In 1944 he went to London to study law, and in 1946 he was admitted to the bar. After returning home the following year he established a law practice in Ibadan and also became active in the nationalist politics of the era. While in England he had founded a Yoruba cultural society among his countrymen there that became the nucleus of a new nationalist political party. This party, named the Action Group, was officially formed in 1950, with Awolowo as its first president.

From 1951 to 1959 Awolowo held posts of increasing responsibility in the government of the Yoruba-dominated Western Region, which began to demand self-rule within a federal Nigeria. In 1959 he was elected to the Federal House of Representatives in which, as head of the Action Group, he was leader of the opposition. In 1960, when Nigeria achieved independence, Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966), from the HAUSA-dominated Northern Region, became prime minister.

In 1963, as a result of an aborted coup attempt by the Action Group against Balewa's government, Awolowo was sentenced to 10 years in prison. He was released in 1966, however, following the military coup that put Yakubu Gowon (1934–   ), an officer from the Northern Region, into power. For the remainder of his political career, which ended in 1983, Awolowo was active in national politics. In 1987 the University of Ifé in Ilé-Ifé, Nigeria, was renamed Obafemi Awolowo University in his honor.

See also: AWOLOWO, OBAFEMI (Vol. V); GOWON, YAKUBU (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Azikiwe, Nnamdi (Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe) (1904–1996) *First president of independent Nigeria*

Azikiwe, an IGBO, was born in the town of Zungeru, in Northern NIGERIA. His father worked as a clerk for the British colonial army. Azikiwe received his early education in Calabar and later in LAGOS, where he was exposed to the philosophy of the pan-Africanist Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940) and met American-trained Ghanaian educator and minister James E. Kwegyir AGGREY (1875–1927). These events had a profound impact on the young Azikiwe.

In 1924 Azikiwe's father retired from his position after receiving humiliating treatment from a European coworker. Though the incident troubled Azikiwe, his father was able to use his retirement money to send Azikiwe to the United States to continue his education. He ultimately ended up at Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania, where one of his fellow students was Thurgood Marshall (1908–1993), who later became a U.S. Supreme Court justice. Although he was faced with persistent financial difficulties and discrimination, Azikiwe still managed to complete his studies and earn a master's degree in political science. His experience at Lincoln University was so positive that he strongly encouraged Kwame NKRUMAH (1902–1972), the first president of independent GHANA, to attend the school as well.

Azikiwe returned to Nigeria in 1934 and then moved to ACCRA, the capital of GOLD COAST COLONY (now Ghana), where he founded and edited a newspaper. He used the paper to criticize colonialism in West Africa, drawing the ire of colonial authorities, who charged him with sedition. Azikiwe was convicted of the charge, but the conviction was later overturned. The case was well publicized, and in 1937 Azikiwe returned to Nigeria as a nationalist hero.

In 1944 Azikiwe established the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons, as well as six NEWSPAPERS, including the *WEST AFRICAN PILOT,* through which he launched a massive anticolonial campaign. He branched out into economics as well, founding the African Continental Bank that same year. The colonial government reacted against Azikiwe's efforts, banning two of his papers, and rumors abounded of assassination plots against him. Azikiwe's popularity in Nigeria and beyond grew immensely, and in 1946 anticolonial radicals in Nigeria formed the Zikist movement, naming themselves after Azikiwe's nickname, Zik. In 1949 a European-police massacre of 18 African mine workers incited a Zikist riot, an event which led Azikiwe to distance himself from the movement.

In 1948 Azikiwe was elected president of the Igbo Union. Though still popular, he faced competition and criticism from organizations in Nigeria's other cultures, including the HAUSA and the YORUBA. The Hausa established the Northern People's Congress, in 1949, and the Yoruba, led by Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987) formed the Action Group, in 1951. This heightened political activism and rivalry helped lead Nigeria to independence, in 1960, but it also increased the political and ethnic tensions that led to the outbreak of civil war within the first decade of Nigeria's independence.

Azikiwe continued to rise through the ranks of Nigerian politics until, in 1963, he assumed the role of independent Nigeria's first president.

See also: AZIKIWE, NNAMDI (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

B

Ba, Amadou Hampate (1901–1991) *Malian historian and Muslim scholar*

Amadou Hampate Ba was born in Bandiagara, MALI, to a prominent Pular-speaking, Muslim family. As was common in his community, he received a Quranic education. He then became a follower of a prominent Sufi mystic and teacher. He also received a primary education in French, after which he became a junior clerk for the colonial government in UPPER VOLTA (today's BURKINA FASO). He worked as a research assistant, collecting historical and ethnographic texts for the Fundamental Institute of Black Africa (IFAN), a colonial research institute based in DAKAR, SENEGAL, with branches in other colonies of FRENCH WEST AFRICA. Ba's work with IFAN helped establish him as a historian and ethnographer. In the 1960s he directed the new Malian Institute for Research in Human Sciences and was Mali's ambassador to UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization). He retired to the city of ABIDJAN in IVORY COAST, where he concentrated on teaching, writing, and preaching.

> The Pular (Peul) LANGUAGE enjoys widespread use in West Africa. In its various dialects, it is spoken by roughly 14 million people of FULANI background, from Fouta Jallon (modern GUINEA) through NIGER, MALI, NIGERIA, and CAMEROON. Fulani traders and merchants can be found in almost every major city in West Africa.

Amadou Ba wrote many works of nonfiction but only one novel, *L'Etrange destin de Wangrin* (The fortunes of Wangrin), published in 1973. His writings are notable for the extent to which they incorporate his detailed knowledge of his region's customs and ORAL TRADITIONS. Summarizing the importance of recording the past, he said "the death of an old man is like the burning of a library."

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

baasskap Term from AFRIKAANS literally meaning "master condition." In SOUTH AFRICA, it is applied to the concept of the white-minority domination over the majority, which was made up of Africans, CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE, and Asians. The origins of *baasskap* lay with SLAVERY during the Dutch East India Company and early British eras in the CAPE COLONY. As they migrated out of the Cape Colony into the interior, BOERS (later called AFRIKANERS) embraced this approach in dealing with the indigenous African people they encountered and eventually subordinated.

While *baasskap* became entrenched in social and economic relations between blacks and whites, it also had a legislative dimension. One of the earliest laws was the 1841 Masters and Servants Ordinance of the Cape Colony. Pass laws regulating the free movement of Africans were another example of legislated *baasskap*. With the National Party's electoral victory in 1948 and the emergence of APARTHEID in South Africa, *baasskap* reached its high point. The objective of the South African government was to consolidate and perpetuate political control by whites and thus ensure their social, economic, and cultural domination.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV).

Baba, Shaikh Sidiyya (1862–1926) *Leading Muslim scholar and reformer in Mauritania*

The grandson of a highly revered and respected marabout, or Islamic holy man, Baba learned much from his grandfather about political leadership and political mediation. He also received a strong Islamic education from leading scholars of the southern Sahara region. Growing up in an era of European COLONIAL CONQUEST and expansion, Baba was interested in understanding the effects of European imperialism on Muslim countries. For example, he studied leaders such as Muhammad Ali (1769–1849), a Muslim who modernized EGYPT with the help of Europeans. With his broad knowledge of North African history, Baba turned his attention to reforming his own Moorish society in MAURITANIA.

Bands of warriors dominated precolonial Mauritania, and the marabouts were limited in their political authority. Baba sought to apply what he had learned about European power first to cooperate with the French in their colonial conquest, and then to utilize the French administrative presence to restructure the lines of political authority among Mauritanians. At the same time he worked to keep Mauritania autonomous during the colonial era. Baba also set up a French-Arabic school—the first in the country—at his camp at Boutilimit, located southwest of the capital in Nouakchott. The school trained what would become the country's first generation of leaders—these included some of Baba's own children—after Mauritania achieved independence, in 1960. In part, Baba's legacy was the creation of schooling that combined the best Islamic educational traditions with those of the French colonialists to meet the needs of Mauritania in the modern world.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV).

Back-to-Africa movements   Various initiatives undertaken to return people of African descent in the Americas to Africa. Back-to-Africa movements were underway as early as the late 18th century, with efforts by British abolitionists and the Sierra Leone Company eventually leading to the establishment of SIERRA LEONE, a colony for repatriated Africans from Britain and the Americas. Similarly, by the 1820s the American Colonization Society had established the independent settlement of LIBERIA for repatriated African-Americans.

During the late 19th and into the 20th century one of the staunchest supporters of the Back-to-Africa movement was Bishop Henry McNeal Turner (1834–1915), whose disillusionment with the plight of American blacks made him call for emigration to Africa. Edward Wilmot BLYDEN (1832–1912), a West Indian who moved to Liberia, also encouraged American blacks to return to Africa.

One African-American abolitionist, Martin Robinson Delany (1812–1885), is characterized as an early black nationalist. After a varied career in MEDICINE, the military, politics, and publishing, Delany promoted repatriation of African-Americans to Africa. His efforts included an expedition to the NIGER DELTA (in present day NIGERIA), where he signed a treaty to settle African-Americans there in order to develop a COTTON industry. Although the outbreak of the U.S. Civil War (1860–65) diverted his attention to issues in America, individual families resettled in the delta region as a result of this effort.

In the early decades of the 20th century a second Back-to-Africa movement gained momentum under the direction of Jamaican-born Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940). Through his black nationalist organization, the UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, Garvey called for African-Americans and other members of the AFRICAN DIASPORA to return to the motherland, reclaim it, and establish a great African nation free from the control of whites. Garvey's impassioned speeches garnered enthusiastic support, but his mission was ultimately derailed by financial difficulties.

See also: PAN-AFRICANISM (Vols. IV, V).

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Bagamoyo   Small Indian Ocean port city on northern coast of TANZANIA dating from the 18th century. Bagamoyo was a depot for the SLAVE TRADE and IVORY TRADE and gained importance as the first colonial capital of GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

Present-day Bagamoyo is a quiet place with a developing tourist trade that is very much at odds with the violence of its past history. Due to its location across a narrow strait from ZANZIBAR, the Omani Arab state that controlled the 19th-century East African slave and ivory trade, Bagamoyo became a principal port for the trade in human captives. In 1872 Roman Catholic MISSIONARIES seeking to suppress the slave trade founded a mission station outside the town that has remained an important church to the

present day. Shortly after, in 1889, Bagamoyo figured in the German conquest of the area, and it became Germany's colonial capital. The city remained a German administrative center until Germany lost all its African colonies as a result of World War I (1914–18).

With the onset of British rule after World War I, Bagamoyo's administrative importance was eclipsed by the new colonial capital of DAR ES SALAAM. Bagamoyo's commercial power eroded as well, due to the rise of the port city of Tanga to the north. The Catholic mission, the old German governor's residence, and the fine coastal buildings remind present-day visitors and local residents alike of the town's former importance.

See also: SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Baker, Samuel (Sir Samuel White Baker) (1821–1893) *British explorer, adventurer, and administrator of the Sudan*

Baker had already led a full life of adventure in various parts of the world when, in 1861, he and his wife, Florence Von Sass, came to Africa in search of the source of the Nile River. Although he traveled both the Blue Nile and the White, he was unsuccessful in his attempt. Other explorers had preceded him. In 1863 Baker met the two men who had located the headwaters of that great river at Lake Victoria, the largest lake in Africa, in present-day TANZANIA and UGANDA. The explorers, John Hanning SPEKE (1827–1864) and James Augustus Grant (1827–1892), told Baker of rumors they had heard about another large body of water in the region. Using this information, in 1864 Baker came upon the large lake that he named Lake Albert Nyanza after Britain's Prince Albert (1819–1861), the consort of Queen Victoria (1819–1901).

Baker also was the first European to see Uganda's Murchison Falls (now Kabarega Falls), which he named for Roderick Murchison (1792–1871), president of the Royal Geographical Society.

Baker was knighted in 1866. Three years later he accepted an offer from Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895) of EGYPT to lead a military expedition to the Upper Nile. His purpose was to suppress the SLAVE TRADE in what is now the Republic of the SUDAN and to promote commerce. Baker commanded the expedition under the titles of pasha and major-general of the Ottoman army. From 1869 to 1873 he administered the Equatoria Province of southern Sudan as governor general. Returning to Britain in 1874, he proved a passionate advocate for the abolition of the slave trade.

Baker wrote many popular books on hunting, nature, and, especially, his travels in Africa. After 1873 he pursued his life-long passions for big-game hunting and traveling.

See also: EXPLORATION (Vol. III); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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Balewa, Abubakar Tafawa (Alhaji; Sir) (1912–1966) *First prime minister of independent Nigeria*

Balewa was born to a Muslim family of humble background in what is now northern NIGERIA. He was educated at Katsina, where he obtained a teacher's certificate. After teaching from 1933 to 1945, he attended the Institute of Education at the University of London on a scholarship. Returning home in 1947, he was appointed a government education officer, but that same year he quit EDUCATION to begin a career in politics in the colonial Northern Region House of Assembly. Balewa continued to represent the Northern Region when the British replaced the House of Assembly with a federal House of Representatives, in 1951. Surprising for a representative from the Muslim-dominated north, Balewa held strong pro-West views and supported Western-style capitalism, which, in the strongly anticolonial and African-nationalist environment of the 1960s, contributed to his 1966 assassination.

In addition to being one of Nigeria's most prominent politicians, Balewa also became a best-selling novelist in 1934. His short work *Shaihu Umar,* written in HAUSA, relates the trials of a young Muslim man and his mother around the turn of the century, when SLAVERY and kidnapping were still very real threats in the Hausa-dominated region of Northern Nigeria. Through the story Balewa promotes the values and philosophy of Islam. It was translated and published in English in 1989.

The Nigerian federation became self-governing in 1954, and, along with Ahmadu BELLO (1909–1966), Balewa founded the conservative Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), one of the key political parties that formed the new coalition government. Other parties included the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons, led by Eastern Nigerians Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996) and Herbert Macaulay (1864–1946), and the Action Group opposition party, representing the Western Region and led by YORUBA chief Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987).

In 1957 the coalition government elected Balewa the first prime minister of the Federation of Nigeria, giving him executive and legislative powers. He retained the post when Nigeria achieved independence, in 1960, and con-

tinued to hold the position when Nigeria became a republic, in 1963. In 1960 Balewa was knighted by Britain's Queen Elizabeth II (1926–   ).

By the mid-1960s, however, Balewa's northern-oriented government had become corrupt, with many politicians reaping monetary benefits from their positions while much of the country suffered from poverty and starvation. In 1966, following several years of ineffective and divided national leadership, Balewa was assassinated in a military coup d'état led by junior officers of IGBO descent from southeastern Nigeria.

See also: COUP D'ÉTAT (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Trevor Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman: Abubakar from the Black Rock: A Narrative Chronicle of the Life and Times of Nigeria's Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1991).

Bamako Current capital city of the Republic of MALI, located in the southwestern part of the country, on the Niger River. During the time of the Mali Empire (c. 11th through 15th centuries) the Bamako area was considered a center for Islamic learning. In 1883 the French officer Joseph GALLIENI (1849–1916) took control of Bamako, which at the time was populated by just a few hundred people. The French used the town as a military garrison during the French colonial wars, and in 1908 Bamako became the administrative capital of the former colony of FRENCH SOUDAN, which was administrated as part of FRENCH WEST AFRICA. At that time the Dakar-Niger Railway established a segment from Kayes, near SENEGAL, to Bamako, and the navigable portion of the Senegal River was linked with navigation on the Niger River, to facilitate the movement of bulk cargoes.

In 1946 a meeting of African political leaders in Bamako led to the founding of the AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY (Rassemblement Democratique Africaine, RDA), chaired by Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993) of IVORY COAST. The RDA was dedicated to greater African political rights and representation within the French colonial empire. In 1957 a subsequent meeting of the RDA in Bamako continued to argue for free association with France, but by then some of the key leaders were set on full independence. When Mali gained independence, in 1960, Bamako remained the capital.

See also: BAMAKO (Vols. II, III, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NIGER RIVER (Vols. I, III); SENEGAL RIVER (Vols. I, II); TRANSPORTATION (Vol. IV).

Bambatha's Rebellion (Bambata's Rebellion)
ZULU uprising against white, colonial power in 1906. Bambatha (1865–1906) was the chief of the Zondi, a

small branch (numbering only 5,500) of the Zulu people in the British colony of NATAL (now KwaZulu-Natal, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA). In 1905 he led opposition to a government poll tax that was to go into effect in January 1906.

This opposition grew, and in February 1906 African protestors killed two white policemen engaged in enforcing the tax. In response British troops, South African police, and volunteers from among the region's European SETTLERS launched a campaign of retribution against rebel suspects by destroying crops, confiscating cattle, and deposing chiefs.

White policemen were not the only targets of the rebels' ire. Many young Zulu men saw the capitulation of their elders to colonial demands as a betrayal and attacked their own leaders, too. In the trials that followed the rebellion it was not uncommon for fathers to testify against their sons.

Bambatha was deposed and fled into Zululand. He gathered support among opponents of the hated poll tax, though the rebellion never touched off a mass uprising. Natal imposed martial law in May, seeking to suppress the rebel forces intent on waging a guerrilla war. Bambatha promised his followers that a charm he possessed would deflect British bullets, an assertion that was later proved fanciful. The rebellion was easily put down, and Bambatha was killed and beheaded, in June 1906. By July the government was again in control, but unrest continued in the region for years.

Approximately 4,000 Zulu lost their lives in the armed rebellion, while only 24 whites were killed. The government charged the paramount Zulu king, DINIZULU (1868–1913), with 23 counts of treason, although the extent of his complicity was never clear. He was found guilty of harboring rebels, sentenced to four years in prison, and later exiled to the TRANSVAAL.

Bambatha's Rebellion clearly revealed to Africans the futility of mounting a military assault on the increasingly repressive white authorities. Instead Africans began to explore other forms of protest, which led to the establishment of the South African Native National Congress, in 1912, which later became the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, in 1921. For whites in South Africa, Babatha's Rebellion highlighted their need for a centralized government that could suppress such large-scale uprisings among the African populations. Whites, for their part, responded with the creation of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, in 1910.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Benedict Carton, *Blood From Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa* (Richmond, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2000).

Banda, Hastings Kamuzu (Ngwazi Hastings Kamuzu Banda) (c. 1898–1997) *First president of independent Malawi*

Banda was born to CHEWA-speaking parents in what was then the British PROTECTORATE of NYASALAND (present-day MALAWI). He received his early education from MISSIONARIES and became a Christian. In 1914 Banda traveled to SOUTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZIMBABWE), where he worked in a hospital and determined he would pursue a medical career. In 1916 he moved on to JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, finding work at a GOLD mine on the WITWATERSRAND. It was while working there that he received his first exposure to African nationalism. Banda also joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), in 1922, and through church funding was able to attend the AME Wilberforce Institute, in Ohio. From there he went on to earn his bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago. Then, in 1932, he attended Meharry Medical College, a leading center for training African-American doctors, which was located in Nashville, Tennessee. He received his doctor's degree in 1937.

Unable to set up a medical practice in Nyasaland due to the refusal of white nurses to work for a black doctor, Banda set up a practice in Liverpool, England. After World War II (1939–45), his practice became highly successful and brought him into contact with a number of African nationalist leaders, including Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) of GHANA and Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978) of KENYA. Banda used his money and influence to help support local nationalist groups, particularly the Nyasaland African Congress.

In 1953 the British linked Nyasaland, NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA), and Southern Rhodesia into the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION. The African populations of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in particular, viewed the federation as an effort to extend the white electoral dominance of Southern Rhodesia to their countries and strongly opposed it. In 1957, at the request of the Nyasaland Congress, Banda returned home to lead the organization in protest against British plans to merge the federated territories into a single state. The Congress believed this plan would undermine the possibility of independence even more so than the federation and could even lead to South African-style APARTHEID in Central Africa. In 1959, after demonstrations turned violent, the British imprisoned Banda and disbanded the Congress. Working from prison, Banda formed the Malawi Congress Party, which quickly garnered members. Upon his release, in 1961, Banda was made the party's president for life. That same year the organization swept the elections to become the dominant opposition party.

As Nyasaland progressed toward independence, Banda served as the African leader in a short-term joint government made up of both blacks and whites. He then became prime minister, in 1963, which positioned him to assume the presidency of the independent Republic of Malawi, in 1966, a position he held until 1994.

See also: BANDA, HASTINGS KAMUZU (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Colin Baker, *State of Emergency: Crisis in Central Africa, Nyasaland 1959–1960* (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997). Philip Short, *Banda* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974).

Bandung Afro-Asian Conference (1955)   Widely viewed as the founding meeting of the Nonaligned Movement. On April 18, 1955, at the invitation of the prime ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan, one of the more important international meetings of the post–World War II period took place in Bandung, Indonesia. Representatives of 29 Asian and African countries, mostly former colonies, met for six days to discuss mutual concerns and to develop a common foreign policy to deal with the pressures faced from the major powers. Heading the conference was senior statesman Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) of India, assisted by Prime Ministers Sukarno (1901–1970) of Indonesia and Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) of EGYPT. The Bandung Conference laid the groundwork for the first summit conference of the global Nonalignment Movement, which was held in CAIRO, in June 1961. The purpose of the Nonalignment Movement was to allow smaller nations to follow their own political paths and avoid being dominated by the Cold War (1960–91) rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. V); NONALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Bangui   Capital city of the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, located just west of the Ubangi River. Inhabited by Niger-Congo farming peoples for thousands of years, the area around Bangui was a source of captives for both the transatlantic and Arab slave trades throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1875 the military warlord RABIH BIN FADLALLAH (c. 1835–1900) incorporated the area into the Egyptian Sudan, but an 1887 agreement with the CONGO FREE STATE (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO) granted the region to France. In 1889 France established a colonial military outpost at Bangui, and within five years the region had developed into the OUBANGUI-CHARI colony. The colony became a French overseas territory in 1946. The population of Bangui increased along with its role as an administrative center and trading port, and when the Central African Republic achieved its independence, in 1960, Bangui was named the capital.

See also: BANGUI (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III).

Banjul (formerly Bathurst) Current capital city of The GAMBIA, located at the mouth of the Gambia River. In 1816 a British naval captain acquired the sandy peninsula of Banjul Island through a treaty made with the local ruler. He renamed it St. Mary's Island and established a British military post, calling it Bathurst after the British Colonial Secretary. The British navy used Bathurst as a base to patrol the waters of the Gambia River in an attempt to control the SLAVE TRADE, which Britain had outlawed in 1807. As of 1818 the Banjul community had a civilian population of 700 made up of foreign merchants, freed slaves (known as Aku), and WOLOF-speakers and others from the SENEGAMBIA REGION.

Over the years commercial activities became increasingly important, especially with the dramatic growth in the export of GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) that began in the 1840s. Since it was navigable from the sea to more than 200 miles (322 km) inland, the Gambia River made an excellent route deep into the groundnut-producing regions of the interior. Although the city was once governed as part of the British colony of SIERRA LEONE, located to the south, in 1889 it became the capital of the British colony and PROTECTORATE of The Gambia. In 1965 when The Gambia gained independence, Bathurst maintained its status as the capital. The name was not changed to Banjul until 1973.

See also: BANJUL (Vols. II, III, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); GAMBIA RIVER (Vol. II).

Bankole-Bright, H. C. (Herbert Christian) (1883–1958) *Sierra Leone medical doctor and a leading nationalist*

Herbert Christian Bankole-Bright was born on August 23 in the NIGER DELTA of present-day NIGERIA, where his father worked for the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY. Herbert Christian's grandfather, John Bright was a rich recaptive Aku-YORUBA merchant who in 1866 sent his son, Jacob Galba, to England to study MEDICINE. Jacob Galba had to cut his studies short, however, and he returned to FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE to see his dying father and then take over his business.

Disappointed by his inability to continue his own medical studies, Jacob Galba Bright was determined that Herbert Christian, his son, would become a medical doctor. In 1904 Bankole-Bright left Freetown for Edinburgh, Scotland, where, in 1910, he completed his medical studies. He then entered the London School of Tropical Medicine to undertake advanced studies. In 1911 he married Addah Bishop, under whose father he had worked earlier as an apprentice.

Bankole-Bright returned to Sierra Leone in 1915 and opened a private practice in Freetown. Within a few years, however, he abandoned his practice for politics. Banky, as he was popularly known, criticized the British colonial ad-ministration for its policies related to racial inequalities in salaries and employment opportunities, as well as for its restrictions on African participation in the government. To register his protests and criticisms of COLONIAL RULE, he utilized NEWSPAPERS, especially the *Aurora,* which he founded.

In 1920 Bankole-Bright participated in the conference of West African nationalists in ACCRA, GOLD COAST COLONY, that led to the founding of the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA (NCBWA). Elected secretary-general, he participated in its delegation to London in an unsuccessful effort to meet with the top colonial officials.

It is thought that Bankole-Bright played a major role in the founding of the West African Student Union (WASU) during his 1920 visit to London. The WASU later played a significant part in the convening of the pivotal 1945 Manchester Conference, a meeting of future leaders of the Pan-African Movement.

Bankole-Bright and the other Sierra Leone delegates to the Accra Conference returned to Sierra Leone to found a local NCBWA branch, the National Council of Sierra Leone (NCSL), which became the country's first official political party. As the NCSL leader, Bankole-Bright intensified his criticism of the colonial administration and demanded African participation in the Legislative and Executive councils, which had always been dominated by Europeans. By 1924 his activism had succeeded in getting Bankole-Bright and a few other Western-educated Africans elected to the Legislative Council. They then began to clamor for representation in the Executive Council.

Bankole-Bright was also a champion of colony-PROTECTORATE separation in Sierra Leone's national politics. Accordingly, when the British colonial governor brought some traditional rulers from the protectorate region into the Legislative Council, Bankole-Bright and the KRIO council members objected. This rejection of people from the interior sowed the seeds of a bitter conflict between the Krios of the colony proper and indigenous Africans from the interior, which still had protectorate status. Traditional leaders and some Western-educated elites from the protectorate formed their own organizations to counter the Krio-dominated NCSL. The rift between the two segments of Sierra Leone society led to the founding of Sierra Leone's second political party, the Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP), in 1951. Rivalry between the NCSL and SLPP continued until the late 1950s, when Bankole-Bright died and the NCSL went into decline.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CUMMINGS-JOHN, CONSTANCE (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND

AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vols. IV, V); PO-LITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Barghash, ibn Said (c. 1833–1888) *Third sultan of Zanzibar*

Barghash was a son of Sayyid Said (1791–1856), the BUSAIDI sultan of Oman who, by 1840, had transferred his government to the island of ZANZIBAR. Upon Said's death one of his sons became the ruler of Oman, and another son, Majid bin Said (c. 1835–1870), became the *sayyid,* or sultan, of Zanzibar. Barghash disputed Majid's succession, but Majid had the support of the British consul. As a result, in 1859 Barghash was exiled to Bombay, India.

Barghash's two-year residence in the principal commercial center of British-ruled India enabled him to establish important contacts with Indian commercial and financial interests. He later used these contacts to his benefit in expanding Zanzibar.

Upon Majid's death, in 1870, Barghash became the third Busaidi sultan of Zanzibar. He extended the commercial empire in East Africa that his two predecessors had established. Its economic foundations were the booming SLAVE TRADE, which the British government opposed, and the IVORY TRADE. Among its holdings were the Arab plantations of the SWAHILI COAST that depended on enslaved labor to produce CASH CROPS such as cloves.

The obstacles that Barghash's territorial ambitions faced, however, were too great to overcome. First of all, although Arab traders, such TIPPU TIP (c. 1830–1905), were based in Zanzibar, they did not wish to be under the political control of its sultan. Second, strong African rulers, such as MIRAMBO (c. 1840–1884), also had no wish to submit to Busaidi rule. The third and greatest source of obstacles, however, came from the colonizing efforts of Britain and Germany.

Starting from the time they ruled Oman, the Busaidi sultans had close diplomatic relations with the British Empire. By the 1870s, however, the British consul to Zanzibar, Sir John KIRK (1832–1922), was increasing pressure on Barghash to adhere to the anti-slave-trade treaties that Barghash had signed. Because the slave trade was crucial to the Zanzibari economy, tensions mounted.

The German government asserted sovereignty over the region that was to become its colony of GERMAN EAST AFRICA, basing its claims on the treaties with mainland rulers that German explorer Karl PETERS (1856–1918) had collected in 1884. Barghash succumbed to the mounting pressure, and in 1885 he abandoned his territorial claims on the mainland, concentrating instead on governing Zanzibar. In 1890, two years after Barghash's death, Britain declared Zanzibar a PROTECTORATE.

See also: BRITAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Barotseland

Province of western NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA). The region runs about 120 miles (193 km) along the Zambezi River, within its great flood plain. It was inhabited by the LOZI people, as they are currently known, one of the major ethnic groups in Zambia. (Lozi was the name given to the Luyi people by Kololo invaders, who came from the south in the first half of the 19th century.) The Lozi occupied Barotseland as far back as the 1600s.

The Kololo ruled from about 1838 until 1864, when the Lozi reestablished their control of the region. The Barotse kingdom had at least two centuries of established governmental and political organization as well as courts that had the power to enforce the laws. At its highest state of expansion in the 1800s, Barotseland extended into SOUTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZIMBABWE). In 1890 Lubosi LEWANIKA (1845–1916), the king of the Lozi, negotiated a treaty with Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) of the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY that later brought the Lozi territory under the control of the British colonial administration. Barotseland was governed as part of Northern Rhodesia from 1924 to 1964, at which time it became a province of Zambia when that country gained its independence from Britain.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); PARTITION (Vol. IV).

Barth, Heinrich (1821–1865) *German explorer*

Born in Hamburg, Germany, Barth graduated from the University of Berlin, where he studied law, history, geography, and archaeology. He also studied Arabic in London. His initial experiences as an explorer came while traveling in Spain, EGYPT, and Palestine.

In 1850 Barth was invited by British missionary James Richardson (1806–1851) to join the expedition that ultimately made him one of the greatest explorers of Africa. Along with Adolf Overweg (1822–1852), a German geologist, Richardson and Barth set out to explore the area between Lake Chad and the Niger River in West Africa, in what is today the countries of CHAD and NIGER. The expedition was intended to establish a stronger connection with the Sefuwa kings of KANEM-BORNU, which had well-established trade and diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire. They also were hoping to conduct scientific studies and to help end the Saharan SLAVE TRADE.

The explorers began their journey in TRIPOLI, in present-day LIBYA, which was the northern terminus of the major trade route across the central Sahara desert. During the arduous Sahara crossing, Richardson died, leaving Barth to head the expedition. In 1851 Barth and Overweg reached KANO, one of the principal HAUSA city-states of northern NIGERIA. At this time it was one of the emirates of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. They then proceeded to explore Kanem-Bornu territory around Lake Chad. In 1852 Over-

weg died, leaving Barth to journey on alone. He pressed on through the Sahel—the border of the Sahara—to the city of TIMBUKTU in present-day Republic of MALI. Weak and in failing health, Barth returned to Tripoli, in 1855, along the same route. He was only the second European since the Frenchman René Caillie (1799–1838) to have survived the trek to Timbuktu and back.

Through the course of his travels, Barth, who already spoke French, English, Arabic, and his native German, became familiar with several African languages, including West African Hausa, Songhai, Fulfulde (the FULANI language), and Kanuri (the Nilo Saharan language of Kanem-Bornu), as well as a number of TUAREG dialects. His linguistic studies established Barth as a pioneer in the scientific study of African languages.

In 1857–58 Barth published his experiences and findings in a massive, five-volume compendium entitled *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa,* now considered a landmark work of geographic and anthropologic research. After his epic journey Barth never returned to Africa, dying in Berlin in 1865.

See also: HAUSA STATES (Vol. II, III); SAHARA (Vols. I, II); SAHEL (Vol. I); TUAREGS (Vol. I, II, III).

Basutoland Independent African kingdom surrounded by SOUTH AFRICA. Basutoland was the home of the SOTHO-speaking people known as the Sotho (-*suto* and -*sotho* are pronounced the same way). During the colonial era the country was the British PROTECTORATE that became independent LESOTHO (the country of the Sotho), in 1966.

Basutoland was forged largely through the efforts of Mshweshwe (1786–1870), the chief of the Sotho Kwena clan who ruled as king from 1823 to 1870. From Thaba Bosiu, his virtually impregnable mountain stronghold, Mshweshwe welcomed to his kingdom the many refugees displaced by the ZULU Mfecane (The Crushing) in return for their allegiance. He negotiated shrewdly with the British government and Boer settlers anxious to dispossess him and his people of their lands. During his long reign, which lasted from 1823 to 1870, he managed to hold his kingdom together despite intense pressure from encroaching BOERS. Even so, his kingdom lost much of its land, and it became incorporated into the ORANGE FREE STATE when that Boer republic was created, in 1854.

Because the Sotho were constantly embroiled in border skirmishes with their Boer neighbors, Mshweshwe appealed to British Queen Victoria (1819–1901) for protection. In

1868 Basutoland finally became a British protectorate. One year after Mshweshwe's death, however, it was annexed by the CAPE COLONY. Resistance toward Cape Colony rule erupted in the Gun War of 1880–81, which resulted from the attempt by Cape authorities to confiscate the guns of the Sotho and sell off their lands to white farmers. In 1884 Basutoland reverted to direct British control, this time with the status of a British High Commission Territory, an arrangement under which the Sotho people exercised considerable political autonomy over internal affairs.

During the latter half of the 19th century, the so-called MINERAL REVOLUTION of South Africa, which involved the discovery of unprecedented deposits of GOLD and DIAMONDS, transformed the economy of Basutoland. The MINING communities that sprang up in South Africa provided ready markets for Basutoland's agricultural produce as well as its renowned ponies. Also, it was common for Sotho men to labor in the mines or on white farms and send portions of their wages back to their families in Basutoland.

Throughout the 20th century Basutoland's economy continued to be intricately tied to South Africa's. In 1910 Basutoland narrowly averted being annexed to South Africa when the provinces of that country united as the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. Along with the other two High Commission Territories, BECHUANALAND and SWAZILAND, Basutoland remained under direct British rule. In 1959 a new constitution for Basutoland was approved, providing for an elected legislature and extending the country a greater measure of political autonomy. Basutoland returned to full independence as the Kingdom of Lesotho in 1966, led by King Mshweshwe II (1938–1996) and the prime minister, Chief Leabua JONATHAN (1914–).

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V); MFECANE (Vol. III); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V); MSHWESHWE (Vol. III); THABA BOSIU (Vol. III).

Baya (Gbaya) Ethnic and LANGUAGE group of the present-day countries of NIGERIA, CAMEROON, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, and the Republic of the CONGO. The Baya language is spoken by nearly 300,000 people, mostly in Cameroon. The Baya people are mostly subsistence farmers. While their primary farming areas are arable, the agricultural demands placed on the land are high, and when land becomes unproductive the Baya quickly migrate from place to place as a coping strategy. The fluid social divisions among the Baya, which cut across clan identities, contribute to their migratory patterns.

The Baya were highly influential in shaping the state of Cameroon, in both the colonial and independent eras. In 1928 brutal French rule in the Upper-Sangha region led to a massive three-year insurrection known as the Kongo Wara (the War of the Hoe Handle). The decentral-

ized social structure of the Baya made them difficult for the French to contain. The result was a stronger French presence that remained in the region until 1981, well after Cameroon gained its independence, in 1960. Kongo Wara played an important role in bringing together support for NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS in Cameroon and neighboring countries.

See also: ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. I).

Further reading: Philip Burnham, *Opportunity and Constraint in a Savanna Society: the Gbaya of Meiganga, Cameroon* (London: Academic Press, 1980).

Bechuanaland The British colonial entity that upon independence, in 1966, became the country of BOTSWANA. The landlocked territory of Bechuanaland was a vast, semiarid expanse measuring approximately 231,800 square miles (600,400 sq km). When the British declared the area a PROTECTORATE, in 1885, it was home to several TSWANA chiefdoms.

The "chuana" part of the word Bechuanaland is an alternative spelling based on the pronunciation of Tswana. Botswana, in the Tswana language, means "land of the Tswana people." Batswana refers to the Tswana people collectively.

In the early 1880s two small AFRIKANER REPUBLICS, Stellaland and Goshen, were pushing north into the southern Tswana area. British colonial interests, concerned with the German colonial presence in SOUTH WEST AFRICA (present-day NAMIBIA), sought to prevent the BOERS (later called AFRIKANERS) from blocking what they saw as their road from the southern coast into the interior. Thus in, 1885, Britain annexed the Tswana chiefdoms, with the Tswana area south of the Molopo River becoming the colony of British Bechuanaland. Ten years later this southern portion was incorporated directly into the CAPE COLONY, and the area north of the Molopo River became the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

About the same time, the *kgosi,* or king, KHAMA III (1835–1923) and two other principal Tswana kings traveled to England and successfully lobbied to prevent the colonialist Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) and his BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY from annexing the protectorate to the new colony of SOUTHERN RHODESIA (modern-day ZIMBABWE).

Once the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA was established, in 1910, Bechuanaland became, along with BASUTOLAND and SWAZILAND, a High Commission Territory under the direct administration of Britain's High Commissioner to SOUTH AFRICA. The British colonial administration basi-

cally neglected Bechuanaland, and, indeed, the administrative capital, Mafeking, actually was located south of the Molopo River in South Africa.

At independence Bechuanaland became Botswana, and was one of the continent's poorest countries. Unlike the African population of neighboring South Africa, however, Botswana's inhabitants had largely retained possession of their land and other resources. In the long run this, along with the discovery of DIAMONDS, enabled Botswana to become one of the most prosperous and stable countries on the continent.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Neil Parsons, *King Khama, Emperor Joe, and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Richard P. Stevens, *Lesotho, Botswana, & Swaziland: the Former High Commission Territories in Southern Africa* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1967).

Belgian Congo From 1908 to 1960, colonial name of today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO. From 1885 to 1908 Belgian Congo was known as the CONGO FREE STATE and was under the personal control of LEOPOLD II (1835–1909), the Belgian king. Measuring nearly a million square miles (2.6 million sq km) and covering the heart of the African continent, the Congo Free State was basically ruled as Leopold's private fiefdom. After the turn of the century reports of the abuse of Africans by both Leopold's agents and those of private CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES in the colony caused an international scandal. In 1908, one year before he died, Leopold was forced to turn over the colony to a reluctant Belgian government. It administered the colony until independence was finally granted, in 1960.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V); LEOPOLDVILLE (Vol. IV).

Belgium and Africa In the first half of the 19th century the government of Belgium was reluctant to engage in exploration or colonial activity in Africa. A small country sandwiched between France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the North Sea, Belgium was more concerned with defending its own borders in Europe.

However, Belgium's King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909), who succeeded his father to the throne, in 1865, saw in Africa an opportunity to increase his personal fortune. At the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), Leopold used clever diplomacy and deception to convince the European powers to accept his claim to nearly a million square miles (2.6 million sq km) of densely forested territory in the central African interior.

This photo, taken about 1940, shows an African village in the Belgian Congo. © *Wide World/Library of Congress*

Claiming a humanitarian, "civilizing" agenda, Leopold established the CONGO FREE STATE (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO). In direct contradiction to his stated aims, however, Leopold instead ran his colony like a private concessionaire company. Although he never set foot in Africa, Leopold encouraged his agents to perpetrate unspeakable atrocities to force the indigenous populations to collect ivory and RUBBER. These products were then exported to Europe for his personal gain. By 1908 reports of the treatment of Africans in the Free State had caused an international scandal, and Leopold was forced to transfer the administration of the Free State to the Belgian government.

From 1908 to 1960 the Belgian government in Brussels ran the BELGIAN CONGO with heavy-handed tactics meant to ensure a profitable export economy. For the most part the Belgian administration succeeded, although other than administration officials and company owners few Belgians settled in the colony.

Despite Belgium's initial reluctance to administer African colonies, after World War I (1914–18), the country lobbied for a League of Nations MANDATE to administer the former German colony of RUANDA-URUNDI. There, the Belgian administration attempted to divide the population along ethnic lines in order to make it easier to govern. As a result, a minority ethnic group, the TUTSI, was promoted into a leadership role over the majority HUTU group. The Tutsi, who are generally lighter-skinned and taller than the Hutu, were given social and economic privileges not offered to the Hutu. Ethnic tensions between the two groups still rage today.

In an attempt to prepare the people in their African colonies for westernized, industrial development, the Belgian administration began to establish elementary schools and medical facilities. This development indicated not a new European altruism but a desire by the Belgian government to develop a minimally educated, relatively healthy work force that could be used to more efficiently extract and export the Congo's NATURAL RESOURCES. Little effort was made to establish secondary schools to improve EDUCATION among the African population.

In the interwar years the Belgian administration continued exporting rubber and also promoted plantation AGRICULTURE for PALM OIL and COFFEE. Nearly all exports passed though the colonial capital and river port city of LEOPOLDVILLE (today's Kinshasa), located on the Congo River. MINING, however, proved to be a more lucrative economic activity. Following discoveries of industrial-quality

DIAMONDS and vast COPPER deposits, Belgian-owned corporations, such as UNION MINIÈRE, quickly developed the mining industry in the Katanga region. Africans provided the labor for the industry, while the profits flowed back to Belgium.

During World War II (1939–45), German forces invaded and occupied Belgium, similar to the situation in France. The Belgian population, which was never fully convinced of the value of its African colonies, now saw that the resources supplied by its colonies would be all that Belgium could contribute to the war effort against Germany.

By the early 1950s Belgium embarked on a gradual 30-year plan to turn over the government of the colony to indigenous leadership. By the end of the decade, however, Congolese nationalists from various ethnic groups were clamoring for self-rule, and the pace of the independence process quickened. Congolese and Belgian leaders convened in Brussels, and in 1960 a new coalition government took control under the leadership of former rivals Joseph Kasavubu (1915–1969) and Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961). Despite nationwide independence celebrations, it soon became clear that the Belgian administration had not taken the proper steps to adequately prepare the country for a transfer of leadership. Within months the fledgling nation was plunged into crisis. The threat of civil war forced the evacuation of most of the remaining Belgian nationals.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES (Vol. IV); CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Marie-Bénédict Dembour, *Recalling the Belgian Congo: Conversations and Introspection* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000).

Bello, Ahmadu (Alhaji; Sir) (1909–1966) *Political leader and premier of Northern Nigeria*

A great grandson of Usman dan Fodio (1754–1817), founder of the Islamic SOKOTO CALIPHATE, Bello was born in Rabah, in northern NIGERIA. After working as a teacher Bello became the district head of Rabah, in 1934. In 1938, after a failed claim to the office of sultan, Bello instead took the honorary title of Sardauna of Sokoto. He also took the position of secretary of the Sokoto Native Authority within the British colonial administration.

In 1949 Bello helped found the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and later became its president. The NPC eventually became the foremost political organization in the predominantly Hausa-Fulani region of Northern Nigeria and a major factor in the movement for Nigerian independence from Britain. Bello went on to become Northern Nigeria's first premier, in 1954, and was one of Nigeria's triad of political leaders, the others being Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987) in YORUBA-dominated Western Nigeria and Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996) in the largely IGBO region of Eastern Nigeria.

Bello was an active Muslim, as indicated by the honorific title Alhaji (the Pilgrim), meaning he completed the pilgrimage to the Muslim holy city of Mecca. However, Bello was also pro-West, as reflected in the honorific "Sir," which he received when knighted by the British queen. When Bello attempted to establish full Islamic law, or *sharia,* in Northern Nigeria, he was forced to back down after British objections. Bello's personal stance, however, allowed him to install elements of Islamic law without alienating the region's non-Muslim population or antagonizing the British.

In 1957, when the time came to appoint Nigeria's first federal prime minister, Bello preferred to remain premier of the Northern Region. Instead, Bello's NPC deputy, Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966) became the federal prime minister. Upon Nigeria's full independence in 1960, Bello continued his role as Northern premier, focusing on the North's growth and security.

See also: BELLO, AHMADU (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NORTHERN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (Vol. V); USMAN DAN FODIO (Vol. III).

Further reading: John N. Paden, *Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986).

Ben Bella, Ahmed (1916–   ) *First president of Algeria*

Born in Marnia, ALGERIA, into a poor peasant family, Ahmed Ben Bella served in the French army during World War II (1939–45) and reached the rank of master sergeant. He received both the Croix de Guerre and the Medaille Militaire for his valor and exemplary service. Upon returning to Algeria, in 1945, he learned of the harsh treatment that the French meted out at the so-called Sétif Massacre, which resulted in the deaths of thousands of anticolonial demonstrators. Ben Bella thereupon resigned from the French army and joined the Algerian Popular Party. He went on to lead the party's military wing, the Secret Organization (Organisation Secrète, OS), a group of revolutionary fighters who plotted the violent overthrow of COLONIAL RULE.

While many of the founders of the nationalist movement had come from the urban working class and from the peasantry, others, like Ben Bella, came from the ranks of the French military. They sympathized with the nationalists because they had been stationed in rural areas or in working-class districts. In 1948 Ben Bella robbed the Bank at Oran of 3 million francs to finance the OS.

Ben Bella was imprisoned in 1950 following an attack on a post office, but he escaped after two years. In 1953, while living underground in both North Africa

and Europe, he was one of the key organizers of the Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action (CRUA). In 1954 the CRUA evolved into the NATIONAL LIBERA-TION FRONT (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN), which later led the armed revolt against French rule. Ben Bella solicited and received funds and materials for his independence fighters from President Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) of EGYPT and President Habib BOURGUIBA (1903–2000) of TUNISIA. The French arrested Ben Bella again in 1956 and imprisoned him for six years. He was released after the signing of the Evian Accords (1962), under which Algeria received its independence. Ben Bella became the new nation's first prime minister.

See also: BEN BELLA, AHMED (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Robert Merle, *Ahmed Ben Bella* (New York: Walker, 1967).

Benin City City in southern NIGERIA, located on the Benin River; capital of the Edo kingdom of BENIN. Benin City was the principal city within the ancient kingdom of Benin of the Edo people (also known as the Bini) from approximately the 15th through the late 19th centuries. The Edo kingdom, ruled by the *oba,* or king, exerted influence over the YORUBA, IGBO, Ijo, and Itsekiri peoples. The power of the *oba* and his state was symbolized by the massive moat and earth walls of the city, at places 57 feet (17.4 m) high and extending in a seven-mile (11.3 km) perimeter. These main city walls were at the heart of a system of protective walls that covered nearly 90 miles (145 km) of the kingdom.

The kingdom of Benin, which experienced a revival in the early 19th century, had a flourishing trade in PALM OIL, palm kernels, and other agricultural commodities. By the late 19th century, however, British merchants, in league with colonial authorities, were beginning to make deep inroads into kingdom of Benin's commerce. In 1897 Britain sent a diplomatic delegation to pressure Oba OVONRAMWEN (r. 1888–1914) to submit to their authority, but the delegation was ambushed and massacred. A British military force invaded the city in retaliation, setting fire to its buildings and homes. As the city burned many of its famed bronze castings and other works of ART were hauled away as war booty. Much of the art, some of it dating back to the 13th century, was sold to international traders, ending up in museums in England and elsewhere.

During the colonial era Benin City remained a center of Nigeria's palm oil and palm kernels industry, and in 1939 the colonial government set up the Nigerian Institute for Oil Palm Research there. A lumber industry also began to emerge in the 1930s.

Benin's *obas* depicted their history in bronze castings (actually made from brass) in the form of wall plaques. Some of the plaques dated back to the 15th and 16th centuries. The plaques were made using the cire perdu, or "lost-wax," method. The sculptor created a mold from plaster or clay and coated the mold with wax. Then, another coat of plaster or clay, this one perforated, was formed over the wax layer. The mold was then heated, causing the wax to melt and pour out through the perforations. The space that was once filled with wax was then filled with molten metal. Once the metal cooled, the clay or plaster mold was broken off and the metal casting was removed and polished. The technique is still common today.

See also: BRONZE (Vol. II); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); EDO (Vols. I, II); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); IJO (Vols. II, III); ITSEKIRI (Vols. II, III); LOST-WAX PROCESS (Vol. II); OBA (Vol. II).

Further reading: A. F. C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans, 1485–1897* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969).

Benin, kingdom of Edo-speaking state located to the west of the Niger River in what is now southern NIGERIA; known for its complex ART pieces and success in trade. The origins of the kingdom date back to the 10th century and are intricately intertwined with those of its YORUBA-speaking neighbors. The Yoruba reportedly referred to the Edo-speakers as Ubinu, the name that Portuguese explorers referred to when they named the Bight of Benin. Benin's Oba Ewuare, who ruled from 1440 to 1473, is reported to have changed the name of the country to Edo. Edo-speakers referred to themselves as *Ovbiedo* (children of Edo) rather than the European name *Bini.*

The kingdom of Benin flourished between the 15th and 17th centuries, encompassing southeastern Yorubaland and some IBO territory on the east bank of the Niger River. Although it declined after that, the kingdom retained some of its power in the 18th and early 19th centuries through its involvement with European legitimate trade as well as the SLAVE TRADE. By 1807, however, the British abolition of the slave trade—combined with internal power struggles for the title of *oba,* or king—contributed to Benin's eventual decline. The kingdom remained a trading force throughout most of the 19th century, however, with the focus of commercial activity switching from human captives to goods such as PALM OIL and ivory.

During the latter half of the 19th century the British increased their demand for West Africa's natural resources, including palm oil, which was used as an industrial lubricant, and RUBBER, which became an important commodity after the development of the inflatable inner tube. Rich in both of these commodities, Benin became the target of British efforts to seize territory for its colonial empire.

In January 1897, followers of the reigning *oba,* OVONRAMWEN (r. 1888–1914), ambushed a British force that was sent to establish official colonial sovereignty over Benin. The attack shocked the British, who by mid-February had assembled upwards of 1,500 soldiers for a raid on the kingdom's capital, BENIN CITY. Despite fierce opposition, the British force eventually overwhelmed the kingdom's defenses, and the city fell on February 18, 1897. Initially Oba Ovonramwen escaped, but he was later captured and exiled to Calabar in southeastern Nigeria. Thereafter the kingdom of Benin was considered part of British colonial Nigeria.

During the siege on Benin City British soldiers set fire to the royal palaces and looted the city's many impressive sculptures and carvings made from bronze, ivory, and iron. The most prized of these were the brass busts that were constructed in tribute to each *oba.* Other artisan works stolen included intricate tapestries, bas-reliefs, and masks made of wood. The fire also destroyed a great deal of the intricate wood carvings in the royal palace. Much of the plundered art was then sold at auction by the British to offset the expenses of the war with Benin.

The kingdom of DAHOMEY, to the west of the kingdom of Benin, also flourished in the 17th through the 19th centuries. However, by 1904 Dahomey had become a colony of French West Africa. In 1960 Dahomey gained its independence from France and in 1975 changed its name from Dahomey to the People's Republic of Benin. So, although they are essentially unrelated, the modern-day country of Benin honors the former kingdom of the same name.

See also: BENIN, KINGDOM OF (Vols. II, III); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Benin (Republic of)   Country located on the Gulf of Guinea, bordered by BURKINA FASO and NIGER to the north, NIGERIA to the east, and TOGO to the west. The Republic of Benin covers approximately 43,500 square miles (112,700 sq km) and has a coastline about 75 miles (121 km) long.

The region of present-day Benin and Togo was long dominated by groups descended from the Aja kingdom. The large kingdom of DAHOMEY, in Benin, came about from the consolidation of the related Aja kingdoms of Abomey, Allada, and Ardra. Dahomey became wealthy from the SLAVE TRADE by acting as intermediary in the trading of captives to Europeans on the Guinea Coast throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. However, as that trade declined in the 19th century, Dahomey became increasingly dependent on trading PALM OIL, corn, and other agricultural commodities with Europeans.

About 1863 King Toffa (d. 1908) of Ardra, a kingdom known to Europeans as Porto Novo, signed a protection treaty with France, and his territory became an administrative center for spreading French colonial influence. By 1883 the French occupied much of the Dahomey kingdom. At the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), the other European powers recognized France's claims to the Dahomey region.

Benin during the Colonial Era: Dahomey   Led by King Behanzin (d. 1906), Dahomey went to war with France in 1889–90 and again in 1892, both times seeking to limit France's influence in its territory. Despite a large army—which included upwards of 4,000 well-trained women warriors—Dahomey was unable to resist superior French firepower, and in 1892 France declared the PROTECTORATE of Dahomey. To quell possible uprisings, the French exiled Behanzin to the island of Martinique in the West Indies. With the opposition effectively removed, in 1894 the protectorate was declared a colony. Porto Novo became the colonial capital in part because of the support King Toffa had provided the French in the war against Dahomey.

One of the more prominent leaders of PAN-AFRICANISM in Paris after World War I was Prince Kojo Tovalou-Houénou (d. 1938), a nephew of the exiled Dahomean king Behanzin. A respected author and scholar, Tovalou-Houénou founded a pro-African organization he called the Universal League for the Defense of the Black Race.

In 1899 France incorporated Dahomey into the colonial confederation called FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF). As it did in its other West African colonies, France developed Dahomey's ports and railroads in order to facilitate the extraction of the region's valuable agricultural products. In the case of Dahomey, the crucial commodity was PALM OIL, which was used as an industrial lubricant in Europe. French companies built a port at Cotonou and constructed railroads to

connect towns in the central and northern hinterlands with Porto Novo and Cotonou on the coast; the main line was completed by 1911.

The cost of development in the colony was paid by the taxes that the administration collected from Dahomean laborers who were forced to work on French projects. Although social development was not a priority of the French colonial administration, French Roman Catholic MISSIONARIES did establish elementary schools for the purpose of teaching French customs and LANGUAGE to select Dahomean students.

France's efforts to recruit Africans for military service in its colonial West African army, the TIRAILLEURS SÉNÉGALAIS, led to a popular revolt during World War I (1914–18) in northern Dahomey. The revolt was brutally suppressed, and Dahomean soldiers ultimately participated in the conquest of TOGOLAND (present-day Togo), the German colony to the west.

Joining Africans from other colonies in French West Africa, Dahomean soldiers fought on the side of the Free French during World War II (1939–45). Following the victory of France and the Allies, Dahomey became a member state of the FRENCH UNION, in 1946. This new arrangement allowed the country to elect its own representatives to the French Parliament.

When African independence movements forced the French Union to disband in 1958, Dahomey chose to become a self-governing polity within the French Community. For two years Dahomean political leaders struggled to achieve complete independence from France, finally accomplishing their goal, in 1960. The former colony officially became the independent Republic of Dahomey, with Hubert MAGA (1916–2000), a northerner representing the Dahomean Democratic Movement, elected as its first president. Maga's election did little to unite the disparate elements of Dahomey's population, however, and the nation was soon racked with political instability that continued into the 1970s.

In 1975 the Republic of Dahomey was renamed the People's Republic of Benin. The new appellation recalled the glory of the once-powerful Edo kingdom of BENIN, which was located in present-day Nigeria.

See also: ABOMEY (Vol. III); AJA (Vols. II, III); ALLADA (Vols. II, III); BENIN, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, III, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); PORTO NOVO (Vol. III).

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Berbers Descendants of the peoples who inhabited North Africa before the Arab conquest in the seventh century. Berbers have long had a strong presence in MOROCCO and the central Sahara. Today numbering approximately 12 million, Berbers can essentially be divided into two groups: those living near the coast, who consider themselves Arabs and speak Arabic, and those living in the interior, who preserve their traditional languages and culture. From 1850 to 1960 Berbers living in the inaccessible and mountainous Kabylia region of ALGERIA and the RIF region of Morocco were among those who fiercely resisted European COLONIAL CONQUEST and imperialism.

See also: BERBERS (Vols. I, II, III); MAGHRIB (Vol. IV); TUAREGS (Vol. IV).

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Berlin Conference International meeting, held from November 15, 1884 to February 26, 1885, that effectively divided vast amounts of African territory among major European powers. For centuries Europeans had dealt with Africa, engaging in everything from exploration to the trade in captives to religious conversion. For the most part, however, those activities had been confined to a limited area, typically along Africa's coastlines. As of 1875 merely one-tenth of Africa, mostly in the northern and southern extremities of the continent, had been claimed by European nations as colonies or PROTECTORATES.

The last quarter of the 19th century, however, saw an almost unchallenged rise in colonialist spirit among the European powers. Fueled in some cases by conservative governments seeking the status of empires and, in others, by a desire for wealth and commerce, European countries began to press for territorial expansion into the interior of Africa. As a result, by the 1870s, European governments had begun to fear that competition—or even more intense rivalries—in Africa might lead to unwanted conflicts in Europe itself. These governments, led by Otto von BISMARCK (1815–1898), the chancellor of the newly united Germany, met in Berlin to find a peaceful blueprint for colonial occupation of Africa.

The immediate cause of the conference came from Belgian activity in the Congo and Niger river basins. On behalf of his International African Association, Belgian king LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) sent Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904) on several expeditions into the Congo. By 1884 Portugal was worried that this Belgian expansion would threaten its long-standing position in ANGOLA, south of the mouth of the Congo River. With the help of Britain, a Portuguese-British commission was established to supervise activity along the Congo River. Fearing that his efforts in the Congo would be blocked by these old-line colonial powers, Leopold II appealed to Bismarck for help. The Berlin Conference, to which all major European powers

and the United States sent representatives, was the response. Tellingly, no African state was represented.

Ostensibly the conference was to be concerned with humanitarian issues such as limiting the trade in human captives. In truth, however, the primary motive was carving up the vast amount of African territory that remained in the hands of African peoples. Over the course of many months the delegates forged an agreement that, in effect, created rules for colonial expansion. In doing so they divided Africa into a hodgepodge of zones of influence and even "nations"—regardless of original boundaries or of ethnic makeup—that lasted for decades and enabled European exploitation to continue without the threat of conflict closer to home.

The primary rules for colonial expansion created at the conference concerned "spheres of influence" and "effective occupation." A sphere of influence was simply an area along the coast that one of the conference members told the other conference members it had taken under its control. And under the agreements of the conference, taking control of a coastal area gave that particular European government power of virtually all the land directly linked to that area. This created corridors of territory, all of which would have access to the sea. The doctrine of effective occupation meant that in order to claim a particular territory a member of the conference had to have enough control of a region to insure trade and freedom of movement. This, the members believed, would eliminate conflicts between the conference members over particular territories.

The dash to accumulate colonies began with the signing of the Treaty of Berlin at the end of the conference. In addition to giving Leopold II full power over the Congo, the treaty clearly signaled the European powers that they could begin to take over the remainder of the continent. Virtually all of the conference members ultimately joined in the land grab. By 1900, for example, Britain had added of 4.25 million square miles (11 million sq km) to its empire, France had taken 3.5 million square miles (9.1 million sq km), Germany had gained one million square miles (2.6 million sq km), and even Italy had added 185,000 square miles (480,000 sq km). Indeed, by 1898 the only independent states south of the Sahara were LIBERIA, ETHIOPIA, and the two AFRIKANER REPUBLICS of the ORANGE FREE STATE and the TRANSVAAL.

Although all of this was accomplished, from the Europeans' perspective, with a minimum of conflict, it left a bitter legacy that marked Africa well into the 21st century.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Beta Israel Jewish people of ETHIOPIA. Isolated from the rest of the world's Jewish population, the Beta Israel (House of Israel) and their plight in largely Christian Ethiopia were finally acknowledged by the international Jewish community in the mid-1800s.

Though their origins are uncertain, the Beta Israel are known to be an ancient people whose history began well before Semitic farmers arrived in the region around 600 BCE. Religious warfare between the Beta Israel and the Christian Ethiopian monarchy spanned centuries until the 1700s, when the Beta Israel were fully defeated and forced to settle in the Lake Tana region in northwestern Ethiopia. Their situation within Ethiopia began to improve in the late 19th century.

> Ethiopian Christians traditionally believed the Beta Israel to be possessors of evil magic, particularly the ability to transform into hyenas for the purposes of devouring Christian children. The status of the Beta Israel as a persecuted religious minority led them to be called *Falasha*, meaning "exiles" or "outsiders," a name now considered to be pejorative.

In 1769 the Scottish explorer James Bruce (1730–1794) documented the Beta Israel, estimating their population to be around 100,000. In spite of this the Beta Israel were virtually unknown to much of the world until the Jewish scholar Joseph Halevy became the first European Jew to visit the Beta Israel, in 1867. His pupil Jacques Faitlovitch (1881–1955) took up the Beta Israel cause in 1904, establishing Beta Israel committees in a number of countries and taking a number of the Beta Israel to Europe for education. In 1908 the rabbis of 44 countries acknowledged the Beta Israel as authentic Jews.

Between 1935 and 1941 the Beta Israel joined other Ethiopians in resisting the Italian invasion and occupation of Ethiopia. By 1955 the new nation of Israel had become involved with the Ethiopian Jews, helping to build schools and a seminary.

See also: BETA ISRAEL (Vols. I, II, III, V); JUDAISM (Vol. I); RELIGION (Vols. III, IV, V).

Bismarck, Otto von (1815–1898) *First chancellor of the united German Reich*

Son of a member of the landowning Junker aristocracy, by 1862 Otto von Bismarck had risen to become the

prime minister of his native Prussia. Germany at the time was not a single country but rather a group of independent kingdoms, and Prussia was the most powerful of them. In 1871 German unity became a reality when the German princes, at Bismarck's instigation, proclaimed William I (1797–1888) the German emperor and established the German Reich. The archconservative Bismarck was the first chancellor, holding that post from 1871 to 1890. By 1884, the first year of the BERLIN CONFERENCE, at which the nations of Europe met to discuss the PARTITION of Africa, Germany had established itself as the major power of continental Europe.

Bismarck was under pressure from German merchants to find new markets for German goods and secure cheap sources of raw materials. As France and Britain extended their colonial empires into Africa and Asia, Bismarck feared that German traders would be denied access to those areas and the country would face the loss of money and prestige.

Bismarck sought to solidify Germany's position in Europe, and this became one of his primary goals at the Berlin Conference. Fourteen years earlier Prussia had vanquished France in the short Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, and France's national pride remained wounded. Bismarck moved to soothe the French by encouraging France's colonial expansion and by obstructing her main colonial rival, Britain. Consequently, Bismarck claimed areas adjacent to territories where British influence and presence was growing. This move had the double effect of hindering British expansion and placating German mercantile interests. In 1884 and 1885, for example, he announced the establishment of German protectorates in GERMAN EAST AFRICA (present-day mainland TANZANIA, BURUNDI, and RWANDA), CAMEROON, and TOGOLAND (today's TOGO), as well as in the South Pacific. These colonies became important sources of raw materials for the German economy, especially PALM OIL, COTTON, COFFEE, COCOA, and RUBBER.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV) GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Blaize, Richard Beale (1845–1904) *Prominent West African businessman*

Blaize was born in SIERRA LEONE to YORUBA-speaking, Christian parents who were RECAPTIVES. Like thousands of other recaptive Africans, they settled in FREETOWN after their slave ship had been intercepted by the British Anti-Slave Squadron, based in Freetown. Blaize attended a school operated by the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY and then began working as a printer. At age 17 he moved to his parents' Yoruba homeland, in NIGERIA, though his parents remained in Freetown for the remainder of their lives. Many other recaptives, or the children of recaptives, such as Samuel JOHNSON (1846–1901), did   likewise. Blaize settled in LAGOS, which had come under British control in 1851, and continued working as a printer. He soon became the head printer for the printing press of the colonial government.

In 1875 Blaize left government employment to set up his own business. He had already engaged in small-scale trading, but he now became a full-time retailer and a wholesaler of imported goods from England. He also became involved in the export of such commodities as COTTON, PALM OIL, and palm kernels. Blaize married Emily Cole (d. 1895), whose father, T. F. Cole (1812–1890), was a recaptive who had settled in Lagos and was a leading merchant. His marriage to Cole facilitated his entry into the world of Nigerian commerce, and by the 1890s Blaize was the wealthiest African merchant in Lagos, heading a commercial printing press and becoming involved in the production of several Lagos NEWSPAPERS. Additionally, he was an important figure in local politics, mediating disputes between the British colonial government and the local Egba leadership in ABEOKUTA during the early 20th century.

In part Blaize's success came because, like many of his generation, he was raised and educated in Sierra Leone Colony. This helped him take advantage of the commercial opportunities linked with the rapid expansion of the production of CASH CROPS in West Africa.

By the end of the century, however, the situation was changing. British commercial interests, represented by individuals such as Sir George GOLDIE (1846–1925) and firms such as the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY, were able to squeeze the African merchants out of business. In the first half of the 20th century African participation in commerce came to be characterized by market-level traders, such as Madam Alimotu PELEWURA (1865–1951), rather than businessmen, such as Blaize, who headed large commercial firms.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Blyden, Edward Wilmot (1832–1912) *Liberian educator, statesman, and author*

Born of free parents in St. Thomas, the Virgin Islands, Blyden claimed IGBO ancestry. When he was 10 he moved to Venezuela. At age 18 he went to the United States to study at Rutgers Theological College in New Jersey, but was denied admission because of his race. In 1851, sponsored by the New York Colonization Society, which promoted the emigration of free Africans and former slaves to Africa, Blyden immigrated to LIBERIA to study at Alexander High School in MONROVIA, the capital.

Among his careers as an adult, Blyden was a minister, a teacher, and an educator. Ordained a Presbyterian minister, in 1858, he became principal of Alexander High School that year. Although self-taught after high school,

Blyden became a scholar. From 1862 to 1871 he was professor of classics at Liberia College. From 1875 to 1877 he served again as principal of Alexander High School. From 1880 to 1884 he returned to Liberia College as president. He resigned from the ministry in 1886.

A champion of African culture and nationalism, Blyden wrote regularly for NEWSPAPERS. From 1855 to 1858 he edited the *Liberia Herald.* In 1872 he founded and edited the *Negro*, published in FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, until its demise, in 1873. He cofounded the *West African Reporter* the following year.

Blyden was also called on to serve as a diplomat and politician. In 1861 he was the Liberian educational commissioner to Britain and the United States, and in 1862 he was named Liberia's commissioner to the United States, with the task of encouraging African-American emigration to Liberia. Blyden also served as Liberia's secretary of state and secretary of the interior.

After his presidential aspirations were frustrated in 1885, Blyden went to Syria to learn Arabic, which he later taught at Liberia College. He later divided his time between the colonies of Sierra Leone and NIGERIA. In 1906 he retired to Sierra Leone, where he continued publishing until his death, in 1912.

While Blyden served in many positions and capacities, he also made an important intellectual contribution by writing nonfiction books and pamphlets on Africa and Africans and their history and culture. He rejected the prevalent pseudo-scientific, racial thinking that asserted African inferiority, arguing instead that each race makes its own unique contribution to the world.

Beginning in the 1870s Blyden worked to unify English-speaking West Africans, particularly those living in Liberia and neighboring Sierra Leone. He hoped to establish a union of these two states, which in turn would serve as the nucleus of a larger English-speaking West African state that would promote and protect peoples of African descent everywhere. The ideas he presented in his books made him a precursor of the pan-African movement. These works include *A Voice from Bleeding Africa* (1856); *The Negro in Ancient History* (1869); *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race* (1887), considered his major work; *West Africa before Europe* (1905); and *Africa Life and Customs* (1908).

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vols. IV, V), NÉGRITUDE, (Vol. IV), PAN-AFRICANISM (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Boers Descendants of early European SETTLERS who established communities in portions of SOUTH AFRICA. Boers are descended from the Dutch, French Huguenot, and German settlers who arrived in the CAPE TOWN area of present-day South Africa as early as 1652. After Britain's annexation of the CAPE COLONY, in 1806, many Boers were vexed by British rule. Eventually, during the 1830s and 1840s, thousands of Boers began emigrating east in what came to be called the Great Boer Trek. As a result of their migration, the Boers established communities in what became the Republic of NATAL, the ORANGE FREE STATE, and the TRANSVAAL (also known as the South African Republic).

Though the indigenous populations of these regions fought the foreign encroachment, these *voortrekkers* (pioneers) eventually succeeded in displacing the indigenous African peoples already residing in the interior of southern Africa. Led by Andries Pretorius (1799–1853), the Boers combined military successes with a Calvinistic belief that they were God's chosen people, giving rise to a unique form of Boer, or Afrikaner, nationalism. Continued tensions between Boer settlers and the British colonial administration in southern Africa led to armed conflicts, first in 1880–81, and again in the ANGLO-BOER WAR of 1899–1902, a brutal conflict won by the British.

> The term *Boer* literally means "farmer," when translated from Dutch or AFRIKAANS. Because the word took on pejorative connotations during the decades of Anglo-Boer conflict, Boers came to identify themselves as AFRIKANERS by the end of the 19th century.

Following their defeat, the AFRIKANER REPUBLICS were incorporated into the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, which was formed in 1910. Despite losing the war, Boer leaders—including former Generals Louis BOTHA (1862–1919), J. B. M. HERTZOG, (1866–1942), and Jan Christiaan SMUTS (1870–1950)—held prominent positions in South Africa's early government. Continuing their legacy, Boer politicians dominated in South Africa until 1994, when the nation's black majority was first allowed to vote.

See also: BOERS (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GREAT BOER TREK (Vol. III).

Bondelswarts A NAMA community inhabiting southern NAMIBIA. The Bondelswarts suffered brutal repression by the German and South African governments when Namibia was colonial SOUTH WEST AFRICA. The German name *Bondelswarts* derived from the black band that adorned the heads of men entering battle. They had a reputation as a proud and independent nomadic people, grazing cattle and goats. The Bondelswarts actively re-

sisted German colonial control, rebelling in 1896, and again from 1903 to 1906. SOUTH AFRICA took control of South West Africa as part of a League of Nations MANDATE after Germany lost its African colonies following World War I (1914–1918).

In 1922 the Bondelswarts initiated a rebellion against South African rule, prompted by a combination of incursions by white farmers, harsh police treatment, the incarceration of a popular leader, and most importantly, the imposition of a higher tax on hunting dogs. The exorbitant tax threatened their livelihood as hunters and was meant to intentionally pressure them into accepting wage LABOR work on white-owned farms. The South African government recruited about 400 whites near Windhoek to provide support for the police.

On May 26, 1922 the Bondelswarts were attacked at Guruchas by a force equipped with machine guns and two airplanes, which were used to bomb the Bondelswart forces. More than 100 Bondelswarts were killed, although approximately 200 men escaped. The following day the South African forces captured Bondelswarts women, children, and livestock. On June 8, 1922, at Berg Kramer, another attack resulted in an additional 53 Bondelswart deaths, putting an end to the rebellion.

The overwhelming force that the South Africans brought to bear against the Bondelswarts is revealed in the number of white casualties resulting from the conflict. Although more than 150 Bondelswarts were killed, not including women and children, and hundreds of others wounded, only two South Africans died in combat. The South African treatment of the Bondelswarts attracted international attention and resulted in the League of Nations appointing a commission of inquiry to investigate.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Covered wagons, like the one seen in an undated photo, were a part of Boer life on the South African frontier. © A. J. Bowland/New York Times

Botha, Louis (1862–1919) *Afrikaner general and the first prime minister of the Union of South Africa (1910–19)*

Louis Botha was born in Greytown, NATAL, on September 27, to a farming family that had participated in the Great Boer Trek into the South African interior. Beginning in 1886 he served as native commissioner in SWAZILAND and then entered the TRANSVAAL Parliament in 1897. Rising to the rank of general during the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), Botha effectively employed guerrilla tactics against the British. He was instrumental in bringing the war to an end, accomplished through the Treaty of VEREENIGING.

In the war's aftermath Botha emerged as an able politician renowned for his conciliatory approach to controversial issues. In 1904 he became chairman of the Afrikaner political party Het Volk (the People), and three years later he became the first prime minister of the Transvaal colony. Upon the formation of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, in 1910, he became its first prime minister.

Although he was an Afrikaner himself, Botha ultimately lost political ground to more adamant Afrikaner nationalists. This was caused by attempts to retain strong ties with the British Empire and to reconcile AFRIKANERS and English-speaking whites. In 1913–14 Botha further alienated Afrikaners through his strong-armed suppression of a white-mine-workers strike and a rebellion among Afrikaners opposed to South Africa's involvement in World War I (1914–18).

In 1915 Botha led the British and South African forces that conquered German SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA). He later represented South Africa at the Paris Peace Conference (1919) in Versailles, France. Botha died later that year while still serving as prime minister.

See also: GREAT BOER TREK (Vol. III).

Botswana Present-day country in southern Africa, bordered by ZIMBABWE to the northeast, SOUTH AFRICA to the southeast and south, NAMIBIA to the west and north, and ZAMBIA to the northeast. Botswana is a landlocked country with a total area of 231,800 square miles (600, 400 sq km). The western portions of Botswana are arid and contain the Kalahari Desert, which forces most of the region's inhabitants to live in the semi-arid east. The country's capital and largest city is Gaborone.

The TSWANA (pronounced "chuana") people, from whom the country got its name, were historically agropastoralists, meaning that they were both farmers and cattle herders. Their forebears migrated to the region before the middle of the second millennium, displacing the indigenous SAN hunter-gatherers. European Christian MISSIONARIES arrived in the country in the first half of the 19th century.

Botswana during the Colonial Era: Bechuanaland
In 1885 the British government declared a PROTECTORATE

over the Tswana chiefdoms of the region. It was at this time that the area became known as BECHUANALAND. Five years later Britain imposed full COLONIAL RULE over the territory. From 1908 to 1910 the Tswana campaigned against inclusion in a proposed UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, arguing that they should remain in a protectorate status. In 1910 the independent Union of South Africa was established, but Bechuanaland, along with SWAZILAND and BASUTOLAND (now LESOTHO), became High Commission Territories, administered by Britain's High Commissioner to South Africa. Due largely to its harsh landscape and perceived lack of mineral wealth, Bechuanaland was neglected by the colonial administration. As a reult, it remained a poor country until after its independence a half-century later.

Two years after the Union of South Africa was formed, a regional all-African organization was formed to promote African politics. However, because most political activists preferred British occupation to being incorporated into the Union of South Africa, the establishment of nationalist political parties in Bechuanaland started only in the 1950s. The argument for independence strengthened when South Africa's National Party, promoting the racist system of APARTHEID, won the South African elections in 1948 and 1953.

By 1960 many of Bechuanaland's local chiefs had been deposed by the colonial administration, leading to organized movements among a new generation of Africans poised to take over the country's leadership. Bechuanaland became independent Botswana, in 1966, with Sir Seretse KHAMA (1921–1980) becoming its first president. One year later DIAMONDS were discovered, and the country rapidly became one of the most prosperous in Africa.

See also: BOTSWANA (Vols. I, II, III, V); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); GABORONE (Vol. V).

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Bourguiba, Habib (1903–2000) *Tunisian nationalist and first president of independent Tunisia*

Born in Munastir, TUNISIA, during the period of French COLONIAL RULE, Bourguiba attended school in Tunisia before going to France to study law and become a lawyer. Returning home, he founded a nationalist newspaper, *L'Action Tunisienne* (Tunisian Action), and began a series of campaigns aimed at modernizing Tunisian society and defending Islamic cultural values.

Bourguiba joined the DESTOUR (Constitution) PARTY in 1920 but split from it in 1934. With Mahmoud Materi (1909–1972) and other young intellectuals, he formed a

more radical version of the party called the Neo-Destour Party, which received the support of the General Confederation of Tunisian Workers. The party and the LABOR union worked together to establish underground cells throughout the country. In 1938 the two groups organized a demonstration over the dismissal of a worker, and a Neo-Destour leader was arrested. A further series of organized street demonstrations led to confrontations in which the police fired on the demonstrators, killing 112 and wounding 62. Bourguiba and other leaders were arrested, and later that year they were taken to France. Bourguiba remained under house arrest in Marseilles until 1943, when he returned to Tunisia.

A loyal supporter of the Free French government of General Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) throughout World War II (1939–45), Bourguiba refused to authorize political agitation against the French until the war had been won. His position changed, however, when Tunisians received no tangible reward for supporting France during the war. Consequently, Bourguiba left Tunisia in 1945 to seek international support for his country's independence. At home Tunisian nationalists engaged in targeted violence against the French. In 1950 France finally opened formal negotiations with Bourguiba, but in 1952 arrested him and other Neo-Destour leaders.

In 1955, however, weakened by its losses in the French–Indochina War (1945–54), the escalating Algerian war (1954–62), and the ongoing conflict with the Neo-Destour Party, France offered Bourguiba and Tunisia internal autonomy. Tunisia was to be governed by a bey, or ruler, who would be essentially a figurehead for the French. In keeping with his pragmatic tenet of "Take what you are offered and fight for better," Bourguiba accepted this arrangement.

Bourguiba's decision, however, split the Neo-Destour Party because an opposing faction was willing to settle for nothing less than total independence from France. In 1956 the Bourguiba faction gained an advantage and expelled the opposition leader, Salah ben Youssef (1908–1961), from the party. Bourguiba then purged ben Youssef's supporters, who were mostly young Islamic students or from the urban lower classes and from rural communities. The purge was not well received, and reaction forced Bourguiba to seek French assistance to quell the ensuing insurrection. Working gradually but persistently toward independence, Bourguiba continued negotiations with the French government, and in 1956 he concluded a treaty with France that gave Tunisia its full independence. In July 1957 Bourguiba was elected president.

Later that year Bourguiba inaugurated a Constituent Assembly to draft the country's new constitution. He created a modern, secular state, making Neo-Destour the only recognized political party. By 1959 he was in complete command of the state, exercising broad executive powers. Bourguiba assumed the role of master statesman

Habib Bourguiba, shown here in 1950, was the first president of independent Tunisia. © *New York Times*

and ruled through the cult of personality, with his ever-present photograph a constant reminder of his power.

See also: BOURGUIBA, HABIB (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Brazzaville   Major river port and capital city of the Republic of the CONGO, located in the southeastern part of the country. In 1883 the small village of Ntamo (also called *Ncuna*) became Brazzaville, three years after after French explorer Pierre Savorgnan DE BRAZZA (1852–1905) signed a treaty with Makoko, the local Teke king,

Strategically located on the north bank of the Congo River, near Malebo Pool, the city was designated the administrative headquarters of the French interests in

western Central Africa, in 1903. It then served as the capital of French Equatorial Africa from 1910 to 1958. LEOPOLDVILLE (present-day Kinshasa), which served as the administrative center of the CONGO FREE STATE and, later, the BELGIAN CONGO, was located on the south bank of the pool.

The Malebo Pool marked the beginning of the navigable part of the Upper Congo River and, beyond it, the Congo-Ubangi waterway, which served much of FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA. With the completion of the Congo-Ocean Railway, built between 1921 and 1934, this river shipping route connected the interior to the port at Pointe-Noire, located just north of the Angolan border on the Atlantic coast.

Built using African LABOR, the Congo-Ocean Railway was one of the most costly French colonial projects in terms of human lives lost. Exceptionally dangerous working conditions resulted in an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 deaths among the workers.

Once Brazzaville was established many Europeans moved into the city center, while Africans occupied sections in the northeast and the southwest of the city. During World War II (1939–45), after Germany invaded France, Brazzaville became the African center for the Free France. The French colonial governor, Adolphe-Félix Sylvestie ÉBOUÉ (1884–1944), opposed the Nazis and the puppet Vichy government of France and welcomed the escaped French general Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970). During the first years of the war de Gaulle made Brazzaville the base for his Free French administration. It could serve this role because it was already the site of a major French military garrison.

In 1944 the heads of state of Africa's Francophone nations met in Brazzaville to call for reforms in the French colonial administration. The Brazzaville Conference, as the meeting became known, served as a starting point for the movement towards the French Congo's independence, which was attained in 1960. Independence did not come, however, without cost. Nationalist political parties were divided along regional lines, and in February 1959 deadly riots between rival parties broke out and continued until the French army intervened.

See also: BRAZZAVILLE (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CONGO (Vol. III); CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

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British East Africa Collectively, the British colonies of KENYA, TANGANYIKA, UGANDA, and ZANZIBAR. The origins of British East Africa lay in the imperial rivalries of the 1880s that led to the European PARTITION of Africa and the associated COLONIAL CONQUEST. In 1887 British private citizens formed an association that, the following year, was chartered by the British government as the Imperial British East Africa Company. Its purpose was to limit the expansion of GERMAN EAST AFRICA and to establish British claims to part of the region. An 1890 British-German treaty established both a British PROTECTORATE over Zanzibar and the British East Africa Company's claims to Kenya. In 1894 a British treaty with the kingdom of BUGANDA established the Uganda Protectorate.

In 1895 the British East Africa Company relinquished its territories to Britain, which then established the East African Protectorate. In June 1919, British East Africa became complete, when, under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I (1914–18), the League of Nations made German East Africa into the British MANDATE of Tanganyika. The following year the East African Protectorate became Kenya Colony.

After World War II (1939–45) Britain coordinated the administration of its East African colonies more fully than it had during the interwar years. It established the East African High Commission, in 1948, which took over control of railways and harbors, posts and telecommunications, customs, research, and the income tax for all but Zanzibar. Upon gaining independence, between 1962 and 1963, the countries of East Africa continued this coordination under the East African Commons Services Organization.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); BERLIN CONFERENCE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

British Somaliland Northern region in the Horn of Africa that after 1887 was under British COLONIAL RULE. In 1960 British Somaliland was united with ITALIAN SOMALILAND to form the independent country of SOMALIA.

Britain's principal interest in Somaliland was to protect the sea routes to India. Britain had occupied Aden, across the Gulf of Aden from Somalia, as early as 1839. The region assumed new importance with the opening of the SUEZ CANAL in 1869. Eventually, to strengthen its position on the southern entrance to the Red Sea, Britain occupied the Somali area bordering the Gulf of Aden, establishing a PROTECTORATE over the region in 1887. The administrative center of the protectorate was the port of Berbera. By the time Britain established British Somaliland, its principal colonial rival, France, had already established the small colony of FRENCH SOMALILAND, centered on the port of DJIBOUTI, north of Berbera.

The British colonial presence was limited, but it was enough to provoke the ire of strict Muslims who viewed it as corrupting their Islamic society. By 1899 a local religious leader, MUHAMMAD ABDULLAH HASSAN (1864–1920), launched his first attack on the British. For the next 20 years British military forces, as well as those from ETHIOPIA and Italian Somaliland, which Hassan also attacked, were continuously engaged in battle with him. Only with his death, in 1920, did Somali resistance to British colonial rule end.

Unlike Italy, Britain did not place European SETTLERS in their region of Somaliland, since its interest in the region was strictly strategic. With the outbreak of World War II (1939–45), Italy briefly added British Somaliland to its East African empire, but combined British, South African, and Ethiopian forces quickly defeated the Italians. Britain governed all of Somaliland until 1950, when the Italians again ruled the southern area as a TRUST TERRITORY under the auspices of the United Nations.

In 1960 the British- and Italian-controlled areas of Somalia were united to become the independent United Republic of Somalia. The northern inhabitants of former British Somaliland, however, were left at a disadvantage, since MOGADISHU, on Somalia's southern coast, became the capital and focal point of development.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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British South Africa Company (BSAC) Commer-

cial company chartered by the British government and established by British entrepreneur Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) in 1889. The primary purpose of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) was to colonize southern Central Africa—including areas that are now ZAMBIA and ZIMBABWE—and then to capitalize on the extensive opportunities for MINING and land development. The 25-year charter the company received from Queen Victoria (1819–1901) also allowed the company to form banks, sign treaties with local rulers, and create its own police force.

The origins of the BSAC lie with the treaty that Rhodes and his colleagues persuaded the NDEBELE ruler LOBENGULA (1836–1894) to sign in 1888, granting the company the rights to his kingdom's potentially rich mineral resources. Two years later one of Rhodes's trusted deputies, Leander Starr Jameson (1853–1917), led a group of adventurers and fortune-seekers into present-day Zimbabwe. Skirting Ndebele territory, they set up fortified bases, including one that evolved into SALISBURY (present-day Harare). This intrusion led to conflict with the Ndebele that ended with their defeat and Lobengula's

death in 1893. The BSAC renamed the region SOUTHERN RHODESIA in 1895 in honor of Rhodes. Ndebele and SHONA rebellions known as the CHIMURENGA followed in 1896 but were quickly put down.

To the north, in present-day Zambia, the situation was much the same. In the 1890s the LOZI ruler, Lubosi LEWANIKA (1845–1916), made agreements with the BSAC that, under the British interpretation, gave them extensive rights to Lozi territories. While the Lozi kingdom retained some of its sovereignty, its lands effectively came under the Company's administration. In 1911 the initially separate Northeastern and Northwestern Rhodesia were combined into NORTHERN RHODESIA.

In 1895 the British South Africa Company supported a coup d'état attempt by British settlers living in the Boer-held TRANSVAAL region of SOUTH AFRICA. Under the leadership of Jameson, a force of 500 BSAC police and volunteers invaded the Transvaal in an attempt to wrest control from the BOERS. The coup failed, and Jameson was taken prisoner. For his complicity in the failed JAMESON RAID, Rhodes was forced to step down as prime minister of CAPE COLONY.

When the company's 25-year charter ended, in 1914, the British government granted it a 10-year extension, thereby employing BSAC officials as colonial administrators, of sorts, until 1923, at which time the white inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia were allowed self-rule. Northern Rhodesia went from company administration directly to the governance of the British Empire. The company, however, continued to hold mining and land development rights, reaping great financial rewards with the increased demand for Northern Rhodesia's vast resources of metals, especially COPPER.

The reign of the British South Africa Company came to an end in 1963, when Northern Rhodesia formed a new government, renamed itself Zambia, and took possession of its own land and mineral rights. Two years later, the company merged with two other corporations to create Charter Consolidated, Ltd., a name that recalls the original charter granted to Rhodes, in 1889.

See also: COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. IV).

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Broederbond   Secret society formed to further Afrikaner nationalism in SOUTH AFRICA. The term *broederbond* is AFRIKAANS and means "brotherhood." In the wake of the British victory in the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1901), many young AFRIKANERS felt alienated from the dominant British. Impoverished and reduced both socially and culturally to second-class status, they sought ways to regain their lost authority. In 1918 several such Afrikaners formed Young South Africa, soon renamed the Afrikaner Broederbond. Their goal was to foster Afrikaner nationalism by providing cultural and educational opportunities for their fellow Afrikaners. In 1921 the group decided to make itself a secret rather than public organization.

Initially seeking to foster an Afrikaner lifestyle, including music and literature, it was not long before the Afrikaner Broederbond, or the AB as it was often called, became active politically. As a secret society, however, its work was known only through the activities of various "fronts," or public groups, such as the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies, whose activities could withstand closer public scrutiny. The Broederbond's political activities increased quite rapidly during the 1920s and 1930s. One of the prime reasons for this was the merger, in 1934, of the South African Party, led by Jan Christaan SMUTS (1870–1950), and the Nationalist Party of J. B. M. HERTZOG (1866–1942) to form the United Party (UP). The more radical pro-Afrikaner elements of the Nationalists broke away and formed the "purified" National Party (NP) under D. F. MALAN (1874–1959), with the Afrikaner Broederbond as one of its leading support groups.

Broederbond popularity received another boost, in 1938, the year that marked the 100th anniversary of the Great Boer Trek and the subsequent wave of nationalist feeling among Afrikaners. Riding this sentiment, the Broederbond formed several new front organizations, including the Reddingdaadbond, which sought to improve the lot of poor Afrikaners, and the Ossewabrandwag, which was quickly transformed from a cultural organization into a paramilitary group.

As World War II (1939–45) approached the Broederbond actively opposed any South African involvement in a possible Anglo-German conflict. Indeed, many Broederbonders were decidedly pro-Nazi. When Smuts led South Africa into the war on the side of Britain, Broederbond members became vocal critics of the government's policy. With the victory of the NP over Smuts and the UP in the election of 1948, the views and policies of the Broederbond became the predominant ones of the government. At this point, so many of the nation's leaders were Broederbond members that the Broederbond and government often seemed one and the same. It is believed that every president and every prime minister of South Africa from 1948 until the downfall of the APARTHEID system, in 1994, was a member of the Broederbond.

Throughout this period the group's basic profile and its membership remained constant. All members were white, Afrikaans-speaking males who were rigorously screened and then approved by the existing membership. They pledged to maintain the secrecy of the organization and to further its goals as expressed in the organization's constitution. Although it presented itself as a fraternal or social organization, the Broederbond was organized along the lines of a paramilitary group. Its basic units were the branches, which, like revolutionary cells, were kept small, with no more than 20 members. Several branches were, in turn, under the jurisdiction of the central committees, which were located in towns and cities. Policy was decided not on the local levels but by the National Congress, which met every two years and to which the branches sent representatives. All this guaranteed secrecy for the organization and obedience to the commands of the National Congress and its administrative body, the Executive Council.

The Broederbond reached the peak of its power in the 1950s and early 1960s. Although the rise of anti-apartheid sentiment and the exposure of its activities by journalists caused it to lose some support during the 1960s and 1970s, the Broederbond still remained one of the dominant forces in South African politics.

See also: GREAT BOER TREK (Vol. III); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: C. Bloomberg, *Christian-Nationalism and the Rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond in South Africa, 1918–1948* (London: Macmillan, 1990); Anthony Butler, *Democracy and Apartheid* (London: Macmillan, 1998); D. Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

Buganda   Largest of the four kingdoms that make up present-day UGANDA; located on the northern shore of Lake Victoria. In 1856 a new Bugandan *kabaka,* or king, MUTESA I (c. late 1830s–1884), ascended the throne, and by the mid-1800s the Buganda kingdom was exerting political and military control over the other states in the region. Building further on the military strength of his predecessors, Mutesa equipped his army with firearms acquired from Arab traders from the SWAHILI COAST and ZANZIBAR in exchange for slaves and ivory. This was the state of affairs encountered by the first European visitors to the region, John Hanning SPEKE (1827–1864), in 1862, and Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904), in 1875. Both explorers met with Mutesa and were greatly impressed by him and by the kingdom's organization and military strength.

Mutesa was a shrewd and outward-looking ruler and recognized that the Europeans represented a new source of trade, useful goods, and ideas. He was thus open to Stanley's suggestion that MISSIONARIES come to Buganda. At

Stanley's request, in 1877 the Protestant CHURCH MISSION-ARY SOCIETY established a mission, and shortly thereafter the Catholic Society of Missionaries of Africa, known as the White Fathers, also arrived. These groups, along with the coastal Muslim traders, successfully converted large numbers of Ganda (as Buganda's people are called) and struggled with each other to become the dominant RELIGION. Mutesa avoided conversion, electing instead to play the three sides against one another in order to obtain guns and other resources he needed to expand Buganda's borders. Upon Mutesa's death, in 1884, his son Mwanga II (c. 1866–1903) ascended the throne. Mwanga unsuccessfully attempted to ban all foreign religions and was subsequently deposed and exiled in 1888. The civil war that followed saw the brief victory of Muslim forces, which then were defeated by the Christians, who restored Mwanga. In his attempts to suppress foreign religion, Mwanga executed a number of his own court pages who were converted Catholics. (In 1964 the Catholic Church canonized these victims as saints, partly due to the efforts of Ugandan archbishop Joseph KIWANUKA [1899–1966].)

While in Buganda, Stanley witnessed the kingdom's military might. He observed 125,000 troops depart for the purposes of a single mission. The troops were to rendezvous with a fleet of 230 war canoes, just one part of Buganda's royal navy.

Continuing religious tensions between Catholics and Protestants, which reflected much deeper tensions within Bugandan society, erupted when British and German imperialists, led by Captain Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) and Dr. Karl PETERS (1856–1918) respectively, came to Buganda, further polarizing the kingdom. British Protestant missionaries and their converts naturally supported British control, while the Catholic missionaries, who were French, supported the Germans (possibly in order to oppose the British) or continued independence. Ganda converts from both sides fought viciously until Lugard ended the conflict through the use of new military technology: the machine gun.

Britain's victory in Buganda led to an expansion of British territorial control and the eventual formation of the Uganda Protectorate, in 1894. Britain initially ruled the area through Buganda and Kabaka Mwanga II (c. 1866–1903), who had been restored to the throne, though Apolo KAGWA (1868–1927), the *katikiro* (prime minister), was the real power. When Mwanga began to oppose Britain he was replaced by his own infant son Daudi Chwa II (1897–1939). In 1900 the Buganda Agreement, willingly accepted by Buganda, established a fa-

vorable relationship between the African kingdom and the British colonial government. The agreement doubled Buganda's size and allowed it to remain largely autonomous. Buganda also secured private land tenure that kept the kingdom free of European SETTLERS and contributed to its autonomy. In 1952 the British governor of Uganda, Andrew Cohen (1909–1968), instituted reforms that gave Buganda's people majority control of their legislature, as well as control over EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, and health services.

A crisis emerged in 1953 over British plans to incorporate Uganda into an East African Federation, along with KENYA and TANGANYIKA. Fearing a loss of their relative independence, Buganda strongly objected. The British responded by deporting the *kabaka* at the time, Mutesa II (1939–1969), and holding him in Britain. Negotiations in 1955, however, resulted in Mutesa's return to the throne, and plans for the East African Federation were scrapped. Uganda became independent in 1962, and Buganda remained a kingdom within the new country. Kabaka Mutesa II assumed the ceremonial office of president of the country, while a northerner, Milton OBOTE (1924–   ), became the prime minister.

See also: BUGANDA (Vols. II, III, V); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); PARTITION (Vol. IV).

Bunche, Ralph (Ralph Johnson Bunch)

(1904–1971) *Noted scholar and Africa adviser to the government of the United States*

Born into a humble family in Detroit, Michigan, Bunche moved to the warmer climate of Albuquerque, New Mexico at age 10 because of his parents' ill health. After their deaths two years later he was raised by his grandmother, "Nana" Johnson. Born into SLAVERY, she was a fervent supporter of African-American rights. In high school Bunche distinguished himself in history and English, becoming his class valedictorian. He attended the University of California at Los Angeles on an athletic scholarship, graduating summa cum laude in 1927 with a degree in international relations. He then received a scholarship to Harvard, where in 1934 he earned a PhD with an award-winning dissertation comparing French COLONIAL RULE in TOGOLAND (now TOGO) and DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN).

During his academic career Bunche taught at Howard University, from 1928 to 1950, and then at Harvard University, from 1950 to 1952. He also served on the boards of directors of various organizations and institutions, including Harvard's Board of Overseers, and was active in the civil-rights movement. He published two books, *A World View of Race* (1936) and *An American Dilemma* (1944). His view

was that segregation was inherently incompatible with democracy and that racial prejudice lacked a scientific basis in biology or anthropology.

During World War II (1939–45) Bunche held important positions in the Office of Strategic Services and in the State Department, where he helped shape policy on Africa. In 1946 the United Nations (UN) secretary-general Trygve Lie (1896–1968) put Bunche in charge of the organization's Department of Trusteeship, which oversaw people living in countries without self-government. This led to his winning the Nobel Peace Prize, in 1950, for his efforts in mediating the conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

Bunche remained with the United Nations for the rest of his life, serving as undersecretary for special political affairs, UN special representative to the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and undersecretary-general.

See also: UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Ben Keppel, *The Work of Democracy: Ralph Bunche, Kenneth B. Clark, Lorraine Hansberry, and the Cultural Politics of Race* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995); Brian Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche: An American Life* (New York: Norton, 1993).

Bunyoro   Kingdom of precolonial UGANDA located in the Great Lakes region of eastern Central Africa, northwest of the kingdom of BUGANDA. Bunyoro was at its apex in the 18th century. By the mid-19th century, however, the kingdom was challenged by Buganda to the south and by Egyptian and Sudanese invaders to the north. As a result Bunyoro lost control over many of its outlying possessions. In 1872 Samuel BAKER (1821–1893), governor-general of Equatoria Province in the Egyptian-ruled Sudan, annexed Bunyoro territory as part of Egypt's push southward up the Nile. Led by Mukama KABAREGA (c. 1853–1923), the Banyoro, as the people of Bunyoro are sometimes called, resisted Egypt's authority, forcing the Egyptians, in 1888, to withdraw from the area.

During the early 1890s Buganda was in the midst of an exhausting religious civil war. Taking advantage of its neighbor's turmoil, Kabarega led Bunyoro to strengthen its military and centralize its power structure. This revival of Bunyoro eminence was soon challenged, however, as the British, led by Captain Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945), invaded from the south with the help of Protestants from Buganda. The reconstructed Bunyoro army held off the British for years, but in 1899 Kabarega was captured and exiled to the SEYCHELLES, in the Indian Ocean.

Kabarega's defeat marked the end of an independent Bunyoro. Britain then incorporated the kingdom into the Uganda PROTECTORATE and awarded half of Bunyoro's territory to Buganda for its help in the war. The Banyoro vigorously contested this division of land, and the issue remained a source of conflict in Uganda well into the 20th century.

See also: BUNYORO (Vols. II, III); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GREAT LAKES REGION (Vol. III); KITARA COMPLEX (Vol. II); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Edward I. Steinhart, *Conflict and Collaboration: The Kingdoms of Western Uganda, 1890–1907* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977).

Burkina Faso   Present-day country covering about 105,900 square miles (274,300 sq km), located in western Africa. Burkina Faso is bordered by The Republic of MALI to the west and north, by NIGER to the east, and by BENIN, TOGO, GHANA, and IVORY COAST to the south. Burkina Faso was named UPPER VOLTA under French COLONIAL RULE and for the first 23 years of independence.

The area of present-day Burkina Faso was originally inhabited by the Gurunsi, Bobo, and Lobi peoples. By the 15th century the powerful Gurma and MOSSI STATES had established hegemony over the region.

The Mossi States were organized strongly enough to resist attempts by neighboring Muslim empires to conquer their lands. Because of this, present-day Burkina Faso is one of the few countries of West Africa that does not have a Muslim majority.

These states (which included Yatenga, Fada-n-Gurma, Tenkodogo, and the dominant kingdom of Ougadougou), controlled the region until the late 1800s, when the French campaign of COLONIAL CONQUEST led to the establishment of a PROTECTORATE over Yatenga, in 1895. The fall of Ouagadougou to the French a year later effectively ended Mossi resistance. By 1897 the Gurma, Gurunsi, and Bobo had all succumbed to French colonial rule. An agreement with the British in 1898 established the borders between the new French territory and the British GOLD COAST COLONY (present-day Ghana). Despite the continued resistance of the Lobi, who made good use of poisoned arrows to fend off the French aggressors, by 1904 the region was added to the French colonial agglomerate of Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Upper Senegal-Niger).

Burkina Faso during the Colonial Era: Upper Volta In 1919 France split off Haute-Volta (Upper Volta) from Upper Senegal-Niger, which itself was later divided into FRENCH SOUDAN (present-day Mali) and Niger. All three colonies became part of FRENCH WEST AFRICA. For economic and administrative purposes, in 1932 the Upper Volta region was divided and distributed among Ivory Coast, French Soudan, and Niger. During the colonial period the economy increasingly relied upon money from la-

borers who migrated to neighboring Gold Coast Colony and Ivory Coast. Repatriated earnings from the migrants helped their families purchase consumer goods and pay their taxes to the colonial government. The French also promoted the agricultural production of CASH CROPS, especially COTTON and GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), for export.

Under pressure from the Mossi peoples, who wanted a separate territorial identity, the French reestablished Upper Volta, in 1947, as part of the FRENCH UNION. Following the French revision of colonial policies embodied in the *Loi Cadre* (Enabling Act) of 1956, Upper Volta became an autonomous country within the French Community. In 1960 the fully independent Republic of Upper Volta was established, with Maurice Yameogo (1921–1993), the head of the Voltaic Democratic Union, as its first president.

In 1984 Upper Volta was officially renamed Burkina Faso (meaning "the Land of Incorruptible Men") by president Thomas Sankara (1949–1987).

See also: BOBO (Vol. II); BURKINA FASO (Vols. I, II, III, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FADA-N-GURMA (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV); LOBI (Vol. III); YATENGA (Vols. II, III).

Burton, Richard (Sir Richard Francis Burton) (1821–1890) *British explorer and writer*

Burton was the son of an army colonel and traveled extensively in Europe with his parents. He attended Oxford University—which he found boring—until he joined the East India Company's military and was deployed to Karachi and later Sindh, in India. There Burton displayed a remarkable proficiency for languages, learning Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, as well as a number of other dialects. Later in his life he would come to master 40 languages and dialects.

Working as an undercover intelligence officer, Burton developed techniques of assimilation and disguise that were essential on his later journeys. In 1853, disguised as a Muslim *hajji,* or pilgrim, Burton made a daring trip to the cities of Mecca and Medina, where non-Muslims were forbidden under penalty of death. He wrote about the experience in the landmark three-volume ethnological work, *Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Mecca* (1855–1856).

In 1854 Burton went on the first of his African expeditions with John Hanning SPEKE (1827–1864) in search of the source of the Nile River. Burton's extensive knowledge of Arabic and Islam proved useful in facilitating these expeditions, as the pair traveled along caravan routes fre-

quented by Zanzibari-based Arab merchants. Burton had to return to England to recover from an injury suffered when his caravan was attacked in Somaliland. Burton and Speke returned to Africa in 1857, and the following year they were the first Europeans to see Lake Tanganyika, which Burton mistakenly believed to be to be the source of the Nile. Burton fell ill and was unable to continue the expedition. Speke carried on, however, and came across and christened Lake Victoria, correctly declaring it the Nile's source. Speke returned to England before Burton and claimed much of the publicity for the expedition. Because of this and the dispute over the Nile's true source, Burton and Speke ended their friendship.

In the following years Burton visited and wrote about such disparate places as Utah, in the United States, and Iceland. In 1861 Burton married Isabel Arundell and became British consul to the Spanish island of Fernando Po. He would go on to be consul to Santos, Brazil, in 1864, to Damascus, Syria, in 1869, and finally to Trieste, Austria, in 1872. He died in Trieste in 1890.

Burton's literary efforts are as well known as his explorations. His English translations of the Indian erotica *The Kama Sutra of Vatsayana* (1883) and the mythic masterpiece *The Arabian Nights* (1885) became classics. His wife, under mysterious circumstances, burned many of his papers after his death.

See also: ARABIC (Vols. I, II); MECCA (Vol. II); MEDINA (Vol. III); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); SOMALI (Vol. II); TANGANYIKA, LAKE (Vols. I, II); VICTORIA, LAKE (Vols. I, V).

Burundi

Central African kingdom that regained independence from COLONIAL RULE in 1961. A very small, mountainous country of only 10,700 square miles (27,700 sq km), modern Burundi is bordered by RWANDA, TANZANIA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Lake TANGANYIKA lies along the southwestern border.

For centuries Burundi was an independent kingdom inhabited mostly by HUTU and TUTSI peoples. By the 1850s, when the first European explorers reached the area, the Tutsi had established themselves as an aristocratic ruling class. European colonization began in 1884, when German representatives of a forerunner of the German East Africa Company (GEAC) arrived in the region and began to sign treaties with local rulers granting Germany territorial control.

Burundi during the Colonial Era: Ruanda-Urundi   In 1885 Burundi and the neighboring kingdom of Rwanda came under GEAC management in an administrative division called RUANDA-URUNDI. By 1891, however, the German imperial government had taken over its direct administrative control, and within a decade the territory was completely incorporated into GERMAN EAST AFRICA. In 1903 Burundi's Mwami (King) Gisabo (c. 1845–1908) signed the Treaty of Kiganda, which ceded the last rem-

nants of sovereignty to Germany. The Germans set up their colonial administration at Usumbura, formerly a small village located on Lake Tanganyika.

German administration ended during World War I (1914–18), and in 1919 Ruanda-Urundi became a MANDATE of Belgium under the League of Nations. From the beginning Belgian rule favored the Tutsi aristocracy over the Hutu majority, and the Tutsi were given a great deal of say in a governmental system of indirect rule that Belgium continued until after World War II (1939–45). After the war the United Nations began to advocate democratic rule for Ruanda-Urundi, and in preparation for elections, two political parties developed. The Union for National Progress (Union Pour le Progrès National, UPRONA), spearheaded by the Tutsi prince, Louis Rwagasore (1932–1961), sought to serve both Tutsi and Hutu interests. On the other hand, the Christian Democratic Party (Parti Democrate Chretien, PDC) was supported by the Belgian government. In September 1961, UPRONA won the majority of seats in elections for the National Assembly, thereby making Prince Rwagasore the new prime minister. He was not to lead his government for long, however, as members of the PDC assassinated him the following month.

In 1962 the United Nations granted the division of Ruanda-Urundi into the independent nations of Rwanda and Burundi, with July 1 marking the official date of independence. Burundi opted to become once again a sovereign kingdom, with the long-reigning Mwami Mwambutsa (r. 1915–1966) assuming the office of head of state, a position that exercised real power. It also proceeded to change the name of the colonial capital from Usumbura to Bujumbura. However, the violent start to independent government and the Rwandan revolution (1959–1962) brought Hutu-Tutsi antagonisms to a boil. Continuous ethnic rivalries disrupted the country in the years that followed.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); BUJUMBURA (Vol. V); BURUNDI (Vols. I, II, III, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. I); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I).

Busaidi The ruling dynasty of ZANZIBAR from 1840 to 1964. In 1741 the Busaidi dynasty founded by Said al-Busaidi (d. 1806) displaced the existing rulers of the southern Arabian kingdom of Oman. The center of their attention soon moved to the SWAHILI COAST of East Africa, where Omani Arab merchants had long been active.

In 1806 Sayyid Said (1791–1856) became sultan after murdering his brother, Said al-Busaidi. Sayyid Said sought to control the commerce of the coast first by consolidating his control over Zanzibar and then by commandeering more and more of the coast and offshore islands. In 1837 his dominance was complete when he defeated the Mazrui rulers of MOMBASA, the major port city on the coast of KENYA.

In 1840 Sayyid Said transferred the capital of his state from Muscat, in Oman, to ZANZIBAR CITY. This move put Said in a better position to exercise control over and profit from the booming SLAVE TRADE and IVORY TRADE.

Upon Said's death, in 1856, the kingdom was split between two of his sons, and the Zanzibar sultanate and the Omani sultanate became separate entities. Said's second son, ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888), who ruled from 1870 to 1888, actively tried to establish a Zanzibari territorial empire in East Africa. Despite his efforts, Busaidi rule never extended much beyond the coast.

In the late 1880s European imperial ambitions ended the sultanate's territorial claims on the mainland. GERMAN EAST AFRICA took control of TANGANYIKA, and Kenya, to the north, became a British colony. Then, in 1890, a treaty between the German and the British colonies made Zanzibar a British PROTECTORATE. Under the protectorate the sultans remained the nominal rulers, but the real power rested with the British.

When Zanzibar became independent, in December 1963, the sultan and his circle of influential Arabs thought they would rule the country. However, a bloody revolt, in January 1964, drove the sultan from power, ending the Busaidi era of Zanzibar's history. Later that year Zanzibar joined Tanganyika to create TANZANIA.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices, and Ivory in Zanzibar* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987).

Busia, Kofi Abrefa (1913–1974) *Scholar and political leader from Ghana*

Born into a royal family within the Ashanti confederacy, in what was then the British GOLD COAST COLONY (now GHANA), Busia received his early education in church-run schools. He taught at ACHIMOTA COLLEGE, in ACCRA, before earning a scholarship, in 1939, to Oxford University, in England. Upon his return to the Gold Coast in 1941, Busia became one of the first Africans to serve as an officer in the colonial administration. Disappointed by the experience, he returned to Oxford for his doctorate degree in Social Anthropology. His doctoral thesis was published in London in 1951 under the title *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti*. In 1954 his academic pedigree allowed him to become the first African professor at the University of Gold Coast.

In 1951 Busia was elected by the Ashanti to the Gold Coast's Legislative Council, and the following year he became the head of the Ghana Congress Party (GCP), which stood in opposition to Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) and his CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (CPP). The GCP represented the COCOA growers and the chiefs, while the CPP had a more populist appeal. Nkrumah, whom the British had jailed for his political activities, won a stunning vic-

tory. The British then invited him to form the colony's government as prime minister. Nkrumah won two more elections in 1954 and 1956. Busia was his party's only successful candidate in 1954. The GCP then joined the opposition National Liberation Movement (NLM) to try and defeat Nkrumah in 1956, with Busia becoming the NLM leader. Nkrumah's electoral appeal was simply too great to overcome, however.

Following Ghana gaining independence, in 1957, Nkrumah became prime minister and then, when Ghana became a republic in 1960, the president. Upon assuming power as the head of a sovereign Ghana, Nkrumah immediately acted to suppress his opposition. In 1958 he passed a Preventive Detention Act and used it to imprison more than a thousand of his opponents. One of the more prominent detainees, J. B. DANQUAH (1895– 1965), eventually died in prison for lack of medical care. Fearing such retribution himself, Busia went into exile, in 1959, teaching at the University of Leiden, in the Netherlands, and at Oxford. In 1966 Busia returned to Ghana after a coup overthrew Nkrumah, setting the stage for his rise to the office of prime minister.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); BUSIA, KOFI (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

C

Cabral, Amílcar (Amílcar Lopes Cabral)
(1924–1973) *Writer and independence-movement leader in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands*

Cabral was born in Bafatá, in the mainland colony GUINEA-BISSAU, to parents from the CAPE VERDE ISLANDS. At the time Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, both located on the West African coast, were colonies of Portugal. Cabral received his early education in Cape Verde, where he excelled as a student. During the 1940s a severe drought hit the islands and this, exacerbated by harsh economic conditions brought on by World War II (1939–45) and Portuguese colonial policies, resulted in the death of nearly one-third of Cape Verde's population. Cabral was deeply affected by the disaster and Portugal's role in it, and he began to write poetry and short stories that demonstrated an anticolonial sentiment.

In 1945 Cabral traveled to Lisbon, Portugal, to study agricultural engineering. While there he helped found the Center for African Studies, in Lisbon. In 1952 he returned to Guinea-Bissau to work for the Department of Agriculture and Forestry Services. There he worked to complete an agricultural survey, traveling extensively in Guinea-Bissau and gathering information from the peasant population.

In 1956 Cabral became one of the founding members of the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (Partido Africano da Indepêndencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC). One of West Africa's more active nationalist movements, the PAIGC aimed at liberating Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde from Portugal to establish the two as a unified, independent country. Faced with oppressive Portuguese tactics similar to those employed in the colonies of ANGOLA and MOZAMBIQUE, the PAIGC abandoned their campaign of nonviolent protest. In its place they began to build a rebel military force in the neighboring Republic of GUINEA, which had become independent in 1958.

In 1962 Cabral and the PAIGC began a prolonged guerrilla war against the colonial government that eventually led to independence in 1974. Cabral, however, did not live to see it, as he was assassinated by the Portuguese secret police, in 1973.

See also: AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (Vol. V); CAPE VERDE, REPUBLIC OF (Vol. V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Patrick Chabal, *Amílcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Cairo Capital of EGYPT and largest city in Africa. Located along the Nile River, Cairo has long been the economic, political, and cultural center of Egypt. From the time of the Fatimid, Abbasid, and Ayyubid dynasties to the restoration of native Egyptian rulership in the 1950s, Cairo has endured as a symbol of Egypt's greatness and its challenges.

Modernization of Cairo By 1850 Cairo showcased many of the benefits of the reforms instituted by Muhammad Ali (1769–1849). While still resembling a medieval town, Cairo had undergone subtle changes, with its inhabitants becoming more educated and cosmopolitan than before. As a result Cairo developed an influential elite of teachers, bureaucrats, and engineers, all with an appetite for European comforts. The city's infrastructure at that time included the telegraph, and by 1854 railroad networks and regular train service to the Mediterranean coast was estab-

lished. Also, by this time Cairo's population had increased, requiring an expansion of the physical city limits. Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), Egypt's ruler from 1863 to 1879—and grandson of Muhammad Ali—expanded the city from the Ezbekiyya Lake to the banks of the Nile, which more than doubled its area. Under Ismail the city's population grew from about 300,000 to 375,000.

After a trip to the Paris Exposition (1867), Ismail began guiding the transformation of Cairo into a city that would rival European capitals. He entrusted the modernization project to Ali Pasha Mubarak (1823–1893), an engineer known as Egypt's pioneer in EDUCATION.

Khedive Ismail planned to finance Cairo's modernization with the profits from the COTTON boom occasioned by the Civil War in the United States (1861–65). Unfortunately, this boom proved to be temporary, and the khedive's massive spending programs ultimately led to Egypt's financial collapse.

Between 1864 and 1865 the capital became a metropolis, with a Ministry of Public Works to coordinate urban planners and public utilities. Concessions were given to foreign companies to provide utilities to the area. One of the notable concessions granted to European companies was the one to the French Lebon Company, which supplied Cairo and some of its suburbs with gas for gas lighting. In 1865 Cordier, another French company, was given the concession to supply Cairo with municipal water. In anticipation of the opening of the SUEZ CANAL in 1869, a European-style quarter was built onto the western edge of the old city to impress visiting European dignitaries.

As a result of all this activity and the emphasis on a new, Europeanized environment, Cairo actually developed as two cities: a European-style city and an old, Muslim city. The transformation continued in 1868, when the municipal government was reorganized and Cairo was divided into new administrative units. Old suburbs were united and new suburbs were developed, all paving the way for northward expansion of the city.

The Department of Urban Planning began mapping the city and started to plan huge road construction projects. These included straightening and widening existing streets, connecting streets to open squares with roundabouts, and creating new streets that would extend into the desert. With all this development, Cairo began to attract large numbers of foreigners, some as tourists and others who took up residence and engaged in business and trade. The foreign population reached a total of 19,000 by 1882.

British Occupation In the late 19th century hostilities erupted between Britain and Egypt over the repayment of Egypt's foreign loans, many of which were made by British interests. The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 brought new challenges to Cairo. The British undersecretary of state, Sir Scott Moncrieff (1836–1916), managed the affairs of the city, and the Ministry of Public Works continued to grant concessions to foreign providers of public utilities, a practice that continued until 1937. During this period one of the major challenges facing the city was the growth of its population, which increased between 1882 and 1937 by 250 percent. Urban planners focused on land reclamation for the purpose of adding more capacity to the city for building construction.

Another achievement of this period was the development of a new suburb, Heliopolis, by the Heliopolis Oasis Company. Founded in 1906 by Belgium's Baron Edouard Empain (1852–1929) and Boghos Nubar Pasha (1825–1899), an Armenian national living in Egypt, the company constructed villas, apartment buildings, and hotels in a new suburb north of the city. Built on an old town but designed for Europeans, the community became the prototype of a satellite city in the desert.

Between 1894 and 1917 the same Baron Empain who built Heliopolis also gained the concession to provide Cairo with a tramway system. This network overlaid Ismail's planned city, but with the exception of Muhammed Ali Boulevard, the old city remained outside the network.

In 1902, after the British built the first ASWAN DAM, both banks of the Nile and those of the islands of Jazira and Rawdah had been stabilized, creating more land for construction. Large suburbs subsequently were laid out along the Nile, as were additional Western-style hotels. Bridge construction, which went on between 1902 and 1907, allowed Cairo to expand further westward; the arrival of automobiles, in 1903, accelerated the transformation of the city's street system. In 1915 British sanitary engineer James Carkett inaugurated the first sewer system, which serviced Cairo until the population density of the 1960s overburdened it.

Cairenes, as Cairo's residents are known, enjoyed improved public utilities, but there was a noticeable discrepancy in services provided for European Cairo and the homes of the indigenous people. As a result modern business activities moved to the north and west, where two landmarks became symbols of British occupation—the British army barracks and the British Residence.

In spite of its divided and colonial nature, by the 1930s Cairo had emerged as a modern capital and a center of learning and cultural activity. In 1922 Howard Carter (1874–1939) rekindled interest in Egypt by locating the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun (r. 1361–1352 BCE), the artifacts of which are now displayed in the Cairo

Museum. In the area of popular culture, Cairo even developed a CINEMA industry, producing its first film with sound in 1932.

Growing Crises In spite of its geographical spread, and notwithstanding its cultural achievements, the main problem of the city remained population. The population of Cairo had doubled from 1882 to 1914, doubled again by 1942, and more than doubled again by 1966. This population explosion occurred through both natural increase and the migration of people from rural to urban areas.

The population problem, however, was not the only one facing Cairo in the years following World War II (1939–45). Tensions between Egyptians and the British colonial administration worsened considerably in the postwar era. These boiled over several times into the large-scale demonstrations and riots that marked the early 1950s. This culminated in the events that came to be known as Black Saturday (January 26, 1952), when mobs set the city ablaze and ravaged businesses that were owned or frequented by foreigners.

Soon afterward, when a coup d'état led to the ouster of King FARUK (1920–1965) and the installation of a military regime, Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) became the first native-born Egyptian to rule Egypt and Cairo since the age of the pharaohs. Unfortunately these events—coupled with the drawn-out battles between Egypt and the recently installed nation of Israel, to the east—did little to help the people of Cairo, who continued to suffer from unemployment, lack of housing, and a dearth of modern facilities for those living outside the Europeanized quarter. These problems, which continued to plague the city throughout the rest of the 1950s, emerged as crises in the 1960s.

See also: CAIRO (Vols. I, II, III, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: André Raymond, *Cairo* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000); Max Rodenbeck, *Cairo: The City Victorious* (New York: Vintage Departures, 1998).

Camara Laye (1928–1980) *Guinean author*

A speaker of the Maninka LANGUAGE, Camara Laye was born in Kouroussa, Upper Guinea, which is part of the present-day country of GUINEA. He was born into a respected Muslim family, and he studied in a Quranic school before attending Kouroussa's public elementary schools. He then went to the College George Poiret in the Guin-ean capital, Conakry, to study engineering. In 1947 he won a scholarship to study automotive mechanics at the Central School of Automobile Engineering in Argenteuil, France. After graduation he remained in France to work and to pursue further technical education at the College for Aeronautics and Automobile Construction.

While in France Camara Laye also began to pursue a literary career and studied at the National Conservatory of Arts and Crafts. His autobiographical novel, *L'Enfant noir* (Dark child), which is recognized as an early landmark in contemporary African writing, appeared in 1953. A highly idealized reminiscence of the writer's childhood in Kour-oussa, the book received the prestigious Prix Charles Veillon, in 1954. Critics of the novel, however, accused Laye of ignoring the political plight of Africans under COLONIAL RULE.

In 1956 Laye returned to Africa, spending time in DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN) and GHANA before returning to a newly independent GUINEA, in 1958. Despite the fact that he held a series of governmental posts, he became an outspoken critic of the government, eventually breaking with President Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984). In 1965 Laye left Guinea for exile in DAKAR. The following year he published *Dramouss* (translated, in 1991, as *A Dream of Africa*), a novel that depicted an African country ruled by a tyrannical dictator. Laye was also an essayist and writer of short stories. He died in Dakar, in 1980.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Cameroon Present-day country, 183,600 square miles (475,500 sq km) in area, in southern West Africa. Cameroon is bordered along its western coast by the Gulf of Guinea, to the north by NIGERIA and CHAD, and to the east and south by the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, the Republic of the CONGO, and GABON.

In the early 19th century a combination of ethnic and European influences marked the landscape of Cameroon. The northern regions came under the political control of the FULANI, a militant and militaristic Muslim people who had waged a JIHAD in neighboring Northern Nigeria and had established the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. Inspired by the successful Sokoto jihad, a northern-Cameroonian Fulani leader and scholar, Adama (1771–1848), launched a successful jihad in his home area. Between 1808 and 1820 Adama established an emirate that covered most of the region that makes up present-day northern Cameroon.

As the Fulani moved southward, however, they were finally repelled by the Mum kingdom, located in the central and western grassfields of Cameroon. During this time European and African slave traders dominated the regions to the south of Mum as well as along the territory's coast.

In the mid-1800s the SLAVE TRADE in Cameroon began to wane, as it did elsewhere in the Atlantic world. TRADE AND COMMERCE shifted to focus on NATURAL RESOURCES, particularly PALM OIL and ivory. As the dynamic of trade in Cameroon changed, Europeans began to expand their influence farther inland, diminishing the prominence of the coastal-based African merchants such as those from DOUALA.

In 1858 Alfred Saker (1814–1880), a British missionary, founded the city of Victoria. Saker believed the area held promising economic potential, and attempted to persuade Britain to make the area a PROTECTORATE. Britain wavered on the decision for nearly 30 years, and Germany took advantage of the lack of action. In 1884, after signing a treaty with Douala in the presence of a German gunboat, Germany declared the area a protectorate and named it Kamerun.

Cameroon during the Colonial Era: Kamerun German COLONIAL RULE over the protectorate led to improvements in the territory's infrastructure and the introduction of large-scale plantation-based AGRICULTURE. Exports to Europe included plantation CASH CROPS, such as COCOA, COFFEE, and tea, as well as commodities harvested in the wild, such as RUBBER and ivory. However, the extent of German endeavors necessitated the widespread use of forced LABOR, the cruelty of which cost the lives of thousands of Africans.

After its defeat in World War I (1914–18) Germany ceded control of Kamerun to France and Britain. The two colonial powers split the colony, and the territories became League of Nations MANDATES, with France gaining the larger amount of area and incorporating it into FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

British Cameroon   Britain gained much less territory in Cameroon than France, and the land they acquired was divided into a southern and northern segment, separated by a portion of French Cameroon. The British, guided by the disjointed geography of their holdings, split the territory into two parts—Northern and Southern Cameroons—and placed each territory under a different administrative body within neighboring Nigeria.

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In the early 1920s Britain sold some of Cameroon back to German plantation farmers. Their ownership did not last long, however, as Britain seized the land at the beginning of World War II (1939–45).

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Northern Cameroons was administered by the Northern Region of Nigeria, while Southern Cameroons fell under control of Nigeria's Eastern Region. Dividing control over British Cameroon showed the lack of importance Britain placed on the governance of the territory.

The British, happy to use existing social controls, supported the local chiefs and expected them to provide administrative and economic guidance for the Cameroonian people. At the same time, however, the British imposed heavy taxes and monopolized the natural and commercial resources of the country.

French Cameroon (Cameroun) France took a more active role than Britain in its governance of Cameroon. The French instilled a French identity within the territory, instituting an intensive French-language program and destroying vestiges of the former German rule. France also developed the territory's economic potential, building railroads and increasing the land's agricultural output.

The French governance of Cameroon, however, was far from altruistic. Much of the development that took place in the territory was accomplished using forced labor. Although this practice was forbidden under the terms of the League of Nations mandate, it did not end until the BRAZZAVILLE Conference, in 1944.

Toward Independence During the 1950s Cameroon, much like the rest of colonial Africa, moved toward independence. Cameroon's independence, however, was complicated by the division of control over the territory between France and Britain. The process in French Cameroon was fairly straightforward. In the early 1950s France granted the colony a Legislative Assembly, and political parties became active. In 1957 the colony gained self-government within the French Community, and in 1960 French Cameroon gained independence and was renamed the Republic of Cameroon.

The situation in British Cameroon was more complex. Some political leaders favored reunification with French Cameroon. Some wanted integration into Nigeria. Still others preferred complete independence for British Cameroon. To settle the arguments surrounding unification and to complete Cameroon's path toward independence, in 1961 the British held a referendum asking British Cameroonians to decide their fate. The results were divided between the two parts of the colony, as the Northern Cameroons chose to become part of Nigeria, while the Southern Cameroons voted to reunite with French Cameroon. Later that year British Cameroon received its independence, and the results of the election were honored as the two divisions of the colony united with the territories they had voted to join.

See also: CAMEROON GRASSFIELDS (Vol. I); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Emmanuel Chiabi, *The Making of Modern Cameroon* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1997).

Cape Coast   Coastal West African city in southern GHANA. Cape Coast is one of the oldest towns in Ghana. It was originally a Fante fishing village, where in 1610 Portuguese tradesmen began their quest for the precious metal that gave this stretch of the West African coast the moniker Gold Coast. In 1653 Swedes built the Cape Coast Castle, which was used to hold and transfer African captives to the New World and Europe. The area was a important because of its strategic location for the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, and many European countries fought for control of this and other sites in the area. The Cape Coast Castle also served as a fort to defend the area from armed incursions by trading parties from other European countries.

Cape Coast was the administrative capital of Britain's GOLD COAST COLONY until the capital was moved to ACCRA, the present-day capital of Ghana, in 1874. Prompted by the construction of early schools by European MISSIONARIES, Cape Coast earned a reputation as a center for EDUCATION. Today it is the site of a university and several well-known secondary boarding schools. It also still serves as a commercial port for the trafficking of fish, COCOA, coconuts, fruits, corn, and cassava. The city's castle is one of the Smithsonian Institute's World Historical Monuments, and tourism is an increasingly important activity.

See also: CAPE COAST (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FANTE (Vols. II, III); GOLD COAST (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE, EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INVOLVEMENT IN (Vol. III); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Cape Colony   First and largest of Britain's colonies in southern Africa. The Cape Colony underwent significant transformation in the decades preceding 1910, when the Cape Colony and three other self-governing British colonies came together to form the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. Except for a brief interlude of Dutch rule from 1803 to 1806, the Cape Colony had been under British rule since 1795. SLAVERY constituted a principal feature of life in the Cape Colony, but in 1834 the practice of selling human beings was abolished there and throughout the British Empire. Because it had a substantial settler population of BOERS (soon to be called AFRIKANERS) and more recent English immigrants, in 1853 Britain granted the colony limited self-government. Its constitution based the right to vote on wealth, not race. By 1872 the Cape Colony had become fully self-governing as far as its internal affairs were concerned.

In the latter half of the 19th century the eastern boundaries of the Cape Colony expanded dramatically beyond the Fish River, the original border between Xhosaland and the colony. Despite spirited resistance by the XHOSA people, the British prevailed, and the colony steadily expanded during the course of nine Cape Frontier Wars, which lasted for total of nearly 100 years. The CATTLE KILLING of 1856–57 significantly weakened the Xhosa, greatly facilitating a more rapid colonial expansion. Ultimately the colony grew to include the Transkei, as the territories to the east were known. The colony also expanded northward, and in 1895 Britain annexed the area known as BECHUANALAND (present-day BOTSWANA). The geographic area of the colony nearly doubled, and its population dramatically grew.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the economic importance of the Cape Colony decreased because of the discovery of vast deposits of GOLD and DIAMONDS in the interior of southern Africa. At the same time, however, the colony benefited from supplying agricultural commodities to the emerging MINING centers in the JOHANNESBURG and KIMBERLEY areas. CAPE TOWN, the colony's capital and the main gateway to the rest of the country, prospered following the construction of railroads to the mining centers.

During the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902) the colony was for a time the principal base for British operations. Significant fighting also occurred within its borders, at Kimberley and Makefing. When the Union of South Africa was formed, in 1910, the Cape Colony became the Cape Province, one of four provinces in the country. Prior to unification much greater economic and political freedoms were extended to black Africans in the Cape Colony than in other parts of the country, especially in the Boer-dominated provinces of the TRANSVAAL and ORANGE FREE STATE. As a result considerable controversy arose concerning what form racial relations in the Union of South Africa would assume. Ultimately a compromise was reached whereby the Cape Province retained its political institutions and traditions, but in the interior voting was restricted along racial lines.

See also: CAPE COLONY (Vol. III); CAPE FRONTIER WARS (Vol. III); MINERAL REVOLUTION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (London: James Currey, 1988); Noël Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

Cape Coloured People   Term used in SOUTH AFRICA to describe people with a mixed racial heritage. Cape Coloured People constitute the largest population group in CAPE TOWN and the neighboring areas of the Western Cape Province, and over the first half of the 20th century they represented about 9 percent of the total population of South Africa.

With their origins dating back to the Dutch settlement of South Africa in the 1600s, the Cape Coloured People originally were the descendants of white settlers and indigenous Khoikhoi and SAN peoples. The Dutch

settlers also imported slaves and political prisoners from Southeast Asia, known as Malays, to be workers on their farms. The Malays, too, were incorporated into the Coloured population, as were slaves from West Africa and MADAGASCAR. Along with the Dutch settlers of the CAPE COLONY, the Cape Coloured People began to speak AFRIKAANS, which is a LANGUAGE derived from Dutch but also incorporating many words and syntax from indigenous languages. Afrikaans, then, is as much the language of the Cape Coloured People as it is of the AFRIKANERS. In the 19th century, after the Cape Colony had passed into British hands, the term "Cape Coloured" came into common usage to describe this population of mixed-ethnic background.

Under the rule of both Britain and the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, the Cape Coloured People held an intermediary social position between the privileged whites and the disenfranchised Africans of the country. During the 1800s, for example, many of the Cape Coloured became skilled artisans and professionals. At the same time, however, because of the views held by many white South Africans regarding race, Cape Coloured People faced widespread discrimination, which restricted their educational and job opportunities and relegated them to a generally subordinate position within South African society.

Because of their social position the Cape Coloured People themselves were often divided in their attitudes toward the white-dominated government. Sometimes they supported the government in order to protect their limited privileges and sometimes they pushed for relief from the racial segregation prevalent in the 19th and 20th centuries in South Africa. This sense of being "in-between" led to a growing political consciousness. At the head of this movement was Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman (1872–1940), a Glasgow University graduate and medical doctor from Cape Town who, in 1903, joined the nascent African People's Organization (APO). Becoming president of the APO in 1905, Abdurahman shaped it into the leading organization promoting coloured political interests (for, despite its name it was principally a coloured organization). Abdurahman served for a quarter century on both the Cape Town City Council and the Cape Provincial Council.

As the 20th century progressed political involvement among the Cape Coloured People intensified. By the mid-1930s many young Cape Coloured were abandoning the moderate positions of their parents and joining the National Liberation League of South Africa, which was formed in 1935 and which called for a political alliance of all of South Africa's oppressed people against the white power structure. Among its leaders was Abdurahman's daughter, Zainunnissa "Cissie" Gool (1900–1963). The events occurring soon after the end of World War II (1939–45) reinforced this trend. The postwar political dominance by South Africa's conservative National party

allowed APARTHEID to systematically become the law of the land, and the government began codifying both the definition of the Cape Coloured population and the parameters of the group's rights and privileges. After 1948, for example, the Population Registration Act officially classified all South Africans as white, coloured, Bantu (Bantu being the apartheid-era term for individuals of African descent), or Indian.

Given the strictures of the apartheid regulations, classification within the government's divisions was critical for people's well being. Indeed, it could determine everything from the kind of job a person could have to where he or she might live to what sort of EDUCATION he might be entitled to. In spite of the government's protests that the racial classifications were objective in nature, the system frequently led, not simply to inequities, but to situations in which one sibling in a family would be classified as white while another might be classified as Cape Coloured.

Ethnic tests were a basic part of life for the Cape Coloured and other individuals during the apartheid era. Although officials often spoke of the objective or even scientific basis of their system, things were rarely that. Indeed, one of the government's more notorious "tests" for racial classification involved placing a pencil in a person's hair. If the hair sprang back when the pencil was twirled, the individual was regarded as Cape Coloured; if it did not spring back, the person was classified as "white." Using standards like this, the government created eight categories of Coloured people in South Africa: Cape Coloured, Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indian, Other Indian, Other Asiatic, and Other Coloured. According to the government's system, people of Japanese origin were considered "honorary whites."

As reaction against apartheid widened and deepened during the late 1950s and 1960s, an increasing number of Cape Coloured People became more vocal in their opposition to the apartheid regime. Particularly disruptive during this period were two pieces of legislation. One, passed in 1950, forced people to relocate outside of "whites only" areas, and the other, passed in 1956, removed Coloured People from the common voting roll. By the end of the apartheid era, in 1994, the Cape Coloured population had for the most part joined those South Africans calling for an end to the country's race-based social stratification.

See also: AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (Vol. IV); KHOIKHOI (Vols. II, III); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV).

Cape Town Port city that was the first European settlement in present-day SOUTH AFRICA. Cape Town functioned as the administrative and military headquarters of the British CAPE COLONY, which was established in 1806, when Britain took control of the colony from the Dutch. The dual British and Dutch influence imprinted on Cape Town is still evident today in terms of its ARCHITECTURE, languages, peoples, and culture. During the 19th century Cape Town's primary role was the provisioning of ships passing by the Cape of Good Hope, approximately 30 miles (48 km) south of the city. However, the opening of the Egyptian SUEZ CANAL, in 1869, reduced the volume of maritime traffic because it was no longer necessary for ships to sail around the tip of Africa to travel between Europe and Asia. With the discovery of huge deposits of GOLD in the TRANSVAAL in the mid-1880s, JOHANNESBURG soon overshadowed Cape Town as South Africa's most important city.

Cape Town continued to grow and remain an important city, however. In 1867 the largest reservoir of DIAMONDS in the world was uncovered in KIMBERLEY. The city served as the main gateway into the interior and benefited greatly through increased trade and immigration. As a result, the population of greater Cape Town grew from 45,000 in 1875 to 171,000 in 1904. Reflecting this growth, villages on the periphery of the city's center developed into populous suburbs, such as Woodstock, Salt River, and Mowbray.

The racial composition of the city's population also began to change. Since its founding, in 1652, its main inhabitants had been Cape Town Europeans and CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE. The economic boom and the immigration of the late 19th century brought a sizeable number of Indian and Eastern European immigrants to the city. Even more significantly, large numbers of Africans, mainly XHOSA speakers from the eastern Cape Colony, filtered into Cape Town for the first time. By 1899 they numbered as many as 10,000. With the upsurge of Cape Town's economy and the pressing need for unskilled LABOR resulting from the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), World War I (1914–19), and World War II (1939–45), this influx of Africans dramatically increased during the following 50 years.

Upon the creation of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA in 1910, Cape Town became the legislative capital. During the course of the 20th century Cape Town's importance remained tied to its role as a port. But the city also evolved into a manufacturing center, with TEXTILES its most important product. Owing to its beauty, pleasant summer weather, and excellent beaches, Cape Town became a major tourist destination for foreigners and South Africans alike. Part of Cape Town's attraction comes from its reputation for more liberal and relaxed relations between its different racial groups.

See also: CAPE OF GOOD HOPE (Vol. III); CAPE TOWN (Vols. III, V); DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (Vol. III).

Further reading: Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth van Heyningen, and Nigel Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: An Illustrated Social History* (Claremont, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 1999); John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981).

Cape Verde Islands Group of volcanic islands in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of West Africa. Cape Verde is an archipelago of islands and islets located 360 miles (579 km) west of SENEGAL. They form the modern nation-state of the Republic of Cape Verde. Cape Verde (or Cabo Verde, in Portuguese) means "Green Cape," but despite the name, the climate is dry and the mountainous landscape is arid. Due to chronically low and irregular rainfall, drought has repeatedly afflicted the islands' human and animal populations.

Cape Verde is divided into the windward (northern) islands (Boa Vista, Sal, Santo Antao, São Nicolau, São Vicente), and the leeward (southern) islands (Brava, Fogo, Maio, and Santiago). They were a Portuguese possession from 1462 until 1975. Originally Cape Verde functioned as a Portuguese base for the SLAVE TRADE and other commercial activities along the West African coast.

The abolition of the slave trade in the 1870s damaged the islands' ECONOMY since it was not a productive area for the CASH CROPS that, on the mainland, had replaced the slave trade over the course of the 19th century. The islands had to rely instead on the servicing and repair of ships putting in at its harbors in the cities of Mindelo and Praia. The Cape Verde Islands remain inextricably linked to maritime commerce, as they are situated at a virtual ocean crossroads between Africa, Europe, and the Americas. Many of the islanders themselves work on ships or have emigrated to Portugal, New England, and elsewhere in the Atlantic region. The interaction of peoples from all over the world has resulted in an ethnically and culturally diverse population, part African and part European.

Responding to the oppression of Portuguese rule, Cape Verdean resistance coalesced into the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, a nationalist liberation movement founded in 1956 and led by Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973).

See also: CAPE VERDE, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, III, V); AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Casely-Hayford, J. E. (Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford) (1866–1930) *Ghanaian nationalist leader*

Known as a boy by his Fante name, Ekra Agyiman, J. E. Casely-Hayford was born in the coastal trading town of CAPE COAST in the British GOLD COAST COLONY (present-

day GHANA). He was the son of an ordained minister and, through his mother, part of a prominent commercial family. He studied first at schools in his hometown and then went to SIERRA LEONE to attend FOURAH BAY COLLEGE. After returning to the Gold Coast Colony he worked as both a school principal and journalist before going to England to study law. In 1896 he returned home with a law degree.

In 1898 the first edition of his book, *The Truth about the West African Land Question,* was issued by the London publisher C. M. Phillips. Written on behalf of the ABORIGINES' RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY, the book protested British policy regarding land ownership. Casely-Hayford was a legal colleague of John Mensah SARBAH (1864–1910), who organized the protection society. In legal briefs that he and Sarbah co-wrote, as well as in his own book, Casely-Hayford stressed the fact that, according to African customary law, all land is under ownership even if it appears abandoned or not under cultivation. Thus, he argued, the British government had no legal right to appropriate land for its own use. His defense forced the Gold Coast government to protect African land titles.

Casely-Hayford's writings also tried to explain to British authorities the value of local institutions. In 1903 the London publisher Sweet and Maxwell published his second book, *Gold Coast Native Institutions: With Some Thoughts Upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti.* In it he argued that British administration, despite its professed policies to the contrary, inhibited the growth of nationalism and did not foster the emergence of self-government among Africans.

In 1911 Casely-Hayford published his third book, *Ethiopia Unbound.* In this book, the first novel written in English by an African, he is critical of uneducated traditional rulers, whom British administrators supported. The natural rulers of modern African societies, he argued, should be educated, westernized Africans.

After World War I (1914–18) Casely-Hayford began to adopt a broader, pan-Africanist outlook that stressed the achievement of self-determination through international cooperation among West Africans. He actively promoted his beliefs in his newspaper, the *Gold Coast Leader.* In 1920, with Dr. Akiwande Savage of NIGERIA, Casely-Hayford organized the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, which convened on three other occasions, 1923, 1925–26, and 1929–30. The conference was unable to gather broad support among Africans, however, and when Casely-Hayford died, in 1930, the National Congress died with him.

While he never saw the completion of many of his political objectives, Casely-Hayford made an important intellectual and political contribution to early PAN-AFRICANISM. His work is now seen as a precursor to the NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS that were to sweep away COLONIAL RULE after World War II (1939–45).

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DU BOIS, W. E. B. (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Magnus J. Sampson, *West African leadership: Public Speeches Delivered by J. E. Casely Hayford* (London: F. Cass, 1969).

cash crops Agricultural products grown specifically for sale on the market rather than for personal consumption. From the earliest days farmers have traded or sold some of their surplus FOOD CROPS in order to obtain tools and utensils or other foods. Cash crops, on the other hand, are crops grown specifically for sale on the open market. Farmers use the income they receive from these crops to purchase goods and services, pay taxes and fees, and meet other needs. The market is thus a necessary mechanism. Without a market there would be no reason to grow cash crops.

Sugar Sugar was the first major cash crop in world history. Sugarcane, from which processed sugar is made, was first cultivated in Southeast Asia and Persia. In the 12th century Arab conquerors began to plant sugarcane in the eastern Mediterranean, where it soon was grown on large, plantation-like estates. In the 14th century, Europe, especially Venice and Spain, became involved in the sugar trade. Production spread to the Mediterranean islands of Cyprus and Sicily, where forced LABOR was often used to plant, harvest, and process the sugar. The locus of sugar production for the European market kept shifting steadily westward until the 16th century, when Portugal established sugar plantations in its Brazilian colonies. The sugar industry depended on the forced labor of captive Africans who were brought against their wills to work on these plantations.

The 17th century saw sugar production spread into the Caribbean, with continued expansion throughout the 18th and into the 19th centuries. Meanwhile, European planters also established sugar plantations on the Indian Ocean islands of MAURITIUS and RÉUNION as well as in NATAL Colony, in SOUTH AFRICA.

In the production and sale of sugar, one sees features that were typical of most later cash crops. It was grown for distant markets, the producers were not the principal consumers, the labor force was coerced, TRANSPORTATION systems emerged to move bulk commodities, political control over the areas of production lay elsewhere, and the principal beneficiaries were those who financed the system. In short, sugar was the ideal colonial export crop.

Palm Oil and Other Products Cash crops as a feature of colonial African economies predate the colonial period itself. The first major cash crop in West Africa was PALM OIL, which was also an important forest-zone food crop. In the early 19th century the Industrial Revolution began to spread through Europe, and machinery replaced hand labor in many industries. At a time before petroleum
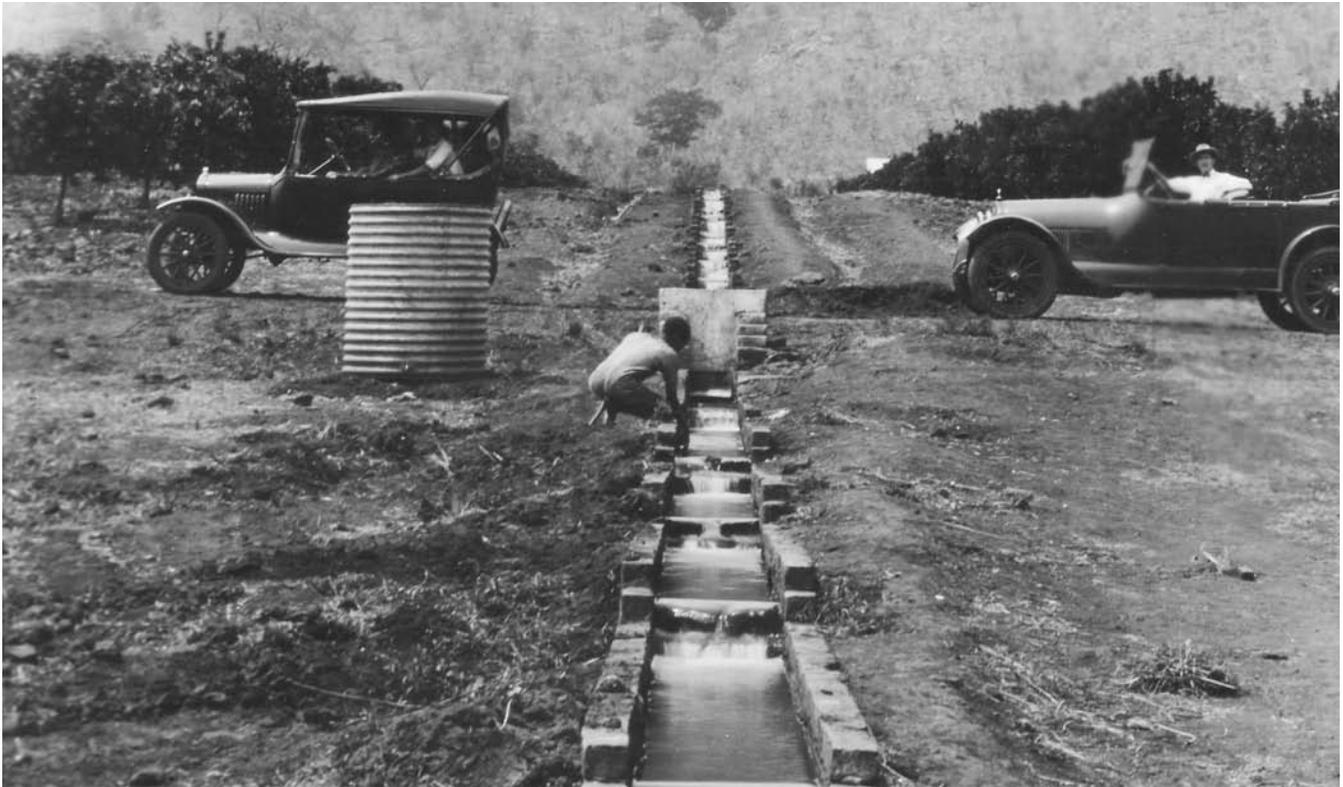
The need for cash crops intensified Africa's perennial lack of water for agriculture. This undated photo shows a brick irrigation furrow that was designed to carry water to a citrus farm in South Africa. © *Smith's Photo Service/New York Times*

products were available as lubricants, factory owners needed a consistent supply of vegetable oils such as palm oil to keep machinery running smoothly.

As part of the early 19th-century effort to suppress the SLAVE TRADE, European abolitionists promoted "legitimate commerce." They wanted the export of agricultural products to replace the trade in human beings.

Peanuts, called GROUNDNUTS throughout Africa, were another important "oil crop" that also was a food crop. In the 1840s farmers in the SENEGAMBIA REGION of West Africa started to export significant quantities of groundnuts, mainly to France. By the mid-1880s exports averaged nearly 30,000 tons (27,000 metric tons).

Much of the production of both palm oil and groundnuts was in the hands of peasant farmers, though some captive labor was also utilized. The full transformation of those crops into marketable commodities, however, was not done in Africa. Europe imported unprocessed palm oil and groundnuts for processing and distribution in various forms.

Cloves became another important export crop. In the 1830s Arab planters along the coastal zone of East Africa, which was under the control of the sultan of ZANZIBAR, established plantations that eventually produced 90 percent of the world's supply of cloves. Farmed by enslaved workers, the crops were grown specifically for export to the United States and elsewhere.

The Emergence of Single-Crop Economies Once the era of COLONIAL CONQUEST was complete, Africa's European rulers had to find a way to make their new possession profitable. Because the local African economies were primarily agricultural, one obvious answer was to promote cash crops for export. The income generated by agricultural EXPORTS could be used to purchase manufactured imports from Europe. Also, colonial governments could tax these imports and exports to obtain revenue for the administration of the colonies.

The export ECONOMY of many colonies came to rest on a single cash crop. Established peasant-produced cash crops such as groundnuts and palm oil continued to be important, and new crops, especially COCOA, emerged. In the 1890s, for example, farmers in Britain's GOLD COAST COLONY (modern-day GHANA) began to export cocoa. By

1911 the colony was exporting 40,000 tons (36,000 metric tons) annually to chocolate manufacturers such as the Hershey Chocolate Company, in the United States, and Cadbury Limited, in Britain.

The premier cash crop during the colonial era, however, was COTTON. Throughout the continent, colonial administrators promoted the production of cotton because the European powers wanted a cheap and controlled source of raw cotton for their textile mills back home. Cotton was grown mostly by peasant farmers. However, unlike cocoa, the price that farmers would get for their cotton was too low to stimulate production voluntarily. Thus, farmers were often coerced into planting this crop.

Westerners also established large plantations to produce export crops. In 1911 Lever Brothers, a British soap-making company, gained a concession of 1.9 million acres (768,888 hectares) in the BELGIAN CONGO (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO) to produce palm oil for soap and other products. Also notable was the million-acre (404,678 hectare) plantation that the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company of the United States established in LIBERIA, in 1926. That plantation provided RUBBER for tire-manufacturing plants in the United States and also supplied the Allies with rubber during World War II (1939–45).

Sisal, used for making rope and twine, was another major plantation-produced crop. During the colonial era, it became the principal export crop of TANGANYIKA (part of present-day TANZANIA). Working conditions on the sisal plantations were for the most part very bad, and the plantation managers often resorted to coercion to maintain the needed number of workers.

Farming by Europeans In those parts of Africa with significant numbers of European SETTLERS, white farmers also produced cash crops for market. For example, the COLONS of ALGERIA grew wheat and tended vineyards. British farmers in KENYA planted COFFEE and raised dairy cattle; in SOUTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE), they planted tobacco. South Africa's white and mostly Afrikaner farmers grew maize (corn) as a cash crop to feed the country's numerous city dwellers. White South African farmers also exported citrus and other fruit to Europe and developed an extensive wine industry.

Working conditions for African laborers on many of the white-owned farms were often extremely harsh, especially in South Africa and in Algeria. However, black Africans had few options because they had lost so much of their productive lands to white farmers.

Conditions at Independence In the late 1950s and early 1960s the colonial era came to an end, and most African nations gained their independence from European rule. Because of practices inherited from their colonial past, however, the economies of the new African nations still depended significantly on income received from agricultural exports and from the MINERALS AND METALS industries, which were dominated by Europeans. In short, political independence did not translate into economic independence.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. IV); CASH CROPS (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); PEASANTRY (Vol. IV); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV); TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE (Vol. III).

Further reading: Ralph Austen, *African Economic History* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1987).

Cattle Killing, The (1856–1857) Ill-fated "golden age," or millenarian, movement among the XHOSA that led to their final military and political demise as well as their dislocation. The teenaged prophetess NONGQAWUSE (c. 1840–1900) preached that if the Xhosa of the eastern CAPE COLONY would destroy their grain and kill their cattle, then their dead chiefs and heroes would rise from the dead and liberate the people from British colonial oppression. She promised that the Xhosa would be rewarded with new, strong cattle and abundant FOOD and that the European SETTLERS would be driven into the sea.

During this time many of the Xhosa's cattle had contracted lung sickness (bovine pleuropneumonia), a fatal disease that quickly spread to Xhosa herds after whites brought infected European cattle into the country in 1853. All told, it is estimated that at least 400,000 cattle were slaughtered by the Xhosa, either in conformity with Nongqawuse's prophecy or because they had become infected with lung sickness. As a result an estimated 35,000 to 50,000 Xhosa perished of starvation during 1856–57. Another 150,000 were forced to leave Xhosaland in search of food and employment on European-owned farms or in towns and cities of the colony.

The Xhosa fiercely resisted European military and cultural encroachment during the first half of the 19th century, but the devastation wrought by the cattle-killing movement dramatically weakened Xhosa unity and military strength. The Cape Colony's governor, George Grey (1812–1898), exploited the calamitous events following the cattle killing to strip powerful Xhosa chiefs of their political authority, military power, and economic independence. White settlers subsequently filtered into Xhosaland and acquired large tracts of land.

See also: CAPE FRONTIER WARS (Vol. III).

Further reading: J. B. Peires, *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856–7* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

Central African Federation (Federation of Rho-desia and Nyasaland) (1953–1963) Short-lived alliance of British colonies made up of NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA), SOUTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE) and the PROTECTORATE of NYASALAND (now

MALAWI). Britain initiated the idea of the federation, arguing that it would benefit the three colonies economically. White settlers also hoped that the alliance would counteract the economic influence of SOUTH AFRICA. Because the capital of the federation was SALISBURY (present-day Harare), in Southern Rhodesia, the significant positions in the federation were held by white settlers living in that country. Industries and company headquarters were concentrated in Southern Rhodesia, while Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which produced many of the commodities, were neglected. Black Africans pro-tested against the federation, which they felt was designed to impoverish Africans and benefit the white settlers. However, both white and black people in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland felt that Southern Rhodesia benefited most from the alliance. Roy WELENSKY (1907–1991), the second and last prime minister of the federation, opposed any changes to the power-sharing structure that would include black people or African-majority rule. Britain began plans to unify the federated territories into a single state, but demonstrations and strong nationalistic sentiment undercut the plan and led to the dissolution of the federation in 1963. In 1964, with the federation ended, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia became the independent countries of Malawi and Zambia, respectively. Due to the strength of white influence, however, Southern Rhodesia did not become independent Zimbabwe until 1980.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); HARARE (Vol. V).

Central African Republic (CAR) Landlocked country in the heart of Central Africa approximately 240,300 square miles (622,400 sq km) in size that is bordered to the north by CHAD, to the east by the Republic of the SUDAN, to the south by the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and the Republic of the CONGO, and to the west by CAMEROON. During the 17th and 18th centuries the small states of Central Africa were greatly disrupted by the SLAVE TRADE. Instability in the region continued in the 19th century, with militaristic traders such as RABIH BIN FADLALLAH (c. 1835–1900) raiding the region for captives and ivory. By the mid-19th century the Bobangi, a people living near the Oubangui (Ubangi) River, also were involved in the slave trade and seized captives from the neighboring Baya and Mandjia. This African-organized slave trade hindered the formation of relations between the different groups of people in the area, weakening the social structure of the region.

Central African Republic during Colonial Era: Oubangui-Chari By the 1880s French explorers had entered the area. The settlement of BANGUI, the future colonial capital, was founded on the upper Oubangui River, extending the reach of the FRENCH CONGO. In 1894 the French declared the OUBANGUI-CHARI colony over the territory between the Oubangui and Chari rivers.

In order to minimize financial risk, France divided the territory among a number of private CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES, which administered their claims at their own cost. In their efforts to harvest the region's NATURAL RESOURCES and CASH CROPS, such as RUBBER, COFFEE and COTTON, these companies imposed forced LABOR on local Africans.

African resistance to French COLONIAL RULE resulted in a number of rebellions in Oubangui-Chari. All of these were eventually put down by the French, including the last and most significant revolt, the Kongo Wara Rebellion of 1928–31. After that uprising many Africans in the colony were forced to relocate to French-supervised villages.

In 1905 a governor-general in BRAZZAVILLE was placed in charge of Oubangui-Chari, as well as the colonies of CHAD, GABON, and French Congo. A year later Oubangui-Chari and Chad were administratively linked as Oubangui-Chari-Chad, though the two colonies would be separated again when they joined Gabon and the French Congo as parts of FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Afrique Équatoriale Française, AEF), in 1910.

In 1940 Oubangui-Chari joined the rest of AEF in supporting the Free French forces of Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) during World War II (1939–45). All told, the colony sent about 3,000 troops to support the Allied efforts in North Africa and Syria. Upon the conclusion of the war, de Gaulle rewarded Oubangui-Chari and the other French African colonies with general French citizenship, the abolition of forced labor, and the right to send deputies to the National Assembly in France.

One such deputy was Barthélémy Boganda (1910–1959), the territory's first Catholic priest and a nationalist leader. Boganda formed the Movement for Social Development in Black Africa (Mouvement pour l'Evolution Sociale de l'Afrique Noire, MESAN) in 1949. When territorial assemblies were allowed, in 1956, MESAN dominated the elections.

As president of the Grand Council of French Equatorial Africa, Boganda proposed the independence of all of French Equatorial Africa as a single entity, with the intention of avoiding the political and economic problems that might arise from the independence of the individual territories. In the face of both French and local African objections to his plan, Boganda instead said "yes" to de Gaulle's *oui-ou-non* (yes-or-no) offer to the French African colonies, accepting autonomy for Oubangui-Chari as part of the FRENCH UNION. Oubangui-Chari became the autonomous Central African Republic in 1958, with Boganda as prime minister. In 1959 a constitution was established and Bo-

ganda became president, though he died later that year. In 1960 CAR became fully independent, led by President David Dacko (1930–).

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (Vols. I, II, III, V); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLU-ENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Francophone sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1995,* 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Césaire, Aimé (1913–) *West Indian and initiator of the Négritude cultural movement*

Aimé Césaire was born in Basse Point, Martinique, which was then still a French colony in the Caribbean. He received his primary education in Fort-de-France, the capital of Martinique. Then in the 1930s he went to Paris to study literature. While living in Paris he met Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001) from SENEGAL and Leon-Gontran Damas (1912–1978) from Guyana. Together, in 1934, they founded the student publication *L'Etudiant noir* (African student) in which Césaire first gave expression to the ideas that were to crystalize into the NÉGRITUDE movement. He coined the term *négritude* in his 1939 poem, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (Notebook of a return to my native land), which was originally published in the magazine *Volontes* and reprinted in other publications in 1944 and 1956. In the 1940s the term came to be applied to the nationalist pan-African literary and cultural movement that emerged among French-speaking intellectuals from Africa and the AFRICAN DIASPORA.

In 1939 Césaire and his family left France and returned to Martinique after the outbreak of World War II (1939–45). He and his wife taught school in Fort-de-France, and Césaire himself became active in politics and in the Communist party. He was elected mayor of Fort-de-France and deputy for Martinique to the French National Assembly in 1945. Although he renounced his Communist affiliation, in 1956, he continued to be politically active in Martinique until retiring from politics in 1993.

During the war's latter years Césaire also maintained an active literary career. In 1941 he founded a literary journal called *Tropiques,* which championed black culture. For a while he wrote mostly poetry; after 1955, however, he turned increasingly to drama as a vehicle for his ideas. Among his plays from this period are *Et les chiens se taisaient* (And the dogs kept quiet), from 1956; *La tragédie du roi Christophe* (The tragedy of King Christophe), written in 1963; *Une saison au Congo* (A season in the Congo), written in 1966; and *Une Tempete* (A Tempest), written in 1968. Both Césaire's poetic and dramatic themes include pride in his African heritage and culture and in African accomplishments. He also deals with the effects of DECOLO-NIZATION, cultural alienation, and a reconciliation of the past and present. His writing style often described as sur-

real, Aimé Césaire is firmly established among the most important black writers of the 20th century.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); LITERA-TURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Gregson Davis, *Aimé Césaire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Cetshwayo (Cetewayo, Cetchwayo, Ketchwayo) (c. 1826–1884) *Last independent king of Zululand*

A wily political force as well as an able military leader, Cetshwayo overcame many opponents on his way to power. His father, Mpande (r. 1840–1872), had seized the ZULU throne from Cetshwayo's uncle, Dingane (r. 1828–1840). The elder of two sons, Cetshwayo had been declared Mpande's heir at an early age. His father, however, underwent a change of heart, and during the 1850s began showing favor to his younger son, Mbulazi (1827–1856). Eventually, this led to a civil war in which the forces of the two brothers battled for supremacy. Although Mbulazi was supported by the British from their neighboring colony of NATAL, in 1856 he was defeated and killed, leaving Cetshwayo the heir to the throne.

From 1857 until 1872, when Mpande died, Cetshwayo was effectively the king of Zululand, with his father holding the throne in name only. During this period Cetshwayo faced frequent incursions by the BOERS, who were intent upon pushing into Zululand from the TRANSVAAL. Cetshwayo responded by attempting to establish a diplomatic link with the British, who, interested in dominating southern Africa themselves, were intent on reducing Boer power. Thus Cetshwayo had reason to be optimistic when the British annexed the Boer South African Republic in April 1877.

Cetshwayo's optimism was short-lived, however, for Britain clearly saw a strong, independent Zululand as a threat to its rule in the region. Soon the British began a campaign to discredit Cetshwayo and justify intervention on their part. In 1878 Cetshwayo provided them with their excuse when his warriors raided Zulu opponents in Natal. In response the British authorities issued Cetshwayo an ultimatum that they knew he would reject: hand over the raiders, pay substantial reparations, and disband the powerful Zulu army.

When Cetshwayo's inevitable refusal came, the British invaded on January 11, 1879, thus initiating the ANGLO-ZULU WAR. Confident that their 18,000 troops would be more than enough for the situation, the British, under the leadership of Lord Chelmsford (1868–1913), were unprepared for both the number of warriors in Cetshwayo's army and the intensity of their efforts. At the Battle of ISANDLWANA, on January 22, the British suffered a crushing defeat, one of the worst ever for their overseas mili-

tary forces. Ultimately, however, the sophisticated British weaponry proved to be more than a match for Zulu spears and shields. Following their defense of the hospital station at Rorke's Drift, the British went on to defeat Cetshwayo at Ulundi, on July 4. After the British victory Cetshwayo was sent to CAPE TOWN, where he was held prisoner for two years before being exiled to the neighboring area of the Cape Flats.

Cetshwayo, however, refused to give up the thought of returning to power, and he eventually went to London to plead his case to Queen Victoria (1819–1901). There he created a popular sensation while also impressing British leaders, who began to see Cetshwayo as an alternative to the chaotic squabbling among the various independent chieftains who had been left to govern Zululand after his defeat. Cetshwayo returned to Zululand from England early in 1883, and he soon was back on the throne. This time, however, the British took care to make sure that he had no army to support him.

Cetshwayo's return to power was not unopposed, and he immediately found himself in a civil war against the forces of Zibhebhu (1841–1904), who previously had been placed in charge of northern Zululand by Britain. The war went on from March to October, with Cetshwayo finally being defeated and forced from power. He died on February 8, 1884, possibly a victim of poison. He was succeeded by his son, DINIZULU (1868–1913), but the power of the throne was by that point much diminished.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: John Laband, *Rope of Sand* (South Africa: Jonathan Ball, 1995); Donald R. Morris, *The Washing of the Spears* (South Africa: Jonathan Cape, 1965).

Chad   Landlocked country with an area of about 496,000 square miles (1,284,600 sq km), located in the central-Sudanic belt to the east of Lake Chad. This large nation is bordered by LIBYA to the north, the Republic of the SUDAN to the east, CAMEROON and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to the south, and NIGER and NIGERIA to the west. Northern Chad stretches into the Sahara, but the country's southern region lies within the tropics.

In the middle of the 19th century the kingdoms of Bagirmi, KANEM-BORNU, and Wadai occupied the majority of the area making up present-day Chad. By the end of the 1890s, however, these once powerful Islamic states were overrun by the Sudanese warlord and slave-trader, RABIH BIN FADLALLAH (c. 1835–1900).

The French entered the region in 1890, but they were slow to establish a firm presence. They battled Rabih for years, finally killing him during the decisive Battle of Kousséri, in 1900. The death of Rabih opened the door to further French expansion, and by 1913 the conquest of Chad was complete.

French occupation of Chad was characterized by apathy in governance and an overall lack of infrastructural improvement and modernization. In 1905 the French organized Chad as a territory, which in 1906 was linked with OUBANGUI-CHARI. In 1910 Chad was placed under the umbrella of FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Afrique Équatoriale Française, AEF). Under the AEF Chad was overseen by a French-appointed lieutenant governor, who took his orders from the AEF governor general in BRAZZAVILLE. The French did not give Chad the status of a separate colony until 1920.

Within Chad the French asserted control over only the southern regions, granting the rest of the colony a form of self-governance in return for local leaders ensuring security of the caravan trails and maintaining a semblance of law and order. This hands-off approach to governing was likely a result of a lack of resources and interest in the area, rather than any sense of propriety. As a result banditry and slave raids continued in central and northern Chad into the 1920s, and economic development in these regions was stagnant.

In the south the inhabitants initially welcomed the French. The colonial power had put an end to the SLAVE TRADE, introduced COTTON farming, initiated development projects, and built a few schools. But this goodwill toward the French was short-lived, as a head tax, cotton quotas, and the use of forced PORTERAGE and LABOR angered the populace. Relations with France improved, however, as a result of events of World War II (1939–45).

In 1939 France capitulated to Germany. A year later, Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) proclaimed a Free French government in BRAZZAVILLE, and Chad's lieutenant governor, Adolphe-Félix-Sylvestre ÉBOUÉ (1884–1944), was the first to recognize the exiled administration. During the war French interest and financial support in Chad grew, and the colony became the base from which Free France launched its attacks against Italian-occupied Libya.

After the war, in 1946, France allowed Chad to form a territorial legislature, which elected representatives to the French General Council of the AEF. The people of Chad were made French citizens and were allowed to elect representatives to the French legislative bodies. The real governing power, however, remained in France, and local politics were dominated by the Chadian Democratic Union (Union Démocratique Tchadienne, UDT), which represented the interests of French businesses and the traditional, noble leaders from the northern region of Chad.

During the 1950s, however, Chad, like many other French colonies, began the slow journey towards independence. The Chadian Progressive Party (Parti Progressiste Tchadien, PPT), comprised mostly of southern-Chadian intellectuals, represented Chadian interests and became the main opposition to UDT control of the government.

In 1956 the French enacted the *loi cadre* (Overseas Reform Act), which granted further autonomy to Chad and France's other African colonies. In 1957 the PPT dominated local elections, allowing the party's leader, Gabriel Lisette (1919–2001), to form the first African government of Chad.

In 1958 Chadians participated in the referendum on France's new constitution. Chad's representatives largely supported it, at the same time unanimously voting for a resolution making Chad an autonomous republic within the FRENCH UNION. Later that year, the AEF was terminated.

In March of 1959 Lissette's coalition government collapsed in the face of opposition from the Muslim north, but the PPT quickly regained control under the leadership of Francois-Ngarta Tombalbaye (1918–1975). Tombalbaye consolidated support to strengthen the PPT, and in 1960 was elected the first president of independent Chad. The country, however, was divided along a "fault line" shared with Nigeria and the Sudan, that of a Muslim north and a significantly Christian south. As with the other two countries, Chad also experienced civil war soon after independence.

See also: CHAD (Vols. I, II, III, V); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); TOMBALBAYE, FRANCOIS-NGARTA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1995*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Champion, A. W. G. (Allison Wessels George Champion) (1893–1975) *South African nationalist and trade union leader*

In 1893 Allison Wessels George Champion was born in NATAL to a ZULU family that had been educated by MISSIONARIES. As a young man he received what was at the time a considerable education for an African in southern Africa. In 1913 he left school to become a policeman in JOHANNESBURG and then worked as a clerk for a GOLD mine. He became involved in LABOR UNIONS as president of a mine clerks' association, which was formed in 1920. At the time many of the Africans who had lost their lands to white farmers moved to the cities in search of a livelihood. The rights of these urbanized Africans were promoted by the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), founded in 1912, but many felt that the organization's tactics were too moderate. Accordingly, in 1918, Clements

KADALIE (1896–1951) founded the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) on the docks of CAPE TOWN. Open to everyone from sharecroppers to dock workers, the union opposed the increasing number of restrictions that the South African government imposed on the rights of Africans.

In 1925 Champion met Kadalie and joined the ICU as a union organizer. By the time he arrived in the port city of DURBAN in Natal, Kadalie's ICU was as well known as the ANC. By 1927 Champion had increased its numbers to include 70 percent of the Zulu urban workforce, many of whom worked in the city's bustling dockyards. He instituted successful court challenges of identification requirements, living restrictions, and local curfews imposed on Africans.

After a falling out with Kadalie, Champion founded a separate branch of the ICU in Natal, splintering the union, which by that time had about 100,000 members. In 1928, however, after a period of urban rioting caused by an ICU-led boycott of white businesses, Champion was banished from Durban for violating the Riotous Assemblies Act. The weakened ICU was itself in danger. By 1930, accused of Communist leanings and affected by the lack of skilled organizers, both branches of the ICU were foundering. Moreover, that year Champion was exiled from Natal.

Champion, however, continued to work for the betterment of the Zulu people. During the 1940s, after his return from exile, he was the founder and provincial president of the Natal branch of the ANC. In 1947 Champion helped to quell a period of violence and unrest in Durban between Africans and Indians.

In his later years Champion was a member of the central committee of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party. In 1975 he died in his home in Durban's Chesterville township.

See also: INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (Vol. V).

Further reading: Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

Chewa Dominant ethnic group of MALAWI who also inhabit parts of ZAMBIA and ZIMBABWE. ChiChewa, the Chewa LANGUAGE, is part of the Bantu grouping of languages.

The Chewa, who trace their ancestry to the Luba region of present-day Republic of the CONGO, faced great difficulties and changes in the 19th century. From the south came the Ngoni, a ZULU offshoot, who used their military might to establish several conquest states that incorporated some of the Chewa people. From the east came militant YAO merchants engaged in the ivory and slave trades that extended from the SWAHILI COAST into the interior.

In the middle of the 19th century Christian MISSIONARIES began to establish a presence among the Chewa. Led by the example of Dr. David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873), the missionaries sought to end the SLAVE TRADE. They also had established mission stations and schools by the 1870s, but these were located mostly to the north of the Chewa-populated areas. In 1889 the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY began to take control of the Chewa homeland, and by 1904 the British government had taken over, establishing the PROTECTORATE of NYASALAND.

African nationalist sentiments developed in earnest when Nyasaland was incorporated into the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION, in 1953. Fearing that the federation would institute the racist APARTHEID policies that were prevalent in SOUTH AFRICA, the Chewa people rallied behind the leadership of ChiChewa-speaker Hastings Kamuzu BANDA (c. 1898–1997) in the drive to end British COLONIAL RULE. Their support helped insure that Banda became prime minister when Nyasaland won its independence, in 1964. Two years later, when the country became the Republic of Malawi, Banda became its first president. As president he promoted the interests of the Chewa, including the use of Chichewa as an official language of Malawi.

While Christianity became a prominent RELIGION among the Chewa, they also continued to engage in older cultural practices that were linked to pre-Christian religious beliefs. These were most notably expressed through elaborate DANCE rituals involving the wearing of symbolic masks. These rituals and other important ceremonies, such as initiations and funerals, were conducted by members of secret dance societies known as Nyau. In this manner, deeply rooted Chewa cultural practices and beliefs persisted throughout the colonial era.

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vols. I, II); CHEWA (Vol. III); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V).

Chilembwe, John (c. 1872–1915) *African Christian leader in Nyasaland (present-day Malawi)*

Born into a YAO family in the southern part of NYASALAND, Chilembwe was educated at the Scottish missionary school in Blantyre. About 1892 he was hired as an assistant by an unconventional British missionary named Joseph Booth (1851–1932). Booth differed from the local Scottish Free Church MISSIONARIES in that he treated Africans as equals, paying them fair wages and taking them on as partners in his mission projects.

In 1897 Booth took Chilembwe to America, helping him enroll at Virginia Theological Seminary and College. In America Chilembwe was exposed to the ideas of empowerment-minded black intellectuals such as Booker T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915) and W. E. B. DU BOIS (1868–1963). Within a few years, however, Chilembwe began to suffer from asthma, and in 1900 he returned to Nyasaland. He married and began serving as a foreign missionary for the National Baptist Convention, a black-run American Christian organization. Upon his return, the people of Nyasaland showed great respect for his intelligence and abilities and flocked to his mission, the Providence Industrial Mission, which he developed into seven schools. Throughout the next decade Chilembwe built up the mission, spreading the message of Christianity and encouraging his nearly 2,000 students to empower themselves through EDUCATION and hard work.

Chilembwe's missionary teachings developed a proto-nationalism among Nyasa people. Nyasaland had become a British PROTECTORATE in 1891, and in 1912 the British administration imposed a hut tax to raise the money needed to run the territory. The tax was a great burden on the Nyasa people, many of whom were forced to work without wages for white settlers to pay their debt. Chilembwe resented this unfair taxation and quietly urged the people of his mission to refuse payment. His attitude turned even more anti-authoritarian at the onset of World War I (1914–18), when fighting between Germany and Britain over control of GERMAN EAST AFRICA spread to northern Nyasaland. Chilembwe could not understand why Nyasa's men were being made to fight for the whites who had taken their land, taxed them unfairly, and reduced them to colonial subjects in their own country. British authorities censored a bitter editorial that he wrote for the *Nyasaland Times,* and Chilembwe and his mission began to be viewed by the British as serious threats to the fragile stability of their protectorate.

Meanwhile Chilembwe began planning a rebellion. It is likely that he knew that his rebellion would not bring down the British administration, but he felt that a symbolic act of resistance was necessary at that time. In January 1915, The Rising, as Chilembwe's rebellion was called, began badly and only got worse. Although they did manage to kill three particularly harsh plantation managers, the rebels failed to secure the arms that they needed; they were easily subdued by British soldiers, who acted quickly and decisively. Not long after the short-lived rebellion Chilembwe was shot and killed by African police as he tried to cross the border into the Portuguese colony of MOZAMBIQUE.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Chimurenga SHONA word meaning "fight" or "struggle," it came to signify a struggle for political and social rights and was applied by Africans fighting to liberate themselves from British COLONIAL RULE in SOUTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE). The word *chimurenga* is believed to originate from stories of the legendary Shona warrior, Sororenzou Murenga. Fighters who demonstrated great abilities were said to fight *chimurenga,* that is, as Murenga fought.

The BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY (BSAC), headed by Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), invaded NDEBELE and Shona lands in 1890, establishing the colony of Southern Rhodesia. The Rozwi state and other Shona kingdoms were in decline, but the Ndebele state of Chief LOBEN-GULA (1836–1894) remained militarily strong. In 1893 the BSAC provoked the Ndebele into a war that ended in their defeat and in Lobengula's death. Within a few years both the Ndebele and the Shona rose in rebellion against the company, which was weakened by the capture of many of its paramilitary police in the JAMESON RAID. The rising, known as the Chimurenga, was led not by the chiefs but by religious leaders. Although it had little chance for success, the Chimurenga was one of the most significant acts of RESISTANCE AND REBELLION against early colonial rule anywhere on the continent. The war ended a year later with a crushing British victory. Rhodes negotiated a settlement with the Ndebele leaders, but he engaged in a ruthless suppression of the Shona.

Mbuya Nehanda was the sister of Chaminuka, a Shona prophet. Nehanda herself prophesied a second Chimurenga, declaring that her "bones would rise again." Her prophecy came to pass nearly one hundred years later, with a second war for liberation, known as the second Chimurenga, breaking out in 1966.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); MWARI (Vol. III); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III).

China and Africa China and Africa have a long history of trade. However, during the colonial period European interests dominated both China and Africa. China's relationship with Africa is thought to have begun in 100 BCE, with solid evidence of trade in the seventh century CE. Between 960 and 1270 trade relations grew between merchants in the Horn of Africa and China. In the 14th century, this culminated with the arrivval of 62 Chinese galleons and 100 auxiliary vessels in MOGADISHU and two other ports. This flotilla of Admiral Zheng He (1371–1433) marked a high point in early Sino-African TRADE AND COMMERCE. However, once the ships returned to China, conservative forces at the emperor's court gained control. These elements saw no need to continue such voyages, and China turned increasingly inward, shutting out the rest of the world.

The 19th century was a period of decline in China. The Industrial Revolution and the Western nations' pursuit of COLONIAL CONQUEST and foreign trade changed China's place in the world. Foreign governments—especially those of the United Kingdom, Russia, Germany, France, and the United States—expanded their influence in China and negotiated favorable treaties.

During this time, thinking that Chinese workers were more productive and trustworthy than Africans, the colonial powers began to use Chinese people as *coolies,* or unskilled laborers, for their expanding empires. As a result, in the late 19th century France and Britain brought Chinese workers to the plantations on the islands of MADAGASCAR, MAURITIUS, and RÉUNION, off Africa's eastern coast, in order to build the colonial ECONOMY. Within a decade of the end of the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902) between 70,000 and 100,000 Chinese laborers were brought to work in the British-owned GOLD mines in SOUTH AFRICA. During this time Germany, too, brought Chinese laborers to its colony in TANGANYIKA to build the central railway.

China continued to suffer from internal unrest and upheaval well into the 20th century. Between 1925 and 1949 the government of nationalist leader Chiang Kai-Shek (1887–1975) made little effort to develop an Africa policy. However, after the Chinese Revolution (1949) and the establishment of the People's Republic of China on the mainland, China's new Communist government sought to make allies in Africa. This change in policy was largely motivated by the opposition of Communist party chairman Mao Zedong (1893–1976) to European colonialism and the growing global influence of the United States. Most importantly, it was a period of Sino-Soviet détente, or relaxation of tensions, in which China hoped to thwart relations between the SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA.

The problem was that in 1949 the only independent African states were EGYPT, ETHIOPIA, LIBERIA, and SOUTH AFRICA. The close Western ties of the first three nations and the racist position of the APARTHEID government in South Africa made such relations impossible. The BANDUNG AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE (1956) served as a turning point. Chinese premier Chou Enlai (1898–1976) used this conference to establish China's first, new diplomatic relationship in Africa, with Egypt. The Marxist charge of NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS across the African continent also served to invigorate African interest in ties with China. When independence came, many new African countries were poised to accept Chinese foreign aid and establish strong diplomatic relations. In all, 45 new African states established relations with China, with only IVORY COAST, MALAWI, ANGOLA, and LESOTHO choosing not to engage the Asian country.

See also: CHINA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); MAO ZEDONG (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. V).

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The Star Raft: China's Encounter with Africa (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

Chokwe   Ethnic and LANGUAGE group of southern Central Africa. The Chokwe were originally seminomadic hunters along the upper Kwango and Kasai rivers. In the 17th and 18th centuries they came to be dominated by the Lunda states of ANGOLA. At the end of the 19th century the Chokwe established a powerful trade network that spanned land from the Congo basin to the Angolan coast. The Chokwe kingdom continued to grow, ultimately coming to dominate the Lunda in a brutal fashion. During this period Chokwe cultural practices expanded, evidenced today by the widespread style of their distinctive ritual masks.

The Chokwe kingdom collapsed under COLONIAL RULE in the early 1900s. Their disenfranchisement during the colonial era left them at the political margins. Today there are more than a million Chokwe speakers. Most are farmers living in either the Congo region or Angola, with about 45,000 in neighboring ZAMBIA.

The Chokwe played an important role in supporting the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, a movement led by Jonas Savimbi (1934–2002) to establish an independent Angola.

See also: CHOKWE (Vols. I, II, III); LUNDA EMPIRE (Vol. III); NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (Vol. V); SAVIMBI, JONAS (Vol. V).

Further reading: Manuel Jordan, *Chokwe!: Art and Initiation Among the Chokwe and Related Peoples* (New York: Prestel, 1998); Manuel Jordan, *Chokwe* (New York: Rosen Publishing, 1997).

Christianity, influence of   When Europeans arrived, African societies had their own individual, indigenous religions, many of which were characterized by belief in a single Creator and a pantheon of lesser gods and ancestors. With the arrival of European explorers, traders, and MISSIONARIES, however, Africans were increasingly exposed to Christian religious denominations, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. Although Catholics had been a presence on the continent for more than 300 years, dating back to Portuguese activities in West Africa, they did not send more missionaries until the latter half of the 19th century. At that time Charles Lavigerie (1825–1892) of France founded the Society of African Missions. Started in ALGERIA, these missions were also known as the White Fathers (1868) and White Sisters (1869).

While earlier Protestant groups had arrived along with explorers and traders in the 19th century, it was the abolition movement in Europe and America that inspired missionaries to return to work in Africa. Toward the end of the century, as the European colonial powers swarmed the continent, increasing numbers of Christian mission stations were established.

Indigenous African religions—as well as Islam—coexisted with the new proselytizing Christian RELIGION. However, Christianity made inroads only in areas where the influence of Islam was not strong. Individuals often became interested in Christianity because their own religions appeared to have failed them, as evidenced by the disruption of their indigenous lifestyles under the impact of the COLONIAL CONQUEST and subsequent COLONIAL RULE. The power of the written word, such as the Scriptures in the Bible, also made a great impression on traditionally non-literate societies.

THINGS FALL APART, a novel by Nigerian author Chinua ACHEBE (1930–   ), describes in detail the arrival and impact of Christianity in Eastern NIGERIA. In the book, indigenous religious beliefs and practices appear increasingly powerless in the face of Christianity, which steadily gains new converts.

While the missionaries attempted to recruit the sons of chiefs and other legitimate community leaders, most of those who flocked to the new religion were among those who never could have achieved high social positions locally. Unbeknownst to them, the first converts were setting themselves up to become the next generation of African leaders under colonial direction. The new Christians learned to speak, read, and write the European LANGUAGE of the colonial power and were educated to take support roles in the colonial administration. The most successful evangelization, however, was accomplished less formally, as individual converts took the new religion with them into the hinterlands, beyond the mission stations, and demonstrated the new religion by example.

Africans did not accept and practice all the precepts of Christianity presented to them. Instead they evaluated Christianity on the basis of their preexisting worldviews, which generally included local variations of indigenous religions. This, in some instances, led to an African form of syncretic religion that blended European Christianity with indigenous religion or with indigenous customs.

The need for Africans to control religious knowledge, along with the suspicion that Europeans were not completely sharing that knowledge, led to the establishment of independent churches. The leaders of these

churches often focused on healing and schooling and came to be seen as prophets by their congregations. The first major African Christian prophet of modern times, a XHOSA speaker named Ntsikana (c. 1760–1820), baptized himself before coming into direct contact with South African missionaries.

Later African prophets who founded Christian-based churches included William Wade HARRIS (c. 1850–1929), in LIBERIA; Simon KIMBANGU (c. 1887–1951), in the present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO; Alice LENSHINA (1924–1978), in present-day ZAMBIA; Isaiah SHEMBE (c. 1870–1935), in SOUTH AFRICA; and John MARANKE (1912–1963), in present-day ZIMBABWE.

The Spread of Christianity Although Christians lived in North Africa during the early Christian period, Islam remained the stronger influence in that region. The settlers, or COLONS, who came to Muslim North Africa reintroduced Catholicism and began a new missionary movement. However, they found few converts among the Muslim population.

The center for the first African-born Protestants in West Africa was FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE. There the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) established a college for training missionaries at FOURAH BAY COLLEGE. This in turn helped the colony become a dissemination point for Protestants like Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891) to establish mission stations in LAGOS, ABEOKUTA, and Onitsha, in present-day Nigeria.

John Chilembwe, seen here performing a baptism ceremony about 1910, led one of many Christian movements that arose in Africa during the colonial period. © *Library of Congress*

In the 1870s New Livingstonia missionaries in East Africa revitalized the church at Lake Nyasa, and by 1900 BUGANDA had become Christian to a significant extent, with both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches gaining converts. Many Ganda (as the people from Buganda call themselves in their Bantu language) then became active in spreading Christianity to neighboring societies.

In South Africa mission-school catechists became political and religious spokespersons for the community as early as 1820. Scots Presbyterians ordained the country's first African minister, Tiyo SOGA (1829–1871), in 1856. By the end of the century there were a number of ordained African ministers in the mission churches. However, African clergy became prevalent only after World War II (1939–45).

The most important indigenous actor in the early spread of Christianity was the catechist. In spite of the fact that catechists typically had minimal literacy, these people of African descent were the unpaid leaders of the congregation. Usually men, the catechists led prayers and hymns, preached the sermon, and were responsible for the upkeep of the church and school buildings. With close ties to the Europeans within the colonial structure, several catechists bore offspring who became leaders of the independent countries of Africa.

The 19th century witnessed a sustained missionary drive, with Bibles, prayer books, hymnbooks, and catechisms being translated into indigenous languages and printed and distributed to local congregations. After focusing exclusively on primary EDUCATION in the 19th century, the missionaries broadened the scope of their work in the 20th century to include secondary education, local hospitals, and clinics.

Christianity in Ethiopia During the 19th century European Christianity also had an influence in independent ETHIOPIA, one of the world's oldest Christian states. In 1830 the Church Missionary Society arrived in TIGRAY and established itself as co-religionists of the ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. Although they were not allowed to penetrate the Ethiopian interior, the CMS missionaries built a rapport with Ethiopian Christians. Ethiopian leaders focused on creating a united front to challenge Islam on the coast. However, the real agenda of the Ethiopian princes was gaining access to Western technology and goods, especially firearms. This came about mainly because Ethiopia's AMHARA-speaking leaders were interested in consolidating their power in the region and were con-

Spread of Christianity in Africa, 1800–1900

Tangier

Tripoli

Mediterranean Sea

Cairo

S A H A R A

Freetown

Lagos

ATLANTIC

OCEAN

São Paulo
de Loanda

Benguela

Mombasa

Dar es Salaam

INDIAN
OCEAN

N

Legend

Areas of Christian missionary
activity, 1840

Areas of Christian missionary
activity, 1880

Christian missionaries routes
of advance

Mainly Islamic areas

Areas where Christianity existed before 1800

Coptic Christianity

Early Catholic missions

Calvinist Christianity

Cape Town

0   750 Miles

0   750 Kms

cerned about the threat posed by a modernized and militarized EGYPT.

Catholic missionaries who came to Ethiopia in the 17th century wanted to eliminate Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, but Protestant missionaries tried to reform it. In 1860 the circulation of bibles by the British and Foreign Bible Society led to a religious movement in ERITREA that was reminiscent of the Reformation in Europe.

Emperor TÉWODROS II (1820–1868), who came to the throne as a reformer, allowed missionaries to distribute the Amharic Bible to replace the ones written in Ge'ez. When he imprisoned some British missionaries, however,

a British military expedition defeated Téwodros's troops, leading to his eventual suicide. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church did not develop a specific missionary organization of its own until 1963. Although its missions were not sent to distant lands, it did use the Amharic language to spread Christianity in present-day Ethiopia as a part of Amharic imperialism.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, V); KONGO KINGDOM (Vols. II, III).

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Church Missionary Society (CMS) Organization

established in 1799 with the goal of spreading Christianity worldwide. Formally known after 1812 as the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, the society was founded in Aldersgate, London, following the mid-18th-century revival of the Church of England (Anglican Church). Other groups interested in missionary work that were formed about the same time included the Baptist Missionary Society (1792) and the LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY (1795). In 1804 the Church Missionary Society (CMS) chose as its original mission field the British colony of SIERRA LEONE. There, following the British abolition of slavery in 1807, the CMS worked extensively among the RECAPTIVES, Africans whom the British Anti-Slavery Squadron freed from slave ships and brought to FREETOWN.

In its first decade the CMS sent only five MISSIONARIES abroad. However, because of the high death toll among its members in Sierra Leone, due mainly to malaria, the CMS considered training Africans for the ministry. To that end, in 1827 it founded a training institution that later became FOURAH BAY COLLEGE. The focus of CMS evangelism was EDUCATION, and each of its mission stations had a primary school attached to it. In 1845 the CMS opened a secondary school for boys (and in 1849, a separate school for girls), catering to Africans hailing from the West African coast. These mission schools were to provide the educational base for the growing number of Sierra Leonean Africans, who, as clergy, served to spread Christianity in Sierra Leone and other British-influenced areas.

Having Africans serving as the principal missionaries was in line with the philosophy of Henry Venn (1796–1873), the CMS general secretary who believed in an in-digenous, self-propagating, self-supporting church. Venn's approach resulted in the creation of the Niger Mission, launched in 1841, staffed mainly by African clergy. Beginning in 1864 the Niger Mission was led by an African bishop, Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891). With 10 priests and 14 catechists working under Crowther, the CMS soon was ministering to more than 600 Christians in the YORUBA-speaking areas of NIGERIA. One of their better-known priests was the Yoruba historian and peace-maker, Samuel JOHNSON (1846–1901).

After Venn's death, in 1873, however, the idea of an indigenous church increasingly gave way to a church controlled by Europeans, reflecting the increasingly colonial nature of the relationships between Europeans and Africans. Thus the CMS BUGANDA mission established by Alexander Mackay (1849–1890), in 1876, was largely run by Europeans.

Despite the volatile political situation in Buganda, especially following the death of Kabaka MUTESA I (c. 1830s–1884), the mission succeeded in converting many to Christianity. It did not, however, actively promote an African clergy. Thus, of the priests serving approximately 100,000 African Anglican Church members, merely 33 of them were Africans. It was only in the DECOLONIZATION era after World War II (1939–45) that the CMS and other missionary societies began to once again embrace Venn's vision of an indigenous African church.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV).

cinema An African film industry with African produc-

ers, directors, actors, and film editors did not exist in Africa before 1960. Because film is a powerful medium of communication, European colonial authorities tended to regulate access to film in their efforts to control information disseminated to their African subjects.

In SOUTH AFRICA, on the other hand, there is a rich history of filmmaking. As early as 1895 South African companies were using the early projection techniques to entertain and inform Boer and British miners in JOHANNESBURG. The first South African narrative film, *The Kimberley Diamond Robbery,* was produced in 1910.

Cinema in British Colonies The Colonial Office of the British Film Institute created the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment in 1935. Through this experiment the British used film to help adult Africans understand and adopt British culture and values. It also was used to disseminate British propaganda during World War II (1939–45).

In 1939 the British established the Colonial Film Unit with branches in different parts of Africa for the purpose of scientific and medical education, war propaganda, and product marketing. Within 10 years the Colonial Film Unit had founded a film school at ACCRA, the capital of the GOLD COAST COLONY. At the school African

students were trained to become assistants to the European production teams working in Africa. The Colonial Film Unit changed its name to Overseas Film and Television Center, in 1955, and began coordinating production units in Africa and providing funds for African filmmakers to purchase film equipment.

Although Britain institutionalized film production in its African colonies, it did not provide adequate cultural education for Africans to become overly interested in film in the postindependence era. Africans rarely got the opportunity to see themselves in the British-produced educational and documentary films, and Britain did not provide feature films through their embassies.

In 1950 the Gold Coast Film Unit produced a film based on a screenplay by John Hearsey entitled *The Boy Kumasenu* (60 minutes, black and white). Directed by Sean Graham, the film took the form of a documentary, using African actors to dramatize the inherently colonial theme of the transition between the traditionalism of so-called tribal Africa and the modern, implicitly European world of the 20th century.

The Gold Coast Film Unit became independent in 1950, but it continued to rely on British companies for postproduction. Moreover, African students received something less than a complete education in filmmaking: Rather than becoming independent directors or producers, students trained at this facility became assistants to Sean Graham, the Film Unit's director. However, at independence Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) nationalized the country's film industry and his new Ghanaian government designed a sophisticated program for national film production.

Cinema in French-speaking Africa Colonies ruled by France and Belgium took separate paths to establishing their film industries. In 1928 the French Assembly passed a law to control film production in the colonies to prevent anticolonial themes. In 1934 the minister for the colonies, Pierre Laval (1883–1945), began enforcing the law and even extended it so that Africans were excluded from participating in film production both in front of and behind the camera. The first French-speaking-African film students were trained at the Institut des Hautes Études Cinématographiques (National Film School) in Paris. When Paulin S. Vieyra (1925–1987), the first African graduate of the school, was denied filming in Africa, he and his friends formed Le Groupe African du Cinéma and made films about Africans in Paris.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s French ethnographer-turned-filmmaker Jean Rouch (1917–   ) and writer and critic Georges Sadoul (1904–1967) influenced France to change its policy toward African involvement in film production. In part because of their efforts, the French administration created a demand for movies by providing feature films at the embassy movie theater (*cinématique*), where Africans could view contemporary European and American films and participate in a post-viewing discussion group with a French discussion leader.

The Belgians, for their part, used the British Colonial Film Unit as a model. In 1936 the Belgian government forbade unauthorized, foreign filmmakers from filming in the BELGIAN CONGO, so that Belgium alone could profit financially from film production in its colony. Belgium's tight control was also related to its desire to be able to determine the content of the ethnographic films being made about the region.

While the Belgian government had established a Board of Censors to approve indigenous participation in film production, in 1945, it prohibited Africans from attending either private or public movie theaters. The following year Catholic MISSIONARIES formed the Congolese Center for Catholic Action Cinema in an attempt to use film to convert Africans to Christianity. A few years later, however, the Film and Photo Bureau division of the Belgian Ministry of Information established a policy for producing films specifically for an indigenous audience. By 1952 a Congolese ciné-club in LEOPOLDVILLE (now Kinshasa) was teaching Africans how to make films.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); CINEMA (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

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cloth and textiles In colonial Africa, as was the case for thousands of years, cloth woven from plant fibers, such as COTTON, or animal hairs, such as wool, was used for garments, blankets, burial shrouds, tents, and the like. Woven cloth could be made even more valuable by adding decorations, such as embroidery. During the 20th century embroidery was increasingly done on sewing machines. In areas where electricity was not available or prohibitively expensive, textile makers used older-style treadle sewing machines.

As trade with Europeans brought manufactured textiles into African markets, cloth increasingly became a

prestige item. Although Africans continued to produce cloth locally, they also bought fabrics produced in European textile mills. The primary reason for buying European textiles was that it was cheaper to buy the fabric than to expend the required amount of time and effort to produce cloth for personal use. In addition, much of the European fabric was made using a batik, or wax-print, process that produced a more durable cloth. After conducting research in Africa, European manufacturers were able to replicate the colors and patterns preferred by specific ethnic groups. The leading producer of fabrics for African consumers was Vlisco Company, a Dutch concern founded in 1846. Vlisco was run by the van Vlissingens, a noted Dutch merchant family, whose producers learned the batik method for dyeing cloth from trading in the Dutch colony of Indonesia. By adopting the batik technique into its manufacturing process, Vlisco was able to dominate the African print-fabric market by the end of the 19th century. In the 20th century Africans incorporated the European batik methods into their own manufacturing process.

For a long time Africa's indigenous cloth has attracted travelers. An example of a textile popular with foreign visitors to Africa is the mud cloth produced in the Republic of MALI. The cloth is woven in strips and sewn together by men. Women then complete the cloth by using organic stains that produce a specific chemical reaction. Generally the mud cloth process uses a leaf solution and a mud dye that has fermented for about a year. The dyeing chemicals come from the iron tannate in the tannic acid from the leaves.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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clothing and dress The colonial era marked the second major revolution in African clothing and dress—the first being the changes that came with the arrival of Islam in the seventh century. Prior to the beginning of the colonial era in the late 19th century, European-style clothing was worn in only a few places in Africa. The BOERS, farmers of Dutch descent who had moved into SOUTH AFRICA

beginning in the mid-17th century, retained their European styles. Also, people in the cosmopolitan Mediterranean ports of ALEXANDRIA, ALGIERS, TUNIS, and TRIPOLI regularly wore European clothing, especially on the occasions when they engaged in commerce with European merchants and traders. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, European styles were increasingly seen throughout the continent.

Following the long process of PACIFICATION and COLONIAL CONQUEST, European colonial administrators began developing a cadre of African professional bureaucrats. Most of these individuals, almost all males, worked in the national or district capital cities and occupied junior-level positions. They were required—sometimes by official rules and sometimes simply by social pressure—to adopt the attire of their white leaders. As a result, African men who hoped to advance within the colonial system abandoned their traditional dress and wore khaki shorts and short-sleeved shirts, similar to those worn by Europeans. In cooler climates, some even wore long pants, long-sleeved shirts, and neckties.

Women, on the other hand, were largely excluded from the urban centers during the colonial era. However, some women did succeed in migrating to the cities, even though it often was illegal and they rarely were able to find work once there. Because they were outside the employment mainstream, these women tended to maintain their customary habits of dress, wearing either Islamic attire or indigenous African clothing. Similarly, women living in rural areas tended to continue wearing whatever had been their traditional clothing before the onslaught of colonialism.

One of the more interesting developments related to African clothing lore concerns *kanga*, a cloth that originally appeared in the 19th century along the Swahili Coast. Since then, *kanga* has evolved into one of the continent's most popular and widely used garments. *Kanga* probably began when Zanzibari women took European kerchiefs and sewed them together into large rectangles. The resulting multicolored cloth quickly became very popular and was named *kanga*, the term for a noisy fowl known for its fancy feathers. During the early 20th century the fabric makers began printing words on the cloth, usually in Kiswahili. These words typically spelled out proverbs or amusing sayings. Today *kanga* is used for everything from headwraps to bodywraps. Babies are swaddled and carried in *kanga*. A woman might even split a piece of *kanga* in two so that she and a best friend can have matching outfits.

Also during the 20th century, European dress became more widespread due to the influence of Christian MISSIONARIES. Europeans tended to impose what amounted to a dress code on those Africans who attended their missions, issuing strictures against traditional garb, which, if it showed certain parts of the body, was considered immoral. A de facto European dress code was also in place at colonial schools in Africa. Furthermore, many African elites attended colleges and universities in Europe or the United States and adopted European dress as part of their attempt to find meaningful employment suitable to their level of education. In this way European dress became a sign of membership in a kind of quasi-elite, a bureaucratic or technocratic class suited for better jobs, housing, and overall living standards.

These same social pressures led many male government officers to go so far as to wear three-piece suits and other garments associated with the rich and powerful of Europe and the United States. This habit grew even more pronounced during the 1950s, when Africans began agitating for independence. By that time many Africans and Europeans alike saw the choice of European-style clothing as a sign of Africans' willingness and ability to take over the jobs of the colonial rulers.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vol. IV); CLOTHING AND DRESS (Vols. I, II, III, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Hildi Hendrickson, *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

cocoa (cacao) Major cash crop of the West African forest zone during the colonial period. The cocoa bean is the seed of the cacao tree (*Theobroma cacao*), which is indigenous to the Americas. The explorer Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) introduced cocoa beans to Europe, carrying them with him when he returned to Spain after his last voyage to the West Indies in 1502–04.

Seen here in 1958 on a plantation near Accra, Ghana, workers split cocoa pods and remove the seeds. © *Ghana Information Service/Library of Congress*

The growth of cocoa as a cash crop was directly linked to the development of candy manufacturing in the 1820s in Europe and the United States. By 1879 smooth chocolate became the standard, and manufacturers such as the Hershey Company of Pennsylvania developed a highly profitable candy business by combining locally produced milk with sugar from Cuba and cocoa that increasingly came from West Africa.

In the late 19th century the center of cocoa production shifted from Latin America to the Portuguese plantations on the islands of SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE, off the West African coast. By 1905 these islands had become the world's principal producers of cocoa. However, individual African farmers in the GOLD COAST COLONY (present-day GHANA) had begun to experiment with planting cocoa in 1879, and in 1891 they started to export it. By the 1920s the Gold Coast led the world in cocoa production.

Cocoa was a highly profitable enterprise. Between 1900 and 1939, production in the Gold Coast increased eightfold from 100,000 to nearly 800,000 tons (91,000 to 726,000 metric tons). Cocoa production spread to NIGERIA and IVORY COAST, which also became major producers. Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993), who served as president of Ivory Coast from 1960 to 1993, started his climb to political power in the 1940s by organizing his fellow cocoa planters.

By 1960 Africa produced three-fourths of the world's cocoa. Over the rest of the century, however, its share fell as other regions began to export cocoa in significant amounts. By the end of the 20th century Africa's world market share fell to about half of the 2.5 million tons (2.3 million metric tons) exported annually. By that time Ivory Coast had also surpassed Ghana as Africa's leading exporter of cocoa.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, III, IV, V); CASH CROPS (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Sara S. Berry, *Cocoa, Custom, and Socio-Economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1975).

coffee An important cash crop in Africa beginning in the colonial era. Coffee is indigenous to Africa. It gets is name from the Kaffa region of ETHIOPIA, where one variety, *coffea arabica,* was first domesticated. By the mid-19th century coffee had become a popular beverage in both Europe and the United States, with steadily increasing consumer demand. However, despite its African origins and its continued popularity as a drink in Ethiopia, Latin American producers supplied as much as 95 percent of the world's coffee at that time.

Coffee production on a commercial scale in Africa did not take root until the late 19th century, when the continent fell under COLONIAL RULE. At that time coffee became one of the many CASH CROPS that European colonial governments promoted in an effort to develop ex-

port-generated income for their colonies. While African farmers in the GOLD COAST COLONY rejected coffee in favor of COCOA as a cash crop, coffee became the leading export of IVORY COAST. Early in the 20th century European SETTLERS in KENYA also raised coffee and prevented Africans from growing it.

Coffee production expanded rapidly in Africa after World War II (1939–45). By the 1960s the crop accounted for half or more of the total EXPORTS of ANGOLA, BURUNDI, Ethiopia, RWANDA, and UGANDA. By 2000 Africa produced nearly 20 percent of the world's coffee.

Coffee spread from Ethiopia to Yemen, where more systematic cultivation began. From the Arabian Peninsula it spread to Turkey, where a crude form of coffee as it is drunk today was first brewed from beans roasted over open fires. In the 1700s a French military officer took a single coffee plant to the Caribbean island of Martinique, and within 50 years coffee became a major cash crop there. From Martinique, the industry spread throughout Latin America.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, III, IV, V); COFFEE (Vol. II); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. V); MONO-CROP ECONOMIES (Vol. IV).

Cold War and Africa The Cold War was a period of international tension and superpower rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union (United Soviet Socialist Republic, USSR). It lasted approximately from the end of World War II (1939–45) through the early 1990s. The Cold War influenced the international political scene in Africa and across the globe.

The United States and the USSR, allies during World War II, emerged in the postwar era as the two great superpowers but with differing ideological aims. These differences affected all aspects of world politics, including Africa.

Within a few years of the end of the Second World War, several conflicts erupted as a direct result of the rising tensions between the United States and the USSR. One such conflict was the building of the Egyptian ASWAN DAM and its aftermath. Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), viewed the dam project as essential for his country's economic development and modernization. He believed that the dam would generate electricity, improve river TRANSPORTATION, and expand the land area under cultivation through a major irrigation project. The United States, Britain, and the World Bank offered roughly $255

million in loans for the project. However, the United States withdrew its aid when EGYPT recognized the Communist government of China and reportedly received a zero-interest-loan offer from the USSR.

In retaliation for the withdrawal of Western aid, in July 1956 Egypt seized the SUEZ CANAL. Although the canal belonged to Egypt, it was operated by the Suez Canal Company, which was controlled by British and French interests. Both Britain and France believed that Egypt could not effectively run the canal and were keen on the use of force in order to guarantee its return. While the United States opted to remain out of the conflict, Israel became involved on the British and French side.

Israel began an attack on Egypt in October. When British and French paratroopers landed soon after, Egyptian forces retreated from the canal zone to protect their cities. Under pressure from the United States, and concerned that Egypt would move further into the Soviet camp, Britain called for a cease-fire early in November. As a result Egypt maintained control of the Suez Canal and began exacting tolls from passing ships.

Another important development during the early years of the Cold War that directly affected Africa was the emergence of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM). Founded in 1955 as an outgrowth of the BANDUNG AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE held in Indonesia, it came to involve most African states as they gained independence from COLONIAL RULE. Nasser, Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961), and other key leaders in the African independence movements were active in the NAM.

As a byproduct of the Cold War environment the NAM offered several attractive options for its members. First, it was a disinterested or "neutral" liaison for solving conflicts between the two superpowers. Second, the NAM assisted members in developing both non-capitalist and non-communist approaches to domestic policies. And, further, the NAM permitted member countries to receive developmental aid from both superpower blocs.

In the 1960s, when African nations across the continent moved out from under colonial domination, conflicts that divided people along ideological lines would become even more acute. As a result the Cold War came to have a much greater impact on Africa in the following years.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); NONALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V); POLITICAL SYSTEMS (Vol. V); SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM (Vol. V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

colon   Term adopted from the French word meaning "settler." *Colon* originally referred to a person, usually a farmer, who went to live in an area that his or her government wanted to control or to dominate. Later the word became the root of the word *colonizer* and was also applied to an administrator of a colony.

In terms of policy, the colons found themselves caught between their home governments and the indigenous people in the regions where they settled. The treatment of the colons by their governments was arbitrary: Sometimes it benefited the government to protect the colons, and at other times it benefited the government to oppress them, just as the colons oppressed the indigenous people. In some cases children of colons were not considered first-class citizens of their home countries even though their parents were citizens in good standing.

ALGERIA and TUNISIA had the largest concentration of colons in French colonial Africa. Their English counterparts were concentrated in SOUTH AFRICA, SOUTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZIMBABWE), and, to a lesser extent, KENYA. Portuguese settlers were primarily in colonial ANGOLA and MOZAMBIQUE, while Italians were settlers in LIBYA and ERITREA and Belgians in the BELGIAN CONGO. Most of colonial Africa, however, lacked significant settler populations.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV).

colonial conquest   Process by which the European nations invaded and conquered the peoples of the African continent for the purpose of national aggrandizement and economic domination. For the most part the race to acquire colonies took place between 1880 and the outbreak of World War I (1914–18).

During the 19th century Europeans sought out raw materials and mineral wealth from Africa to fuel their INDUSTRIALIZATION. They also looked for markets in which they could create a demand for their manufactured goods. The competition was the greatest between Britain and France, which in the 18th century had fought each other over colonial empires in North America and India. By the 1850s Britain was already said to have "an empire on which the sun never set," and France was striving to match it.

The competition among European industrial nations for raw materials and markets led to the PARTITION of the African continent at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85). By this agreement the European colonizers claimed exclusive control over the coastal areas with which they had trade treaties, but they had to bring the interior regions under their control before they could declare possession.

In addition to commercial motivations, Europeans also developed social and cultural agendas for partitioning the African continent. To analyze social relationships, they began framing human interactions using the biological theories found in *Origin of the Species,* a landmark scientific study by Charles Darwin (1809–1882). Thus, they developed a pseudo-scientific racism that placed the white, industrialized nations at the top of civilization and

Local police officers, like those in this unit undergoing a military-style inspection in Nigerian, were an important feature of the European colonial system. Undated photo. © *Wide World/New York Times*

the dark-skinned, non-industrialized Africans at the bottom. This promoted the idea that Europeans had the responsibility of transmitting what they considered to be their "superior" culture to those whom they deemed as having no culture. This notion, known as the WHITE MAN'S BURDEN, was embodied in a poem of that name written by Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) in 1899. Many negative stereotypes were thus created at this time as a rationale for Europeans' conquest of Africa.

The combination of commerce, Christianity, and cultural domination began with European traders and was followed by the Christian MISSIONARIES. Many Christian missions became centers of trade, like the Niger Mission of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY at Onitsha, in present-day NIGERIA. Traders and MISSIONARIES called increasingly upon their home governments for support as they angered the indigenous people. Hence, these governments got into the business of the so-called civilizing mission. Believing that colonial control would facilitate Christian

conversion on the continent, missionaries acted politically in terms of their own best interest and that of their home countries. Reverend C. D. Helm of the LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY, for example, was the advisor to Chief LOBENGULA (1836–1894) of the NDEBELE in present-day ZIMBABWE. In 1888, when Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) sent a treaty for the chief to sign, Helm advised the chief to sign away his land and the mineral rights, thereby benefiting the Europeans. Ultimately, though, the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY had to resort to armed force in 1893 to defeat Lobengula and his armies. This defeat spelled the end of the Ndebele kingdom.

Throughout the continent European nations made treaties and resorted to military force in order to weave a tapestry of European domination over the continent. African resistance was often fierce, and at times African armies could defeat Europeans armies, as at the Battle of ISANDLWANA (1879). In almost every instance, however, European military power and resources proved to be too

great, and they ultimately prevailed. As the saying at the time went, "Whatever happens, we have got the Gatling gun and they have not." It was only ETHIOPIA, which inflicted a decisive defeat on an Italian army at the Battle of ADOWA (1896), that managed to escape the process of colonial conquest.

See also: ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS (Vol. IV); ANGLO-ZULU WAR (Vol. IV); BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); OMDURMAN, BATTLE OF (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Bruce Vandervort, *Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1830–1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

colonialism, influence of Seventy years of COLONIAL RULE had a negative effect on Africans and their ability to manage the countries they inherited at independence. Beyond the fact that their countries were arbitrarily carved out of the continent, Africans have wrestled with the impact of the colonial legacy in many areas. The influence of colonialism can be seen in particular in the areas of administration, the ECONOMY, infrastructure, and society and culture in general.

Administration of the Colonies At independence Europeans expected the emerging African states to practice democracy. However, these same Europeans who practiced democracy at home acted in a highly authoritarian and sometime dictatorial manner in administering their African colonial possessions. Those Africans who pursued a colonial EDUCATION to work in the government did not learn about democracy in their textbooks nor did they learn about it in actual practice. Only Africans who were fortunate enough to study outside of the continent were able to gain a true understanding of the democratic process.

Africans who worked in the colonial bureaucracy were always assistants to the decision makers and did not experience the actual decision-making process until independence. At independence those within the European-trained African elite moved into governmental positions without the proper training for running government business. As a result they generally defaulted to governing their new countries in the same way they had learned under colonial rule.

Although political activity was a hallmark of European culture, the colonial governments did not promote political representation in Africa until after World War II (1939–45). Even at this late date the Europeans hoped to thwart independence by continuing a "divide and conquer" practice by promoting political parties on the basis of individual ethnic groups. Consequently, broad-based political parties were not widespread on the continent. Democracy was not common in most African societies, and a lack of exposure to democratic concepts and practical training resulted in bad decisions of governance. This in turn has been a major cause of Africans remaining economically dependent on the Western world. Because they are not natural to African systems of governance, POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS were largely ineffective. This has resulted in parties that either find it impossible to compromise or that produce one-party states. The idea that an authoritarian figure knows how to run the government effectively and efficiently has been expressed in the many military coups that have occurred since independence.

Colonial Culture When Europeans arrived on the continent they encountered many diverse African cultures. However, the Europeans did not appreciate African culture, largely because it was not Christian. Because of their racial and religious views, the European colonialists regarded African culture as inferior in the same way as they regarded Africans themselves to be biologically, morally, and intellectually inferior.

> **European assertions of the inferiority of Africans often took the form of claims that Africans were childlike. This was a frequent feature of colonial-era literature about Africa, as in the unenlightened writing of England's George A. Henty (1832–1902). As a newspaper reporter, he covered African events such as the ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS of 1873–74 before he turned to writing adventure stories for boys. A character in one of his books states that Africans "are just like children . . . always laughing or quarrelling . . . The intelligence of an average Negro is about equal to that of a European child of 10 years old."**

Europeans imposed their own cultural norms in Africa. The French attempted to remove the cultural identity of the indigenous population through a policy of *assimilation,* which intended to change Africans into French people. The British, on the other hand, insisted on African acceptance of English LANGUAGE and EDUCATION in order to work for the colonial government. Because of policies such as these, Africans lost sight of much of their own cultures as they were co-opted into a colonial culture through European education.

The particular European languages of the colonizers became the official languages of their colonies. Thus, to land high-paying jobs in either the private or public sectors, Africans needed to learn European languages. The official language was taught in either mission or secular

schools. In either case students learned the skills and knowledge, albeit a second-class knowledge, necessary to perform the tasks required of them in the government bureaucracy and in business. Education in many colonies was limited to males, often the sons of chiefs, selected by the Europeans for future subordinate positions within the colonial administration. Later, the number of both males and females attending elementary school increased. Some proceeded on to secondary school, and a very few went further on to university in the mother country. This last group became the elites of the country because they had assimilated into European culture. Learning the right European language and receiving a western-style education bestowed status.

The European missionaries brought Christianity with them. Students who attended mission schools were indoctrinated into the Christian denomination and were taught the "necessary skills" for life under a colonial regime. Missionary education generated the cadre of African clerics who would continue to spread the gospel and their understanding of the European culture in the rural areas. At independence most African nations retained the European language and educational system, and today nations in West, Central, and southern Africa are predominantly Christian.

Colonial Economy Through long-distance trade, precolonial Africa provided labor, raw materials, and mineral wealth that enriched the economies of Europe. After the general abolition of slavery in the 19th century the development of the so-called legitimate trade provided raw materials such as GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) and PALM OIL for European industry. In turn, Europe produced manufactured goods that were sold in African markets. During the colonial period the export orientation of the economy intensified, but Africans now had to trade with only one specific colonial power. Although the Europeans promised to "civilize" Africans, they did not promise to promote INDUSTRIALIZATION. As a rule the European governments intended to keep the populations in their African colonies economically underdeveloped and dependent.

In addition to mineral wealth the Europeans encouraged production of CASH CROPS such as RUBBER for industrial uses and COTTON for cloth. In colonies where there were not enough resources to grow the cash crop, workers were forced to migrate to urban areas and other colonies to earn wages to pay taxes in the newly contrived cash economy. Although slavery had been abolished, other forms of service substituted for it. Forced labor became a part of the structures of taxation. At independence African economies still depended on the industrialized nations and were unable to industrialize themselves.

Colonial Infrastructure Europeans contributed the expertise to the construction of infrastructure, but Africans paid for these technological improvements with their taxes. In many cases, because of harsh working conditions and tyrannical management, Africans also paid for the improvements with their lives. Colonial infrastructure centered on the ability to simplify and speed up the extraction of raw materials and minerals from the interior. TRANSPORTATION was the focus with the building of port facilities for coastal cities and roads and railroads that ran from the interior collection points to the coast. Consequently roads and railroads were specifically for economic and not social use. Communication, electricity, and the water supply were important to the capital cities, where Europeans dominated the upper levels of society. At independence colonial infrastructure remained poor, and few states had the ability to maintain it or expand it to meet the needs of the people.

Colonial Society The European-dominated relationship between the colonizers and the colonized strongly impacted precolonial social structures and relationships. European policies brought about the relocation of African males to the urban areas. However, the families of the men had to remain on their homesteads, which in many cases were a great distance away; the jobs were for men only. Consequently, at independence, office secretaries and clerks, hotel housekeeping staff, personal servants, waiters, and shopkeepers all were men. As an illustration of the disproportionate percentages of African men and women in urban areas, between 1934 and 1956 the percentage of males in the urban African population of SALISBURY (today's Harare) hovered between 85 and 91 percent. Many women remaining in the rural areas became female heads of household without the benefit of their husband's labor and sometimes without benefit of his wages.

> Dress styles were another area where European culture had a major impact on Africans. Photographs from the early 20th century often showed members of the African elite dressed in the fashions of the Victorian era.

Europeans stressed EDUCATION as a way to have a job in the colonial private and public sectors, and Africans who aspired to a better standard of living above that of peasant farmer or unskilled laborer became very focused on obtaining an adequate education. Those people who were hired to work in the formal economy had to finish secondary school. However, many rural males who did not complete secondary education also came to the cities in search of jobs. Many of these people were self-employed in the informal economy. Without prospects, they

lived in shantytowns adjacent to the city. As more men brought families to the city, more girls attended school, adding to the educated job pool, except that women were not allowed to have jobs in the formal economy. Women were relegated to the informal economy as self-employed in the service industries such as market traders, cooks, hairdressers, or in the illegal trades such as prostitution.

At independence the structure of colonial society remained very much in place, with the exception of more women being used in the workforce. Those who were educated were paid less than their male counterparts, those with minimal education performed low-paying jobs as secretaries, and those who were not educated remained in the informal economy.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); BRITAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV) FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GENDER IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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colonial rule   Prior to the second half of the 19th century Africans ruled themselves. There were exceptions to be sure—in ALGERIA, parts of SOUTH AFRICA, and small pockets of European control such as FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE and LUANDA, ANGOLA. In addition, there were many cases in which Africans had participated with Europeans as equals in long-distance trade networks.

This changed with the onset of the Industrial Revolution, as the nations of Europe sought greater control over Africa and its NATURAL RESOURCES. This desire for greater control of the continent initially resulted in a rash of haphazard land grabbing and a burgeoning amount of conflict among the colonial powers. Needing to provide a structure to their efforts, the colonial powers decided to meet in what was called the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85). There they formally divided Africa among themselves with little regard for the needs or desires of the indigenous population of the continent. Europeans then spent the next 20 years engaged in COLONIAL CONQUEST. In an effort to control the people of the lands they conquered, colonial administrators implemented various forms of colonial rule.

French Rule and Assimilation France initially pursued colonization with the idea that it would "civi-lize" the people of the lands it conquered. The plan was to gradually introduce Africans to French culture with the goal that they would eventually become French citizens and an integral part of the "mother country." This concept of *assimilation* required Africans to abandon their own culture and adopt that of the French. French missionary and secular EDUCATION, in which an African child might stand and recite, in French, a history lesson that began "My ancestors, the Gauls…" provided the avenue toward citizenship.

The policy of assimilation largely failed. Prior to World War II (1939–45) only a few Africans from Algeria and the QUATRE COMMUNES of present-day SENEGAL succeeded in becoming citizens with voting rights in France. This was largely because these two colonial possessions were considered an extension of mainland France. Africans residing in French-controlled land outside these two areas were considered French subjects and had no rights as citizens.

French Rule and Association As French colonial interests increased and the process of assimilation stagnated, France abandoned the idea of assimilation and replaced it with a similar concept called *association.* This theory of governance allowed Africans to keep their indigenous culture but encouraged them to have a sense of pride and love for France as a mother country. The concept of association had less lofty goals for the relationship between France and its African colonies. As a result, France ceased providing Africans an opportunity to gain French citizenship.

Direct Rule   Direct rule was another model for colonial governance in Africa. France, for example, established centralized administrations in urban centers that later became colonial capital cities. From these central points they would disseminate French culture, impose a foreign form of governance, and apply policies that would divide the indigenous peoples to lessen the possibility of organized RESISTANCE AND REBELLION.

Direct rule allowed the governments in Europe to enforce policies within their colonial possessions at a local level. In FRENCH WEST AFRICA, for example, the governor-general based in DAKAR took his orders directly from the minister of colonies in Paris. The governor-general would then pass these orders to a lieutenant-governor in each of the colonies in French West Africa. Colonies were further subdivided into *cercles* (districts) governed by a *commandant de cercle* (district commissioner). After receiving his orders, the *commandant de cercle* would then communicate directives to local chiefs, who in turn enforced the rules, initially made in France, on the local population.

The French desired their colonies to be self-sufficient and eventually return a profit to France and its people. In an effort to achieve this economic benefit, the French instituted colonial TAXATION. This forced Africans to acquire currency. To do this, some produced CASH CROPS or

other resources valued by France. Others engaged in wage LABOR. Although SLAVERY had been abolished in Europe, the French required individuals to provide a certain amount of labor as part of their tax burden, forcing Africans to work for public projects such as building roads and railroads.

Company Rule The colonial powers of Europe did not always take a full interest in the governance of their possessions. Some governments granted vast tracts of land to European CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES, which used the land to harvest natural resources such as RUBBER and PALM OIL. Other companies received MINING concessions or were contracted to improve colonial infrastructure by constructing harbor facilities and railways. In order to conduct their business, the concessionaire companies, at their own expense, established and administered a system of government over the regions they controlled. They also set up a system of taxation and labor recruitment, which resulted in numerous abuses of the indigenous populations.

Indirect Rule Britain, meanwhile, largely practiced a form of governance known as indirect rule. Under this system the British integrated indigenous African rulers into the structure of the colonial administration, making them intermediaries between the British district commissioners and the colonial subjects. Although the British taught Africans the ways of British governance, they did not believe that Africans would assimilate British culture. The benefit of this method of colonial rule was that Britain did not require as many colonial officers to oversee the work of the colony. However, there were many cases in which the indigenous people, such as the IGBO, did not have one single leader but relied instead on a system similar to a direct democracy. To make this group fit into their colonial model, the British appointed chiefs to act as intermediaries for the people. Africans frequently viewed these appointees as illegitimate rulers who merely did the bidding of the colonial powers.

In his 1922 book, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa,* Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) stated that the mission of the British Empire was "for liberty and self-development on no standardized lines . . . Such liberty and self-development can be best secured to the native population by leaving them free to manage their own affairs through their own rulers, proportionately to their degree of advancement, under the guidance of the British [administrative] staff, and subject to the laws and policy of the [British] administration."

British colonial governors frequently empowered local chiefs or appointees to collect taxes for the colony's coffers. Sometimes indigenous rulers misappropriated revenues. The British introduced a Native Court system to which people could bring their disputes and the Native Authority system to police the indigenous population. The Native Authority and Native Court systems, however, did not reflect indigenous law and custom, but rather the laws and customs imposed by the British.

Settler Rule While there were plenty of Europeans who traveled to Africa with the intent of someday returning to Europe, many European SETTLERS left their homes with the intent to remain in Africa permanently. Settler colonies were found in KENYA, NORTHERN RHODESIA and SOUTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA and ZIMBABWE, respectively), South Africa, Algeria, Angola, MOZAMBIQUE, ERITREA, and SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA). Settlers frequently alienated the indigenous people from their lands and forced them to work as wage laborers to pay taxes. There were also many instances of forced labor. These European immigrants demanded that special rights and protection be provided by colonial governments. The government applied harsh and racist policies toward the indigenous Africans to protect the interests of the outnumbered settlers. Later events in South Africa's history, most notably the institution of the APARTHEID system, illustrate this phenomenon quite clearly.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Comoros (Comoro Islands) Archipelago of four islands and several islets in the western Indian Ocean, 180 miles (290 km) off the coast of East Africa. Reflecting the unique position of the islands at the crossroads of Indian Ocean trade routes—which link Africa, Asia, and Arabia—Comorans are of diverse origins. Over the last 14 centuries, settlers from Indonesia, MADAGASCAR, the SWAHILI COAST of East Africa, Arabia, and Europe have left an imprint on the Comoro Islands, as have the many enslaved workers who either worked on the islands' plantations or

passed through Comoros en route to another destination. Portugal was the first European nation to establish contact with the islands, in 1505.

In 1841 France established a formal presence on the island of Maore (called Mayotte by the French). By 1886 the other islands of Mwali (Mohéli), Njazidja (Grande Comore), and Nzwani (Anjouan) had become French protectorates.

In 1908 the administration of the Comoro Islands became the responsibility of the governor general of Madagascar, a neighboring Indian Ocean island nation to the south, which was also under French colonial control. Although most of the islands' lands are poorly suited to anything but subsistence AGRICULTURE, French and Shirazi Arab settlers managed large plantations. During the colonial period the Comoro Islands exported commodities such as ylang-ylang essence (used in the manufacture of perfume), vanilla, cloves, and COCOA. Comoros became a French overseas territory in 1947, giving it the right to representation in the French National Assembly, and the following year it shed its administrative ties to Madagascar. Local autonomy was granted in 1957, but the following year Comorans voted resoundingly to remain a French territory.

See also: COMOROS (Vols. I, II, III, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SHIRAZI ARABS (Vol. II).

concessionaire companies Privately owned European companies given authority by their native governments to establish control over and manage African colonial territories. European colonial powers made wide use of concessionaire companies, especially in the early stages of their efforts to carve out spheres of influence on the continent. These private companies, such as the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY, the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY, and the German East Africa Company, were granted the right to establish control over large tracts of land in regions with valuable agricultural or mineral resources. These companies in turn profited from their investments by securing raw materials for industrial production in Europe. They gathered the available raw materials, created markets for European manufactured goods, and introduced the use of currency. They also established military and political control and administered their territories at their own expense. However, because the companies were interested in short-term profits, they generally did not invest in infrastructure necessary to generate long-term returns.

Once the era of COLONIAL RULE was fully underway, European governments preferred to rule directly and revoked the rights of companies to administer and police territory. However, the companies often continued to operate, owning mineral rights or controlling vast tracts of land on which they grew CASH CROPS for export. The emphasis thus

shifted from establishing territorial claims during the era of PARTITION to developing the colonial economies.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV).

Congo, Democratic Republic of the (Congo-Kinshasa)

Congo, Democratic Republic of the (Congo-Kinshasa) Present-day country located in Central Africa measuring approximately 905,400 square miles (2,345,000 sq km). Located south of the Congo River, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has a short Atlantic Ocean coastline just south of the Angolan enclave of Cabinda. The country borders the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, the Republic of the SUDAN, UGANDA, RWANDA, BURUNDI, TANZANIA, and ZAMBIA, as well as ANGOLA and the Republic of the CONGO. Among the peoples who inhabited the region prior to the colonial era were the Luba, Lunda-Chokwe, Mongo, Yaka, Pende, and Azande.

Colonial Era: The Congo Free State and Belgian Congo By the middle of the 19th century the Congo River had become an important commercial waterway, and control of it therefore became increasingly important to the colonial interests of both Britain and France. In 1885 Belgian king LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) proclaimed his own African colony, naming it the CONGO FREE STATE. In 1908, the public exposure of human-rights abuses forced Leopold to turn the colony over to the Belgian government. It was then known as the BELGIAN CONGO until it became independent, in 1960.

Leopold's acquisition of the Congo was formalized by the BERLIN CONFERENCE of 1884–85. At that time the major European powers granted Leopold's International Congo Association sovereign power over the region. The writer and explorer Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904) played a key role in gaining international recognition of Leopold's claims on the basis of his 1879–84 expedition in the Congo basin, which Leopold sponsored. Leopold later convinced the Belgian government to make him the sole recognized authority over the vast area.

An early-20th-century description of LEOPOLDVILLE, the major commercial center of the Congo Free State, noted: "Trade is the life of Leopoldville. In the warehouses we see along the beach are stored rubber, ivory, palm oil, COFFEE, COCOA, lumber." This trade, however, benefited Europeans considerably and the African population very little, if at all. The colonial authorities often resorted to violence to obtain these commodities in the form of colonial TAXATION or compulsory labor for the state.

In 1960, as Congolese independence approached, people took to the streets of Leopoldville in celebration. © *UPI/New York World-Telegram & Sun Collection/Library of Congress*

With his territorial claims and personal authority solidified, Leopold then faced the tasks of gaining actual control of the land and making the colony profitable. Taking physical command brought Leopold and his agents into direct conflict with African rulers. The eastern third of Leopold's realm, for example, was controlled by the states in the trading federation controlled by Arab-Swahili trader, TIPPU TIP (c. 1830–1905). Realizing that he would need a large, armed force to take effective control of regions like these, Leopold established a colonial army, known as the Force Publique, composed of conscripted African soldiers and European officers. This armed force became a key element in Leopold's colonial rule.

By about 1887 Tippu Tip's influence in the region had declined, and he was forced to acknowledge Leopold's sovereignty. Leopold also came into conflict with other African rulers. One of the most notable of these was M'SIRI (c. 1830–1891), a NYAMWEZI trader who had established a kingdom through conquest over the people in the mineral-rich Katanga province in the southern Congo. Leopold's troops moved against his state and, in the course of negotiations between the two groups, M'siri was murdered. This opened the entire southern part of the Congo to mineral exploitation.

As in Katanga, Leopold's conquest of the Congo was a brutal process—and an expensive one. To recoup the tremendous outlay of personal funds he made, Leopold imposed heavy taxes and labor demands on the local population. As another means of raising money, he proclaimed that all lands not directly occupied by Africans belonged to the state. He then granted huge tracts of land for development by CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES. These companies used coerced labor to produce CASH

CROPS, which generated income for the state. COTTON and PALM OIL were the most immediate sources of wealth. But they were quickly replaced in importance by RUBBER, which grew wild. Of crucial importance to automobile production and other modern industries, RUBBER quickly became a vital product for the Congo, with EXPORTS growing from 110 tons (100 m tons) in 1890 to 6,614 tons (6,000 m tons) in 1901.

Leopold claimed to rule the Congo in a beneficent manner, promoting Christianity and EDUCATION. However, the truth was quite different. While both Protestant and Catholic MISSIONARIES were active, their work was a veneer that, for a short time, covered up the harsh realities of life for ordinary Congolese. Seeing the situation firsthand during his own experiences in Africa, the novelist Joseph Conrad (1857–1924) described the horrors of the Congo in his novel, *Heart of Darkness* (1902). Conrad's descriptions of what was happening in the Congo were so shocking that they have struck many readers—then and now—as being allegorical or symbolic rather than realistic. As a result, it was several more years before the true state of affairs in the Congo became widely known. It was then that E. D. Morel (1873–1924) and his Congo Reform Association, among other individuals and organizations, provided irrefutable information and generated sufficient international pressure to force King Leopold to turn over the Congo to Belgium, in 1908, which then ruled it as the BELGIAN CONGO until 1960.

In 1906 E. D. Morel published *Red Rubber: The Story of the Rubber Slave Trade Flourishing on the Congo,* which exposed and condemned the brutality of the Free State's rubber-collection regime. He specifically coined the term "red rubber" to connote the bloodshed involved.

Once in control, Belgium consolidated the colony into four semi-autonomous administrative provinces. Like Britain, Belgium tried to incorporate local African leaders to help administer its colony. However, the Belgian style of indirect rule did not make provisions for Congolese leaders to become more involved in the colonial government. As a result Belgium sent thousands of officials to settle in the Congo's administrative centers, including Leopoldville (now Kinshasa), STANLEYVILLE (now Kisangani), and ELIZABETHVILLE.

The resources that were major export items during Leopold's rule—especially rubber, ivory, and palm products—remained important trade items under Belgian administration as well. When world rubber prices dropped, however, the Congo's rubber industry trailed off. This de-

velopment also scaled back the widespread abuse that both corporations and the state employed to coerce Africans to perform the backbreaking work to harvest rubber for export.

After World War I (1914–18) the administration required Africans to produce agricultural products. Some, such as cotton, were grown for export. Others, such as rice, were grown to feed the settlers in the colony. In order to make its agricultural programs more efficient, the administration relocated thousands of Africans to indigenous farming settlements and imposed high production quotas. MINING, however, was the core of Congo's economy by the 1920s, with DIAMONDS and COPPER becoming the primary products. By the 1930s UNION MINIÈRE du Haut-Katanga, founded in 1906, was the world's largest copper-producing company. As in other parts of the continent, Africans were encouraged—or even coerced directly or indirectly by taxation—to leave their homes and take jobs in the mines. As a result Africans became the primary workforce in the income-producing mines, with Europeans providing supervision.

Although administration by the Belgian government put an end to the worst of the abuses seen during the rule of Leopold II, the Congo remained a relatively harsh and brutal colony. Education was limited, with little available to Africans beyond the most basic elementary level. Indeed it was not until the 1950s that the first universities were founded in the colony. The Belgian administration retained an equally firm control in the political arena, preventing even its own white colonial residents from taking part in elections until the late 1950s.

In spite of the repressive atmosphere, nationalism remained alive in the Congo. During the 1920s the religious movement of Simon KIMBANGU (c. 1887–1951) gained particular strength among the people of the colony. Proclaiming himself a prophet, Kimbangu assailed European cultural and religious institutions. Believing Kimbangu and his growing number of followers to represent a significant threat, the colonial authorities had him arrested in 1921. In spite of the Belgian actions, Kimbanguism survived, feeding increasing anti-Belgian and anti-European feelings among the people.

While nationalist feelings slowly continued to grow, during World War II (1939–45) the Congo remained loyal to the free Belgian government, even after it was defeated by Germany and was forced into exile. Pro-independence activists reemerged, however, in the postwar years. In response, Belgium launched what it called a Thirty-Year Plan for the gradual institution of Congolese self-government. Although the plan had widespread support within Belgium itself, it had little backing among Congolese nationalists, especially Joseph Kasavubu (1913–1969), leader of the ABAKO party, and the more leftist-oriented Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961). As other neighboring former colonies gained their independence, the calls for Con-

golese liberation grew louder and more insistent. By January 1959 rioting broke out, and very quickly the Belgian authorities became unable to control the situation. Within a year a conference in Brussels announced that Congo would become independent on June 30, 1960. Within two weeks of independence, however, a mutiny among officers in the police and armed forces plunged the new nation into what became known as the Congo Crisis, a period of instability and civil discord that was ended only by the intervention of the United Nations.

In 1971 Congolese dictator Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko (1930–1997) "re-Africanized" the geographical names of the Belgian Congo. For example, he renamed his country *Zaire;* Leopoldville became *Kinshasa;* Stanleyville became *Kisingani;* and Elizabethville became *Lubumbashi.*

See also: CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V); CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (Vol. V); KASAVUBU, JOSEPH (Vol. V); KATANGA (Vol. V); MOBUTU SESE SEKO (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Congo Free State (1885–1908) Colonial state established in the Congo Basin by King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) of Belgium. Today, the territory is the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. The ambitious ruler of a European country only 12,000 square miles (30,510 sq km) in area, Leopold used clever and able diplomacy to gain personal control of an African region of 905,063 square miles (2,300,000 sq km). His acquisition of the Congo began with the BERLIN CONFERENCE of 1884–85, at which Leopold's International Congo Association was recognized as the sovereign power over the vast Congo Basin. Leopold then persuaded the Belgian Parliament to authorize him to personally rule the area. It was then given the name Congo Free State, indicating that it was an area free from European COLONIAL RULE. Leopold's rule led to a system of abuses that eventually were exposed by various writers and organizations. The resulting international scandal forced him to turn control of the area over to the Belgian government, under which it became the colony known as the BELGIAN CONGO.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).
Further reading: Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998).

Congo, Republic of the (Congo-Brazzaville) Present-day country located in western Central Africa measuring approximately 131,900 square miles (341,600 sq km). Located to the north of the Congo River, the Republic of the Congo has a short Atlantic Ocean coastline and borders GABON, CAMEROON, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and the Angolan enclave of Cabinda.

Bantu-speaking peoples, including the Kongo, Vili (a Loango subgroup), Teke, and Sanga, inhabited the region prior to the colonial era. By the middle of the 19th century the Congo River had become an important commercial waterway and, therefore, control of it became increasingly important to the colonial interests of both Britain and France. In 1880 the Italian-born French explorer Pierre Savorgnan DE BRAZZA (1852–1905) negotiated a treaty with the Teke people that resulted in the establishment of a French PROTECTORATE on the northern bank of the Congo River.

Republic of Congo during the Colonial Era: French Congo In 1891 the FRENCH CONGO was officially declared a colony. At the time it included the territory to the west that is now Gabon. The colonial development of French Congo was similar to that of neighboring BELGIAN CONGO, with European CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES buying rights to the region's NATURAL RESOURCES, especially minerals, RUBBER, and ivory. The colonial ECONOMY in the French Congo was not immediately successful, and both the French administration and the European concessionaires recruited workers using forced LABOR schemes in order to maximize profits. Untold thousands of Africans from throughout the colony died from the brutal mistreatment and harsh conditions related to this labor system.

In 1905 de Brazza returned to French Congo to investigate the mistreatment of the indigenous people. His reports highlighted the abuses of the concessionaire companies and helped persuade the French government to diminish the administrative power of commercial concerns in the region. Even so, the practice of forced labor continued until the 1940s.

In 1903 France separated Gabon from French Congo, and the remaining portion was renamed Middle Congo. By 1910 France had taken control of Middle Congo from the concessionaire companies, uniting the colony with

OUBANGUI-CHARI (now the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC) and CHAD to form FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Afrique Équatoriale Française, AEF). Because of its strategic location on the Congo River, BRAZZAVILLE , in Middle Congo, was made the administrative capital of AEF.

After World War I (1914–18) France undertook the building of the Congo-Ocean Railway, which extended from the coastal city of Point-Noir to Brazzaville. Construction of the railway cost the lives of more than 10,000 African laborers, who died of physical abuse and horrendous living conditions. In 1928 this mistreatment sparked an African uprising, which the French quickly quelled.

During World War II (1939–45) relations between France and Middle Congo changed drastically. After France's surrender to Germany, Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) founded Free France in AEF, naming Brazzaville its capital. At the end of hostilities in Europe in 1944, France held the Brazzaville Conference, at which de Gaulle unveiled a reformed colonial policy. As part of the reforms France finally put an end to forced labor and guaranteed citizenship to all people within its colonies.

In 1946 France granted Middle Congo a Territorial Assembly and representation in the French Parliament, necessary steps on the way to self-government. In 1958 AEF was dissolved and Middle Congo, renamed the Republic of the Congo, moved toward independence. In August 1960 the country gained full autonomy, with Fulbert Youlou (1917–1972) becoming the first president. The period following independence was characterized by violence between the country's various political groups, which were divided along ethnic lines.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CONGO, REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. I, II, III, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV, V).

Convention Peoples Party (CPP) Political party founded by Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) that advocated immediate independence for the GOLD COAST COLONY from British COLONIAL RULE. The party's political activism led to the founding of the independent country of GHANA. Nkrumah established the Convention Peoples Party in 1949 after breaking away from the elite-oriented UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (UGCC), for which he had served as general secretary. Feeling that the UGCC's focus on the interests of the middle class led it to ignore ordinary workers, Nkrumah and his new party advocated policies of positive action and immediate independence with the slogan of "Independence Now." The party was considered more radical than the UGCC in terms of fomenting public demonstrations against British rule, including illegal strikes.

The British colonial government imprisoned Nkrumah in 1950 for inciting riots with his Declaration of Positive Action, which demanded Gold Coast independence. While Nkrumah was in prison the CPP won the 1951 general election, thereby ushering Nkrumah, as the leader of the party, from the jailhouse to the state house. In 1952, still head of the CPP, Nkrumah became the Gold Coast's prime minister. The CPP dominated the Gold Coast elections, plebiscites, and referendums that led the colony to independence, in 1957, as the new nation state of Ghana.

As the 1960s began Nkrumah ruled in an increasingly arbitrary manner, and the CPP began functioning less as a true political party and more as a tool for individuals to further their own personal interests.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

copper Malleable and ductile metal that became widely used in the early 20th century because of its excellent ability to conduct electricity. The use of copper has a long history in Africa, with both utilitarian and decorative applications. Beginning in the late 19th century the development of electricity as a commercially viable form of energy created a huge demand for copper, which was found to be the best material for electrical wiring and connectors. The widespread technological application of electricity coincided with the era of European colonization in Africa, and it was the colonized territories that turned out to hold some of the world's greatest copper reserves.

Large-scale commercial MINING of Africa's copper was concentrated in the COPPERBELT, a region that stretches across southern Central Africa. In 1906 a Belgian company, UNION MINIÉRE, began mining operations in the province of Katanga, in the BELGIAN CONGO (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO). A few years later the South Africa-based ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION began operations in NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA).

Today Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are two of seven countries (the others being Chile, Mexico, Peru, Russia, and the United States) that account for nearly 70 percent of the world's total copper reserves.

African miners—who were well paid compared to other laborers in the colonial era—provided the bulk of the workforce. However, due to the nature of the mining operations and mine ownership, the profits flowed abroad to the European colonial powers, with little benefit accru-

ing to the producing countries. With the larger mining companies needing thousands of men to work the mines, major cities, such as ELIZABETHVILLE (present-day Lubumbashi) in the Congo, emerged in connection with mining operations. Railroads passing through these cities were built to haul the mined copper to ocean ports for shipment abroad, since the processing of copper into manufactured products occurred outside the continent.

After independence African countries took ownership of the mineral rights and of the mines themselves, but multinational corporations continued to operate the mines under very profitable contracts. Although new technological developments in the late 20th century have reduced the demand for copper somewhat, Africa continues to be a major producer of the metal.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COPPER (Vols. I, II); KATANGA (Vol. V); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V).

Copperbelt   Region stretching from the northern part of present-day ZAMBIA to Katanga province in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO that is believed to have the largest concentration of COPPER deposits in the world. The history of copper MINING in this area goes back many centuries, but between 1850 and 1960 the region's rich deposits caused unprecedented urban and industrial development as well as political upheaval.

Africans mined copper and used the metal for centuries before 1867, when the missionary and explorer David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873) explored the Congo area and noted how the people of Katanga smelted copper ore into bars of 50 to 100 pounds (22.7 to 45.4 kg). Large-scale mining, however, started during the colonial era.

Reserves in the Copperbelt are now estimated at 100 million metric tons, representing about 30 percent of the world's total. Copper has provided Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo with their major export incomes, with volumes amounting to a combined one million tons of copper metal per year. The Copperbelt region is the largest concentration of industry in sub-Saharan Africa outside SOUTH AFRICA.

In the BELGIAN CONGO a Belgian company, UNION MINIÈRE du Haut-Katanga, one of the world's largest copper-producing companies, started exploiting the region's resources in 1906. The city of ELIZABETHVILLE (present-day Lubumbashi) subsequently became the center of Belgian mining operations in Katanga.

In Zambia (then NORTHERN RHODESIA) commercial copper mining started in 1909 with the completion of major railway lines. The industry exploded in the 1920s when the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY, founded by Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), granted trade and mining rights to other European-owned companies. The Selection Trust, a British company, developed Northern Rhodesia's first modern mine at the Roan Antelope deposit near Luanshya and started production in 1929. A second mine opened later in the year, followed by the opening of additional major mines between 1933 and 1965.

Commercial copper mining relies on ore mined both at the surface and underground, and the production and export of the metal is highly technical, requiring extensive LABOR and energy. As a result the mines in the Copperbelt could be developed only by big, multinational companies, whose economic strength later played a part in shaping the colonial policies of the short-lived CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (1953–63).

Especially after the 1920s, mining in the Copperbelt attracted workers of various ethnic groups from all over Africa, and the subsequent development of LABOR UNIONS and political parties related to the industry foreshadowed the nationalist movements that would sweep the continent in the years after World War II (1939–45).

Like DIAMOND MINING and GOLD mining, copper mining was a source of political conflict. Because of its mineral wealth, the province of Katanga resisted becoming a part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo when the former Belgian Congo was granted independence, in 1960. Supported by Union Minière, Moise Tshombe (1917–1969), the provincial president of Katanga, tried to secede from the new, unstable republic. In response the republic sent government troops to subdue Tshombe, whose forces were assisted by Belgian troops. In the end the United Nations sent peacekeeping forces to restore order, but it was not until 1963 that Tshombe ended his plans for secession and accepted a UN-brokered National Conciliation Plan.

See also: ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION (Vol. IV); COPPER (Vols. I, II); COPPER MINING (Vol. II); KATANGA (Vol. V); LUBUMBASHI (Vol. V); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. V); MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS (Vol. V); TSHOMBE, MOISE (Vol. V).

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cotton   The premier commercial crop of colonial Africa. Using various types of elaborate looms, African craftspeople have long woven cotton into cloth for trade as well as for their own use. In the medieval period the city of TIMBUKTU, in what is now MALI, was an important center for cotton, textile production, while in later times KANO and

other northern Nigerian cities developed a significant non-mechanized, textile-manufacturing industry.

West Africa in particular has long been noted for its cotton cloth, although there also is evidence of cotton production along the SWAHILI COAST as far back as the 13th century and in other areas of the continent dating to the 11th century. In much of West Africa, as well as in other parts of the continent, the handicraft-based production of cotton TEXTILES has remained important into the 21st century and has held its own in competition with imported textiles.

Emergence of a European Textile Industry In the late 1700s and early 1800s the Industrial Revolution in Europe and North America brought about significant changes in the position and role of cotton production in Africa. The climate of Europe was not conducive to growing cotton, so in earlier days European merchants had purchased finished cotton goods from India and from West Africa. However, once the mechanized textile industry in Europe emerged, the demand shifted to raw cotton to supply Europe's own textile mills.

The first major sources of raw cotton for the European textile mills were the plantations of the southern United States, which were totally dependent upon an enslaved LABOR force. Cotton continued to be a major export crop from the southern states after the U.S. Civil War (1861–65), although much of the crop went to American textile mills in New England.

Cotton began to emerge as a commercial crop in AL-GERIA, where in the mid-19th century European SET-TLERS experimented with growing it for profit. During the U.S. Civil War, cotton growers in Algeria and other parts of Africa engaged in a brief boom period, as European textile mills were cut off from their usual suppliers in the southern United States. However, with the end of the war the cotton boom collapsed. In EGYPT, the loss of revenue was so severe that it contributed to the downfall of the government of Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895) and started the country on the road to British domination. The cotton industry in Algeria also declined after the U.S. Civil War.

Effects of Colonial Conquest The late 19th and early 20th centuries was the period of COLONIAL CON-QUEST and the establishment of COLONIAL RULE throughout the African continent. During this period cotton emerged as a major cash crop, that is, a crop grown for the export market rather than for domestic consumption. And in this case, it was an export market focused on Europe. Having conquered the African continent, the European colonial powers needed to find ways to profit from their colonies. One way was for the colonies to grow crops specifically for export to Europe. Cotton became an especially important export crop for two reasons. First, it could be grown by individual African farmers on a small scale without significant colonial in-vestment in the factors of production. Second, the colonial powers could benefit their own national textile industries through a controlled source of raw material grown in their colonies.

On the African side of the equation, however, cotton was not generally a viable crop. Many parts of the continent lacked suitable climate and soils for cotton. In addition, the labor and land requirements for cotton production often interfered with FOOD production for domestic consumption. Nevertheless, European colonial authorities insisted that African farmers grow cotton, often using force to compel its production even though the market price was frequently very low. The BELGIAN CONGO and the Portuguese colony of MOZAMBIQUE were particularly notorious in this respect. Indeed, in Mozam-bique cotton gained a reputation among the local population as "the mother of poverty." In other parts of the continent, such as Northern NIGERIA, however, the long-standing domestic market for cotton textiles meant that the British were never successful in their attempts to promote cotton as an export crop.

After the Colonial Era Beginning about 1960, with the end of the colonial period and the arrival of independence, European countries were no longer able to compel individual African farmers to grow cotton. Nonetheless, cotton had become such an important part of the export-oriented economies of Africa that it continued to be a vital crop for such countries as CHAD, Egypt, Mali, Mozambique, and the present-day Republic of the SUDAN. Today Africa produces about 7 percent of the world's cotton and is responsible for about 12 percent of world cotton EX-PORTS. Important, too, is cotton's continued significance for the local handicraft industries. Later in the 20th century locally produced cotton textiles, such as the famous Kente cloth of GHANA, came to be an important commodity for tourism and for export to Europe and the United States.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vol. IV); COTTON (Vols. I, II, III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

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Crowther, Samuel Ajayi (Bishop) (1808–1891)
First African Anglican Bishop

Known at birth as Ajayi, Crowther was raised in the town of Osogun in the YORUBA-speaking region of present-day NIGERIA. The early 1800s were a chaotic time in Yorubaland because of the breakup of the old Oyo empire. When he was about 13 years old Ajayi was taken captive and sold into the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. However, a naval vessel from the British anti-slavery squadron patrolling the coast intercepted his ship and released its human cargo in the colony of SIERRA LEONE, which had been founded in 1786 for the repatriation of freed slaves.

At the time, the Anglican CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) was actively engaged in Christianizing and educating Sierra Leoneans. One of its converts was Ajayi, who when baptized took the name Samuel Crowther, after an official of the CMS. Young Samuel enrolled in a school offering an industrial education, but in 1827 he was selected to attend FOURAH BAY COLLEGE, the new boys' secondary school in FREETOWN, Sierra Leone.

Meanwhile, the CMS was embroiled in a conflict over languages and Bible translation. Many clergymen did not wish to learn African languages, but the prevailing missionary practice was to spread the Gospel to people by means of their own tongues. This led the CMS to employ the Yoruba-speaking Crowther as an evangelist and also brought about his participation in the unsuccessful Niger Expedition (1841), which had the dual goal of Christianizing Africans and ending their enslavement. In 1842 Crowther went to London, where he attended the CMS Training College, and in 1843 he received ordination as an Anglican priest.

At about the same time, Yoruba-speaking Sierra Leoneans opened trade relations with the Yoruba in Nigeria. Many returned and settled in ABEOKUTA, bringing their Anglican version of Christianity with them. The CMS used their presence as an opportunity to establish a mission in Nigeria, with Crowther as an active participant. In 1857 the CMS appointed him as the leader of its Niger Mission; the same year he participated in the Second Niger Expedition. In 1864 Crowther traveled to England to be consecrated "Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa beyond the Queen's Dominions." By 1879 Nigeria supported 16 Anglican dioceses.

The very success of Crowther and his fellow African MISSIONARIES led to conflict with a new generation of European missionaries imbued with the pseudo-scientific racism of the late 19th century. They attacked his administration of the Niger Mission and in 1890 forced him to resign. Crowther's success as a missionary rested in his education, his commitment to his work, and in his knowledge of and sympathy with African culture. He was particularly adept at languages and wrote LANGUAGE texts to enable missionaries to communicate with his fellow Africans and to make the bible more easily accessible to Africans. A hallmark of his approach to missionary work was his patience and readiness to listen.

Beyond his translations and linguistic work, Crowther also spread knowledge about Africa through his written works. These included *Journal of an Expedition up the Niger in 1841* (with J. F. Schön; 1843), *Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and Tshadda Rivers* (1855), and *Gospel on the Banks of the Niger* (with J. C. Taylor; 1859).

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); OYO EMPIRE (Vols. II, III).

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Crummell, Alexander (1819–1898) *African-American missionary and educator*

Born in 1819 to an enslaved family in New York City, Alexander Crummell encountered many obstacles before he could achieve his goal of becoming an Episcopal priest. He was ordained in the Diocese of Massachusetts, in 1844, and in 1847 left for England. He entered Queen's College in Cambridge University and received a bachelor's degree in 1853. That same year he went to LIBERIA, where he spent 20 years as an Episcopal missionary. Working with Edward Wilmot BLYDEN (1832–1912), he hoped to establish Liberia as a black, Christian republic. After serving as principal of Mt. Vaughn High School in Maryland County, Liberia, Crummell became a professor at Liberia College in 1865. He returned to the United States in 1873 and became a church leader within the black community of Washington, D.C. In 1897 he founded the American Negro Academy, which promoted the publication of scholarly works about African-American history.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); EDUCATION (Vol. IV); MISSIONARIES (Vols. III, IV, V).

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Cummings-John, Constance (1918–2000) *Sierra Leonean educator and political figure*

Cummings-John was born into the KRIO (Creole) elite of FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE. Her father had been city treasurer, and her future husband was a lawyer. She received an extensive education in Sierra Leone before going to London for teacher training. In 1936 she attended Cornell University in the United States for six months.

She did not, however, follow the normal path of an upper-class Freetown woman. While in London she became involved with PAN-AFRICANISM, in particular with the West African Youth League (WAYL), an organization founded by a fellow Krio, I. T. A. WALLACE-JOHNSON (1895–1965). Returning home in 1937, Cummings-John became a school principal but soon was helping Wallace-Johnson launch a local WAYL branch.

In 1938 Cummings-John campaigned for the Freetown city council as part of the WAYL challenge to the established political leadership of Dr. H. C. BANKOLE-BRIGHT (1883–1958). Winning the election handily, she served on the council from 1938 to 1942 and again from 1952 to 1966. As a city councilor she promoted expanded city services and was a staunch advocate of the market women who, as in other West African cities, were an important social and economic force. In 1952 she opened her own school for girls.

Also in 1952, Cummings-John founded the Sierra Leone Women's Movement to mobilize women throughout

Sierra Leone for the struggle for independence from Britain. She showed her own political independence by joining the Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP) rather than a strictly Krio-based party. In 1957 she won election to the legislative council as an SLPP candidate. She resigned her seat shortly after, however, in the face of legal charges brought by Krio politicians in retaliation for her alliance with the SLPP. In 1966 Cummings-John returned to local politics. Elected Freetown's mayor, she became the first African woman to head a major African city.

See also: CUMMINGS-JOHN, CONSTANCE (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PELEWURA, MADAM ALIMOTU (Vol. IV).

Further reading: *Constance Agatha Cummings-John: Memoirs of a Krio Leader,* LaRay Denzer, ed. (Ibadan, Nigeria: Sam Bookman, 1995).

D

Dadié, Bernard (1916–   ) *Statesman and author from the Ivory Coast*

Famous for his collections of African fables, folktales, and proverbs, Bernard Binlin Dadié believed that Africa's ORAL TRADITIONS were the moral center of African society. He also believed that these traditions could be the source of modern Africa's inner strength as Africans searched for freedom and equality in the 20th century.

Born in Assinie, near ABIDJAN in IVORY COAST, Dadié lived with his uncle and attended Catholic school in Grand Bassam. He then went to DAKAR, SENEGAL for further education. In Dakar he attended the prestigious ÉCOLE WILLIAM PONTY, where he took part in a movement that collected folklore and wrote dramas with African themes. In 1939 he became a civil servant and Director of Dakar's Institut Français d'Afrique Noire (IFAN).

In 1947 Dadié returned to Abidjan and became involved in Ivory Coast's independence movement. He worked on the newspaper published by the nationalist Democratic Party of Ivory Coast and subsequently spent 16 months in prison for participating in a nationalist demonstration. In 1981 Dadié published an account of his imprisonment titled *Carnet de prison* (Notebook from prison).

His work as a teacher, writer, and director of IFAN prepared him for the higher level offices he held in Ivory Coast's government. After 1957 Dadié served variously as first secretary of the ministry of education, director of information service, director of cultural affairs, inspector-general of arts and letters, director of fine arts and research, and minister of culture and information.

Besides compiling several collections of folktales, Dadié has also written six volumes of poetry, several plays, including *Monsieur Thogo-gnini* (1970), and a variety of novels, including the autobiographical *Climbié* (1956) and *Un Nègre à Paris* (*An African in Paris*; 1959).

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Dahomey FON-speaking kingdom located on the Gulf of Guinea, in West Africa; also the name of the PROTECTORATE and colony established by France in the same area. The economic basis of the kingdom evolved over the course of the 19th century from a dependence on the SLAVE TRADE to the production and trade of PALM OIL. France asserted its claim to the region in the era of PARTITION. In 1894 France deposed and exiled the reigning Dahomean king, Behanzin (d. 1906). In 1900 the French removed his successor and abolished the monarchy, thus ending the kingdom. In 1960 the colony of Dahomey became the Republic of Dahomey, with Hubert MAGA (1916–2000) becoming the country's first president.

See also: BENIN, REPUBLIC OF (Vol. IV); DAHOMEY (Vols. II, III); EDO (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Slavery, Colonialism, and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640–1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Dakar Port city and capital of present-day SENEGAL located on the Cap-Vert Peninsula, the westernmost point of the African continent. Strategically located between Europe and southern Africa—and also a logical launching point for ships sailing from Africa to the Americas—Dakar has a long history as an important commercial port.

When the SLAVE TRADE was abolished, early in the 19th century, the cultivation and exportation of GROUND-

NUTS (peanuts) became the main economic activity of the Dakar region. After a period of struggle between the Dutch, British, and French, France took control of the area and built a fort in 1857. (The modern Place de l'Indépendence now stands on that site.) By 1884 the French had built a large military hospital, and by 1889 Dakar had working sewage and oil-streetlight systems.

In 1902 Dakar became the capital and administrative center for FRENCH WEST AFRICA when the center of government was moved there from Saint-Louis, about 125 miles (201 km) to the north. Beginning about 1907 the city experienced rapid growth following the completion of rail service to Bamako, a principal Niger River port located about 600 miles (966 km) to the east.

When the French colonized the Dakar area, most of its inhabitants were WOLOF. Consequently, Wolof speakers have predominated in the ethnic make-up of the city ever since, and an "urban Wolof" dialect has emerged that is the LANGUAGE of the streets.

In addition to being a bustling port, beginning in the 1920s Dakar also gained a reputation as a center of learning and research. The Pasteur Institute, a medical research facility, was founded in 1923, and in 1938 French environmentalist Théodore Monod (1902–2000) came to Dakar to set up the French Institute of Black Africa, a noted center for historical and scientific research for French West Africans. The University of Dakar was founded in 1949.

As one of the more important ports on Africa's west coast, Dakar was constantly undergoing improvements to its infrastructure. As a result, by the time of Senegal's independence, in 1960, the city was connected by rail, air, and road to most major cities in West Africa.

See also: DAKAR (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GORÉE ISLAND (Vol. III); QUATRE COMMUNES (Vol. IV).

dance Over many centuries a wealth of dance forms have emerged in Africa that incorporate the history, RELIGION, and traditional values of countless societies. For indigenous African societies, dance serves many purposes as a part of daily life. While movement patterns may vary greatly among ethnic groups, the indigenous form generally includes musicians and dancers who hold a rhythmic dialogue. Musicians speak by striking rhythm instruments, and the dancers answer by striking the ground with their feet. The rhythmic thumping of the dancers is often enhanced by ankle rattles.

Individuals or groups perform dances as part of ceremonies celebrating milestones in the life cycle. These events include initiation into adulthood or a particular age group, marriage, and death. Individuals also may perform dances that demonstrate social organization or religious ceremonies, including spirit-possession rituals.

Shown in 1950, colonial Dakar's Avenue William Ponty was a broad thoroughfare dotted with European-style shops. Note the clothing store at the left advertising "Haute Couture Dames." *© New York Times*

In the rural areas members of dance clubs performed for recreation. For example, in KANKAN, a principle city of GUINEA, Mamaya dance clubs developed in the late colonial period from 1940 to 1960. Dressed in their best attire, men and women performed majestic dance steps while waving handkerchiefs. In urban areas, where people often were separated from their families and kin, dance groups based on ethnicity could be found performing ceremonies like those at home. During both the colonial and independence periods, Africa's urbanized elites learned ballroom dancing and used this European form to represent the competitive social dialogue between the musician and the dancer that existed in the past.

Both urban and rural bars and nightclubs also provided venues for dancing. In the cities the influence of Africans returning to Africa from Europe and the Americas brought a change in dance music as foreign rhythms were incorporated into African popular MUSIC. For example, in parts of West Africa in the 1950s, HIGH-LIFE music generated a new form of recreational dance that improvised on old African patterns.

> Since independence, African dance troupes frequently have visited the United States to demonstrate indigenous and popular dance culture of their region. Les Ballets Africains, the National Dance Company of the Republic of Guinea, is one such troupe.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DANCE (Vol. I); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); MASKS (Vol. I); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Wyoma and the dancers of Damballa, *African Healing Dance* [videorecording] (Boulder, Colo.: Sounds True, 1997); David Locke, *Drum Gahu: An Introduction to African Rhythm* (Tempe, Ariz.: White Cliffs Media, 1998); Kariamu Welsh-Asante, ed., *African Dance: An Artistic, Historical, and Philosophical Inquiry* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1996).

In this photo, taken in 1959, stilts are used to perform a traditional Guinean dance. © *Library of Congress*

Dance binds the people of the community together because it forces them to act as a team. At the same time dance dissipates physical and psychological tension through exercise. Although it is clear that dance plays various important social roles, it must be remembered that dance can also be done simply for recreation.

As greater numbers of Africans converted to Islam or Christianity, changes occurred in the traditional use of dance as ritual. For many of the individuals who chose to accept the practice of a new religion, dance for initiation ceremonies and in religious practices was curtailed. However, many of the same ceremonies were incorporated into other customs and traditions. For example, among rural Muslim societies, the performance of masquerade ceremonies, which had been a religious rite of passage, shed some of its strictly religious significance. Instead it became a more secular, cultural right of passage. As Africans created their own syncretistic religious movements based on Christianity or Islam, it was not uncommon for them to add dance back into their ceremonies.

Danquah, J. B. (Dr. Joseph Kwame Kyeretwi Boakye Danquah) (1895–1965) *Scholar, lawyer, and political leader in Gold Coast Colony (today's Ghana)*

Born into a prominent AKAN family in what was the GOLD COAST COLONY (today's GHANA), Joseph B. Danquah was a respected scholar and moral philosopher before becoming a lawyer in order to fight against injustice. Beginning at age 20 he served as secretary to his brother, a paramount chief of Gold Coast's Akim Abuakwa state.

Then in, 1921, he traveled to London to study philosophy and law and to earn his doctorate.

Upon successfully completing his studies, in 1927, Danquah traveled extensively throughout Europe. Back in Gold Coast he founded the country's first daily newspaper in ACCRA, a small publication that he named the *Times of West Africa.* Using the newspaper to air his views to the public, Danquah regularly wrote editorial pieces—sometimes under the pseudonym Zadig—in which he criticized political hypocrisy and advocated human rights. In 1934 he was asked to serve as secretary of a Gold Coast delegation to the British Colonial Office, and in the 1940s he helped write legislation for constitutional reforms. He became a member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council in 1946.

Danquah wrote a play, *The Third Woman*, in 1943, and the following year he published *The Akan Doctrine of God*, a study in which he attempted to reconcile certain aspects of Christianity with traditional West African beliefs.

After World War II (1939–45) Danquah found inspiration in the NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS that were spreading across much of Africa. In 1947 he was a member of "The Big Six," a group of educated lawyers and businessmen who founded the UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (UGCC), a political party that called for independence from Britain with the slogan "Self-Government in the Shortest Time Possible." In 1949 Ghana's future first president, Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), broke from the UGCC to form the more radical and nationalist CONVENTION PEOPLES PARTY (CPP). The CPP won the 1951 legislative assembly elections with the slogan "Self-Government *Now*," and in 1952 Nkrumah became the Gold Coast prime minister.

Danquah and the UGCC tried unsuccessfully to unseat Nkrumah in Gold Coast's legislative elections of 1954 and again in 1956, continuing the political rivalry that would eventually end in Danquah's death. Gold Coast declared its independence from COLONIAL RULE in 1957, and three years later the country became a republic. With Danquah's support, the new republic was renamed Ghana, recalling the glorious empire that dominated much of interior West Africa between the ninth and 13th centuries.

As soon as he was elected to head Ghana, Nkrumah rapidly began centralizing his power. He declared himself supreme commander of Ghana's armed forces and suppressed political rivals, including Danquah, whom he imprisoned, in 1961, on dubious charges. Danquah was released in 1962, but as Nkrumah became increasingly autocratic Danquah criticized the morality and legality of Nkrumah's actions. Danquah was imprisoned again, in 1964, and put on a near-starvation diet, which weakened him physically but did not dampen the ardor of his criticism. In 1965, with his popularity flagging, Nkrumah planned to release Danquah to garner support, but Danquah died of heart failure before it could happen. The events that led to Danquah's death did much to increase opposition to Nkrumah's rule, and a year later he was deposed by a military coup d'état.

See also: BUSIA, KOFI (Vols. IV, V); COUP D'ÉTAT (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Dar es Salaam (Dar al-Salam) Indian Ocean port town and capital of present-day TANZANIA. One of the original villages of Dar es Salaam was named Mzizima, which translates to "healthy town" in KISWAHILI. Dar es Salaam literally means "haven of peace."

The area of Dar es Salaam was originally a group of Kiswahili-speaking FISHING villages founded in the 17th century on the Indian Ocean coast. As such, it was not a major port during the commercial heyday of the SWAHILI COAST, which spanned the 13th to the 15th centuries. However, the town of about 1,000 inhabitants began to grow after Sultan Majid bin Said (c. 1835–1870), the BUSAIDI ruler of ZANZIBAR, built his summer palace there in 1862.

The city expanded further after the German East Africa Company set up a trading center there in 1888. Then from 1891 to 1916 Dar es Salaam served as the capital of GERMAN EAST AFRICA, which included not only the mainland of present-day Tanzania but also present-day RWANDA and BURUNDI, to the northwest.

In the 1940s 78 rpm recordings of Cuban music made a big impact on the clubs in Dar es Salaam, as well as elsewhere in East and Central Africa. Local groups such as La Paloma, which was formed in 1948, began performing rumbas and other Cuban music, which remained popular into the 1960s.

In 1916 Britain took control of Dar es Salaam during the course of World War I (1914–18), making it the capital of TANGANYIKA, which after 1918 was held as a mandated territory under the provisions of the League of Nations. Britain gradually improved the city's infrastructure, constructing, for example, the Selander Bridge in 1930 to connect Dar es Salaam to its northern suburbs. In addition, after World War II (1939–45), the expanded

production of sisal—a natural fiber used for cordage and twine—promoted economic growth and the further development of the city's port.

By 1957 the population had reached approximately 130,000, most of whom were Africans but with a strong Indian minority that controlled much of the city's commercial life. Dar es Salaam remained the capital when Tanganyika became independent, in 1961. It maintained its capital status when Zanzibar and Tanganyika united to form the nation of Tanzania, in 1964.

See also: DAR ES SALAAM (Vols. III, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RUANDA-URUNDI (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Darfur Region in the western part of present-day Republic of the SUDAN, inhabited primarily by the Fur and Baggara peoples. A mountainous area dominated by dry plateaus, Darfur has long been inhabited by herders and subsistence agriculturalists. In the 17th century Fur sultans took control of the region from the Muslim dynasty of Kanem (located to the west, near Lake Chad), which had ruled the area since the 1200s. In 1874 British-backed forces from EGYPT invaded from the east, displacing the Fur rulers and adding the area to the region of the Sudan already under the rule of Khedive IS-MAIL (1830–1895).

For a brief time (1883–98), the region was ruled by the MAHDIYYA, an Islamic brotherhood. The Khalifa AB-DALLAHI IBN MUHAMMAD (1846–1899), who succeeded Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1885) as the leader of the Mahdiyya, was a Baggara from Darfur. However, in 1899 the Mahdiyya, who had wrested control away from the "infidel" Egyptians in 1885, fell to combined British-Egyptian forces. The region was subsequently administered as part of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan by the ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM, a joint government.

Even under this condominium Darfur remained relatively independent. The British administration tended to allow local rulers to retain their positions of authority in order to keep the peace. At the outbreak of World War I (1914–18), however, Islamic leaders rose up against Anglo-Egyptian rule and declared their allegiance to the Muslim Ottoman Empire. In the fighting that followed, Darfur's Sultan Ali Dinar (r. 1898–1916) was killed, and his independent sultanate terminated, in 1916.

Generally, for the next 40 years Anglo-Egyptian rule in Darfur did not bring major changes to the day-to-day lives of the local peoples, especially those practicing a nomadic way of life. Some secular schools were established, but few attempts were made to promote Anglo culture, and Darfurians were left to dictate the direction of their region. Hence, beginning in the mid-19th century, Darfur's majority Islamic population—along with the rest

of the Sudan—came increasingly under the influence of the Arab culture from which Islam sprang.

By 1953 Britain and Egypt had concluded an agreement by which all of the Sudan would be granted self-government, and, ultimately, independence was granted, in 1956.

See also: BAGGARA (Vol. II); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); DARFUR (Vols. II, III, IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); FUR (Vols. I, II, III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, IV, V).

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd. South African DIAMOND-MINING cartel established by Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) in 1888. In the early 1870s, when diamond claims were being staked throughout the border areas of the CAPE COLONY, SOUTH AFRICA, two brothers, Johannes Nicolaas (1830–1894) and Diederik Arnoldus de Beer, purchased farmland at Zandfontein, near KIMBERLEY, for £50. Unhappy with the great numbers of miners who were flocking to the area, the brothers didn't hesitate to sell their otherwise not very profitable farm for £6,300. Despite the fact that they no longer owned the land, their former farm would provide the name for De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.

Prior to the 1870s only India and Brazil were considered diamond-producing countries. But the fields around the De Beers farm proved exceptionally rich, and by 1880 South Africa was the world leader in diamond production, with export values exceeding $15 million annually. In 10 years the Kimberley mine alone produced more DIAMONDS than India had produced in more than 2,000 years as the leading production center of the precious gems.

Diamond mining in the Kimberley region began with many individual miners holding small claims. However, such an organizational structure became increasingly impractical as MINING moved from surface claims to deep holes. A process of amalgamation began about 1880, leading to a protracted battle for the overall control of the southern-African diamond fields. Rhodes and fellow Englishman Charles Rudd (1844–1916) formed a company to combine their holdings in the De Beers mine, thereby strengthening their position against another English mining company, Barnato Diamond Mining, owned by Rhodes's nemesis, Barney Barnato (1852–1897).

Rhodes and Rudd understood the dynamics of their market and knew that the flood of diamonds from Brazil greatly depressed the world diamond market in the 18th century. To avoid the same situation in Kimberley, their company attempted to control production in order to perpetuate the illusion of the scarcity of diamonds. By 1887 the deep pockets and ruthless business tactics of Rhodes and his financial backers forced Barnato into a merger with De Beers. When Barnato was finally bought out for £5,338,650 (about $25 million in 1887), Rhodes paid him with the biggest check ever issued up to that time.

De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited was established in March 1888, with Rhodes as its founding chairman. The company's holdings included the entire De Beers Mine, 75 percent of the claims in the Kimberley Mine, and a controlling interest in two other productive mines, Bultfontein and Dutoitspan. The four major De Beers shareholders—Cecil Rhodes, Barney Barnato, F. S. Philipson-Stow, and Alfred Beit—were appointed governors of the company. In 1890 De Beers forged an agreement with the newly formed London Diamond Syndicate, which agreed to purchase all of the diamonds they produced. For the next 30 years De Beers and the London Diamond Syndicate controlled the world diamond industry.

De Beers operations expanded to include open-pit, underground, alluvial (silt- or sediment-based), and marine diamond mines that attracted thousands of diggers, most of whom were young men. Although both black and white diggers provided LABOR in the mines, the operations were sharply segregated.

The De Beers diamond monopoly was broken for a time when new diamond fields were discovered near PRETORIA and in SOUTH WEST AFRICA (present-day NAMIBIA). Ernest Oppenheimer (1880–1957), an immigrant from Germany who founded Consolidated Diamond Mines in 1919, became a new leader in the field. In 1929 Oppenheimer was chosen president of the De Beers group and eventually united both companies in a cartel.

During the Great Depression of the early 1930s the demand for diamonds declined, and De Beers was forced to cease operations at all of its Kimberley mines. To ensure the industry's survival, De Beers concentrated instead on buying up all of the diamonds of "outside" (non-De Beers) producers. De Beers' mines recommenced limited production in the mid-1930s, but the markets remained depressed and the onset of World War II (1939–45) caused all of De Beers' mining activities to close down for the next four years. Since then De Beers has proved to be one of the most successful cartels in the annals of modern commerce. While the markets for other precious NATURAL RESOURCES, such as GOLD and silver, have fluctuated wildly in response to economic conditions, diamond values have advanced upward every year, with few exceptions, since the early 1930s.

See also: MINERAL REVOLUTION (Vol. IV); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. V).

Further reading: Stefan Kanfer, *The Last Empire: De Beers, Diamonds, and the World* (New York: Noonday Press, 1993).

de Brazza, Pierre Savorgnan (1852–1905) *French explorer*

Italian by birth, Pietro di Brazza Savorgnani was the son of aristocratic parents. Desiring a naval career but faced with an unappealing opportunity with the Italian fleet, he enrolled in the French naval academy in 1870. By age 21 de Brazza had become a French citizen and changed his name.

After serving in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) de Brazza took part in a French antislavery mission to the west coast of Central Africa, landing in what is now the country of GABON. There de Brazza developed a strong interest in exploring the central African interior, which until that point was largely unknown to Europeans. In 1875 he returned to western Central Africa and made the first of his forays into the interior. His explorations earned him an offer of employment from the Belgian king LEOPOLD II (1835–1909), who was rushing to secure the lands of the Congo River Basin, mostly through the efforts of Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904). De Brazza instead launched a second mission for the French government, and began racing Stanley to establish control over the Congo region.

In 1880 de Brazza reached the Congo River and negotiated a treaty with the leader of the Teke people, King Makoko, establishing the foundation for the later PROTECTORATE of FRENCH CONGO. That same year de Brazza founded a French settlement on the north shore of the Malebo Pool, a town that later became BRAZZAVILLE.

After the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), which established the PARTITION of Africa among the European colonial powers, de Brazza was named commissioner general of the French Congo. He continued to expand French interests in the Congo, eventually securing an area three times the size of France itself. De Brazza supported fair wages for African workers and founded schools as well as employment and medical programs in the Congo. Despite becoming something of a celebrity in France, the antagonism of Leopold II and de Brazza's opposition to granting land to private interests eventually led to efforts to smear his image, and he was dismissed by the French government in 1898.

By 1905 conditions in the French Congo had begun to mirror those in the BELGIAN CONGO across the river, where SLAVERY and the excessively brutal treatment of the colony's African population had become commonplace. A reluctant de Brazza was commissioned to investigate the circumstances in the French Congo, where he uncovered extensive corruption and horrific treatment of Africans. In 1905, devastated and in failing health, de Brazza began the trip back to France but died while ashore in DAKAR, SENEGAL.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CONGO BASIN (Vols. I, II) CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

decolonization Gradual removal of colonial status. The process of decolonization in Africa began after World War II (1939–45), though the beginnings of nationalism

in the African colonies had long since taken shape. LIBYA (1951) and EGYPT (1952) were the first two colonies to emerge from European COLONIAL RULE, but the British GOLD COAST COLONY was the first to achieve independence through a successful nationalist movement, becoming independent GHANA in 1957.

The European colonial powers remaining after World War II differed widely in how much or how well they did (or did not) prepare their colonies for independence. Britain, suffering financially after the war and having already allowed for the independence of its colonial holdings in India, began to develop constitutional, African-led governments for its colonies in anticipation of full autonomy. This approach went rather smoothly in those colonies without European SETTLERS, but in colonies such as KENYA and SOUTHERN RHODESIA it meant strong resistance from local white interests. France attempted to maintain most of its colonies as part of the FRENCH UNION, but the war for independence in ALGERIA and similar struggles in Indo-China weakened France's imperialistic resolve. This eventually led to independence for all of France's African colonies by 1960. Drawn-out and excessively violent nationalist uprisings led both Belgium and Portugal to abandon their colonies, although in some cases the African independence movements had an opportunity to develop some of the organs and institutional capacity to govern their countries at the time of independence.

A common factor among all of the former colonies, however, was their struggle to develop as nations as well as to overcome the lingering effects of European domination. Even in countries that had established constitutions and governments before independence, such as Ghana, economic, political, and ethnic turmoil has often prevailed. To the present day the influence of COLONIALISM is still very much felt throughout Africa.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NEO-COLONIALISM (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); POST-COLONIAL STATE (Vol. V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V).

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de Gaulle, Charles (1890–1970) *French general and president*

De Gaulle took an interest in the military at an early age, studying at the Saint-Cyr Military Academy before joining the French infantry and seeing extensive action during World War I (1914–18). He also fought during the opening of World War II (1939–45) and served as undersecretary of state for defense and war. When de Gaulle's superior, Field Marshal Henri-Phillipe Pétain (1856–1951), assumed power in France and set about signing an armistice with the invading Germans, de Gaulle moved to England, where he continued to call for resistance against the German occupiers. He was sentenced to death in absentia by Pétain's Vichy government.

De Gaulle's call for support was immediately answered by Adolphe-Félix-Sylvestre ÉBOUÉ (1884–1944), governor of the French colony of CHAD. Following Éboué's lead, other sub-Saharan French colonies also sided with de Gaulle, and BRAZZAVILLE, in the FRENCH CONGO, became the capital of Free France. French colonies in North Africa and FRENCH WEST AFRICA, however, remained loyal to the Vichy government.

In 1940 the Free French failed in their attempt to capture the strategic port of DAKAR, SENEGAL. A year later, however, de Gaulle's Free French forces successfully collaborated with the British against the Italians in LIBYA and EGYPT. In 1943 de Gaulle moved the Free French headquarters to ALGIERS, ALGERIA, where he established the French National Committee, which was recognized by the Allied forces as Free France's official government-in-exile. As an Allied victory became imminent, the rest of France's African colonies sided with de Gaulle. In 1944, after a number of campaigns, de Gaulle led the Free French into liberated Paris. More than half of de Gaulle's troops who landed in France were TIRAILLEURS SÉNÉGALAIS, African-born soldiers.

In 1944, as head of France's provisional government, de Gaulle convened a conference at Brazzaville, where he acknowledged French colonial Africa's role in supporting his Free French movement. As a reward de Gaulle established a new relationship of assimilation between France and its African territories, halting the practice of forced LABOR, improving EDUCATION, and offering special citizenship to all Africans in the French colonies (this privilege was previously only for those living in the QUATRE COMMUNES). Political power in the colonies was decentralized, allowing territorial assemblies to form, and African deputies could now represent the colonies in the French Parliament. France still maintained a large measure of control over the colonies, however.

In 1946 de Gaulle resigned from the government over conflicts with various political parties. In 1958, however, he returned to the political scene, and he was elected president in December of that year. He immediately faced two issues in relation to Africa: the debacle of the war for independence in Algeria and the overall status of the African colonies. By this time the Algerian war of independence (1954–62) had become an exceptionally brutal conflict between the French and Algerian freedom fighters headed by the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT. De

Gaulle's decision to begin peace negotiations was highly controversial in France. Despite the threat of a breakaway faction of French military leaders known as the Secret Army Organization, de Gaulle won popular support and eventually secured Algeria's independence, in 1962.

De Gaulle addressed the status of France's African colonies, in 1958, with his famous *oui-ou-non* (yes-or-no) offer. The offer gave the African colonies two choices: become autonomous states in the FRENCH UNION, or become immediately and fully independent. De Gaulle actively campaigned for the colonies to join the Union, and only GUINEA chose immediate independence. However, by 1960 the French Union had failed and the other French colonies soon gained their independence as well. De Gaulle resigned from the presidency in 1969. He died a year later.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Delagoa Bay (Maputo Bay) Arm of the Indian Ocean located on the southeastern coast of MOZAMBIQUE, near the border with SOUTH AFRICA. Approximately 55 miles (88.5 km) long and 20 miles (32.2 km) wide, Delagoa Bay was known to Portuguese sailors as early as the 16th century. It was not until 1787, however, that they built a fort to protect the sailors and merchants who traded there. As commercial activity increased, the small town of LOURENÇO MARQUES grew around the fort.

In the 19th century trade in ivory and human captives flourished throughout Mozambique, and Lourenço Marques continued to grow. Although it was officially abolished, the SLAVE TRADE continued until the early 1860s, and the bay was coveted by the British, the Dutch, and South African BOERS looking to receive slave laborers. In 1875 France, acting as arbiter, awarded the disputed bay to Portugal, which had claimed possession all along. The bay gained further strategic importance with the development of GOLD mining along the WITWATERSRAND in the TRANSVAAL in the late 1880s.

> **In recent decades silt from the numerous rivers that discharge into Delagoa Bay, now called Maputo Bay, has decreased its depth, hindering access by larger ships. Plans are in place to dredge the bottom to restore its depth.**

Transvaal president Paul KRUGER (1825–1904) directed the construction of a railway, completed in 1894, to connect JOHANNESBURG to Portuguese-controlled Delagoa Bay and thus lessen his state's dependence on the British-controlled areas of South Africa. By 1907 Lourenço Marques had grown so important that the Portuguese named it their colonial administrative capital, replacing the city of Mozambique, to the northeast. The bay, with its major port facilities, continued to serve the MINING and later manufacturing interests of the Johannesburg region.

See also: GAMA, VASCO DA (Vol. II); DELAGOA BAY (Vol. III); IVORY TRADE (Vols. III, IV); MAPUTO (Vols. III, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Destour Party Tunisian political party, later supplanted by the more militant Neo-Destour Party that led the way to independence for TUNISIA in 1956. Founded in 1920 by Sheikh Abdelaziz Thaalbi (1876–1944), the political party known as the Free Tunisian Destourian (Constitutional) Party never went beyond being a group of upper-class Tunisians. Its name reflects the fact that in 1861 Tunisia became the first Arabic-speaking country to adopt a constitution (in Arabic, *dustur*). The Ottoman Empire enacted a constitution later, in 1876, followed by Persia (modern Iran) in 1907.

> **Written constitutions that establish the fundamental principles by which the state is governed are of modern, European origin and are based on the rights of the individual. In contrast, according to traditional Muslim law, called *sharia*, all laws are considered to be revelations from God and are expressions of divine will.**

In 1934 the radical wing of the Destour Party broke away to form the more militant Neo-Destour Party. The new party established underground cells throughout the nation, especially in the southern provincial cities. In the late 1930s the party agitated for independence through a series of organized street demonstrations. Police repression of this unrest resulted in hundreds of deaths, thousands of arrests, and the imprisonment of the party leadership. But this response only further served to establish the Neo-Destour Party and its leader, Habib BOURGUIBA (1903–2000), as the country's political vanguard.

When France granted political autonomy to Tunisia, in 1955, the Neo-Destour Party split because prominent left-wing politicians among its leadership were unwilling to accept anything less than complete independence. In 1956 the party expelled Salah ben Youssef (1908–1961), the leader of the party's left, and purged his supporters. These purges caused a major upheaval within the party and the government. Bourguiba, who was by then the prime minister, had to turn to the French for help in suppressing the resulting public disorder.

When France granted full independence to Tunisia, in 1956, Bourguiba instituted a one-party state and convened a Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution. In 1963 a plot to assassinate Bourguiba heightened tensions within the party. At the same time diplomatic relations with France were souring because the French had refused to remove their forces from a military base in the Tunisian city of Bizerte. To consolidate his power Bourguiba reorganized the Neo-Destour Party and changed its name to the Socialist Destourian Party. In 1988 Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali (1936–) deposed Bourguiba and assumed the presidency. Ben Ali changed the name of the party to the Constitutional Democratic Rally and allowed a number of emerging political parties to compete for political office.

See also: NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SHARIA (Vol. II).

Diagne, Blaise (1872–1934) *Senegalese politician*

Born to a well-established WOLOF family on the island of Gorée, part of the French colony of SENEGAL, Diagne displayed an early talent for languages and learned to speak fluent French. He found employment as an interpreter in the colonial customs service and later became a customs official, working both in Africa and France. He became controller of customs in French Guiana, South America, in 1914.

At the beginning of the 20th century the Senegalese QUATRE COMMUNES (DAKAR, Saint-Louis, Gorée, and Rufisque) were considered to be full extensions of France and were allowed local self-government and the right to representation in the French National Assembly. *Assimilés,* or elites of European or mixed descent, had typically held the representative, or deputy, position. Diagne, in contrast, was part of the *évolués,* a group of mostly Muslim Africans whose influence was growing. In 1914 Diagne was elected deputy to the National Assembly, overcoming six European candidates and overall white opposition to become the first African to hold the position.

Diagne's personality and French patriotism helped him gain respect within the Assembly and, in 1916, win the passage of a law that boosted Franco-African rights. In 1917, with France facing a dire need for troops to fight in World War I (1914–18), French prime minister Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929) made Diagne a commissioner of the republic and assigned him the task of overseeing conscription in FRENCH WEST AFRICA. Diagne hoped that full African support of the French war effort would produce the reward of full citizenship for Africans in the French colonies, and he pursued the task wholeheartedly. All told he enlisted more than 180,000 African men. While Diagne was awarded the Légion d'honneur for his efforts, the rewards he had envisioned for Africans never materialized, and he ultimately declined the honor.

In 1919 Diagne was president of the first Pan-African Congress, which took place in Paris at the same time as the Versailles Peace Conference, which ended World War I. At the Congress he conferred with prominent pan-Africanists W. E. B. DU BOIS (1868–1963) and Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940), though the three leaders often did not agree.

In 1920 and again in 1924 Diagne was reelected to his post as deputy. He continued to be a firm supporter of African assimilation into French culture, establishing himself as a prime example of successful assimilation. While he vehemently opposed prejudice, he also defended colonialism and rejected independence and self-governance as viable options for the French African colonies. In 1931 Diagne became the undersecretary of state for the colonies, a French cabinet position. He was the first African to hold such a position and was at the time the foremost African in the French political realm.

Diagne's success was unprecedented and opened many doors for Africans in French West Africa. After Diagne, only Africans were elected to the deputy position from Senegal, including the poet and future Senegal president, Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001). Despite this, Africans such as Senghor continued to oppose French COLONIAL RULE and the assertion of French cultural supremacy.

See also: (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GORÈE ISLAND (Vol. III).

diamond mining

Africa's diamond-mining industry began soon after the 1866 discovery of the Eureka Diamond, a 21.25-carat specimen found in the alluvial sediment along the banks of the Orange River in the region of SOUTH AFRICA known at the time as Griqualand West. Until then India or Brazil produced most of the world's DIAMONDS.

In the early 1870s diamond-mining operations were carried out near the town of KIMBERLEY on 30-foot-square plots of land called *claims*. Prospectors usually bought individual claims from the Boer trekkers who had cleared and occupied the land, mostly for farming. Many miners worked alone, removing earth from open pits, one shovelfull at a time, and sifting through it in search of precious gems. Others pooled their resources to buy multiple claims and then hired large teams of workers who could dig, crush, and sift through tons of earth each day. Tens of thousands of prospectors and workers rushed into the area, and makeshift towns emerged practically overnight. Although both black and white diggers worked in the mines, all of the mine owners were white Europeans.

One of the consequences of the diamond revolution in Africa was the very real possibility that incredible wealth could be attained simply by owning the right piece of land. In light of this fact, land speculation, almost all of it done by European SETTLERS, led to aggressive colonizing efforts. The "annexing" of South African

territories displaced the native peoples who were living there. Heavily armed, British MINING interests in South Africa eventually tried to forcibly remove the most determined groups, which included the ZULU, the XHOSA, and the PEDI. Ironically, however, the diamond mines could also work against colonization, as thousands of black workers spent their mine earnings on firearms, which they then used to prevent the further encroachment of both British and Boer farmers into their lands.

The most successful mining operations in South Africa vied for control of the industry, but no clear leader emerged until 1888, when an Englishman named Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) bought out the area's most productive mines and created DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD. Rhodes's corporation continued to buy out competitors, eventually establishing a cartel that controlled production, limited supply, set prices, and generally held a monopoly on the industry. Despite Rhodes's death, in 1902, De Beers continued to dominate the industry.

By studying the dispersal of diamond deposits De Beers engineers figured that hundreds of thousands of years of water erosion had dislodged millions of carats of diamonds from the Orange and Vaal riverbanks, setting them tumbling toward the sea. In an attempt to locate these diamonds De Beers developed alluvial and marine mines in addition to the gigantic open pit mines found in Kimberley. Alluvial miners, those who worked river sediment and gravel, typically used the old but trustworthy washing pan technique. They placed sediment in a pan and swirled it, and as the lighter sediment poured over the sides, the denser minerals, including diamonds, sank to the bottom where they were easily spotted.

About 14.5 million carats of diamonds were recovered from Kimberley's largest diamond mine, nicknamed the Big Hole. When it closed, in 1914, the mining shaft of the Big Hole measured nearly 3,500 feet (1,097 m), the deepest hand-dug excavation in the world.

In 1908 a railroad worker found diamonds in the sand dunes near Kolmanskop, in German SOUTH WEST AFRICA (present-day NAMIBIA). Within a year Ernest Oppenheimer's Consolidated Diamond Mines recovered nearly 500,000 high-quality carats and seemed to be in position to rival De Beers for supremacy in the diamond industry. In 1929, however, Oppenheimer negotiated to become president of the De Beers group, and he eventually united both companies in a gigantic cartel.

In 1918 diamonds were first discovered in the Bakwanga Hills of the BELGIAN CONGO (present-day Demo-

cratic Republic of the CONGO), where the earth contained diamond-bearing pipes much richer than the ones in South Africa. Most of the diamonds from this region were of low quality, but technological advances made during World War II (1939–45) created many new uses for industrial diamonds. De Beers commenced large-scale mining, and by the mid-1950s the Congo was producing the majority of the world's diamonds. Unfortunately, the leaders of the Congo diverted the riches created by the country's mines to their own personal bank accounts, and the colony's people never reaped any benefits from their country's mineral wealth. Diamonds were discovered in other countries in West Africa, including LIBERIA, ANGOLA, and SIERRA LEONE, where De Beers had secured exclusive mining rights in 1935.

The South African diamond-mining industry reduced production during World War I (1914–18) and stopped all production for a few years during World War II. Since then, the industry has continued to be manipulated by the De Beers cartel and other industry leaders, guaranteeing the steady upward advance of diamond prices throughout the world.

See also: MINERAL REVOLUTION (Vol. IV).

diamonds For a thousand years Africa was known as a source of GOLD, but the majority of the world's DIAMOND MINING was done in either India or Brazil. That situation changed rapidly, however, in the years following the discovery of the 21.25-carat Eureka Diamond in 1866. Erasmus Jacobs (1851–1933), the son of a local farmer, picked up a "pretty pebble" along the banks of the Orange River in CAPE COLONY, SOUTH AFRICA and showed it to his neighbor, Schalk van Niekerk. Van Niekirk, who collected unusual stones, sent it to a mineralogist friend who positively identified it as a yellowish-brown diamond. Over the next few years diamonds were discovered in the area with increasing frequency, launching Africa's MINERAL REVOLUTION.

Before the end of the 19th century the South African town of KIMBERLEY, located between the Orange and Vaal rivers, had become the center of the world diamond trade. In 15 years the mines in and around Kimberley produced more of the precious gems by weight than had been produced in India, the former leading producer, in the previous 2,000 years.

For thousands of years diamonds have been valued around the world for their durability and beauty, and more recently for their industrial applications in boring and cutting other hard substances. In its rough form, a diamond resembles a piece of dull broken glass. In order to be transformed into a valuable gem, the rough diamond must be cut, shaped, and polished. In Europe the process was done for hundreds of years by master stonecutters, who had only chisels and crude hand tools at their dis-

posal. Since the process of purchasing, cutting, polishing, and setting diamonds is long and costly, the gems have long been considered luxury items reserved for the elite.

In 1869 a Griqua shepherd boy discovered an 83-carat diamond that would eventually be cut into the 47.69-carat Star of South Africa. According to lore, when the rough diamond was displayed at a British Parliament session, one colonial secretary declared, "This diamond, gentlemen, is the rock upon which the future prosperity of South Africa will be built."

A diamond, the hardest naturally occurring substance known, is a crystal that is created when carbon is subjected to tremendous pressure and heat inside the earth. Because of the way they are formed, diamonds are often found in "pipes," or rock formations that form in the throats of extinct volcanoes. They are also located on riverbanks and distributed along coastal shelves. The world's largest gem diamond, the Cullinan, was discovered in 1905 in the Premier Mine of South Africa. In its natural state the Cullinan weighed 3,106 carats—substantially more than a pound!

See also: DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD. (Vol. IV) MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. V).

Dinizulu (Dinizulu kaCetshwayo) (1868–1913) *Zulu king*

In 1884 the ZULU king CETSHWAYO (c. 1826–1884) died, and his son, Dinizulu, succeeded him. At the time Zululand was divided into 13 chiefdoms as a result of the British victory in the ANGLO-ZULU WAR (1879), and the territory was in the midst of a civil war. Wanting to ensure his safety, Dinizulu sought and received help from the BOERS of the TRANSVAAL, who declared him King of the Zulu and of Zululand. The Boers, however, were more interested in acquiring the territory of the Zulu than preserving Dinizulu's reign, and made vast territorial claims as a reward for their assistance.

Worried by the Boer demands, Dinizulu requested British intervention. In 1887 Britain annexed all of Zululand, sparking a rebellion by Dinizulu's followers. The rebellion was eventually put down, and in 1889 Dinizulu surrendered to the British and was charged with treason. He was convicted and exiled to St. Helena, though he was allowed to return in 1897 in the role of a British-paid paramount chief. In 1908 Dinizulu was again brought to trial by the authorities in NATAL because of suspected involvement in BAMBATHA'S REBELLION of 1906.

Dinizulu was sentenced to four years in prison but was released a year later when he was pardoned by his former ally, Louis BOTHA (1862–1919), who had become the first prime minister of the newly formed UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. He was not, however, allowed to return to Zululand and was instead banished to a farm in the Transvaal, where he died. His standing among the country's African population was such that in 1912, the year before his death, he was one of eight paramount chiefs who were named honorary presidents of the newly formed AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SHAKA (Vol. III).

Diop, Alioune (1910–1980) *Senegalese intellectual and founder of the journal Présence Africaine*

Born into a French-speaking, Muslim family in Saint-Louis, SENEGAL, Alioune Diop received his bachelor's degree in 1931. He then studied philosophy at the University of Algiers, where he met French author and philosopher Albert Camus (1913–1960), and later traveled to Paris. He converted to Catholicism and briefly worked in the French colonial service.

In 1947 Diop founded the journal PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE, which quickly became the leading French-language journal focusing on Africa and the AFRICAN DIASPORA. Publishing works by black intellectuals, it became the focal point for NÉGRITUDE, a movement that gave expression to African cultural and literary values.

In 1949 Diop began the Présence Africaine publishing house. It published such important works as *Nation negre et culture* (Black nation and culture; 1955) by Cheikh Anta DIOP (1923–1986) and *Discours sur le colonialisme* (Discourse on colonialism; 1956) by Aimé CÉSAIRE (1913–   ). In all of his publishing endeavors Alioune Diop sought to promote the independence of black intellectuals from the influence of politics.

In 1956, with support from UNESCO, Diop convened the First International Congress of Black Writers and Artists in Paris, and in 1959 he convened a second such congress in Rome. He later brought together peoples of African descent at DAKAR, Senegal, in 1966 (the First World Festival of Negro Arts), at ALGIERS in 1969, and at LAGOS, NIGERIA, in 1977 (the Festival of Black and African Art and Culture).

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vols. IV, V).

Diop, Cheikh Anta (1923–1986) *Senegalese historian, scientist, and writer*

Born to a prominent family in Diourbel, SENEGAL, Diop was an outstanding student as a youngster. In 1945 he earned bachelor's degrees in mathematics and philoso-

phy from schools in Senegal, and the following year he traveled to Paris to continue his studies at the University of Paris and at the Sorbonne University. In 1948 Diop wrote a linguistic study of the WOLOF, which was published in PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE, a leading African intellectual review.

While he studied for his doctorate in Paris, Diop was an ardent political activist, From 1950 to 1953 he served as the secretary-general of the AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY and helped establish the first Pan-African Student Congress, in 1951. Two years later he married Frenchwoman Louise Marie Maes, with whom he would have four children.

In the latter half of the 1950s Diop's reputation as a formidable Africanist intellectual continued to grow. In 1956, he participated in the first Congress of Black Writers and Artists, in Paris. Soon after, he presented his doctoral dissertation in which he argued against the prevailing view that ancient Egyptian civilization was Caucasoid and that instead it was black African at its core. This thesis was considered too radical at the time and was rejected by the academic board more than once. However, in the end Diop presented such a preponderance of scientific, linguistic, and anthropological evidence to back his theory that his dissertation was finally accepted in 1960. By this time it had already been published in Paris under the title of *Nations nègres et culture* (Black nations and culture, 1955).

Diop returned to Senegal to direct Africa's first radiocarbon laboratory, at the Fundamental Institute of Black Africa from 1963 to 1966. The lab was used to date various archaeological artifacts from throughout the continent and did much to reinforce the work that he had done in Paris in the 1950s. Throughout the late 1960s and into the 1970s he continued his work both as an activist and an intellectual, forming political parties and writing extensively on African culture and history.

See also: ANTHROPOLOGY AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); DIOP, CHEIKH ANTA (Vol. V); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Diop, David (1927–1960) *Senegalese poet*
David Diop was born in Bordeaux, France, of a Senegalese father and a mother from CAMEROON. Raised by his mother after his father's death, he received his primary education in SENEGAL. Planning to study MEDICINE, he attended Lycée Marcelin Berthelot, in Paris, during World War II (1939–45). Poor health, however, made him a semi-invalid for most of his life and made him change his university studies from medicine to literature. He began to write poetry while still in school.

During the 1950s Diop returned to Africa and worked as a teacher in DAKAR. In 1958, because France had withdrawn its force of civil servants after GUINEA became independent, he volunteered to work in Guinea's educational system. David Diop and his family perished in 1960 in a plane crash returning to France from Dakar.

Although Diop lived most of his life in France, he expressed his emotional connection to his home in Senegal in his poetry. In 1948 his poems were published by Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001) in *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache* (Anthology of the new black and Malagasy poetry). In the 1950s several of his poems were printed in PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE, the literary journal published by Alioune DIOP (1910–1980), to whom David was not related. David Diop's themes are anticolonial and pan-Africanist. His first book of poems, *Coups de pillon* (Hammer blows), published in 1956, called for Africans to retake control of the cultural aspects of their lives.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

disease in colonial Africa When Europeans first arrived in Africa they encountered many Africa-specific diseases with which they were unfamiliar. As the continent came under COLONIAL RULE, Western scientists and medical providers slowly gained experience with these newly discovered diseases. Their work expanded Western medical scholarship into new realms, but these nascent encounters hardly encompassed the affect western Europeans' had on disease in Africa.

The actions of the colonial governments significantly changed the paradigm of disease in Africa. The Europeans, for example, brought with them diseases and strains of diseases that were virtually unknown in Africa before colonialism. And although the immediate impact of the diseases introduced by Europeans was not as devastating as that which occurred during the colonization of the Americas, the effects of these diseases on the indigenous population were long lasting and continued through the 20th century.

In southern Africa, for instance, tuberculosis was relatively rare, if present at all, in the early 1800s; in Europe, however, it was a major public health problem. As more Europeans arrived in southern Africa, the disease, fueled by poor working and living conditions, spread among the indigenous African populations and reached epidemic proportions by the 1920s. Remarkably, despite the availability of effective treatment, tuberculosis is still a major public-health problem in southern Africa, with infection rates at the end of the 20th century at least three times that of the rest of the world.

The increased presence of tuberculosis and other afflictions, however, depended upon more than their mere introduction into Africa by Europeans. Changes in social

organization, employment strategies, and settlement patterns all contributed to the spread of these new diseases. Yet, though not fully culpable, the onset of colonialism combined with misguided policies and poor health care greatly affected these other contributors to the spread of disease.

For instance, forced employment by colonial interests in large-scale AGRICULTURE and MINING operations resulted in increased mass migration. In addition, as European SETTLERS took over the most fertile lands in areas such as ALGERIA, KENYA, and southern Africa, African populations were pushed onto lands of marginal value. This led to changes in settlement patterns and population densities, resulting in a dramatic increase in human contact, which assisted the spread of communicable diseases. Furthermore, the areas to which Africans relocated were sometimes not previously inhabited precisely because they were prime habitats for disease vectors. As a result, when Africans were forced onto these lands, their exposure to certain disease vectors increased.

On the economic front colonial influence on long-distance trade also aided the spread of disease. Although long-distance trade was well established in much of Africa for centuries prior to the colonial era, colonialism increased the number and diversity of trade interactions. As a consequence social interactions increased as people underwent regular trips to urban centers to buy and sell goods. This enabled disease to spread easily and quickly from one community to another, where the often unhygienic conditions of these communities did little to help control outbreaks.

As economic activities expanded, local ecology often changed, creating new habitats for disease vectors. Large-scale agriculture, especially irrigated fields, created ideal habitats for mosquitoes, which carry malaria. In addition, climatic changes, unrelated to colonialism, also affected the habitat for disease vectors. When droughts occurred, people suffered from malnutrition and raiding increased, again expanding human contact between communities as well as the chance to spread disease.

Colonialism, through land annexation and increased taxation, often resulted in widespread poverty for African populations. As poverty increased, so did malnutrition, which diminished the strength of individuals' immune systems. Unsanitary water, overcrowding, and a lack of FOOD were common in urban areas, which grew quickly as a result of URBANIZATION. These deficiencies, left unchecked in the indigenous population, allowed diseases to persist, and these difficulties began to hinder the interests of the colonial powers.

It became clear that in order to protect their LABOR force and their colonists, colonial governments had to address the problems of disease. As a result, Western health care facilities began to coexist with the already extensive systems of health and healing indigenous to Africa. The relationship between the two systems, however, was far from mutually beneficial, with health care providers from the West denouncing traditional healing as "pagan" and "unscientific." Despite this affront to traditional MEDICINE Western medical facilities made substantial gains in reducing the burden of some diseases, especially smallpox and sleeping sickness (trypanosomiasis). Additionally several schools of tropical medicine were established to study tropical illnesses.

In the early 1800s sleeping sickness, an often fatal disease transmitted by the tsetse fly, severely limited the expansion of colonial settlements in Africa, and in the 1850s numerous public-health programs were implemented with the objective of controlling the disease. Despite major epidemics from 1896 to 1906 and again in 1920, sleeping sickness was well under control by the 1960s. However, it sprang up again in many African nations after independence, and still affects an estimated half-million people in sub-Saharan Africa each year.

The scientific community was not the only group involved in combating disease in colonial Africa, as MISSIONARIES played an increasing role in administering medical care to the indigenous population. Missions in southeastern TANZANIA, for instance, had great success in treating yaws, a bacterial infection prevalent in conditions of overcrowding and poor sanitation. But though missionaries became a vital source of medical care, they frequently used health care as an access point to African communities, making sure not to neglect their goals of proselytizing and converting Africans to Christianity.

Indeed, during the colonial period, self-interest was the driving force behind many of the positive developments in the fight against disease. Still, some of the diseases present in Africa before Europeans arrived were successfully treated, and access to Western health care, though often times unequal, improved the overall quality of medical services available.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I); DISEASE

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Djibouti, Republic of Modern name of the small, northeast African country bordered by ERITREA, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA, and the Gulf of Aden. Djibouti's NATURAL RESOURCES are meager, and much of its approximately 9,000 square miles (23,300 sq km) is desert or semi-desert terrain. Geographically, the country is extremely varied. In the north it is covered by rugged mountains, while the south and west are desert plains. Its highest point, Mount Mousa, at 6,768 feet (2,063 m), contrasts sharply with Lake Assal, at 515 feet (157 m) below sea level, the lowest point in Africa.

Djibouti is home to two main ethnic groups, the Afars (or Danakil), of Ethiopian origin, and the Issas, of Somali origin. Both share a nomadic past, speak related eastern Cushitic languages, and are predominantly Muslim.

Afar and Issa peoples of the Red Sea coast had established ties with French explorers beginning in the late 1830s. In 1862 France acquired the port of Obock from local sultans and, in anticipation of the completion of the SUEZ CANAL, sought to spread French influence in the Horn of Africa. Britain's presence at Aden, across the Bab al-Mandab Strait, further spurred France to action in the spirit of imperial rivalry. In 1888 France annexed the territory as a colony under the name of FRENCH SOMALILAND, and four years later it transferred the administrative capital from Obock to the city of Djibouti.

In the early 1890s the French commenced construction of a railroad to ADDIS ABABA, the capital of Ethiopia, hoping it would serve as Ethiopia's principal rail link to the rest of the world and establish Djibouti as an important trading point between Ethiopia and the sea. In 1946 French Somaliland became an overseas territory of France, and in 1958 the former colony became a member of the French Community, with representation in the French Parliament. Colonial policies tended to favor the Afar population, causing resentment among the region's Issas. In large part because of the discord between the Afars and Issas, full independence was slow in coming to French Somaliland. Following negotiations toward independence, in 1967 the nation was renamed the French Territory of the Afars and Issas. Later, in 1977, the country finally was granted full autonomy as Djibouti. Hassan Gouled Aptidon (1916–) was the country's first president.

See also: ADEN, GULF OF (Vol. II); AFAR (Vols. I, II, III); GOULED APTIDON, HASSAN (Vol. V); DJIBOUTI, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, III, V); DJIBOUTI, CITY OF (Vols. I, V); HORN OF AFRICA (Vol. I).

Douala Principal port of the nation of CAMEROON located at the mouth of the Wouri River in the Gulf of Guinea. The city was originally the site of three villages in muggy swampland 15 miles (24 km) from the sea. It became a center for the SLAVE TRADE after the Portuguese arrived in the late 15th century.

In 1845, Alfred Saker (1814–1880), an English missionary who first translated the Bible into the Douala LANGUAGE, arrived in the region and soon signed an agreement with the local chiefs to abolish SLAVERY.

By 1884 the region had fallen under the control of Germany as part of the colony of Kamerun. The port, which officially adopted the name Douala in 1907, served as the colonial capital from 1901 until 1916. The Germans filled in parts of the swamp in 1911 and constructed the first railroad, which ran a relatively short distance into the southeastern region of Kamerun, where most of the colony's CASH CROPS were grown. In 1919, after World War I (1914–18), the French assumed control of the city and continued to invest in the region by developing the port facilities and completing a rail link to Yaoundé. Beginning in 1940 the city served as the capital of the French Cameroons until Yaoundé became the capital, in 1946.

After World War II (1939–45) the city grew rapidly and had reached a total population of about 108,000 by 1954. The Wouri Bridge was completed in 1955. Stretching 5,900 feet (1,798 m) across the Wouri River, the bridge connected Douala by road with Bonabéri, which was a banana port at the time. With rail links to other African cities and a deepwater port, Douala was already a busy trading center. It later became an important industrial center for the independent nation of Cameroon.

See also: DOUALA (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); YAOUNDÉ (Vol. V).

Drum Monthly periodical published in JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, that featured articles, fiction, commentary, and photos focusing on the lives of black South Africans.

Robert Crisp, an Afrikaner, initially founded *Drum* as *The African Drum* in 1951. Under Crisp's guidance the magazine pandered to a condescending view of black Africans. The content made the magazine unpopular among the black population, not to mention unprofitable. Before the year was out Jim Bailey (1919–2000) took over the failing magazine and renamed it *Drum*, changing its focus to one centered on the social and political consciousness of black South Africans and the culture of Sophiatown, the vibrant epicenter of South African MUSIC during the 1950s. This shift in focus, along with juicy coverage of local crime and interracial relationships, increased *Drum*'s popularity with black Africans, allowing the magazine to expand its circulation into other parts of the continent.

At a time when educational opportunities for Africans were limited, *Drum* offered an environment to learn journalism and PHOTOGRAPHY while on the job, and many noted writers and photographers worked for the magazine. *Drum*'s first writer, Henry Nxumalo (d. 1957), also known as "Mr. Drum," was renowned for investigative works that unveiled the injustices of the racist South African regime. Nat Nakasa (1937–1965), another *Drum* writer, founded the literary magazine *The Classic* and was awarded a scholarship to study journalism at Harvard University in the United States. *Drum* photographer and later photoeditor, Jurgen Schadeberg (1931–1994), an Afrikaner, was a mentor to many aspiring African photographers including Peter Magubane (1932–   ), famed for documenting the injustices of APARTHEID.

Work such as Magubane's annoyed the South African government, and in 1965 the magazine was banned as an independent publication. *Drum* continued to come out, however, as a biweekly supplement to *The Golden City Post,* both of which were eventually sold to National Pers, a government-supported media conglomerate, in 1984.

See also: NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV); NEWSPAPERS AND PRINT MEDIA (Vol. V); PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Anthony Sampson, *Drum: An African Adventure and Afterwards* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983).

Dual Mandate Administrative doctrine put forth by British colonial governor Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945). In the first two decades of the 20th century the European colonial powers began to come under increased scrutiny and criticism for their COLONIAL RULE over Africa. Lugard—a veteran colonial governor with experience in both East and West Africa—wrote *The Dual Mandate* to defend the British approach to colonial government. He asserted that colonial governance should be based on a two-part approach that, first, promoted the best interests of indigenous peoples, and second, efficiently developed the NATURAL RESOURCES of a colony for economic profit.

Lugard's patrician attitude—and a certain amount of naïvete—regarding Britain's African colonies is evident throughout *The Dual Mandate.* Regarding "progress" in Africa, he writes, "in Africa to-day we are…bringing to the dark places of earth, the abode of barbarism and cruelty, the torch of culture and progress, while ministering to the material needs of our own civilisation. In this task the nations of Europe have pledged themselves to co-operation by a solemn covenant. Towards the common goal each will advance by the methods most consonant with its national genius. British methods have not perhaps in all cases produced ideal results, but I am profoundly convinced that there can be no question but that British rule has promoted the happiness and welfare of the primitive races."

The dual mandate theory also prescribed "indirect rule," an administrative system thought by the British to be the best way to help African people develop socially, politically, and economically while Britain profited from Africa's LABOR forces and natural resources. Under indirect rule colonial administrators levied taxes and advised local rulers, who continued to exercise authority over their territories. The system produced mixed results, however, as its quality and effectiveness tended to vary widely. In general, Britain's West African colonies met with better results than the East African colonies because, in Lugard's view, governors there tended not to get as involved in the local ways of conducting business and governmental functions. Despite continued criticism of the harshness and cruelty that seemed to be built-in features of indirect rule, the policy continued to be a mainstay in British-controlled colonies until 1947.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Dube, John L. (John Langalibalele Dube)
(1871–1946) *African educator, newspaper editor, and minister*

John Dube was born to ZULU-speaking parents in the colony of NATAL in present-day SOUTH AFRICA. His family were members of the *amakholwa* (believers), Africans who, under the influence of MISSIONARIES, had converted to Christianity and adopted many other aspects of Western culture. In fact, Dube's father was one of the first ordained African ministers of the American Zulu Mission,

which New England missionaries had established in Natal. In 1887 a young John Dube accompanied one of the missionaries to the United States and enrolled in Oberlin College, in Ohio. He studied in the college preparatory department until his return to South Africa in 1892. After marrying, in 1894, he became a teacher in the American Zulu Mission schools. Desiring to further his education but having no opportunity to do so in South Africa, Dube returned to the United States from 1896 to 1899 to attend the Union Missionary Seminary in Brooklyn, New York. He completed his studies and was ordained a minister in the Congregational Church.

Dube's two prolonged periods as a student in the United States had considerable significance for his later career. First, he was able to solidify his connections with American Congregationalists, who were to provide him with financial assistance and support for his work in Natal. But perhaps more importantly he became directly acquainted with African-Americans and their schools. In 1897 he presented talks at both Hampton Institute in Virginia and Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. He also met Booker T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915), who was a major influence on his subsequent career as an educator. Upon his return home Dube began planning a school modeled after Tuskegee, and in 1901 he opened Ohlange Institute. Dube was its principal, and the teaching faculty included his wife, his brother, and others educated in the United States. Ohlange was the first school for Africans in Natal that was run by Africans rather than white missionaries. Ohlange Institute's choir popularized the church hymn, "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" (God Bless Africa), that became the anthem of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) and is today South Africa's national anthem.

In 1903 Dube founded and edited a newspaper, *Ilanga laseNatal* (the Natal Sun), which was published in both Zulu and English. As with Ohlange, Dube's purpose was to educate his fellow Africans and thus improve their lives. As he wrote in the first issue, the newspaper "should keep the people informed about events and show them ways of improving themselves." His activities as an educator and an editor led Dube and other educated Africans into increasing involvement in the struggle for African rights in the then highly segregated colonial society. In 1912, seeing the need for a strong political organization, they established the ANC. Dube was its first president, and his acceptance speech captured his own views and the spirit of the other founders of the ANC. "Upward!" he stated. "Into the higher places of civilization and Christianity—not backward into the slump of darkness." He served as ANC president until 1917, when he resigned over a major disagreement about what strategy to use to secure more land for Africans. Dube remained active in politics, however, often seeking ways to accommodate competing white and African in-

terests in South Africa. He also was proud of his Zulu heritage and increasingly promoted Zulu cultural and political interests.

Further reading: R. Hunt Davis, Jr., "John L. Dube: A South African Exponent of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of African Studies*, 2/4 (1975/76), 497–529; Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

Du Bois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghart Du Bois) (1868–1963) *Scholar, sociologist, and black leader of the 20th century*

Du Bois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, a town with an extremely small black population and a subtle racist undercurrent that influenced him in his youth. Du Bois excelled at his studies, earning two bachelor's degrees and a master's degree before becoming the first African-American to earn a doctorate from Harvard University, in 1895. His doctoral thesis, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in America,* continues to be an important source on the subject.

Du Bois taught in Ohio before moving on to university positions in Philadelphia, in 1896, and later in Atlanta. His scientific approach to social issues and his numerous groundbreaking studies of African-American life and race relations earned Du Bois the title of Father of Social Science.

Du Bois's ideological clashes with fellow African-American leader Booker T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915) resulted in his best-known book, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). In it, Du Bois challenged Washington's more accommodating, conservative views and espoused energetic protest as the only way of overcoming racism and affecting social change. That same year he put forth the famous concept of the "Talented Tenth," the small percentage of African-American society that could, with the benefits of higher EDUCATION, be the vanguard for an elevation of all African-Americans. To further his opposition to Washington, Du Bois founded the Niagara Movement, in 1906, which evolved into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), in 1909.

By 1900 Du Bois had established himself as a leader in the Pan-African movement, which aimed to unite all people of African descent in a common fight for freedom and equality. Between 1900 and 1927 he organized or headed four Pan-African Congresses. His efforts met with varying success, a low point being the third congress, in 1923, which suffered from Du Bois's well-publicized feud with Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940).

Trips to Africa in 1923 and Russia in 1927 strengthened Du Bois's sense of black nationalism and made him sympathetic to Marxist ideals. In 1934 Du Bois resigned from the NAACP after vehemently criticizing the organization's direction.

At the Fifth Pan-African Congress, in 1945, Du Bois was lauded as a father of PAN-AFRICANISM. He was awarded the World Peace Council Prize in 1952 and the Soviet Lenin Peace Prize in 1959. Alienated by an American government suspicious of his communist leanings and disillusioned with the United States on the whole, Du Bois accepted an offer by Ghanian president Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) to head the creation of an Encyclopedia Africana. In 1961 he became both a Ghanian citizen and a member of the Communist Party. Du Bois died in ACCRA, GHANA, in 1963.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Durban Major port city on the Indian Ocean, located in eastern SOUTH AFRICA, in what was the colony of NATAL (today's KwaZulu-Natal province). The area of present-day Durban was home to African agro-pastoralists until 1824, when Shaka (1787–1828), the reigning ZULU king, gave British traders permission to settle on the coastal stretch of land. They founded Port Natal, renaming it Durban, in 1835, after Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the governor of the CAPE COLONY. Three years later the BOERS—who defeated Shaka's successor Dingane (1795–1840)—arrived in the area, establishing the Republic of Natalia. By 1845, however, clashes with the British led the Boers to abandon the area, and the British colony of Natal then emerged, with Durban as its main port and urban center.

In the mid-1800s Durban grew rapidly as British settlers immigrated to Natal, setting up businesses and developing a sugar industry. Workers imported from the Indian subcontinent supplied much of the LABOR needed for the rapidly growing sugar industry. Although they originally lived and worked on the sugar plantations, the Indian immigrants began to migrate into Durban proper in the early 20th century, eventually becoming a prominent part of the city's population. Also, black Afri-cans—mostly males—moved into the city to work on the docks and in other areas where manual labor was required.

In the mid-1880s the discovery of GOLD on the WITWATERSRAND in the TRANSVAAL led to the development of Durban's port. When the railway connection to the urban center of JOHANNESBURG was finally completed, in 1895, Durban soon became South Africa's leading port and a major trading center for the region's resources.

By 1900 the population of the city was approximately 55,700, and 20 years later it had risen to 90,500, one-third of whom were Africans. At that time many of the African residents were single male workers living in barracks. As the British authorities attempted to exercise more control over the growing numbers of laborers, African workers started to organize LABOR UNIONS and engage in strikes. One of Durban's early union leaders, A. W. G. CHAMPION (1893–1975), led union members in pitched battles against oppressive police restrictions in the 1920s and 1930s, getting banned from the city in the process.

In the 1930s the city's industrial sector began to boom, and over the next two decades the city, its industries, and its port all continued to grow. More African women and children also migrated to Durban, generally to the outskirts of the city, thereby dramatically increasing the population while simultaneously decreasing its male-to-female ratio.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); DURBAN (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vols. IV, V); SHAKA (Vol. III); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Further readings: Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban, 1910–1990* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1995); Paul Maylam and Iain Edwards, eds., *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1996).

Dyula Largely Muslim people who were influential traders in precolonial Africa. Speaking a LANGUAGE belonging to the widespread MANDE family of languages, the Dyula established extensive networks of TRADE AND COMMERCE linking West Africa's coastal and forest zones to the western region of present-day Republic of the SUDAN. The Sudan, in turn, was connected via trans-Saharan trade to markets in North Africa.

A new source of external trade opened for the Dyula in the 1400s, when they first encountered Portuguese merchants, who were the vanguard of Europeans arriving on the West African coast.

In the 19th century the forces led by the Dyula merchant and warrior SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900) presented one of the primary challenges to French COLONIAL CONQUEST in West Africa. After using his trade connections to import weaponry and develop an army, Samori then conquered Dyula states south of the Niger River in the region of present-day IVORY COAST and LIBERIA. By the early 1880s Touré had established a West African empire surpassed in size only by the SOKOTO CALIPHATE and the TUKULOR EMPIRE. Relying on his military might and using Islam as a unifying force, Touré managed to hold onto his empire until clashes with French and British colonialists, begun in 1882, led

to the empire's initial decline. Touré suffered his final defeat in 1898 at the hands of the French.

Today the Dyula compose an ethnic minority in BURKINA FASO, the Republic of MALI, Ivory Coast, GHANA, CAMEROON, The GAMBIA, GUINEA-BISSAU, and SENEGAL.

Most Dyula are Muslims, though some hold animist beliefs. Still known as merchants and businessmen, they also produce superb TEXTILES and pottery.

See also: DYULA (Vols. I, II, III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

E

Éboué, Félix (Adolphe-Félix-Sylvestre Éboué)
(1884–1944) *French colonial governor*

Félix Éboué was born to a modest family in Cayenne, on the coast of French Guiana, in South America. At age 15 he was awarded a scholarship that brought him to Bordeaux, France. Between 1904 and 1908 he studied at the Paris Law School and the École Coloniale, a training school for colonial administrators. Upon completing his training Éboué was sent to FRENCH CONGO (today's Republic of the CONGO), where he was assigned to the OUBANGUI-CHARI region (in present-day CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC).

While he was in French Congo Éboué studied the people of the region, eventually authoring two anthropological monographs, *The People of Ubangi-Shari* and *The Musical Key to Drum and Whistle Languages*.

In 1932 Éboué was sent to Martinique, not far from his birthplace, but he was recalled to Africa two years later to serve as secretary general of FRENCH SOUDAN (present-day MALI). Soon Éboué was sent back to the French West Indies to serve as the first black governor of Guadaloupe. Then in 1938 he crossed the Atlantic yet again, when the French administration assigned him the governorship of CHAD, in northern Central Africa.

From Chad, Éboué watched the rise of Italian and German fascism, and quietly prepared his country for the coming conflict. When France fell to Germany in 1940 the Vichy government demanded that France's African colonies end relations with Britain. Éboué refused, believing that acceding to such a demand could undermine the best interests of Africans. Further establishing his antifascist position, he became the first French colonial governor to ally his forces with French general Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970). Late in 1940 Éboué was appointed governor of all FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA, which bordered Chad, a key territory to the later movement of Free French troops against the Italians in LIBYA.

Although Éboué was preoccupied with duties relating to World War II (1939–45), he still managed to direct the modernization of the schools and hospitals in territories under his stewardship. He was not sympathetic to the nascent African nationalist movements that were emerging at the time, but he believed strongly in the inherent equality of Africans and Europeans. He thus pushed for two-way cultural assimilation and consistently proposed policies that elevated Africans' status in the French colonies.

Éboué was a leading figure in the 1944 conferences in BRAZZAVILLE that defined postwar French colonial policy. After supporting Free France during the war Éboué felt justified in insisting that a victorious France give equal treatment to its African citizens. Unfortunately, he didn't live to see any of his proposed reforms implemented: Later that year, while in CAIRO, EGYPT, he died of a heart attack after suffering a bout with pneumonia. Described as "a soul free of all baseness," Éboué is now recognized as one of Africa's greatest and most compassionate colonial administrators and reformers.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Brian Weinstein, *Éboué* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

École William Ponty (William Ponty School)
Training college for Africans, many of whom became the leaders of French-speaking countries after independence.

Founded in 1903 as the École Normale de Saint-Louis, the school was renamed École Normale William Ponty after the French colonial administrator and governor-general of FRENCH WEST AFRICA. It was moved from Saint-Louis to Gorée Island from 1913 to 1937, and then back to the mainland at DAKAR and Thiès. Originally established as a school for sons of chiefs and interpreters from throughout French West Africa, it also took the best pupils from academic departments of higher primary schools in French-speaking Africa. École William Ponty was comparable to its British counterparts, ACHIMOTA COLLEGE, in the GOLD COAST COLONY (present-day GHANA), and Makerere University, in colonial UGANDA.

One of the more prominent graduates of École William Ponty was Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993), who in 1960 became the first president of the independent IVORY COAST.

The school housed 50–80 male students aged 18–25. Their admission was largely based on local politics, and tuition was supported by scholarships. Although there was no entrance exam, there was an exit exam. The faculty was entirely European, and they offered a liberal arts curriculum similar to that of secondary schools in France. In addition to the basics, the curriculum included the arts—such as theater, poetry, MUSIC, and ART—along with history and sociology. The curriculum was intended to teach francophone Africans French knowledge and values—in essence to make them into black Frenchmen.

There were two educational tracks: teacher training and junior administrator training. The students who entered the teaching profession had an opportunity to complete on-the-job training at the facility. Those who left the school to enter government service did so as low-level administrators.

See also: EDUCATION (Vols. IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GORÉE ISLAND (Vol. III).

economy   The imposition of COLONIAL RULE furthered the transformation of the African economy that had begun with the era of the SLAVE TRADE. More and more, the LABOR and NATURAL RESOURCES of the continent were diverted to external use. For example, African workers labored in the MINING industry, which was developed by large European companies such as UNION MINIÈRE in the BELGIAN CONGO and the ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION in SOUTH AFRICA. These produced the GOLD, COPPER, and other MINERALS AND METALS that were in demand in the Western world. African laborers also worked on Euro-

pean-owned plantations to produce COTTON, COFFEE, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) and other CASH CROPS that Europeans needed for their own consumption. European firms such as the UNITED AFRICA COMPANY carried out the TRADE AND COMMERCE that resulted, with the profits flowing out of Africa and into the pockets of European investors.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that older economic patterns completely disappeared in the face of the economic changes that occurred as a result of the influence of COLONIALISM. For example, AGRICULTURE continued to be the base of subsistence for the great majority of Africans. They continued to meet their own FOOD needs by growing FOOD CROPS, and local artisans such as blacksmiths and potters continued to produce many of the utensils and tools that these people needed. The increasing use of MONEY AND CURRENCY and the desire to buy consumer luxuries such as sugar or clothing, however, led to the increasing growth of the market economy in rural areas. Some farmers, such as those who grew COCOA in colonial GHANA, produced cash crops to generate income to meet the demands of colonial TAXATION. Others, especially in southern and Central Africa, engaged in migrant labor. Also, local smiths began to use imported scrap metal or materials brought by European colonialists to make tools and other items rather than smelting their own iron. Imported CLOTH AND TEXTILES provided the material for making clothes, thus undercutting local weavers.

Another area of dramatic economic change was in the area of TRANSPORTATION. Until the mid-19th century the continent's transportation needs were met by human porters, pack animals in certain regions such as the camels in the Sahara, and boats on rivers, lakes, and the coastal lagoons. In the colonial era Europe applied steam and then, when it was invented, the internal combustion engine to develop new modes of transportation in Africa. The result was the development of railroads, steam navigation, and road transport in the form of trucks and cars. Africans as well as colonial administrators and officials and European merchants and settlers benefited, though unequally, from the improved transportation system. The colonial era also witnessed the beginning of the decisive shift in the continent's economy from the rural to the urban areas, though this process would not be completed until after Africa achieved its independence from Europe.

The cumulative result of colonial rule was to lock Africa into a state of economic underdevelopment and dependency in place of the economic autonomy that had existed prior to the 16th century. As many observers have noted, the colonial African economy produced much that it did not consume, relying on imports to fulfill many of its needs.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES (Vol. IV); ECONOMY (Vols. I, II, III, V); INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vol. IV).
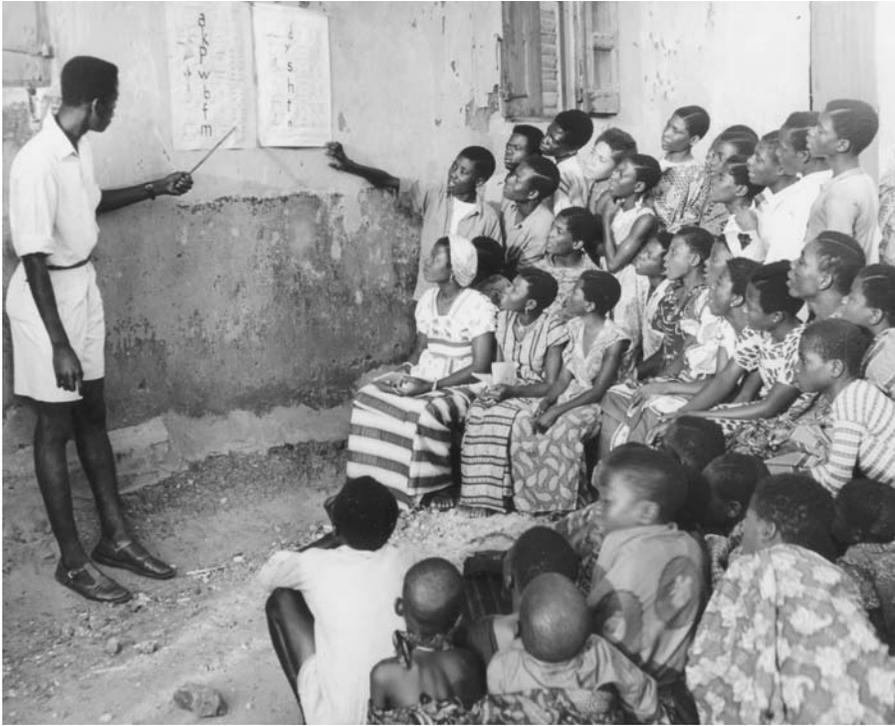
Striving to educate as many people as possible, teachers worked with groups of students that included all ages, both adults and children, as shown here in this 1958 photo, in Ghana. © *Ghana Embassy/ Library of Congress*

education Africans established their own forms of education before the arrival of foreign traders, immigrants, and invaders. Each ethnic group had its own method of educating its young to become successful adults in society. With the changes in Africa in the 19th century, however, many young students were educated through less traditional methods in order to be prepared for their changing world.

For example, the traditional education of the Mende, a MANDE people in present-day SIERRA LEONE, GUINEA, and LIBERIA, involved an age-grade system by which children of a certain age were separated by gender and taught by their elders. The relationships forged with age mates during the three or four years of seclusion continued in the Poro Society, a secret society of initiated adult men, and the Sande Society, a secret society of initiated adult women. Mende knowledge typically was passed on orally, through ritual, and by example, and a successful "schooling" meant that young people were prepared to take their place among the adults in a community.

Later, with the introduction of indigenous LITERACY, a new form of African education emerged. For the first time students learned the written forms of their languages and began receiving their educations through script. In some cases, written codes had to be invented because foreign alphabets—Arabic or Roman, for example—could not accurately represent the indigenous language. Examples include the Vai syllabary and the N'ko alphabet. The Vai syllabary, invented by Duala Bukere in 1820, was used for interpersonal communication and for record keeping. In the 20th century, Guinean scholar Souleymane KANTÉ (1922–1987) invented the N'ko alphabet and used it to transcribe into the Maninka LANGUAGE works of literature, history, SCIENCE, MEDICINE, and technology.

When Islam made inroads into an area, educational opportunities expanded to incorporate the religious education offered by Quranic schools. Children whose parents had converted to Islam would begin Muslim training at age five, studying with an imam or other teacher to memorize the Quran, the Muslim holy book. Teachers accomplished the Quranic education by writing one scripture at a time on a wooden board or slate and then helping the student memorize it phonetically. For those students whose first language was not Arabic, the teacher would also translate the text. In general, this process continued until the student had memorized all of the lessons.

Among some Muslim ethnic groups that also practiced the age-grade systems of education, children could be secluded for training to become an adult in society between the ages of nine and 12. After becoming adults those students who wanted to pursue Islamic learning even further could continue studying with the local imam or teacher or be recommended to an Islamic university, such as Al-Azhar in CAIRO, EGYPT.

When Europeans arrived they brought with them two forms of education, missionary and secular public. The intent of the MISSIONARIES was to spread Christianity and introduce European culture to Africans, whom they usually considered "uncivilized." For this purpose mis-

sionaries founded mission stations with churches and schools and recruited students from the surrounding indigenous population. Mission station schools were often boarding institutions so that students lived immersed in the European language and the religious principles of each school's particular Christian denomination. This type of education prepared Africans for work as assistants to the missionaries and as recruiters in their own communities. African Christians became lay leaders, such as music directors and Sunday school teachers. Some mission students, including Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891), Samuel JOHNSON (1846–1901), and Tiyo SOGA (1829– 1871), became fully ordained ministers in their own right.

As European governments became more involved on the continent, missionary schools expanded their curricula to include school subjects that would help enterprising members of the congregation to land jobs in the colonial ECONOMY. The evolution of FOURAH BAY COLLEGE, in Sierra Leone, was an example of such growth and development. While awaiting the development of a cadre of literate Africans during the early colonial period, the colonial officers used the European language as the official language of spoken communication. However, in many French colonies they adopted Arabic as the official language of correspondence because an existing cadre of literate Muslims already existed. Europeans then installed a colonial educational system to train their own cadre of literate workers who assumed positions in the public and private sectors of the economy serving as intermediaries between the Europeans and the general population. Many Muslims who helped pave the road to colonialism lost their jobs when the new Christian cadres were formed.

In response to the expanded role of these mission schools, Muslims offered a different kind of schooling that blended the Quranic and secular educations in the *madrasa,* a school that offered Islamic religious training and Arabic, as well as colonial languages and courses in grammar, math, science, and technology. This allowed the Muslim community to retain control over the religious instruction and moral values of their children while at the same time preparing them to take leadership positions as members of the cadre of indigenous intellectuals cultivated by most colonial administrations.

Under colonial education systems most local schools were elementary schools that provided up to six years of instruction, teaching students to read, write, and calculate. Some schools provided vocational courses that taught skills needed to participate in colonial construction projects or in the export AGRICULTURE industry. More advanced studies at the secondary level were available at boarding schools such as the ÉCOLE WILLIAM PONTY, in SENEGAL, and ACHIMOTA COLLEGE, in Britain's GOLD COAST COLONY (today's GHANA). Most such schools were located in the capital of the colony. Some, however, such as FORT HARE COLLEGE, in CAPE COLONY, SOUTH AFRICA, were located in rural areas. To enter a secondary school, students had to pass two exams, a comprehensive exit exam from the elementary school and an entrance exam for the secondary school. Students who completed the secondary program could become civil servants, teachers, or commercial agents for European companies.

Colonial education promoted the diffusion of spoken and written European languages. However, African graduates of this educational system lived in a cultural "no man's land," no longer a part of indigenous society but never able to meet European standards.

Although Muslim universities like Al-Azhar in Egypt and Sankoré in TIMBUKTU had long histories prior to European colonialism, the foundation of the present-day university systems in Africa is the outgrowth of European elementary and secondary education. Some schools that once focused on higher secondary education and technical education were adapted to become universities. École William Ponty, for example, began as the secondary École Normale in Saint-Louis. In 1827 Fourah Bay College, founded in FREETOWN, Sierra Leone, by the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, became the first college in West Africa. In 1876 it became affiliated with Durham University, in England, and thus was able to offer university degrees. Although it was an independent institution the Liberia College, founded in MONROVIA in 1862, relied on funds from missionary and philanthropic groups in the United States. Achimota College developed into the University College of the Gold Coast in 1948. The South African College, founded in 1829, became the University of CAPE TOWN in 1918. And in UGANDA, Makerere College, founded in 1922, became an institution of higher education in 1937.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); EDUCATION (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: James P. Hubbard, *Education under Colonial Rule: A History of Katsina College, 1921–1942* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2000).

Egypt   Country covering approximately 386,700 square miles (1,001,600 sq km) in the northeastern part of the African continent. It shares borders with the present-day states of LIBYA and the Republic of the SUDAN.

Ottoman Province   Egypt's modern history as an independent nation begins in 1805, the year Muhammad Ali (1769–1849) secured recognition as governor of Egypt from its ruler, the Ottoman Sultan. By 1841 Egypt had become an autonomous province in the Ottoman Empire, as it would remain until the onset of World War I (1914–18), when Ottoman authority lapsed.

In 1863 Muhammad Ali's grandson, Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), became Egypt's ruler, and he remained in power until 1879. Remembered primarily for his role in promoting the modernization of Egypt, Ismail secured the title of Khedive (viceroy) from the sultan, which allowed Egypt even more independence within the empire.

During the 1860s the Egyptian economy benefited from the U.S. Civil War (1861–65), as the shortage of COTTON from the American South created a greater British demand for Egyptian cotton. With the windfall profits from cotton and loans from European bankers, Ismail fashioned parts of his capital city of CAIRO into a European-style city that attracted European expatriates and investors. In 1869, at the opening of the SUEZ CANAL, Ismail entertained European dignitaries at Egyptian expense in order to show off Egypt's urban and technological advances. The canal made Egypt a major world center of TRANSPORTATION and communication. In addition, succumbing to colonial ambitions, Ismail expanded Egypt southward along the Nile and took control of the Sudan.

Pasha was the highest official title of honor in the Ottoman Empire and always appeared after the person's name. Pasha was typically not a hereditary title, but it was used as one in 19th-century Egypt.

Khedive Ismail's initiatives modernized Egypt and helped to create a sense of national identity. Gradually, however, he lost control of his government through deficit spending and borrowing from European banks. The United States' reentry into the cotton export market after the Civil War did not help Egypt's finances, as it cut into the country's cotton sales. Egypt's problems forced Ismail to raise revenue to meet government expenses and pay back his loans. This led him to increase land taxes, sell Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal Company, and even dispose of personal assets like the royal silver. Even those actions failed to raise enough money, however, and he was forced to accept European oversight of his government until Egypt's loans could be repaid.

At the same time, Ismail came under pressure from political agitators, who opposed his westernized orientation, and from religious reformers like Jamal al-Din al-

AFGHANI (1838–1897), who wanted to reduce European and secular influence in their country. Expressing a loss of confidence in the khedive, the British pressured the Ottoman sultan into dismissing Ismail in June 1879. Ismail's son, Mohammed Tawfiq Pasha (1852–1892), became khedive.

British Occupation   As a result of Britain's behind-the-scenes maneuvering, important decisions about Egypt's governance were being made by Britons in London rather than by the khedive in Cairo or by the sultan in Istanbul. Egypt had become a British colony in all but name. The key institution promoting resistance to British rule and encouraging nationalism now became the army. Army officers, plotting against the government, thus became the nucleus of the first national party. Khedive Tawfiq, however, thought it more prudent to back Egypt's European creditors over the Egyptian nationalists.

In 1881 Egyptian officers led by Colonel Ahmad URABI (1841–1911) mutinied and forced Tawfiq to adopt a new constitution and hold elections. On the pretext of protecting their vital interest in the Suez Canal, the British and French intervened in 1882 in support of Tawfiq. The confrontation that ensued ended in the defeat of Urabi's nationalist forces and the British occupation of Egypt.

The British appointed Sir Evelyn Baring (1841–1917), later known as Lord Cromer, as consul general in Cairo. A brilliant financial administrator, he held the post from 1883 to 1907. Baring successfully rebuilt the Egyptian economy by increasing agricultural production and reducing the debt. Although the economy seemed to stabilize, Egyptians themselves were discontented because they felt the British blocked their advancement in government and in the professions. This was compounded by the fact that the public institutions created by Khedive Ismail, including public EDUCATION, health, and housing, were systematically neglected. Instead, investment was channeled into European-owned projects. Egyptians also resented the loss of their colony in the Sudan to the MAHDIYYA in 1885, blaming that loss on the British who now headed the Egyptian army.

Renewed strife emerged, in 1892, when Abbas Hilmi Pasha (1874–1944) succeeded his father, Tawfiq, as khedive. Abbas II fought with the British consul general over the right to appoint and dismiss his ministers and control the Egyptian army. Seeking to undermine British authority, Abbas built up a secret society of European and local supporters, including Mustafa Kamil (1874–1908), who emerged in 1895 as a palace propagandist. Kamil gradually turned Abbas's secret society into a revived National Party and founded a daily newspaper that promoted nationalist ideals. The National Party's main goal was the removal of British troops from Egypt. In 1906 Consul General Baring's mishandling of an incident involving British soldiers and local peasants enabled Kamil and the new nationalists to force Baring's retirement. Although

Kamil established the National party in 1907, succeeding consul generals were able to neutralize the nationalist threat. The new vehicle for this was a revamping of state agrarian policies, which placated Khedive Abbas and the more conservative landowners and won peasant support. By 1914 the National Party's leaders were in exile.

A British Protectorate The Ottoman Empire's long rule over Egypt gave way completely to a British PROTECTORATE in 1914 as a result of World War I (1914–18). The British desperately needed to hold on to Egypt because Britain depended on the Suez Canal to speed up communication and transportation between distant parts of its empire. The British deposed Abbas II and appointed Abbas's uncle, Husayn Kamil (1853–1917), whom they could control. Believing that Egypt would achieve independence after the war, Prime Minister Husayn Rushdi Pasha (1863–1928) stayed in office. With British attention directed toward the war, the quality of the British administration declined, and Egyptians suffered from overpopulation, food shortages, and the confiscation of goods and property.

Egyptian nationalism revived, in 1919, when Sad Zaghlul (1857–1927), a follower of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, was elected vice president of the legislative assembly. Emerging as a prominent nationalist critic of the government and its British advisers, Sad Zaghlul notified the British High Commissioner, Sir Reginald Wingate (1861–1953), of his intention to form a delegation, termed *wafd* in Arabic, that would go to London to argue for Egypt's independence. Britain's Foreign Office refused to receive the delegation, however. Consequently, Sad Zaghlul organized a six-man delegation to present Egypt's case for independence at the Paris Peace Conference (1919) convened at the end of World War I. The delegation demonstrated its mandate by collecting signatures in support of independence.

In March 1919 the Rushdi cabinet resigned and the British exiled Sad Zaghul. Egypt erupted into a popular revolution—a general strike. Every social class demonstrated against the British protectorate. This outbreak forced the appointment of a new high commissioner, Lord Edmund Allenby (1861–1936), who had distinguished himself as a commander of British troops in Egypt and Palestine during World War I. Sad Zaghlul was allowed to go to Paris, and Egyptians went back to work with high hopes that the *wafd* would present its case and secure independence. The European powers, however, ignored the *wafd* and the issue of independence, never inviting the delegation to address the conference. From this delegation, however, Zaghul formed the Wafd Party, in 1919.

Continued unrest in Egypt forced the British to send a commission led by Sir Alfred MILNER (1854–1925) to investigate. Furious at their mistreatment, Egyptians organized a general boycott of the Milner commission. Al-

though Sad Zaghlul did speak with Milner, the two did not come to an agreement. Because an agreement could not be reached with the Egyptians, Britain decided to give up the protectorate and in 1922 unilaterally declared Egypt independent. This status was limited only by four conditions called "reserved points." These gave Britain the power to (1) protect British imperial communications in Egypt, (2) oversee Egypt's defense against foreign aggression, (3) protect foreign interests and minorities in Egypt, and (4) control the Sudan.

Independent Egypt Britain installed a new, independent Egyptian government led by King Fuad I (1868–1936), the 12th son of Khedive Ismail. A new constitution, modeled on Belgium's, also was put in place. Following the elections of 1923 King Fuad called on Sad Zaghlul to appoint a cabinet made up of Wafd ministers. The death of King Fuad in 1936 brought to power his teenage son, Faruk (1920–1965), under a regent. New elections held in 1936 were won by the WAFD PARTY. Mustafa al-Nahas (1879–1965) formed a Wafdist cabinet and successfully negotiated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty (1936). This agreement guaranteed the British bases in Cairo and ALEXANDRIA. It also gave the British a 20-year lease on a large military base for defense of the Suez Canal. The Sudan question was left for later discussion.

For Egypt independence meant entering the world arena as a nation with a constitutional monarchy, cabinet ministers responsible to parliament, ambassadors, and membership in the League of Nations. However, under King FARUK, Nahas and his Wafdist cabinet lasted only 18 months. Faruk systematically found ways to exclude the Wafd Party from power by forming coalition governments of independent parties. Meanwhile the government did nothing to solve Egypt's pressing economic and social problems.

Since the politicians proved their incompetence, Egyptians looked for other solutions. Among those was the Society of Muslim Brothers (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun), who wanted Egypt to abandon its secular government and return to traditional Islamic customs and institutions. Reacting against a century of westernizing reforms that had brought little or no benefit to the average Egyptian, the Muslim Brothers lashed out against Jews, Christians, and Western innovations.

In 1939 the onset of World War II (1939–45) transformed Egypt once again into a British army camp. Concerned that the existing government wanted Egypt to remain neutral, the British ambassador, Sir Miles Lampson (1880–1964), forced King Faruk to accept the British choice for prime minister. The new anti-German government was formed by Mustafa al-Nahas and his Wafd Party, which remained in power from 1942 to 1944.

Although few Egyptians had previously viewed themselves as Arabs, both King Faruk and the Wafd Party began to identify Egypt more closely with the Arab world.

In 1945 Egypt became a founding member of the Arab League. While preserving the sovereignty of each Arab country, the Arab League coordinated their efforts on key Arab issues. The most significant issue of the day was the possible creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. The formation in 1948 of the state of Israel prompted immediate Arab retaliation, and war between Israel and its Arab neighbors broke out on the same day that Israeli independence was announced. However, Egyptian forces were defeated in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, and Egypt's old regime was discredited. New elections in 1950 brought back al-Nahas and the Wafd, who proposed an ambitious reform program beginning with the abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

On January 26, 1952, the people of Cairo rebelled in what has become known as "Black Saturday." This revolt was as much a protest against al-Nahas's government as an expression of anger against foreigners, many of whose buildings were burned. Egyptian army officers seized power in a coup d'état. King Faruk was sent into exile. The leader of the revolutionary officers, Colonel Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), took power and was confirmed as president, in 1956.

President Nasser persuaded Britain to withdraw its troops from the Suez Canal, which had been Britain's principal interest in Egypt since the canal's opening, in 1869. He then nationalized the canal. This action resulted in a combined British-French paratroop invasion in October 1956. In a rare display of agreement during the Cold War era, however, the United States and the former Soviet Union pressured the British and French to withdraw, which they did.

Egypt's transition from Ottoman province to British protectorate and then from quasi-independence to full independence was then complete.

See also: ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM (Vol. IV); ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); EGYPT (Vols. I, II, III, V); MUHAMMAD ALI (Vol. III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: M. W. Daly, ed., *The Cambridge History of Egypt, Vol. 2: Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press 1998); Arthur Goldschmidt, *Modern Egypt: the Formation of a Nation-State* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2002); James Jankowski, *Egypt: A Short History* (Oxford, U.K.: Oneworld, 2000).

Egyptology Study of ancient EGYPT of the Pharaonic era (3000 BCE–30 CE), utilizing disciplines such as ART history, archaeology, and history. Egyptology as a field of study began after French forces, under Napoleon I (1769–1821), invaded Egypt in 1798. The scholars who accompanied Napoleon's forces sent home detailed descriptions of the antiquities they saw and unearthed,

heightening European interest in ancient Egypt. Among the early, influential publications on Egypt was *Travels in Lower and Upper Egypt* (1802) by the artist Vivant Denon (1747–1825), who created a visual record of the ancient monuments and whom Napoleon later made director-general of museums.

Although Napoleon amassed a treasure of Pharaonic-era antiquities, he was forced to surrender them to the British, who had defeated him in Egypt in 1801 at the Battle of Alexandria. These spoils of war became the basis of the Egyptian collection at the British Museum in London. Until 1822, however, little was known about their purpose or significance. The details of ancient Egyptian life and culture were locked behind hieroglyphics, which to Europeans seemed an undecipherable writing system. That year, the scholar Jean-François Champollion (1980–1832) unlocked the meaning of the Rosetta Stone, a stone slab inscribed with three versions of the same text: one in hieroglyphics, one in Demotic (a common, simplified Egyptian script), and one in Greek. By comparing the hieroglyphics to the Greek and Demotic, Champollion was able to decipher them, giving the modern world access to knowledge of the ancient world. Because vast numbers of ancient Egyptian inscriptions could then be translated, Egypt's history and culture became better known than that of any other ancient civilization.

Further advances in Egyptology came in 1858 with the appointment of the French archaeologist Auguste Mariette (1821–1881) as conservator of monuments in Egypt and director of the Antiquities Service. The Egyptian government had established this bureau in 1835 to gain control over the country's ancient cultural heritage. Working without supervision and without any formal system for gathering and cataloging his findings, Mariette collected antiquities at a furious pace. Mariette subsequently established the Egyptian Museum in CAIRO to house what he and fellow archeologists unearthed. In 1900 the museum moved to its present building, which today houses more than 120,000 objects.

From 1881 until 1914 French archaeologist Gaston Maspero (1846–1916) served as director general of the Antiquities Service. He began to control the allocation of excavation permits in order to limit illegal excavations. During this period archaeologists were able to keep whatever artifacts the Egyptian Museum decided not to acquire for its collection. Consequently, many archaeologists, art collectors, explorers, and travelers came to Egypt, lured by the possibility of fame and wealth. In the process they made many amazing discoveries, including the tombs and mummies of many pharaohs and other notables in the Valley of the Kings in Upper Egypt.

Another major advance came with British archaeologist William Flinders Petrie (1853–1942), who, by applying scientific techniques to the study of Egypt's ancient past, established Egyptology as a scholarly endeavor. He

is regarded as the first scientific excavator in the history of Egyptian archaeology. Until Petrie's time excavations of the ancient sites had lacked any methodical planning and produced a mixture of artifacts whose relationship to each other—and therefore full significance—was often unclear. Petrie demonstrated that through systematic excavation, an accurate chronological record of sites could be established.

Another well-known scientific Egyptologist of this period was Howard Carter (1874–1939), the British-born inspector general of monuments for Upper Egypt. With funds provided by his wealthy British patron, Lord Carnarvon (1866–1923), he supervised the excavations at Thebes and in the Valley of the Kings. These culminated in 1922 with the unearthing of the largely intact tomb of King Tutankhamun (r. c. 1361–1352 BCE) in 1922. Lord Carnarvon's death shortly after the discovery of King Tutankhamun's tomb gave rise to stories about a Mummy's Curse that haunted the tomb, causing the premature death of those who disturbed it. There is no evidence to support the existence of such a curse.

After World War II (1939–45) a renewed focus on ancient Egypt led a consortium of educational and cultural institutions to set up the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) as a private, not-for-profit organization committed to the conservation of Egyptian artifacts. ARCE supports researchers from across the globe to study all phases of Egyptian civilization.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY IN AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); EGYPTOLOGY (Vol. V).

Further reading: Angela McDonald and Christina Riggs, eds., *Current Research in Egyptology 2000* (Oxford, U.K.: Archaeopress, 2000).

Ekwensi, Cyprian (Cyprian Odiatu Duaka Ekwensi) (1921–   ) *Nigerian writer*

Born to IGBO parents in Minna, Northern NIGERIA, Ekwensi excelled in his studies, particularly English, SCIENCE, and math. He attended the University of Ibadan, the Chelsea School of Pharmacy in London, and the School of Forestry in Western Nigeria. In 1944 Ekwensi gained employment as a forestry officer, and, ironically, considering his later urban focus, he drew inspiration for his writing from his job's bucolic milieu. In 1947 he published a collection of original short stories and Igbo folktales entitled *Ikolo the Wrestler and Other Igbo Tales*. Alongside his early writing career, Ekwensi also worked as a professor and a pharmacist.

A resident of large cities for much of his life, Ekwensi soon turned to URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE, particularly that of LAGOS, as his literary muse. Two novellas, *When Love Whispers* (1947) and *The Leopard's Claw* (1950), were Ekwensi's early efforts on urban themes, but *People of the City* (1954) truly established Ekwensi's subject and style.

Written in a journalistic tone, the novel follows jazz musician and reporter Amusa Sango through a series of interwoven plots taking place in Ekwensi's focal city of Lagos. The novel incorporates various aspects of city life, from crime and political corruption to MUSIC, NEWPAPERS, and business. *People of the City* became the precursor of Ekwensi's urban fiction, a genre he would develop further in the following decades. His accessible writing style and his choice of themes made him a popular author for a largely urban-based Nigerian readership that was already familiar with the journalism of Nigeria's lively press.

See also: IBADAN, UNIVERSITY OF (Vol. V); EKWENSI, CYPRIAN (Vol. V); LANGUAGE USAGE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); NEWSPAPERS AND PRINT MEDIA (Vol. V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Elizabethville (Lubumbashi)

Second largest city and the principal industrial center of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Located in the COPPERBELT region of the Katanga province, the city of Elizabethville had a far different origin from the two other major colonial cities of the BELGIAN CONGO, LEOPOLDVILLE (present-day Kinshasa) and STANLEYVILLE (Kisangani). Those cities were founded because they were both strategically located at opposite ends of a 745-mile (1,240-km) navigable stretch of the Congo River, at a time when river steamers offered the most viable means of long-distance TRANSPORTATION. Elizabethville was situated far from any navigable river, but it lay above rich COPPER deposits.

An early colonial-era source describes Elizabethville as "the boom town of the Congo. It has a white population of 3,000 and possesses every modern convenience. Its homes are supplied with electric current and running water, and its [white] inhabitants know the comforts of ice and of bathtubs."

In contrast to Leopoldville, however, a permanent African presence on the urban scene was readily accepted because a settled labor force, rather than a migrant one, was needed for the grueling task of extracting copper from the bowels of the earth. Rail links served to transport the copper to Benguela, ANGOLA, to the Kasai tributary of the Congo River, and to Northern Rhodesia.

While copper served as the basis of the ECONOMY, other industries for tobacco products, TEXTILES, food processing, brewing, and, of course, metalworking emerged. The city retained its stultifying colonial character until the mid-1950s, when the colonial government began to

expand African EDUCATION, including establishing a university in 1955. Elizabethville became the capital of the breakaway Katanga state of Moïse Tshombe (1919–1969) from 1960 to 1963 and was the scene of fierce fighting between United Nations forces and Katanga's army. During that time many Belgians abandoned their homes and made a hasty departure from the country.

In 1966, along with other Congolese cities carrying colonial names, Elizabethville was renamed. Its new name, Lubumbashi, harked back to the African heritage of the Luba kingdom that dominated the region into the 19th century.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V); COPPER MINES (Vol. II); LUBA (Vol. II); LUBA EMPIRE (Vol. III); LUBUMBASHI (Vol. V); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. V); TSHOMBE, MOÏSE (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Bruce Fetter, *The Creation of Elizabethville, 1910–1940* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1976).

England and Africa   England expanded its role and influence in Africa during the colonial era to become, along with France, a leading colonial power. During the second half of the 19th century Britain dramatically increased its presence on the African continent.

Up until 1707 England was its own kingdom. That year, it formed a union with Scotland under the name Kingdom of Great Britain. In 1801 the Kingdom of Great Britain, along with a conquered Ireland, became the United Kingdom. Throughout this time, the seat of British government was centered in London, England. For purposes of consistency, in volumes III through V of this encyclopedia, the articles specifically dealing with the relationship of Africa with the British are titled "England and Africa."

The opening up of Africa to European explorers, traders, and MISSIONARIES was made possible in part as a result of steam-powered boats and improved knowledge of waterways in the continent's interior. The availability of quinine as a prophylactic against malaria and the completion of the SUEZ CANAL in 1859 were also factors in this. In large part, Britain's efforts at COLONIAL CONQUEST were intended to replace the SLAVE TRADE with "legitimate trade." Also, British church leaders hoped that colonial

expansion would facilitate the efforts of missionary societies to spread Christianity. However, Britain's imperialist aspirations were also driven to a large extent by the desire to gain greater access to Africa's potential markets and raw materials, as well as to outmaneuver their European colonial competitors.

During the PARTITION of Africa among Europe's leading powers in the 1880s, Britain established formal control over some of the continent's most strategically and economically vital regions. Britain's major colonial holdings ultimately included EGYPT and present-day Republic of the SUDAN in North Africa; GOLD COAST COLONY (now GHANA), NIGERIA, and SIERRA LEONE in West Africa; UGANDA and NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA) in Central Africa; BRITISH EAST AFRICA (now KENYA) in East Africa; and the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE), and NYASALAND (now MALAWI) in southern Africa. After the end of World War I (1914–18), Britain also came to control some of Germany's previous colonies, including TANGANYIKA (now part of TANZANIA) and British TOGOLAND.

In administering its African colonial empire, Britain drew upon the philosophy devised by Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) that was put forth as the DUAL MANDATE. Formulated while Lugard was serving as a colonial administrator, first in BUGANDA and then in the SOKOTO CALIPHATE in the Northern Region of Nigeria, this approach of indirect rule involved recognition of existing African kings, chiefs, and figures of authority. These indigenous leaders were permitted to rule as long as they recognized British supremacy and maintained certain colonial policies such as tax collection, recruitment into the military, and forced LABOR details.

The imposition of COLONIAL RULE, however, often met with militant resistance by Africans. In the Gold Coast Colony, the ASHANTI EMPIRE nearly managed to expel British colonial forces during the ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS. In southern Africa ZULU soldiers destroyed a British regiment at the Battle of ISANDLWANA, in 1879, though the resisting Africans eventually lost the ANGLO-ZULU WAR. The Zulus once again challenged British colonial control during the ill-fated BAMBATHA'S REBELLION of 1906–08. The AFRIKANER REPUBLICS also contested British encroachment, a conflict that culminated in the ANGLO-BOER WAR of 1899–1902. In all of these instances primary resistance met with failure and highlighted Britain's ability to quell rebellions through its command of advanced weaponry.

Militarily superior, Britain progressively tightened its grip over its African colonies and even established significant British settlements in certain desirable locales, such as Southern Rhodesia and Kenya. However, World War I and World War II (1939–45) had unfavorable impacts on Britain's economy and military capacity. These conflicts also contributed to the momentum of African nationalist
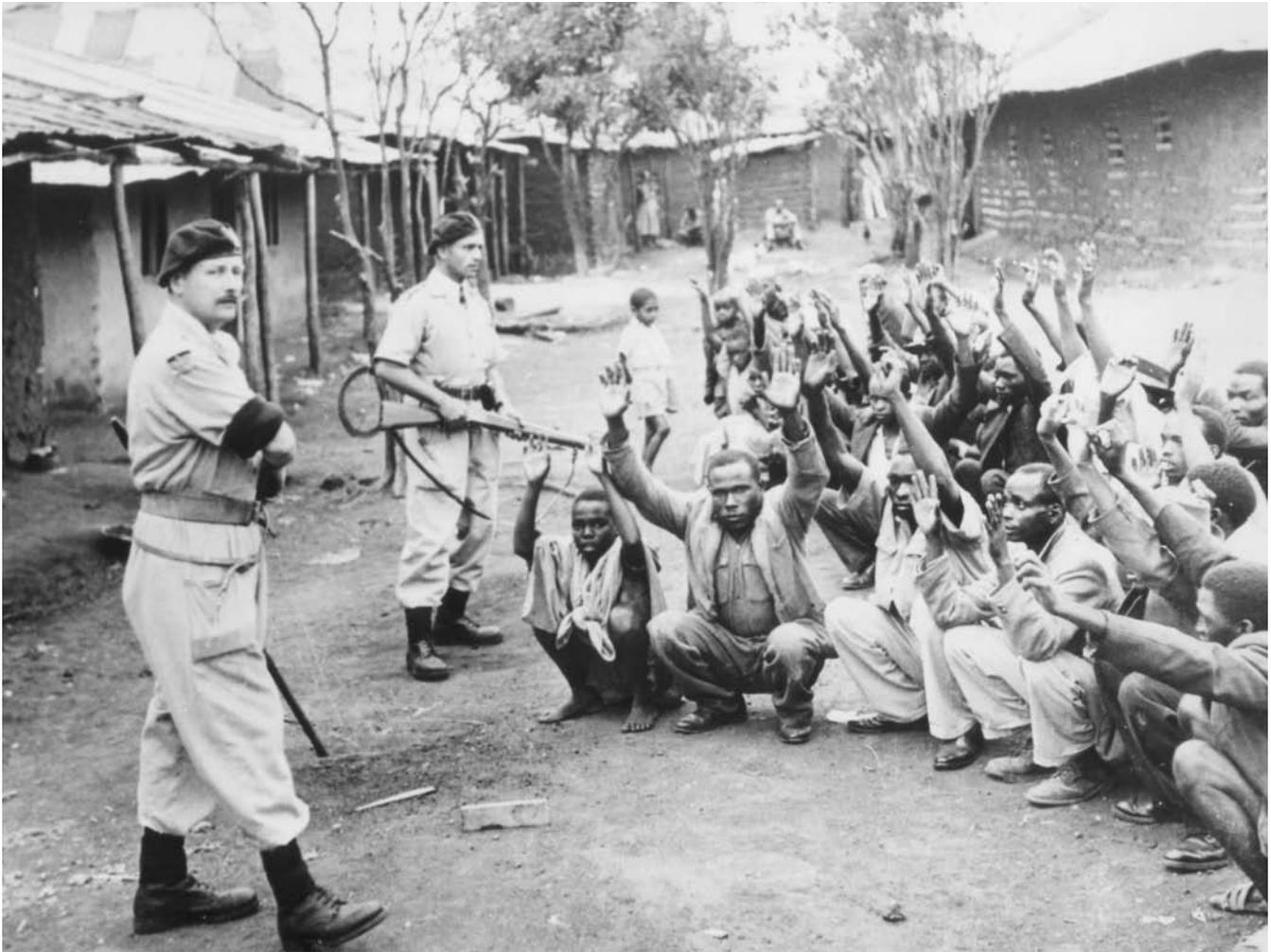
In spite of mass arrests and other repressive policies, by 1953 Britain was struggling to maintain control of its Kenyan colony during the Mau Mau insurrection. Here English policemen search a Kikiyu village for Mau Mau suspects. *© NEA photo*

organizations that were agitating for greater political power, and, ultimately, independence from colonial rule. The MAU MAU movement in Kenya, which developed during the late 1940s and 1950s, demonstrated the limitations of British colonial power. It also showed the high cost Britain would have to bear if it wanted to maintain its colonial holdings in the face of popular insurrections among its African colonial subjects. This cost increased as Africans educated in Europe and American universities formed a new and increasingly militant group that was unwilling to settle for anything short of complete political autonomy.

Recognizing the inevitability of the loss of its African colonies, by the 1950s Britain took steps to gradually transfer power to the African elites. In 1957 the Gold Coast Colony became the first sub-Saharan colony to attain full independence from Britain. Under the dynamic leadership of Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), the country,

renamed Ghana, served as an inspiration for the many other African states that achieved independence from Britain in quick succession during the following six years.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Barbara Bush, *Imperialism, Race, and Resistance: Africa and Britain, 1919–1945* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Trevor Royle, *Winds of Change: The End of Empire in Africa* (London: J. Murray, 1996).

Equatorial Guinea Present-day country in western Central Africa measuring some 10,800 square miles (28,000 sq km). Equatorial Guinea is made up of a continental region, bordered by CAMEROON and GABON, as well as five islands, the largest of which is Bioko (formerly Fernando Po). Malabo is the present-day capital.

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From 1827 to 1844 the British Royal Navy used the port of Malabo, on Fernando Po, to liberate Africans from slave ships leaving the Guinea Coast bound for the Americas. The majority of these African people, called RECAPTIVES, **were delivered to** SIERRA LEONE.

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In 1906 UNION MINIERE, a MINING corporation, was formed to begin exploiting the copper deposits on the Belgian side of the colonial border. Elizabethville, named in honor of Belgium's Queen Elizabeth, emerged in 1910. It had more in common with similar mining towns in SOUTH AFRICA, NORTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZAMBIA) and SOUTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE) than it did with the other commercial and administrative centers of the Congo. Whites occupied the more pleasant areas of the town, away from the noxious fumes of the refineries and smelters, while the African LABOR force occupied drab areas close to the mines, known at the time as the "native townships."

In 1858 Spain took control of Fernando Po from the British, and by the late 1870s the island was being used as a base for Spanish exploration of the African continent. In addition, they set up a penal colony to hold prisoners from Cuba, Spain's Caribbean colony. Spain also began developing COCOA and timber as the island's main exports. Typical of colonial-era labor, no Spaniards actually worked on the plantations. Instead, the authorities coerced Africans to do their work for them. Some of these laborers were of the local Bubi ethnic group, and others came from the Fang group, from the mainland.

It was not until 1900 that the Treaty of Paris formalized Spain's claims to Fernando Po and the neighboring continental territory, after which the region was known collectively as SPANISH GUINEA. The colony was divided into three administrative units: the island of Fernando Po, the islands of Annobón, Elobey, and Carrisco, and the continental Río Muni. Although the colonial economy on the islands was established, it wasn't until after the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and World War II (1939–45) that development began on the continental lands. By the time the colony achieved its independence, in 1968, it had a strong export economy based on timber, cocoa, COFFEE, and PALM OIL.

In 1959 Spanish Guinea was made an overseas territory of Spain, meaning that all of its inhabitants, Africans included, were granted the rights and privileges of Spanish citizens. At the same time, however, NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS were sweeping the continent, and Spain eventually extended self-rule to the territory, the name of which was changed to Equatorial Guinea in

1963. Equatorial Guinea became fully independent in 1968 with Francisco Macías Nguema (1922–1979) as its first president.

See also: EQUATORIAL GUINEA (Vols. I, II, III, V); FANG (Vols. I, II); FERNANDO PO (Vol. III); MALABO (Vol. V); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Eritrea   Present-day country located on the Red Sea in northeastern Africa that was a one-time Italian colony and Ethiopian PROTECTORATE. Bordered by DJIBOUTI to the southeast, the Republic of the SUDAN to the west, and ETHIOPIA to the south, Eritrea covers some 46,800 square miles (121,200 sq km).

Controlled at various times over the centuries by Aksum, EGYPT, Portugal, and the Ottoman Empire, Eritrea was originally settled by Sabeans from the Arabian Peninsula. Intermingling with peoples moving into the area from the northern Sudan, they survived primarily as pastoral nomads.

Eritrea during the Colonial Era   Beginning with its purchase of the Red Sea port of Aseb in the late 1880s, Italy began a colonizing program that culminated, in 1890, with the formal declaration that Eritrea was an Italian colony. Large-scale immigration followed, and by the late 1930s more than 70,000 Italians had settled in the region. ASMARA, which soon took on the appearance of a colonial Italian city, became the colony's capital, primarily because of its location in the cooler and better-watered highlands. From 1936 to 1942, along with Ethiopia and ITALIAN SOMALILAND, Eritrea was administered as part of a colonial federation called ITALIAN EAST AFRICA.

To fulfill its dreams of empire Italy developed Eritrea's infrastructure, built roads and railways, and created an industrial zone. Although infamous for its harsh treatment of the Eritrean population as little more than cheap LABOR, the Italian colonial administration nevertheless helped contribute to Eritrean nationalism, as well as to the development of both a sizable working class and an educated urban population.

Following Italy's defeat in World War II (1939–45) Eritrea temporarily came under the control of Britain, which administered it as occupied enemy territory under the British Military Authority. After the formal end of the war the United Nations was entrusted with the region's future, ultimately choosing to unite Eritrea with Ethiopia. This decision, which was put into effect in the fall of 1952, was unpopular in Eritrea, where the population saw itself as different—economically, politically, and socially—from Ethiopia's. By 1961 armed resistance to Ethiopian rule had begun, continuing in various guises until 1993, when Eritrea's independence was finally formally recognized.

See also: AKSUM (Vols. I, II); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ERITREA (Vols.

Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, 1900

Map area

ERITREA
Massawa
Asmara

Red
Sea

Adowa

MAHDIST STATE
(SUDAN)

Blue Nile

Gondar

L. Tana

Debra
Markos

Dessie

Assab

FRENCH
SOMALILAND
Djibouti
Zeila

Gulf of Aden

Dire Dawa
Harar

Berbera
Hargeisa

BRITISH
SOMALILAND

Addis Ababa

Gore

Eil

Ogaden

L. Abaya

ITALIAN
SOMALILAND

Shebelle R.

Juba R.

Obbia

Indian
Ocean

L. Turkana

	Ethiopian Empire
	British possession
	French possession
	Italian possession
ERITREA	State or possession

0 — 300 Miles
0 — 300 Kms

N

I, II, III, V); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE (Vols. II, III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV).

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Ethiopia Northeast African country covering approximately 435,100 square miles (1,126,900 sq km) that long resisted European colonial designs. Ethiopia, officially known today as the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, is a landlocked republic in the interior of the Horn of Africa. It borders the present-day states of DJIBOUTI, ERITREA, KENYA, SOMALIA, and the Republic of the SUDAN. In addition to the politically and culturally dominant AMHARA, Ethiopia hosts several other major ethnic groups, including the OROMO, TIGRAY, and Somali. Regarding RELIGION, approximately half the country's inhabitants are Muslims, while Christians make up 35–40 percent of the population. About 12 percent of the population is considered animist. Ethiopia claims one of the world's earliest civilizations, as well as the Solomonic Dynasty, Africa's oldest monarchy.

By the mid-19th century Ethiopia finally emerged from the Zemene Mesafint, or Age of Princes, a protracted period of political anarchy (1768–1855). Stability and political reunification were achieved in part through the efforts of Lij Kassa (1820–1868), who extended the boundaries of the Ethiopian kingdom. Once he had consolidated power, in 1855, Kassa was crowned emperor, taking the name TÉWODROS II. Téwodros II sought to centralize and modernize Ethiopia, which involved importing Western technical advisors, reducing the power of feudal warlords, creating a national army, and taxing the holdings of the ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. Amid diplomatic tensions with Britain, in 1867 Téwodros seized the British consul and other diplomats and retreated to the mountain fortress of Magdala. The British captured Magdala in 1868, but rather than allowing himself to be captured, Téwodros II committed suicide.

A four-year interregnum followed until Kassa Mercha, the governor of Tigray, assumed the throne in 1872, taking the name YOHANNES IV (1831–1889). During his reign, Yohannes was forced to focus his attention on quelling internal revolts and repulsing external threats.

Within Ethiopia the king of SHOA, the future Emperor MENELIK II (1844–1913), proved a powerful rival.

After the opening of the SUEZ CANAL in 1869, Italy sought to gain influence in the Horn of Africa. It captured the Red Sea ports of Aseb and Mitsiwa in present-day Eritrea and made inroads into Tigray before suffering a defeat at Dogali. In 1875 EGYPT invaded Ethiopia, also in pursuit of imperialist goals, but its forces were driven out the following year. Additionally, Yohannes IV had to contend with raids launched by Sudanese Mahdists, who were followers of the Islamic leader Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1885). In March 1889, while fighting the Mahdists in the Sudan, Yohannes was killed. Menelik II declared himself emperor the same month, even though Yohannes IV had named his son as heir to the throne.

Despite having entered into a treaty of friendship with Menelik in 1889, Italy sought to establish a PROTEC-TORATE over Ethiopia in the early 1890s. Menelik resisted Italian attempts to gain influence, and the tensions culminated in the Battle of ADOWA, on March 1, 1896. A resounding loss for the Italians, the battle is still celebrated by Ethiopians as the most notable victory of any African army against a European power. Although Italy recognized Ethiopian independence in the Treaty of Addis Ababa, signed in October 1896, it retained control over Eritrea. Menelik expanded the boundaries of the Ethiopian state, mostly southward, between 1896 and 1906 to resemble the present-day borders. He also established a new capital at ADDIS ABABA. In addition, he began construction on a railway linking Addis Ababa to the port of Djibouti (completed in 1917).

Lij Iyasu (1896–1935), Menelik's grandson and designated heir came to power upon Menelik's death in 1913. He was deposed three years later by the country's Amhara nobility, which resented his attempts to integrate Muslims into the administration. Iyasu's support of the Central Powers during World War I (1914–18) also alienated Britain and France. Menelik's daughter, Zawditu (1876–1930), assumed the throne as empress, with Ras Tafari Makonnen (1892–1975), a cousin of Menelik, serving as prince-regent and the heir apparent. In 1928 Zawditu proclaimed Ras Tafari as king, and upon her death, two years later, Tafari had himself crowned Emperor HAILE SELASSIE.

Selassie undertook an ambitious program of modernization, which included drafting the country's first constitution, establishing a bicameral parliament, laying an extensive network of roads and communications, and abolishing SLAVERY. The success of Ethiopia's modernizing efforts, fueled by booming sales of COFFEE (the country's principal export), excited the envy of Italy's dictator, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945). He was intent on avenging Italy's defeat at Adowa and staking Italy's claim as a great imperial power. Italy invaded Ethiopia on October 2, 1935, and over the following seven months deployed poison gas and aerial bombardments to overcome the Ethiopian army. Despite Ethiopia's membership in the League of Nations since 1923 and that organization's commitment to collective security, its member states did not directly oppose Italy's flagrant violation of the league's core principles. Selassie fled into exile on May 2, 1936. Italy consolidated its control over Ethiopia, combining its administration with Eritrea and ITALIAN SOMALILAND to create ITALIAN EAST AFRICA. Prior to its occupation by Italy (1936–41), Ethiopia had been one of only two African countries to escape the imposition of COLONIAL RULE (LIBERIA was the other). Selassie returned to Ethiopia during World War II (1939–45), and liberated his country from Italian rule with the support of British and South African forces.

Ethiopia joined the United Nations as a charter member in 1945, and in 1963 Addis Ababa became home to the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity. With the backing of the United Nations, Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia in 1952, in the process securing Ethiopia's access to the Red Sea. Ethiopia enjoyed a relatively buoyant economy during the 1950s and 1960s as a result of profitable coffee EXPORTS. Internal dissent grew among those seeking significant land reform, however, especially those in opposition to the laws that gave large landowners and the ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH decided advantages. Despite concessions, which included a new constitution, the unequal distribution of land did not change. Selassie survived a coup d'état attempt by members of the imperial guard in December 1960, but ongoing conflict with Somalia and Republic of the Sudan over the next few years further eroded the emperor's popular appeal. After ruling Ethiopia for more than four decades, in 1974 Selassie was overthrown by the Dergue, a military junta.

See also: ETHIOPIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); HORN OF AFRICA (Vols. I, V); ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WARS (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); OGADEN (Vol. IV); SOLOMONIC DYNASTY (Vol. II).

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Ethiopian Orthodox Church   Long-time state church of imperial ETHIOPIA, theologically and organizationally distinct from Western Christian churches. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church dates back to the fourth century CE, when two evangelists, Frumentius and Aedesius, gained permission from Ezana, the king of Aksum, to spread the Christian RELIGION within the kingdom. Theologically close to the Coptic Church and other Eastern forms of Christianity, the Ethiopian church over the centuries also assimilated a number of beliefs and practices from traditional African religions. As a result it not only

held fast to theological beliefs that had been heretical in the West as early as the fifth century CE, but it also incorporated beliefs in various local spirits and devils. In addition, because of the emphasis the Ethiopian royal house placed on its supposed links to Israel's King Solomon and Queen Makeda (queen of Sheba), the church also incorporated traditional Jewish practices. These include circumcision, reverence for the Ark of the Covenant, and the observance of a Saturday (as well as a Sunday) Sabbath.

Although it technically remained independent, for centuries the Ethiopian church was headed by an archbishop appointed by the patriarch of the Coptic Church in ALEXANDRIA, EGYPT. Frequent tensions resulted from this arrangement as both the clergy and Ethiopian rulers strained against such foreign intervention. It was not until the 1920s, however, that an agreement was worked out allowing four Ethiopian archbishops to serve as auxiliaries to the Egyptian-appointed archbishop. This arrangement was, in turn, renegotiated in the wake of World War II (1939–45), at which time the head of the church was chosen from among the Ethiopian clergy.

Quite early in its history the Orthodox Church became the official religion of imperial Ethiopia, and it remained so in spite of large numbers of Ethiopian practitioners of both Islam and traditional religion. The institutions of the church and of the imperial throne were intertwined in complex ways. The church often seemed to exert influence in the selection of emperors in the same way that the emperors often had ways of exerting power over the church and its leaders. In the early 20th century, for example, the church played a key role in the overthrow of Lij Iyasu (r. 1913–1916), the grandson of the famous MENELIK II (1844–1913). Although he had been Menelik's personal choice as the next emperor, Iyasu had longtime links to Ethiopia's Muslim community, a situation that angered both the clerics of the church and the country's traditional-minded nobility. When Iyasu undertook policies that in their eyes undermined the supremacy of the church, both elements took action, first denying Iyasu a formal coronation for three years and ultimately overthrowing him and installing one of Menelik's daughters on the throne.

The interplay of the church and the imperial throne took another strange turn during the time of the ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR of 1935–36. Following Ethiopia's military defeat and the flight of Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975), the Egyptian Coptic head of the church, Kerlos (d. c. 1942), collaborated fully with the Italian conquerors. The four main Ethiopian archbishops, however, did not collaborate, leading to widespread unpopularity for the church's head. Kerlos finally denounced the Italian invaders and was replaced by Ethiopia's fascist administrators. They installed an Ethiopian-born cleric who collaborated with them until his death, in

1939. When Haile Selassie was restored to his throne in 1941, he was confronted with two "heads" of the Ethiopian church, Kerlos—who had initially collaborated but who had ultimately rebelled and been deposed—and another who had been a willing tool of the Italian conquerors. Not liking either of the possibilities, the emperor played a waiting game. Within a year both archbishops died, and the emperor maneuvered to install a cleric more to his liking.

See also: AKSUM (Vols. I, II); ARK OF THE COVENANT (Vol. I); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); MAKEDA, QUEEN (Vol. I); TRADITIONAL RELIGION (Vol. I).

Ethiopianism Religious movement, begun in SOUTH AFRICA, that encouraged the development of African-led Christian churches independent of European influence. Ethiopianism and its message of African empowerment foreshadowed the NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS that pushed for African equality in the political realm.

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Some of the leaders of African churches worked in conjunction with independent black churches in the United States to develop a Christian theology more culturally appropriate to Africans. In 1915 one such leader, John CHILEMBWE (c. 1872–1915) of the Providence Industrial Mission, led an uprising against unfair British taxation in NYASALAND (present-day MALAWI). The rebellion failed, but it helped make conscientious Christians around the world more aware of the oppression faced by African Christians under COLONIAL RULE.

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In the 1880s black missionary workers in southern and Central Africa were not allowed to move up in the hierarchy of paternalistic, European-run missionary churches. As a result black religious leaders began establishing their own independent churches with messages that better reflected the African perspective. In 1892 a former Protestant minister in South Africa, Mangena Mokone (1851–1931), founded such a church and used the term *Ethiopianism* to describe its Africa-centric beliefs.

Mentioned often in the Bible, where it is called Kush, Ethiopia not only held positive connotations for black Christians in Africa, but also served as a symbolic ancestral homeland for many people of African descent in North and South America. The historical glory of Kush and Ethiopia was a touchstone for many of the Africanist

During the colonial era, British East Africa became the world's largest exporter of sisal. In this undated photo, African women laborers dry the sisal before it is made into rope and twine. *© ECA Photo*

movements that became increasingly influential in the 20th century. Ethiopia's cultural independence, maintained even during the height of colonialism, made the kingdom an even more powerful symbol. The influence of Ethiopianism can be seen in the Africa-for-the-Africans movement, PAN-AFRICANISM, the BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENT, African Zionism, and Rastafarianism. By the beginning of the 20th century independent African churches and numerous sub-sects were established in NIGERIA, CAMEROON, and GOLD COAST COLONY (now GHANA). By the 1950s churches with Ethiopianist views existed throughout West Africa and were present in KENYA, SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE), and NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA).

See also: BLYDEN, EDWARD WILMOT (Vol. IV); CASELY-HAYFORD, J. E. (Vol. IV); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV, V); GARVEY, MARCUS (Vol. IV); KUSH (Vol. I); RASTAFARIANISM (Vol. V); RELIGION (Vol. IV, V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

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Europe and Africa *See* BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); BERLIN CONFERENCE (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES (Vol. IV); DECOLONIZATION (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, IV, V); EUROPE AND AFRICA (Vol. V); EXPORTS (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MISSIONARIES (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

exploration *See* BAKER, SIR SAMUEL (Vol. IV); BARTH, HEINRICH (Vol. IV); BURTON, SIR RICHARD (Vol. IV); EXPLORATION (Vol. III); KIRK, SIR JOHN (Vol. IV); NIGER EXPEDITION (Vol. III); SPEKE, JOHN HANNING (Vol. IV).

exports During the colonial era African economies shifted to single-commodity export systems in order to provide European markets with raw goods. The negative effects of these policies are still felt today. Prior to colonization there was vibrant trade between different parts of Africa—West Africa, the SWAHILI COAST, the Nile River Valley—and other parts of the world. Goods exported to the benefit of traders and coastal African states included grains, crops, wood products, oils, minerals, cloth, leather, and iron products. The arrival of colonial interests, however, changed the terms of trade.

Colonial states were required to seek economic self-sufficiency while providing cheap sources of raw goods to drive European markets. This led to one of the fundamental shifts in Africa during the colonial era—the focus on an export-driven ECONOMY. Economies that once were diversified were transformed into mono-mineral or MONOCROP ECONOMIES producing in large quantity that which they could best export to Europe. This process resulted in high economic volatility and an increased dependency of African economies on European markets.

For example, COTTON was grown in NIGERIA as early as the 15th century by farmers on small, mixed plots. In 1902 the British government began encouraging greater cotton production in Nigeria in an effort to reduce British reliance on cotton sources in the United States. By 1905 Nigeria was producing large amounts of cotton for the British market, and demand only increased with the onset of World War I (1914–18). By the 1920s cotton was the dominant Nigerian export, with 70 percent of all Nigerian cotton going to the United Kingdom. In spite of Nigeria's production, with the onset of World War II (1939–45) British-American ties were strengthened, and the need for Nigerian cotton was significantly reduced. As a result the price of Nigerian cotton collapsed, and the Nigerian export economy, so dependent on cotton, was severely damaged.

In the postwar period Britain made significant attempts to increase Nigerian cotton production—and, therefore, prices—but these efforts failed. The export promotion was driven by the United Kingdom's postwar crisis, not Nigerian economic need. In the end the United Kingdom was unable to revive the Nigerian cotton industry that it had created and then allowed to collapse.

Similar export schemes, such as Portuguese cultivation of cotton in ANGOLA and MOZAMBIQUE, French promotion of GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) in SENEGAL and rice in MADAGASCAR, and British promotion of COFFEE and tea in KENYA and UGANDA all led to similar economic dependencies and volatilities. Perhaps the greatest long-term impact of these export economies was the introduction of MINING in southern Central Africa. The development of the COPPERBELT, which extended from Katanga, in what was the BELGIAN CONGO, into the British colony of NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA), was especially important.

Some scholars argue that by extracting surplus goods, rather than investing them in development, European powers propelled their own economies forward while stifling African countries and reducing their potential for growth. Other scholars argue that this process linked hitherto independent African economies to the great potential of the global economy. Regardless, the impact of single-commodity export systems created during the colonial era is still felt today as countries struggle to retool their economies.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vol. IV); EXPORTS (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V).

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Faidherbe, Louis (1818–1889) *French general and scholar*

Born in Lille, France, Faidherbe studied at the École Polytechnique to become a military engineer. Beginning in 1844 he served abroad in ALGERIA and the West Indies. In 1852 he relocated to SENEGAL, a French colony on the coast of West Africa, serving as sub-director of engineers. Two years later he became governor of Senegal.

At the time, French Senegal was composed only of a coastal strip and the island settlement of Saint-Louis. As governor, Faidherbe began planning ambitious expansion, envisioning a French colonial empire extending to the Red Sea. In 1857 he founded the French fort that became the city of DAKAR, a major port and eventual capital of FRENCH WEST AFRICA and present-day Senegal. In 1858 he annexed territories inhabited by the WOLOF people.

The main opposition Faidherbe faced was from al-Hajj UMAR TAL (1794–1864), the head of the Tijaniyya Islamic brotherhood. In 1852 Umar declared a JIHAD that led to the founding of the TUKULOR EMPIRE, which eventually encompassed much of the land east of the Senegal River and along the middle Niger River. Faidherbe pushed the advancing Tukulors back, setting up French outposts along the Upper Senegal River. In 1860 he signed a treaty with Umar that restricted the Tukulor empire to the northern side of the Senegal River. With the annexation of Cayor and the other Wolof states in 1865, Faidherbe secured the land between the Senegal and Gambia rivers and created the foundation of what would become, in 1895, French West Africa.

Having extended France's colonial reach and having developed the economy of Senegal based on the peasant production of GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) as an export crop, Faidherbe resigned from his post as governor in 1861.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V).

family In important ways, during the colonial era African family life and family structures remained rooted in traditions and values of the precolonial past. Among the most important of these was the notion that "a person is a person because of people," and that it is the people of one's family who are paramount in this sense. Individuals remained rooted in a network of social and economic family relationships that enabled them to meet the challenges of life. These included obtaining the necessary resources, such as bride-wealth to enter into marriage, assistance with work, support in old age, and so forth.

Despite the many continuities, however, African families began to undergo major changes. One of the most important of these was in the sphere of LABOR. Whereas earlier, most people worked within the context of the family enterprise, whether it be farming, trade, or some other activity, under COLONIAL RULE individuals increasingly worked outside and away from the family. These newly emerging patterns of labor took two forms. One was that of wage labor, which provided families with the resources for purchasing FOOD and other necessities rather than producing their own food and making or trading for other goods such as pottery or tools. This process was also closely linked to the growth of TRADE AND COMMERCE in the colonial ECONOMY, which also provided luxury goods for sale. The rapid rate of URBANIZATION was another factor that promoted wage labor.

Urbanization also was a factor in the other emerging labor pattern: labor migration. The development of the

MINING industry depended on a large pool of labor. The GOLD mines in SOUTH AFRICA drew migrant workers from hundreds of miles away, with that country's laws forcing men to leave their families in the rural areas. The COCOA farms of West Africa similarly depended on seasonal migrant laborers, who came mostly from the interior.

Not all families were affected by the shifts in labor, but the changes were drastic for those families that were affected. For example, wage labor meant working outside the family and therefore outside the family-based ECONOMY that had been typical of rural Africa for many centuries. Families thus lost some of their economic autonomy by becoming dependent on economic forces outside their control. This was the case even more so if workers migrated to the urban areas and lost access to land for farming. To some degree the extended family structure helped mitigate these changes, since some family members continued to reside in the rural areas and engage in AGRICULTURE.

With colonialism, the role of children also diminished, since their economic importance to the family was diminished. Sending a child to school only compounded the economic challenges because children then became an economic liability due to school fees and the need to buy books and clothing.

Finally, migrant labor was disruptive to the institution of marriage, as many male migrants never returned home to their wives and families. Sometimes this was because they had died while working their difficult jobs, but more often it was because they remained in the cities where they often started new families. Changes like these continued into the era of African independence.

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See also: BRIDE-WEALTH (Vol. I); FAMILY (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Fanon, Frantz (1925–1961) *French psychiatrist and philosopher*

Born in the French colony of Martinique in the Caribbean, Fanon had a middle-class upbringing. In high school he was taught by the poet Aimé CÉSAIRE (1913–), who exposed Fanon to the literary and cultural movement known as NÉGRITUDE. Fanon was especially attracted to the belief that there was a pan-African consciousness that, once developed, could help the people of the AFRICAN DIASPORA overcome political and social repression.

In 1943 Fanon left Martinique to fight alongside the Free French in World War II (1939–45). After the war he stayed in Lyon, France, where he studied MEDICINE and psychiatry. In 1952 he left France to serve as a psychiatrist for the colonial administration in ALGERIA. That same year Fanon published *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Black skin, white masks), in which he examined issues of colonization and racism. Turning away from the peaceful tenets of Négritude, he instead advocated violent rebellion as the only legitimate means of empowerment for the people of the colonized Third World. The work became a major influence for minority and opposition movements not only in Africa but also in America, Europe, Canada, and Northern Ireland.

Fanon resigned from his position and became an outspoken proponent of the Algerian nationalist cause. He even participated in the war, staying in rebel guerrilla camps, harboring Algerian fighters, and providing medical instruction to nurses. After being severely wounded in 1959, Fanon briefly served as the ambassador to GHANA for the provisional Algerian government. At this time he also established the first psychiatric clinic in Africa.

Fanon died in 1961 of leukemia while in Washington, D.C., one year before Algeria won its independence. That same year his book, *The Wretched of the Earth,* was published. Developed out of his experiences in war-torn Algeria, it became a virtual handbook of the black liberation movement.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Fante Confederation (Fanti Confederation)
Alliance of kingdoms inhabited by the Fante people of the coastal region of present-day GHANA. Until it was dissolved in the 1870s this coalition of AKAN states, unofficially begun during the late 17th century, vied for political and commercial control of the region with the powerful ASHANTI EMPIRE, which also was made up of Akan groups.

During the era of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, a loose alliance of Fante kingdoms had established trading partnerships with Britain—ties that remained strong even after the British officially outlawed slave trading, in 1807. On the other hand the Ashanti, a group living to the north of the coastal Fante kingdoms, had allied themselves with the Dutch, who maintained trade in Fante territory.

In the 19th century a series of ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS—initiated, in part, by the encroachment of the Ashanti on Fante kingdoms—greatly weakened the Ashanti Empire. As a result, by the 1830s the Fante leaders had agreements with the Ashanti that secured their use of the coastal trading routes. Simultaneous agreements with Britain essentially made the collective Fante states a PROTECTORATE of the British Empire.

Eventually, in 1867, Fante opposition to foreign European trading activity came to a head when the British

bought the remaining Dutch trading forts on the coast without seeking either the opinion or the approval of the Fante leaders, as had been the accepted custom. Further, the Ashanti were once again threatening Fante territory from the north, and the British were doing little to stop them. In 1868 Fante leaders proposed a more formal Fante Confederation, which assembled in 1871 at Mankessim, the center of Fante culture.

Although the British had encouraged the organization of the Fante Confederation, they also recognized that this newly constituted alliance could threaten their own hegemony on the coast. In an attempt to protect their interests the British arrested the Fante leaders and charged them with treason. The prisoners were soon released, but the British actions had successfully broken apart the confederation, which by 1873 was dissolved, leaving the British the sole authority in the region. In spite of these developments, however, the British and Fante remained allies, and the following year they combined to defeat the Ashanti at KUMASI, the Ashanti capital. After the victory Britain formally declared the GOLD COAST COLONY, and as part of the colony former Fante territory came under British protection and administration.

In the 17th century the Fante alliance was governed by a *brafo*, or high king, with the assistance of a high priest. In the 19th century, however, the Fante Confederation wrote a constitution that provided their state with a governing body, a judicial system, taxation, and an army.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); FANTE (Vol. II); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); DENKYIRA (Vol. IV); ELMINA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV).

Further reading: Mary McCarthy, *Social Change and the Growth of British Power in the Gold Coast: The Fante States, 1807–1874* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983).

Faruk, King (Farouk, Faruq, Farrukh)
(1920–1965) *King of Egypt (r. 1936–1952)*

King Faruk succeeded his father, King Fuad I (1869–1936), to the throne in 1936. Too young to rule in his own right, however, he ruled through a regent, Prince Mehmet Ali, until he was 18. Educated in EGYPT and Britain, Faruk was at first embraced by Egyptians because he was young, handsome, and wealthy, and because he represented the Arabic-speaking Muslim elite.

In the year that Faruk came to the throne, the nationalist WAFD PARTY won a majority of seats in the parlia-

mentary elections. The new Wafd prime minister, Mustafa al-Nahas Pasha (1879–1965), and his cabinet negotiated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Among its important provisions, the new treaty signed by King Faruk granted Britain a 20-year lease on a large military base for the defense of the SUEZ CANAL and additional military bases in ALEXANDRIA and CAIRO. In spite of the ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM of 1899, which placed the Sudan under joint British and Egyptian rule, the new treaty left Britain in almost total control of the Sudan. Although the Wafd Party continued to press for full Egyptian control over the Sudan, many Egyptians thought that the party had betrayed Egypt's best interests, bringing about a decline in its influence.

While Faruk appeared to have nationalist sympathies, Prime Minister al-Nahas Pasha's government lasted only 18 months. Thereafter Faruk, who like his father, King Fuad, saw the Wafd Party as a bitter rival, systematically found ways to exclude the party from power.

At the outset of World War II (1939–45) British military units were stationed in Egypt. Few Egyptians were pro-British, and Faruk tried to maintain the nation's neutrality despite the presence of foreign troops. The political conflict reached a peak when Faruk rigged the election of 1939 and installed a prime minister who favored neutrality. The British ambassador and high commissioner, Sir Miles Lampson (1880–1964), forced the king at gunpoint to call new elections and accept a pro-British government.

The return to power in 1942 of former Wafd prime minister Mustafa al-Nahas Pasha was taken as a public humiliation both of the king and of the Egyptian people, who nurtured their resentment of the British. After 10 years of Faruk's rule Egypt had lost its sovereignty, and Egypt's subjects had lost respect for their king.

In an effort to restore his popularity with the people, King Faruk attempted to assert himself as the leader of the Arab world. In 1945 Egypt became a founding member of the Arab League, allying Egypt with Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan (now Jordan), Saudi Arabia, and Yemen, and became committed to the Arab cause in Palestine. However, the Arab-Israeli War of 1948 failed to halt the establishment of the state of Israel, and Egypt's defeat in this war further discredited Faruk's regime. The 1952 "Black Saturday" uprising in Cairo, led to a coup d'état by Egyptian army officers led by Colonel Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970). Forced to abdicate, King Faruk was sent into permanent exile.

Faruk owned palaces, houses, a private train, and two yachts, but he especially favored cars. He collected 200 of them, including a Mercedes-Benz given to him by Adolph Hitler (1889–1945), the Nazi dictator of Germany. Because of his expensive lifestyle, Faruk became known as the Playboy King. Photographs from this time show a bloated, decadent figure who is unlike the young, handsome Faruk who first came to power.

See also: ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vol. IV); COUP D'ÉTAT (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: William Stadiem, *Too Rich: The High Life and Tragic Death of King Farouk* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1991); Adel M. Sabit, *A King Betrayed: The Ill-fated Reign of Farouk of Egypt* (London: Quartet, 1989).

Fashoda Village in southeastern Republic of the SUDAN that in 1898 was the site of an diplomatic standoff between Britain and France. Located on the western bank of the White Nile River in southern Sudan, the small town of Fashoda brought two of Europe's great powers to the brink of war. The BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85) had divided up the African continent and assigned portions of it to the various European colonial powers as "spheres of influence." This system encouraged France to try to secure a colonial domain running across the continent from FRENCH WEST AFRICA to FRENCH SOMALILAND, on the far eastern point of the Horn of Africa. For its part, Britain was most concerned with control of the entire Nile River Valley because of its imagined strategic importance to EGYPT, which it had occupied beginning in 1882.

In 1897 the French determined to occupy the sparsely populated territory of southern Sudan to support their east-west expansion. Under the command of Jean-Baptiste Marchand (1863–1934), French forces marched north from the administrative center at BRAZZAVILLE in Central Africa, reaching the outpost at Fashoda by the middle of 1898. There they beat back an attack by Islamic MAHDIYYA forces and awaited French reinforcements, who were to come from ETHIOPIA, to the east.

Britain, fresh off its victory over the Mahdiyya at the Battle of OMDURMAN, learned of the French activity and sent soldiers, led by Horatio Herbert KITCHENER (1850–1916), to assert its claim to the area. The larger British forces dared the bedraggled French to oppose them, and for a while the French government considered taking action. Eventually, however, French officials deemed it unnecessary to go to war over a remote outpost in the Sudanese desert. The crisis, now known as the Fashoda Incident or the Fashoda Affair, was solved through diplomatic negotiations back on the European continent. In the end Britain agreed to recognize French control of southern MOROCCO in the western Sahara, and France agreed to recognize English sovereignty in Egypt and Sudan.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Hillas Smith, *The Unknown Frenchman: The Story of Marchand and Fashoda* (Sussex, U.K.: Book Guild, Ltd.: 2001).

FLN See NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

Fon People of West Africa. The powerful Fon kingdom was part of DAHOMEY, which was centered in the southern portion of the present-day Republic of BENIN. The Fon, originally part of the Oyo empire in NIGERIA, reached the apex of their power in the middle of the 19th century, building their kingdom's wealth on the trade in enemy captives. Their culture was marked by an intricate political structure, with the king ruling over a hierarchy of government officials who oversaw the daily activities of the kingdom. The Fon were also noted for their annual festivals that included an airing of grievances, a review of policy decisions, and ritual sacrifices.

Fon religious practices centered around the *vodun*, or sacred spirits. Fon captives, transported to Cuba, brought with them their vodun beliefs, which would form the basis for the practice of the Voodoo RELIGION.

During the early 1890s France invaded Dahomey in an effort to strengthen its position along the West African coast. The Fon king, Behazin (d. 1906), did not readily capitulate and battled the French until his defeat in 1892. He did not sign a treaty with France, however, and was exiled first to Martinique and then to ALGERIA. The French appointed a distant relative of Behazin as king, who did sign a treaty with France. The treaty established a French PROTECTORATE in the area and ended the independence of Dahomey, making it one of the last of the historical African kingdoms to succumb to European colonization.

During the war with the French, the exploits of Dahomey's women warriors came to light. Referred to as *Amazons* by Europeans, the 4,000 women soldiers were fiercely loyal to the king and were considered more skilled than their male counterparts.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); FON (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Stanley P. Alpern, *Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1998).

food As of the mid-19th century the food that Africans consumed came almost exclusively from the FOOD CROPS they grew or the livestock they raised. The principal foods people ate varied according to region and growing conditions, including climate and soils. For example, sorghum, which originated in Africa and was one the world's earliest crops, and pearl millet, another very early African crop, were ideally suited to the rainfall-based AGRICULTURE common to the drier savanna regions. Women used a mortar and pestle to ground these grains into flour that was then boiled with water to make porridges. In many countries porridges formed the food staple, and whenever possible people served them with soup made from various combinations of vegetables, fish, and meat.

> People in UGANDA used ungerminated millet flour to prepare a sour porridge called *bushera*. Into this they then mixed freshly germinated millet to sweeten the porridge and give it a thinner consistency. The mix began to ferment in a few days to become an alcoholic drink.

Farmers in the highlands of ETHIOPIA grew *enset* (sometimes called the "false banana"), which looks like a large, thick, single-stemmed banana plant. Enset was the base for a fermented starch that was used to prepare a pancake-like bread known as *kocho,* which could also be served with raw ground beef mixed with butter and spices. Finger millet and teff, also among the earliest human crops, were important grains in Ethiopia. Basic to the diet of North Africans were barley and coarse bulgur wheat. Bananas, which first entered Africa from Southeast Asia 2,000 years ago, were a staple food in much of tropical Africa. In Uganda the central component of the diet was a dish known as *matoke* made from mashed unripe bananas steamed in banana leaves and often served with some meat stew.

After about 1500, crops originating in the Americas spread throughout much of Africa. The most important of these was maize (corn), which by the 1800s had become the most widely cultivated food plant in Africa. Other important American food crops were manioc (cassava), the sweet potato, and GROUNDNUTS (peanuts). By the late 19th century farmers in SENEGAL used their earnings from groundnut sales to buy rice exported to them by French planters in colonial Indochina. Increasingly, imports of non-traditional crops, such as white wheat, also supplied the sub-Saharan urban markets. This wheat was used for baking the bread that became "bachelors' food" in cities such as Yaoundé, where African males came to work, leaving their families behind.

Baked bread is an example of the western foods that accompanied COLONIAL RULE in Africa. Europeans wanted to consume food and beverages with which they were familiar, so they introduced their foreign diets along with other aspects of their culture to Africa. The English, for example, were a country of tea drinkers. In addition to establishing tea plantations in NYASALAND (today's MALAWI) and elsewhere, they established the custom of drinking tea, consumed with sugar and milk in their colonies. Shops in both rural and urban areas soon stocked tea, along with sugar and tinned milk, for their African customers. The German population of SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA), too, brought with them their taste for European-style drink. From the turn of the century until the end of WORLD WAR I (1914–1918), four large German-owned breweries—and a number of smaller ones—thrived.

By 1960 the patterns of African food consumption had changed considerably from a century earlier. Although for most people the food that made up their diet remained similar to earlier times, even for them items such as tea had become important for consumption. In the cities, these patterns had undergone even more significant change in the context of URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE.

See also: FOOD (Vols. I, II, III, V).

food crops Crops grown principally for consumption by the producers rather than as CASH CROPS, which are grown principally for the market. Food crop AGRICULTURE is often called *subsistence agriculture*. Until recent decades Africa has been overwhelmingly a continent of farmers who grew crops and raised livestock mainly to meet their own FOOD needs. Although African farmers may have sold or bartered some of their surplus production or given it up to meet the demands of colonial TAXATION, they did not grow food and other crops primarily for the market.

In the mid-19th century African farmers raised various types of crops for their own food. Some crops, such as sorghum and yams, were indigenous to the continent. Some, such as wheat and barley, were external to Africa but had been grown, particularly in North Africa, for thousands of years. Other crops were introduced within the past 1500 or so years. The first of these newer crops was the banana, which came into Africa from Southeast Asia in the second half of the first millennium. After 1500, crops originating in the Americas spread throughout much of Africa. The most important of these was maize (corn), which had become the most widely cultivated food plant in Africa by the 1800s. Other important American food crops were manioc (cassava), the sweet potato, and GROUNDNUTS (peanuts).

The early 19th century witnessed the emergence of cash crop production in Africa. Among the first cash

crops were food crops such as groundnuts, first cultivated in the SENEGAMBIA REGION of West Africa, and PALM OIL, which originated in NIGERIA and DAHOMEY (today's Republic of BENIN). These crops also continued to make important contributions to the African diet.

With the onset of COLONIAL RULE, the production of cash crops accelerated at the expense of traditional food crops. This was especially true after the end of World War I (1914–18). The colonial agricultural research services concentrated on improving crops for export, neglecting the ones that Africans grew for their own food. Indeed, in SENEGAL rural Africans used their earnings from groundnut sales to buy rice exported by French planters in colonial Indochina. Market opportunities for locally produced food crops also developed within Africa at this time. For example, West African market women such as Madam Alimotu PELEWURA (c. 1865–1951) became an economic force by selling food grown in the rural areas to the urban LABOR force.

In southern Africa, agriculture was increasingly in the hands of European SETTLERS, who produced food for the rapidly expanding cities of JOHANNESBURG and CAPE TOWN. Government policy in SOUTH AFRICA and SOUTHERN RHODESIA had squeezed Africans off the land and forced them into wage labor. These displaced people then had to purchase their food instead of growing it as their ancestors had done.

By 1960 Africa's agricultural structure and food production capabilities were substantially different from what they had been a century earlier. The colonial emphasis on producing cash crops for export had diverted both land and labor from the production of food crops. Moreover, beginning about 1950 Africa's rate of population growth also accelerated, reaching 3 percent per year by 1960. This combination of stagnating, if not declining, food crop production and booming population had dire implications for the rest of the century. In essence, by the time that Africa was achieving its independence from colonial rule the food crisis of the late 20th century was already in the making.

See also: BANANA (Vol. II); CASSAVA (Vol. II); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); EXPORTS (Vol. IV); FOOD CROPS (Vol. V); MILLET (Vol. I); PALM OIL (Vols. III, IV); SORGHUM (Vol. I); YAMS (Vol. I).

Further reading: R. Hunt Davis, Jr., "Agriculture, Food, and the Colonial Period," in Art Hansen and Della E. McMillan, eds., *Food in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1986); Jane I. Guyer, ed., *Feeding African Cities* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987).

Fort Hare College First college for black students in SOUTH AFRICA. Fort Hare College was created in response to reports by a government commission that discovered that many African students were traveling overseas to pursue further EDUCATION. Concerned that the students might be exposed to "radical" ideas that would lead to involvement in politics upon their return home, the commission recommended establishing an institute of higher learning for Africans within South Africa. There were also strong advocates in the African community of such a higher education institution. Especially prominent in this respect were the newspaper editor John Tengo JABAVU (1859–1921) and the educator and political leader John L. DUBE (1871–1946).

Originally called the South African Native College, the school finally opened in 1916. At its opening the prime minister of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, General Louis BOTHA (1862–1919), was the featured speaker and guest. Located in the town of Alice, in the Eastern Cape Province, the college was established on lands once occupied by the colonial military post of Fort Hare. Alice was also the site of the country's leading secondary school for Africans, Lovedale, which was operated by the Church of Scotland. In 1949 the college became affiliated with Rhodes University, located in nearby Grahamstown, and, the following year, the name of the institution was changed to the University College of Fort Hare.

Although it was segregated according to race, in many ways Fort Hare enjoyed a more relaxed racial climate than the country at large. Its student body included Africans, Coloureds, and Indians, and was made up of both men and women, who came from throughout southern and eastern Africa. Influential alumni of the college include Seretse KHAMA (1921–1980), who was president of BOTSWANA from 1966 to 1980, Robert Mugabe (1924–), the future president of ZIMBABWE, and Yusufu Lule (1911–1985), who briefly served as the interim president of UGANDA in 1979. Although the faculty was mainly white, two of its most respected professors, D. D. T JABAVU (1885–1959) and Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews (1901–1968) were black Africans. Matthews received the first bachelor's degree the college awarded in 1923 and later earned a master's degree in anthropology from Yale University.

Fort Hare offered its students a lively intellectual and political environment. Many of South Africa's most illustrious and influential African political figures attended Fort Hare in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Among these figures were the key AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS leaders Nelson MANDELA (1918–), Govan MBEKI (1910–2001), and Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993); the founder of the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS, Robert SOBUKWE (1924–1978); and Mangosuthu Buthelezi (1928–), founder and head of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Following the imposition of APARTHEID policy in 1948, Fort Hare students staged frequent protests, which were often dealt with severely. In 1959 the South African government took control of Fort Hare and placed the school under the strictures of Bantu Education. There-

after, Fort Hare College was transformed into an institution exclusively for XHOSA students.

See also: BANTU EDUCATION (Vol. V); FORT HARE COLLEGE (Vol. V).

Fourah Bay College

Fourah Bay College First college in Africa offering a Western-style EDUCATION, located in FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE. The CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) founded Fourah Bay College in 1827. Its primary goal was to train freed Africans and RECAPTIVES to become pastors who could help white MISSIONARIES spread the Christian gospel to the interior of West Africa. The origins of the college lay with the Christian Institution, which the CMS established in 1814 as a school and boarding home for liberated boys and girls. In 1827 CMS revitalized the Christian Institution with the formal establishment of Fourah Bay College. The early curriculum included an English course, Arabic, local languages, Latin, Greek, and Bible studies. The early phase of Fourah Bay College concentrated on Christian teachings and the creation of "Black English gentlemen." Classes taught mostly Western and English civilization to young Africans, who then became more assimilated into English culture.

Fourah Bay's first graduates included Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891), the first African Anglican bishop of West Africa and the future head of the CMS Niger Mission, and James Africanus Beale HORTON (1835–1883), who was sent to England after his studies at Fourah Bay to become a medical doctor. Horton later joined the British Navy, worked in the GOLD COAST COLONY, and became deeply involved with the FANTE CONFEDERATION and the rise of African nationalism in general. An important member of the faculty at this time was Edward Wilmot BLYDEN (1832–1912), also a strong proponent of black nationalism.

Among the many leaders of Fourah Bay College was an African-American, Edward A. Jones, who served as principal in the 1860s. Hailing from Charleston, South Carolina, Jones was an influential figure in the emergence of public displays of black nationalism.

In 1876 Fourah Bay College ceased being a strictly missionary institution and became associated with Durham University, in England. This affiliation led to a radical change of curriculum, with the college adding courses in secular subjects such as history, natural science, French, and German.

On the eve of World War II (1939–45) the colonial government took over the financial responsibility of Fourah Bay College, thereby giving it a solid public-funding base. It was also during this period that Britain established a review commission to make recommendations regarding the future of higher education in its West African colonies. As Sierra Leone moved toward DECOLONIZATION, the college soon entered a new phase of development, with additional degree and diploma courses. It also continued its history of offering theological training. New faculty and administrative personnel, some from overseas, were part of the expansion and renewal of the college, which continued into the 1950s and beyond.

In 1967 the University of Sierra Leone Act placed Fourah Bay under the umbrella of the new University of Sierra Leone, ending its affiliation with the University of Durham. Today, Fourah Bay College is run by Sierra Leoneans, most of whom are graduates of the college.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV, V).

France and Africa

France and Africa Using the principles of association and assimilation, France carved out a colonial empire in sub-Saharan Africa, dominating it economically, politically, and culturally from 1880 to 1960.

Establishing French Colonialism During the 19th century, already in possession of Mediterranean North African enclaves, France began establishing its tropical African empire in 1854, when Louis FAIDHERBE (1818–1889) was appointed governor of SENEGAL. Faidherbe used France's claim to its original enclave—the QUATRE COMMUNES of St-Louis, Gorée, DAKAR, and Rufisque—to reinforce the French position and spread French control throughout the Senegal River valley. Further south, in equatorial Africa, France signed treaties with local Mpongwe chiefs in GABON, which became the administrative center for the colonies to follow.

After the Franco-Prussian War (1870) Europe expanded its control in Africa in an effort to satisfy the demands of industrial capitalism. In this sense Africa represented little more than a source of cheap raw materials and new markets for finished products. In 1884–85, the European powers (and the United States) convened for the BERLIN CONFERENCE, which formalized the European PARTITION of the continent and largely established the political boundaries that would define Africa in the era of COLONIAL CONQUEST.

Also in the 1880s France renewed its efforts to expand in Africa. From his base in Senegal Joseph GALLIENI (1849–1916) employed the TIRAILLEURS SÉNÉGALAIS, African soldiers, to help his colonial troops gain control of the rest of France's claim in West Africa. About 1875 France moved into the interior of equatorial Africa, with Pierre Savorgnan DE BRAZZA (1852–1905) exploring territories drained by the Congo River, which emptied into the Atlantic Ocean just south of Gabon. Competing for control with the Belgians, de Brazza lay claim to the upper reaches of the Congo River by making treaties with local inhabitants, including the Teke. In an attempt to connect equatorial regions with French claims in West and North Africa, France also competed with other European powers for land in central and eastern Africa.

Because direct French rule depended on educated Africans to play key governmental roles, the colonial administration offered Africans some educational opportunities. However, because the French simultaneously relied on uneducated Africans for their commercial LABOR force, these opportunities were deliberately limited.

France was convinced of its cultural superiority and took seriously its responsibility to spread that culture to its colonies in Overseas France. The French administration encouraged West Africans to absorb and adopt French culture so that they could become French citizens (the process of *assimilation*). Acquiring French citizenship gave Africans the right to form political parties and voluntary associations and to vote for a representative to the French Assembly in Paris. Throughout its colonial territories France signed treaties of "protection" with indigenous rulers, guaranteeing French sovereignty but allowing for local indigenous rule to be loosely supervised by French officials (the process that became known as *association*). Faidherbe's model of indirect rule was the most practical option in terms of France's financial commitment to governing its new African empire. However, later governors adopted a policy of direct rule, by which France imposed a hierarchy of French administrators on African subjects without interest in developing a citizenry.

Development of French Colonial Federations
In 1895 France established a federation of colonies known as FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF). Colonies in AOF included Senegal, GUINEA, FRENCH SOUDAN (now MALI), UPPER VOLTA (now BURKINA FASO), IVORY COAST, DAHOMEY (now the Republic of BENIN), MAURITANIA, and NIGER. In 1910, based on the AOF model, France established FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Afrique Equatoriale Française, AEF). Colonies in that federation included CHAD, FRENCH CONGO (now the Republic of the CONGO), OUBANGUI-CHARI (now the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC), and GABON.

The Ministry of the Colonies in Paris administered the two federations, appointing a governor-general for each federation and lieutenant governors for individual colonies. The duties of the governor-generals included advising the French Assembly on legislation, submitting a budget to the Ministry of the Colonies, and implementing French law and policy within the federation. Except for African individuals in the Quatre Communes (in today's Senegal), who were French citizens, colonial inhabitants were extended few of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the European inhabitants of the colonies.

While metropolitan France (the *metropole*) administered defense and foreign policy, the colonies were required by law to be self-supporting through a system of forced labor and taxation, which included some form of personal tax (head tax or poll tax) to be paid in currency. Because the wealth of the federation of AOF was unevenly distributed, the colonies with more resources subsidized those that lacked them. As a consequence some colonies were able to pay for their own administration but unable to pay for important social programs, such as universal EDUCATION. Many West Africans went from being economically self-sufficient to needing to import FOOD because they devoted too much of their land and their time to producing CASH CROPS. The people of AEF, on the other hand, had even fewer resources and educational facilities than those of AOF. To encourage development, the Ministry of Colonies granted operating rights and large tracts of land to 40 CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES.

Prior to World War I (1914–18), France used African taxes to develop and exploit the colonies' economic resources. In addition to paying for the colonial administration, taxes were used to build infrastructure such as railroads and ports in order to export products needed for French industrial development. These export products were agricultural goods, such as COTTON, peanuts, COFFEE, and RUBBER, and also included mineral resources, such as iron ore, bauxite, GOLD, and DIAMONDS.

Colonies in AOF financed their projects through two major French concessionaires, the Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain and the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, both of which were monopolies. In a process typical of European concessionaire companies throughout the African continent, these companies received subsidies from France to trade with the colonies. They also engaged in price fixing for purchasing cheap raw materials from the colonies, sold finished products back to the colonies at inflated prices, and invested their profits at home in Europe. In AEF concessionaire companies used local labor to produce huge amounts of ivory and rubber, paying a fixed-rate annual payment of 15 percent of profits to the *metropole* but making no investment in local infrastructure.

French Colonialism during Wartime French colonialism was in full effect at the outset of World War I. Elected to the French Assembly from the Quatre Communes, Blaise DIAGNE (1872–1934) recruited soldiers from French-speaking Africa to fight in the war. In addition, the colonies provided supplies to maintain France's soldiers during wartime. Despite African loyalty, at the end of the war Africans found that the rhetoric of colonial leaders who spoke of "self-determination" referred only to Europeans. Hopes for African independence would have to be deferred.

Following the Paris peace talks, in 1919 the League of Nations gave France the former equatorial German colonies

of Kamerun (now CAMEROON) and TOGOLAND (now TOGO) as mandates to administer until those colonies were ready to achieve independence.

During the inter-war years France changed its economic philosophy to actively invest *metropole* money into the development of the overseas territories so that they could more efficiently produce raw materials for the European industrial complex. However, French social investment in health and education had to be cut back when world economies collapsed during the Great Depression (c. 1929–39). As a result of economic hardship African farmers increased production, but the strategy failed when their increased production further lowered prices.

World War II (1939–45) marked a turning point in the relationship between France and Africa. Germany overran France in 1940 and formed the Vichy government (1940–44), which was made up of French administrators who collaborated with the Germans. When the Vichy government moved into AOF, West Africans were incensed that France would capitulate to German demands regarding its African colonies. Compounding their anger was the fact that West African soldiers had readily supported France's efforts in World War I. Eventually Africans in AOF became so dissatisfied with the racist policies instituted by the Vichy administration that they provided men and materials to support the Free French resistance. On the other hand, Adolphe-Félix-Sylvestre ÉBOUÉ (1884–1944), the African governor of Chad, remained loyal to Free France from the outset. He offered AEF and Cameroon as the home base for Free French troops and actively rallied African soldiers to the Free French cause. (By one count, more than half of the Free French troops were Africans.) As a reward for Éboué's initiative, Free French leader Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) confirmed Éboué as the governor-general over AEF.

Near the end of the war de Gaulle called the Brazzaville Conference (1944) and announced his prescription for a reformed relationship between the colonies and the *metropole,* one in which France and its colonies would constitute a federation.

In 1944 Félix Éboué created a category called *notables évolués.* This new term elevated the status of those African elite who had become well educated in French culture but who had not opted for French citizenship.

With the formation of France's Fourth Republic in 1946, de Gaulle's promises of a changed relationship were kept, in theory if not in practice. The French Assembly es-tablished the FRENCH UNION (1946–58), a federation that allowed France, as the dominant partner, to continue its control of the colonies. The Union encouraged political activity among African parties such as the AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY (Rassemblement Democratique Africain, RDA), led by Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993). The RDA grew into a multiethnic party with branches in the colonies of both federations. A host of the political parties that came together to form the RDA evolved into nationalist movements when individual countries began achieving independence from France.

The End of French Colonialism The year 1954 witnessed major challenges to French COLONIAL RULE. First, in Indochina, Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) defeated the French at the battle of Dien Bien Phu (in what is now Vietnam). Then in ALGERIA the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT stepped up its activities, launching a war of independence against French settlers that would drag on for eight bloody years. In 1956 TUNISIA and MOROCCO were granted independence, and the French government underwent constitutional reforms, culminating in the passing of the *Loi Cadre* (Overseas Reform Act), in 1956. The changes provided by this law altered the structure of relations between France and its colonies, breaking apart the existing federations in a process now referred to as *balkanization.* The new laws conferred specific powers over local affairs to a popularly elected territorial government, while France retained its role in decision-making in issues involving defense and foreign policy. This balkanization divided the colonies into two camps: the federalists and the anti-federalists. Federalism had its staunchest supporters in Senegal's Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001), and Guinea's Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984); the anti-federalist movement was supported mainly by France, Houphouët-Boigny in Ivory Coast, and Léon M'Ba (1902–1967) in Gabon.

In 1958 de Gaulle and the Fifth Republic created the French Community, modeled after the British Commonwealth. But unlike the Commonwealth, France continued to control the foreign policy of its member states. De Gaulle toured the former African colonies (now territories) to encourage them to join the French Community, emphasizing the economic and social advantages in store for its members. In a referendum held in France and throughout francophone Africa on September 28, 1958, the only colony to vote "no" to the French Community was Sékou Touré's Guinea. Trying to avert other defections from the Community, de Gaulle took punitive measures against Guinea, recalling French officials from the country and instructing Guinea's French expatriates to return all French equipment to France. Ultimately France removed everything from telephones to the city plans for Conakry, the Guinean capital. However, the French Community lasted only until 1960, when member states were granted independence without the threat of punishment.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V).

Further reading: Anton Andereggen, *France's Relationship with Subsaharan Africa* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994); Edward L. Bimberg, *Tricolor over the Sahara: The Desert Battles of the Free French, 1940–1942* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002); Christopher Harrison, *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860–1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Francis Terry McNamara, *France in Black Africa* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1989); Gloria D. Westfall, *French Colonial Africa: A Guide to Official Sources* (New York: Hans Zell Publishers, 1992); Dorothy Shipley White, *Black Africa and De Gaulle: From the French Empire to Independence* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979).

Freedom Charter Document adopted at the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955, establishing a vision for an alternative to the APARTHEID-based society that predominated in SOUTH AFRICA. Originally suggested at the Congress of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) in 1953, the idea of creating a statement of fundamental principles for a new South Africa was quickly accepted by the ANC's key allies, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organization, and the South African Congress of Democrats. Over the next several years key principles and statements were worked out. Then on June 25 and 26, 1955, the Congress of the People met in Kliptown, near JOHANNESBURG. There the points of the charter were read aloud and approved by acclamation. As a sign of the difficulties ahead, at the end of the meeting heavily armed police officers arrived on the scene, and, alleging that treason was probably being undertaken, they took the names of the almost 3,000 delegates and ordered them to leave. In this way, at the same time that the announcement of the charter ushered in a vision of a new future for South Africa, the police response indicated the obstacles and tactics that would have to be overcome in order to achieve that future.

Among its other points the charter contained clauses dealing with right of the South African people as a whole—not just whites—to govern, equal rights for all national groups, sharing the land among those who work on it, equality of all South Africans before the law, equal human rights for all, the right of people to work and be secure, equal access to educational and cultural institutions for all South Africans, decent housing for all, and peaceful relations with other countries.

Not surprisingly the white, Afrikaner government of South Africa rejected the entire philosophy and the political sentiments underlying the Freedom Charter. It soon began a far-reaching crackdown on political opponents, arresting and jailing many and driving others into exile.

There were also African opponents of the Freedom Charter. For example, the "Africanist" bloc of the ANC seceded in 1959 to form the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS, which maintained that Africans were the only rightful inhabitants of South Africa.

The Preamble of the Freedom Charter stated: "We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people; That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white, together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won."

In the struggle to overthrow apartheid throughout the decades that followed, the ANC and its allies adhered to the philosophy of the Freedom Charter. When the country's first democratic elections were held in 1994, the ANC won an overwhelming electoral victory against both the representatives of the old political order and those who took the Africanist approach.

See also: LUTULI, CHIEF ALBERT JOHN (Vol. IV); MANDELA, NELSON (Vols. IV, V); SOBUKWE, ROBERT (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Suttner and Cronin, *Thirty Years of the Freedom Charter* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1987).

Freetown Capital and largest city of SIERRA LEONE, serving as the principal national port at the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. In 1787 the Sierra Leone Company led by Granville Sharp (1735–1813) founded what eventually became Freetown as a settlement for formerly enslaved Africans. The first group of settlers found unpleasant conditions. They lacked supplies and found the local people hostile to their enterprises. In 1788 a shantytown named Granville Town was erected, but a year later an attack by a local group completely destroyed the commu-

nity. Undaunted, the Sierra Leone Company was able to find a new group of settlers—former slaves who were living in Nova Scotia—who in 1792 founded Freetown near the former site of Granville Town.

Because of its excellent harbor Freetown became a base for the British Anti-Slavery Squadron and was the site where the navy landed with RECAPTIVES seized from slave ships. The liberated slaves, many of whom came from the YORUBA area of present-day NIGERIA, established a society and ethnicity that was distinct from the indigenous population of Sierra Leone. They evolved into the Krios, with their own LANGUAGE, KRIO, which was a blend of various West African languages and English.

English MISSIONARIES with the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) provided EDUCATION for the recaptives, and Freetown soon emerged as a center for erudition. In 1876 FOURAH BAY COLLEGE, which the CMS had established as a missionary and teacher training institution in 1827, began to offer academic degrees through an affiliation with the University of Durham, in England. Over the next several decades it became an important higher-education center for Britain's West African colonies.

In 1808 Freetown became an official British colony, and from 1821 to 1874 it served as the administrative center for all of Britain's West African holdings. As Britain established COLONIAL RULE over the Sierra Leone hinterland, Freetown became the colony's capital. The Krios dominated the cultural and commercial life of Freetown and also played an important political role.

The growth of formal colonial empires in West Africa in the late 19th century undercut much of the economic vitality of Freetown. The city slowly did grow, however, and a railway, built between 1896 and 1908, stretched 227 miles (463 km) into the interior and served to expedite the export of commodities such as PALM OIL.

The discovery of DIAMONDS in the 1930s contributed to an economic resurgence within the city. During World War II (1939–45), Freetown's port was a major Allied naval base for the South Atlantic. At Sierra Leone's independence in 1961, Freetown, with a population of about 130,000 and still very much a Krio city, became the national capital.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FREETOWN (Vols. III, V); SLAVE TRADE (Vols. III, IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).

French Congo (Middle Congo) Colonial name of what is now the Republic of the CONGO. By the middle of the 19th century the Congo River had become an important commercial waterway, piquing the colonial interests of both Britain and France. In 1880 the French explorer

Pierre Savorgnan DE BRAZZA (1852–1905) negotiated a treaty with the Teke people, resulting in the establishment of a French PROTECTORATE on the northern bank of the Congo River.

In 1891 the French Congo was officially declared a colony, which at the time included the territory of GABON to the west. Just as in the neighboring BELGIAN CONGO, European CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES in French Congo bought the rights to the region's minerals and NATURAL RESOURCES and began developing a colonial export ECONOMY. Because of the tropical climate and difficult physical conditions in the colony, few of the companies succeeded right away. However, they did lay the groundwork for future exploitation, and their officers dominated the colony's early administration.

In 1903 Gabon became a separate colony and the remaining part of French Congo was renamed Middle Congo. By 1910 France had taken control of Middle Congo from the concessionaire companies and united the colony with OUBANGUI-CHARI (now CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC) and CHAD to form FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Afrique Équatoriale Française, AEF). BRAZZAVILLE, in Middle Congo, was the administrative capital.

After World War I (1914–18) France developed the colony's infrastructure, including a major rail line from the coast to the interior, utilizing forced LABOR schemes to recruit African workers. During World War II (1939–45) relations between France and Middle Congo changed drastically. After France's surrender to Germany, Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) founded Free France in AEF, and named Brazzaville its capital. After the war, in 1944, France held the Brazzaville Conference, where de Gaulle unveiled a reformed French colonial policy. As part of the reforms France finally put an end to forced labor and granted citizenship to all people within its colonies.

In 1946 France granted Middle Congo a territorial assembly and representation in the French parliament. By 1958 AEF was dissolved and Middle Congo, renamed the Republic of the Congo, moved toward independence. In 1960 the country gained full autonomy, with Fulbert Youlou (1917–1972) becoming the first president.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1995* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

French Equatorial Africa (Afrique Équatoriale Française, AEF) (1910–59) Federation of four colonies in west-central and Central Africa including CHAD, Congo, OUBANGUI-CHARI (now the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC), and GABON. Oubangui-Chari and Chad formed a single territory until 1920. The federal capital of French Équatoriale Africa (AEF) was BRAZZAVILLE (the capital of today's Republic of the CONGO),

Originally called the FRENCH CONGO, AEF was smaller in territory and population than FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF), France's other African colonial federation, which was established five years prior to the founding of AEF.

Generally the histories of AEF and AOF run along parallel lines. As with AOF, AEF was first defined by the borders drawn by European colonial powers at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85). The administrative structure of both AEF and AOF included a governor-general for the overall federation, with governors for the separate colonies reporting to him. Below the governors were the administrators of the *cercles,* or smaller administrative divisions. As with AOF, civilian administrators gradually took over from the military officers who had served as the first administrators during the period of COLONIAL CONQUEST. Administrative responsibilities included overseeing African civil servants and appointing African chiefs in the cantons, the districts into which *cercles* were divided. There was also, as in AOF, a necessity for interpreters, since French colonial officials usually lacked a familiarity with the local languages and customs of the people they governed.

France levied taxes on the African population and on commerce to help defray the costs of administering its equatorial African colonies. In contrast to AOF, however, AEF did not have a sufficient level of EXPORTS (mostly CASH CROPS) and imports (mostly manufactured goods from France) to provide a sufficient level of customs revenues to finance the colonial administration. France thus often had to provide subsidies out of its national treasury to meet expenses.

In addition to providing its own subsidies, the French government also relied on investments by huge private companies, large banks, and CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES to promote economic growth in French West Africa.

Although SLAVERY had been abolished in 1848, France imposed a policy of forced LABOR on its African territories in order to augment taxation. This labor disrupted the local social structure in myriad ways, since few Africans had other means to produce the French colonial currency that was used to pay the taxes. Using this labor AEF officials directed the construction of roads, railroads, and ports. The most dramatic use—and abuse—of such labor occurred between 1921 and 1934, with the construction of a 240-mile-long (386-km) railroad between the coastal port of Pointe Noire and inland Brazzaville. The brainchild of the minister of colonies,

Albert Sarraut (1872–1962), the project claimed the lives of some 10,000 African workers.

French Equatorial Africa played a significant role in World War II (1939–45). Because Governor-General Adolphe-Félix-Sylvestre ÉBOUÉ (1884–1944) was a strong supporter of Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970), who presided over the Free French government, AEF served as the seat of government for the Free French. Also it was in AEF, in 1944, that de Gaulle held the Brazzaville Conference at which he promised a change in France's colonial policy after the war.

The AEF colonial structure remained largely unchanged until France instituted reforms in the 1940s and 1950s. By 1946 the creation of the FRENCH UNION gave each territory a legislative assembly, and territories of AEF, now considered overseas territories of France, elected their own representatives in the French National Assembly. Not long after, massive development projects improved the local infrastructures of each territory, leaving most of the region with serviceable railroads, ports, airports, roads, bridges, RADIO transmitters, and communication centers. There was also new French investment in health care and EDUCATION programs that produced a stronger and better-trained work force.

In 1958 de Gaulle came to power in France and offered the territories of AEF the choice of becoming autonomous states within a French Community or taking immediate and total independence. Led by Barthélémy Boganda (d. 1959) of Oubangui-Chari, AEF chose to join the Community, thereby ending the colonial administration of the federation.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV), COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV), FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Francophone sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1995* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

French Morocco PROTECTORATE established by France in 1912 over most of the present-day country of MOROCCO. In 1904 France and Spain signed treaties to divide Morocco between them. French Morocco, by far the bigger portion, was administered from the colonial capital at Rabat, on the Atlantic coast. In response to rising Moroccan nationalism, in 1956 France restored Moroccan sovereignty and withdrew its administration.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SPANISH MOROCCO (Vol. IV).

French Somaliland (1888–1967) Colonial name of the French-held territory in the Horn of Africa that is now called DJIBOUTI. The colony of French Somaliland, declared in 1888, served primarily as a port for trade goods

In parts of French Somaliland, long-distance communication was a challenge because of the lack of roads. In the 1930s, the French administration used young men like these Somalis to deliver messages, which they stuck through the tips of their spears. © *Wide World*

from the interior highlands of ETHIOPIA. In 1946 the colony became an overseas territory of France and a member of the FRENCH UNION. Then, following a 1958 referendum, the population of French Somaliland voted to join the French Community and was granted representation in the French Parliament.

In 1967 the country was renamed the French Territory of the Afars and Issas, and 10 years later the territory formally became independent Djibouti.

See also: ADEN, GULF OF (Vol. II); GOULED APTIDON, HASSAN (Vol. V); DJIBOUTI, CITY OF (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HORN OF AFRICA (Vols. I, III); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

French Soudan French colonial territory that in 1960 became the independent Republic of MALI. In 1890 the territory formerly called Upper Senegal was renamed French Soudan. Within five years the ruling TUKULOR EM-

PIRE of UMAR TAL (1794–1864) had fallen to French forces and French Soudan was made part of the newly formed colonial federation of FRENCH WEST AFRICA. The final major resistance to French control, the MANDINKA empire, collapsed in 1898, and by 1899 French PACIFICATION of the region was considered complete.

French Soudan became part of Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Upper Senegal and Niger) in 1904 but then reverted to French Soudan in 1919. France administered the territory through direct rule, governing through local chiefs who were appointed without regard to tradition or regional history and who reported to French officials at the *cercle* (district) level. Colonial authorities supported the cultivation of COTTON as the main export for the colony.

Following World War II (1939–45), in 1946 French Soudan's political leaders established the Sudanese Union, which had ties to the inter-territorial AFRICAN DEMO-CRATIC ASSEMBLY. With the reorientation of France's for-mer colonies in the French Community in 1958, French

Soudan became the internally autonomous Sudanese Republic. In 1960 the Sudanese Republic became the fully independent Republic of Mali, under the leadership of Modibo Keita (1915–1977), the Marxist head of the Sudanese Union-African Democratic Rally political party.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

French Union Federal association created by France in 1946 as part of its Fourth Republic Constitution. Disbanded in 1958, the French Union established a new political relationship between metropolitan France and its dependencies around the globe. After World War II (1939–45) the new constituents of the Fourth Republic reorganized France's relationship to its colonies by creating the French Union. In this configuration France continued its influence in Africa by remaining the dominant partner in a union with subordinate partners. These lesser members included the overseas department of ALGERIA, the newly formed overseas departments of RÉUNION ISLAND, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Guyana, and the French Overseas Territories, which included the African colonies. The Associated States—Indochina, MOROCCO, and TUNISIA—were given internal autonomy, although France controlled foreign policy.

The new constitution granted citizenship to all inhabitants of the colonies, put an end to the common colonial practice of forced LABOR, and established the organization known as FIDES, which was meant to help the colonies with economic and social development. As members of the French Union the African territories had the right to representation in three metropolitan bodies: the National Assembly (lower house), the Council of the Republic (upper house), and the Assembly of the French Union. The two African federations, FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA and FRENCH WEST AFRICA, each maintained a legislative body called the Grand Conseil (Federal Council), which was made up of deputies sent by the member states. Most deputies were chosen by direct election from the territorial assemblies, which were elected by two colleges: College One comprised French residents and Western-educated Africans who had become French citizens; College Two comprised newly enfranchised Africans voting for the first time.

The French Union established a relationship between France and its African colonies that allowed the European country to maintain influence even after the colonies were granted independence. Direct popular elections, a legacy from the French Union, began the political process that led to independence. The union began to unravel in 1954 when the member states of Indochina withdrew. Two years later Morocco and Tunisia became independent, and in 1958 the constitution of the Fifth French Republic replaced the French Union with the French Community.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DECOLONIZATION (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

French West Africa (Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF) (1899–1959) A federation of eight colonies in West Africa including SENEGAL, GUINEA, FRENCH SOUDAN (now MALI), UPPER VOLTA (now BURKINA FASO), IVORY COAST, DAHOMEY (now the Republic of BENIN), MAURITANIA, and NIGER. French West Africa (AOF) was the larger of France's two colonial African federations—the other being FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA. The AOF federal capital was DAKAR, Senegal.

At its inception the Federation of French West Africa was defined by boundaries drawn on the map at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85). By 1900 France had pacified the territory, and between 1904 and 1914 it consolidated its COLONIAL RULE in the region using a hierarchical form of administration. The French minister of the colonies appointed a governor-general, who oversaw the whole of AOF. Under him there was a governor, sometimes called a lieutenant-governor, for each individual colony, which was autonomous in terms of local budget, colonial TAXATION, and internal administration. Below the governor, each colony was divided into *cercles* (circles, or rings), each with its own administrator. At first these administrators were military officers, but as the period of COLONIAL CONQUEST unfolded, the post increasingly called for civilian administrators. Administrative responsibilities included appointing African chiefs and overseeing African civil servants.

Changes in administrative postings were so frequent, and the languages of AOF were so diverse, that French officials rarely stayed long enough at any one post to learn the LANGUAGE or customs of the people for whom they were responsible. Thus they had to rely on interpreters for communication. A typical *cercle* administrative structure included the European administrator, a principal assistant, one or two commissioners of indigenous affairs, a military detachment composed of a unit of the TIRAILLEURS SÉNÉGALAIS, an interpreter, a communications agent, and various other employees.

Each *cercle* was further sub-divided into cantons, each of which had a local, indigenous head. These local community administrators were the liaison between the colonial administrator and the African people. Besides serving to legitimize French rule, the major responsibility of local chiefs was to collect taxes and recruit LABOR, a role that made them very unpopular within their communities.

The French levied taxes to pay the costs of their colonial administration, and by doing so they disrupted the local social structure. These taxes had to be paid in French currency rather than in goods, and the need for the African population to earn hard currency led to the dissolving of certain local ties and the establishment of

broader regional connections. By forcing normally sedentary farmers into a regional labor pool, the French created a more mobile population that foiled attempts to confine it within artificially drawn borders. And as they moved about, workers joined a large number of West Africans who traveled extensively in pursuit of Quranic EDUCATION.

The canton was an alien political form for many of the communities within AOF. Governor-General William Ponty (1866–1915) adopted the canton strategy from SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900), who had drawn upon the social constructs of his empire's MANDE speakers. Believing that Samori's structure was the norm for the region, Ponty continued his policy with one important change: The French appointed the *chefs de canton* (canton chiefs). The French then made their selection on the basis of a willingness to collaborate with the colonial government rather than the legitimacy of their status within the chiefs' own communities.

In the first decade of the 20th century the tax burden on AOF subjects tripled. The French encouraged Africans to raise tax money by converting their arable land from the production of FOOD CROPS to the production of CASH CROPS for export. The French also directed Africans to join the labor forces on plantations that produced cash crops, and to transport and traffic in the preferred cash crop, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts). In general, however, the French never managed complete control of their colonial trade, and about 1910 barely half of the total of AOF exports were bound for France.

The colonial structure of French West Africa remained unchanged until massive reforms were instituted in the 1940s and 1950s. By that time the number of Europeans living in the colonies had increased, but, more importantly, Africans had become more acculturated to European ways. France invested heavily in postwar economic and social programs, allowing each AOF territory to develop its local infrastructure, including railroads, ports, airports, RADIO transmitters, communication centers, roads, and bridges. These improvements were the first steps toward INDUSTRIALIZATION, but they also improved the standard of living and allowed more people access to the ECONOMY. France's investment in the social

programs in health and education produced a work force that was stronger, psychologically as well as physically.

Although SLAVERY was abolished in the colonies in 1848, France imposed a policy of forced labor on the AOF territories in order to augment taxes. The labor would be applied to public works projects, such as the building of roads, railroads, or ports.

With the creation of the FRENCH UNION in 1959, French West Africa ceased to exist as an administrative entity. All of its component territories became independent countries in 1960 (except for Guinea, which had become independent two years earlier).

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV), FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); PACIFICATION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Francophone sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1995* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Fulani (Fulbe, Peul) Mostly Muslim ethnic group, originally of West Africa, that continued to play an important role during the entire period of COLONIAL RULE. In their movements to support their pastoralist way of life, the Fulani conquered and absorbed various other peoples from present-day MALI and BURKINO FASO to NIGERIA and southern NIGER. Because of this they came to be identified not only with the TUKULOR EMPIRE but also with the powerful SOKOTO CALIPHATE, founded by Fulani reformer Usman dan Fodio (1754–1817) and subsequently ruled by his son, Muhammad Bello (1781–1837). The Sokoto Caliphate, with KANO at its center, was undoubtedly the largest centralized state in precolonial Africa.

British forces led by Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) conquered and subdued the Fulani Sultanate and established colonial rule in Northern Nigeria between 1890 and 1903. However, the Fulani people continued to migrate throughout the region, and by the later colonial period they also had settled in parts of present-day CAMEROON and Republic of the SUDAN.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FULANI (Vols. I, II, III); FULBE (Vol. I); TUKULOR (Vols. II, III).

G

Gabon Country covering about 103,300 square miles (267,500 sq km) along the western coast of Central Africa. By the late 1800s the region that would become the modern nation of Gabon had fallen under French COLONIAL RULE. Today, Gabon is bordered by EQUATORIAL GUINEA, CAMEROON, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and ANGOLA.

Portuguese explorers were the first to arrive in the Gabon estuary in 1472. Other Europeans began to frequent the area shortly thereafter, trading with the local Mpongwe and Vili people. The Europeans exchanged weapons, alcohol, and cloth for wood, ivory, and human captives. The region's SLAVE TRADE was very lucrative until the 1840s, when the French signed treaties with Mpongwe chiefs ending the regional trade in humans and establishing French sovereignty over the coastal Mpongwe lands. In 1844 Roman Catholic MISSIONARIES arrived to further French influence, and in 1849 LIBREVILLE, the future colonial and national capital, was founded as a settlement for freed captives.

By the 1880s French explorers, most notably Pierre Savorgnan DE BRAZZA (1852–1905), had extended France's COLONIAL CONQUEST into the interior, establishing Franceville in 1880 on the upper Ogooué River. In 1885 the BERLIN CONFERENCE gave France rights to the region that included Gabon, and the following year Gabon became a part of the FRENCH CONGO. Libreville was then made the capital of the French Congo, with de Brazza as governor. In 1904 the capital was moved to BRAZZAVILLE, and Gabon became a separate colony until 1910, when it was brought under the umbrella of FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Afrique Équatoriale Française, AEF).

As part of AEF, Gabon was subject to a number of unpopular colonial policies, including a head tax and a LABOR tax, as well as an economic development policy that allowed for CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES to exploit the local workforce to their own ends. Small-scale revolts occurred but were quickly put down by colonial authorities.

By the outbreak of World War II (1939–45) Gabon had developed a strong anticolonial yet paradoxically pro-French sentiment. Like the other colonies of AEF, Gabon supported the Free French movement led by General Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) during the war. After securing victory de Gaulle rewarded the African colonies with French citizenship, representation in the French National Assembly, and improved EDUCATION and health care, among other reforms. In 1958, in response to de Gaulle's *oui-ou-non* (yes-or-no) offer regarding total independence, Gabon chose to become an autonomous country under the FRENCH UNION. Two years later Gabon became fully independent, with Leon M'ba (1902–1967) as the country's first president.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GABON (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Further reading: Christopher Gray, *Colonial Rule and Crisis in Equatorial Africa: Southern Gabon, ca. 1850–1940* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester, 2002).

Gallieni, Joseph (General Joseph Simon Gallieni) (1849–1916) *French governor-general of Madagascar*
Born in France to Italian-immigrant parents, Gallieni was a good student, working his way out of poverty by

enrolling in the military academy of Saint-Cyr. He entered the infantry as a second lieutenant, fighting in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71). He then served in Africa, in the FRENCH SOUDAN, and later in Asia, in Tonkin, before being appointed governor of Upper SENEGAL, in 1886. After France exiled Queen Ranavalona III (1861–1917) of MADAGASCAR, in 1897, Gallieni became governor-general of Madagascar.

His strong-handed administration was marked by efforts to solidify French authority and power in the area. By recognizing differences among the region's various ETHNIC GROUPS—a policy known as a *politique des races* (politics of race)—he helped subvert Malagasy nationalism. Gallieni also made efforts to suppress Madagascar's monarchy and reduce British influence in the area. Equally important, he transformed the justice system by setting the French penal code alongside the existing Malagasy system.

One of the hallmarks of his administration was the use of taxation as an instrument of social and political policy. Customs duties, for example, were used to finance schools and hospitals. Taxation was also used as a means of persuading traditional subsistence farmers to turn to the growth of CASH CROPS for their income. Gallieni left Madagascar in 1905 and during World War I (1914–18) played a pivotal role in defending Paris at the First Battle of the Marne. He died of illness, in 1916.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Gambia, The   Long, narrow West African country of some 4,360 square miles (11,290 sq km) in size that is entirely surrounded by SENEGAL, save for its Atlantic coastline. Originally colonized in 1765, The Gambia was Britain's first African colony as well as the last British West African colony to gain independence, in 1965.

The Gambia was initially a region of interest for Portuguese traders. By the 1700s, however, the territory was contested by both Britain and France. The two colonial powers vied for control of the Gambia River's mouth, with outposts on the river's islands becoming a source of conflict. In 1765 the British established these island settlements as the colony of Senegambia. However, they eventually lost much of the colony to France.

In 1816 Britain purchased Banjul Island at the mouth of the Gambia River from the local African chief and established the fort and town of Bathurst with the intent of suppressing the SLAVE TRADE on the Gambia River. The British developed the policy of promoting so-called legitimate trade in CASH CROPS and natural products as an economic alternative to the trade in human captives. By the 1850s the production of GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) for export was booming, and would continue to develop extensively through the 1950s. Even today groundnuts are virtually the Gambia's only significant export, making the country one of Africa's MONO-CROP ECONOMIES.

The British administered their settlement as part of their colony of SIERRA LEONE until 1843 when it became a crown colony in its own right. During this period British COLONIAL RULE was confined to the coastal zone. Between 1850 and 1866, however, Muslim and non-Muslim groups in the interior fought over religious differences and for control of the lucrative groundnut trade. British merchants profited from the sale of guns and powder to both sides. The British colonial officials were mainly concerned that the Marabout Wars—as the disputes among the local populations were called—did not disrupt trade.

The Gambia became part of Sierra Leone once again from 1866 to 1888. In 1889 negotiations with France, which had established COLONIAL RULE in Senegal, set The Gambia's present-day boundaries. The British colony ran the length of the Gambia River to the upper limits of navigation, some 200 miles (322 km) into the interior. The area of British rule extended 6.2 miles (10 km) from the center of the river on either bank, except for the seaboard and lower reaches of the river, where the colony was 30 miles wide. It was not until 1896, however, that the boundaries were fully marked.

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On two separate occasions Britain attempted to cede The Gambia to France in exchange for other territories. Both attempts failed due to insufficient compensation, as well as to opposition in the colony and in Britain.

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With the boundaries with French-ruled Senegal in place, the British turned to administering the PROTECTORATE they had established in the interior. Their policy was one of indirect rule in which local chiefs, both hereditary and appointed, ruled at the local level, reporting to British district commissioners. During World War II (1939–45), Gambian soldiers fought for the Allied cause, but by war's end the independence movement had gained considerable momentum in the country. The British responded in 1950 by replacing the system of indirect rule with elected local authorities. By 1960 The Gambia featured a number of political parties. Their efforts prompted Britain to grant independence to the small nation, in 1965.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GAMBIA, THE (Vols. I, II, III, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); SENEGAMBIA REGION (Vol. IV).

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Gandhi, Mohandas (Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi; Mahatma Kandhi) (1869–1948) *Indian lawyer and political activist*

Although Mohandas Gandhi is best known for the part he played in the struggle for independence in India, he also played a pivotal role in the history of SOUTH AFRICA. To a large extent the techniques of passive resistance that he later employed to overthrow British rule in India were developed and honed in South Africa.

Born in India, Gandhi studied in London and then returned home to practice law. He came to DURBAN, South Africa, in 1893 to settle a legal case, but ended up staying in South Africa for the next two decades. In part his decision to remain was a response to the overtly racist treatment and gross social inequities directed against Indians living in South Africa. He resolved to fight the legislation, then under consideration, to deny Indians the right to vote, to impose a head tax on them, and to extend the period of indentured servitude for Indian laborers.

The British imported Indians from Madras and other regions of India to work as indentured servants in the sugar cane plantations in NATAL. In 1865 about 4,700 Indians were in Natal. In 1911 the number rose to 150,000. In 2000 the Indian population of South Africa, still centered in Natal, reached 1 million.

In 1894 Ghandi helped found the Natal Indian Congress to mobilize Indians against these measures. A pacificist, he helped organize an ambulance corps among Indians to tend to the wounded during the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902) and the 1906 BAMBATHA'S REBELLION. In 1903 he started the weekly newspaper *Indian Opinion* and founded two communal societies: the Phoenix Farm, close to Durban, in 1904, and the Tolstoy Farm, outside JOHANNESBURG, in 1910.

From 1906 onward he shifted his activism toward the TRANSVAAL, where he established a successful legal practice in Johannesburg, its largest city. He successfully opposed a humiliating Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, which sought to force all Indians to register with the authorities and be fingerprinted.

During this campaign Gandhi was imprisoned, as he was on several occasions in the following years. Courting arrest through passive resistance served as an effective means to protest against the powerful, white-dominated South African state. This strategy became known as SATYA-GRAHA, combining the Indian words for "truth" and "hold firm." Gandhi organized the Satyagraha Association, which participated in high-profile efforts to combat the South African Supreme Court's decision that rendered all non-Christian marriages legally void. The association also organized strikes at coal mines and sugar plantations in Natal.

To resolve these conflicts with the Indian community, Jan Christiaan SMUTS (1870–1950), the future prime minister, met with Gandhi in June 1914. As a result of this meeting, Indian marriages were recognized, the head tax was abolished, and Indian indentured service was timed to end in 1920. In July 1914 Gandhi left South Africa for India. There, working to end British COLONIAL RULE, he became one of the world's most noteworthy individuals.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vol. V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Garvey, Marcus (Marcus Mosiah Garvey) (1887–1940) *Jamaican-born social reformer and activist*

Born into poverty in Jamaica, British West Indies, Marcus Garvey rose to become one of the most influential black leader in the 1920s. His advocacy of economic and political activism stirred thousands of people, particularly in the United States, and his various reformist organizations and publications gave him an international forum.

One of 11 children, Garvey left his hometown of St. Ann's Bay at age 14, moving to Kingston, where he found work as a printer's apprentice. From the beginning he was a social activist, participating in Jamaica's first Printer's Union strike, in 1907. Travel in Latin America reinforced his sense of the injustices being done to black people, who, he came to believe, were victims of discrimination virtually everywhere.

In 1912 Garvey moved to London, where he found work at the *African Times and Orient Review,* published by the Sudanese-Egyptian journalist Duse Muhammad ALI (1867–1944). In London Garvey began to grow seriously interested in history, delving into both the history of Africa itself and the works of writers like Booker T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915).

Garvey's ideas found expression in 1914 in the formation of the UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (UNIA), which advocated not only an end to colonialism but also a raising of black consciousness throughout the world. Garvey moved to the United States in 1916, finding a receptive audience to his doctrine of activism and self-help. Using as his principle forum the newspaper that he founded, *Negro World,* he spread his ideas across the United States and virtually everywhere else inhabited by people of African descent.

In 1920 UNIA held its first international convention in New York City, where Garvey's speeches and public ap-

By 1920, when this photo was taken, Marcus Garvey had become known to many as the "Provisional President of Africa." © Keystone View Co. Inc./Library of Congress

pearances regularly drew crowds numbering in the thousands. Following a march down Harlem's Lenox Avenue, Garvey outlined his daring plan for the creation of an African nation-state to which people of African descent could emigrate. Convinced that blacks would never receive their full rights in any society in which they were a minority, Garvey called for the peoples of the AFRICAN DIASPORA to return to Africa. There, he maintained, Africans would enjoy political supremacy and, more than that, they, rather than white colonialists, would have control of the rich NATURAL RESOURCES available.

This idea, too, struck a chord, and it was not long before Garvey's UNIA had 1,100 branches operating in 40 countries. With membership soaring, Garvey established other activist groups as well as several business ventures. His Black Star Line, for example, purchased three ocean-going steamships, making it a pioneering black-owned business enterprise. Other groups, such as Negro Factories Corporation, founded a wide range of businesses in various locations. Garvey's power and influence at this time had become so great that he was even able to send a delegation to the League of Nations, appealing to that body to pass the former German colonies in Africa—lost

by Germany in the wake of World War I (1914–18)—over to UNIA for the founding of his proposed African nation-state.

By the late 1920s, however, Garvey and his movement began to encounter serious problems. Financial difficulties struck several of his business ventures, and membership began to decline. Beyond this, in a particularly conservative era, the radical nature of his ideas and the size of his following disturbed many individuals in power, and government agencies, both in the United States and abroad, began focusing on him. Eventually he was charged with mail fraud, the U.S. government maintaining that he and his associates had knowingly sent out materials urging investment in the Black Star Line even though they knew the venture was bankrupt.

Jailed in 1925, Garvey served his sentence in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. In 1927 President Calvin Coolidge (1872–1933) commuted his sentence, and Garvey was deported to Jamaica. Back in the land of his birth Garvey focused on politics, even running unsuccessfully for office. In 1935 he went to England, where he remained until dying, in relative obscurity, in 1940.

See also: BACK TO AFRICA MOVEMENT (Vol. IV); W. E. B. DU BOIS (Vol. IV); LIBERIA (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vol. IV).

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gender in colonial Africa Aspects of gender relationships changed with the arrival of European colonists, who came with their own gender ideologies and began to manipulate human and NATURAL RESOURCES to benefit the export ECONOMY. Prior to the colonial era African men and women had well-defined realms of influence in their households and communities. Both men and women occupied leadership roles in their societies, although one rarely impinged upon the established role of the other. Custom defined the interactions and relationships of men and women before and after marriage and dictated the terms of marriage. In the household setting men and women observed specific divisions of the workload, although they often cooperated.

Even after the arrival of colonial governments, in many parts of Africa women continued in their role as subsistence farmers, providing FOOD for the family. However, men were recruited to work in the mines and cities as cheap wage LABOR, and it became increasingly difficult for women to rely on men to clear the fields for cultivation. Men, who previously had also been responsible for grazing the animals and constructing homes and other structures,

had to leave their homes. Once in the cities men were forced to live in cramped quarters with other male migrants and were made to work long hours in difficult conditions. When men did not migrate they were encouraged to cultivate CASH CROPS for sale to European SETTLERS or for export. Although wives might weed or plant, men maintained control over all the profits from cultivation of cash crops, a practice that continues today.

In some parts of Africa, men, but not women, had access to agricultural extension services, EDUCATION, credit, and the most fertile land. However, despite the fact that the colonial authorities generally discouraged women from being active in the public sphere, women continued their long-standing practice of selling excess FOOD CROPS and crafts in local markets. In addition, women increasingly became the primary decision makers in their households when their husbands moved away. Women often sent food to their husbands in the cities, and men often sent money in the form of remittances to their wives in the countryside.

In the cities men lived without the support network that they had at home, since colonial policies discouraged the migration of women and children to towns. The demand for cooked food, bathing, laundry, and sex, combined with an increase in poverty among African women, resulted in an expanding market for prostitution. In fact, some prostitutes during the colonial era made more money than unskilled laborers by providing all or one of the "domestic services" mentioned.

Both men and women participated in ART and craft production long before colonial times. However, different sexes attended to different crafts. For instance, men tended to do ironworking, blacksmithing, and woodcarving, while women did pottery, basket making, weaving, and painting. These divisions continue today. If men in a particular region engage in weaving or basket making, women in that same area either do not do it, or, if they do, they use different tools from the men. There are often taboos, which vary with location or culture, that prevent women and men from engaging in the same particular activities or eating specific foods.

The arrival of Christian MISSIONARIES reinforced colonial gender ideologies. Whereas in some traditional religions it was the women who occupied positions of leadership, in European churches, the leaders were mostly men. Some forms of African Islam, with practices of purdah (seclusion of women from public) and veiling, brought with them their own unique ideas about the female role. Islam, however, also brought basic, although not necessarily equal, rights to women in marriage and allowed females to seek divorce if these rights were not fulfilled.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

German East Africa Large German colony made up of territories that later became RWANDA, BURUNDI, and TANGANYIKA, the last of which made up the mainland portion of present-day TANZANIA. Its origins lay with the imperial rivalries of the 1880s and the aggressive German search for colonial possession during the era of the PARTITION of Africa and the associated COLONIAL CONQUEST.

In 1884 Karl PETERS (1856–1918), a private German adventurer, signed treaties with local rulers on the eastern coast of Africa, legitimizing Germany's presence in the region. Then Germany began its colonial conquest of the region that became known as Tanganyika. The German East Africa Company, organized in 1885, administered the colony.

German presence in the region disturbed Sultan ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888), the BUSAIDI ruler of nearby ZANZIBAR, who claimed sovereignty over the Tanzanian coast. The ensuing tensions between Germany and Britain, which backed Zanzibar, ended in 1890 with a treaty between the two European powers. This treaty established a British PROTECTORATE over Zanzibar and halted German territorial expansion into what is today KENYA, to the north of Tanzania. The following year, the German government took over control of the colony from the German East Africa Company.

Much of what was produced by colonial plantations on the mainland, which before the German takeover had been delivered to Zanzibar for export, was now shipped directly by German merchants and shipping firms. These items included sisal (a natural fiber used to make twine), RUBBER, copra (dried coconut meat), COFFEE, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), and COTTON. Other trade and export items included ivory, wax, and animal hides.

The use of military power characterized the colonial administration in East Africa. In its efforts to maintain tight control over the region, the German government used its colonial army to suppress indigenous revolts, such as the MAJI-MAJI REBELLION of 1905–07. Germany also used military might to defend its colonial possession against the British during World War I (1914–18).

When Germany lost the war, under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles (1919), it also lost its colonial empire. Divided into mandates, or regions of direct control, by the League of Nations, German East Africa ceased to

exist. The newly named Tanganyika became a British MANDATE, and the territory known as RUANDA-URUNDI, today the separate countries of Rwanda and Burundi, became a Belgian mandate. In addition, a small parcel of land along the Tanganyika-Mozambique border known as the Kionga Triangle fell under Portuguese control.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Germany and Africa During the 1880s, in an effort to keep up with the growing colonial empire of Britain, Germany rushed to gain territorial possessions in Africa. In 1884 Germany went from having no colonial possessions in Africa to declaring protectorates over Kamerun (now CAMEROON), TOGOLAND (now TOGO), and SOUTH WEST AFRICA (now NAMIBIA). The sudden German territorial claims, announced by the German chancellor Otto von BISMARCK (1815–1898), surprised the other European colonial powers and contributed to the meeting of the European powers at the BERLIN CONFERENCE later in the year.

Early German Encounters in Africa Though Germany did not officially claim territory in Africa until 1884, larger numbers of Germans began coming to the continent by the middle of the 19th century. During the 1850s German explorers, MISSIONARIES, and traders made inroads into Togoland, on the Guinea Coast of West Africa. One such explorer was Gustav Nachtigal (1834– 1885), who was instrumental in securing treaties from chiefs along the West African coast. Earlier he had traveled extensively through northern Africa, crossing the Sahara in 1869, to reach KHARTOUM.

Another early German explorer in Africa, Karl PETERS (1856–1918), founded the Society for German Colonization, which later funded his exploration. Working without the official sanction of the German government, Peters secured numerous treaties with chiefs in central East Africa. His zealous acquisition of territory greatly angered the sultan of ZANZIBAR, ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888), who claimed to rule much of the affected area. Despite Barghash's hostility, in 1885 Germany declared the society's lands a PROTECTORATE, eventually transforming them into GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

German Colonialism Germany largely viewed its African possessions as a stimulus for its expanding economy, so obtaining NATURAL RESOURCES for export to Germany was a paramount concern. In particular, Germany sought to purchase ivory and PALM OIL and encouraged the cultivation of COFFEE, COCOA, and COTTON.

Germany's attempts to benefit from these new holdings were complicated by the fact that, compared to other European powers in Africa, Germany was unfamiliar in the intricacies of colonialism. As a result of this unfamiliarity, disorganization marked the initial governance of German territory in Africa. To compensate for their deficiencies, the

Germans frequently used heavy-handed tactics in dealing with the indigenous populations within their possessions, resulting in numerous African uprisings.

In 1885 the HERERO of German South West Africa successfully resisted German intrusion until British forces from CAPE COLONY assisted in quelling them. About 20 years later, the Herero once more revolted against German occupation, and again met with initial success. The arrival of more German soldiers, however, turned the tide in favor of the Germans, and the Herero and their allies, the NAMA, were crushed.

The German soldiers were led by the notorious Lothar von Trotha (1848–1920), who positioned his forces so that the Herero were compelled to escape into the unforgiving Kalahari Desert. He then ordered all Herero, armed and unarmed, within German Southwest Africa to be shot on sight. As a result, the Herero population nearly disappeared, as many of those who survived the initial military massacre were sent to concentration camps and died from overwork or disease.

In East Africa the German government took control of the colony from the German East Africa Company in 1891. Germany improved the infrastructure of the region, building railroads and ports to support an expanding trade economy. However, Germany instituted plantation AGRICULTURE that utilized forced LABOR and at the same time levied oppressive taxes upon the laborers. The despotic nature of German administration led to the MAJI MAJI REBELLION (1905–1906), in which thousands of Africans were killed and the Ngoni army was effectively destroyed.

German occupation in West Africa was similar to that of their other territories. Though Togoland was viewed as the *Musterkolonie* (model colony), and the administrative center of Lomé was developed extensively, forced labor and heavy taxation unfairly burdened the African population. The same could be said for the situation in Kamerun, where oppressive German rule resulted in the deaths of thousands.

However, German policy toward its African colonies did change after 1907 as the authoritarianism associated with Prussian rule began to wane. Germany invested capital for research in the fields of tropical MEDICINE and agriculture while augmenting the previous infrastructure improvements. As a result the African view of German occupation became one of measured respect. This era of improved relations was short-lived, however, as Germany, at the end of World War I (1914–18), ceded all of its colonial possessions under the terms of the Treaty of

Versailles. Britain, France, and Belgium then took over ruling the various former German colonies as mandates under the League of Nations.

German involvement in Africa was thus limited until the onset of World War II (1939–45). In 1940 France capitulated to Germany, and FRENCH WEST AFRICA fell to the control of the puppet Vichy government, which was loyal to Germany. In 1941 German forces under the leadership of General Irwin Rommel (1891–1944) landed in LIBYA. Making a push towards the SUEZ CANAL, Rommel gained initial success and proceeded as far as El Alamein in EGYPT. The British, however, led by General Bernard Montgomery (1887–1976), halted his advance and drove Rommel back into TUNISIA. American and British troops landed in MOROCCO and ALGERIA in 1942, creating a two-front war. The forces of Vichy France put up limited resistance before joining the Allies, and in 1943 Germany was forced from North Africa.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Gezira Scheme Agricultural project begun in 1911 in Gezira, the second-largest province in present-day Republic of the SUDAN. Starting as a small, private farm, the Gezira Scheme has since grown into a massive endeavor that today produces 60 percent of Sudan's total agricultural production. The project's first period of growth took place after 1925, following the construction of the Sennar Dam by the British colonial government in the Sudan. For the first time, large-scale irrigation was possible in the area along the west bank of the Blue Nile, south of KHARTOUM. Eager to develop the region's export commodities, Britain used the scheme to begin producing raw COTTON for shipment to its domestic textile factories.

The common practice of exporting agricultural commodities from colonial territories was usually detrimental to the local African economies. As the European powers grew cotton and other CASH CROPS to benefit their homelands, African economies got locked into a cycle of importing manufactured goods from abroad while producing commodities only for export.

Following Sudan's gaining independence, in 1956, the project underwent another period of rapid growth. Between 1957 and 1962 it increased in size by almost 1,000 percent. During that period, too, its products were diversified, so that in addition to cotton, large quantities of wheat, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), sorghum, vegetables, and fodder were grown. Animals that were raised included cattle, sheep, and goats. Today, the Gezira Scheme covers an area of more than 2.2 million *feddans* and involves more than 100,000 families living in more than a thousand villages. (A *feddan,* which is the unit of measurement used in Sudan, is a little larger than a customary acre.)

The project is now managed by a board of directors, half of whom are tenants. The tenant farmers pay approximately 4 percent of their proceeds from cotton back to the management. This allows them to use the land and water as well as various supplies, including fertilizers, insecticides and herbicides, and spare parts for their vehicles. Tenants also are entitled to use the light-rail system that operates within the project's area. Tenant fees are also used to pay for the project's government and its social development projects.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); EXPORTS (Vol. IV).

Ghana Country with an area of 92,100 square miles (238,500 sq km) located on the coast of West Africa and bounded by the present-day countries of IVORY COAST, BURKINA FASO, and TOGO. During the colonial era Ghana was known as GOLD COAST COLONY.

Ghana in the 19th Century Britain became influential in the Gold Coast region through trading and missionary work. Coastal peoples, many from the Fante ethnic group, received MISSIONARIES in the 1820s and, consequently, the future colony began with a cadre of locally educated Fante elite. At the same time the ASHANTI EMPIRE controlled much of the region further inland, and they were strong enough to attack British invaders and Britain's Fante allies when they ventured too close to the Ashanti capital at KUMASI. These early battles were the start of nearly 70 years of sporadic warfare known as the ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS. Beginning in 1831, however, British and Fante relations with the Ashanti stabilized and remained that way for the next three decades. Captain George Maclean (1801–1847), the leader of the coastal merchants in the British colony, established order on the Gold Coast and was considered the real founder of British government there.

In 1844 Britain established direct control over the colony when Captain H. W. Hill and eight Fante chiefs made a unilateral declaration acknowledging British jurisdiction. It was during this period of stability, in about 1858, that British Basel missionaries introduced COCOA to the colony.

In 1863 the Ashanti became concerned about the British influence on the Fante and again began challenging

British authority in the region. By 1865 Britain, for its part, began to have second thoughts about its colonial commitment on the Gold Coast and even considered withdrawing. Concerned about the possible abandonment by the British, Fante leaders stepped up efforts to organize themselves to defend against an Ashanti invasion. By 1871, with British encouragement, the Fante chiefs agreed to a written constitution, thereby establishing the FANTE CONFEDERATION.

Having decided against withdrawal Britain redoubled its colonizing efforts in Gold Coast. Beginning in 1872 British forces took over the remaining Dutch trading forts on the Gold Coast. The withdrawal of the Dutch, who were former Ashanti trading partners and allies, rankled the Ashanti *asantehene,* or king. In protest, he sent soldiers to the coast. These forces were met by British soldiers who beat back the Ashanti and began a vicious campaign to quell further Ashanti resistance to British COLONIAL RULE. Flexing its imperial muscle, Britain in-vaded Kumasi, from 1873 to 1874, killing indiscriminately and burning homes and storehouses. With the Ashanti conquered, Britain established the Gold Coast Colony. Its administrative capital, originally at CAPE COAST, was moved to ACCRA in 1877.

Ghana during the Colonial Era: Gold Coast Colony In 1883 the Ashanti invited the British to mediate a succession dispute within the empire. This helped the British to put in place the next *asantehene,* Agyeman PREMPEH (1870–1931). The following year the European powers began partitioning the African continent at the BERLIN CONFERENCE, and Britain set about protecting the Gold Coast Colony interior from French and German expansion. Britain annexed kingdoms along the Volta River and made PROTECTORATE treaties with individual Ashanti states. Agyeman Prempeh refused to sign a treaty, however, instead attempting to reconquer those Ashanti states that signed with the British.

Kwame Nkrumah proclaimed Ghana's independence, March 6, 1957. © *Library of Congress*

Prempeh sent a delegation to London to assert Ashanti independence. Britain's government, however, had already made the decision to conquer the Ashanti, and in 1896 the British invaded Kumasi once again. Wanting to avert the devastation that accompanied the defeat of 1874, Prempeh agreed to be exiled to the SEYCHELLES, an island archipelago in the Indian Ocean, along with other Ashanti royalty.

In 1898 anti-British sentiment among the Ashanti erupted again. The rebellion was led by Yaa ASANTEWA (1850–1921), known as the Queen Mother of Ejisu, a fierce military leader whose son had been sent into exile with Prempeh. By the end of 1900, however, British reinforcements helped put down the rebellion and the PACIFICATION of the Gold Coast Colony was complete.

Trade in the Gold Coast had grown without major British investment in the late 19th century. However, because the world demand for cocoa was increasing, Britain and its missionaries distributed cocoa seedlings in the 1880s. Many of those Africans tha became engaged in growing cocoa were small farmers, who increased their earnings and participated in the colony's money economy. In order to increase the efficiency of cocoa exportation, by 1903 Britain moved the center of distribution from Kumasi to Accra, on the coast.

Gold Coast cocoa farmers had to sell their produce to a consortium of nine British companies that engaged in price fixing to keep their costs low and profits high. In 1937 the farmers protested by striking. Known as the GOLD COAST COCOA HOLDUP, the strike forced the British government to establish tighter controls over the colony's cash-crop economy.

By the end of the 19th century the British administration had built a network of rail lines from the interior to the coast. The infrastructure improvements encouraged economic growth and attracted European CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES to seek rights to exploit the region's MINING and timber resources. Along with CASH CROPS, GOLD, too, was moved by rail from Kumasi to the port at Sekondi.

In the 1890s the British administration and the colony's inhabitants came into conflict over land ownership. Traditionally Africans had not viewed land as being owned by a group or an individual; instead land was cared for by KINSHIP groups. Britain, on the other hand, tried to pass legislation to take ownership of all of the Gold Coast Colony territory that they designated "unoccupied" or "public" lands. This unpopular legislation prompted the politically conscious people of the Gold Coast to develop

organizations to retake control over the administration of their country.

A group of Western-educated African attorneys and businesspeople established the ABORIGINES' RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY to try to gain more African input into the running of the colony. As early as 1850 Africans were nominated as unofficial participants in the Legislative Council that provided local opinion on colonial laws and the budget. However, following World War I (1914–18), the colony's elite wanted to change the composition of the Legislative Council so that Africans would be elected and would constitute a majority. In response British governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg (1869–1930) created provincial councils to advise the six African "unofficial" members of the Legislative Council.

From 1919 to 1927 Governor Guggisberg continued developing the Gold Coast's colonial economy and improving the infrastructure by using the financial resources from the boom years. Under his direction, British authorities built ACHIMOTA COLLEGE, Kolebu Hospital, and Takoradi Harbor, the Gold Coast's first deepwater port.

Despite these and other improvements made by Guggisberg's administration—and in contrast to the local African chiefs who participated in what they considered a colonial scheme—the colony's educated elite rejected the British overtures. Led by J. E. CASELY-HAYFORD (1866–1930), the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society founded the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA to petition the British government in London for representative government.

The Road to Ghanaian Independence   After World War II (1939–45) Gold Coast Colony was given a new constitution. However, the new middle class of clerks, merchants, mechanics, cocoa farmers, teachers, soldiers, and even unemployed school graduates was disillusioned by the failed promises of economic development, social improvement, and political self-determination. In 1947 the widespread discontent of the people ultimately led Dr. J. B. DANQUAH (1895–1965) and an association of educated elites to found the UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (UGCC), which became the Gold Coast's first political party. Danquah is credited with coming up with the idea of changing the name of the independent Gold Coast to *Ghana.*

Believing the party needed the energy of more youthful members, Danquah invited Dr. Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) to be the organizing secretary of the UGCC. Political riots in Accra in 1948 led to the detainment and de-

portation of a number of UGCC officials, including Nkrumah, but their nationalistic fervor was not to be denied. After his release Nkrumah moved to a more radical position of "Self Government *Now*," while Danquah worked with the British Coussey Committee to draw up a new Gold Coast constitution that would provide for local self-government.

Departing from the more gradualist program set forth by Danquah and the UGCC, in 1949 Nkrumah split to found the CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (CPP). As the leader of the CPP, Nkrumah was jailed for organizing a nonviolent, national strike that called for immediate independence. However, while Nkrumah was in prison, the CPP won the majority of seats in the first general elections held for the Legislative Assembly under the Coussey constitution. As a result Nkrumah was freed to serve as the leader of government business. In 1952 he became prime minister, sharing governmental power with the appointed British governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke. Five years later Nkrumah became the prime minister of the newly independent Gold Coast. Nkrumah renamed the nation *Ghana,* in honor of the glorious ancient African empire of the same name. In 1960 Ghana became a republic, with Nkrumah as its first president.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GHANA (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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gold   Prior to the arrival of Europeans on the African continent, gold and other NATURAL RESOURCES were under the control of Africans. In the 16th century Portuguese explorers began working with AKAN traders on the coast, exchanging European commodities, such as manufactured metal and CLOTH AND TEXTILES, for African gold. This area of West Africa subsequently became known to Europeans as the Gold Coast (present-day GHANA). Soon afterward a pattern of European interference and attempts to control the region's gold resources began to take hold, as more and more African gold was exported to Europe.

By the 19th century the West African goldfields had essentially been tapped, so the European powers looked elsewhere in Africa for other natural resources to exploit. However, when commercially viable gold deposits were discovered in the WITWATERSRAND, about 1886, the colonial MINING industry rapidly shifted to focus on gold in southern Africa. Ultimately the gold mines in southern African produced some of the greatest gold wealth in the world.

At first the capital needed for prospective mining and the heavy machinery needed for extraction came primarily from local sources. For example, mine owners often paid for gold mining with profits from the diamond industry, which was also booming. It was soon discovered, however, that mining southern Africa's deep, narrow gold veins needed more intensive investment than what could be offered by capitalists such as Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), who formed the Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd., in 1887. As a result, Rhodes solicited investment from capital markets in London and New York, and the African gold industry became an international phenomenon. Most of the external investment in Africa before World War II (1939–45) went into the gold mines of SOUTH AFRICA.

In 1917 Sir Ernest Oppenheimer (1988–1957) used capital raised abroad to found the South Africa-based ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION, which went on to become one of the world's largest mining and natural resource companies.

In general, investment in gold mines in southern Africa brought returns of between 5 and 9 percent, which was better than most other investment opportunities at the time. However, there was considerable variation in profitability, with 40 percent of the mines earning nothing and 35 percent earning considerably higher than average returns.

The extraction of gold and its shipment to Europe meant heavy investment in southern Africa's infrastructure, including roads, railways, and port facilities, as well. In addition, demand for miners was so great that much of the LABOR force migrated from all over southern Africa. This accelerated South Africa's development beyond that of other territories. It also led to URBANIZATION and the emergence of major cities such as JOHANNESBURG, DURBAN, and PRETORIA.

Although southern Africa was indisputably the prime location for gold extraction during the colonial period, deposits were found in the BELGIAN CONGO (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO), TANGANYIKA (the mainland portion of present-day TANZANIA), and western Africa. The first European-run gold-mining activities in West Africa began in the 1880s, but gold mining there proved to have less impact on the ECONOMY than it did in South Africa. In West Africa small-scale, independent diggers were crucial to gold mining, while large private companies were the norm in southern Africa.

By 1961 Africa was producing about half of the world's gold supply. Even today the continent is one of the more profitable regions for the gold industry.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GOLD (Vols. I, II, III, V); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V).

Gold Coast Cocoa Holdup

Gold Coast Cocoa Holdup (1937) Strike by COCOA planters in the GOLD COAST COLONY. The strike was in protest against the monopolistic practices of British cocoa buyers, who fixed cocoa prices at an artificially low price. By the 1930s the Gold Coast produced approximately 43 percent of the world's cocoa, the dry powder made from roasted cacao beans that is used to make chocolate. However, the producers were not able to get fair prices for their products because the system of colonial mercantilism designated the buyers to whom Africans could sell their CASH CROPS. A worldwide economic depression in the 1930s depressed agricultural commodity prices and intensified the economic plight of the producers.

In 1937 the nine British companies that were the designated cocoa purchasers fixed the prices they paid in an attempt to generate profits at the expense of producers. A typical response to such a practice in an open market might be to boycott imports from the unfair trading partner. In the Gold Coast, however, colonial policy prevented the colonies from manufacturing their own goods and, for this reason, there was no way to substitute for British manufactured imports. Moreover, since the colonial producers weren't allowed to seek alternative buyers for their crops, the only protest open to them was to withhold their cocoa from market and thus try to force a price increase.

This "cocoa holdup," as it became known, was disastrous for the farmers because perishable agricultural products, such as cocoa, could not be sold once they spoiled. It was also bad for the Gold Coast colonial economy since, at the time, cocoa EXPORTS made up 63 percent of the colony's total exports. The strike did, however, lead the British to establish government-run marketing boards to provide the producers of cocoa and other crops with a larger share of the price they received on the world market. The marketing boards also served to level out price fluctuations by paying lower prices to producers in profitable years and higher prices in lean years.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV).

Gold Coast Colony

Gold Coast Colony West African British colony extending from present-day IVORY COAST to TOGO. Established in 1874, the colony became the independent country of GHANA in 1957.

Following its victory over the Ashanti in 1874, Britain established the Gold Coast Colony with its administrative capital at CAPE COAST (later moved to ACCRA). Over the next three decades Britain expanded its coast-based colony ,through the exercise of military incursions, to include the Ashanti state and the Northern Territories.

In the 20th century Britain built ports and an extensive railroad system using African LABOR. The railway system covered the Gold Coast forest area more effectively than any other transportation system in tropical Africa, allowing British and other European companies to extract the region's agricultural riches, including COCOA, which became the mainstay of the colonial ECONOMY.

Germany's loss of its African colonies in the aftermath of World War I (1914–18) led to British control of the western half of what was then TOGOLAND and its incorporation into the Gold Coast. The territory later was made part of independent Ghana in 1957, following a plebiscite, or vote of the people.

From 1919 to 1927, under the direction of Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg (1869–1930), the Gold Coast Colony prospered in a boom economy. The economy faltered, however, first during the worldwide Great Depression of the 1930s and then again during World War II (1939–45).

Although they received a new constitution after the war, the people of the Gold Coast were unhappy with the postwar economy and their low level of participation in the government. There had always been a significant level of political consciousness among the colony's sizeable Western-educated elite, who organized both the ABORIGINES' RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY in the late 19th century and the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA in the interwar period.

In 1947 J. B. DANQUAH (1895–1965) founded the UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (UGCC), which was the Gold Coast's first full-fledged political party. Two years later Kwame NKRUMAH (1902–1972) split from the UGCC to found the CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY, a more radical organization that intensified the political opposition to continuing British rule with its demand of "Self Government *Now.*" By 1957 the Gold Coast Colony achieved its independence, choosing the historically and culturally significant name, *Ghana.*

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GOLD COAST (Vol. III); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Goldie, George (Sir)

(1846–1925) *Trader and administrator who founded the Royal Niger Company*

Born George Dashwood Goldie Taubman, George Goldie was an influential British empire builder in NIGERIA during the 19th century. During the late 1860s he spent time in EGYPT and present-day Republic of the SUDAN and studied West African societies. Within two years of his arrival in Nigeria in 1877, he succeeded in carving out a monopolistic concern, the UNITED AFRICA COMPANY, from the many British trading companies operating in the region. By 1884, at his pleading, the British government established a PROTECTORATE over the Oil Rivers District of the NIGER DELTA. Two years later the government granted the United Africa Company a royal charter, and it became the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY, empowered with the administrative right to enter into treaties with African states. By the early 1890s it had established a monopoly over trade in the lower Niger Delta, displacing French and African traders.

In 1887 Goldie was awarded a knighthood in recognition of his assistance to Britain in securing its claims to southern Nigeria at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85). However, by the mid 1890s it became increasingly clear that Britain's interest in Nigeria would be better served by establishing a formal protectorate. A Goldie-led military expedition to northern Nigeria, in 1897, had been successful in crushing recalcitrant Muslim states in the region, but it touched off a conflict with France. The Royal Niger Company's charter was revoked, and in January 1900 Britain declared separate protectorates in southern and northern Nigeria. Goldie left Nigeria and, after spending time in China, SOUTH AFRICA, and SOUTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE), he returned to England, where he became the president of the Royal Geographical Society, in 1905. He declined several offers of positions in the colonies, including the opportunity to succeed Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) at the helm of the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY (Vol. III).

Gordimer, Nadine

(1923–   ) *South African novelist and anti-apartheid activist*

Born to affluent, white, Jewish parents in the South African MINING town of Springs, near JOHANNESBURG in the TRANSVAAL, Gordimer's early education was interrupted by health concerns. Her mother, convinced her daughter had a weak heart, kept Gordimer at home for a good portion of her teenage years. As an alternative to loneliness, Gordimer became an avid reader and writer. She began to write fiction at age nine, and she was only 15 when she published her first story, "Come Again Tomorrow," in a South African magazine.

In her childhood Gordimer also began to develop the sensibilities that led her to rebel against the racist structure of South African society. Among the first experiences to alert the young Gordimer to the wrongs the white minority perpetrated against the oppressed African majority was the offensive treatment of African miners by white shopkeepers that she often witnessed. Such experiences became central to her writing.

After attending the University of Witwatersrand for one year, in 1944, Gordimer regularly published many stories in South African magazines throughout her twenties. Her collection of short stories, entitled *Face to Face,* which addressed the psychology of a society racially at odds with itself, appeared in 1949, one year after the formal institution of APARTHEID. Then, through the sponsorship of Afrikaner poet Uys Krige (1910–1987), Gordimer had a story published in 1951 in *The New Yorker,* an American magazine that would give her work its first international exposure and serve as a forum for her stories in future years. Two years later her first novel, *The Lying Days,* was published, followed by *A World of Strangers* (1958). Gordimer thus launched a career that ultimately placed her at the forefront of the literary anti-apartheid movement both in SOUTH AFRICA and throughout the world.

See also: GORDIMER, NADINE (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Gordon, Charles George ("Chinese" Gordon)

(1833–1885) *English soldier and governor general of the Sudan*

Following in his father's footsteps, Gordon chose a military career, entering the Royal Military Academy in his hometown of Woolwich, England, in 1848. Thereafter, he served in the Crimean War (1853–56) and was wounded in 1855. He also served in China during the Second Opium War (1856–60) and was instrumental in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–64). His successes in China earned him the nickname "Chinese" Gordon.

In 1873 Gordon accepted an offer from Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895) of EGYPT to become governor of Equatoria, a province in the southern part of present-day Republic of the SUDAN, taking the place of Sir Samuel BAKER (1821–1893). In 1877 Gordon was appointed governor general of the Sudan, DARFUR, and Equatoria. He actively worked to eliminate the region's SLAVE TRADE and put down a number of rebellions. Gordon resigned as governor general in 1879, following the dismissal of Khedive Ismail by the ruling Ottoman Empire, which was heavily influenced by Britain.

From 1880 to 1882 Gordon spent time in various capacities in India, China, the British CAPE COLONY in southern Africa, and Palestine. In 1883 King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) of Belgium offered Gordon the opportunity

to help establish the CONGO FREE STATE. Gordon accepted but the British government denied him permission, and the position instead went to Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904).

In 1884 Gordon was sent to the Sudan for his ill-fated final mission to organize the evacuation of Egyptian troops from KHARTOUM. There the troops were facing the advancing rebel forces of Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1885), the messianic leader of the MAHDIYYA movement, who was attempting to free the Sudan from Egyptian rule. Instead of carrying out the planned evacuation, Gordon attempted to rally the defenders and hold Khartoum against the Mahdists. The British government of William Gladstone (1809–1898), however, was reluctant to support Gordon, and relief troops were not dispatched until late 1884. Khartoum fell in early 1885, two days before the troops came within sight of the city. Gordon was killed in the conflict, and the rebels displayed his head on a pike.

Gordon's gruesome death caused a great public outcry that eventually played a part in the downfall of Gladstone's administration. The British avenged Gordon's death, in 1898, at the Battle of OMDURMAN, where they defeated the Mahdi's successor, Khalifa ABDALLAHI IBN MUHAMMAD (1846–1899), and retook control of the Sudan.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

government, systems of The late 19th century witnessed the most dramatic and far-reaching change in how authority was exercised in the history of Africa. While a European colonial presence had gradually taken hold on the continent, it was the PARTITION and subsequent COLONIAL CONQUEST taking place during the late 1800s that established COLONIAL RULE throughout virtually the whole continent. In general, colonial ministers and administrators within the governments of the European countries handed down directives for the colonial administrators in Africa, who were expected to carry out these directives by whatever means necessary.

The British, using a system of *indirect rule* that was refined by colonial administrators such as Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945), used local rulers and institutions to govern many of their African colonies. This style of governance worked best in regions where a strong local government already existed. Such colonies included NIGERIA, BUGANDA, and The GAMBIA. Belgium employed a similar system in RUANDA-URUNDI, a former German colony that became a Belgian MANDATE in the wake of Germany's defeat in WORLD WAR I (1914–1918).

Indirect rule was viable because it allowed the colonial powers to maintain control without having to commit an inordinate amount of resources or manpower. Instead, they were able to cajole the local governing elites into complying with the demands of the administration. In return, the local African leaders, their families, and sometimes their entire ethnic group received preferential treatment from the colonialists. Early on in the British PROTECTORATE of UGANDA, for example, the Buganda Agreement of 1900 gave vast landholdings and a measure of autonomy to Mwanga (c. 1866–1903), the *kabaka,* or king, of Buganda. In exchange, Mwanga aided the British by staffing the colonial police with Ganda (people from Buganda), who also administered the law and collected taxes for the British administration.

Unlike the British and the Belgians, the French employed a system called *direct rule*. Both direct and indirect rule used Africans to do the work of the colonial administrations. However, direct rule led the French to divide formerly unified territories and peoples in order to diminish the strength of local rulers and suppress any nationalistic tendencies among their colonial subjects. In addition, unlike the British administrators, direct rule meant that the French administrators hand-picked Afri-can officials to fill positions of power within the colonial governing structure. These French-assigned administrators often lacked the respect and legitimacy enjoyed by the Africans within the structure of indirect colonial rule.

Regardless of the kind of rule, the installation of colonial governments meant that long-standing African systems of government were dismantled or subordinated to what was essentially rule along Western lines. Within these structures, the ability to govern effectively depended greatly on the willingness of the authoritarian administrations to employ harsh controls—and even violence—to maintain their upper hand over the widespread and disparate colonial populations.

See also: DUAL MANDATE (Vol. IV); MANDATE (Vol. IV); GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vols. I, II, III, V); TRUST TERRITORY (Vol. IV).

groundnuts (peanuts) Agricultural commodity important for its nutritional value as well as for its oil, which has many uses. In the 16th century Portuguese traders brought the first groundnuts to Africa from South America. Groundnuts grow best in sandy soil and are very drought resistant, which made them an ideal crop to cultivate in Africa's sub-Saharan Sahel region.

Groundnuts—which are called peanuts in the United States—were successfully cultivated in large quantities in West Africa as early as the 1830s. By the end of the 19th century groundnuts were one of the region's most valuable CASH CROPS, especially in the SENEGAMBIA REGION, CAMEROON, GUINEA-BISSAU, and northern SIERRA LEONE. West African groundnut exportation was, and still is, centered on the coastal region from DAKAR, in SENEGAL, to the port city of BANJUL, in The GAMBIA.

The busy port of Dakar, seen in 1950, was a major link in the extensive groundnut (peanut) trade. © *New York Times*

The colonial development of AGRICULTURE in West Africa led to a sub-class of laborers known as "strange," or nonresident, farmers. These workers, almost always males, migrated to wherever there was a need for LABOR in order to make money to pay colonial taxes. In the Senegambia region farmers migrated twice annually from the hinterlands, first to plant the new groundnut crop, and then to harvest and transport the crop to the ports.

Groundnut cultivation also succeeded in parts of GOLD COAST COLONY (present-day GHANA), Northern NIGERIA, CHAD, and southern Sudan. Eventually, small farmers cultivated plots of groundnuts in parts of East Africa, as well. However, settlers in BRITISH EAST AFRICA failed in their attempts to establish large-scale groundnut cultivation in TANGANYIKA and UGANDA, where the soil proved to be too dry and hard.

Even now groundnuts and groundnut oil are among West Africa's most important EXPORTS. For example, today nearly 60 percent of the arable land in The Gambia is dedicated to groundnut cultivation.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. IV, V).

Gueye, Lamine (1891–1968) *Senegalese lawyer and politician*

Although born in the FRENCH SOUDAN (now MALI), Gueye came from a family that originally was from SENEGAL. He studied law in France during World War I (1914–18) and then returned to West Africa, settling in Senegal, where he was the first black attorney in the French African colonies. Drawn to politics, he initially was a supporter of Blaise DIAGNE (1872–1934), the Senegalese deputy to the French National Assembly, al-

though, in the course of time, the two became frequent political opponents.

After serving as mayor of DAKAR from 1925 to 1926, Gueye made several unsuccessful runs in legislative elections during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1935 he reorganized the Socialist Party, but was unable to win widespread support among the young members of Senegal's elite whom he had hoped would rally to his cause.

After World War II (1939–45) Gueye and Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001) won the support of the French Section of the Worker's International, a socialist political party. This provided a base of political power that allowed Gueye to become mayor of Dakar once again, in 1946. Along with Senghor he was elected to the French National Assembly, but he lost the seat, in 1951, when he broke with Senghor. In 1958, after a 10-year split, Gueye and Senghor reunited to oppose the creation of autonomous African nations, advocating instead a federal system that would unite the newly independent African states.

Gueye's party remained in power in Senegal for the remainder of his life, and he was serving as president of Senegal's National Assembly when he died, in 1968.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Guinea West African country on the Atlantic Ocean coast, some 95,000 square miles (246,100 sq km) in size, that takes its name from the term used to describe the coast of West Africa south of the western Sahara. Guinea is bordered by GUINEA-BISSAU, SENEGAL, the Republic of MALI, IVORY COAST, LIBERIA, and SIERRA LEONE. In 1849 the coastal region that included Guinea became a French PROTECTORATE. Later it was annexed with the name *Rivières du Sud.* Guinea, which had been a part of Senegal, became a separate French colony in 1891.

Guinea during the Colonial Era: French West Africa In 1895 Guinea became a component of FRENCH WEST AFRICA and Noël Ballay (1847–1902), the colony's first governor, named Conakry its capital. French control of the colony, however, was not solidified until 1898 with the capture of SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900), the Muslim warlord who had led a vigorous resistance against French COLONIAL RULE.

France divided Guinea into 20 administrative *cercles* (districts), each headed by a French officer. The *cercles* were further divided into cantons headed by indigenous chiefs. Under French supervision, the chiefs collected a head tax from all persons over the age of eight, thereby generating sufficient revenue to meet most of the territory's administrative budget.

Unlike Senegal and FRENCH SOUDAN (present-day Mali), Guinea was slow to develop a significant cash-crop economy. After unsuccessful efforts to promote peanut production for export, colonial efforts switched to a focus of collecting wild RUBBER, which made up 73 percent of the value of all exports between 1892 and 1913. In 1914, however, the rubber market collapsed and never recovered. It was not until the development of banana plantations in the 1930s that Guinea had another significantly profitable export. After World War II (1939–45), MINING began to develop, first with iron ore between 1953 and 1966, and later with bauxite (aluminum ore), which became Guinea's major export after independence.

Conakry became an urban center and the administrative hub for the territory. It also was where students were recruited to become civil servants or junior commercial administrators. In addition to elementary and secondary schools, there were vocational schools with professional sections that offered special training for students who wished to be apprenticed in a skilled trade. AGRICULTURE was also taught, and students learned how to harvest GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) and collect rubber. These educational opportunities, however, were limited to a small segment of the population.

> Although France had abolished SLAVERY in its colonies in 1848, most of the manual LABOR done in the territory, including farming, was carried out by laborers who were no better off than slaves. The French freed former slaves and captives in French Soudan and Upper Guinea, only to house them in "freedom villages," which became known as "villages of the commandant's captives" because the tenants were used as slave labor for French public works projects.

After World War II Guinea was the site of increased political unrest at all levels of government. As a result, the French encouraged Guinean Africans to identify with individual ethnic groups in an effort to dilute the potential power of nationalism. At the same time the indigenous, labor-based political party, Democratic Party of Guinea (Parti Démocratique de Guinée, PDG), sought a national Guinean consciousness.

The PDG began to organize support from disparate segments of the community, such as peasants, women, and the youth. Guinea was slow to experience political reforms, however, because its people had neither EDUCATION nor democratic experience, and the French colonizers dominated the electoral process until 1954.

Finally, under the leadership of the LABOR UNION organizer Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984), the PDG was able to challenge French control. Appealing to the groups targeted by the PDG, Touré used Islam to present a

united front at the polls, and in 1956 he was elected to serve as the mayor of Conakry and as Guinea's deputy to the French National Assembly.

The Road to Guinean Independence In 1958 Sékou Touré resisted further French imperialism when French president Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) tried to recruit the territories to become members of the FRENCH UNION (similar to the British Commonwealth of Nations). Each of the French colonies was allowed to vote "yes" or "no" to this union, and de Gaulle campaigned in each colony trying to secure a "yes" vote.

When de Gaulle visited Guinea, Sékou Touré told de Gaulle that, in Guinea, "we prefer poverty in liberty to riches in chains." With a 95 percent negative vote, Guinea was the only colony to vote "no." In an effort to punish Guinea for snubbing de Gaulle and the French Union, France withdrew completely from Guinea, taking away financial support for development and favored-nations status for Guinea's EXPORTS. In addition, France encouraged its allies among the industrialized nations not to trade with its former colony. Guinea's neighbors, however, admired Guinea for having the power to resist the French, and they quietly continued their political and economic relations as before.

Guinea proclaimed its independence on October 2, 1958, and in November 1958 Sékou Touré joined Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) in declaring a Union of West African States with a goal of implementing a United States of Africa, as idealized by PAN-AFRICANISM.

Guinea joined the United Nations in December 1958. Both the United States and the former Soviet Union quickly made overtures of alliance, but Guinea was determined to remain neutral in the Cold War. Thus Guinea began its existence as an independent nation both economically and politically isolated from the international community.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GUINEA (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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Guinea-Bissau Country in coastal West Africa bordered by SENEGAL to the north and GUINEA to both the south and east and having an area of 14,100 square miles (36,500 sq km). The population of Guinea-Bissau is dominated by the Balanta and Fula peoples, with large Manjaca, MANDINKA, and Pepel minorities.

By the beginning of the 19th century the inhabitants of the Guinea-Bissau region already had a long history of relations with Portuguese merchants that was reflected in their LANGUAGE, culture, and trading practices. Portuguese traders had long relied on Guinea's population to supply their SLAVE TRADE, but when Portugal outlawed the trade in 1869, regional trade focused instead on GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), RUBBER, and ivory. Despite its long-standing activity in the region, however, Portugal did not begin its COLONIAL CONQUEST of the region in earnest until the latter half of the 19th century.

Guinea-Bissau during the Colonial Era: Portuguese Guinea By 1879 Portugal had succeeded in defining the boundaries of its territory on mainland West Africa, and the region then became known to Europeans as the colony of PORTUGUESE GUINEA. The European colonial powers later formalized their territorial claims with the PARTITION of the continent at the BERLIN CONFERENCE of 1884–85.

Because of its merchant activities Portugal had developed the coastal settlements of Portuguese Guinea by the 1890s. In the interior regions of the colony, however, there was less Portuguese influence. That began to change between the end of the 19th century and World War I (1914–18). This was when Portuguese forces engaged in military struggles with Africans in attempts to consolidate power in the region and maintain the borders of its colony, which were often in dispute.

As they took control of the Guinea-Bissau region, the Portuguese benefited from discord between the region's Muslim and non-Muslim populations. West Africa's ongoing JIHADS, or holy wars, served to pit Muslims against those peoples who continued to follow traditional RELIGION, thereby making it more difficult to mount organized resistance to Portugal's efforts.

It took another 30 years of intermittent fighting before the interior of the territory was fully under Portuguese administration. The Bijagos archipelago, a group of islands off the Portuguese Guinea coast, came fully under colonial control only in 1936.

In 1941 Portugal moved the colonial capital from the island of Bolama to Bissau, a major commercial center and port town on the mainland. Later in the 1940s, in a northern border dispute, Portugal lost the Casamance River region, formerly a busy commercial center, to the French.

After World War II (1939–45) Africans began demanding the overthrow of European COLONIAL RULE

throughout the continent. In 1952 Portugal compromised with the demands of nationalists in its African colonies and made the colonies—Portuguese Guinea, ANGOLA, and MOZAMBIQUE—overseas provinces. Despite the concession, Portugal still remained stubbornly determined to retain its colonial possessions and continued to use any means it could to deny its territories total independence. Indeed, the colonial credo declared that Portuguese unity would not allow for "transfers, cession, or abandonment."

In 1956 Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973), along with Raphael Barbosa, secretly formed the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Partido Africano de Indepencia de Guine e Capo Verde, PAIGC). The clandestine group soon found many willing recruits and began agitating for improved social, political, and economic conditions for Africans in both Portuguese Guinea and the CAPE VERDE ISLANDS.

> The situation in Portuguese Guinea was inflamed by the brutal treatment of Africans at the hands of the Portuguese police. One of the worst incidents occurred in Bissau at the port of Pidjiguiti, in August 1959. Police shot and killed 50 striking dockworkers, injuring as many as 100 others.

In 1960 the PAIGC moved its headquarters to Conakry, in neighboring Guinea, which had recently achieved independence from France. The following year it began its armed rebellion against the Portuguese government, which brought in more than 35,000 troops to maintain order. The protracted war for independence would conclude only in 1973, with Portugal finally recognizing an independent Guinea-Bissau in September of the following year.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); GUINEA-BISSAU (Vols. I, II, III, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Gungunyana (Gungunyane, Ngungunyana) (c. 1850–1906) *Ngoni king in Gazaland, in southern Mozambique*

Upon the death of his father, Mzila (c. 1810–1884), Gungunyana seized power to become king of the Ngoni living in south-central MOZAMBIQUE. Since Portugal was intent on claiming his multiethnic kingdom as part of its colonial territory, Gungunyana negotiated the Gazaland Concession with Britain in order to retain his sovereignty. The concession called for the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC) to assist him in fending off Portuguese incursions in exchange for the kingdom's trading and mineral rights. The BSAC later recognized the Portuguese claim to the region, however, and Portugal responded with a military campaign to solidify control over Gunguyana's territory. The king resisted but was eventually defeated, in 1895. and exiled to the Azores Islands, where he died, in 1906. With Gunguyana's defeat the Gaza state, which had originated after his grandfather Soshangane (c. 1790s–c. 1859) was forced out of Zululand in the 1830s, came to an end.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

H

Haile Selassie I (Tafari Makonnen) (1892–1975)
Ethiopian emperor

Born into one of Ethiopia's leading families, Tafari Makonnen, as Selassie was named at birth, was the son of Makonnen Walka Mikael (1852–1908). The elder Makonnen was one of Ethiopia's most powerful military and political leaders. Until his death, he was considered by many to be the logical choice to succeed Emperor MENELIK II (1845–1913). Groomed from the start for a central role in a modernized ETHIOPIA, Tafari learned both French and Amharic from his French missionary schoolmaster. He also developed a respect for modern, European ways, which he believed were essential to the continued survival and independence of his country.

After the death of his father, Tafari went to the emperor's court, in ADDIS ABABA, where he continued his education and training. He remained there after Menelik II was succeeded by his grandson, Lij Iyasu (1896–1935). A weak ruler whose lack of seriousness and pro-Islamic leaning increasingly angered the traditionalists among Ethiopia's elite, Lij Iyasu was deposed in 1916. Seeking a compromise between various factions, the leaders of the coup replaced him with Menelik's daughter, Zawditu (1876–1930), who was made empress. As the respected son of an even more respected father, Tafari was appointed prince-regent and heir to the throne.

Tafari quickly began solidifying his position and taking control of the nation. Opponents were removed from positions of power or jailed. By the early 1920s he was firmly in charge of Ethiopia. When Zawditu died, in 1930, there was no one to oppose his final ascension to power, and he declared himself emperor on November 2, 1930, taking the name Haile Selassie I, meaning "Might of the Trinity."

As he had before becoming emperor, Haile Selassie endeavored to modernize the nation, encouraging education and the development of a more European-style government. One of his major accomplishments was the abolition of SLAVERY, long a part of Ethiopian traditions but which, until it was abolished, had prevented the nation's membership in the League of Nations.

As the 1930s continued, however, Ethiopia became the target of aggression on the part of the Fascist government of Benito Mussolini (1883–1945). In spite of numerous attempts at diplomatic solutions, Haile Selassie found his country invaded by Italian forces in 1935. Unable to mount much of a defense against the superior armaments and numbers of the Italian invaders, Haile Selassie could only appeal to the League of Nations for help. The league, afraid to anger the belligerent Italian dictator, failed to act, and by March 1936 Mussolini's troops were advancing on Addis Ababa, and Haile Selassie fled into exile.

As the voice of independent Ethiopia, Haile Selassie spent the early days of World War II (1939–45) in London. Then, backed by Allied forces, he was part of a force that eventually drove out the Italians and liberated Ethiopia, in 1941. After the end of the war he devoted much of his energy to his modernizing efforts, founding a university and even establishing what was then Africa's first airline.

Beneath these efforts, however, lay another aspect of both Haile Selassie and his regime. A firm believer in an autocratic system, as time went on he became even more rigid and more authoritarian. No longer content with simply governing his country, he engaged in shows of power, sweeping through the city of Addis Ababa in his limousines

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Ethiopia's new emperor, Haile Selassie I (wearing crown), leaves his coronation ceremony, in l930. © *Agencia Gráfica/New York Times*

or forcing court officials to prostrate themselves before him. Such actions were not unnoticed by elements that were growing increasingly disenchanted with the aging emperor.

Haile Selassie's flight from Mussolini's forces left him free to plead his nation's case. On June 30, 1936, he delivered a memorable address to the League of Nations, in Geneva, calling on the league and the stronger nations of the world to protect the weaker ones from aggression. The speech made him a major figure on the world stage and an important symbol of the victims of fascist aggression. In Ethiopia, however, Haile Selassie's flight was seen as a disgraceful break with a militaristic tradition in which leaders were expected to fight to the death rather than flee.

Meanwhile, external difficulties began to manifest, fueled to a large extent by the tensions of the Cold War. Neighboring SOMALIA was beginning to make claims on the OGADEN region, which Hailie Selassie believed to be part of Ethiopia. Meanwhile, ERITREA, which had been an Italian colony until the end of World War II, was demanding freedom from Ethiopia. By 1963 armed rebellion began in Eritrea, and the rebels received increasing amounts of aid from not only Islamic countries, which supported Eritrean Muslims, but also from China and the former Soviet Union. All of this initiated the downfall of Haile Selassie, who had held power in Ethiopia since the days of World War I (1914–18).

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HAILE SELASSIE (Vol. V); ITALIAN SOMALILAND (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RASTAFARIANISM (Vol. V).

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Harris, William Wade   (c. 1850–1929) *Liberian-born evangelist*

Born in LIBERIA into a Grebo family, Harris was raised in the Methodist Church, but then became affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was intensely politi-

cal at first, opposing the Americo-Liberian elite who controlled Liberia. Eventually he was imprisoned for participating in a pro-British rebellion to place Liberia under British rule.

In prison Harris claimed to have had a vision of the archangel Gabriel, and he declared that he was now a prophet, preparing the way for the returning Jesus Christ. Shedding European clothes and donning plain white robes, he began preaching a simple Christian faith, one free of almost all doctrinal complexity.

From 1913 to 1915 Harris, accompanied by two or three women, including Maame Harris "Grace" TANI (c. 1880–1958), walked from Liberia through IVORY COAST and into the GOLD COAST COLONY (today's GHANA), preaching and baptizing his new converts. While the women sang and danced he outlined his basic theology, proclaiming that God and Christ had come to defeat the spirits of traditional African religions and that his converts merely had to accept the Bible, follow the Ten Commandments, and destroy any traditionalist fetishes they encountered. After baptizing those individuals who accepted his message, Harris moved on, telling the new converts to join whatever Protestant church they might find nearby. Harris also appointed 12 "apostles," whom the converts were urged to follow if there was no church at hand.

Transforming conversion into an uncomplicated process—and not tampering with any new convert's individual practice of polygamy—Harris attracted thousands of adherents, including 120,000 in Ivory Coast alone. The strength of his following alarmed many officials, including the government of Ivory Coast, which deported him to Liberia.

> It is believed that one of the reasons for the popularity of Harris's preaching was that he was willing to convert and baptize women, who had been neglected in the conversion attempts of other evangelists. Since many of the people to whom he preached came from matrilineal societies, this inclusion of women clearly must have had a powerful effect.

Harris died in Liberia, in 1929, but his churches continued after his death. Indeed, by the 1980s "Harrism" had become the largest single Protestant denomination in Ivory Coast.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); MISSIONARIES (Vols. IV, V); POLYGAMY (Vol. I); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vols. IV, V).

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Hasan, Mawlai al- (Moulay Hasan, Mulay Hasan)
(d. 1894) *Moroccan monarch*

Mawlai Hasan I, a member of the Alaoui dynasty, ruled MOROCCO from 1873 to 1894. Hasan tried to prevent the disintegration of his kingdom by utilizing his understanding of indigenous culture to control the different ethnic groups within his domain. He made annual tours of his state to personally collect taxes, administer justice, and display his military power to the various nomadic groups in the interior. Hasan also engaged in various forms of diplomacy with the encroaching European imperial powers in an effort to avoid any confrontation that they could use to justify usurping his authority. He resisted European attempts to lure Morocco into any situation in which it would lose its sovereignty.

> The title *mawlai* (*moulay, mawlay, mulay*) is a term used to address a sultan, unless that sultan's name is Mohammed, in which case the term *sidi* is used.

As a monarch, Hasan made limited reforms in an effort to adapt his state to the new world order of the time. Because Europeans were competing to establish an exclusive political relationship with Morocco, Hasan divided up his various involvements with them so that no one European power could claim control over the whole coountry. In modernizing the army, for example, he sent some students to the British Royal Military Academy and others to Gibraltar. In 1876 he hired Sir Harry MacLean (1848–1920), an Arabic speaker who preferred dressing in Moroccan style, to be the chief instructor of the infantry school. The French then insisted that they train the artillery, sending their own instructor, Jules Erckman. In addition, Hasan employed a British chief of staff, Spanish cartographers, and Italian and German firms to build weapons. Efforts like these helped Hasan maintain Moroccan sovereignty during his rule, but European encroachment continued after his death, and independence was eventually lost under his son Mawlai Abdelaziz (r. 1894–1908).

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV).

Hausa
Dominant ethnic group in the region known as Hausaland, located in present-day northern NIGERIA. When Hausa people first came into contact with colonizing Europeans, the Hausa States existed as a part of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, a FULANI-led Muslim empire.

Britain claimed Sokoto as part of its PROTECTORATE of Northern Nigeria, and, in 1900, the British launched an invasion on the pretext that the caliphate was violating

British laws banning the SLAVE TRADE. Led by High Commissioner Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945), the West Africa Frontier Force conquered Sokoto, emirate by emirate. While Hausa-Fulani soldiers fought valiantly, they could not survive the British Maxim machine gun, and the caliphate fell in 1903.

Lugard's task then became turning the Northern Territories into an administrative unit, which he accomplished by imposing indirect rule. By this policy the region's legitimate rulers, the emirs, were employed by the British administration to act as intermediaries between the new colonial government and the Hausa-Fulani people. Those emirs who supported Lugard retained their positions and those who didn't were replaced. As dependent rulers the emirs answered to British officials and acted as British agents in terms of tax collection and peacekeeping.

Despite the antislavery pretext for the British invasion of Sokoto, Lugard did not try to reform the existing Fulani-Hausa practice of keeping slaves. The primary reason for this was that agricultural production in the region, which was dependent on slave LABOR, was crucial to colonial TAXATION schemes.

While the system of indirect rule worked acceptably well for the British, it also worked to the benefit of the Hausa-Fulani emirs, who were able to exert their authority farther south into the Nigerian Middle Belt. Although they were sometimes forced to acquiesce to British law, the emirs continued to use Islamic law, or *sharia,* for judging local cases involving land disputes, divorce, debt, and slave emancipation. Such practices, along with the continual rejection of the imposition of British culture, kept the Northern Region relatively isolated from the other British colonial outposts in West Africa.

In 1914 Britain unified all of its regional protectorates into the colony of Nigeria, and by 1922 the administration had established a Nigerian Legislative Council for the largely non-Muslim southern provinces. It did keep its non-interference pact with the North, however, continuing to vest the emir-governors with legislative power.

It was only after World War II (1939–45) that Hausa-Fulani northerners looked toward the future of an integrated Nigeria, founding the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) political party in 1949. In 1953, with nationalist sentiments rapidly growing, political riots erupted in the heavily populated, Hausa-dominated city of KANO. In LAGOS, the colonial capital, the House of Representatives voted for self-government in Nigeria by 1956. Soon, Hausa-speaking Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA

(1912–1966) formed the first All-Party Government and, as prime minister, helped lead Nigeria to complete independence in 1960.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); HAUSA (Vol. I); HAUSA STATES (Vol. II, III).

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health and healing in colonial Africa The spread of colonialism in the 19th and early 20th centuries introduced Western MEDICINE and health philosophies that transformed the landscape of health care in Africa. Two factors motivated colonial actions regarding health care—the desire to protect European officials and settlers, and the need to ensure the health of an indigenous LABOR force. The approaches used by Europeans to tackle these concerns varied in their efficacy. Moreover, these methods were at times heavy-handed and frequently in opposition to the traditional healing practices of the indigenous people.

Western Medicine Colonial administrators needed to protect European officials and SETTLERS from illness to ensure stability of the colonies. DISEASE IN COLONIAL AFRICA was widespread, and, understandably, the ideologies of Western medicine were the main influences on how colonial administrators reacted to the problem. At the time, Western medicine supported two theories of disease. The first theory, known as *contagion,* stated that certain diseases, such as smallpox and plague, were transferred from one person to another. The second theory, *infection,* stated that some diseases, such as malaria, were endemic to particular areas and not necessarily transferred from one person to another. These two theories greatly influenced the strategies used to improve and protect the health of Europeans in Africa.

The *infection* theory of disease was used in dealing with malaria, an inland disease to which Europeans had no immunity. Malaria, and the fear of contracting it, prevented Europeans from traveling into the interior of Africa except in more temperate regions, and curtailed the development of inland outposts. This constriction of travel may have aided Europeans in dealing with malaria, but other diseases found in Africa were not bound by geography.

In several cities colonial administrators, under the guide of the *contagion* theory, implemented a policy of segregation. They established separate sections for Europeans in order to minimize contact with Africans and, theoretically, limit disease transmission. For example, in FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, the suburb of Hill Station was created as a residential section exclusively for Europeans. Africans were allowed to work there during the day, but

not allowed to stay overnight. African children were excluded entirely from Hill Station due to their strong association with disease. However, this approach often had limited success and was met by strong opposition in places where Africans held any political power.

In addition to protecting the health of its colonists, European administrators needed to protect the indigenous LABOR force that fed their countries' coffers. There were several ways in which health care was provided to Africans during the colonial period. Some health care was financed and administered by the colonial governments. In most locations, however, the quality of the health care provided by the government to Africans was far inferior to that provided to Europeans. In addition, Western-style medical facilities were only constructed in areas firmly under COLONIAL RULE, which were typically urban areas. Rural populations, therefore, did not have access to these facilities, and traditional healing continued to be the principal system of health care outside the cities.

Christian MISSIONARIES also provided Western health care to the indigenous population of Africa. However, their intentions in providing this care were at times far from selfless. Missionaries frequently used health care as an access point to African communities, reasoning that if they were able to provide assistance in curing disease, then the African people would be more willing to accept Christianity. Missionaries labeled traditional healing as pagan, which was likely a response to the traditional healer's role as both doctor and spiritual guide of a community. Despite the missionaries' efforts, some African populations, such as the MAASAI of southeastern TANZANIA, did not associate the arrival of missionaries with improved health. Rather, they equated missionaries with increased illness from exposure to new diseases and increased poverty from the oppression of colonial rule.

Western business interests that employed African workers also administered health care. Treatment, however, was usually limited to only the employee, and did not provide for the health of his or her family. This structure of health care resulted in limited success in reducing the prevalence of some of the more widespread illnesses, as treated employees returned to habitats still ripe with disease.

Some colonial administrators supported improving the health of all indigenous people as a tactic for stemming the spread of disease among the colonist population. Western health care systems were established across Africa, marked by the construction of hospitals and the initiation of vaccination programs. Despite the preventative nature of vaccination programs, the newly built hospitals and clinics frequently focused on the treatment of illnesses and their symptoms, rather than addressing their causes.

Traditional Healing   The indigenous health and healing systems found within Africa during the 19th and early 20th centuries viewed illness and its causes differently than Western biomedicine. While Western medicine focused on ridding a patient's body of disease to ease physical suffering, traditional healing used a holistic approach under the theory that illness was frequently a manifestation of psychological, spiritual, or environmental problems. Traditional healers differ from their Western counterparts in that they are likely to play roles beyond that of doctor. African healers frequently take on the capacity of psychologist and spiritual leader, and people come to them for advice in areas beyond physical well-being.

The specifics of traditional healing in Africa vary from region to region. However, most traditional healing practices follow the basic theory of a need for equilibrium in every part of life. The individual, the community, the relationship between two or more individuals, or even the relationship between the human and spirit worlds—all are considered healthy when there is a state of balance. The moment that any of these become imbalanced, a patient can fall into a state of illness.

Traditional healers use divining bones to diagnose the problems of a patient. Divining bones are a collection of objects that represent different aspects of life, such as death, happiness, or luck, and are rolled like dice to make them "talk" to the healer. A healer's divining bones can consist of a variety of objects, including shells, rocks, and yes, actual bones.

When an illness is diagnosed, treatments are administered that reestablish balance, often using a healing method that increases the deficient element. For instance, if a patient is viewed as being "hot," cooling agents, such as water or sea plants, are applied to the patient. If an illness is associated with an environmental problem, then the treatment may include "healing" the environment in order to treat the patient.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, IV, V); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HEALTH AND HEALING IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MEDICINE MEN (Vol. I).

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Herero Bantu-speaking ethnic group living primarily in present-day NAMIBIA. Fierce conflicts between the Herero and German colonial forces resulted in the decimation of the Herero population. The greater Herero group is made up of various, largely pastoralist ethnic sub-groups, including the Herero, Himba, and Mbanderu. The Herero migrated to southwestern Africa from Central Africa during the 16th century. There they settled primarily in the central highlands north of present-day Windhoek, clashing periodically with the northward-encroaching NAMA people.

By the mid-1800s European explorers and MISSIONARIES had come to the area. Britain nearly annexed the region in the 1870s, but the BERLIN CONFERENCE of 1884–85 ultimately awarded it to Germany. As increasing numbers of German traders and missionaries settled in Hereroland, Herero chiefs, led by Chief Maherero (d. 1890), began forging treaties with the Germans, thinking the newcomers could be valuable allies in their ongoing territorial conflicts with the Nama. However, the Germans themselves became a more pressing problem than the Nama had ever been. The new settlers took Herero lands, stole their herds, and with the backing of German colonial police forces, drove the Herero to resettle in arid "native reserves," which barely supported grazing or subsistence farming.

When Chief Maherero died in 1890 he was succeeded by his son, Samuel MAHERERO (c. 1854–1923). Maherero agreed to "protection" treaties with the German settlers that alienated many of his fellow Herero chiefs and created a rift in the group. Coupled with an outbreak of disease among the cattle herds, these treaties weakened the Herero and allowed the Germans to further entrench themselves. By 1901 Hereroland had become part of the German colony of SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

Facing increasing oppression from the Germans, in 1904 Maherero rallied his people and launched a rebellion. Though initially successful, the tide quickly turned against the Herero. A planned coalition with the Nama fell through, and the Germans, under the command of Lieutenant General Lothar von Trotha (1848–1920), then brought their superior weapons and an army of 10,000 troops to bear. Using ruthless tactics, von Trotha won the decisive Battle of Waterburg (1904) and drove the Herero into the Kalihari Desert, poisoning the available water supplies and issuing an order calling for any Herero caught within the German-occupied territory to be killed. By 1907 the resistance had crumbled. Between German bullets, starvation, and the merciless elements of the Kalihari Desert, the Herero suffered near annihilation—75–85 percent of their people perished, while another 5–10 percent were driven into exile, mainly in BECHUANALAND (present-day BOTSWANA), to the east.

Following World War I (1914–18) South West Africa came under the control of SOUTH AFRICA, which forced the Herero into a segregated "homeland." South West Africa became independent Namibia in 1990. Today about 100,000 Herero (roughly 7 percent of Namibia's present population) live in the mostly arid region of northern Namibia, with smaller populations in Botswana and southern ANGOLA.

Herero women today often wear long dresses with multiple underlying petticoats, in imitation of the 19th-century Victorian style favored by the wives of German missionaries during the colonial era.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HERERO (Vols. II, III); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Hertzog, J. B. M. (James Barry Munnik Hertzog)
(1866–1942) *Prime minister of the Union of South Africa from 1924 to 1939*

A fifth-generation South African, James Barry Munnik Hertzog was the seventh of 13 children born to Johannes Albertus Munnik Hertzog (1826–1895) and Susanna Maria Jacoba Hamman Hertzog (1831–1921). His father was originally a farmer, but he also became for a time one of the diggers on the diamond fields of KIMBERLEY. As a boy Hertzog attended school in Kimberley, where he came to dislike the non-AFRIKAANS-speaking outsiders who had flocked there to seek their fortunes. He attended college in Stellenbosch, CAPE COLONY, graduating with a bachelor's degree, in 1889, and then studied law in Holland, where he earned a doctorate. Within a few years of his return to SOUTH AFRICA in 1892, he was appointed as a judge.

From his days as a judge in the ORANGE FREE STATE, to his service as a division commander in the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), to his administration as prime minister, J. B. M. Hertzog consistently served as a voice of the Boer, or Afrikaner, population of SOUTH AFRICA. Even before war broke out between the BOERS and Britain, Hertzog was a vocal nationalist, demanding that the Dutch LANGUAGE be taught on an equal footing with English in the schools of the Orange Free State. Then during the Anglo-Boer War he was an active military leader, fighting against the British until the very end of hostilities.

After the war Hertzog joined the government of the newly formed UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, serving as minister of justice from 1910 to 1912. However, while leaders such as Jan Chritaan SMUTS (1870–1950) and Louis BOTHA (1862–1919) were seeking ways to reconcile the

Afrikaner and British elements within South Africa, Hertzog grew increasingly hostile to the British cause. He was especially scornful of any attempt to grant rights of virtually any kind to South Africa's majority African population. As a result, it was not long before he was dropped from the cabinet. This led Hertzog in 1912 to form the Afrikaner-oriented Nationalist Party, which stood for not only white supremacy but also Afrikaner dominance in South Africa.

After World War I (1914–18) Hertzog continued to build his Nationalist Party while opposing Smuts's ruling party. In 1921–22 Smuts's use of force to end a white-mine-workers' strike on the WITWATERSRAND led to a sharp rise in popularity for Hertzog's Nationalists. They won the election of 1924, and Hertzog became South Africa's prime minister. The economic crisis caused by the world-wide Great Depression of the early 1930s led him in, 1934, to join political forces with Smuts to form a coalition government under the new United Party. Hertzog remained prime minister until 1939, when he resigned after losing a parliamentary vote to have South Africa remain neutral rather than enter World War II (1939–45) on the side of the United Kingdom.

Hertzog's administration was marked by attempts to maintain Afrikaner predominance in South Africa's cultural, economic, and political life. A key factor in this was his success in keeping South Africa off the gold standard, which would have linked South Africa's currency to the price of GOLD. The effect was to keep the price of gold high, thereby supporting the South African gold industry and providing a much-needed boost to the economy during the 1920s and 1930s. Equally important to Hertzog's overall policies was his ability to prevent Africans from gaining political power. As part of this strategy, his administration pushed legislation to abolish the limited enfranchisement of Africans in the Cape Province, further limit African rights to reside in urban areas, and set up a limited form of self-government in the so-called Native Reserves, which were areas set aside for African occupation.

Despite strong African opposition organized by individuals such as D. D. T. JABAVU (1885–1959), in 1936 the parliament passed legislation that ended African voting rights. Africans were not re-enfranchised until 1994, when they helped elect Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ) the country's first African president. In effect, Hertzog strengthened existing white supremacy and set in motion those political forces that led to APARTHEID after 1948.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vols. IV, V).

highlife The leading popular MUSIC form of the early post–World War II (1939–45) decades in GHANA and NIGERIA. Highlife reflects a blend of musical styles that gained widespread popularity starting in the late 1940s. It represented a fusion of indigenous musical forms and rhythms with the Big Band sound that was popular in the 1930s and early 1940s. Other influences that figure prominently in the highlife sound include West Indian calypso, military brass band music (usually associated with Africa's colonial era), and Cuban music. The pioneer highlife musicians were E. T. MENSAH (1919–1996) and his band, the Tempos, which he formed in ACCRA in 1948.

The rise of highlife coincided with several important political and social developments of the era. It was a period of growing nationalist sentiment, and many highlife songs had as their theme the injustices and indignities of COLONIAL RULE. Indeed, the authorities sometimes banned songs and arrested musicians. It was also an era of growing URBANIZATION, and the nightclubs and bars of Accra, LAGOS, and other major cities provided the venue for the highlife bands. Highlife also became popular with West Africans living abroad, especially in the cities of England. Many highlife songs, even love songs, dealt with the problems of everyday life that were associated with city living. While highlife remains popular in Ghana, with the rise of Congolese music in the 1960s, it ceased to be in the forefront of popular music styles.

See also: NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vol. V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

historical scholarship on Africa Scholarly writing about African history prior to 1960 was limited and largely superficial. In the 21st century students and others wishing to learn about African history can turn to encyclopedias, such as this one, for accurate information. These encyclopedias, in turn, rest upon a firm foundation of extensive and growing historical scholarship on the African past. This was not the case, however, a half century ago. Africa was still under COLONIAL RULE, few Africans had yet to receive a university EDUCATION, and fewer still were trained as historians. One of the earliest Africans who received formal training as a historian was the Nigerian scholar, Kenneth Onwuka Dike (1917–1983), who earned his PhD in history from London University in the mid-1950s. Prior to Dike, Africans writing about the past were non-professional historians documenting their own peoples. These included Reverend Carl REINDORF (1834–1917) from the GOLD COAST COLONY (today's GHANA), Reverend Samuel JOHNSON (1846–1901) of NIGERIA, Sir Apolo KAGWA (1865–1927) of UGANDA, and Silas Modiri Molema (c. 1891–1965) from SOUTH AFRICA. Otherwise, historical writing, as well as other kinds of scholarship about Africa, was basically the preserve of Europeans.

Europeans such as Heinrich BARTH (1821–1865) and David LIVINGSTONE (1818–1873) had written travel narratives about Africa from the early days of European contact with the continent. The tenor of this writing about

Africa changed as colonial rule became firmly established on the continent in the late 19th century. Europeans needed to justify their conquest and rule over the continent, and they did so by increasingly depicting Africa as "the dark continent," an image that still lingers. The tone was set early on for depicting Africans as backward, as in the title of former colonial administrator Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston's (1858–1927) 1913 book, *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races.* As suggested by the title, outsiders brought history to Africa, for according to Johnson, until they were "civilized" by outsiders, Africans were the "natural servant[s] of other races." If Africans were naturally servants, as Johnstone argued, or immature and underdeveloped children, as other propagandists for colonial empire wrote, then colonialism was justified. They believed, as did Oxford University professor Hugh Trevor-Roper (1914–) as late as 1966, that "There is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness—and darkness is not the subject of history." One of the few exceptions to such scholarship at this time was the work of W. E. B. DU BOIS (1868–1963), the foremost African-American educator. His scholarly work, *The Negro* (1915), constitutes one of the earliest efforts to claim for Africa its rightful place in world history.

After World War II (1939–45) it became clear that colonial rule in Africa was waning, and such assertions of a dark African past lost their utility. As African universities with their own departments of history emerged in the late 1940s and 1950s, historians of Africa began to write about the history of Africans rather than the history of Europeans in Africa.

See also: DIOP, CHEIK ANTA (Vols. IV, V); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vol. V).

Horton, James Beale (Africanus Horton)
(1835–1883) *Medical doctor and pioneer in the African independence movement*

The son of an IGBO captive, James Beale Horton grew up in FREETOWN and Gloucester Village, in what is now SIERRA LEONE, where his father worked as a carpenter. After completing his initial education there, he won a scholarship and attended King's College and later Edinburgh University, in Britain, where he studied MEDICINE. He received his doctor of medicine degree in 1859. That same year he joined the British Army Medical Service as an assistant staff surgeon.

Horton served in the army for more than 20 years, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. During this time he published books on everything from tropical diseases to economics and politics. In spite of his achievements, British authorities, skeptical of having Africans in positions of authority, found various ways to slow his advancement. Despite being frequently shifted from assignment to as-

signment and denied the opportunity to serve as governor of Sierra Leone, Horton still maintained a positive outlook on African-British relations.

This outlook, though, did not prevent Horton from becoming a strong advocate of independence for African nations. While still a student he had adopted the name Africanus as a sign of pride in his heritage, and he consistently argued in favor of African rights and independence. His *Political Economy of British Western Africa,* published in 1865, for example, suggested that there be a West African University, modeled on universities in Britain, for the education of Africans. Three years later, in *West African Countries and Peoples,* Horton called for British authorities to adopt a gradual program of economic and educational development that would eventually lead to the establishment of independent, African-run states in the region. He became one of the initiators of a new state on the Gold Coast, known as the FANTE CONFEDERATION (or, sometimes, the Mankessim Confederation), which was established in 1868. Such political initiative, however, was not well received by the British authorities, and in 1874 Britain annexed the coastal states, establishing its new GOLD COAST COLONY, which covered modern-day GHANA. Indeed, in a period that was seeing an increase in colonialist and imperialist sentiment, his ideas soon became anathema to official British policy.

In 1880, at the age of 45, Horton retired from the army. Returning to Freetown, he established a bank through which he hoped to finance a growing network of African-owned-and-operated businesses. He did not live to see many results from his efforts, however, as he died of blood poisoning, only three years after his retirement.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV), NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Houphouët-Boigny, Félix (1905–1993) *First president of the independent Ivory Coast*

Born into a family with extensive landholdings, Houphouët-Boigny was a member of the elite class in IVORY COAST. He attended medical school in DAKAR, SENEGAL, and worked as a doctor for Ivory Coast's Medical Assistance Service, where he gained a reputation as an effective healer. He also owned a plantation and had much success in AGRICULTURE.

Lacking in mineral resources, Ivory Coast, then a French colony, was mainly an agricultural producer. Its primary products were COCOA and COFFEE. In 1945 Ivorian farmers banded together as the African Agricultural Union, an organization of some 20,000 members that sought to change policies favoring Ivory Coast's white farmers. These policies were installed by France's Vichy government dur-

ing World War II (1939–45). Houphouët-Boigny, who had first organized his fellow African planters in 1933, led the union. It would eventually form the base of his presidential ruling party, the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire, PDCI).

In 1944 all of France's African territories were given the right to send representatives to the French National Assembly, a result of reforms granted by French general Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) as a reward for African aid to the French resistance during World War II (1939–45). This allowed for Houphouët-Boigny's election to the Assembly in 1946. That same year he helped found the AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY (Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine, RDA), a political party for the entirety of FRENCH WEST AFRICA, and at the BAMAKO Conference, also in 1946, he was elected the party's chairman.

The French Communist faction of the RDA began taking part in a series of demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts against the colonial government. Their efforts drew retribution throughout the territories, culminating in 1950 with the massacre of 13 African demonstrators by colonial police in Ivory Coast. Afterward, the RDA split from its Communist members, and Houphouët-Boigny redirected the party to form closer ties to France.

In 1958 France began the process of gradually granting independence to its African territories. Houphouët-Boigny and Senegal's Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001), who was also a member of the National Assembly, participated in the creation of a law giving the territories near autonomy. Under the new system the African territories no longer sent deputies to the National Assembly, so Houphouët-Boigny focused his energies on building the PDCI. In 1960 Ivory Coast became fully independent, and in August of that year, Houphouët-Boigny was elected the country's first president.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V); HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY, FÉLIX (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Hutu (Bahutu) Ethnic group found predominantly in the present-day countries of RWANDA and BURUNDI. There are two primary ethnic groups in Rwanda and Burundi, Hutu and TUTSI. Hutu make up nearly 85 percent of the population in each country. Historically the Hutu and Tutsi are very closely associated, with Hutu agriculturalists serving Tutsi clients. In the 18th and 19th centuries Hutus formed the lower social castes within Tutsi monarchies. During the colonial period the Belgian administrators of RUANDA-URUNDI observed the politically dominant Tutsi position, noted their markedly leaner and lighter-skinned appearance, and favored them within the colonial apparatus. Confronted with this type of institutional favoritism, in 1959 the Hutu rose up and launched a violent anti-Tutsi campaign.

As a result of their complementary, if sometimes violent history, Hutu and Tutsi share the same language in each country: Kinyarwanda, in Rwanda and the closely related Kirundi, in Burundi. The linguistic overlap and geographic proximity of Hutu and Tutsi make it more difficult to draw clear distinctions between the two groups than has been historically acknowledged.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HUTU (Vols. I, II, III, V).

I

Ibadan Second-largest city in southwestern NIGERIA and capital of the state of Oyo. Ibadan began as a small settlement that eventually grew into an influential YORUBA city-state. During the Yoruba Civil War (1817–35) the village's population expanded as people displaced by the war immigrated to Ibadan. In 1829 an army of soldiers from the Ife, Ijebu, and Oyo kingdoms set up a military camp in the village. The city steadily grew in military might, and in 1840 the warriors of Ibadan defeated the FULANI at the Battle of Oshogbo, putting a halt to the southward expansion of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. Emboldened by its victory, Ibadan attempted to assert its authority over other Yoruba states, which led to an anti-Ibadan alliance and further war. Britain imposed a peace in 1886 and then in 1893 took over the town as part of its expanding colonial holdings in Nigeria.

In the early 20th century a railway was constructed, connecting LAGOS with KANO. The railway passed through Ibadan and provided a means to easily transport the city's agricultural goods. AGRICULTURE was the principal occupation for Ibadan's inhabitants, and as late as 1950 many men from Ibadan spent part of the year living and working on their land outside the city proper. Consequently Ibadan's residential pattern resembled that of a village rather than a city, with people residing in compounds that often had a hundred or more residents.

In 1962 Ibadan became the hub of Nigerian higher EDUCATION with the founding of the University of Ibadan. The city was not an important administrative center during most of the colonial era (1893–1960), but with a population of approximately one million in 1960, Ibadan remained a considerable city rife with commercial activity.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); IBADAN (Vol. IV); IBADAN, UNIVERSITY OF (Vol. V); IJEBU (Vols. II, III); PALM OIL (Vol. III); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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Igbo (Ibo) People living chiefly in southeastern NIGERIA. The Igbo occupy the interior and hinterland regions of the NIGER DELTA. Living in city-states, they do not have one specific leader and instead practice a form of direct democracy by which an elder from each family represents that family in decision making for the community.

In the 18th century the Igbo came under attack from some of their Niger Delta neighbors, who conducted slave raids into their territory and subsequently incorporated many Igbo-speaking people into their own societies

In the 19th century the peoples of the Niger Delta acted as trading intermediaries between the Europeans on the coast and the merchants of the interior. In 1854, however, the presence of the British CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) began changing the situation. Led by African missionaries Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891) and the Reverend J. C. Taylor (freed YORUBA and Igbo, respectively), the CMS established its only successful Nigerian mission at Onitsha. Soon, at the request of fellow Igbos,

Taylor's missions expanded into Igbo villages along the Niger River into the delta. By 1859, feeling that the missions were too closely connected to the increasingly influential European traders, African traders began attacking the mission station.

In 1906, in spite of ongoing local resistance, the British colonial office took over the Niger Delta region as the PROTECTORATE of Southern Nigeria. By 1914, when it incorporated all of its regional protectorates into the colony of Nigeria, Britain imposed indirect rule, under which legitimate African rulers would govern under the watchful eye of the new colonial government. Indirect rule, however, could not work among the Igbo because they were not a state society, and there was no legitimate single ruler. Therefore, in 1919 the British Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford (1866–1941), appointed warrant chiefs to force the Igbo to fit the state society model.

In addition to the fact that the new British governor was illegitimate in the eyes of Igbo society, the warrant chiefs he appointed were unpopular because they were viewed as corrupt. Moreover, the "native courts" that the British established further alienated the Igbo when the courts' agents regularly abused their powers. As a result the Igbo resisted British occupation until as late as 1918.

British COLONIAL RULE provoked violent resistance among the region's women, as well. In 1929, for example, an Igbo warrant chief in the area of Aba began to revise the system of colonial TAXATION imposed on the area's residents. Fearing that they would be taxed and angry over the low prices they received for their agricultural goods, the women of Aba and Owerri began attacking the symbols of colonial rule, including the "native courts" and warrant officers. The ABA WOMEN'S REVOLT, as it became known, spread and forced British authorities to call in the police. On December 17, 1929, the police fired on a crowd of protesters, killing 32 and wounding 31 others.

In the 1940s significant numbers of Igbo began to migrate to the colonial capital of LAGOS, where they had moderate success in becoming middle-class workers such as clerks, railway workers, and storekeepers. They also increased their nationalistic political activity, with Igbo speaker Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996) and Herbert MACAULAY (1864–1946) forming the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. Azikiwe, who became known as the father of modern Nigerian nationalism, led a general strike against the colonial government in 1945. As a chief architect of the country's independence, Azikiwe

was elected president of Nigeria when the country became a republic in 1963.

In May 1967 discontent and fear over the direction the Nigerian republic was taking led the Igbo-dominated Eastern Region to secede and form the Republic of Biafra. In turn this rebellion provoked a lengthy Nigerian civil war.

See also: BIAFRA (Vol. V); IGBO (Vols. I, II, III, V); JAJA (Vol. IV).

Ilorin Largely YORUBA city in western NIGERIA and capital of the Kwara State. Ilorin was the capital of a Yoruba kingdom within the Oyo empire until 1817, when the kingdom revolted and the empire collapsed. Ilorin eventually came under Muslim FULANI control under Abd as-Salam (d. 1842), who became emir of Ilorin and brought the city into the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. In the late 1830s as-Salam waged a JIHAD, spreading the Muslim empire eastward until he was defeated by the Yoruba warriors of IBADAN in 1840.

Located on the Awun River, Ilorin became a center of trade between Yoruba states and HAUSA territories. As British colonial influence expanded over the rest of Yorubaland, Ilorin persisted in keeping its autonomy. By 1897, however, the city had been conquered by Sir George GOLDIE (1846–1925) and the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY. In 1900, after sparking a conflict with the French, the Royal Niger Company had its charter revoked, and Ilorin fell under British COLONIAL RULE. It became the only Yoruba city in the British PROTECTORATE of Northern Nigeria. As a result it remained under the administration of the largely Hausa-Fulani northern region throughout Nigeria's turbulent colonial and early postcolonial history. In 1967 it became the capital of the newly created Kwara State.

Today Ilorin is an important market and manufacturing center. Manufacturing industries include FOOD processing, sugar refining, and iron working. The city also is a large nexus of local agricultural trade in yams, cassava, corn, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), and COTTON, as well as handicrafts such as pottery and baskets. As the host city for the University College of Ilorin and the Kwara State College of Technology, Ilorin has become a center for EDUCATION, as well. Ilorin's population is primarily Muslim Yoruba.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ILORIN (Vol. III).

Imvo ZabaNtsundu (**African Opinion**) Pioneering dual XHOSA- and English-language newspaper published in King William's Town, in the Eastern CAPE COLONY of SOUTH AFRICA. In November 1884, John Tengo JABAVU (1859–1921) initiated a new era of journalism in South Africa when he launched his weekly newspaper, *Imvo ZabaNtsundu.* NEWSPAPERS, such as *IsiGidimi SamaXhosa* (The Xhosa Messenger), founded in 1873, had been published in African languages by MISSIONARIES and aimed at African readerships. Indeed, Jabavu started his journalism career as an editor for *IsiGidimi,* but he and other such editors had to adhere to the editorial policy of the missionary publishers. *Imvo,* however, provided literate Africans with an independent voice. However, it was not a completely independent voice, because white commercial interests provided the capital to Jabavu and paid for advertisements carried in the paper.

Imvo published news items on a wide variety of subjects, including education, social news, and sports, but its editorials nearly always addressed the politics of the day. Their consistent focus was on establishing African civil and political rights in a country governed by whites, where the government treated Africans as colonial subjects and not as citizens. Africans, however, were not united politically, and in 1897 Walter Benson Rubusana (1858–1936) and other political opponents of Jabavu launched the rival *Izwi LaBantu* (Voice of the People). The early 20th century saw other African newspapers launched in South Africa, including the *Ilanga LaseNatal* (Natal Sun), edited by John L. DUBE (1871–1946), and the *Koranta ea Becona* (Bechuana Gazette), headed by Sol T. PLAATJE (1876–1932). Like Jabavu and Rubusana, Dube and Plaatje were very active in politics and played key leadership roles in founding the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

When Jabavu died, his son, Alexander Macaulay "Mac" Jabavu (d. 1946), took over the editorship of *Imvo.* By this time it had lost much of its earlier influence and readership, with its paid circulation having declined from a high of perhaps 4,000 to about 2,000 in the 1920s. The Argus Company, which owned major city newspapers such as the *Cape Argus,* took over *Imvo* in 1934. Mac Jabavu continued to edit the paper until his death. *Imvo* ceased publication in 1998.

industrialization Development of manufacturing capacity and infrastructure on a large scale. The onset of African industrialization can be traced back to the MINING industry in southern Africa. In the late 1800s, the discovery of DIAMONDS and GOLD in SOUTH AFRICA drew significant numbers of migrants from Europe as well as from the surrounding rural areas. The raw resources produced during this MINERAL REVOLUTION were exported to fuel the Industrial Revolution, which was well underway in

Europe. As towns grew around the mines in Africa, other related industries developed in large-scale markets. Food processing, for example, became an important industry related to the agricultural production that was required to feed exploding urban populations.

Industrialization spread first through the mining territories in the BELGIAN CONGO (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO) and NORTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZAMBIA). It also went on in areas in West Africa that had large amounts of NATURAL RESOURCES, such as SENEGAL and NIGERIA. Colonial authorities were more interested in exporting raw materials for their industries at home than in developing industries in Africa. Because of this, development in most colonies was generally limited to light industry.

> As late as the 1940s only South Africa and SOUTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE) had major steel and iron industries.

African colonies without major natural resources and minerals and metals, such as BECHUANALAND (today's BOTSWANA) and CHAD, were largely unaffected by foreign investment and the growth of urban markets.

During and after World War I (1914–18), progress in industrialization was relatively slow. However, the increase in demand for consumer goods and construction materials after World War II (1939–45) accelerated African industrialization, especially in the southern regions. While industrialization went hand in hand with URBANIZATION, African men in urban areas often maintained ties to rural areas because women and children usually remained on the farms cultivating FOOD CROPS for local consumption as well as CASH CROPS for trade or export. Indeed, AGRICULTURE—not industry—dominated the economies of most countries at independence.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); EXPORTS (Vol. IV); INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vol. V).

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Isandlwana, Battle of   (1879) ZULU victory over the British army. Military historians have called the Battle of Isandlwana the most dramatic military defeat suffered by British regular forces in all of colonial Africa. On January 11, 1879, the British launched an invasion of Zululand from their colony of NATAL, in SOUTH AFRICA. Their pretext was to halt alleged Zulu attacks on Boer settlers and neighboring African peoples by opposing supposed Zulu aggression and removing CETSHWAYO (c. 1826–1884),

their king. The attack touched off the seven-month ANGLO-ZULU WAR.

Less than two weeks after the British marched into Zululand, an army (*impi*) of more than 20,000 Zulu soldiers, armed with traditional weapons, encircled a British force of approximately 1,700 camped at the mountain pass of Isandlwana. In the ensuing battle all but a handful of the invading force was lost—858 British soldiers and 471 of their African allies. Although between 3,000 and 4,000 Zulus died in the engagement, Isandlwana represented such a clear Zulu victory that it effectively undermined the widely held belief in British military invincibility.

Predictably the British launched a punitive campaign, which ended in the capture of the Zulu capital of Ulundi and a crushing Zulu defeat later that year.

Following the Battle of Isandlwana, a Zulu army proceeded to the British base at Rorke's Drift, approximately six miles (10 km) from Isandlwana. Against incredible odds, the base's garrison of 120 repelled the repeated assaults of waves of Zulu soldiers. The number of British soldiers cited for bravery during the engagement was such that, to this day, the Defense of Rorke's Drift saw the largest number of Victoria Crosses—Great Britain's highest military decoration—ever awarded to a regiment for a single action. Two feature-length films have been produced chronicling the events surrounding the battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift: *Zulu* (1964) and *Zulu Dawn* (1979).

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

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Islam, influence of Islam had had a major impact on Africa from its earliest days, spreading rapidly across North Africa and eventually becoming a religious, military, and social force in many areas south of the Sahara. As European colonization proceeded, beginning in the mid-19th century, the interaction between Europeans and Muslims went through various stages, from conflict to coexistence to cooperation. As a result Islam's influence during the colonial period became increasingly complex.

Islam in North Africa Foremost among the Islam-influenced areas was North Africa, where the religion had spread as early as the seventh century. Through the days of the Ottoman Empire, Islam had dominated the region. By the 1830s Muslim rulers in MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and LIBYA, however, were battling Europeans intent on colonial domination. Although many of these regions in time fell under French, Italian, or even Spanish rule, Islamic resistance remained strong, and by the 1950s Muslim-led NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS ultimately gained control.

Islam in West Africa Within present-day NIGERIA the FULANI jihads of the early 19th century eventually led to the formal establishment of Islamic states. The founding of these states, most notably the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, roughly coincided with the arrival of Europeans and the gradual imposition of COLONIAL RULE. During this period, Islamic institutions vehemently opposed European conquest. For example, the Sokoto consistently struggled against the attempts at COLONIAL CONQUEST of both Britain and France. Indeed, the Fulani aristocracy of the caliphate was able to hold off colonial conquest by both European powers for some time before finally being overwhelmed by the formidable British forces led by Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) in the early 20th century.

Although the caliphate's resistance ultimately was defeated, the struggle was not entirely futile. Indeed, it was in part because of this determined resistance that Lugard eventually came forth with the governing policy known as indirect rule. This policy, which Lugard first instituted in this region, meant that the British colonial administration would have less governing to do, while the Muslim rulers would govern their own people directly.

In practice, the British colonial administration passed on its rules, requests, or even demands to the African Muslim rulers. They, in turn, had the responsibility of instituting such rules within the caliphate. Similarly, African objections, desires, and requests were transmitted for action by the British colonial administration. This policy proved quite successful from the British standpoint, especially in light of Britain's desire to use as few resources as possible in administering its overseas colonies. At the same time, from the point of view of the Muslim leadership, while it certainly was not a desirable alternative to independence, it did manage to leave them with some degree of control of their own people.

The effects of this linger even to the present day. Aided by their chief ministers or heads of administration—known as Waziris—as well as the emirs or state governors, the caliphs were able to organize the caliphates and the emirates as they saw fit. They established both national and state bureaucracies, political succession, and Islamic courts. In fact, in some areas British presence amounted to a single resident advisor, who dealt with the caliph or emirs only on matters of grave importance. As a result, British influence was far

Like all devout Muslims, these desert travelers faced Mecca, the birthplace of Muhammad, during prayer. The prayer ritual is repeated five times each day. This photo was taken in 1943. © *Underwood Stratton*

weaker in the heavily Islamic northern regions than it was in the rest of the colony. With indirect rule Fulani leadership managed to limit the advance of Western culture into their area. There were also negative effects to this, however. The preservation of Muslim culture came at the cost of some potentially advantageous features of Western life, including industrial technology and a more flexible, albeit more complex, capitalist economic system. Even to this day Nigeria's Northern Region maintains most of its Islamic institutions, while the southern regions are more Westernized.

In the SENEGAMBIA REGION of West Africa the competition between France and Great Britain often allowed Islamic leaders to maintain their independence. For example, under UMAR TAL (1794–1864), the TUKULOR EMPIRE remained independent. However, under Umar Tal's son and successor, AHMADU SÉKU (d. 1898), it could not. After resisting the French for some time, he ultimately was forced to sign an accommodation with them. Similarly, in neighboring GUINEA, the Muslim political and military leader SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900) challenged the French coastal advance for many years. In his efforts Samori depended upon his fellow MANDINKA and other MANDE-speaking Muslims. He developed a highly trained fighting cadre of Muslims known as *Sofas*. An inspired leader, Samori successfully played the French

against the British for a long period of time until the two colonial giants finally realized that Samori had no intention of relinquishing control of his country. Ultimately, by 1898 he was subdued and banished to an island off the coast of GABON, where he died in 1900.

Islam in the Sudan and East Africa Islam had taken deep root in the SWAHILI COAST many years before the arrival of Europeans. But, especially in the eastern Sudan, the concept of the *Mahdi* brought about a resurgence of Islam that had marked effects on European colonialism. In 1881 Muhammad Ahmad (1844–1885) proclaimed himself al-MAHDI, the long-awaited Muslim "redeemer" who, according to some Islamic traditions, would emerge to establish God's justice. Organizing a diverse group of followers called the MAHDIYYA, which also included non-Muslims, he sowed the seeds of Sudanese nationalism by uniting all peoples of the region to resist outside interference. Military successes enjoyed by the Mahdiyya, including the famous battle at KHARTOUM, inspired even greater revolts against colonialism.

Islam and European Colonial Rule Elsewhere, in Central and southern Africa, the presence of Islam was initially limited. In Central Africa, however, large numbers of primarily Muslim immigrants began to arrive in the early 20th century, mostly in search of trade and work. This eventually led to a large Muslim presence that

has continued to this day. In areas such as CAMEROON, CHAD, and Gabon, Muslim immigrants had arrived even earlier, allowing Islam to develop stronger roots. In SOUTH AFRICA, in contrast, it was Asian rather than African immigration that brought Islam, via the large number of migrant workers brought into the area from the Indian subcontinent.

In most parts of Africa Islam generally prospered under European colonial rule. The colonial effort to maintain law and order was highly favorable for the spread of the RELIGION. Moreover, the making of roads and railways made it possible for Islamic clerics to spread their religion toward the coast of West Africa as well as to the interior of Central and East Africa. The colonial administrators' use of Muslim leaders as agents of indirect rule further increased the power and respect of Muslim authorities throughout the continent. As a result, Muslim rulers maintained much of their power under colonial rule. Literate Muslims also were able to gain positions of authority within local and colonial bureaucracies, acting as court recorders and tax collectors, for example. This influence contributed to spreading Islam's influence in governmental as well as social and religious circles.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, V); MAHDI, AL- (Vol. II); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Ismail, Khedive (1830–1895) *Egyptian ruler*

Ismail, who came to power in 1863, was the grandson of Muhammad Ali (1769–1849), the ruler who established Egypt's de facto autonomy within the Ottoman Empire. Muhammad Ali's successors, Abbas (r. 1848–1854) and Said (r. 1854–1863), had allowed his modernizing reforms to languish, but the ascension of Ismail reinvigorated his grandfather's prior efforts to modernize EGYPT and recover an Egyptian national identity.

Ismail transformed Egypt's infrastructure, developing law courts, railroads, and telegraph lines, as well as creating new urban schools for both boys and girls. This drew Egyptians closer together and helped to foster a national identity. Ismail also patronized NEWSPAPERS in order to build up favorable public opinion. At the same time, he instituted the Egyptian Museum, the National Library, an opera house, a geographical society, and professional schools. As the SUEZ CANAL and other projects brought Europeans and European investment to Egypt, he entered the colonial competition for Africa by paying explorers and financing military expeditions into the Sudan and East Africa. Ismail rebuilt CAIRO, turning Egypt's capital into a modernized city to rival the capitals of Europe.

In 1859, four years before Ismail's ascension to power, construction began on the Suez Canal. In the wake of LABOR troubles the Suez Canal Company refused to pay the peasants who had been hired to dig, and this left the responsibility of paying the workers' wages to Ismail. Although foreign debt depleted the Egyptian treasury, the effect was at first barely noticeable, as Egypt was experiencing an economic boom due to the U.S. Civil War (1860–65). Since the war was preventing British textile mills from receiving their regular supply of American COTTON, the British were willing to pay any price for Egyptian cotton. Increased demand stimulated production, to the delight of both the Egyptian growers and the government.

> **Khedive Ismail spent lavishly for the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. At his country's expense he invited many heads of state to stay at luxurious hotels in his newly renovated CAIRO, and to participate in all types of celebration activities. He even commissioned Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901), the Italian composer, to write the opera *Aida* for the inauguration of Cairo's grand opera house.**

After the U.S. Civil War the reentry of American cotton into the international market hurt the Egyptian economy, but Ismail did not reduce his spending. Still in need of money, he became dependent on loans, which he could secure only at high interest rates. By 1866 the crisis had become so severe that Ismail had to coerce Egyptian landowners to pay three years' taxes in advance in exchange for a promise of tax reductions in the future.

When Ismail had come to power in 1863 his title was pasha, or governor. In 1867, however, he paid an enormous fee to the Ottoman Empire to obtain the title of Khedive, which gave him a status closer to sovereign ruler of Egypt. His new rank allowed him to pass down his position to his son in Cairo rather than to a brother living in the Ottoman capital of Istanbul, in present-day Turkey. He also earned the right to take out foreign loans without Ottoman permission—a privilege that ultimately proved disastrous.

In 1875 Ismail sold Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal Company, 44 percent of the total stock, to the British government. Then, when Egypt could not repay its loans, European banks forced the country into bankruptcy. No longer confident in Ismail, the British asked the Ottoman rulers to dismiss him, and in 1879 Ismail had to turn over the khedivate to his son Tawfiq Pasha (1852–1892).

See also: MUHAMMAD ALI (Vol. III); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Italian East Africa (1936–42) Short-lived colonial administrative federation made up of the colonies of ITAL-IAN SOMALILAND, ERITREA, and ETHIOPIA.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Italian Somaliland Colonial territory that included the eastern and southern portions of the Horn of Africa. The governmental seat of the colony was the port city of MOGADISHU. Italy began its colonial activity in the region in 1889, when it forged treaties with local sultans to establish a PROTECTORATE over what is today central SOMALIA. The territory grew to include regions to the north and south along the Benadir Coast, and by 1908 the borders of Italian Somaliland had been established through negotiations with both ETHIOPIA and Britain. The colonial territory grew again in 1925 with the annexation of a southern region known as Jubaland, which lay east of the Juba (or Jubba) River in what was then the British colony of KENYA. The colony's economy rested on agricultural production of various CASH CROPS, involving both local LABOR and Italian settlers. The government actively promoted AGRICULTURE through research institutes, irrigation projects, and the like.

During the first decade of the 20th century the westward expansion of Italian Somaliland into the Somali hinterland had been contained by the presence of Ethiopian forces in the eastern province of OGADEN. By 1936, however, Italy had conquered much of Ethiopia, which was then united with Italian Somaliland to form Italian East Africa.

Control of the region shifted again during World War II (1939–45), when an army made up of combined British and Ethiopian soldiers conquered Italian Somaliland, in February 1941. The region remained under British rule until 1950, when it was made a TRUST TERRITORY of the United Nations. At that time—despite the fact

In 1935, while Italian troops moved into Ethiopia, men from Italian Somaliland were pressed into service to build modern canals to irrigate Italian-owned farmland. © *Library of Congress*

that Italy had lost its East African colonies in the postwar treaty of 1947—the United Nations decided that Italy should once again administer Italian Somaliland, for a definite 10-year period, while the region began the process of changing over to autonomous rule. Finally, on July 1, 1960, Italian Somaliland and its neighbor to the west, BRITISH SOMALILAND, were unified as the United Republic of Somalia.

See also: BENADIR COAST (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HORN OF AFRICA (Vols. I, V); ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WARS (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Italo-Ethiopian War (1935–36) Conflict stemming from long-standing tensions between Italy and ETHIOPIA that culminated in a decisive Italian victory. The Italo-Ethiopian war is now seen as one of the precursors to World War II (1939–45) in that it forced Western democratic nations to take a stand against those nations, such as Italy, that were led by fascist regimes.

Italy's desire to rule Ethiopia dated to the late 19th century, but Ethiopia's Emperor MENELIK II (1844–1913) ended these early colonial aspirations through his victory at the Battle of ADOWA, in 1896. For nearly three decades afterward, the two nations maintained an uneasy peace, with Italy going so far as to back Ethiopia's bid for membership in the League of Nations, in 1923.

One ongoing point of contention, however, was the boundary between OGADEN, Ethiopia's southeastern province, and ITALIAN SOMALILAND. Tensions finally came to a head on December 5, 1934, with a pitched battle between opposing armies at an Ogaden watering stop named Welwel. Following the battle, Ethiopia, unable to oust the Italians from the border region, implored the League of Nations to investigate the matter while Italy, for its part, demanded both a formal apology and compensation from Ethiopia.

Italy's dictator, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), used the incident at Welwel as an excuse to attack Ethiopia and add it to Italy's empire in the Horn of Africa. On October 3, 1935, the technologically superior Italian army began its attack on Ethiopia from bases in ERITREA and Italian Somaliland. Using poison gas and aerial bombing, the Italian forces soon held the advantage. Despite fierce Ethiopian opposition, within seven months the Ethiopian capital of ADDIS ABABA had fallen. Declaring victory, Mussolini designated his commanding general as viceroy of Ethiopia and Italy's king, Victor Emmanuel III (1869–1947) added Emperor of Ethiopia to his list of figurehead titles.

Prior to the fall of Addis Ababa, Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) had fled Ethiopia for Europe, where he went before the League of Nations to request assistance in deterring Mussolini. Although members of the League voiced their strong objections and issued sanctions on Italy, it was to little avail, as no other government was willing to challenge Italy's powerful dictator. Despite the inability of the League of Nations to defend Ethiopia, the Italo-Ethiopian War brought the emerging power of fascist regimes, especially those of Mussolini and Germany's Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), to the forefront of international concern. Fallout from the war, including the often brutal treatment of Ethiopians by the occupying Italian forces, would become motivating factors in the later independence struggles of African nations.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Italy and Africa Although Italy joined the scramble for African colonies relatively late, it made consistent moves during the 19th and 20th centuries to establish itself as a colonial power. Ultimately, however, Italian imperial ambitions were smashed in the wake of World War II (1939–45). Like Germany, Italy did not achieve national unity until well into the 19th century, giving Britain and France a head start in the race to PARTITION Africa. Still, Italy moved to take control over areas that it hoped would prove to be valuable, both as a matter of national pride and as a means of solving its chronic overpopulation problem.

The Horn of Africa The opening of the SUEZ CANAL in 1869 made the Horn of Africa of great strategic importance. Italy viewed this region as a place to relocate its un- and underemployed masses. So in 1882 Italy acquired Aseb Bay, on the Red Sea, later using it as a base of operations in 1885 to occupy Ethiopian-controlled Massawa, also on the Red Sea. Italy began encroaching on Ethiopian territory further inland until it was halted in 1887 by a military defeat. Rather than risking further possible defeat, the Italian government consolidated its coastal holdings by proclaiming the colony of ERITREA in 1890.

Meanwhile, in 1889 Italy had thrown its support behind the future Emperor MENELIK II (1844–1913) in the struggle for succession to the Ethiopian throne. After assuming power, Menelik signed the Treaty of Wichale, which Italy claimed made ETHIOPIA an Italian PROTECTORATE. Protesting that he had been duped, Menelik abrogated the treaty, but Italy continued its aggressive policies in regard to Ethiopia. In 1895 Italy launched a full invasion, only to suffer an embarrassing and crushing defeat at the Battle of ADOWA, in March 1896. Humiliated, Italy was forced to sign the Treaty of Addis Ababa (1896), recognizing Ethiopian sovereignty and putting a temporary end to its dreams of Ethiopian conquest. About the same time, Italy claimed a small protectorate over a region of Somaliland (now SOMALIA) not yet claimed by ei-

ther Britain or France. The addition of further territory to the south became the basis for ITALIAN SOMALILAND, which, along with Eritrea, represented Italy's holdings in the Horn of Africa.

North Africa North Africa, closer than the Horn, also became an object of Italian colonial aspirations. Concerned over the French acquisition of MOROCCO and TUNISIA, Italy set about establishing itself as a colonial power in northern Africa. Using disputes with Turkey as a pretense, Italy embarked on the Turko-Italian War of 1911–12, seizing a substantial amount of territory of TRIPOLITANIA and Cyrenaica, in what is now LIBYA. By 1914 Italy had managed to occupy much of Libya, although it battled serious insurgency up through the 1920s. By the 1930s more than 40,000 Italian colonists had been sent to the territory. In 1934 the Italian government combined Tripolitania and Cyrenaica into the single colony of Libya, and then in 1939 the government made it a part of Italy itself. The Allied victory in North Africa during World War II, however, put an end to Italy's rule

there. Libya subsequently was placed under joint British and French military rule for the duration of the war.

Defeat in the Horn of Africa Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Italy expanded its holdings in Somaliland. During this same period the Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), determined to avenge Italy's defeat at Adowa, moved aggressively on Ethiopia. Using border clashes as an excuse, Mussolini launched an all-out invasion in October 1935. Failing to secure much support from either individual countries or the League of Nations—which imposed only minor economic sanctions on Italy for its actions—Ethiopia fell, in May 1936. On June 1, 1936, Victor Emmanuel III, the figurehead king of Italy, was proclaimed the emperor of Ethiopia. Italy then proceeded to combine its holdings in Eritrea, Somaliland, and Somali-speaking Ethiopia to create what it called ITALIAN EAST AFRICA.

Italy's holdings in the Horn of Africa proved to be short-lived, however. With the outbreak of World War II, Italy invaded BRITISH SOMALILAND, only to be driven out
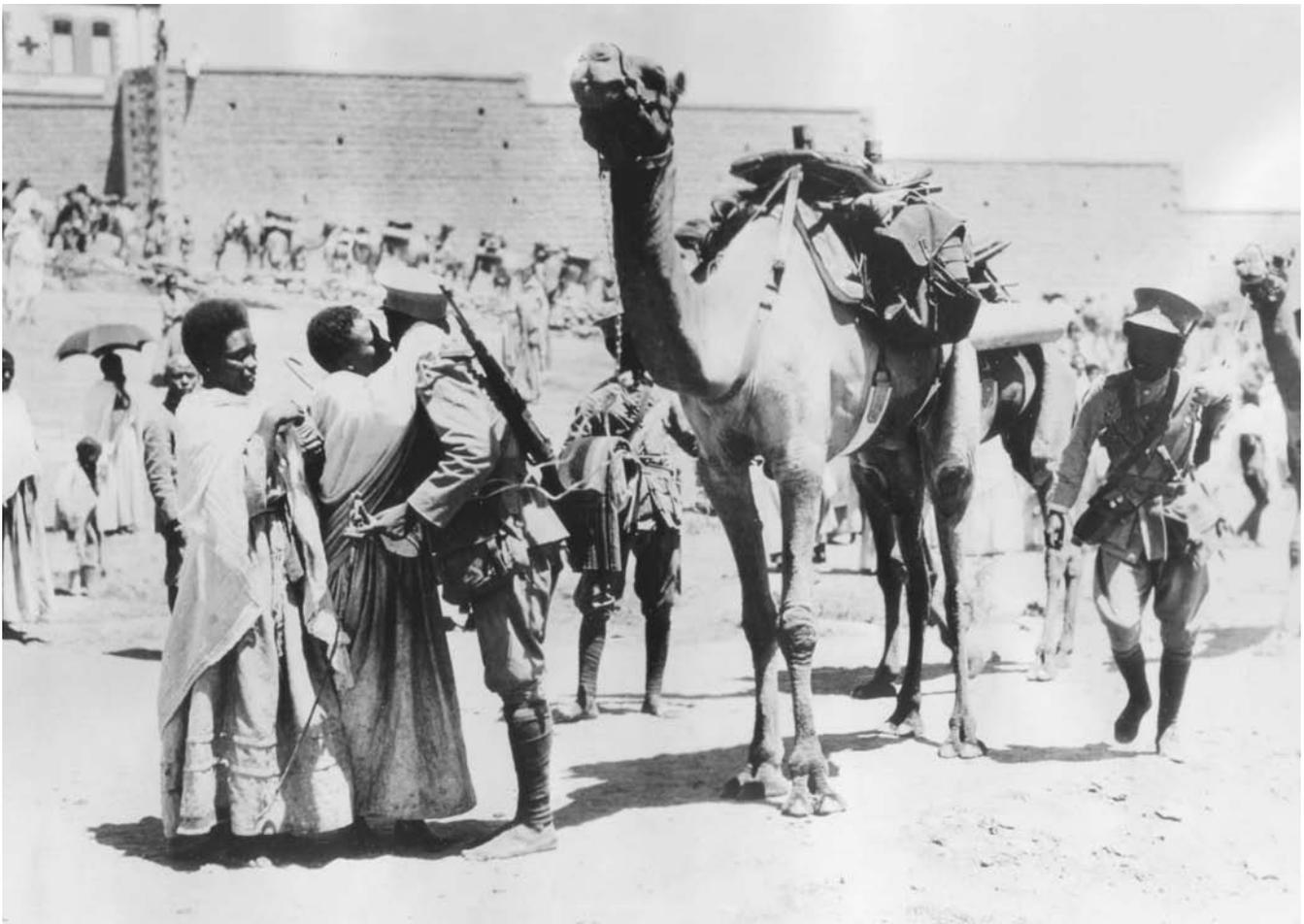
Like this officer, many Ethiopian soldiers set out from Harer in 1935 to defend their nation against Mussolini's invading armies. © Acme/Washington Star/Library of Congress

by combined British and South African forces, in 1941. The Allies quickly went on to conquer all of Italy's holdings in the region, including Ethiopia. In the wake of World War II the United Nations briefly returned the former Italian Somaliland to Italian control as a UN TRUST TERRITORY. The region was granted internal autonomy in 1956 and then full independence in 1960, putting to a final end Italy's dreams of empire in Africa.

See also: BERLIN CONFERENCE (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HAILE SELASSIE (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire) West African country approximately 124,500 square miles (322,465 sq km) in size that is bordered to the east by GHANA, to the west by LIBERIA and GUINEA, to the north by MALI and BURKINA FASO, and to the south by the Gulf of Guinea. In the 18th and 19th centuries two groups of AKAN people, the Baule and the Agnis, migrated to the area now known as the Ivory Coast in an effort to escape the influence of the ASHANTI EMPIRE. The Agnis occupied the southeastern region of the Ivory Coast and founded the kingdoms of Sanwi and Indenie. Meanwhile, the Baoule moved into the central part of the country and established the kingdom of Sakasso in Senufo territory. To the north of the Akan kingdoms was the MANDE-speaking DYULA kingdom of Kong, which was founded in the early 18th century and served as a vital trade center to the region, prospering well into the 19th century.

Kong's rise as a center of commerce was not surprising, as the Ivory Coast region was a thriving trading community as early as the eighth century. Fittingly, ivory was long the chief export from the area, but over-hunting of elephants depleted their population to near extinction, and trade in ivory ended by the 18th century. The SLAVE TRADE also existed in the region, fostered by Muslim traders in the interior and Europeans along the coast.

Despite the relatively early presence of Europeans along the shore, beginning with the Portuguese in the 15th century, the hinterland remained unexplored by colonial powers through much of the 19th century. Then, from 1842 to 1843, the chiefs of the Grand Bassam and Assinie regions signed a series of treaties with the French naval officer Bouet-Williaumez (1808–1871) establishing a French PROTECTORATE over the territories. The French erected trading posts along the coast, but, still, they showed little interest in establishing a permanent presence in the hinterlands. This all changed, however, after the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), where the colonial powers agreed that annexation of the African coastline must be supported by "effective occupation."

In 1886 France assumed administrative authority over the region and began a program of exploration of the inland. The indigenous peoples of the area were not overly concerned by the initial influx of a few white explorers and their traveling parties. Between 1887 and 1889 local chiefs signed protectorate-forming treaties with various Frenchmen including Louis Binger (1856–1926), who was one of the first Europeans to traverse the interior of the Ivory Coast. The motivations of the African chiefs for signing over their lands with these treaties varied. Some believed the French would provide military help against their rivals, while others were probably deceived regarding the consequences of the agreements. In any case, by 1893 France had combined its various coastal protectorates to form the colony of Côte d'Ivoire.

Around the turn of the 20th century Ivory Coast was grouped with other French possessions in FRENCH WEST AFRICA, an administrative bloc commonly known by its French acronym, AOF, standing for Afrique Occidentale Française.

Ivory Coast During the Colonial Period: Côte d'Ivoire When they realized France's expansionist intentions, Africans in Côte d'Ivoire began offering resolute resistance. Especially determined were the forces of SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900), who used guerrilla tactics to fight the French for most of the 1890s. The French captured Samori Touré in 1898, allowing them to expand their influence inland and quell remaining resistance to complete the PACIFICATION process.

During the early part of the 20th century the French imposed taxes on the African population and instituted forced LABOR. The French also began a program of assimilation, extolling the supposed superiority of French culture and training an African elite in the ways of French bureaucracy. The introduction of civil service dismayed the traditional African leadership, as the French appointed rulers with no previous rights to power, reducing most of the legitimate leaders to insignificant figureheads.

At the onset of World War II (1939–45), France capitulated to Nazi Germany. At first all of FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF) offered support to the German-allied Vichy government, though many Ivorians supported the Free France government of Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970). During the war the

Vichy government abused the African population of the colony by imposing quotas on already strained AGRICULTURE production and by increasing the use of forced labor.

After the war African political activity began to find a footing. In 1944 African farmers led by Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993) responded to the Vichy directives on agriculture by organizing the African Agricultural Union. This was eventually transformed into the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire, PDCI), which was a base of support for Houphouët- Boigny.

In 1945 Côte d'Ivoire held its first election to determine the colony's two representatives to the French Assembly. The ballots were divided between French citizens and a limited African electorate, which chose Houphouët-Boigny as their delegate. He, along with the African delegates from other French possessions, pressed for reforms of colonial policy, and the French eventually acquiesced to some of the African delegates' demands.

In 1946 Côte d'Ivoire, along with the rest of France's African possessions, was designated an overseas territory. New rights for Africans, such as free speech and the right to assembly, accompanied this change and resulted in the rise of political activity. The PDCI, headed by the nearly autocratic leadership of Houphouët-Boigny, quickly gained popular support.

Empowered by his success at home, Houphouët-Boigny joined with other AOF leaders to form the AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY (Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine, RDA), which became a dominant force in AOF politics. The RDA was especially popular in Côte d'Ivoire, where the longstanding conflict between African and white farmers created an environment ripe for political activism. Soon, however, Houphouët-Boigny encountered French opposition to his party's activities. The PDCI, because of its association with the communist-influenced RDA, came under frequent attack from the colonial administration. In 1951, with the PDCI foundering, Houphouët-Boigny distanced himself from the more radical elements of the RDA. The tactic worked, placating the French, and reestablishing the influence of the PDCI and RDA.

In 1958 France called for a referendum to decide the fate of its possessions, allowing French territories to either to join the French Community as a self-governing republic or opt for complete independence and sever all ties with France. Côte d'Ivoire, along with every other African French territory except for GUINEA, chose to join the community. One year later elections for the legislature of the republic were held, with the PDCI winning all of the seats. The legislature elected Houphouët-Boigny prime minister, and in 1960 he became the country's first president.

See also: BAULE (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); IVORY COAST (Vols. I, II, III, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1995,* 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

ivory trade   Ivory became an important export in the 19th century in response to European demand. The time period witnessed the rise of the middle class in Europe, and in the days before RADIO and the phonograph, pianos were a fixture in most middle-class homes. This in turn led to an increasing demand for ivory for piano keys. The export of ivory from Africa dated back to ancient EGYPT, and it continued to be an important trade commodity for centuries. With the upsurge in European demand in the 19th century, the largest untapped source of ivory was the East African interior. The Arab merchant community of ZANZIBAR and the adjacent SWAHILI COAST were positioned to take advantage of this growing demand and aggressively pursued the ivory trade. By the late 1850s Zanzibar was exporting nearly 500,000 pounds (226,800 kg) of ivory annually. Ivory accounted for 40 percent of its EXPORTS.

Between 1880 and 1930, the trade in ivory led to the slaughter of thousands of elephants. © *Frank and Frances Carpenter Collection/Library of Congress*

The peoples of the interior, such as the NYAMWEZI and the YAO, undertook hunting elephants for their ivory. They also often worked as porters, transporting the ivory to the coast. As the century wore on, however, the coastal Arab and Swahili merchants pushed deeper into the interior and took over direct control of the trade routes. This expansion reached its zenith by the early 1880s with the move of TIPPU TIP (c. 1830–1905) into the eastern portion of present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

In West Africa the 19th century saw the rise of so-called legitimate trade, primarily in CASH CROPS, in tandem with the efforts to abolish the SLAVE TRADE. While ivory was a commodity, as were cash crops, there were two principal differences with the commodity trade of West Africa. First, unlike commodities such as GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) and PALM OIL, ivory was not a readily renewable resource. Second, the export of ivory was inextricably linked to the export of slaves. Indeed, ivory and slaves dominated the export commodity trade of East Africa for most of the century. As with ivory, slaves were not an unlimited resource, and the collection of slaves was a highly destructive process. Human communities were being decimated along with the elephant herds in what was essentially a robber or predatory economic system. Such an economic system lacked any basis for productive and beneficial economic growth.

The ivory trade declined as the European PARTITION of East Africa undermined the Zanzibar-based trading system, as the ivory supply diminished with the killing off of the elephant herds, and as demand in Europe began to trail off. Despite the decline, the ivory trade never disappeared altogether, and the unsavory practice continues today.

See also: CONSERVATION (Vol. V); IVORY (Vol. II); IVORY TRADE (Vol. III); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vols. III, IV, V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

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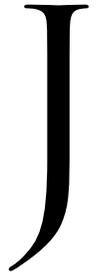
Jabavu, D. D. T. (Davidson Don Tengo) (1885–1959) *South African professor and political leader*

Jabavu was born in King William's Town, CAPE COLONY, the son of John Tengo JABAVU (1859–1921), the renowned editor of *IMVO ZABANTSUNDU,* a weekly newspaper for South Africans. Failing in the attempt to enroll his son in a white high school, John Tengo Jabavu instead sent him to Britain for his schooling. After attending a Society of Friends school in Wales, the younger Jabavu went on to obtain a bachelor's degree in English at the University of London, and a diploma in education from Birmingham University. After graduation Jabavu traveled to the United States. There he visited several historically black institutions, including the Tuskegee Institute, where he met its founder, the black intellectual, Booker T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915).

On his return to SOUTH AFRICA in 1915, Jabavu became the first African teacher at the new South African Native College, later known as FORT HARE COLLEGE. During his career there, which stretched to 1945, he taught a wide range of subjects, including social anthropology, Latin, history, and African languages. Even after other black faculty members were hired, he was far and away the most recognizable and popular African professor at Fort Hare, and he personally taught many of the most influential Africans who emerged as prominent nationalist leaders in southern Africa.

Not content with his role as an academic, Jabavu played active roles in extracurricular college activities and in the larger African community, championing causes of central importance to Africans. For example, he was tireless in promoting improved agricultural techniques among African farmers, writing instruc-tional pamphlets and newspaper articles, lecturing widely in rural areas, organizing agricultural cooperatives, and in 1919 founding the Cape Farmers Association. Jabavu was also instrumental in organizing African teachers, assisting in the establishment of the Cape Native Teachers' Association (1920) and the nationwide South African Federation of Native Teachers (1921), both of which he led as president.

Jabavu assumed the role of spokesman for his people and engaged in many undertakings on the national political stage. He sought to realize the liberal ideal of a non-race-based Cape franchise, which involved a vaguely elitist notion of granting equal rights to all "civilized" men, regardless of race. He traveled widely, both abroad and in South Africa, to further the cause of Africans. Beginning in the mid-1920s he also was one of the leading figures in the Joint Council movement, which attempted to open lines of communication between leaders in the white and African communities. In 1929 Jabavu also helped found the South African Institute of Race Relations, which was dedicated to the same goal, serving as its vice president from 1932 to 1959. In the mid-1930s he assumed leadership of the movement to prevent the passage of the Native Bills, which aimed to abolish African franchise rights in the Cape Province. To this end, in 1935 he established, and assumed the presidency of, the All-African Convention. In 1943 Jabavu also co-founded the Non-European Unity Movement, which attempted to unite African, Cape Coloured, and Indian political constituencies across southern Africa.

Even as South Africa's black opposition became radicalized and more oriented to mass action in the late 1940s, Jabavu clung to his philosophy of elitist represen-

tation, racial reconciliation, gradual political reform, and moral uplift. By 1948, however, recognizing that he was out of step with political currents of his day, Jabavu retired from politics.

In addition to his public roles as an educator and politician, Jabavu was a passionate advocate for temperance, a prominent Methodist lay preacher, and a pianist of considerable talent. He also wrote poetry and many works of nonfiction in XHOSA and English, including a biography of his father, John Tengo Jabavu.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V).

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Jabavu, John Tengo   (1859–1921) *South African newspaper editor and politician*

Raised in an African family of first-generation Christian converts, Jabavu attended Healdtown Missionary Institution, a Methodist school, and began his career as a mission schoolteacher at only 17 years of age. In 1881 he became editor of *Isigidimi sama Xhosa,* (The Messenger of the Xhosa), a newspaper published by Lovedale, a prominent missionary institution. After a falling-out with the newspaper's missionary publishers over his political views, Jabavu started his own newspaper, the weekly *IMVO ZABANTSUNDU* (African Opinion), in 1884. It was the first independent, African-language newspaper in SOUTH AFRICA. He used the influence he wielded through it to promote his politics among his African readership and to encourage eligible Africans to register as voters in the CAPE COLONY.

Championing many African causes, Jabavu emerged in the late 19th century as one of the continent's most influential African leaders. He initially threw his newspaper's support behind the Liberal Party, but when it increasingly adopted an anti-African position, he backed the Afrikaner Bond party instead. However, the white politicians of this party also betrayed his trust, and, in the process, Jabavu lost credibility for his ill-advised political alliances. During the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902) the government shut down his newspaper for more than a year because of his antiwar criticism. The closure seriously degraded the newspaper's financial situation in the years to follow.

In 1909 Jabavu joined an African delegation to London that protested the proposed constitution of the new UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, believing that it threatened African franchise rights. Later, however, he made some serious political miscalculations, beginning with his decision to shun participation in the newly formed South African Native National Congress (later to become the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS), in favor of creating his own stillborn organization, the South African Races Congress.

Then, he supported the Natives Land Act (1913), a crucial legislative initiative designed to deny Africans the right to own or rent land in the vast majority of South Africa. His decision to back this bill was motivated by his friendship with J. W. Sauer (d. 1913), the white liberal politician who sponsored it. As a result, Jabavu suffered a resounding defeat in his 1914 bid for a seat on the Cape Provincial Council. In part, he had entered the election to spite Walter Benson Rubusana (1858–1936), who had started up a rival African-language newspaper. In challenging Rubusana, however, Jabavu drew away many of Rubusana's potential supporters, with the result that a white candidate won the seat. It was not until the election of 1994 that another African was elected on the basis of a common nonracial franchise to a legislative body in South Africa.

Forsaking politics, Jabavu campaigned for the establishment of an African college, and thanks in part to his protracted efforts, in 1916 the South African Native College (later renamed FORT HARE COLLEGE) came into being. He sat on its governing council, and his son, Davidson Don Tengo JABAVU (1885–1959), became the first African lecturer on its staff. Upon John Tengo Jabavu's death in 1921, his son Alexander Macauley "Mac" Jabavu (d. 1946) assumed the editorship of *Imvo ZabaNtsundu,* which continued publication until 1998.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); MISSIONARIES (Vol. IV); NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV).

Jaja (JaJa of Opobo, Jubu Jubogha) (1821–1891) *Influential merchant in the eastern Niger Delta*

Born a slave in Igboland, Jaja was named Jubo Jubogha by his first master, a trader from the small coastal trading state of Bonny. Intelligent and ambitious, Jaja quickly rose to lead one of the main merchant houses of the eastern part of the NIGER DELTA. As head of the trading group known as the Anna Pebble House, in Okoloma, Jaja engaged in an aggressive program designed to enlarge his house. He absorbed smaller houses, offered opportunities to younger traders, and encouraged initiative by offering to wipe out debts and granting trading concessions. As a result, within two years of his taking over the Anna Pebble House in 1862, Jaja had managed to add 15 houses to his group.

The rise of Jaja and his house was not well received by other groups, however, and by 1869 business competition had led to armed conflict. When a fire wiped out areas of Okoloma, including the armory of the Anna Pebble House, Jaja and his trade associates relocated to the island of Opobo. There they constructed an entirely new community, and Jaja declared himself king of Opobo.

Strategically located between Bonny and the source of goods in the interior, Jaja's kingdom of Opobo grew

rapidly in power and importance. Indeed, because he had the might to deny others access to the best trade routes, he soon was able to charge hefty duties on goods passing through his region. In time Jaja's power and wealth grew so great that he started to eliminate the European coastal merchants altogether, shipping palm oil directly to Liverpool, England, himself.

As a ruler, Jaja steered an independent course, maintaining law and order with a traditional police force and conducting military exercises to keep his forces ready for conflict against any invader. Deeply mistrusting Christian MISSIONARIES, he did as much as he could to limit or even proscribe their evangelical activities. Instead he advanced the cause of traditional African religions, constructing shrines to important gods and ancestors. European-style EDUCATION, however, was encouraged, and beginning in 1873 he employed a succession of teachers to provide instruction to his and other children of Opobo. By the mid-1880s more than 60 boys and girls attended Opobo's school.

The extent of Jaja's power—as well as his willingness to use that power to dominate trade in the region—was not something the British interests in the area tolerated. Eventually they managed to get Jaja to sign a treaty by which his kingdom retained its independence but was put under British "protection." Since the treaty had little effect on Jaja's activities, the British soon took stronger action, luring Jaja to a meeting and arresting him. Taken to ACCRA in 1887, he was tried and convicted on charges of breaking treaties and restraining trade. Eventually he was exiled to St. Vincent's, in the West Indies, where he spent the next four years. In time he was allowed to return to Africa, but he died en route.

As the British had intended, Jaja's fate served as a warning to other leaders in the delta. Gradually they gave in to British demands, allowing Britain to take effective control of both the politics and economics of the region. Further, when it was discovered that quinine could be used to control malaria, the British soon took over the job of trading with the interior. This eventually put an end to the great African-run mercantile houses of the delta, and the city-states of the region, like Bonny, declined.

See also: BONNY (Vols. II, III); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); IGBO (Vol. IV); NIGER DELTA (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Ebiegberi Joe Alagoa, *Jaja of Opobo: The Slave Who Became a King* (London: Longman, 1970).

Jameson Raid Failed attempt in late 1895 to overthrow the Afrikaner government of the TRANSVAAL Republic and bring the Transvaal within the orbit of the British Empire. The Jameson Raid was engineered by Alfred Beit (1853–1906) and the prime minister of the British CAPE COLONY, Cecil RHODES (1853–1902). It was intended to further Rhodes's expansionist ambitions. Rhodes and Beit controlled the De Beers diamond mines. They also ran the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY, a commercial enterprise that all but governed the colony of Rhodesia, the ancestor of the present-day nation of ZIMBABWE. Dr. Leander Starr Jameson (1853–1917), administrator of Rhodesia for the British South Africa Company and a close friend of Rhodes, led the raid to bring down the government of Transvaal president Paul KRUGER (1825–1904). The raid was initiated to support a revolt among the mostly British UITLANDERS, or foreign settlers, as well as to serve Rhodes' designs for a united SOUTH AFRICA.

On December 29, 1895, with a force of roughly 500 mounted company police, Jameson set out from a base in British-held BECHUANALAND (today's BOTSWANA) and crossed the border into the Transvaal. The revolt among the Uitlanders in the Transvaal was prearranged to coincide with the Jameson invasion; however, it failed to materialize. On January 2, 1896, Transvaal soldiers surrounded and captured Jameson and his men, 16 of whom died in the skirmish. The Transvaal government turned Jameson over to the British to be tried in London. In addition many of the Uitlander conspirators in JOHANNESBURG were imprisoned.

The Jameson Raid led to Rhodes's resignation as prime minister of the Cape Colony. More importantly it heightened the distrust and tension between the British government and the AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (the Transvaal and the ORANGE FREE STATE) and between Uitlanders and AFRIKANERS. The raid underscored the republics' lack of military preparedness, which was redressed by better organization and improved armament. In general terms, the Jameson Raid and the controversy it engendered contributed significantly to the outbreak of the ANGLO-BOER WAR, in 1899. As for Jameson, he was able to rebound politically, wining election to the Cape Colony parliament in 1904. There he played an important role in events leading to the creation of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA in 1910.

Further reading: Elizabeth Longford, *Jameson's Raid: The Prelude to the Boer War* (London: Panther Books, 1984).

jihad (jehad) Meaning in Arabic, "fight" or "battle," *jihad* implies striving or struggling to achieve a higher moral standard following the path of God. Jihad is difficult to define because it cannot be precisely translated. In

its most general sense it refers to the obligation of the individual Muslim and the Muslim community to make a sincere and noticeable effort to accomplish God's will, lead virtuous lives, and expand Islam. This may be done through preaching, education, and similar activities. It is Muslim belief that good deeds open the way to salvation and divine pardon.

Jihad also may refer to fighting to pursue justice and freedom and to oppose oppression. It is in this sense that jihad means war. Certain conditions, however, apply to determine what makes a just war. A jihad, for example, can be a defensive war or a war against an unjust regime, but it must be waged only against the government, not civilians. The concept of jihad cannot be used to justify a war that forces people to accept Islam. Jihad is often casually defined as "holy war," but in Islam, war is not considered holy. Muslim scholars explain that the notion of a holy war comes from Europe, where it was used to justify the Crusades (1096–1291) that Christians waged against Muslims.

> **Regarding jihad, the Quran (9:29) commands the faithful to "fight against those who do not believe in God or the Judgment Day, who permit what God and His messenger have forbidden, and who refuse allegiance to the true faith from those who have received scriptures, until they humbly pay tribute."**

Two wars that meet these Islamic standards for a just war are the war that Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1885) waged against the Egyptian colonial administration of the Sudan in the early 1880s and the war that MUHAMMAD ABDULLAH HASSAN (1864–1920) waged against the British and Italian colonial governments of SOMALIA in the early 20th century. Both were led by religious reformers and were fought to establish an Islamic state governed by Islamic law, or *sharia*.

See also: ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCES OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); JIHAD (Vol. II); QURAN (Vol. II); MAHDIYYA (Vol. IV); *SHARIA* (Vols. II, V).

Further reading: Rudolph Peters, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam,* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996).

Johannesburg   South African city, 900 square miles (2,331 sq km) in size, that is both the major urban, financial, and commercial center of SOUTH AFRICA and the world's largest inland city. Once just an expanse of open savanna, Johannesburg was founded in 1886 after the discovery of GOLD in the nearby hill region known as the

WITWATERSTRAND. By 1899 it had become the world's most productive gold-mining region. The gold rush brought people from all over the world to South Africa. Initially the area was a jumble of miners' camps, but soon the government of the TRANSVAAL formally organized the area into the town of Johannesburg, which rapidly grew into a major city. By 1896 it had almost 100,000 people, making it the territory's largest city. By 1903 the city expanded to cover 82 square miles (212 sq km); the population reached 250,000 by 1914. Population growth slowed during the 1920s, reaching 400,000 by 1931, but then doubled to 800,000 by the end of World War II (1939–45).

Johannesburg's gold-mining industry and concomitant rapid growth were marked by political and social tensions. One source of these was the animosity between two groups of whites—AFRIKANERS (known prior to the 20th century as BOERS), who regarded the Transvaal as their homeland, and the UITLANDERS, European SETTLERS who possessed capitalistic and imperial interests in southern Africa. These divergent viewpoints came to a head with two armed conflicts—the Transvaal Revolt (1880–81) and the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902).

Another source of tension developed along social and class lines. Originally a rough-and-tumble mining camp, replete with alcohol and prostitution, the city later developed a middle class that began to impose its own Victorian social structures as their numbers and influence grew. Established residential areas emerged that reflected both class and racial divisions. The members of the white working class, increasingly AFRIKAANS-speaking, occupied their own areas, as did the largely English-speaking middle class. At the same time, indigenous Africans were segregated into largely impoverished and overcrowded areas located far from the main places of employment.

African mineworkers, forced to work the mines and live in single-sex compounds, were not only separated from whites, but also from their families, who usually remained in their rural homes. While these racial divisions never erupted into large-scale violence, class divisions within the white population did.

> **While the indigenous African residents of Johannesburg generally lived in poverty, their cultural life was vibrant. A lively MUSIC scene emerged in the Sophiatown and Alexandra townships after World War II, giving rise to such music greats as Hugh Masekela (1931–), Miriam Makeba (1932–), and Abdullah Ibrahim (1934–). DRUM, a periodical based in Johannesburg, covered the African music scene and also carried short stories and articles by African authors.**

In 1922 white workers engaged in open revolt against the mine owners and the South African government, seizing control of the city. The army managed to suppress this "Rand Revolt," but only after 200 strikers had lost their lives. Despite its class struggles, Johannesburg quickly emerged as South Africa's preeminent city, as well as an international financial and commercial center. Johannesburg's vibrant economy has spanned more than a century, from the founding of its Stock Exchange in 1887 to the building of its modern skyline replete with metal and glass skyscrapers. Until recently, however, the highly visible, unsightly mine dumps served as a reminder that the city was built on the mining of gold.

In addition to mining, the policy of APARTHEID adopted in 1948 greatly influenced the layout of Johannesburg. Apartheid decreed that South Africans reside in areas established along racial lines. More specifically, the government sought to reduce the overall African population living within the municipal boundaries of its cities, and in 1955 it began to forcibly remove Africans from Johannesburg and resettle them in Soweto. This policy of rigid, legislated segregation characterized Johannesburg throughout the apartheid era (1948–94).

Since the end of apartheid many Africans have moved into areas of Johannesburg where they were previously not allowed to live. At the same time wealthy whites have begun moving from the downtown area, leaving behind an increasing crime rate and the reality of living among formerly disenfranchised neighbors.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); JOHANNESBURG (Vol. V); MAKEBA, MIRIAM (Vol. V); MASEKELA, HUGH (Vol. V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV); URBANIZATION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Peter Kallaway and Patrick Pearson, *Johannesburg: Images and Continuities: A History of Working Class Life Through Pictures, 1885–1935* (Braamfontein, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1986); Reuben Musiker, *Aspects of Johannesburg History* (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Library, 1987).

Johnson, Samuel (1846–1901) *Yoruba educator, missionary, and historian*

Active both as a teacher and as a Christian missionary, Johnson played an important role in the recording of YORUBA history, a task that the Yoruba themselves had begun earlier in the 19th century. Johnson was born in FREETOWN, in what is now SIERRA LEONE. His father was one of Freetown's RECAPTIVES, the term used for people who had been liberated from slave ships by the British Navy. Johnson's father, who was originally from Oyo, in present-day NIGERIA, joined the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) and eventually moved to Yorubaland.

After spending much of his youth among the Yoruba, Samuel Johnson was educated at the CMS Training Institution in ABEOKUTA, where many Christian Yoruba had settled upon their return to Nigeria from Sierra Leone. He completed his studies in 1865, becoming a schoolmaster and, in time, the administrator for several schools run by the Anglican Mission. He was ordained as a minister in 1888. The Anglican bishop for Nigeria at the time was the well-known Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891), who, like Johnson's father, was also a recaptive. During the 1870s and 1880s Johnson's work as a teacher and pastor led him to act as a peacemaker between various warring Yoruba states.

Samuel Johnson was not the only distinguished member of his generation in his family. His oldest brother, Henry, became an archdeacon with the Church Missionary Society. Another brother, Nathaniel, also worked as a teacher for the CMS. His younger brother Obadiah was one of the first Nigerians to become a medical doctor in the Western tradition.

During the 1880s Johnnson began a serious study of the Yoruba peoples, writing a history and ethnographic text that he finally completed in the late 1890s. In 1897 he sent his finished manuscript to the main office of the CMS in London. There the manuscript languished and eventually was lost. Johnson's brother, Obadiah, reconstructed the manuscript from notes, and after Samuel's death he had it published as *A History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate* (1921). Although present-day scholars have questioned some of Johnson's supposed discoveries and several of his underlying assumptions, Johnson's *History of the Yorubas* has long been considered a cornerstone of historical and ethnographic research.

See also: HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vol. IV); MISSIONARIES (Vol. IV); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. III); YORUBALAND (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: J. F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841–1891; the Making of a New Elite* (London: Longmans, 1965).

Jonathan, Leabua (Chief) (1914–1987) *First prime minister of the independent Kingdom of Lesotho*

The great grandson of Mshweshwe (1786–1870), the founder of BASUTOLAND (present-day LESOTHO), Jonathan was heir to a minor chiefdom. He became a Catholic after receiving his education in a mission school. From 1934 to 1937 Jonathan labored in the South African GOLD mines, after which he became employed by the paramount chief

regent and rose up through the administration to become the president of the Basuto courts.

Jonathan served in various high-level governmental positions, and in 1959 he founded the Basuto National Party (BNP). During this time Basutoland, a crown colony of Britain, was located wholly within the borders of SOUTH AFRICA, and was greatly affected by South Africa's APARTHEID policies. The BNP promoted improved relations with South Africa, in spite of the country's racist government. However, the party also rejected plans for Basutoland to join the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, favoring complete independence from Britain instead. Despite the party's relative lack of success, Jonathan managed to gain a seat in the Legislative Council. In 1962 he helped create a new constitution, which set the stage for Basutoland's independence from Britain and Jonathan's eventual rise to the position of prime minister.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV, V); MSH-WESHWE (Vol. III).

K

Kabarega, Mukama (c. 1853–1923) *Last independent king of Bunyoro*

In 1869 Kabarega became king of BUNYORO, a kingdom located in present-day western UGANDA. By the latter half of the 19th century it had ceded much of its territory and eminence to the kingdom of BUGANDA. Initially Kabarega met with resistance to his authority and was temporarily deposed before regaining power in 1872. After subduing his domestic foes Kabarega turned his attention to external opponents.

Early in Kabarega's reign, Egypt's Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895) sent Samuel BAKER (1821–1893), the governor of Equatoria Province in Egyptian-ruled Sudan, to claim Bunyoro and the general Nile River headwaters region for EGYPT. Kabarega resisted, and his forces intermittently clashed with the Egyptian and Sudanese forces for years, finally forcing their withdrawal in 1888.

Between 1888 and 1892 Buganda, Bunyoro's longtime adversary, was engulfed in a religious civil war. Kabarega took advantage of the weakened state of his neighbor to centralize Bunyoro's power structure and expand the kingdom's territory, initiating a modest renaissance of Bunyoro power in the region.

> **Many African kingdoms of the time had no standing army, relying on a "call to arms" to attack or defend against enemies. Kabarega, however, transformed his personal guard into a standing army, equipping it with modern arms acquired from Arab traders.**

By 1892 the civil war in Buganda had subsided as the kingdom fell to British control. Looking to expand their dominion, British forces, directed by Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945), invaded Bunyoro. Using guerrilla tactics, Kabarega led a five-year war of resistance, with his forces continuing the fight even after Kabarega fled to the Sudan, in 1894. Despite Kabarega's efforts, the British occupied Bunyoro in 1897. Kabarega, however, remained at large until 1899, when he was captured and exiled to the SEYCHELLES. He lived there for more than 20 years but was allowed to return to his homeland just before his death.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GREAT LAKES REGION (Vol. III); KITARA COMPLEX (Vol. II).

Kadalie, Clements (1896–1951) *South African trade union organizer*

Born Lameck Koniwaka Kadali Muwamba in NYASALAND (now known as MALAWI), Clements Kadalie briefly worked as a teacher in his homeland before going abroad in search of greater opportunity. After working in MOZAMBIQUE and ZIMBABWE, he settled in CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, in 1918 and formed the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (ICU) the following year. With the ICU, Kadalie mobilized dockworkers and waged a surprisingly successful strike that resulted in higher wages at a time when black LABOR won few such victories. In the aftermath of the strike, membership in the ICU grew, spreading the general trade union organization throughout the country. In 1923 the ICU began publishing a newspaper, *Worker's Herald,* under Kadalie's editorship.

In response to labor unrest among black workers during the 1920s—in part, a product of the ICU's success—the government passed the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, which denied Africans the right of collective bargaining. By the mid-1920s the ICU claimed approximately 100,000 members, although its paid-up membership was considerably less. However gauged, the ICU was the largest union of black workers in South Africa and a powerful mass movement. Notably, it recruited from both urban and rural locales and across race lines, counting African, Coloured, and Indian workers among its ranks. The ICU was especially strong in NATAL, thanks to the efforts of the influential African nationalist leader, A. W. G. CHAMPION (1893–1975).

In an attempt to gain greater legitimacy within trade union circles, Kadalie went abroad in 1927 to seek support. As a result, the ICU became affiliated with the International Trade Union Congress, although its official application to the International Labor Organization was rejected. Over the next few years financial irregularities and personal differences among ICU leaders caused internal dissension. Repressive government measures further inhibited the organization's ability to function effectively. In 1929 Kedalie bowed to pressure from within the ICU and resigned as national secretary, establishing an independent ICU that operated out of East London. The influence of both branches of the ICU subsequently declined. However, Kadalie remained active locally in East London. He also participated in the African liberation struggle as a member of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS until his death in 1951.

Further reading: Helen Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom: The ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924–1930* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987); Clements Kadalie, *My Life and the ICU: The Autobiography of a Black Trade Unionist in South Africa* (New York: Humanities Press, 1970).

Kagwa, Apolo (Sir)   (1865–1927) *Long-time* katikiro *(chief minister) of the Buganda kingdom*

As a young man Apolo Kagwa was one of the many pages at the court of the great *kabaka,* or king, MUTESA I (c. late 1830s–1884) during the time when Anglican MISSIONARIES of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) began their work in BUGANDA. Many of the young pages became converts of the CMS or their Catholic rivals. In 1886, two years after he had succeeded Mutesa I as *kabaka,* Mwanga II (c. 1866–1903) purged many of the converted Christian pages, executing 40 of them. Kagwa survived the political intrigues to become the leader of the Protestant faction during the civil wars among rival Protestants, Catholics, and Muslims that convulsed Buganda between 1888 and 1892. For his support in helping Mwanga remain *kabaka,* Kagwa became *katikiro,*

or chief minister, in 1890. Between then and 1897, when continuing religious warfare forced Mwanga into exile in the SEYCHELLES, Kagwa was a major force in the Protestant cause. He also was increasingly pro-British, since the British supported the Protestant cause.

Kagwa became the principal regent after Mwanga's exile—engineered largely by the British agent Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945)—and the signing of the Banda Agreement (1900). This agreement established British COLONIAL RULE over Buganda and the rest of UGANDA. As regent, Kagwa essentially ruled the country for the next decade and a half. He was also one of the kingdom's largest landholders. In 1902 Kagwa and his secretary, Ham Mukasa (1870–1956), traveled to Britain for the coronation of King Edward VII (1841–1910), and Kagwa received his knighthood in the process. Two years later Mukasa published an account of the journey, *Buganda's Katikiro in England.*

> As regent, Kagwa believed in the necessity to educate and train Buganda's youth and to promote academic excellence. He contributed directly to the EDUCATION of Buganda's youth by writing about Ganda history and culture. His history of Buganda's kings, written in the Ganda language, appeared in a translated and edited version as *The Kings of Buganda* (1971).

Crafty and autocratic, Kagwa was able to keep the friendship of the British while also maintaining a modicum of independence for his kingdom. Ultimately, however, conflicts with the young Kabaka Daudi Chwa II (1886–1942) and other younger politicians who had begun to chafe under his long-time leadership took their toll. In 1926 he was forced to resign after falling into a bureaucratic conflict with a British colonial administrator.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Ham Mukasa, *Buganda's Katikiro in England* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1999).

Kampala   City that became the capital of the British Uganda PROTECTORATE; located on the northern shore of Lake Victoria, near the site of the former BUGANDA capital of Mengo. The origins and development of the city of Kampala are closely related to the existence of the Buganda capital. In the 1840s Muslim traders reached Buganda and began exchanging firearms, cloth, and beads

for ivory and human captives. By the time the first European explorers reached the area in 1862, they found that trade routes were already well established, making the area of present-day Kampala strategically important to European nations with colonial designs. In the late 1870s the Anglican CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY established itself in Kampala, soon followed by French Roman Catholic MISSIONARIES.

In 1881 a Buganda royal palace enclosure was built on Kasubi Hill, where royal tombs were located. By the end of the 1880s, however, a religious civil war had disrupted Buganda society, opening the way for European intervention. In 1890 Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) declared the British Uganda Protectorate with Kampala the colonial capital. The growing city also became the headquarters for the British East Africa Company, one of many CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES that the European colonial powers used to assert territorial claims in Africa. (The colonial capital later was moved to Entebbe.)

In the early 1900s a railroad line was completed between MOMBASA, on the Indian Ocean coast, and Kisumu, on the northeastern shore of Lake Victoria, providing Kampala with greater access to Indian Ocean commerce. As a result, by the 1920s the area's COTTON, COFFEE, and sugar crops were important staples in the colonial ECONOMY.

As a result of the increased trade and commercial interests, the city attracted many Asian immigrants and became more racially diverse. There was a substantial amount of religious diversity as well, due to immigration and the continued arrival of Muslim traders and foreign missionaries.

In 1920 Makerere College was established—it became a university in 1949—and Kampala thus was established as a leading center for higher education in East Africa. In 1962 Kampala became the capital of the new independent nation of UGANDA. Two years later the city proper had an estimated population of 80,000, with about another 60,000 living in the surrounding area.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); IVORY TRADE (Vols. III, IV); KAMPALA (Vol. V); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. IV); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV); VICTORIA, LAKE (Vols. I, V).

Kanem-Bornu (Kanem-Borno) Historic trading empire made up of the separate kingdoms of Kanem and Bornu, located in west-central Africa, around Lake Chad. By the 19th century the former empire had been reduced to a collection of loosely affiliated smaller kingdoms located throughout the present-day countries of CAMEROON, CHAD, NIGER, and NIGERIA.

By 1808 parts of once wealthy and powerful Kanem-Bornu, including its western capital of Ngazargamu, had been incorporated through conquest into the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. And in 1846 the death of the last Sefuwa *mai* (king) brought an end to the ruling dynasty that had lasted nearly 800 years. Taking over control of a much smaller Kanem-Bornu state was the al-Kanemi dynasty that the Sefuwa leadership had once asked for assistance against Sokoto. In the decades that followed, the al-Kanemi tried, with mixed success, to revive Kanem-Bornu's trans-Saharan trading operations.

Lake Chad was still in turmoil during the latter part of the 19th century. In the 1890s France, Germany, and Britain divided the region among themselves as part of the PARTITION process. About the same time, however, the Muslim slave trader and military commander, RABIH BIN FADLALLAH (c. 1835–1900), swept through Kanem-Bornu from the Sudan, to the east, with a large slave army, quickly controlling parts of the kingdom. During Rabih's short reign—he was killed in battle with French colonial forces in 1900—Kanem-Bornu was greatly weakened. By 1902 British forces also had moved into the region and eventually incorporated the western parts of the state into their Nigeria territory. Governing by means of indirect rule, Britain turned Kanem-Bornu over to the al-Kanemi *shehus* (chiefs), and the kingdom was subsequently divided into two separate emirates, Bornu and Dikwa.

During the course of World War I (1914–18) the victorious Allies stripped Germany of its claims to southern Kanem-Bornu territory. Later, in 1937, Dikwa eventually united with the neighboring state of Kukawa to form Nigeria's Borno State.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); KANEM-BORNU (Vols. II, III); NGAZARGAMU (Vols. II, III); SEFUWA (Vols. II, III); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); USMAN DAN FODIO (Vol. III).

Kankan MANDE town, located along the banks of the Milo River, a tributary of the Niger River, and the second leading city of present-day GUINEA. Kankan, an important Islamic center since the 18th century, maintained ties with the Islamic empire of al-Hajj UMAR TAL (1794–1864). Later, in the 19th century, Mande-speaking empire-builder SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900) turned his war machine on Kankan when the city refused to aid him in his attack against other Muslims. After conquering the city and driving out the ruling Kaba family, Samori appointed a member of his own Muslim contingent to rule.

About 1890, as part of its efforts to diffuse regional solidarity, France occupied Kankan and reinstated the Kaba rulers. A large and varied number of products passed through the markets of colonial Kankan, ensuring a strong economy. By 1914 the city was serviced by a railroad, built by African forced LABOR, that enhanced the city's long-standing reputation as a major crossroads of trade routes from IVORY COAST, FRENCH SOUDAN (now the

Republic of MALI), and Guinea. By 1922 Kankan was recognized as the second-most important city in Guinea after the capital, Conakry.

Following World War II (1939–45) nationalist movements throughout Guinea looked to the Islamic leadership in Kankan as a model for regional organization.

Kankan native Souleymane KANTÉ (1922–1987) developed the N'ko alphabet, and by 1949 traders in the area were learning this writing system to use in their businesses.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV), COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); KANKAN (Vol. V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Kano (Kano City)

One of the major HAUSA city-states in northwestern NIGERIA, located on the Jakara River. As a result of the far-ranging 19th-century JIHAD of Usman dan Fodio (1754–1817), Kano came under the rule of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. The walled city continued to flourish as a major center for trans-Saharan trade and also as a center of textile manufacturing and cloth dyeing. It became the caliphate's principal commercial city. In 1851, European traveler and explorer Heinrich BARTH (1821–1865) estimated that its inhabitants numbered at least 30,000.

Heinrich Barth was eager to reach Kano, for, as he was to write in his *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa (1857–1858)*, Kano "had been one of the great objects of our journey as the central point of commerce, as a great storehouse of information, and as the point whence more distant regions might be most successfully attempted."

In 1903 the British took control of Kano after they defeated Sokoto's military forces. However, the city continued to prosper, developing into a true urban center under British COLONIAL RULE. Britain built a railroad line to coastal LAGOS in 1912, which allowed for the shipment of CASH CROPS, particularly GROUNDNUTS (peanuts). Economic growth was particularly rapid in the aftermath of World War II (1939–45), and the population of Kano City had reached an estimated 130,000 by 1952.

See also: CLOTH AND TEXTILES (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); HAUSA STATES (Vols. II, III); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); KANO (Vols. II, III, V); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); USMAN DAN FODIO (Vol. III).

Kanté, Souleymane

(1922–1987) *Guinean intellectual and creator of the indigenous N'ko alphabet*

Souleymane Kanté was born in Upper GUINEA near the city of KANKAN. His father, Amara Kanté, was one of many youths brought to the region by SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900) to study at the region's superior Quranic schools. Amara Kanté then became a Quranic teacher, opening a school near Kankan. His reputation as a teacher attracted many students from across FRENCH WEST AFRICA to study under him alongside Souleymane and his four brothers and two sisters. After Amara Kanté's death in 1941, Souleymane's elder brothers continued the school. The following year Souleymane traveled to IVORY COAST, where he sold Arabic books, taught himself the colonial LANGUAGE of French, and read a wide range of literature.

While living in Bingerville, the capital of the colonial Ivory Coast, Kanté read a journal article written by a Lebanese journalist that stated Africans were inferior because they had no indigenous written form of communication. This was a position that reflected the prevailing racism of colonialism. African languages, the article alleged, were like those of birds, impossible to transcribe. Shocked and insulted, Kanté set out to prove the article's author wrong.

Working with his own Maninka language, from 1945 to 1947 Kanté tried to use Arabic script for writing Maninka, which belongs to the MANDE group of languages. As he worked he discovered that Arabic script could not accommodate the tonality of the Mande languages. He next attempted to use the Roman alphabet, and although its use of accents made it better suited for writing the language, it proved too imprecise for much of the Maninka vocabulary. Based on this trial-and-error approach, Kanté concluded that borrowed alphabets were unsuitable for writing African languages and that he would have to construct his own alphabet to reflect the tonality—an essential feature—of the Mande languages.

Kanté struggled for several years to create an indigenous alphabet before announcing his success on April 14, 1949. Kanté gave his invention a culturally significant name, *N'ko.* In all the Mande languages the pronoun *N* represents the pronoun "I," and the Mande verb *ko* represents the verb "say." By choosing the name *N'ko,* "I say," Kanté united all Mande speakers with just one phrase. This term also recalled the unifying epic of the Mande past, that of Sundiata, in which the history of Mande cultural dominance knew men of valor who said, "N'ko."

After reworking and refining his alphabet, Kanté spent the rest of his life using the N'ko alphabet to translate books into Maninka. Equally important, he used the alphabet to write down and record indigenous Mande knowledge. Believing that Africans needed to learn in their African languages and that learning an indigenous alphabet would eliminate illiteracy, Kanté encouraged everyone to learn the alphabet. This, he asserted, would allow them to write down knowledge and personal experiences to preserve indigenous knowledge.

Because many Mande-speakers were Muslims, Kanté, using N'ko, translated the Quran into Maninka. Before his translation could be published, 10 Islamic scholars from Guinea had to verify its accuracy, and a report had to be filed in Saudi Arabia. In addition Kanté transcribed works from the disciplines of literature and linguistics, as well as the social and physical sciences. He also wrote textbooks, a dictionary, and an encyclopedia. These works essentially standardized the Maninka language in its written form.

Souleymane Kanté formally presented his alphabet to newly independent Guinea's president, Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) in 1959, who then rewarded Kanté with a substantial monetary prize. Touré also requested that Kanté and his family return to Guinea from Ivory Coast, where they had been living. When Kanté reached Kankan, he discovered that the N'ko alphabet had preceded him by 10 years, and it had already become an accepted tool for literacy.

See also: EDUCATION (Vols. IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); KANTÉ, SOULEYMANE (Vol. V); LITERACY (Vols. IV, V); SUNDIATA (Vol. II).

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Kariba Dam Hydroelectric dam, spanning the Kariba Gorge of the Zambezi River on the border of ZAMBIA and ZIMBABWE. Construction on the Kariba Dam began in 1955 as a joint venture between British colonies of NORTHERN RHODESIA, SOUTHERN RHODESIA (present-day Zambia and Zimbabwe respectively) and NYASALAND (present-day MALAWI), which at that time made up the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION. The dam was intended to harness the waters of the Zambezi River, the fourth-largest in Africa, and to create hydroelectric power. It also had the political purpose of strengthening the federation. At its completion in 1959, the Kariba Dam was the largest in the world, with a reservoir, named Kariba Lake, approximately 175 miles long and up to 20 miles wide.

The construction of the dam resulted in massive changes to the area's population and ecology. The creation of Kariba Lake flooded the traditional lands of the Gwembe Tonga, displacing more than 50,000 people and forcing them to move to higher, less arable land. The reservoir also destroyed the habitats of numerous animals, and as the water level rose it left many creatures stranded on islands. In what came to be known as Operation Noah, nearly 7,000 animals, ranging from impala to rhinos, were rescued by boat. Many more, however, drowned.

The name *Kariba* is taken from a large rock that originally rose from the Zambezi River at the entrance to the Kariba Gorge. The local population believed that the rock was the home of the river god Nyaminyami. They predicted that the god's wrath would doom any attempt to dam the Zambezi. Remarkably in 1957 and 1958 the river flooded twice, causing much damage to the unfinished dam. The second flood was so large that it was predicted to happen only once every 10,000 years. In spite of this, the dam was completed, and the river god's home now lies beneath 100 feet of water.

After the Central African Federation broke up in 1963, there were considerable political tensions over the distribution of the dam's electricity between African-ruled Zambia and white-ruled Rhodesia (which had dropped the "Southern" from its name). After nearly 15 years of armed struggle, Rhodesia became independent Zimbabwe, and a more cooperative relationship developed with Zambia. This led to a new set of arrangements for supplying electricity to Zimbabwe's rapidly growing urban areas and to the mines and cities of Zambia's COPPERBELT, a region rich in COPPER and other ores. The reservoir became a healthy new habitat for fish populations and supports a thriving fishing industry. In 1997 the Gwembe Tonga Project was initiated to help stabilize the Gwembe Tonga community and address the social and environmental impact of the Kariba Dam.

See also: ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vols. I, III).

Kaunda, Kenneth (1924–   ) *First president of independent Zambia (1964–1991)*

Kenneth David Kaunda was born in 1924 to Christian MISSIONARIES at Lubwa Mission in the northern part of what was then the British colony of NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA). His father, David, was sent by the Presbyterian Livingstonia Mission in NYASALAND (present-day MALAWI), in 1904, to work as an evangelist in Zambia. His mother, Helen, was one of the first female school teachers in Northern Rhodesia. Because his parents were

from Malawi, Kaunda was not aligned with any of Zambia's ethnic groups. This worked to his advantage later in his political career because he was seen as being less inclined to favor one ethnic group over another.

Kaunda went to school at Lubwa Mission School and trained as a teacher. In 1941 he went to Munali Secondary School in Lusaka, eventually returning to Lubwa Mission as a boarding master. He married Betty Banda (1928–   ) in 1946, and they had nine children.

Kaunda's first involvement in politics came in the early 1950s, when he joined the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, later called the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), led by Harry Nkumbula (1916–1983). An efficient organizer, Kaunda quickly rose in the party's leadership ranks, becoming the secretary general in 1953. In 1958 he formed the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC). The colonial administrators, however, banned this party the following year, and Kaunda was sent to prison for nine months for holding an illegal meeting. He was one of many subsequent presidents of African countries sentenced to prison for opposing COLONIAL RULE. In 1960 Kaunda was released from prison and was soon elected president of a new party, the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP). Kaunda led UNIP to a sweeping electoral victory in 1964, thereby becoming the first president of independent Zambia.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); KAUNDA, KENNETH (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Kenya Present-day country, some 224,900 square miles (582,500 sq km) in size, located in eastern equatorial Africa and sharing borders with ETHIOPIA, Republic of the SUDAN, UGANDA, TANZANIA, and SOMALIA; Kenya was under British COLONIAL RULE from 1895 to 1963.

Since the 16th century cities along the Kenyan coast, including MOMBASA and Malindi, were busy ports for the trading of African goods, including ivory, animal hides, and human captives. By the mid-1830s the Kenyan coast was controlled by the BUSAIDI sultan of ZANZIBAR, off the coast of present-day Tanzania. In contrast to central Tanzania, however, it wasn't until much later in the century that Zanzibari Arabs and coastal Swahili merchants were able to control trade routes into the interior from the Kenyan coastal ports they ruled. These routes remained in the hands of Kamba merchants until the 1880s, when Arab merchants were finally able to establish direct links with the kikuyu and other peoples residing beyond the Kamba lands. The MAASAI, who were particularly militant, provided another barrier to establishing trade routes.

The first Europeans to venture into the interior were the German MISSIONARIES Johan Ludwig Krapf (1810–1887) and Johannes Rebmann (1820–1876) from the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY. They traveled in the interior in the late 1840s seeking sites for mission stations, but they were unsuccessful. More than three decades passed before further exploration was conducted. By that time, the Maasai and other peoples of the interior had been greatly weakened due to warfare and rampant epidemics among both people and cattle.

The decline of the Maasai opened the way for European COLONIAL CONQUEST. In 1883 Joseph Thomson (1858–1895) became the first British explorer to successfully pass through Maasai lands. In 1887 the British East Africa Association, led by Sir William Mackinnon (1823–1893), claimed concessionary rights to the Kenyan coast from the sultan of Zanzibar, and in 1890 Britain and Germany divided the interior, with the British claiming the territory north of the mouth of the Umba River. The association was awarded a royal charter, and, as the Imperial British East African Company, it administered the territory from 1888 to 1895. By 1895 the company had exhausted its resources and was unable to extend its activities beyond the coast. At that time the British government stepped in, establishing the PROTECTORATE of BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

British East Africa Britain maintained its East Africa protectorate mainly as a corridor between the coast and the more lucrative, inland UGANDA protectorate. In 1895 construction began on a railroad from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, and by 1901 the railroad was complete, effectively bisecting Maasai lands. Although the protectorate administration was able to enter into diplomatic agreements with the Maasai, resistance to the British venture was fierce, especially among the Nandi, who resisted until 1905.

The construction of the British railway led to the development of NAIROBI, which began as a settlement for rail workers and eventually became the capital of the protectorate.

The completion of the railroad in 1901 coincided with the incursion of the first European SETTLERS into the region. By 1903 these settlers had begun to seize lands belonging to the Maasai and the agriculturalist Kikuyu groups who lived in the fertile highlands north of Nairobi. In 1904 British settlers established the first plantation, and by 1910 COFFEE was the region's major cash crop. Dispossessed Africans were relocated to crowded "native reserves" and were forced to LABOR on settler farms or to find work in Nairobi. The loss of

their lands, along with the excessive colonial hut tax policy, forced labor practices, and the *kipande,* an identification card required of all Africans, formed a growing list of grievances that fueled the rise of Kenyan, and particularly Kikuyu, nationalism.

Because of violent African opposition to the railway, Britain brought in workers from India to help with the construction. Some of these workers stayed behind once the project was completed, and Indian traders who had previously operated on the coast also began to move to the interior, seeking land. This led them into direct conflict with the white settlers in the highlands region, who refused to treat Indians as equals, politically or economically. White and Indian settlers remained locked in dispute well into the 1920s. In 1927 the troubles ended when Indian settlers accepted a five-seat minority in the colony's Legislative Council.

Kenya during the Colonial Era: Kenya Colony
Following World War I (1914–18), Britain offered war veterans the opportunity to acquire cheap land in the British East Africa protectorate, resulting in a threefold increase in the European population. In 1920 the protectorate became the Kenya Colony, and the coastal region leased from the sultan of Zanzibar became the Protectorate of Kenya.

Conditions for Kenya's black population, however, continued to be miserable. In response, Africans developed organizations to bring their grievances to light. The Young Kikuyu Association (later, the Kikuyu Central Association), founded in 1921 by Harry THUKU (1895–1970), took the forefront in this effort, and was joined by other groups, such as the Young Kavirondo Association, which was formed a year later. Groups like the Young Kikuyu Association were the starting points for Kenya's eventual African leaders, including future president and nationalist icon Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978). Toward the end of World War II (1939–45), in which Kenyan troops fought on the side of the victorious Allies, the colonial government became the first in East Africa to allow an African representative to take part in the colony's Legislative Council. By 1951 the number of African representatives to the council had increased to eight.

Any political headway, however, was halted by the MAU MAU movement, a rural Kikuyu uprising that had begun in the 1940s and became increasingly violent in the early 1950s. Aimed at driving white settlers off of Kikuyu lands, in 1952 the Mau Mau movement led the colonial government to declare a state of emergency. Large numbers of Kikuyu were rounded up by British authorities and placed in concentration camps and "protected villages," and many Kikuyu leaders in Nairobi were imprisoned. These included Jomo Kenyatta, who was by then the head of the Kenya African Union. By the end of the 1950s Britain managed to suppress the Mau Mau uprising, but not until more than 150,000 Kikuyu lost their lives from fighting or deprivation.

Despite its lack of immediate results the Mau Mau movement did convince Britain that a state headed by the vocal white settler minority was unfeasible, and in 1960 Africans were given the majority in the Legislative Council. The new situation led to the formation of two major political parties, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), a largely Kikuyu and LUO party, and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), made up of representatives from smaller ethnic groups. KANU leaders Tom MBOYA (1930–1969) and Oginga ODINGA (1912– 1994), both Luo, helped secure Jomo Kenyatta's release from prison, and the revered Kikuyu nationalist then led KANU to political dominance. Elections in 1963 installed Kenyatta as prime minister, and in December of that year Kenya Colony and the Kenya Protectorate
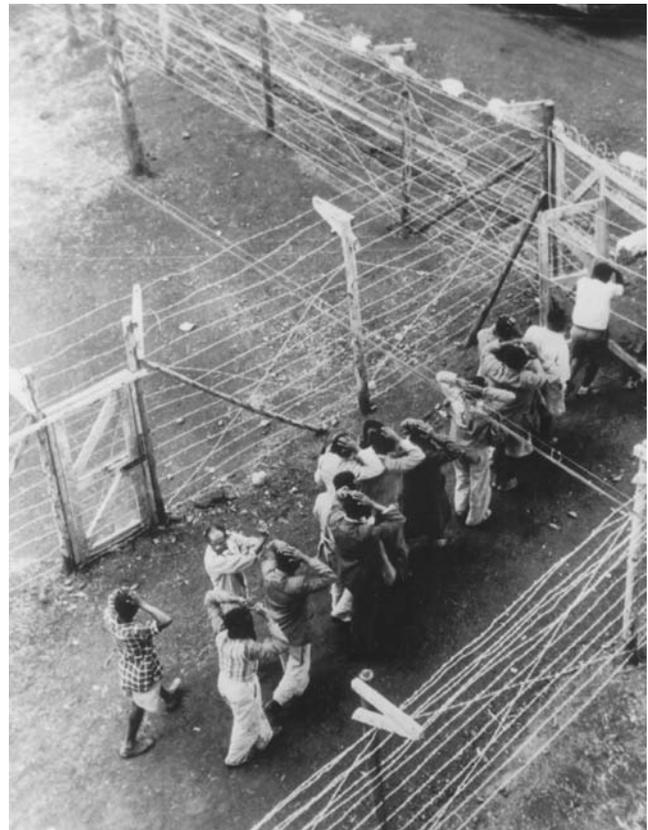
In 1954, during the infamous "Operation Anvil," thousands of people suspected of Mau Mau sympathies were herded through barbed-wire enclosures at the reception camp at Langata. © *Library of Congress*

merged to form independent Kenya. One year later the country became a republic with Kenyatta as president.

For the international community Kenya and British TANGANYIKA (present-day Tanzania) became, and to some extent still remain, the region most commonly associated with notions of Africa. This came about mainly due to works of a number of popular writers, most prominent among them being the Danish author Karen Blixen (1885–1962, better known by her pen name, Isak Dinesen) and the American writer and Nobel Prize winner Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961). Writing as Dinesen, Blixen used her experiences on a coffee plantation in colonial Kenya between 1914 and 1931 for her most famous work, the memoir *Out of Africa* (1938). Hemingway visited East Africa twice, in 1933 and 1954, and his experiences translated into works such as the short story "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" (1933) and *The Green Hills of Africa* (1935). For some time after their publications, the writings of Blixen and Hemingway came to define, for better or worse, the popular image of Africa.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE (Vol. IV); ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. I); KENYA (Vols. I, II, III, V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

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Kenyatta, Jomo (Johnstone Kamau, Kamau Ngengi, Kamau Wa Ngengi) (c. 1891–1978) *Kenya's first president*

Born in Kikuyuland, in BRITISH EAST AFRICA (present-day KENYA), Kenyatta was not sure of the year of his birth, since the KIKUYU traditionally keep track of people's ages by their initiation groups rather than their birth years. Named Kamau wa Ngengi at birth, he attended mission schools near NAIROBI and was baptized a Presbyterian, taking the name Johnstone.

Young Kenyatta worked at various jobs, including carpentry, before taking a position with the water company in Nairobi. By the early 1920s he was involved in the nationalistic Young Kikuyu Association, and he helped build several such organizations over the next few years.

He became the general secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1928, and also edited its newspaper, *Muigwithania.* In 1929 the KCA sent Kenyatta to London in an unsuccessful attempt to seek redress for what had become a massive white land grab.

The years immediately following World War I (1914–18) saw a surge in white immigration to Kenya, with more than 9,000 Europeans settling in the Nairobi area alone. Determined to turn Kenya into what they called a "white man's" country, officials of both the British government and the colonial administration encouraged white immigration by setting aside vast amounts of land that, traditionally, had belonged to Africans. This policy particularly affected—and angered—the Kikuyu and the MAASAI, who lost nearly 7 million acres (2,832,800 hectares) to white settlers during the post-World War I period.

Kenyatta returned to England in 1931. He remained in Europe for the next 15 years, traveling and studying in England, on the continent, and in the Soviet Union. His study at the London School of Economics with Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), the famed anthropologist renowned anthropologist, resulted in the publication of *Facing Mount Kenya*, in 1938. A book about Kikuyu social and cultural life, it was one of the first books ever written by an African nationalist about his own society. During this period he also became acquainted with a number of other African nationalists, many of whom were even more revolutionary than he was.

After World War II (1939–45) Kenyatta returned to Africa, where, as president of the Kenya African Union, he set about drawing attention to the plight of the Kikuyu people and other Kenyans whose land had been usurped by whites. With speeches, street marches, and demonstrations, he did more than attract attention; he built an organization whose membership reached upwards of 100,000. Although Kenyatta's magnetic personality drew thousands to his cause, others, particularly among young Kikuyu, were not satisfied with his relatively moderate approach to both land reappropriation and the drive for independence. By the late 1940s the MAU MAU movement had begun its attempts to reclaim Kenya's land for Africans, destroying white-owned farms and murdering white settlers and African supporters of the government in the process.

The colonial authorities and the British government responded by instituting the kind of "state of emergency" measures that came to characterize antinationalist efforts in many other African countries. Finally the British sent

in troops, arrested Kenyatta and other Kikuyu leaders, moved Kikuyu people onto guarded reserves, and suspended African political activity. In 1953 they charged and convicted Kenyatta of being a leader of Mau Mau in a highly political trial and sentenced him to seven years of hard labor. While the authorities endeavored to quell the Mau Mau, Tom MBOYA (1930–1969) and other nationalist leaders worked to free Kenyatta and gain independence. When Kenyatta's sentence was served, the colonial administration was unwilling to free him, despite the fact that it claimed to have put down the Mau Mau insurrection. Kenyatta was held until his case brought to light scandals involving the colonial administration, forcing Britain to reexamine its role in Kenya.

> **Despite his given and baptismal names, the man who eventually would lead Kenya chose for himself a name based upon the Kikuyu word for the simple beaded belt worn by African workers. Although there are different stories and varying details, according to the most prevalent telling of the tale, about 1909 Kenyatta appeared at a Scottish-run mission school with his only "clothing" consisting of a *mucibi wa kinyata,* as the workers' belts were called, and a few wire bracelets. When he became involved in nationalist politics, the young man used the word for that belt as his name, in tribute not only to the thousands of African workers who wore them but also as a reminder of the humble origins from which he came.**

In 1960 Britain finally realized that it could no longer hold onto Kenya, and it began taking steps to move towards independence. For Kenyatta this meant release from prison. It also meant, not long after, the reestablishment of Africans' right to form political parties, which resulted in the Kenya African National Union (KANU), the party formed by Kenyatta and others to press for independence.

Free, Kenyatta became, even at the age of 70, a dominant figure on the Kenyan scene. As the president of KANU, he continued to push for Kenyan independence alongside Tom Mboya, Oginga ODINGA (1911–1994), and Daniel arap Moi (1924–   ). In 1963, when Kenya became an independent nation, Kenyatta was its first prime minister, urging the various elements of the new nation to draw together with the slogan, *Harambee!* (Pull together!).

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HARAMBEE (Vol. V); KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (Vol. V); KENYATTA, JOMO (Vol. V); LABOR UNIONS (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Khama III (Kgama III) (1835–1923) *King of the Ngwato people in Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana)*

Khama III became king of the Ngwato in 1875. A staunch Christian convert, he quickly imposed his beliefs on his people, outlawing traditional religion and imposing other measures, such as prohibition of alcohol, that were unpopular with his subjects. To strengthen his position, Khama allied himself with Christian MISSIONARIES in the region, including John Mackenzie (1835–1899).

The Ngwato faced persistent threats from the neighboring NDEBELE people, as well as from encroaching BOERS, who were increasingly laying claim to lands in the interior. Under the influence of the missionaries, Khama decided the British were key to the preservation of his throne. Persuaded by Mackenzie's pleas, Britain declared the colony of BECHUANALAND in order to halt the advance of the Boers and block the interests of other European colonial powers, as well. By 1910 the southern part of the colony was annexed to the CAPE COLONY and became part of SOUTH AFRICA. Khama's kingdom, in the north, became part of the British PROTECTORATE of Bechuanaland.

In 1894 the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY, headed by Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), sought control of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with the intention of incorporating it into SOUTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZIMBABWE). Khama and two other prominent TSWANA kings, Bathoen (1845–1910) and Sebele (1842–1911), traveled to England to contest Rhode's claim. With the aid of the LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY and other humanitarian organizations, the Tswana men were able to convince the British government to allow the Tswana to maintain control over the protectorate rather than turning it over to Rhodes. A highllight of the visit was the meeting between the Tswana and Queen Victoria (1819–1901), whom King Khama greatly impressed.

> **In 1923 Khama died of pneumonia, but his legacy of a country free from South African rule was intact. His grandson, Seretse KHAMA (1921–1980), became the first president of independent Bechuanaland (renamed BOTSWANA) in 1966.**

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

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Khama, Seretse (Sir) (1921–1980) *First president of independent Botswana (1966–1980)*

Seretse was the grandson of Kgosi KHAMA III (1835–1923), ruler of the Ngwato people of central BOTSWANA and a hero from the Boer Wars. When his father died in 1925, the four-year-old Seretse was proclaimed *kgosi*, or king, of the Ngwato, with his uncle Tshekedi Khama (1905–1959) his guardian and regent.

Although he was often sick as a child, Seretse Khama was a studious and active adolescent. He received a degree from FORT HARE COLLEGE, in neighboring SOUTH AFRICA, and was sent to England to study law. After finishing his studies in Britain, Seretse married a white Englishwoman named Ruth Williams. This caused great distress to his uncle Tshekedi, to say nothing of the British colonial administration, but it did not keep Seretse from being welcomed home as the rightful *kgosi* of the Ngwato, in 1948.

At the time of Seretse's return Botswana, located just north of South Africa, was still known as BECHUANALAND, a British PROTECTORATE. The British administration in Bechuanaland relied heavily on South Africa and its NATURAL RESOURCES, and therefore took an intense interest in the affairs of the neighboring country. The administration at that time hoped that a pro-British party would win the next all-white elections and assume control of the territory from the pro-Afrikaner Nationalist party, which had won the 1948 elections. British officials felt that Khama, a popular and capable traditional ruler, presented an obstacle to their political maneuvering in Bechuanaland, so the British Commonwealth relations minister declared him "unfit to govern" and exiled him and his wife to England in 1951. In 1956, after years of mounting pressure from international civil organizations, a new Commonwealth relations minister welcomed Khama, by then frail from diabetes, back to Bechuanaland.

In the early 1960s Khama would shine as a popular and effective leader in Bechuanaland's independence movement. In 1965 he became prime minister following the country's first universal franchise elections, and then in 1966 he was elected president of the newly declared Republic of Botswana.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Khartoum

Capital city of present-day Republic of the SUDAN located near the confluence of the White and Blue Nile rivers in north-central Sudan. In 1821, on a site near the town of Halfaya, Khartoum began its modern existence as an Egyptian army camp. It received its name, which means "elephant's trunk" in Arabic, because of the long shape of the peninsula it occupies between the White and Blue Nile rivers. The main caravan route north to CAIRO passed through Khartoum, which caused the city to grow rapidly as a trading and administrative center. By 1850 a palace, which still stands today, was built for the Ottoman-Egyptian governor-general. In 1885 the forces of the MAHDIYYA captured and destroyed the city and killed the Egyptian governor-general, Charles George GORDON (1833–1885), ending Egyptian rule of the city. The Mahdiyya then built their capital at Omdurman, just across the river.

In 1898 the British recaptured Khartoum, and the city became the administrative seat of the ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM government of the Sudan, which it remained throughout the colonial period (1899–1955). During this time the British rebuilt the city. The rail line from Wadi Halfa, a city near the upper limits of navigation on the Egyptian Nile, reached Khartoum in 1899. Additional railway construction over the next couple of decades connected the city to the Red Sea and regions farther to the south. By the early 1900s the revived city had a population estimated at 14,000. Khartoum continued to grow as a commercial, TRANSPORTATION, and administrative center, so that in 1964 the city, by then the capital of a newly independent Sudan, had an estimated 135,000 inhabitants.

See also: BLUE NILE (Vol. I); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); KHARTOUM (Vols. I, III, V); AL-MAHDI, MUHAMMAD AHMAD (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); WHITE NILE (Vol. I).

Khayr al-Din (d. 1889) *Tunisia's leading 19th-century political figure*

Khayr al-Din, a popular Ottoman military officer who came to TUNISIA in 1839, eventually became prime minister and one of the great Muslim political reformers of the mid-19th century. He began his political career at a time when Tunisia was still under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Khayr al-Din and other members of the ruling class and the middle class thought that the Tunisian state should become a constitutional monarchy and be more democratic. This philosophy of government embodied European political ideas as well as a return to the basic principles of Islam practiced in the early Muslim community.

In 1861 the bey, or governor, Muhammad al-Sadiq (r. 1859–1882), promulgated a constitution that provided

for the separation of powers and limited the bey's authority over the other branches of government. Khayr al-Din became the first president of the new supreme council. He resigned in 1862, however, because Prime Minister Mustafa KHAZNADAR (1817–1878) blocked full implementation of the new constitution. Widespread protests against high taxation subsequently forced the government to suspend the constitution. Under pressure from France the bey dismissed Khaznadar in 1873 and replaced him with Khayr al-Din.

The Quran requires that the affairs of the Muslim community be run by mutual consultation, or shura. In the early days of Islam, the caliphs, or chief rulers, were elected by the councils of elders.

Khayr al-Din took office at an increasingly difficult time for Tunisia. The International Financial Commission (representing Italy, France, and Britain) had taken control of government revenues, expenditures, and debt repayments. Although limited to spending only one-third of Tunisia's revenue, Khayr al-Din immediately began modernizing Tunisian institutions and initiated a wide variety of reforms in the administration. His honesty and efficiency were well respected.

In addition to reforming government, Khayr al-Din also sought to reform the administration of religious affairs, especially by attempting to persuade the *ulama* (a community of learned Muslim men) to accept European methods of government. Furthering EDUCATION, he established Sadiqi College on estates confiscated from ex-prime minister Khaznadar. The college was a multilingual school for training civil servants along European educational lines but also within Muslim traditions. Khayr al-Din failed in his efforts to modernize Tunisia within the Islamic tradition, however, because European imperial ambitions were too great. The European powers forced the bey to dismiss Khayr al-Din from office in 1877. France increasingly assumed control over Tunisia, and by 1884 it had established a formal PROTECTORATE over the country.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Khaznadar, Mustafa (Georgios Stravelakis)
(1817–1878) *Tunisian prime minister*

Born Georgios Stravelakis in Kardamila, Chios, Greece, which was then part of the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa arrived in TUNISIA as a young man in the service of the Ottoman Sultan. He became a companion of the future bey, or Ottoman governor, of Tunisia, Ahmad I bin Mustafa Bey (r. 1837–1855), and married his sister. When Ahmad became bey, he appointed Mustafa Khaznadar head of the treasury. (*Khaznadar* is actually the Turkish term for "treasurer.") Khaznadar eventually became prime minister, as well, a position he held until 1873.

Khaznadar used his position and connections to enrich himself to such an extent that his greed eventually undermined Tunisian autonomy. In return for money, he and the governmental officials loyal to him supported European commercial and banking interests in Tunisia. Khaznadar also systematically undermined governmental reforms intended to curb his power. The result was that the Tunisian government was forced to borrow money from European bankers to pay its debts. Khaznadar then skimmed off a portion of the loans in the form of large commissions, making himself extremely wealthy in the process.

In 1873 Tunisia's financial matters had become so tangled and the national debt so great that the government was forced to turn over control of its treasury to the International Financial Commission, which oversaw Tunisia's finances and managed the country's debt. That same year, under pressure from France, the bey dismissed Khaznadar from office and appointed his rival, KHAYR AL-DIN (d. 1889), prime minister.

For his part, Khaznadar was able to escape punishment. He had deposited large amounts of money abroad and had secretly received French citizenship in 1851. After his dismissal as prime minister, he went to Paris. His French connections protected him when the Tunisian government sought to prosecute him for embezzlement.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: L. Carl Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey, 1837–1855* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974).

Kikuyu
KENYA's largest ethnic group, living primarily in the highland region around Mount Kenya, northeast of NAIROBI; the Kikuyu played a central role in the struggle for Kenyan independence. The Bantu-speaking Kikuyu migrated to their present-day homelands in the 16th century, establishing a presence in the region and trading extensively with the neighboring MAASAI and Okiek peoples. By the 1880s, however, the Kikuyu had come under British COLONIAL RULE, and by 1903 British settlers had begun to displace the Kikuyu from their highland territory. An almost exclusively agricultural people, the Kikuyu were tied closely to the land. Their culture, like that of the Maasai, was severely disrupted by the loss of approximately 27,000 square miles (69,930 sq km) to European SETTLERS in the years following World War I (1914–18).

Many Kikuyu were forced to become "squatters" on what was once their own land, only to be subsequently evicted by white settlers who did not want successful African farmers as competitors. The Kikuyu were often forced either to become fully dependent and work the white settlers' lands for low wages or to relocate to the city of Nairobi to find jobs.

The Kikuyu population in Nairobi became the central force behind Kenyan nationalism and the movement for independence from British rule. In 1921 Harry THUKU (1895–1970) founded the Young Kikuyu Association, which became a major outlet for Kikuyu grievances. Key issues were white rule, insufficient wages, the head tax, the *kipande* identification card all Africans were required to carry, and the appropriation of Kikuyu lands by the white settlers. Among the members of the Young Kikuyu Association was Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), who became the inspirational leader of the Kenyan independence movement as well as the country's first president. In 1928 the Young Kikuyu Association became the Kikuyu Central Association, with Kenyatta as its general secretary.

Kikuyu frustration with the continued loss of land to white settlers came to a boil in the 1940s, with the Kikuyu launching a rural campaign of LABOR strikes and vandalism designed to frighten away the European encroachers. Returning African veterans who had served overseas during World War II (1939–45) were among many of those participating in the militant actions. By the 1950s the uprising, which became known as the MAU MAU movement after the name of a local mountain range, had become more organized and increasingly violent. In 1952, following the assassination of British loyalist Kikuyu Chief Warihiu, colonial authorities declared a state of emergency and arrested Kikuyu leaders in Nairobi, including Kenyatta. For the next three years the mostly Kikuyu Mau Mau fighters struggled against superior British forces. The British attempted to stamp out Kikuyu nationalism by rounding up thousands of Kikuyu and interning them in concentration camps and "protected" villages. It was estimated that by 1954, one-third of all Kikuyu men in KENYA had been imprisoned by colonial authorities. By 1955 the Mau Mau movement was defeated, but, despite massive casualties, it did achieve some positive results. The long struggle attracted international attention to the plight of the Kikuyu and Kenyans overall and convinced the British government that minority rule by the white settlers was an unfeasible situation. By 1960 African majority rule was established in Kenya, and, over the next three years leading up to independence, the Kikuyu assumed a major role in the developing political scene.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); KIKUYU (Vols. I, II, III, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965); Robert L. Tignor, *The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Kamba, Kikuyu, and Maasai from 1900 to 1939* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Kimbangu, Simon   (c. 1887–1951) *Congolese religious leader*

Simon Kimbangu was born in the Central African town of Nkamba, in the Belgian-run colony then known as the CONGO FREE STATE (now the Democratic Republic of the CONGO). His father was a leader of traditional RELIGION, but in 1915 Simon was converted to Christianity by MISSIONARIES from the British Baptist Missionary Society. He soon became a catechist, with the task of instructing candidates for baptism. Intensely religious, he believed that he had a vision from God commanding him to preach and heal.

In 1921, while working as a migrant worker in LEOPOLDVILLE (today's Kinshasa), Kimbangu began a public ministry as a preacher. He was reputed to be a healer, and large crowds came to hear him speak. Kimbangu came to be called Ngunza, or "prophet," and his birth village of Nkamba was later renamed New Jerusalem. His sons and followers named the independent church he founded the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth by the Prophet Simon Kimbangu.

Kimbangu's church combined Baptist and traditional beliefs and opposed drinking, polygamy, dancing, and smoking, as well as sorcery and WITCHCRAFT of any kind. Kimbangu identified God with Nzambi Mpungu, the supreme god in some traditional African creation myths, and preached God's closeness to his people. Many Africans of the time believed that the Europeans held back the true secrets of Christianity in order to maintain a hold over the people. Consequently, as a prophet, one to whom people believed God spoke directly, Kimbangu had great moral authority among his followers.

In 1969 the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth became a member of the World Council of Churches. Widespread in Central Africa, it is the largest denomination in the African independent church movement.

Although Kimbangu avoided any kind of political message in his preaching, his movement fed on anti-European sentiment and soon took on political and nationalist overtones. Belgian authorities became concerned and feared a massive uprising. Kimbangu eluded the

Belgians' first attempt to capture him but later turned himself in. In 1921 he was sentenced to death, but King Albert I (1875–1934) of Belgium commuted his sentence to life imprisonment in ELIZABETHVILLE, in the Belgian Congo, where he died 30 years later.

Belgian authorities tried to suppress Kimbangu's church. However, led by his youngest son and successor, Joseph Diangienda (1918–1992), it went underground, spawning a variety of related sects. Kimbangu himself became a symbol of Congolese nationalism. In 1956 Diangienda formed a church council and began a move to legitimize the church. In 1959 colonial authorities officially recognized the church, but in 1960 after national independence, its rights were again restricted.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Kimberley Capital city of the Northern Cape Province and historic center of the diamond trade in SOUTH AFRICA. Named in honor of Lord Kimberley, the British Secretary of State for the colonies, the city is located between the Orange and Vaal rivers, about halfway between CAPE TOWN and JOHANNESBURG.

Kimberley's first diamond, *The Eureka*, was found in 1866 by Erasmus Jacobs (1851–1933), the son of a farmer. A few years later diggers found hundreds of the valuable gems at Zandfontein, at a farm owned by two brothers, Johannes Nicolaas (1930–1894) and Diederik Arnoldus de Beer. By the mid-1870s more than 30,000 people had moved into the area, all hoping to make their fortunes in the diamond trade. The population continued to climb so that by the 1880s, it had reached 70,000.

Kimberley is so closely identified with DIAMOND MINING that the diamond-bearing earth that is crushed and sifted in the process is known as kimberlite. The kimberlite found at Colesberg Kopje held so many diamond deposits that the entire hill was gradually removed, leaving behind the world's deepest hand-dug excavation. The 700-foot-deep (215-m) excavation, which has a perimeter of nearly a mile (1.6 km) is no longer an operating mine. It is now popularly known as Kimberley's "Big Hole," and along with a recreated MINING town/museum, it is now a popular tourist attraction. *The Eureka* can be viewed in the museum at the site.

In short order the land around Kimberley was bought up and divided into small plots, or claims, that measured about 30 feet square. Barney Barnato (1852–1897), a young Englishman who came to CAPE COLONY in 1873, was one of many who made huge profits from the small plots in Kimberley. By 1883 he had merged his Barnato Diamond Mining Company with the Kimberley Central Mining Company.

Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), another young Englishman, was enjoying similar success in Kimberley. He joined forces with English entrepreneur Charles Rudd (1844–1916) to gain control of the major mining operations in the area, including Barnato's. By 1888 Kimberley's diamond mining industry, accounting for 90 percent of the world's supply, was a cartel controlled by Rhodes's company, DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD.

The city of Kimberley was also the site of some important battles of the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902). During the siege of Kimberley (1899), thousands of women and children were lowered into the mine for protection from long gun attacks by the BOERS.

Kimberley is known as a "city of firsts." In 1896 South Africa's first School of Mines opened there, and the city was also the first in the Southern Hemisphere to install electric street lighting. In 1912–13 British officials established the continent's first flight school, which evolved into headquarters of the South African Air Force.

In 1912 Sir Ernest Oppenheimer (1880–1957), the diamond magnate who took control of the De Beers mines when Rhodes died in 1902, became the first elected mayor of the municipality of the city of Kimberley. In 1914 work on the big Kimberley mine was suspended, but by that time more than 20 million tons of earth had been excavated and almost 6,630 pounds (3,000 kg) of DIAMONDS found. Today Kimberley is an administrative, commercial, and TRANSPORTATION center with a population of about 210,000.

See also: MINERAL REVOLUTION (Vol. IV); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. V).

Further reading: Robert Vicat Turrell, *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields, 1871–1890* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); William H. Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds: Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867–1895* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987).

kingdoms and empires As of 1850 Africans still maintained major kingdoms and empires throughout the continent. In West Africa the ASHANTI EMPIRE was expanding from central GHANA southward toward the coast and northward toward the interior; the kingdom of BENIN continued to control the trade of southern NIGERIA. In the interior the Islamic TUKULOR EMPIRE established by UMAR TAL (1794–1864) was approaching its apex. The MANDINKA

empire, led by SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900), would come to control much of the same territory in the coming decades. The SOKOTO CALIPHATE exceeded both the Tukulor and Mandinka empires in size and strength.

Though not a kingdom, per se, EGYPT rose to international prominence during the short reign of Khedive IS-MAIL (1830–1895). South of Egypt, in ETHIOPIA, rulers in the kingdoms of AMHARA and SHOA had consolidated their power and created a practically impregnable empire in the Ethiopian highlands. To the south, on the East African coast, Arab sultans of the BUSAIDI dynasty, in ZANZIBAR, established a vast trading empire that stretched from the Benadir Coast of SOMALILAND in the north to MOZAMBIQUE in the south. The Busaidi sultanate depended on trade with kingdoms further inland, such as BUGANDA, BUNY-ORO, BURUNDI, and RWANDA, which thrived until the 1890s. These latter kingdoms did not even come into contact with Europeans until the 1860s.

Militaristic merchants like TIPPU TIP (c. 1830–1905), in East Africa, and RABIH BIN FADLALLAH (c. 1835–1900), near Lake Chad, organized slave armies to protect and extend networks that became influential trading empires.

On the west coast of southern Central Africa, the formerly glorious KONGO kingdom was greatly reduced by the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. In present-day eastern SOUTH AFRICA, however, the collection of Nguni kingdoms making up the ZULU empire controlled the region. Zulu "offshoot" states also thrived, including the Gaza kingdom, in MOZAMBIQUE, and the NDEBELE kingdom, founded by Mzilikazi (1790–1868), a former Zulu general. The Ndebele conquered the SHONA kingdoms as they expanded northward. The expansion of the Zulu empire, affected through military domination, caused the displacement and relocation of a number of peoples in South Africa, thereby bringing about the establishment of SWAZILAND and the SOTHO kingdom, both of which flourished.

European Colonization Whereas the 17th- and 18th-century conflicts between Africans and Europeans were generally based on issues surrounding TRADE AND COMMERCE, by the early part of the 19th century, it was the actual territorial rights of sovereign African nations that were threatened by European encroachment. By the 1820s the Ashanti Empire and Britain had fought the first of the ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS. In ALGERIA France had colonized provinces by 1837, and by the 1850s and 1860s African kingdoms across the continent were under siege. In South Africa, the Sotho and XHOSA kingdoms fought

with the BOERS for territorial rights. In Egypt, Britain was well on its way to colonial occupation.

Ultimately, in 1884–85 the European powers convened at the BERLIN CONFERENCE to discuss the partitioning of the African continent in anticipation of COLONIAL CONQUEST. The meeting, which lasted several months, signaled the beginning of the end of most of Africa's independent states. In fact, by 1898 the only major African empire still truly autonomous was Ethiopia, thanks in large part to its victory over Italian forces at the Battle of ADOWA.

In spite of European colonization, in many of the kingdoms that had not been destroyed in war, the colonial administration was carried out through the same families that ruled the formerly independent states. In the Sokoto Caliphate, for example, British colonial administrator Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) developed the DUAL MAN-DATE policy of COLONIAL RULE, whereby Africans were kept on to run the local government under the watchful eye of British governors. Nevertheless, this policy of "indirect rule," as it often was called, hardly offered the benefits of self-rule that the kingdoms enjoyed previously.

Largely because of the British policy of indirect rule in Sokoto, that region later produced Sirs Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966) and Ahmadu BELLO (1906–1966), the first leaders of independent Nigeria.

At independence in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not the precolonial kingdoms that became the new states (except for a few small states such as SWAZILAND and BASU-TOLAND [now LESOTHO], which had a constitutional monarchies). More typical was the situation in Buganda, where the royal heir, Kabaka Sir Edward Frederick Mutesa II (1939–1969), became the first president of independent UGANDA, in 1962. His election was based on the privileged position that the Buganda kingdom held within the larger Uganda colony when it was under the rule of Britain. As a result, in 1966 Milton OBOTE (1925–), the Ugandan prime minister, ousted and exiled Mutesa II. As a northerner, Obote came from outside of the Buganda power structure and demanded access for all ethnic groups to the benefits of state in the new republic.

See also: KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. II); KING-DOMS AND EMPIRES OF EASTERN AFRICA AND THE INTERIOR (Vols. II, III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE HORN OF AFRICA (Vol. III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE LOWER GUINEA AND ATLANTIC COAST (Vol. II, III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE MAGHRIB (Vols. II, III); KINGDOMS AND EM-PIRES OF SENEGAMBIA (Vol. II); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF

WEST AFRICA (Vol. III); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE WEST AFRICAN SAVANNA (Vol. II).

Kinjikitile (Kinjikitile Ngwale) (d. 1905) *Leader of the Maji-Maji Rebellion*

Very little is known about Kinjikitile Ngwale beyond his role in stoking the fires that eventually erupted in the MAJI-MAJI REBELLION, a mass uprising by the African peoples of GERMAN EAST AFRICA (in the region of present-day TANZANIA) against German colonizers. The Germans had imposed abusive LABOR practices on Africans in the region, forcing them to neglect their own farms in order to cultivate government lands for the production of CASH CROPS such as COTTON. The Africans labored in conditions similar to SLAVERY, facing the threat of whippings if they did not work hard enough. These circumstances, coupled with excessive taxation and insufficient wages, imparted a deep current of anger and resentment against the German oppressors. Kinjikitile proved to be the factor that tipped the scales in favor of rebellion.

Kinjikitile was a spirit medium, a person who claims the ability to converse with the supernatural world. Such mediums played major roles in African attempts at RESISTANCE AND REBELLION against COLONIAL RULE throughout Africa, most notably perhaps in SOUTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZIMBABWE), where the SHONA prophet Mbuya Nehanda (d. 1898) and other spirit mediums led the first CHIMURENGA war (1896–97) against the British colonial government. Kinjikitile himself claimed to be possessed by a snake spirit named Hongo. Calling himself Bokero, Kinjikitile traveled throughout the region, calling for an uprising to drive out the Germans. The key to success, he believed, was the use of magic water (*maji maji*, in Swahili) which, when imbibed and sprinkled over the body, would render the African fighters impervious to German bullets.

The magical *maji maji* that Kinjikitile offered as protection against German bullets was made up of water, castor oil, and millet seeds.

Kinjikitile's anticolonial messages inspired Africans across tribal boundaries, and his "war medicine" offered them hope of defeating the superior arms of the German troops. By 1905 the Germans had become sufficiently concerned with Kinjikitile's activities that they had him arrested and hanged for treason. His death, however, only served to spark the movement he had been fomenting, and, in that same year, the Maji-Maji Rebellion broke out. Though it would not last much longer than a year, the re-

bellion would ultimately result in the deaths of more than 200,000 Africans from violence and famine.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

kinship

Term that refers to the organization of family life and defines relationships through rights, duties, privileges, and responsibilities with regard to social life. Family members are kin because they are related either through descent (parentage) or through marriage (affinity). Each society constructs its concept of kinship. In most societies kinship is determined by either matrilineal (from the mother) or patrilineal (from the father) descent. Until the period of the SLAVE TRADE matrilineal and patrilineal descent patterns in Africa were more or less equally distributed across the continent. In the post–slave trade era of the 19th century, however, many matrilineal societies became patrilineal. The causes for the shift can be traced to the influence of COLONIAL RULE, especially in those areas where CASH CROPS formed a mainstay of the rural ECONOMY. Since men, as a rule, controlled the disposition of cash crops, they wanted control of the land on which the crops grew. Moreover, they wanted to be able to pass their land down to their sons. In a typical matrilineal society, the sons and daughters of mothers, rather than fathers, would inherit the valuable land.

Patrilineal families generally live in extended family communities. In many rural areas, an extended family includes grandparents, parents, and children. In this setting, the male elder of the family controls a communal tract of land, and it is his duty to apportion that land to the other male family members.

Under the patrilineal structure all the men in a family are related by descent through the male line, and they marry women from other families. The men's daughters marry away from their families but do not lose membership in their fathers' families. Within patrilineal societies, the men retain the privilege of directing social organization, and elder men direct younger men and women. Children, and hence their LABOR, belong to the father and his family. In cases of death or divorce, each society has constructed rules addressing the change of relationship of the widow or divorcee to the family. In most cases, however, if the woman has children, then she can stay within the husband's family to take care of and be with her children. If she chooses not to stay, then she can re-

turn home to her natal family but often has to leave her children behind.

At the outset of the colonial period in Africa the community of kin was more important than the individual. Land, property, and wealth belonged to the group and benefited the group as a whole. However, colonialism introduced to Africans a new concept of societal formation based on the primacy of the individual. Widespread migration of laborers to cities and farms only increased this sense individualism. Today, the concept of the individual who belongs to any number of groups has replaced the importance of kinship in many settings.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GENDER IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); POLYGAMY (Vol. I); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Kirk, John (Sir) (1832–1922) *British physician, naturalist, and influential consul general to the sultan of Zanzibar*

Kirk received his medical education in Edinburgh, Scotland, and afterwards served in the Crimean War (1854–56). In 1858 he accompanied David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873) on his second Central African expedition, serving as the group's physician and naturalist. In 1859 Kirk and the other members of the expedition became the first Europeans to see Lake Nyasa. His stint on the expedition ended in 1863 due to illness. Kirk's experience in Africa earned him a position as acting surgeon for the British political agency in the island of Zanzibar, the seat of the sultanate of ZANZIBAR, which ruled much of the SWAHILI COAST.

> **Kirk is also well known as a naturalist and botanist. During the expedition in Africa, he identified a number of species that now bear his name, from Kirk's Red Colobus (a kind of monkey) to Kirk's Dik-Dik (a tiny antelope). He also created a botanical garden in Zanzibar.**

Kirk rose through the ranks in Zanzibar, becoming assistant political agent, in 1868, and consul-general, in 1873. During this time Kirk became a powerful influence on ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888) and in many ways was a shadow ruler of the sultanate. In 1873 he persuaded Barghash to sign a treaty abolishing the SLAVE TRADE on the SWAHILI COAST, a practice that until that time was one of Zanzibar's economic mainstays. Following the PARTITION treaty between Britain and Germany in 1885, Kirk used his influence to gain territorial rights from the sultanate that would lead to the formation of BRITISH EAST AFRICA. Kirk retired from his consular position in 1887.

Kirk continued to serve the British government, journeying to the Niger River in 1895 and thereafter joining a committee to oversee the construction of the UGANDA railroad. He was knighted in 1900.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Kiswahili (KiSwahili, Swahili) Bantu-based LANGUAGE spoken in eastern Africa, primarily in the present-day countries of TANZANIA, KENYA, and UGANDA. Africa's second-most widely spoken language behind Arabic, Kiswahili was influenced greatly by Persian and Arabic language and also assimilated many European words during the period of COLONIAL RULE in Africa.

Kiswahili is the maternal tongue of the Waswahili (Swahili people), a loose association of East African coastal ethnic groups, as well as of Swahilized Arabs who live on the coast from the Horn of Africa to MOZAMBIQUE. The origins of the Kiswahili language are unclear, but there is evidence that the language has existed on Africa's east coast for over a thousand years. Contact over the years with traders from Arab regions, Persia (present-day Iran), India, and China led to a great many borrowed words entering the language, though it remains to this day a distinctly Bantu tongue.

> **Other theories of the origins of Kiswahili hold that the language evolved from Arabic, and that it is a product of intermingling African and Arabic cultures rather than an authentic African tongue. However, archaeologists have found evidence of Kiswahili culture from long before Arab or Persian traders came to Africa's shores. The influence of COLONIALISM can be credited for these doubts about the long history and remarkable development of Kiswahili language and culture.**

The spread of Kiswahili as an inter-ethnic lingua franca, or common language, from the coastal regions into the interior of East and Central Africa was largely due to the growth of TRADE AND COMMERCE in the mid- and late 19th century. It first spread along trade routes as merchants based in ZANZIBAR CITY and along the East African coast pushed into the interior. By the latter part of the century, traders such as TIPPU TIP (c. 1830–1905) had established a powerful presence as far inland as the eastern portions of the present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO. The spread of the trade routes occurred in areas where people mostly spoke a Bantu language, which made Kiswahili a readily adopted language for trade.

Kiswahili and Colonialism As East Africa came under the colonial rule of Britain, Germany, and Portugal, Kiswahili came to play a major role in colonial administration. Those European officials in the region who bothered to learn an African language learned Kiswahili. It became the language of local administration and was spoken by members of the the police and the army. This was particularly true in GERMAN EAST AFRICA (present-day Tanzania), where German authorities used Kiswahili exclusively as the language of communication with the colonial subjects.

The British also used Kiswahili as a common means of communication for their African colonial force, the King's African Rifles, whose members spoke a wide range of maternal languages. British officers also used the language to communicate with their African troops. In the 1930s African scholars led a British attempt to standardize the language, basing their efforts on the Zanzibar City dialect known as Kiunjuga. As with many other aspects of East African life, Kiswahili was permanently marked by colonialism, with many English, Portuguese, and to a lesser extent, German words entering the language.

While a majority of Kiswahili words are of Bantu origin, many common words, including the name Swahili itself (from the Arabic *sawa hili*, meaning "of the coast"), come from languages not indigenous to sub-Saharan Africa. Words such as *chai* (tea) and *serikali* (government) come from the Persian Farsi language. Arabic words include the numbers *sita* (six), *saba* (seven), and *tisa* (nine). European words include the Portuguese-derived *kasha* (box) and *pesa* (money), the English-derived *baiskeli* (bicycle) and *basi* (bus), and the German-derived *shule* (school).

Written Kiswahili predates colonialism, with the earliest examples coming from the early 1700s. Because of its widespread usage and its long history as a written language, in Arabic script and later in Latin script introduced by the Portuguese, Kiswahili was convenient for educators in the colonial period to use in their primary schools. (European languages were used at the secondary and university levels.) The adoption of Kiswahili in schools had the negative effect, however, of limiting the development of literacy in other indigenous languages. Kiswahili also became the language of choice for NEWSPAPERS and RADIO in East Africa, and eventually for television as well.

Kiswahili was popular in colonial East Africa not only because it was already widespread but also because it was considered politically neutral. Outside of the countries sharing the SWAHILI COAST, it had no attachment to any specific ethnic group. After independence, English or French became the official language of most of the countries where Kiswahili was widely spoken, but Kiswahili became the second language of the people and the language of unity in the face of the region's multiplicity of languages. In West Africa, HAUSA, MANDE, and WOLOF served a similar purpose as linguae francae.

Kiswahili Literature Early examples of Kiswahili literature were mostly epic poetry, called *utendi,* which combines Arab verse and Bantu song. As the language evolved under the influence of colonialism, so did its literature. Particularly important in this regard was the Kiswahili poet and essayist Shaaban ROBERT (1909–1962), who utilized the *utendi* form in conjunction with new, experimental modes to help create a modern Kiswahili literary style. As colonialism gave way to independence, other East African writers, such as Muhammad Saleh Farsy, Muhammad Said Abdulla, and Faraji Katalambulla all contributed to the establishment of a significant body of Kiswahili literature ranging from poetry to essays to romance and detective fiction. Today, Kiswahili has perhaps the richest literary tradition of any African language.

Kiswahili Today At the present, there are as many as 50 million Kiswahili speakers, though only perhaps two million of these are native speakers (the rest use it as a secondary language). The language has 15 major dialects, all of which are mutually intelligible. It is an official language of several countries, including Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, where the efforts of President Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) made Kiswahili practically universal. The language is also used by significant numbers of people in RWANDA, BURUNDI, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, MALAWI, ZAMBIA, MOZAMBIQUE, and SOMALIA. Kiswahili is used less frequently in the southern part of the Republic of the SUDAN, the Republic of the CONGO, the COMOROS, and northern MADAGASCAR. Because of political and cultural connections between ZANZIBAR and Oman on the Arabian Peninsula, migrants of Arab descent from East Africa now living in Oman, about one-third of the population, also speak Kiswahili.

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); KISWAHILI (Vols. II, III); LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Kitchener, Horatio Herbert (Lord) (1850–1916)

British soldier and administrator in the Sudan and South Africa

For many Victorian Britons, Kitchener personified the ideal imperial hero. After stints in Palestine and Cyprus, during the 1870s Kitchener went to EGYPT in 1882. He rose to the rank of adjutant-general and in 1892 assumed command of the Egyptian army. Four years into his com-

mand Kitchener led a savage campaign against the Islamic separatists known as the MAHDIYYA, or Mahdists, in present-day Republic of the SUDAN. The campaign culminated in 1898 with the defeat of the Mahdists at the battle of OMDURMAN. By then the Mahdists were under the command of the Khalifa ABDALLAHI IBN MUHAMMAD (1846–1899). In the process, Kitchener avenged the humiliating 1885 defeat of the British and Egyptian forces led by Charles George GORDON (1833–1885) at KHARTOUM. After his victory on the battlefield Kitchener ordered 20,000 of the enemy wounded to be massacred "as humanely as possible," and he was subsequently dubbed the "butcher of Omdurman." He also forced the withdrawal of French forces from FASHODA (present-day Kodok), on the Upper White Nile, thus frustrating French designs on the Egyptian Sudan.

During the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902) Kitchener assumed supreme command of the British forces in SOUTH AFRICA. Again Kitchener gained renown for the ruthless methods he employed to force the BOERS to capitulate. The creation of an extensive network of blockhouses linked by barbed wire, the pursuit of a scorched-earth policy, and the establishment of concentration camps for Afrikaner women and children were controversial but ultimately successful measures. Still, it took Kitchener nearly two years to stamp out Boer resistance, and at a high cost. Some 30,000 farmsteads were destroyed and an appallingly high number of civilian deaths in the unsanitary concentration camps left a legacy of inveterate hatred for the British among Boers (later known as AFRIKANERS).

In 1902 Kitchener became commander-in-chief of the Indian army, finally returning to Africa in 1911 to take the position of consul general of Egypt and the Sudan. In addition to the many exalted positions he held within the British Empire, Kitchener's efforts for the empire were rewarded with several titles, including earl, baron, and viscount. In 1914 he became secretary of state for war and proved instrumental in recruiting British troops for World War I (1914–18). He drowned in the North Sea in 1916 when the cruiser conveying him to Russia hit a mine.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV).

Kiwanuka, Joseph (Joseph Nakabaale Kiwanuka) (1899–1966) *First African-born Catholic bishop of the modern era*

Kiwanuka was born to Catholic parents in Nakirebe, in the BUGANDA kingdom of UGANDA. In 1914 he entered seminary and, after studying philosophy and theology, he became an ordained priest in 1929. He then traveled to Rome to continue his studies at the Angelicum University, where he excelled, earning a licentiate (the equivalent of a master's degree) in Church Law and then a doctorate. Kiwanuka's academic accomplishments were

unprecedented for an African and led to a more welcoming policy for Africans who sought to enroll in other Italian and European institutions.

In 1934 Kiwanuka became the first African member of the Society of Missionaries of Africa, also known as the "White Fathers" due to their white clothing. After five years of pastoral work and a teaching appointment at the seminary where he originally trained, Pope Pius XII (1876–1958) consecrated Kiwanuka as Bishop of Masaka in 1939. He became the first African bishop in the modern Church. In 1960 he became Archbishop of Rubaga.

As a leader of the church in Africa, Kiwanuka worked to integrate elements of African culture, including MUSIC, into Christian worship. He also was a proponent of diversifying the MISSIONARIES of Uganda, in opposition to the British colonial policy of allowing only British and English-speaking missionaries into the colony. Kiwanuka's rise to positions of influence in the Catholic Church paved the way for other Africans to follow the same path. In fact, one of Kiwanuka's African students at the Katigondo seminary, Laurean Rugambwa (1912–1997), was appointed bishop and later became the first African-born cardinal in 1960.

Kiwanuka died in February 1996, just as independent Uganda plunged into the political turmoil that led prime minister Milton OBOTE (1925–   ) to assume total control of the country.

See also: CHRISTIANITY (Vols. I, II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); RELIGION (Vols. III, IV, V).

Koko, King (Frederick William Koko) (c. 1835–1898) *King of the small Niger Delta state of Nembe*

Over the course of the 19th century the growing European demand for vegetable oils and other products from Africa led to increased production and trade in CASH CROPS such as PALM OIL. In the NIGER DELTA a number of small trading states, of which Nembe was one, had prospered on the basis of their share in this commerce. British merchant interests were also drawn to this profitable trade.

In 1879 George GOLDIE (1846–1925) brought together the separate private British firms trading in the Delta to form the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY (RNC). The British government was also expanding its political control of the Southern Region of NIGERIA, and in 1885 Britain declared a PROTECTORATE over much of the Nigerian coast. In turn Britain handed over the administration of the Niger Delta portion of the protectorate to the RNC. The trading company then used its position to try to monopolize the export and import trade.

In 1889 Koko (r. 1889–1896) became Amanyanabo (King) of Nembe in the midst of the struggle of the Niger Delta states to maintain their commercial role. Prior to becoming king Koko had been a Christian and a church leader. However, to strengthen public support for

his kingship, he resumed the traditional religious practices and observances of his people.

Even before he became king Koko watched as the British moved against other states. Two years earlier, in 1887, the British had exiled JAJA (1821–1891) of Opobo, the most important power in the Niger Delta. In 1894 they ousted the Itsikeri chief, NANA OLUMU (c. 1852–1916), from the governorship of the Benin River. Consequently, Koko decided to make a preemptive strike.

Early in 1895 Koko dispatched a fleet of 20 war craft to attack the RNC depot at Akassa. In reprisal for the Akassa Raid, British forces launched a full-scale land and sea war that destroyed the city of Nembe and many nearby towns. Koko was forced to flee into the interior where he died three years later. The war, however, brought the RNC monopolistic practices under criticism and led to loss of the RNC's government charter. In 1899 the territories once managed by the RNC were reorganized into the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.

See also: BRITAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

Kongo (Bakongo) Large ethnic group of western Central Africa. Collectively the Kongo people are sometimes called *Bakongo*. The Kongo kingdom was a major state and European trading partner in the 17th century. By the latter half of the 19th century, however, economic and ethnic strife had dismantled the kingdom. During the 20th century Kongo leaders were prominent in the independence movements in ANGOLA and the BELGIAN CONGO (now the Democratic Republic of the CONGO).

Following the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85) most of the area of the Kongo kingdom was incorporated into the Portuguese colony of Angola. The rest of the former kingdom became part of the Belgian colony of the CONGO FREE STATE, which in 1908 became the Belgian Congo.

Kongo in Angola A mostly agrarian people, the Kongo people had few opportunities to improve their economic and social standing under European COLONIAL RULE. During the first half of the 20th century Angolan Kongo men were forced to leave their villages to LABOR on Portuguese plantations in order to pay colonial hut taxes; political opposition was quickly and brutally repressed, and explicit political activity was banned.

After World War II (1939–45), African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS began to gain momentum throughout the continent. By 1954, Kongo leaders had established the Union of Peoples of North Angola (UPNA) to further their goals during the period of decolonization that was looming. At the time the political climate in Angola was more repressive than that in neighboring Belgian Congo. For this reason UPNA had its base of operations in the Kongo-dominated city of LEOPOLDVILLE (now Kinshasa) in the Belgian Congo.

In 1957 the UPNA petitioned for the United Nations to create an independent Kongo state. However, with its leadership coming exclusively from the Kongo ethnic group, the UPNA found it difficult to get widespread support for its goals in Angola. For this reason, in 1958 the name of the organization was changed to the Union of Angolan Peoples (Unão das Populações de Angola, UPA) in order to appeal to all Angolans.

As the UPA became more insistent in its demands for independence, the Portuguese regularly jailed groups of Kongo activists. A breaking point came in 1961 when attempts to free jailed Kongo freedom fighters turned violent. Frustrated UPA members raided Portuguese-owned farms throughout the northern Angolan countryside, killing hundreds in the process. The Portuguese police responded with extreme violence to crush the uprising, and, in the months following, hundreds of thousands of Kongo people fled Angola for refuge in the Congo.

In 1961 a Kongo group led by Holden Roberto (1923–) founded the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Frente Nacionale de Libertação de Angola, FNLA). Growing out of the UPA, the FNLA began a long and bloody armed rebellion against Portuguese colonialism. Although European colonial powers had withdrawn from most of the African continent by the mid-1960s, the FNLA—along with other armed ethnic rebel groups—waged their independence battle until 1975.

Kongo People in Belgian Congo The rule of Belgian King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) in the Congo was especially harsh. Similar to the situation for the Kongo people in Portuguese Angola, Kongo men in the Congo were forced to labor for large European companies in order to pay the exorbitant taxes charged by the colonial administration.

About the same time that Angola's Kongo leaders established the UPNA, leaders in the Congo founded the Bakongo Tribal Association (Alliance des Bakongo, ABAKO), also in Leopoldville. Led by Joseph Kasavubu (1913–1969), ABAKO became a political force as independence neared, and in 1957 the party won a great majority of the seats in pre-independence elections.

Despite the promise of national elections, though, the Belgians let the independence process lag, causing some Kongo leaders to begin agitating for immediate change. In January 1959 ABAKO scheduled a meeting to discuss the foundering independence process, but nervous Belgian authorities closed their meeting place and tried to disperse those who had assembled. This suppression sparked a violent reaction among ABAKO leaders that quickly spread throughout Leopoldville. Rioting in the city was suppressed with brutal force, and as many as 49 Congolese were killed and many more were injured. The violence sent a clear message to the Belgian authorities, who then accelerated the independence process. Within a year the Belgian Congo became the independent Republic of the

Congo, with Kasavubu the nation's first president. Unfortunately the hasty preparations for Congolese independence left the country vulnerable to ethnic and regional divisions that quickly left the country in crisis.

See also: KONGO (Vols. II, III); KONGO KINGDOM (Vol. II, III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Krio   Language spoken in SIERRA LEONE; also the people who speak the language. In the area around Sierra Leone Krio has been spoken, both as a primary language and as a lingua franca, for more than 200 years. For the most part, those for whom Krio is their first language are the descendants of RECAPTIVES, or slaves rescued at sea from North American-bound slave ships or returned to Africa from overseas locations. Based on English, Krio is in this way similar to the other Creole languages spoken in various parts of Africa. However, it has its own particular characteristics based on the languages spoken by the recaptives and returnees from North America who were settling in FREETOWN and the adjacent peninsula from the beginning of the 19th century.

> **Creole languages began as pidgin, or simplified, languages but later were adopted as primary languages as their use became more formalized and they developed characteristics of an established language.**

By the mid-1800s Krio was widely used not just by the descendants of the recaptives but also as a means for people to communicate with those of different ethnic groups. Still in use today, it is one of the official languages of Sierra Leone and is widely used as a second language.

See also: ETHNIC GROUPS (Vol. IV); LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

Kruger, Paul   (1825–1904) *Political figure in independent Transvaal, in present-day South Africa*

Known as "Oom Paul" and the "old lion of the TRANSVAAL," Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger was born October 10, 1825, on his family's farm in the CAPE COLONY. Kruger's family, originally from Prussia, had come to SOUTH AFRICA in the early 18th century. In 1835 the Krugers moved north to settle on the far side of the Orange River. There they met Hendrik Potgieter, one of the leaders of the Great Boer Trek. Joining Potgieter and his caravan of Dutch-speaking BOERS, the Krugers moved on, eventually settling in the Transvaal.

Determined and precocious even as a youngster, Kruger reportedly taught himself to read and write. By the time he was 16 he owned his own farm; at age 17 he

was a married man; at age 21 he was a widower, having lost both his wife and daughter. He married again shortly after, this time to his late wife's cousin, with whom he had 16 children.

As a member of one of the founding Boer families of the Transvaal, Kruger came to politics rather naturally. In the 1860s he served as Commandant General of the Transvaal army. When Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877, Kruger became one of the leading opponents of the British action, even journeying to London to lobby against it. Unable to convince the British to relinquish control of the region, he returned to South Africa where he joined with Martinus Praetorius and Piet Joubert to fight for Transvaal independence. When the Boers won the first Boer War, in 1883 Kruger became the president of the independent Boer Republic of Transvaal.

With the discovery of GOLD in the region, the Transvaal was swept up in the economic transformation that became known as the MINERAL REVOLUTION, with population and commercial interests growing rapidly. As president, Kruger was as outspoken as ever, particularly in his attempt to maintain Boer dominance over the waves of new immigrants who flooded into the Transvaal region. Continued opposition to the British inroads into the Boer regions remained a hallmark of Kruger's administration.

Despite his fervent patriotism and the economic boom, Kruger did not prove a particularly popular leader. He came under frequent criticism for his policies, especially his tendency to award jobs and commercial situations on the basis of personal friendship. In spite of this, he managed to be reelected to office on four different occasions, the last time in 1898, when the second Boer War broke out.

Too old to fight, Kruger guided the Boer forces from the capital. As the British marched on PRETORIA, however, Kruger was forced to flee. There he sought vainly to enlist European support for his struggle against the British. Eventually he settled in Switzerland, where he died in 1904.

Further reading: Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, *The Memoirs of Paul Kruger, Four Times President of the South African Republic* (Kennikat Press, 1970); Johannes Meintjes, *President Paul Kruger: a Biography* (London: Cassell, 1974).

Kumasi (Coomassie)   Capital of the ASHANTI EMPIRE, located among the hills of a wet, dense forest in the south-central region of present-day GHANA. Kumasi was founded in the mid-17th century by the Ashanti (Asante) king, Osei Tutu (1680–1717). As the capital of the Ashanti Empire, it grew in importance along with the empire's expanding power and territory. By virtue of its location on a north-south trade route, Kumasi had one of the largest markets in the region.

The city suffered during the ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS of 1873–74, when a British invasion destroyed the palace of the *asantehene* (Ashanti king). In 1896, after a brief period of weakness, growing Ashanti strength caused the British to depose the Ashanti ruler, Agyeman PREMPEH (1870–1931), and establish a PROTECTORATE. In the early 1900s Kumasi became part of the British GOLD COAST COLONY. Although its importance as a trade town initially declined, Kumasi's status returned as it became the center of the region's COCOA production. By 1903 a railroad connected Kumasi to the port of Sekondi-Takoradi, to the southwest. Twenty years later, another line linked Kumasi to ACCRA, to the southeast. Following the establishment of the rail lines, the town grew rapidly and modernized its infrastructure with sewer and water systems. In the 1930s and 1940s, as the population climbed from about 36,000 to 78,500, Kumasi lost much of its Ashanti character; by 1948 less than half of the city's inhabitants were of Ashanti descent.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); KUMASI (Vols. III, V).

L

labor In general black Africans performed the work required to maintain Europe's colonial economies. In the middle of the 19th century, as the era of exploration came to a close and the colonial era opened up, Europeans tended to view Africa as a vast reservoir of raw materials to be extracted for the benefit of their increasingly industrialized countries. The African population, too, was seen as little more than a natural resource, a limitless manual labor pool to be used to develop the colonies' large-scale export economies. Outside of SOUTH AFRICA, which had a large working-class British immigrant and Afrikaner population, *labor* for Africa's whites meant skilled labor rather than manual labor, which was delegated to Africans.

Slave Labor and Forced Labor In principle Europeans wanted to abolish the practice of slave labor in their colonies. Although the SLAVE TRADE had been officially abolished by the middle of the 19th century, the practice of SLAVERY continued unchanged in many parts of Africa. In many traditional West African agrarian communities slaves were a much-needed segment of the agricultural labor force. Following abolition they were simply reclassified as tenant or hired labor. In some West African Muslim communities, where polygyny was accepted, female slaves were reclassified as wives. However, for the labor needs of the European colonialists, the practice of slavery was replaced by the equally nefarious practice of forced labor.

Forced labor was first instituted by the European CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES that claimed territorial, trade, and MINING rights throughout Africa in the 19th century. European governments gave these large, privately owned corporations the authority to do what they deemed necessary to maintain regional control in their efforts to ex-

ploit agricultural and mineral resources. As a consequence the companies created security forces that used threats of violence to "recruit" African laborers, who were then forced to work long days under brutal conditions for little or no pay. If workers failed to meet absurdly high production quotas, they were denied food and water. Repeat offenders were beaten, and it was not uncommon for an especially militant or disruptive laborer to disappear, never to be seen again.

In France's colonies the African population was subject to a system of regulations called the *indigénat*. Passed by the French government in 1881, this set of laws was specifically designed to limit the freedoms of Africans under French COLONIAL RULE. One of the provisions of the *indigénat* was the right of colonial administrators to inflict punishments on Africans without obtaining judgement from the court, and a frequent form of punishment was hard labor.

Taxation and Colonial Labor Recruiting Schemes Hiring schemes in the colonies were given a patina of legitimacy by being connected to colonial TAXATION. After the BERLIN CONFERENCE of 1884–85, many European governments declared protectorates over African territories. According to the agreements they drew up, the European colonial powers reserved the right to tax the African population in order to raise the income needed to pay the costs of running a PROTECTORATE. Head taxes, poll taxes, and so-called hut taxes levied on African villages had to be paid in the colonial currency, but most rural Africans had no opportunity to earn currency. As a result villages were forced to supply the government with laborers in exchange for paying taxes. These laborers, almost always young men, were forced to leave their villages

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to work wherever they were needed. Some were sent to mines, plantations, or processing plants; others were made to work on administration projects including the building of roads, railroads, bridges, and port facilities.

The practice of forced labor disrupted African rural life in countless ways. To recruit workers the colonial authorities required village leaders, who were by rule older males, to hand over young, able-bodied males. The rifts between the generations often erupted in violence, with young males attacking or even killing village elders—sometimes their own fathers—rather than submitting to forced labor.

Despite widespread protests the colonial taxation system persisted, preserved by the threat, and often the implementation, of violence. It was not uncommon for colonial forces to burn homes and even murder the inhabitants of a village that refused either to pay the tax or supply the labor.

Colonial taxation was a less volatile issue in West Africa, where many Africans were able to pay taxes with profits from CASH CROPS, especially COCOA, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) and palm products. However, in East Africa, where colonial governments forced farmers to grow less profitable, more labor-intensive crops such as COTTON and COFFEE, the tax burden was onerous.

Prior to World War I (1914–19) some of the worst atrocities related to forced labor were reported in the Portuguese colony of MOZAMBIQUE and in the CONGO FREE STATE, in southern Central Africa. Under the administration of Belgium's King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) and his equally cruel administrators, millions of Congolese people lost their lives harvesting RUBBER and ivory for export to Europe. When a series of newspaper articles exposed the conditions in the Congo, international objections to Leopold's methods forced him to pass control of the colony to the Belgian government in 1908.

Tenant Labor Taxation was not the only means by which colonial administrations forced Africans to work. In colonies with large populations of European SETTLERS, for instance, the most fertile agricultural land was seized by whites and then leased back to the African farmers who formerly lived and worked on it. Like colonial taxes, the land leases had to paid in either currency or labor. Some pastoralist groups such as the KIKUYU of KENYA were forced to trade their labor for grazing rights to the lands that had belonged to their forbears for centuries. Land-

This undated photo shows a typical scene from a colonial-era tobacco farm in Rhodesia. Laborers were supplied with only the simplest tools to plant and harvest cash crops. © Smith's Photo Services/New York Times

lease schemes such as these were common in SOUTHERN RHODESIA, ALGERIA, and SOUTH AFRICA, as well.

In South Africa colonial policies created a huge itinerant work force. In some regions this work force was made up of nearly the entire young male segment of the population. Although these uprooted workers had to move often to find new employment, they usually upheld their filial duties and sent part of their income back to their families, who remained in the rural areas. These young men congregated in increasingly urbanized areas and were among the first Africans integrated into the colonial cash economy. Many of them became relatively cosmopolitan, acquiring a taste for manufactured goods and Western-style urban living that was foreign in the villages they left behind.

Following World War I the face of African labor began to change as workers formed LABOR UNIONS. African workers found that widespread labor strikes could bring the colonial economy to a grinding halt and gave them the best opportunity to affect changes. Their demands usually included provisions for better working conditions, improved food and housing in the labor camps, better pay, and shorter workdays. By the end of World War II (1939–45), however, the labor union demands began to include calls for the end of colonialism. In this way, many of Africa's labor leaders evolved into the founders of African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS.

See also: LABOR (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Further reading: Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Bill Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Rienner, 1998).

labor unions (trade unions) Organizations that bring together workers in the interest of improving wages, working conditions, and benefits. Africans organized labor unions in response to the deplorable working conditions that prevailed in the colonies. The fundamental reason that European nations established African colonies was to gain access to vast mineral and agricultural wealth. At the time, MINING, farming, and transportation technology was crude and still required massive amounts of hard LABOR. However, outside of the few colonies that had large numbers of European SETTLERS, whites generally refused to perform manual labor in Africa. As a result, beginning in the 19th century, the European colonial administrations began devising ways to recruit African labor on a huge scale.

The Origins of African Labor Organizations Although slavery had been outlawed throughout the colonies by the early 20th century, the colonial labor-recruiting schemes often amounted to legalized SLAVERY, with workers forced to toil in impossibly difficult conditions for little or no pay. The concept of African workers' rights did not exist, and, therefore, labor contracts emphasized only the workers' obligations, leaving no recourse for addressing the issues related to backbreaking work, long hours, inadequate housing, poor sanitation, poor food, and limited contact with families.

Even before the end of the 19th century railroad workers in the British colony of NIGERIA were trying to organize to demand better working schedules. The colonial authorities, however, responded by making it illegal for Africans to form their own organizations. In general both the European administrations and the owners of the European CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES that ran many of the colonial projects either ignored the demands of African workers or used armed guards who rapidly—and often brutally—repressed their activities.

The African labor union movement began in earnest as World War I (1914–18) approached, about the same time that the ideas of European socialism were becoming better known in Africa and elsewhere around the world. Socialism, as a system based on collective action of the working classes, became influential among African laborers and labor organizers.

In SOUTH AFRICA, as in Nigeria, African-led labor unions were difficult to establish because of legal obstacles. To circumvent this Africans instead joined "mutual aid societies," which served many of the same organizing purposes. By World War I, however, both unions and mutual aid societies were gaining influence throughout South Africa, especially in urban areas, where labor pools developed. In 1919 pioneering labor leader Clements KEDALIE (1896–1951) formed the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (ICU), whose original members were dockworkers in CAPE TOWN. Thanks to union leaders such as A. W. G. CHAMPION (1893–1975), the ICU soon had a membership of more than 150,000, with farm and industry laborers joining the dockworkers.

White Labor Unions White labor unions were common only in South Africa, where thousands of working-class British immigrants and AFRIKANERS labored in the mines and in industrial jobs. In the depressed economic environment that followed World War I, South Africa's major companies began hiring more black and Asian laborers, to whom they could pay less money to do the same job. As a result, Afrikaner workers organized unions to demand increased hiring of whites.

The antilabor government of Jan Christiaan SMUTS (1870–1950), tried to suppress South Africa's unions, both black and white. In 1922, at Benoni, Smuts even resorted to dropping bombs on the headquarters of striking, white mineworkers. It was estimated that more than 200 strikers were killed in the bombing. Rather than dissuade South Africa's labor leaders from further action, the government attack served only to galvanize and bring an element of militancy to the labor movement.

In southern Africa white laborers shunned alliances with African workers and formed their own unions. Roy WELENSKY (1907–1991), the white-supremacist who helped form the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION, led a white railroad-workers' union in NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA).

The Growth of African Labor Unions As the African labor movement gained momentum throughout the 1930s and 1940s, African-owned NEWSPAPERS served as labor's mouthpiece. Journalists such as Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996), who later became the first president of independent Nigeria, wrote daily editorials in his *WEST AFRICAN PILOT* to bring public attention to the abuses suffered by African workers under COLONIAL RULE.

In 1945 Michael "Pa" Imoudu (1902–) the prime figure of the Nigerian labor movement, led a railway workers' strike that finally forced Britain to negotiate with the African labor leaders. Nigeria's National Institute for Labour Studies was renamed in his honor in 1994.

African workers quickly came to see the power of acting en masse when strikes by farmers, miners, dockworkers, or railway workers brought the colonial ECONOMY to a grinding halt. In the 1940s both Britain and France granted their colonial subjects the right to organize labor unions but, in spite of these labor reforms, most major European-owned corporations still refused to engage in collective negotiations with African workers. Companies that needed unskilled labor simply hired "scabs," or replacement workers. For trades that required more specialized skills, such as railway workers, companies stubbornly chose decreased production and lower profits rather than share the wealth. As the influence of the African unions increased, however, union member-

ship also rose dramatically. Eventually corporations were left no option but to negotiate with African labor leaders.

In 1946 a strike in FRENCH WEST AFRICA involving more than 75,000 railway workers led France to abolish its policies of forced labor. Within months African workers also had organized successful strikes in the French colonies of TUNISIA, ALGERIA, and GUINEA. In the British colonies workers successfully mobilized against colonial oppression in NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA), KENYA, TANGANYIKA (now TANZANIA), and SIERRA LEONE.

In the 1950s, as NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS emerged across the continent, the demands of African laborers came to include the withdrawal of the colonial oppressors and the right to self-rule. In this way labor leaders became political leaders, as well. These men included Tom MBOYA (1930–1969) in Kenya, Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987) in Nigeria, I. T. A WALLACE-JOHNSON (1895–1965) in Sierra Leone, and Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) in Guinea.

Touré, especially, based his political party, the Democratic Party of Guinea (Parti Democratique de Guinée, PDG), on worker and peasant interests. In 1958 the PDG led the movement toward DECOLONIZATION by voting "no" to continued membership in the FRENCH UNION, thereby becoming a symbol of the importance of African labor alliances for the new era of independence.

Senegalese writer and filmmaker Ousmane Sembene (1923–) relied on his experience as a dockworker to write *The Black Docker*, and he chronicled the four-month railroad workers strike on the Dakar-Niger railway (1947) in his novel, *God's Bits of Wood*, written in 1960.

See also: LABOR UNIONS (Vol. V).

Further reading: Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Bill Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800,* 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Rienner, 1998).

Lagos Major West African port city and most populous urban center in NIGERIA, as well as its former capital. Lagos is located on a series of low-lying islands bordering lagoons on the Bight of Benin in the Atlantic Ocean, a location that encourages water-borne traffic. In the late 15th century the site that became Lagos—a YORUBA fishing village named Eko—was visited by Portuguese traders, who named it after a port in their own country. It

soon became a major trading center for slaves, ivory, and peppers. After the abolition of the SLAVE TRADE, however, Lagos became a major port for exporting PALM OIL and palm kernels. Heavy commercial activity led to the installation of a British consul in the 1850s, and in 1861 the British took formal control.

For a while Lagos was ruled from the GOLD COAST COLONY (today's GHANA), to the west, but in 1886 it became a separate crown colony. As such, Lagos was the base for British colonial expansion in southern Nigeria. By 1914 it had become the capital of the Colony and PROTECTORATE of Nigeria (which included both Northern and Southern Nigeria). Under the British colonial administration, the region's ECONOMY was focused on the export of CASH CROPS, and its burgeoning markets attracted migrants from Europe, SIERRA LEONE, and other parts of Nigeria, expanding the city dramatically. The popularity of Lagos's NEWSPAPERS was a testament to the town's lively intellectual and political life.

Petroleum production began in the 1950s and soon became the major economic activity for both Lagos and Nigeria in general. When Nigeria gained its independence in 1960, Lagos became the capital. Following the Biafran War in the mid-1960s, the city began to flourish again, with Nigeria's oil production booming and international oil prices favorable to suppliers.

By 1971 the population of Lagos had grown to approximately 900,000. Because of overcrowding, Nigerian officials began plans to move the capital to the less populated town of Abuja, located about 311 miles (500 km) to the northeast.

See also: ABUJA (Vol. V); BIGHT OF BENIN (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); LAGOS (Vols. III, V); OIL (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V) SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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language As a rule Africans are multilingual, speaking a "mother language" as a first language and one or more other languages for specific purposes in society. Language is a primary indicator of cultural identity. When describing an ethnic group, it is usually by the language the people speak. For example, people who speak the HAUSA language are generally referred to as "the Hausa." In this way language is a powerful psychological link among people of a specific ethnic group because it can shape how they see and think about themselves and their world.

When a language is spoken over an extended geographical area, it is likely that the groups that speak it do not use the same form of the language. Modern linguistic studies tend to value these language variations equally. Hence, the word *dialect*—which implies that there is a standard version of the language of which the dialect is a sub-standard version—is not an appropriate term for describing individual language variations in Africa.

Language in the Precolonial Era Prior to the PARTITION of the continent by European colonial powers (1884–85), Africans spoke a wide variety of vernacular languages that changed according to the influences of their social environment. In the 17th and 18th centuries, some languages on the continent disappeared as whole societies were decimated by the conflict produced by the SLAVE TRADE. At the same time, new languages continually emerged along with the changes brought about by the arrival and subsequent dispersal of groups of linguistic outsiders. In SOUTH AFRICA, for example, the Dutch-based language AFRIKAANS developed as European SETTLERS penetrated the region and had less and less contact with Dutch speakers from their European homeland.

Africans often adopted a lingua franca—or language used for inter-group communication—where they came into contact with other African languages through trade. While a specific ethnic group speaks its mother tongue as a *vehicular language* for everyday communication, many non-native speakers might use it as a second language to communicate specifically for trade. In West Africa, for instance, the MANDE languages are the linguae francae for traders who speak Bamana, DYULA, MANDINKA, and Maninka. These languages are used in the present-day countries of MALI, NIGER, GUINEA, The GAMBIA, and IVORY COAST. In East Africa the Bantu language KISWAHILI developed as a trade language along the East Africa coast and throughout the interior regions penetrated by the coastal trading networks. The use of Kiswahili expanded rapidly over the course of the 19th century.

Africans came into contact with non-African languages through trade and conquest. North African merchants along the Mediterranean coast spoke European languages, including Greek and Latin in the post-classical era, but the use of these languages did not spread outside the port cities. The earliest non-African language that penetrated the interior regions of the continent was Arabic, brought by conquest to North Africa and by trade to West and East Africa. In North Africa, well before the 19th century, Arabic became the first language of the majority of the population except for parts of ALGERIA and MOROCCO, where Berber languages remained entrenched. In sub-Saharan Africa, learning Arabic as a commercial language enabled Africans to obtain some of the riches

generated by long-distance trade across the Sahara desert or across the Indian Ocean. In addition to being used for trade, Arabic was, and still is, the language of Islam. Depending upon the context Africans learning Arabic were either fluent in the language or learned just enough to function in the society where it was spoken.

Many Africans came into contact with European languages during the era of the slave trade or in the period of legitimate trade that followed. For this reason coastal ethnic groups were first to encounter these languages. In most cases Africans were the ones who learned the European languages. However, because they learned the languages informally, they often created "pidgin" or "creole" languages that blended the European language with local African tongues. If no lingua franca existed when the European language penetrated the coast, a pidgin language became the vernacular language used for trade. Portuguese-based creoles were the earliest such languages. The KRIO language spoken in SIERRA LEONE, which is a blend of English and the coastal indigenous languages (including Portuguese creole), is a later example.

European Christian MISSIONARIES followed the traders to the African coast. In their efforts to attract converts, they tried to learn the local African languages so that they could translate the Bible and make it accessible. Those African language variations that were reduced to written form tended to become the "standard" form of the language for the purposes of the colonial authorities and therefore superceded other, spoken variations. Mission schools generally used written indigenous languages at the elementary level and the European colonial language at the higher levels, a practice that was followed in the system of colonial EDUCATION that developed later.

Language during the Colonial Period In the latter half of the 19th century European colonial powers began imposing alien governmental and language systems on Africans. Believing that the colonial culture was superior to that of Africans, few Europeans bothered to learn African languages. This was especially true in those colonies with substantial numbers of European settlers.

The colonizers generally wanted the sons of chiefs to adopt the European language and culture so that these young men would eventually form a cadre of junior administrators for both government and business. In many cases, however, legitimate indigenous leaders resisted the Europeans and refused to send their sons to colonial schools. Consequently many of the first Africans who went to mission schools were children of families that were not a part of the traditionally recognized power structure. Because of this, by learning the language and accepting European Christianity, some sons of lesser leaders were able to bypass those who had been considered the rightful heirs of the legitimate leadership.

Throughout Africa colonial policy insisted on the primacy of the colonial language to the point that students and colonial-educated officials were punished if they were caught using indigenous languages. Within a few decades these mechanisms allowed the colonial language to supplant indigenous African languages as the official language of most African countries.

By the mid-20th century a group of European-educated elites had emerged. Since they found it easier to gain the favor of colonial authorities, this group produced many of the leaders of the newly independent nations of Africa.

Today most Africans speak an indigenous African language as a first language, perhaps a local lingua franca, and a colonial language. A fine example of this multilingualism is the African intellectual Souleymane KANTÉ (1922–1987), in Guinea, who spoke the Maninka language, Arabic (as a second language, a lingua franca for Muslims), and French (the colonial language). The Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1938–   ) speaks KIKUYU, Kiswahili as the lingua franca, and English (the colonial language). Language diversity continues to mark the continent, and today there are more than 2,000 African languages spoken in Africa.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. I); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); LANGUAGE FAMILIES (Vol. I); LANGUAGE USAGE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); LITERACY IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); NGUGI WA THIONG'O (Vol. V).

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law and justice The installation of COLONIAL RULE led to tremendous changes in the legal systems of Africa. In the mid-19th century there were two major types of legal systems in Africa, as well as other, minor ones. One was the system of *sharia,* a written law associated with Islam. This system had been in place in North Africa for centuries. However, with the establishment and expansion of theocratic Islamic states, it became more widespread in large areas of sub-Saharan Africa, most notably in the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. Elsewhere on the continent African societies had their own systems of governance and law. While these were very diverse, depending on the nature

of social and political organization in any given society, they have been grouped under the rubric of "traditional law." A third type of legal system, that commonly seen in Europe, was also present, but to a much more limited degree.

The Dutch brought Roman-Dutch law to SOUTH AFRICA, and then in 1806 the British introduced English common law when they took control of the CAPE COLONY. In ALGERIA the French settlers, called COLONS, lived under French law. Also, by the 1850s Europeans had managed to impose their own commercial law in matters of TRADE AND COMMERCE between themselves and Africans.

The fundamental change that colonial rule brought to law in Africa was the disassociation between government and those who were under it. The new colonial rulers did not share the beliefs and values, including legal values, of those they ruled. Europeans brought with them their own legal systems that had evolved over the centuries in Europe. Where European SETTLERS were a significant component of a colony's population, as in South Africa and Algeria, European legal systems were put fully in place. Also, throughout colonial Africa, legal matters among Europeans or between Europeans and the local population fell under the jurisdiction of European colonial courts.

The principal issue that colonial administrations had to address, however, was what system of laws to utilize for legal relations between the rulers and the ruled and relations among the ruled. This led to a great deal of experimentation at first.

Secular Law vs. Religious Law   European colonial authorities had the fewest difficulties with Islamic law, for they readily saw that it was a well-developed system of jurisprudence. Basically, matters of civil law were left in the hands of the existing system of courts. Matters of criminal law, however, became a more mixed situation. Thus, in Northern Nigeria, for example, Britain utilized the system of jurisprudence already in place in the Sokoto Caliphate as part of their approach to governance based on the notion of *indirect rule*. Of course when there was a conflict between Islamic notions of criminal justice and those of Europeans, the latter prevailed. Thus the impact on Africans was minimal in civil matters, but when it came to criminal matters, the values and precedents of an alien legal system prevailed. Fundamentally, European legal systems were based on a secular approach to the law, while *sharia* was based on theology.

At independence the new governments inherited operating, secular legal systems at the national level, which they continued to utilize. This, however, created tensions with the more religious elements in their societies, who thought that the withdrawal of European rule meant that *sharia* should be restored as the rightful system of law. In short, colonial rule had introduced a secular-religious fault line.

Traditional Law   Colonial administrations faced much more complex issues when it came to traditional law, not the least of which was defining it. Islamic law was written law, so Europeans who read Arabic could understand it. Traditional law was oral. Second, while there were different schools of Islamic law, there was nonetheless a consistency in its basic principles. With traditional law there was a great diversity among African societies. Almost every colony yoked together disparate ethnic groups, each with its own legal system. Also, there was a matter of how law operated from society to society. To complicate matters, in some instances, colonial conquest had destroyed the political system and thus the basis of law within that society. As a result the European powers found themselves in the challenging situation of attempting to understand how the peoples they ruled had conducted their legal affairs. This was a pressing issue, because it greatly affected the effectiveness and stability of colonial administration.

Throughout colonial Africa, European administrators sought to understand traditional law so that they could refer to it for administrative purposes. The operating principle was to utilize what was often termed *customary law*. In the words of a Supreme Court ordinance from the GOLD COAST COLONY, customary law should be followed as long as it is not "repugnant to natural justice, equity, and good conscience."

Early on, colonial administrators such as Col. John Maclean (1810–1874), who in the 1850s was an official over the XHOSA in South Africa, gathered information with the assistance of a number of missionaries on the workings of Xhosa law. Similarly, the government of the Gold Coast Colony (today's GHANA) appointed R. S. Rattray (1881–1938) as government anthropologist for the purpose of generating information on the colony's population, including its laws. Gradually the colonial governments were able to codify traditional law into systems they could both understand and utilize for administrative purposes.

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In 1858 Colonel John Maclean published a compilation of Xhosa law entitled *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*. As a colonial official, he had found it difficult in legal matters to reconcile what he understood of indigenous laws and customs with the prevailing Roman-Dutch laws of the Cape Colony. His *Compendium* was an effort to provide a systematic study of Xhosa (Kafir) jurisprudence to facilitate the work of colonial officials with responsibilities for administering the Xhosa.

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Colonial Law as a Means of Control Colonial authorities developed legal systems for purposes other than good administration. Among the most prominent of these reasons was to control the populace. Concern with generating sufficient LABOR supplies for the colonial economy was one particular area of concern. A common measure for this purpose was the pass laws. In southern Africa, officials used laws to regulate the flow of labor to the urban areas and for restricting agricultural workers to the white-owned farms on which they lived.

Colonial laws were also used to control the free expression of ideas. For instance, in 1921 officials in the BELGIAN CONGO imprisoned the religious leader Simon KIMBANGU (c. 1887–1951), fearing that the political and nationalist overtones of his preaching would cause a massive uprising. He spent the rest of his life in prison. Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996) raised the ire of the authorities for his stringent criticism of British colonial rule in the columns of the newspaper he edited in the Gold Coast in the mid-1930s. The British authorities charged and convicted him of sedition, but the conviction was later overturned. As the struggle for independence intensified after World War II (1939–45), the European authorities brought charges against many African political leaders. One of the most glaring examples was South Africa's so-called Treason Trial, which resulted when the government accused 156 prominent political opponents of treason, a charge punishable by death. The trial dragged on for five years before the government's case collapsed without any convictions, but it served the purpose of seriously hampering the anti-apartheid movement.

At independence African countries inherited legal systems that were radically different from those that had existed in the mid-19th century. All had national legal systems based in one degree or another on the secular legal tradition of the former colonial powers. For much of the citizenry of these countries, however, these were alien legal concepts, unanchored in their own cultural and social traditions.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vol. IV); LAW AND JUSTICE (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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League of Nations and Africa International organization that failed to protect African peoples from the predations of European colonial powers during the 20th century; a forerunner of the United Nations. The League of Nations was established on January 25, 1919, as part of the Paris Peace Conference following World War I (1914–18), with its first formal meeting being held in 1920. Aside from the white-ruled UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, LIBERIA was the only other African country among its founding 42 members. (ETHIOPIA joined in 1923, and EGYPT became a member in 1937.) In an attempt to achieve collective security, the member states of the League of Nations pledged to preserve peace through disarmament and the diplomatic resolution of international disputes. Shortly after its creation it issued mandates that named the victors of the war (including Britain, France, Belgium, and SOUTH AFRICA) as trustees of the African territories previously held by the powers defeated in World War I (Germany and the Ottoman Empire).

The colonies of GERMAN EAST AFRICA (present-day TANZANIA, RWANDA, and BURUNDI) were divided among Britain and Belgium; the colony of German SOUTH WEST AFRICA (present-day NAMIBIA) was entrusted to South Africa; and parts of both Kamerun (present-day CAMEROON) and TOGOLAND (present-day TOGO) were entrusted to both France and Britain.

Despite their obligation to act as stewards, or trustees, safeguarding the welfare of the African populations of these mandated territories, the trustee powers effectively administered them as if they were their own colonies. The League of Nations' overall record for preserving peace and security proved dismal, though the refusal of the United States to join had seriously weakened it from the outset. The organization's failure to maintain peace in Ethiopia in 1935 was an especially inglorious episode in its history, as fascist Italy's modern military machine crushed the Ethiopian army and forced Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) to flee. This manifest violation of the core principles of the League of Nations' charter, and the ineffectual response of its member states, incited outrage throughout the African world and became a turning point in galvanizing anticolonial African nationalism. A series of other aggressive acts by militaristic states like Germany, Japan, and Italy exposed the ineptitude of the League of Nations and brought about its demise. In 1946 it formally dissolved itself and was superseded by the United Nations.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Leakey, Louis (1903–1972) *Anthropologist and paleontologist*

Raised in KENYA by his missionary parents, Louis Leakey was, even as a child, fascinated by Africa and its past. He studied the ways of the KIKUYU people with whom he was raised, and in his teens he was already collecting arrowheads and other ancient artifacts. By the time he completed his studies in anthropology at Cambridge

University, in England, he believed the history of modern humans actually began in Africa, not in Europe or Asia.

Beginning in the 1920s and 1930s Leakey carried out expeditions in East Africa. In 1929, for example, he made an important discovery of prehistoric tools in the Great Rift Valley, a discovery that proved that hominids had inhabited this area far earlier than commonly believed. In 1931 he began his work at Olduvai Gorge, a region to which he returned many times in the next three decades, and which he believed held unparalleled secrets to the human past.

Over the years the work of Louis Leakey, along with that of his wife Mary and his son Richard, proved just this. Again and again Leakey's discoveries at Olduvai and at sites in Kanjera, near Lake Victoria, pushed back the boundaries of human history. By 1961 Leakey had established that the history of human-like creatures in the region went back more than 20 million years, far longer than anyone had anticipated. *Zinjanthropus boisei* (later known as *Australopithecus boisei*), *Homo erectus, Homo Habilis,* and *Kenapithecus wickeri* were all Leakey discoveries. Leakey was also the first to find fossilized evidence to show that, at times in the prehistoric past, different kinds of hominids probably inhabited the Olduvai area at the same time.

Leakey's career was not without controversy, however, as the scientific community often attacked his methods and findings. Nevertheless, by the time of his death in 1972, he was considered one of the preeminent anthropologists and paleontologists in the world, receiving numerous professional honors. His work also established a family tradition for scientific exploration that was carried on by his wife Mary and his son Richard (1944–) and daughter-in-law Meave (1942–).

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY IN AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); HOMO ERECTUS (Vol. I); HOMO HABILIS (Vol. I); HOMO SAPIENS (Vol. I); HUMAN ORIGINS (Vol. I); OLDUVAI GORGE (Vol. I); LEAKEY, MARY (Vol. IV, V); LEAKEY, RICHARD (Vol. V); LEAKEYS, THE (Vol. I); RIFT VALLEY (Vol. I).

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Leakey, Mary (1913–1996) *Archaeologist, anthropologist and paleontologist*

Born in 1913 to artistic parents, Mary Leakey was raised in Britain, Italy, and France. She was living with her family in the French region of the Dordogne when she became fascinated with the rock art and tools that were being discovered in the local caves. This sparked a life-long study of ancient creatures and artifacts.

Although she never completed her formal university education in either archaeology or paleontology, Leakey began fieldwork early in life. She also developed an ability to illustrate artifacts and specimens. It was this latter talent that led to her relationship with the well-known paleo-archaeologist Louis LEAKEY (1903–1972), whom she met in 1933 and whose book, *Adam's Ancestors,* she illustrated.

In 1934 she left for Africa with Louis Leakey, whom she married in 1936, embarking on a career that would bring her fame as well as the respect of the world's scientific community. She began her African work before World War II (1939–45) at digs near Lake Nakuru, in KENYA, and in Olorgesailie, south of NAIROBI. It was after the war, however, that she made her most noteworthy discoveries. The first of these came in 1948, during an expedition on Rusinga Island, near Lake Victoria. There she discovered fragments that she eventually reconstructed into the skull and jaws of a creature known as *Proconsul africanus,* a 20-million-year-old, common ancestor of humans, monkeys, and apes.

Beginning in the 1950s Leakey made similarly important discoveries at Olduvai Gorge, in northern TANZANIA. There she discovered the famous "Zinj," an example of *Australopithecus boisei* dating back some 1.75 million years. Not long after that, she discovered *Homo habilis*, perhaps the earliest tool-making hominid.

Even before her husband's death in 1972 Mary Leakey was doing significant research on her own. Her work continued during the 1970s and 1980s. By this time her son, Richard (1944–) and daughter-in-law Meave (1942–) had become prominent researchers in their own rights.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY IN AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); HOMO ERECTUS (Vol. I); HOMO HABILIS (Vol. I); HOMO SAPIENS (Vol. I); HUMAN ORIGINS (Vol. I); OLDUVAI GORGE (Vol. I); LEAKEY, MARY (Vol. V); LEAKEY, RICHARD (Vol, V); LEAKEYS, THE (Vol. I); RIFT VALLEY (Vol. I).

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Lenshina, Alice (Mulenga Mubisha) (1924–1978) *Bemba prophetess in colonial Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zambia)*

Alice Lenshina was born Mulenga Mubisha in a small village near the Scottish Presbyterian Lubwa Mission at Kasomo, in the British colony of NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA). She came from the Bemba people, who, because they were organized along matrilineal KINSHIP lines, gave women a prominent role in society. Mubisha first began to attract attention in 1953 when she

claimed to have had visions in which she died and went to heaven, where she received divine inspiration. She claimed that Jesus had given her a new Christian message that was specifically for Africans, and that upon returning to the world she was to spread it.

When Mubisha told her story to the head Lubwa missionary, he accepted it and encouraged her to testify to her experiences in area churches. In addition the MISSIONARIES also gave her religious instruction, helped her study the Bible, and then baptized her, giving her the Christian name, Alice. Once baptized she continued to preach and spread the word, attracting a large following. In 1955, however, following a quarrel with the Presbyterian missionaries, Alice and her husband were expelled from the church. She responded by starting a movement she called *Lumpa* (which, in the Bemba LANGUAGE, means "excelling all others"), and taking the name Lenshina, meaning "queen."

At the heart of Alice Lenshina's message was a personal interpretation of Christianity that held baptism—which only she could perform—as the central ceremony. Also key was her attack on WITCHCRAFT and sorcery, which proved immensely popular among a people who believed that human misfortune was due to the malevolence of others who were witches. (This religious syncretism, or blending of Christian with indigenous beliefs, was a fairly frequent phenomenon in various parts of the continent.) In addition she condemned a number of traditional African practices, including polygamy, and looked with disfavor at alcohol consumption.

Within a few years Alice Lenshina attracted a following of approximately 100,000 people, including many who had been members of established Christian churches. She built a huge cathedral in Kasomo, which she renamed Zion, where she expected Jesus to appear at his Second Coming. The members of her LUMPA CHURCH composed their own hymns, to which they could better relate than the essentially foreign Catholic and Presbyterian hymns. Because of its popularity the Lumpa Church presented a challenge to the colonial government, whose earthly authority it rejected. Lenshina refused to register her church with the government, and by 1958 she was urging church members to oppose colonial taxes and form their own villages in defiance of the authority of chiefs. With her encouragement, her followers also withdrew from membership in the African political parties—such as the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP)—that were mounting an increasingly strong challenge to COLONIAL RULE. Indeed, Lumpa Church members and UNIP members often clashed, setting the stage for the violence that would come to pass between the government of independent Zambia and Lenshina's church in 1964.

See also: BEMBA (Vol. III); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LENSHINA, ALICE (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); RELIGION (Vols. IV, V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); WITCHCRAFT (Vol. I).

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Leopold II, King (1835–1909) *Belgian king who ruled over the colonial Congo Free State (present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo)*

Born in 1835, Leopold II succeeded his father to the Belgian throne in 1865. Leopold's early years in power were noteworthy for both his personal interest in philanthropy and the rapid expansion of Belgium's commercial, industrial, and colonial interests. The latter part of his reign, at least in terms of his personal reputation, was vastly different.

In conjunction with the noted Anglo-American explorer Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904), Leopold organized the International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of the Congo in 1876. Less than a decade later, in 1884–85 an international conference meeting in Berlin, Germany, placed what became known as the CONGO FREE STATE under Leopold's personal rule.

What followed was a record of cruelty and exploitation that shocked even the normally callous colonialists of the day. By leasing concessions to various contractors and by the extensive use of forced LABOR, Leopold and his agents were able to extract vast amounts of wealth and raw materials from the region—at virtually no cost to themselves. The cost was borne by all of the Congolese people, with millions of them meeting unnatural deaths and millions of others having the normal rhythms of their lives totally disrupted.

The exposure of the scandalous nature of Leopold's administration of the Congo began with a simple discovery by a British shipping agent named Edmund Dene Morel (1873–1924). Leopold's ships, Morel observed, left for the Congo loaded not with trade goods but with soldiers and firearms. The ships returned, however, filled with valuable cargoes of raw materials. Sensing that no legitimate commerce could account for this, Morel began a personal investigation that led to a series of articles titled "The Congo Scandal," which appeared in the journal *The Speaker,* in 1900. As news of Morel's discoveries spread, Leopold became one of the era's most notorious figures.

By 1908 the public exposure of the details of Leopold's administration, including the use of forced and even slave labor, led him to turn the Congo region over to the Belgian government. Leopold died not long afterward in 1909 and was succeeded by a nephew, Albert I. Leopold left a legacy of oppressive rule that has haunted the Congo ever since and which reappeared in full force under the government of Joseph Sese Seko Mobutu (1930–1997) in the latter part of the 20th century.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES (Vol. IV): CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, III, V); MOBUTU SESE SEKO (Vol. V); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998).

Leopoldville Long-time capital of the BELGIAN CONGO, named for King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909). Located on the banks of the Congo River in the present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO, about 320 miles (515 km) from the Atlantic Ocean, Leopoldville was built on the site of two villages, Nshasha and Ntamo. In 1881 the Anglo-American journalist and explorer Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904) acquired a trading post on the site, naming it in honor of his patron, Leopold II, King of the Belgians. He selected the site because it was at the head of Pool Malebo (formerly known as Stanley Pool), a lake-like area of the Congo River where navigation on the river's upper stretches ends. Below the Pool Malebo, the river cascades off the escarpment in a series of 32 rapids over some 240 miles (430 km), ending at Matadi. The river then is navigable for its final 83 miles (134 km) to the Atlantic Ocean.

Once the railroad from Matadi reached Leopoldville in 1898, its strategic geographical position as the terminus of navigation for the Congo River assumed great commercial importance. Virtually all of the imports and EXPORTS of the CONGO FREE STATE passed through its docks and warehouses. A fleet of 75 small, wood-burning steamers plied the nearly 6,000 miles (9,600 km) of navigable waterways of the Congo Basin. Travel on the river took considerable time, however. For example, the 1,000-mile trip from Leopoldville to STANLEYVILLE took up to 18 days.

With the building of the railway from Matadi in 1898, commercial development increased and the town began to

grow. The Roman Catholic church erected a cathedral, in 1914, which was the same year that an oil pipeline reached the city. Air service began in 1920. By 1923 the colonial government of the then Belgian Congo formally accorded Leopoldville city status and transferred its capital there from Boma.

For many years Leopoldville remained largely a city for Europeans, with the authorities considering African workers as only temporary inhabitants who were to return to their rural villages at the end of their employment. Gradually, however, such racial residential restrictions were eased. The worldwide Great Depression of the early 1930s caused a slump in Leopoldville's commerce, but by the late 1930s and early 1940s the city resumed its growth in both population and area, primarily as new residential neighborhoods were added for the influx of industrial workers. By 1940 its 50,000 inhabitants made it the largest city in Central Africa. At independence in 1960 the population had climbed to 400,000, and the overall area of the city was more than twice what it had been only a decade earlier. The foundations of the megacity that it was to become had been laid. Leopoldville became the capital of the new republic. Its name was changed to Kinshasa in 1966, after Joseph Sese Seko Mobutu (1930–1997) came to power.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); CONGO (Vol. III); CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); MOBUTU SESE SEKO (Vol. V).

Lesotho Small, mountainous country, 11,700 square miles (30,300 sq km) in area, that is wholly surrounded by SOUTH AFRICA. The origins of modern Lesotho (pronounced as "lesutu" and meaning "the country of the SOTHO people") lie with the founding of the Sotho kingdom of BASUTOLAND in the early 1830s, by King Mshweshwe (1786–1870). A shrewd negotiator, Mshweshwe led the Sotho people (also called the Basotho) from 1823 until his death in 1870. In the latter years of his reign, however, the Sotho people lost a war and much of their best farming lands to the BOERS of the neighboring OR-ANGE FREE STATE.

Lesotho during the Colonial Era: Basutoland To prevent the total loss of Sotho lands, Mshweshwe successfully persuaded the British to establish a PROTECTORATE over the remaining area of Basutoland in 1868. Beginning in 1871 Basutoland was under the rule of the British CAPE COLONY, but in 1884 it reverted to rule by Britain itself as a High Commission Territory. Along with the other two High Commission Territories of BECHAUNALAND (modern-day BOTSWANA) and SWAZILAND, Basutoland managed to remain autonomous from the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, which was formed in 1910. Basutoland became the independent nation of Lesotho in 1966.

Although Lesotho managed to remain politically separate from SOUTH AFRICA, it became fully dependent eco-

nomically on the country that surrounded it. To a significant degree it became another of South Africa's so-called native reserves, where Africans resided but had to leave in order to find employment on farms and mines and in the industrial and TRANSPORTATION sectors; the loss of lands in the mid-19th century made this dependency inescapable. Since the wages of African workers in South Africa were very low, Lesotho became a very impoverished country during the period of COLONIAL RULE. Politically its people avoided the full impact of the racist APARTHEID laws of South Africa, but they were much affected by it economically.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); LESOTHO (Vols. I, II, III, V); MFECANE (Vol. III); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V); MINING (Vol. II, III, IV, V); MSHWESHWE (Vol. III); THABA BOSIU (Vol. III).

Further reading: Richard P. Stevens, *Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland: The Former High Commission Territories in Southern Africa* (New York: Praeger, 1967).

Lessing, Doris (1919–   ) *British novelist, feminist, and anticolonialist*

Born Doris May Tayler to British parents living in Iran, Lessing was six years old when her father moved the family to a farm in SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE). The farm failed, however, and Lessing's mother struggled valiantly to maintain a white-settler lifestyle for her children. Her mother would prove to be a major influence on Lessing's writing and the later development of her feminist ideals.

Lessing attended school in the capital city SALISBURY (present-day Harare), but she dropped out at age 13. No longer taking classes, she managed to transform herself into an intellectual through extensive reading on politics, literature, and sociology. In 1937 she married. After having two children, however, she divorced, finding the traditional domestic role of wife and mother too restrictive. She then became active with a Communist group called the Left Book Club. Through the club she met her next husband, Gottfried Lessing, with whom she had a son. After her second marriage also ended in divorce, she moved to London with her young son, in 1949. She returned to Rhodesia only once, in 1956, many years prior to the country's independence in 1980.

In 1950, Lessing published her first novel, *The Grass is Singing*. The story of a white farmer's wife who has an affair with a black servant who ultimately murders her, the novel brutally depicts the nature of both race and gender relations in colonial Southern Rhodesia. Two years later the novel *Martha Quest* began the largely autobiographical *Children of Violence* series (1951–59), books that explore the psychological and social concerns of a European woman growing up in southern Africa. Lessing's social criticism and outspoken opposition to colonialism and racism resulted in her being declared a "prohibited alien" by the Rhodesian government. However, by this time Lessing had established a reputation as an important writer whose anticolonial, feminist views were increasingly difficult to ignore.

Lessing's novels, novellas, stories, and poems written in the 1950s and 1960s are predominantly autobiographical, depicting the clash of cultures Lessing witnessed in colonial Africa. Her other books during this period include *The Habit of Loving* (1953), *Fourteen Poems* (1959), and *In Pursuit of the English* (1960), a nonfiction account of her experiences in working-class London.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. IV); LESSING, DORIS (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Lewanika, Lubosi (1845–1916) *King of the Lozi people of western Zambia (r. 1878–1884, 1885–1916)*

The best known and most influential of all LOZI rulers, Lubosi Lewanika expanded the Lozi kingdom until it covered more territory than it ever had before. When he came to power, the kingdom was at a weak point, having endured a Makololo invasion as well as a period of disunity among the various Lozi factions. In 1884 an attempted coup forced Lewanika into exile for a year, but he later regained his throne after winning a costly war to safeguard his position. Apart from insecurity at home, Lewanika also faced the constant threat from the militaristic NDEBELE kingdom to the south, in present-day ZIMBABWE.

In order to secure his position, Lewanika turned to a French missionary, Francois Coillard, who advised him to ask for British protection. Lewanika's friend, the Ngwato king KHAMA III (1835–1923), who lived in present-day BOTSWANA, had already accepted British protection. Realizing that European control was inevitable, Lewanika asked for the British to extend a PROTECTORATE over his kingdom as well, which preserved the kingdom's quasi-autonomous status under British COLONIAL RULE.

In 1890 Lewanika and the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC) agent, Frank Lochner, signed the first treaty giving the company MINING rights. Lewanika signed additional treaties with the BSAC, unwittingly reducing his sovereignty. During the first years of World War I (1914–18) Lewanika provided material support to the British, for which he got little recognition. Although during his reign he ceded much of his authority to the British, Lewanika also instituted policies that developed an educated Lozi elite, which maintained Lozi unity after his death in 1916.

See also: BAROTSELAND (Vol. IV); LOZI (Vol. III).

Lewis, Samuel (Sir) (1843–1903) *Mayor of Freetown, Sierra Leone*

Attorney, municipal official, and critic of the colonial government, Lewis was a lifelong advocate of African rights and peaceful relations among the different cultures and heritages within SIERRA LEONE. Born in 1843 to YORUBA parents who were RECAPTIVES (the term used for people liberated from slave ships by the British Navy) from NIGERIA, Lewis attended school in FREETOWN and then went to England to study law. He returned home as only the third person of African descent to qualify to practice law in Sierra Leone. Initially he chose to remain an independent attorney rather than a government official, deciding that this would allow him to maintain the freedom he needed to criticize the government and advocate the causes in which he believed.

Successful in defending many of his clients, Lewis built a reputation as a dedicated spokesperson for Africans and African causes. Eventually he gave in to requests that he serve in government and became a member of the Legislative Council and, in time, the mayor of Freetown. In 1896 he was the first West African to be knighted by the British crown.

Considered a progressive, he supported African rights and increased contact and understanding between peoples of the coast and those of the interior parts of the region. Such contact, he believed, would not only benefit the Creole, or KRIO, elite of the colony, of which he was a member, but also the peoples of the interior.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Liberia
Independent republic on the Atlantic coast of West Africa measuring approximately 38,300 square miles (99,200 sq km) and bordered by SIERRA LEONE, GUINEA, and IVORY COAST. Although Liberia was the only black state in Africa to entirely avoid European colonial occupation in all of its forms, from an African perspective, the creation and development of Liberia followed a pattern similar to COLONIAL CONQUEST.

In 1807 Britain banned the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, and opposition to SLAVERY in general became more vocal. Sierra Leone became a home to free blacks who had been living in London and Canada as well as RECAPTIVES freed by Britain from slave ships on the high seas. In the United States abolitionists saw the coastal region south of Sierra Leone as a prime location to establish a settlement for America's free blacks and emancipated slaves.

The American Colonization Society (ACS), founded in 1816, administered the colony until 1841, when the settlement received its own constitution and Joseph J. ROBERTS (1809–1876), became its first black governor. In 1847 Liberia became fully independent, with Roberts as the first president. MONROVIA, named after American president and ACS member James Monroe (1758–1831), became the capital.

By 1860 Liberia had negotiated treaties with local African leaders to extend the new nation's coastline to about 600 miles (966 km) in length. By 1870 approximately 13,000 free blacks had immigrated to Liberia, though that number that did not increase significantly thereafter. This colonization by black Americans represents the largest migration ever to be made *out* of the United States.

> Though Liberia was initially given formal recognition as a country by a number of European nations, it was not until 1862 that the United States also recognized the Liberian government, due to concerns that the slave-holding southern states would not allow for a black ambassador in Washington, D.C.

Border Disputes The Liberians had significant trouble in securing the territory of their country. Conflicts with Britain in Sierra Leone and France in Ivory Coast continued until treaties were signed in 1885 and 1892. Regardless, British and French encroachment continued in more subtle ways. Under the pretext of quelling indigenous African rebellions, the European powers used military alliances with Liberia to claim territory. After the colonial troops were no longer needed, they simply remained in Liberia and became "squatters" on Liberian land. By 1910 Liberia's original land claims were reduced by almost half.

After 1920 European encroachment trailed off, but the Liberian government was saddled with debt and was unable to establish its reach more that 20 miles (32 km) inland. Through loans from the United Kingdom and the United States, however, the Americo-Liberians, as the initial settlers and their descendants came to be known, gradually began to control larger portions of land in the face of resistance by indigenous Africans.

Financial Troubles During its early years the republic suffered growing pains, particularly in financial terms. In 1871 President Edward J. Roye (1815–1872) secured a large loan from Britain—for the purposes of funding new schools and roads—without consulting the Liberian Congress. The move was unpopular and ultimately led to Roye's removal from office. In 1912 another loan was taken from an international group of bankers. With this latest loan the country seemed headed for financial stability. However, the outbreak of World War I (1914–18) devastated the economy, reducing it to a quarter of its previous levels.

Following the war, in 1926 Liberia received much-needed foreign investment from the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, which established a million-acre (4,047 sq km) RUBBER plantation there. Another large loan secured by Firestone finally allowed Liberia to consolidate its debts. However, by 1931 economic conditions brought on by the worldwide Great Depression once again undercut Liberia's prosperity, and the country was forced to place a moratorium on its loan payments. Assistance from the League of Nations proved to be more hassle than help.

World War II (1939–45) began Liberia's movement toward relative financial stability. The country was the main supplier of rubber for the Allied forces, and a defense contract signed with the United States in 1942 provided for the building of roads, an international airport, and a deepwater port for Monrovia. Following the war the country further developed its infrastructure. Extensive deposits of iron and other minerals were discovered and mined, and revenue collected from ships registered under the Liberian flag also contributed to a boom in the Liberian economy. By 1951 Liberia was financially solvent for the first time in its history. The economic success did not extend beyond the dominant Americo-Liberian upper class, however.

Ethnic and Class Tensions A major issue facing the Liberian government was how to incorporate the indigenous African peoples into the new nation. Tensions between the two groups were immediate. Indigenous Africans believed the settlers to be weak and unable to properly make use of the land to survive, while the settlers believed the Africans were uncivilized and in need of moral and intellectual guidance in the Western tradition. In 1929 President Charles D. B. King (1871–1961) modeled Liberia's new Booker Washington Institute on the Tuskegee Institute, a training school in Alabama exclusively for blacks.

When Liberia's constitution was established the settlers made up merely one percent of the new country's population. However, the constitution failed to address the rights of indigenous Africans. As a result, under the political domination of the True Whig Party, a virtual caste system developed with mulatto, or mixed race, Americo-Liberians in Monrovia at the top of a power pyramid. African-Americans and West Indians of African descent formed the second tier, while recaptives (called *Congos* in Liberia) were third. The indigenous Africans were the lowest caste, and were treated accordingly.

Tensions between the Liberian government and the Africans of the interior resulted in numerous battles, as the government attempted to extend its authority. In 1868 the Liberian Frontier Force (LFF) was created to patrol the African interior and collect taxes, which were levied even though Africans of the interior were without representation in the government and were restricted from voting. A year later the Department of the Interior was formed, again without the participation of Africans from Liberia's interior.

In 1929 the League of Nations investigated claims that Liberian government officials were forcing indigenous Africans into LABOR as personal porters and as workers on government projects. The government also was accused of having a contract with the Spanish government to provide labor on the island of Fernando Po, capturing Africans for that purpose and taking a fee per worker. The scandal led to the resignation of president Charles D. B. King in 1930 and fully revealed the extent of discrimination by the Americo-Liberian elite against the African majority.

The election of William TUBMAN (1895–1971) to the presidency in 1944 led to improved ethnic relations for a time. Tubman made numerous efforts to balance the interests of the elite minority with the African majority, including giving indigenous Africans the right to vote and embracing traditional African customs and dress. In 1958 Liberia enacted its first laws against racial discrimination. However, despite Tubman's efforts and the new legislation, ethnic tensions in Liberia continued to be a major issue.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LIBERIA (Vols. I, II, III, V); THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Libya North African country measuring approximately 680,000 square miles (1,761,200 sq km) and situated on the central Mediterranean coast. Libya has a dry and often extreme desert interior and is bordered by TUNISIA, ALGERIA, NIGER, CHAD, the Republic of the SUDAN, and EGYPT.

Libya under Ottoman Rule Although Libya was semi-independent under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, in 1835 the Ottomans reestablished direct administration to protect its province from the increasing threats of European colonization. At the time, the country was divided into the coastal regions of TRIPOLITANIA and Cyrenaica, and the interior region of Fezzan.

In the 1840s the Muslim leader Muhammad Ali ibn al-SANUSI (1787–1859) established the headquarters of his Sanusiyya religious brotherhood in Cyrenaica, in eastern Libya. Recruiting followers from among the local population, the Sanusiyya eventually developed into a significant political force.

By the 1860s Europeans were showing interest in Libya, with investors from France, Italy, and Britain establishing businesses in coastal towns. In the early 1880s Europeans colonized Tunisia, Libya's neighbor to the west, forcing many Muslims to move to Tripolitania, in western Libya, for the religious freedom that the Ottomans afforded.

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The Ottoman Empire allowed separate religious communities to govern themselves as long as internal laws did not conflict with Ottoman law. For example, in the 1880s a Jewish merchant community of approximately 15,000 lived with almost complete autonomy along the Libyan coast.

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Libya under European Colonial Rule   European colonization arrived later in Libya than most of the rest of the continent. After the 1878 Berlin Congress, Italy was allowed by the other European colonial powers to claim Libya as a territory in its Mediterranean sphere of influence. At first Italy lacked sufficient force for outright COLONIAL CONQUEST. Instead it began acquiring land and establishing medical missions, educational institutions, and businesses. Only in 1911 did Italy move to seize Libya as a colony. Until the end of World War I (1914–18), however, Ottoman and Sanusiyya forces were able to confine Italian forces to the Tripolitania coast. At the end of the war the defeated Ottoman Empire was stripped of its North African provinces and forced to cede control of Tripolitania to Italy.

Within five years of the end of the war Italy's leader, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), set out to conquer all of Libya, claiming that it formerly had been part of the Roman Empire. With all of Tripolitania under firm control, by 1923 Mussolini launched an assault on the interior regions, starting a war that lasted nearly a decade. Italian forces moving east met with fierce Sanusiyya resistance in Cyrenaica, leading to a brutal war of attrition. In the course of the fighting the Italians put numerous Libyans into concentration camps, where many died of disease and malnutrition. The protracted war effort evolved into a campaign to eradicate much of Libya's indigenous population, with the Italian government confiscating vast expanses of fertile land and redistributing it among newly arriving Italian settlers. Those indigenous people who survived the concentration camps were left to settle in less fertile lands.

By 1940 110,000 Italians lived in Libya, and by 1960 they numbered 500,000. The Italian government began to develop Libya's infrastructure, including roads and railroads, sanitation, and medical care. While they suppressed the Sanusiyya and exiled its leaders, the Italians did abide the practice of Islam. The colonial administration helped maintain mosques and shrines, monitored Ramadan activities, organized pilgrimages to Mecca, and granted limited Italian citizenship to Muslims. It did not, however, provide Libyans with EDUCATION or technical training, and thus created a large, unskilled LABOR force.

The Path to Libyan Independence   Libya was a major theater in World War II (1939–45). With Italy's defeat the victorious Allied powers presided over the peace conference that was called to decide what to do with Libya. Ultimately, the country was turned over to the United Nations, which in 1951 granted the country independence as the United Kingdom of Libya, a constitutional monarchy. The head of the Sanusiyya, Sayyid Idris (1889–1983), became King Idris I, with his heirs designated as his successors. The new king, however, had little support outside his home base in Cyrenaica.

Until 1958, when oil was discovered in Libya, the country was so poor that it could pay its debts only through loans it received from industrialized nations like the United States.

See also: CYRENE (Vol. I); FEZZAN (Vols. I, II, III); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LIBYA (Vols. I, II, III, V); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, *The Making of Modern Libya: State Formation, Colonization, Resistance, 1830–1932,* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1994); Claudio G. Segre, *Fourth Shore: The Italian Colonization of Libya,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

literacy   The ability to read written texts in Africa dates back to ancient times. The educated clerics and people of the upper classes read hieroglyphics, in present day EGYPT, Meroitic script, in present-day Republic of the SUDAN, and Ge'ez script, in present day ETHIOPIA. Historically, however, indigenous Africans have depended more on oral culture than written to transmit knowledge from one individual and generation to the next. Many ethnic groups had a social caste of historians who were the custodians of ORAL TRADITIONS, and elders passed family histories from one generation to the next through spoken word.

Written forms of foreign languages arrived on the continent at different times and spread by means of trade or conquest. Levels of reading proficiency varied from group to group, and an ability to read did not guarantee functional literacy in a foreign LANGUAGE.

Both conquest and trade brought literacy in the Arabic script to the West African and Central African interiors. Arabic is the language of Islam, and converts learned the language in the course of learning the Quran, the Muslim holy book. For many West Africans, conversion to Islam was spurred by an interest in the riches that could be gained through the long-distance trade that, in some places, was the exclusive arena of Muslims. Other West Africans were interested in the script for keeping track of their commercial activities. For example, the ruler of ancient Ghana, in the western Sudan, used Arabic script for recording the empire's tax records. It was

also used for record keeping among the Indian Ocean traders who spoke KISWAHILI.

For most African Muslims at this time, Arabic literacy was demonstrated through the "reading" of texts they had memorized. Although many Africans did not speak Arabic as a first language, they still memorized the Quran in that language. The imam, or religious leader, supplied them with translations and interpretations. Africans who became functionally literate in Arabic tended to be those who chose to become Muslim scholars. Many went on to study Islamic theology at Muslim universities like al-Azhar in CAIRO, Egypt.

During the colonial period Europeans founded Christian missionary schools and public schools to train Africans to work in government and business. In an attempt to provide a similar EDUCATION to help ensure colonial employment, Muslims, too, began a new type of school, the *madrasa*. In the *madrasas,* Muslim instructors taught languages—both Arabic and the colonial language—as well as subjects including SCIENCE, math, history, and literature. Some Muslim Africans, the FULANI of GUINEA, for example, used Arabic script phonetically to write their indigenous languages.

Inspired by Arabic script, King Njoya of the Mum people (c.1873–1933) created the Mum script, which is used in present-day CAMEROON. As an act of national pride, Njoya wrote the history of his people and placed it in his local museum.

Widespread literacy in European languages came later, arriving first on the coasts, where European traders used the Roman alphabet to keep records in their own languages. Soon Christian MISSIONARIES followed the traders and explorers, converting many Africans and teaching literacy in their particular European language. At mission schools Africans learned European languages written in the Roman alphabet and were better able to work with the Europeans who were establishing themselves on the coast. Some missionaries translated the Bible into local indigenous languages that were written in the Roman alphabet. As colonial governments established themselves by the end of the 19th century, colonial schools were established to teach Africans the skills necessary to work for the Europeans in government and business.

Influenced by both Islam and Christianity, some indigenous Africans created their own "holy scripts." These included the Ibibio-Efik alphabet, which was created about 1930 along the present-day NIGERIA-Cameroon border. The YORUBA "holy alphabet" was devised in western Nigeria at about the same time.

Indigenous Africans who could not read came to recognize the potential advantages of literacy in a variety of ways. In the 1820s a man named Duala Bukere, who lived on the coast of present-day LIBERIA and spoke Vai (a MANDE language), was surprised to see that his employer, a Portuguese slave trader, was able to learn of Duala's misbehavior through a written letter. Inspired, Bukere created the Vai syllabary, which was used for keeping trade records and for interpersonal communication. Other indigenous groups in the region, including the Mende, Loma, Kpelle, and Bassa, base their scripts on the Vai syllabary.

In 1949 in response to hearing the denigrating remark that Africans had no culture because they did not have an indigenous writing system, Souleymane KANTÉ (1922–1987), a Muslim from Guinea, invented an alphabet called N'ko. Kanté first tried to write his Maninka language in the Arabic script and the Roman alphabet. However, when these writing systems proved unable to accurately reproduce the tones of spoken Maninka, he created his own symbols, eventually settling on an alphabet of 27 letters. Kanté encouraged people to use the N'ko alphabet to communicate in writing with family and friends and to record local and family histories. To further spread the Maninka N'ko alphabet, Kanté also produced a large compendium of translated and transcribed works of history, theology, science, and MEDICINE.

See also: AKSUM (Vols. I, II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); HIEROGLYPHICS (Vol. I); GE'EZ (Vol. I); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV).

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literature in colonial Africa   During the colonial era creative writing—including novels, poetry, prose, and plays—were written in European as well as indigenous languages.

Precolonial Literature   In the precolonial period indigenous literature in non-Islamic areas primarily consisted of oral storytelling and poetry. Written drama and fiction, however, were produced in eastern Africa. In ETHIOPIA the Amharic LANGUAGE was written in the Ethiopic script known as Ge'ez. As a result, written liter-

ature was predominantly found in Islamic areas, where the main form of literature was nonfiction devoted to religious subjects. However, a substantial amount of poetry also was produced, primarily by upper-class religious leaders. One of the most notable of these poets was Usman dan Fodio (1754–1817) of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, who composed 400 poems in Arabic as well as in the FULANI and HAUSA languages.

Colonial Literature The long-standing patterns began to change during the colonial period with the introduction of the European Roman alphabet as well as European languages and literatures. Africans then began translating their oral literature using European languages and literary formats. This type of Europeanized literature developed in urban areas where the different literatures interacted with one another.

> **By custom African men became the colonial authors because, in many indigenous societies, women were prohibited from public speaking. This pattern did not truly end until the coming of independence, at which time women began entering the public forum. Once they did so women began writing, using their own authentic voices to describe life in male-dominated colonial societies.**

As time went on the focus of much of this literature became the colonial experience itself, and by the 1950s many African writers used both fiction and nonfiction in this way. Primary concerns were a critique of colonialism and a simultaneous attempt to validate indigenous African traditions in the face of the imposition of European cultures. Ironically, many African authors had to acquire precisely the kind of European EDUCATION and "culture" they were rebelling against in order to gain access to the media through which they could work to overthrow colonial political and cultural domination.

By the 1950s the novel as a genre had become the main vehicle with which Africans could challenge both COLONIAL RULE and European perceptions of Africans and their culture. In French territories this tradition began as early as 1921, with *Batouala, véritable roman nègre* (Batouala, a true black novel). Written by René Maran (1887–1960), it is a tale of the harsh life endured by Africans during the colonial era. Although Maran actually was born on the Caribbean island of Martinique, he spent much of his youth in Africa. *Batouala* generally is considered the first African work to be published in French. Critically acclaimed for this and other works, Maran went on to become the first African to win the illustrious Prix Goncourt.

This tradition of challenging colonial rule and European perceptions of Africa took a step forward with the publication of *Palm-Wine Drunkard,* written by Amos TUTUOLA (1920–1997). Published in 1952, this was the first novel by an African to be published in English. A few years later, leading Nigerian author Chinua ACHEBE (1930–) published *Things Fall Apart* (1958). This well-known book represented a major attempt to counteract the misconceptions of African life and culture prevalent in European society and literature at the time.

Literature, like so many aspects of African life and culture, developed differently in different parts of the continent. In West Africa, for example, literature emerged later in the French colonies than in the British colonies. In part this was because the British system of indirect rule allowed more freedom of expression than the French policy of conformity through assimilation. In addition, unlike their counterparts in the French territories, Christian MISSIONARIES in British West Africa translated the Bible into indigenous languages. This led Africans to begin expressing their own ideas in writing, using the Roman alphabet to represent their own indigenous languages. The first literature in this region appeared as early as 1789, when Olaudah Equiano (c. 1745–1797) wrote a description of his life as a slave. Later J. E. CASELY-HAYFORD (1866–1930) wrote political essays as well as works justifying African culture.

In FRENCH WEST AFRICA the first major writings appeared in the journal *PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE,* which was founded by Alioune DIOP (1910–1980). Over the years the journal provided a forum for Africans writing in French, especially for those extolling African virtues via the NÉGRITUDE movement. In the same vein, CAMARA LAYE (1928–1980) wrote his autobiography, *L'Enfant noir* (Dark child). Appearing in 1953, the book juxtaposed the author's reminiscences of indigenous culture with the changes wrought by his European-style education. Similarly, the novel by Ousmane Sembéne, *Le Docker noir* (The black docker), which was published in 1956, agonizes over cultural syncretism.

Meanwhile, also in French West Africa but on another front, Souleymane KANTÉ (1922–1987) directly challenged the belief widely held among Europeans that Africans had no real "culture." After inventing the N'ko alphabet, Kanté devoted the remainder of his life to translating and transcribing works of Arabic and European nonfiction. He also wrote an exhaustive chronicle of the 4,000-year history of the MANDE people of West Africa.

On the other side of the continent, in East Africa, writers were also taking on the role of political activists, challenging and criticizing colonial administrations. In East Africa, however, English and KISWAHILI were the dominant literary languages. Some authors, such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1938–), wrote in both of these

languages as well as an indigenous language. One of the most important works to appear in this region was *Facing Mount Kenya.* Published in 1938 and written by Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), this ethnographic work brought the culture of the KIKUYU people to public attention in Britain and other European countries. At the same time it praised and defended indigenous culture and launched stinging criticisms of colonialism.

In contrast to West and East Africa, in SOUTH AFRICA missionaries played a major role in the transition from oral to written literature. For example, the XHOSA-speaking missionary Tiyo SOGA (1829–1871) translated the Christian classic, *Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan (1628–1688), into Xhosa. Similarly, missionary newspapers, including *Isigidimi samaXhosa* (The Xhosa Messenger), published poetry and stories written by literate Africans. These early endeavors carved the way for a number of African writers who emerged during the 20th century. Sol T. PLAATJE (1876–1932), for example, was a newspaper writer and political leader who also translated several Shakespearean plays into his native TSWANA language. Another South African, S. E. K. MQHAYI (1875–1945), drew on the Xhosa oral tradition for his poetry. On the other hand, Archibald Campbell Jordan (1906–1968) drew not on Xhosa oral tradition but on stories from his childhood for his 1940 novel *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (The Wrath of the Ancestors). Another important South African literary figure, Peter Abrahams (1919–   ) grew up in the slums of JOHANNESBURG to become perhaps the first black South African to actually make a living as a writer. Abrahams' 1946 book *Mine Boy,* which describes the life of an African miner, established him as an important author while he was still in his twenties.

A unique phenomenon in South Africa was the development of a large number of white authors. Writing in English and in AFRIKAANS, these authors became noteworthy figures in Africa as well as on the international scene. One of the most important of these writers was Olive Schreiner (1855–1920). Her autobiographical novel, *The Story of an African Farm,* made her a major figure on the literary scene. Even more prominent, however, was Alan PATON (1903–1988), whose *Cry the Beloved Country* was published in 1948. Dealing, like so much of South African literature, with race and oppression, it was perhaps the most widely read and acclaimed novel to come out of Africa to date. Meanwhile, a group of Afrikaans-speaking poets, known as the Dertigers, had emerged during the 1930s. One of its most prominent members was N. P. van Wyk Louw (1906–1970). Interestingly not all of the writers working in Afrikaans were white, for it also was the language of most of South Africa's CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE. The widely admired poet Adam Small (1936–   ), for example, is just one of several non-white writers who worked primarily in Afrikaans.

At the other end of the continent, the European presence also made an impact in EGYPT. There two trends emerged from the impact of Europe on poetry, which was the dominant form of literature within the country. On the one hand, there was a continuation and a reinforcement of traditional literature, written in Arabic and dealing with Islamic themes. As part of this general movement, Sami Pasha al-Barudi (1834–1904), Ismail Sabri (1854–1923), and Hafix Ibrahim (1870–1932) initiated a revival of classical Arabic poetry. This was later taken to greater heights by Ahmad Shawqi (1869–1932).

On the other hand was the next generation of poets. Through their education they were even better acquainted with European culture, and they broke, though not completely, with the classical Arabic tradition. These writers also were more overtly political. One of the key figures of this group was Ahmad Zaki Abou Shadi (1892–1955). The group that he founded in 1932, known as the Apollo Group, stimulated a surge in anthologies and *diwan* (volumes of collected verse).

In Egypt prose also began to emerge as a form of literature, which in turn led to the development of the Egyptian novel during the 1940s. The 1952 military coup that ended the Egyptian monarchy transformed Egyptian literary as well as political life. One of its major effects was to usher in a Realist school of writing. Foremost among the writers of these novels was Abd al-Rahman al-Sharqawi (1920–1987), who wrote about the harshness of Egyptian peasant life.

Everywhere on the continent the colonial era brought great changes to the literary traditions of Africa. In much of the continent it meant moving from oral to written literature in both indigenous and Western languages. In the Islamic regions it brought a challenge to the older, long-established literary traditions. Regardless of region or religious background, however, as their literature developed, African writers came to address these and other transformations that were taking place during the colonial era and in its wake.

See also: BETI, MONGO (Vol. V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FOLKLORE (Vol. I); GORDIMER, NADINE (Vols. IV, V); LESSING, DORIS (Vols. IV, V); LITERACY (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); ORAL TRADITIONS (Vols. I, IV); SCHREINER, OLIVE (Vol. V); USMAN DAN FODIO (Vol. III).

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Livingstone, David (1813–1873) *Scottish missionary and explorer*

The most famous European explorer of Africa in the 19th century, Livingstone became a celebrity whose exploits aroused widespread popular interest in Europe. He spent two years acquiring a medical degree and then, in 1838, joined the LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY (LMS). He had hoped to be sent to China but was prevented by the ongoing Opium War (1839–42). Thus, in early 1841, just months after ordination, he arrived in Africa.

Livingstone first stayed at Kuruman, BECHUANALAND (modern-day BOTSWANA), with the Reverend Robert MOFFAT (1795–1883), the man who had motivated his interest in missionary work. Livingstone soon established his own mission station to the north of Kuruman, working among the TSWANA people. In 1845 he married Moffat's eldest daughter, Mary (1821–1862). By 1849 Livingstone had begun to explore widely throughout southern Africa, hoping to uncover territories that were unknown to Europeans.

After Livingstone's wife and children returned to England in 1852, his explorations became even more extensive. From 1854 to 1856 he made his way across Africa, first reaching ANGOLA and then traveling eastward until he reached the mouth of the Zambezi River on the Indian Ocean coast. On this journey he encountered a great waterfall on the upper Zambezi known to local inhabitants as "the smoke that thunders." Livingstone renamed it Victoria Falls in honor of Queen Victoria (1818–1901) of Britain.

After his return to England the proceeds of a lecture tour about his explorations left him financially secure. Wanting to explore more widely than the London Missionary Society could support, he resigned from the LMS and took a government post. From 1858 to 1863 he led the British-backed Zambezi Expedition to explore the interior of Africa. He believed that if MISSIONARIES and merchants could remain in the interior, the SLAVE TRADE could be replaced with so-called legitimate trade—commerce in commodities rather than human beings. However, various misfortunes, including his wife's death from malaria, turned the Zambezi expedition into a disaster. Returning to England with neither converts nor sources of agricultural products, he was considered a madman and a failure.

From 1865 to 1873 Livingstone explored East Africa, mainly in modern-day MALAWI and TANZANIA, seeking the source of the Nile River. In 1871 the American journalist Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904) followed in Livingstone's path to verify the reports of his death. Refusing to return to England with Stanley, but in failing health, Livingstone resumed his ultimately futile search for the source of the Nile. In 1873 he died near Chitambo, ZAMBIA. His body was buried in London's Westminster Abbey. His heart, however, was laid to rest under a tree in Chitambo.

During his travels Livingstone distinguished himself as a geographer, botanist, cartographer, and ethnographer, as well as a missionary and explorer. His literary legacy includes a large body of journals, notebooks, and letters and three published books. These writings gave an invaluable account of southern and Central Africa and its peoples in the mid-19th century. Their greatest contribution, however, was the attention they focused on the scope and horrific brutality of the slave trade in Africa.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV); EXPLORATION (Vol. III); MALARIA (Vol. V); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III); ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vol. III).

Lobengula (1836–1894) *Last king of Matabeleland, home of the Ndebele people, in present-day Zimbabwe*

Son of Mzilikazi (1790–1868), the first NDEBELE king, Lobengula was born in 1836 near present-day PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA. After Mzilikazi's death in 1868, two years of internal dissension passed before Lobengula ascended the throne. He then crushed a number of challenges to his power and established his capital at the location of one of his more brutal victories, naming it Bulawayo, which translates as "the place of killing." An imposing man and the ruler of every aspect of the Ndebele nation, Lobengula developed a military state with an army nearly 20,000 strong.

At the end of Mzilikazi's reign, minor GOLD deposits were found along the Umfuli River, a mere 70 miles (113 km) south of the Ndebele capital. Europeans flocked to the region, and though Lobengula disliked the white presence in his lands, he also made extensive use of their knowledge and resources. One European in particular, Dr. Leander Starr Jameson (1853–1917), became an influential presence in the king's court, acting as Lobengula's personal doctor and treating him for alcoholism and gout.

In 1886 a major gold deposit was discovered in the WITWATERSRAND, near JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA. Prospectors anticipated finding even more gold further north, in Matebeleland and Mashonaland, home of the SHONA people. This issue arose at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), where the European nations addressed the issue of colonial PARTITION. At the conference's conclusion Matabeleland and Mashonaland were established as British territories. Britain allowed foreign interests to operate in these territories with permission from the local kings, and Lobengula was courted by Germans, AFRIKANERS, and Portuguese, all seeking to negotiate claims to the region's mineral wealth. Ultimately, however, it was Charles Rudd (1844–1916), an associate of British diamond MINING magnate Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), who won Lobengula's permission in exchange for monthly payments, rifles, and a promise that no more than 10 whites would enter Matabeleland at any one time.

The ensuing relationship was an uneasy one, with Lobengula becoming increasingly suspicious of British aims. Jameson, who was one of Rhodes's most trusted associates, managed to placate the Ndebele ruler and negotiated permission for the Rhodes-led BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC) to construct a road through Matabeleland and into Mashonaland. This led in 1890 to the establishment of the settlement of SALISBURY (present-day Harare) and the British colony of SOUTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZIMBABWE).

"Did you ever see a chameleon catch a fly?" Lobengula is reported to have asked the Reverend Charles Helm, a European missionary residing among the Ndebele. "The chameleon gets behind the fly and remains motionless for some time, then he advances very slowly and gently, first putting forward one leg and then another. At last, when well within reach, he darts his tongue and the fly disappears. England is the chameleon and I am that fly."

Ndebele raids on the Shona, over whom Lobengula claimed sovereignty but who now lived in the area claimed by the BSAC, prompted clashes with the British. In 1893, after a minor Ndebele raid, Jameson sent troops to Bulawayo. There the British soundly defeated a much larger Ndebele force, and Lobengula fled to the north. A British patrol sent to capture him was wiped out by Lobengula's vanguard. However, in 1894, weakened by illness and the defeat of his people, Lobengula died under mysterious circumstances. (It is thought that he may have poisoned himself, though he perhaps also died of smallpox.) He was survived by three sons, but they were prevented by the British from assuming the throne, and the Ndebele kingdom permanently collapsed.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III).

London Missionary Society (LMS)
Founded in 1795 as the Missionary Society and renamed the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1818, the organization had as its goal to spread the knowledge of Christ "among heathen and other unenlightened nations." The LMS was one of several important missionary organizations founded at about the same time as an outgrowth of the evangelical movement in Britain and North America. It began as an interdenominational society of independent churches, the Church of England, and Presbyterian clergy and laymen but soon was run predominantly by Congregationalists.

The initial LMS mission in 1796 was to Tahiti, and the society also sent MISSIONARIES to eastern and south Europe. During the 19th century the LMS expanded its scope to include Asia, Australia, and Africa—specifically Central Africa, MADAGASCAR, and southern Africa.

The LMS was governed by a board of directors. Separate committees oversaw particular aspects of mission work. The examinations committee, for example, selected the individuals to be sent to specific lands. One of the pioneer LMS missionaries to Africa was the Reverend Robert MOFFAT (1795–1883). Another was his son-in-law, the well-known David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873).

The rapid expansion of mission work in Africa caused financial strain. This led the LMS to encourage indigenous churches to become self-financing and self-governing. As a result the role of foreign missionaries declined, and local clergy and lay people became increasingly prominent in running their own churches.

In 1966 the LMS merged with the Commonwealth Missionary Society to form the Congregational Council for World Mission, which was further restructured in 1977 to become the Council for World Mission.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II, III, IV, V); CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (Vol. IV).

Lourenço Marques (Maputo)
Major port and capital city of MOZAMBIQUE, located on DELAGOA BAY, an arm of the Indian Ocean in southern East Africa. In the late 19th century the discovery of GOLD in the TRANSVAAL, to the southwest of Lourenço Marques, created a windfall for the town. As thousands of miners rushed to the JOHANNESBURG area, Lourenço Marques, as the closest seaport, had to modernize its infrastructure and port facilities to handle the flow of immigrants and the trade that developed after their arrival. Between 1877 and 1892 Mozambique's foreign trade increased by approximately 300 percent, with much of the increase due to the traffic at Lourenço Marques.

Lourenço Marques was named after the Portuguese explorer and trader who first visited the area in 1544. In 1787 the Portuguese built a fortress called Nossa Senhora da Conceião (Our Lady of Conception), around which the town grew.

European SETTLERS and merchants, too, began to migrate to the town, creating new markets. Unfortunately these new arrivals, with their colonialist attitudes and practices, oppressed the local African people, who were displaced from their land. The town grew further with the

completion of the railroad link with PRETORIA in 1894. At the same time, a substantial number of south Asian merchants—Indians and Pakistani among them—migrated to the town from across the Indian Ocean. By the early 1900s Lourenço Marques was a bustling town with a poor African majority, a smaller, wealthier European minority, and a large Asian population.

Upon Mozambique's independence in 1975 Lourenço Marques remained the capital. A year later the city was renamed Maputo, the name of the site prior to the arrival of Portuguese sailors.

In 1907 Lourenço Marques, with its population at 6,000 and rising, replaced Moçambique, a city located on a small island about 1,000 miles (1,609 km) to the northeast, as the capital of Portuguese East Africa. With its modern colonial facilities, the city had long ceased to resemble the malarial, depressed trading post of mid-century. Growth continued throughout the 20th century, with the population reaching about 65,000 by 1960.

Located on a picturesque stretch of East Africa's Indian Ocean shoreline, Lourenço Marques was a particularly comfortable city for its Portuguese inhabitants, but far less so for its African majority, whose living conditions and prospects for improvements were so poor that many left the area.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); MAPUTO (Vols. III, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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Lozi   Major ethnic group found in the western part of present-day ZAMBIA. Smaller populations of the Lozi people are found in present-day ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA and BOTSWANA. Lozi—who have also been called Luyi, Silozi, Rozi, Tozvi, Rutse, Kololo and Rotse, hence BAROTSELAND—includes several sub-groups with similar cultural and linguistic characteristics. *Lozi* is a more recent name, which replaced the name *Luyi.* The Lozi LANGUAGE is a Bantu language that belongs to the Niger-Congo family of African languages.

The Lozi region, called *Bulozi* (belonging to the Lozi) or *Barotseland,* is situated in the plain of the Zambezi River, where annual floods leave a bed of rich alluvial soils. Due to the heavy flooding in February or March, the Lozi shift their homes temporarily to higher ground in the forest region each year, returning to their normal residences after the rains. Led by their king they celebrate this event, called *Kuomboka,* which means "get out of water."

The Lozi, then known as the Luyi, occupied Barotseland in the 1600s, intermarrying with other groups, including the Kololo, who entered the kingdom later. A SOTHO-speaking group from SOUTH AFRICA, the Kololo invaded in 1838 and ruled the Luyi kingdom until 1864, when they were finally overthrown. In 1878 Lubosi LEWANIKA (1845–1916) took over as *litunga,* or king, and built a powerful state. However, European imperial interests were impinging on the area as elsewhere in Africa, and from the 1890s, Barotseland came increasingly under British COLONIAL RULE, ending up part of the colony of NORTHERN RHODESIA. Though their political independence had been lost, the Lozi were able to retain their cultural and ethnic identity.

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); KUOMBOKA CEREMONY (Vol. V); LOZI (Vol. III); NIGER CONGO (Vol. I); LEWANIKA, MBIKUSITA INONGE (Vol. V).

Luanda   Capital city and major port of ANGOLA, located in the northern part of the country, on the Atlantic coast. The city's Portuguese name, Luanda, is taken from *loanda,* a Kimbundu word meaning "flat land." From the 17th through the 19th centuries Luanda developed into a center of the Portuguese SLAVE TRADE, predominantly sending African captives to Brazil. As the town grew the region's different ethnic groups melded into a distinctive Creole Afro-Portuguese culture. During the first half of the 19th century the slave trade diminished, and the export of CASH CROPS such as COTTON, PALM OIL, and COFFEE became more important. Trade in other local products, including copal (a tropical tree resin used in making varnish), leather, and cassava flour also flourished. This economic growth was accompanied by population growth.

After the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85) the low-lying city center was taken over by immigrating Europeans and named the *Baixa* district. These new settlers displaced many urban Africans, who relocated to form communities, called the *musseques,* on the surrounding slopes and uplands. The population of the *musseques* grew with the migration of Africans from the interior. The mixture of peoples created a lively African community that fostered social cohesion and political consciousness. Later, as a result of the politicized atmosphere, the *musseques* became the birthplace of Angola's NATIONALIST AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS.

During the early 20th century Luanda's education system proved well-designed and encouraged cultural

exchange and open-mindedness among the city's African, *mestiço* (mixed-race), and European population. This created a more diverse and equitable atmosphere than that found in most other colonial African cities, especially those developed by the Portuguese.

Following World War II (1939–45) a rise in global coffee prices helped to expand economic opportunities in Angola. The resulting employment boom attracted thousands of rural people to Luanda, and between 1940 and 1960 the population of the capital increased four-fold. Also, beginning in the 1950s the colonial government offered incentives to Portuguese nationals to emigrate to Luanda to aid in the development of industry.

In 1961 Angola's various nationalist movements began waging civil war against the Portuguese colonial forces and against one another. Before long the threat of violence in the rural areas became overwhelming, and throngs of rural Angolans fled to Luanda and other urban areas for refuge. The civil war dragged on until 1975, when Portugal finally abandoned its African colonies.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); LUANDA (Vols. III, V); PALM OIL (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE, TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Lugard, Frederick (Sir, later Lord Frederick John Dealtry Lugard) (1858–1945) *British colonial administrator*

Born in India to missionary parents, Frederick Lugard began his career in the military, serving abroad in the Afghan wars, the Sudan, and Burma. He went to England after being severely wounded and eventually took a position with the British East Africa Company in UGANDA in 1890. There he spent two years helping to establish Britain as the primary European power in the region. A vehement advocate of British imperialism, Lugard refused to accept his employer's decision to withdraw from Uganda in light of spiraling costs and international criticism of Lugard's treatment of French MISSIONARIES. Returning to England, he lobbied for a continued British presence in the region, publishing a book, entitled *The Rise of Our East African Empire* (1893), which outlined his vision of British dominance of the region.

In 1894 Lugard went back to Africa, this time journeying to West Africa in the employ of the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY. He remained in the area that would eventually become NIGERIA for several years, first opposing French expansion into the region and then taking command of the West African Frontier Force, a military unit he organized to help the Royal Niger Company further its interests. In 1900 the British government revoked the company's charter and took direct control over the region,

placing Lugard in charge. As high commissioner Lugard first battled the resistant Islamic states of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. After defeating them he set about organizing the region into an administrative whole. By supporting local rulers and their courts—while at the same time eliminating SLAVERY and instituting a more humane system of justice—Lugard was able to establish British authority effectively and efficiently.

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Lugard's work and policies in Nigeria gave rise to a doctrine that became known as *indirect rule,* by which the British could control their African colonies through local rulers and institutions. Adopted in other regions, it proved beneficial to the British colonial government in many areas, particularly those in which people were not separated by sharp ethnic divisions. In 1922 Lugard outlined his ideas for colonial administration in *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa,* a book in which he argued that indirect rule represented the best way for Britain to profit from its colonies while also helping them develop socially, politically, and economically. The book was essentially a defense of colonialism in the face of the criticism that arose after World War I (1914–18).

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In 1902 Lugard accepted the position of governor of Hong Kong, serving from 1907 to 1912. He then returned to Nigeria, where, beginning in 1912, he set about combining Britain's separate Northern and Southern Nigeria protectorates. Lugard had to put down rebellions, develop the Nigerian administrative system, and deal with the threat of German military incursions from their colony of Kamerun (present-day CAMEROON). Finally, after two years of difficult work the task of unification was completed January 1, 1914.

Although officially retired after 1919, Lugard remained active in public affairs for the remainder of his life, serving first with the Privy Council and then, from 1922 to 1936, as a member of the League of Nations' Permanent Mandates Commission.

See also: BRITISH EAST AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV).

Lumpa Church
Large and influential African church movement established in 1955 by Alice LENSHINA (1924–1978). Alice Mulenga Mubisha Lenshina was a self-proclaimed prophetess among the Bemba peoples of present-day northern ZAMBIA. She claimed that she had

died four times and had gone to heaven, where she received divine instructions to spread God's word.

In 1953 Lenshina was baptized by Scottish Presbyterian MISSIONARIES (although she was later expelled from the Presbyterian church). Within a few years she established her own religious movement, which she called *Lumpa* (meaning "excelling all others" in the Bemba language). Eventually this church became one of the largest and most powerful religious movements in Zambian history, with approximately 150 congregations and as many as 100,000 members by 1956. Donations from members enabled the church to acquire property—including a chain of stores—and to build a large brick cathedral at its headquarters in Kasomo, Lenshina's birthplace. The church developed its own hymns based on indigenous songs and accompanied by MUSIC played with indigenous instruments. In this way members related to Lumpa services much more closely than they had when the missionary churches used traditional European hymns and instrumentation. The Lumpa Church attracted members in part because of its promise of salvation to believers and also because of its syncretistic blending of African and European belief systems. It also appealed to people because it denounced such social vices as divorce, drinking, and smoking. In addition the Lumpa Church prohibited polygamy.

As Lenshina's church expanded it began challenging not only the norms of established churches and the powers of traditional leaders, but also the colonial and national state. Rejecting taxation, the church even went about forming its own villages. As a result, violent clashes between the Lumpa Church and the government became common. After Zambia's independence in 1964, members of the new governing party, the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNI) destroyed Lumpa members' homes and their church buildings. Church members retaliated by murdering seven UNIP members and assaulting others. Zambian police and army units responded, resulting in the deaths of at least 700 church members. Following the incident the church was banned.

Following a government amnesty, in 1968 an estimated 20,000 Lumpa followers emigrated to the present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Many other members joined or rejoined Christian churches that in turn sought to incorporate more Bemba features into the church liturgy.

See also: BEMBA (Vol. III); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LENSHINA, ALICE (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vols. IV, V); RELIGION (Vols. IV, V).

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Lumumba, Patrice (Patrice Emery Lumumba)

(1925–1961) *First prime minister of the independent Democratic Republic of the Congo*

Born to Catholic parents in the village of Onalua, in Kasai province of the BELGIAN CONGO (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO), Patrice Lumumba was educated at nearby mission schools. In 1944 he moved to STANLEYVILLE (today's Kisangani), a thriving port city on the Congo River, where he took a job as a postal clerk. In 1951 Lumumba wed 15-year-old Pauline Opangu in a marriage arranged by his father. Although initially resistant to the marriage, Lumumba eventually fathered at least eight children by Pauline, who became his trusted confidante.

Lumumba became involved in the political issues that were facing the Belgian Congo during his early adulthood. Hoping that he could unite the ethnically diverse Congolese, he took classes to improve his French, the lingua franca of Central Africa, and he also learned KISWAHILI and several Congolese dialects. Africans in the Congo had not yet organized political parties, but predecessor organizations, such as Stanleyville's African Government Employees Association, were in existence. Lumumba rose through its ranks, serving as secretary and eventually president. He also wrote editorials in local political NEWSPAPERS, establishing a reputation as a recognizable nationalist leader who was unafraid to speak out on the most important issues.

By 1954 Lumumba was a leading political figure in Stanleyville, meeting with King Baudouin (1930–1993) of Belgium, who was touring the country, and traveling to Belgium as a representative of the first Congolese delegation to discuss political reform. Lumumba's forceful style and outspokenness caught the attention of the white Belgian administrators in Stanleyville. They accused him of embezzling funds from the post office and sentenced him to two years in prison. Within a year, however, Lumumba's supporters in the community raised the money he was accused of taking, thereby buying his freedom. (After his release Lumumba challenged the verdict and cleared his name on appeal.)

Despite his support in the African community, Lumumba no longer felt welcome in Stanleyville. In 1957 he moved to LEOPOLDVILLE (present-day Kinshasa), where he continued his political activism. Belgian colonial authorities were now allowing African political parties to exist, and Lumumba took the lead in forming the Congolese National Movement (MNC), helping turn it into a broad coalition of groups lobbying for Congolese independence. Late in 1958 Lumumba represented the MNC at the All-African People's Conference held in ACCRA, GHANA, where he met with the head of this newly independent country, Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972). Nkrumah was a strong advocate of PAN-AFRICANISM and continental unity, which Lumumba also now embraced.

In October 1960 Patrice Lumumba attempted to rally his supporters in his efforts to regain office. © *UPI/New York World-Telegram & Sun Collection/Library of Congress*

In Leopoldville Lumumba took a job as sales representative for Polar Beer, a beverage company. Within a year the intelligent and cheerful Lumumba was sales manager for the whole company.

As the 1950s came to a close and independence became seemingly inevitable, new political parties sprang up. Many, however, disagreed with Lumumba's call for a unified country with a strong central government and instead called for a Congo federation, with individual regions or provinces retaining authority. The most vocal provinces were dominated by certain ethnic groups, such as the Lunda and KONGO, that had been removed from power during the colonial period.

As the different groups quarreled over the direction of the country, Lumumba gave an impassioned speech at a Stanleyville MNC conference that resulted in violent street rioting in which up to 30 people lost their lives. In response the colonial authorities arrested Lumumba for inciting the riots and sentenced him to six months in jail. The Stanleyville riots were just part of a larger wave of unrest that was sweeping through the Belgian Congo, so the colonial authorities called for the Congolese representatives to meet in Brussels, Belgium. Initially, the MNC was represented by Joseph-Désiré Mobutu (1930–1997), a little-known compatriot of Lumumba's. However, when the MNC delegates refused to continue the conference without Lumumba in attendance, Belgian authorities released him, for they had by then decided to grant independence to the Congo and thus wanted to facilitate the process.

Following the Brussels meeting, a national election was scheduled for June 1960, with independence coming

soon after. Lumumba's MNC party, with its advocacy of national unity, and the ABAKO party, with its ethnic-based approach and led by Lumumba's long-time rival Joseph Kasavubu (c. 1910–1969), won the most votes in the election. Following negotiations a coalition government was declared, with Lumumba the prime minister and Kasavubu the president. Mobutu was made secretary of state for national defense.

During his Independence Day speech on June 30, 1960, Lumumba recalled the brutality of the former Belgian rule, again inciting widespread riots. On July 5 the army mutinied against its white Belgian officers. Many in the country's white population fled the country as it descended into chaos. The Congo Crisis had begun. Within 18 months Lumumba was murdered by his political rivals.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V); DECOLONIZATION (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LUMUMBA, PATRICE (Vol. V); MOBUTU SESE SEKO (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Luo (Lwo, Lwoo, Dholuo, Kavirondo)

Third-largest ethnic group in KENYA, after the KIKUYU and the Luhya; also the Nilotic language they speak. Luo speakers live primarily in UGANDA, western Kenya, and northern TANZANIA, in the Lake Victoria region. Like the Kikuyu the Luo became highly active in the evolving Kenyan political scene toward the close of the colonial era.

Originally from the upper Nile region, the Luo migrated south to their present-day homelands by the end of the 15th century. Largely pastoralists, they also turned to AGRICULTURE and fishing and intermingled extensively with local Bantu speakers. However, toward the latter half of the 19th century, the European presence in the region increased dramatically. By 1895 Britain had established the PROTECTORATE of BRITISH EAST AFRICA over Luo-occupied territories. Construction was begun on a railroad from MOMBASA, on the coast, to Kisumu, on Lake Victoria. Upon its completion in 1901, the railroad solidified the British presence in the interior. By the 1930s European SETTLERS, mostly British, had seized for their own cultivation millions of acres of lands previously held by Africans.

In response to the oppressive colonial regime, the Luo developed a political resistance closely tied to that of the Kikuyu. In 1922, one year after the formation of the Young Kikuyu Association, the Kikuyu James Beauttah established the Young Kavirondo Association, supported mainly by the Luo and Luhya. Like the Young Kikuyus, the Young Kavirondos protested white-settler rule, insufficient wages, the head tax, the *kipande*—an identification card all Africans were required to carry—and the theft of their land. Unlike the Young Kikuyu Association, however, by 1923 the Kavirondo organization fell under the influence of European MISSIONARIES, who gradually shifted the organization from a political focus to a humanitarian one. Also, dissension among the Luo tended to limit their political effectiveness.

A number of Luo became major players in the Kenyan struggle for independence. For example, Tom MBOYA (1930–1969) and Oginga ODINGA (1912–1994) were instrumental in founding nationalist organizations and supporting Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), the Kikuyu and Kenyan nationalist leader who was imprisoned in 1952 as part of the British backlash against the MAU MAU movement. Both leaders helped found the Kenya African National Union, which became the leading political party in Kenya following the 1961 elections. When Kenya received full autonomy in 1963, with Kenyatta as president, both Mboya and Odinga assumed high-ranking roles in the government, assuring the Luo a prominent role in Kenyan politics in the early years of independence.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Lusaka

Commercial center and colonial capital of NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA), located north of the Zambezi River on a plateau that rises 4,200 feet (1,280 m) above sea level. Named after a local African leader, Lusaka was founded in the 1890s when the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY established control over the region. Lusaka began as a station on a railway line and evolved into a commercial center for white farmers. By 1924 the British Colonial Office had taken over the administration of Lusaka, and in 1935 the town replaced Livingstone as the capital of Northern Rhodesia. Soon after that, the manufacturing of foodstuffs, beverages, clothing, and cement began.

Not long after World War II (1939–45) the Zambian independence movement gained momentum in Lusaka. In 1948, for example, the independence-minded Northern Rhodesia African Congress was founded there. By 1951, under the able leadership of Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–), the organization had become the Zambian African National Congress. During the 1950s and 1960s Lusaka was a hotbed of political activity, with opposition parties moving their operations there so that they could directly confront the colonial government. The popula-

tion, which was estimated at 30,000 in 1950, increased to about 126,000 by 1964.

> The original plan of Lusaka followed that of an "English garden city," with main roads leading to the town center. Impressive buildings were also planned and, by the time of independence, these included the State House, the High Court, the Secretariat, and the Anglican Cathedral.

When Northern Rhodesia became independent Zambia in 1964, Lusaka bore the signs of racial segregation in all spheres. Schools, hospitals, cinemas, residences, and even shopping centers were segregated according to white, black, Indian, and Coloured quarters. There were separate shopping centers for whites and blacks, with the shops for black people owned mostly by the Asian-settler community.

The town featured only a few major public buildings and roads, so the new government faced the huge task of building an infrastructure to accommodate the growing population. Within a few years of independence, the new administration had either finished or begun building Zambia's first university, an international airport, the impressive National Assembly building, a major network of roads, as well as administrative and commercial buildings. Lusaka was quickly transformed into a cosmopolitan city, hosting major national and continental events.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LUSAKA (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Lutuli, Albert (Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli) (1898–1967) *President of the African National Congress and first African awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.*

Lutuli was born in SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE), where his father was an interpreter for Seventh Day Adventist MISSIONARIES. While still an infant Lutuli lost his father and was sent to his family's ancestral home of Groutville, in the colony of NATAL. In Groutville he lived with his uncle, the locally-elected chief, and attended the mission school. As he entered into adulthood Lutuli trained to become a teacher, attending Adam's College, near DURBAN, eventually joining the school's faculty.

In 1935, at the request of town elders, Lutuli returned to Groutville, where he became the elected chief. With the encouragement of his friend John L. DUBE (1871–1946), Lutuli joined the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) in 1945. Dube died a year later, and Lutuli was elected to succeed him on the Native's Representative Council, initiating his career in national politics. In 1951 Lutuli won election as Natal provincial president of the ANC. The next year he provided strong leadership during the Defiance Campaign, a countrywide, nonviolent campaign against racist pass laws. As a result, the South African government ordered him to resign either his cheiftancy or his position in the ANC, which Lutuli refused to do. The government removed Lutuli from the position of chief in 1952, but his reputation as an uncompromising leader spread.

Later that year Lutuli was elected president general of the ANC. Despite governmental bans on his activities, Lutuli continued to write speeches and occasionally attend ANC conferences, providing respected leadership as the organization fought to gain support among the populace. Lutuli was arrested in 1956 along with 155 other African leaders and charged with high treason. Eventually released, Lutuli continued to lead the fight for African equality in SOUTH AFRICA, and in 1961 he received the Nobel Peace Prize. Confined to house arrest in his later years, Lutuli used his time to dictate his autobiography, *Let My People Go.*

See also: RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Lyautey, Louis H. G. (Marshal Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey) (1854–1934) *French colonial administrator in Morocco*

Born into a family with a long tradition of military service, Lyautey attended the renowned French military academy, Saint-Cyr, and, after serving as a cavalry officer, was stationed in Indochina under the well-known colonial administrator General Joseph GALLIENI (1849–1916). He then became Gallieni's chief of staff on MADAGASCAR, helping Gallieni solidify French control of that island.

In 1900 Lyautey assumed command of a territory in French colonial ALGERIA, and by 1903 he was promoted to general and given the plum assignment of the Algerian territory of Oran and its important port city. There he was responsible for restoring order and enforcing treaties, tasks at which he excelled. In 1912 he became high commissioner of MOROCCO, where he spent most of his remaining military career pacifying the populace. Unlike other colonial administrators, for whom military action was the primary instrument of COLONIAL RULE, Lyautey preferred to use a show of force and manipulate ethnic and other long-standing rivalries among the local population rather than engage in outright warfare. As a result he created what many viewed as a "model" example of the colonization process, bringing European MEDICINE, EDUCATION, and other benefits while still preserving many local customs and traditions. After serving as the French minister of war during World War I (1914–18), Lyautey

returned to Morocco, where he was finally successful, after long years of fighting, in putting down the rebellion led by Mohamed ben ABD EL-KRIM (c. 1880–1963). France, however, did not completely establish its control over the whole of Morocco until 1934, nine years after Lyautey had retired.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RIF (Vol. IV).

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M

Maasai (Masai) Pastoralist ethnic group of the Great Rift Valley region of southern KENYA and northern TANZANIA. Devastated by disease, the Maasai were not stong enough to resist the COLONIAL CONQUEST of their lands. The Maasai migrated to their current homelands in the 15th and 16th centuries. By the 1800s they had established an organized nation and had earned a reputation as fearsome warriors. Dependent exclusively on their cattle herds for nearly all of their needs, the Maasai continuously sought to expand their grazing territories and their herds. Some of the region's other ethnic groups, such as the Luhya, had to defend themselves against frequent Maasai raids. Others, such as the KIKUYU, lived on higher lands unsuitable for cattle and thus established peaceable trading relations. Ultimately Maasai dominance was so complete that even armed Arab slave traders traveling through Maasai lands had to pay tribute to gain safe passage.

Cattle are central to Maasai life. Social standing is based on the ownership of cattle. They also play a crucial role in daily life. Cowhide is used for bedding, shoes, and other items. Cow dung is mixed with mud to build houses. A staple of the Maasai diet is cow milk mixed with cow blood, which is tapped from the cow's jugular without actually killing the animal. Cattle, however, are rarely used for meat by the Maasai, who keep sheep and goats for that purpose.

By the 1830s the Maasai were falling victim to internal dissention, with clan warfare arising over cattle and grazing rights. These conflicts weakened the Maasai's powerful grip on the region, resulting in the loss of land and cattle and opening the Maasai to raids from other peoples. In the late 1800s European MISSIONARIES and explorers preceded the imposition of British COLONIAL RULE. During this same period the Maasai suffered a series of devastating epidemics. Their cattle were ravaged by pleuro-pneumonia and rinderpest, which reduced the Maasai herds to 20 percent of their original size. Famine and drought followed, as did smallpox and cholera, which were brought to the region by Europeans. By 1890 the Maasai population had diminished from around 500,000 to a mere 40,000.

Despite the prowess of their warriors, the Maasai were no longer able to field effective opposition to British encroachment. A final turning point came with the British-built railroad, which by 1899 reached Maasai lands on its way from MOMBASA, on the Kenyan coast, to Lake Victoria. Determined to complete the railroad and facilitate greater access to the interior, the British stamped out the already weakened Maasai resistance. In 1904 they forced the Maasai to sign an agreement that diminished their lands to a third of their original size. By 1910 the Maasai lands had been split in half by the railroad, and over the next three years the Maasai were relocated to reserves far from their homeland.

Beginning in 1914 the Maasai took their case to the colonial courts, but they gained back only minor tracts of land. In the 1930s the British encouraged other peoples to settle in Maasai lands to help reduce "congestion," and by World War II (1939–45), tax policies and the imposi-

tion of a cattle quota to provide food for soldiers resulted in the loss of another 70 percent of the Maasai herds. Unfortunately, independence for Kenya in 1963 did little to alleviate Maasai land troubles.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MAASAI (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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Maba Diakhou Ba (c. 1809–1867) *Islamic scholar and military leader in the Senegambia region of West Africa*

Maba Diakhou Ba was born into a devout Muslim family living in the kingdom of Baddibu, which straddled the Gambia River. His father provided him with his early education, and he then went on to study with other leading Islamic scholars in what is today SENEGAL. Maba returned to Baddibu and established himself as a popular Islamic teacher, with whom students from all over the SENEGAMBIA REGION came to study.

Throughout Maba's lifetime, Islamic clerics in the region fervently continued the jihads, or holy wars, that reformers had begun in the 18th century in an attempt to both ward off European "infidels" and convert the region to Islam. Maba himself was sympathetic to the project of the respected cleric, UMAR TAL (1794–1864), who was interested in establishing an Islamic TUKULOR EMPIRE in the region between the Senegal and Gambia rivers.

> **Political division in Baddibu pitted the Soninke on one side, and the Marabouts on the other. The difference was that the Marabouts, a term meaning "holy men," were religious and the Soninke were not. The symbol of this division became drinking: Marabouts abstained from consuming alcoholic beverages on religious grounds and castigated their opponents for imbibing.**

In the 1850s Maba returned to Baddibu to teach and study. The more strict and observant Muslims, including Maba, became increasingly frustrated with the impiety they observed in Baddibu's rulers. Finally, in 1861, hostilities broke out between the parties, made more complex by a military intervention that Britain launched to protect its trade in Baddibu's GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), an important export commodity. Eventually Maba and the Marabouts triumphed, and Baddibu was subsequently ruled as a theocratic state according to Islamic law, or *sharia*. After the victory, nearby Muslim states turned to Maba for leadership, and he soon engaged in a series of wars to estab-

lish theocratic rule over the region. By 1865 he was able to field a well-disciplined army of 10,000 men.

From their colonies at the mouth of the Senegal River, both Britain and France worried about the growing power of Baddibu and were especially concerned by Maba's apparent ability to unite the area's Muslims across ethnic lines. In response Senegal's French colonial governor, Louis FAIDHERBE (1818–1889), sent two expeditions to attack Baddibu. Though the French forces could not defeat Maba at first, the ongoing local disputes in Baddibu eventually led to Maba's downfall. In an 1867 battle his army was defeated and Maba was killed. Baddibu, though still independent of COLONIAL RULE, never recovered from Maba's death and disintegrated into internal factions.

Although he had failed to establish a permanent theocratic state in Senegambia, Maba did much to spread Islam throughout the area. Prior to Maba, Muslims were a minority in Gambia's population, but a majority of the country's people now follow Islam.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); JIHAD (Vol. II); MARABOUT WAR (Vol. III); SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); SHARIA (Vols. II, V); TORODBE (Vol. III).

Macaulay, Herbert (Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay) (1864–1946) *Nigerian political leader*

An outspoken opponent of COLONIAL RULE as well as of the racial injustice that generally accompanied it, Herbert Macaulay was a leading force in the movement that eventually led to independence for NIGERIA. The son of a missionary and the grandson of the famous bishop Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891), Macaulay was educated in mission schools before becoming a clerk in the LAGOS public works department. After studying in England he returned to Lagos, where he became the chief surveyor for the colony.

While in the civil service Macaulay found that he could no longer tolerate the racial discrimination he witnessed in the course of his duties, and he resigned his post. He then went into private practice, becoming a leading critic of British rule, using articles in the *Lagos Daily Times* to develop and spread his ideas. Consistently opposing British efforts to expand or even maintain their administration in Lagos and Nigeria, he fought against everything from fees for a public water system to British efforts to redistribute land.

In 1922 Macaulay organized the Nigerian National Democratic Party, in Lagos. The goals of the party were the same as Macaulay's: self-government, nondiscrimination in both the public and private sectors, compulsory primary EDUCATION for children, and the establishment of higher education at the secondary and university levels.

Toward the end of his life Macaulay became active outside Lagos, too, presiding over the 1944 meeting of the Nigerian Union of Students that eventually gave rise to Nigeria's first national political party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). His close political ally at the time was Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996), who took over the full leadership after Macaulay died while touring on behalf of the NCNC.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV).

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Madagascar

Island located in the Indian Ocean about 242 miles (390 km) off the coast of MOZAMBIQUE on the southern coast of East Africa. Mozambique measures approximately 226,700 square miles (587,200 sq km). In Madagascar there are 18 ethnic groups, the largest and most powerful of which are the MERINA, who make their home in the central highlands. In 1787 King Andrianampoinimerina (c. 1745–1810) came to power, reuniting a Merina kingdom that had been divided among four warring rulers. He built a sizable army, created a rigid class structure, installed seven royal agents to act as mediators between him and his people, and fashioned both a general council of advisers and an inner council of 12 chiefs.

On Andrianampoinimerina's death in 1810, his son, Radama I (r. 1810–1828), took power. With British assistance, Radama centralized Merina control over much of the island. In the 1850s and 1860s French influence grew in Madagascar's capital, Antananarivo. Radama I was succeeded by Queen Ranavalona (1828–1861), who developed local industries with the help of French entrepreneurs. Ranavalona and the royal court converted to Christianity and welcomed French MISSIONARIES.

In 1883, in the early days of the reign of Queen Ranavalona III (r. 1883–1897), the French started a campaign of conquest, taking control of the key port cities of Tamatave and Majunga. In December 1885 France and the Merina signed a treaty mandating that the government pay an indemnity of 10 million francs for the French to leave Tamatave. The queen sought British assistance, sparking French reprisals. In 1894 France insisted that the government agree that all foreign affairs would be handled through the French resident-general, and on October 1, 1895, France established a PROTECTORATE over Madagascar. Receiving little support from Queen Ranavalona to institute indirect rule, the French abolished the monarchy on February 28, 1897, installing General Joseph GALLIENI (1849–1916) as Madagascar's governor-general.

Gallieni established a unified rule over the entire island, transforming existing administrative and economic structures into those of a modern state. He implemented a notorious *politique des races* (politics of race) to perpetuate ethnic differences and deflect the growth of Malagasy nationalism. Within the system, the favored status of the Merina people galvanized an ethnic division that persists in Madagascar to this day. Yet by the 1920s it was clear that even a *politique des races* would not contain growing nationalism.

The nationalist movement was invigorated by World War II (1939–45), when, with the help of Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) of Great Britain, General Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) won Madagascar for the Free French side. Several thousand Malagasy soldiers, conscripted into the French army, served in North Africa and other combat zones. After their return these veterans became nationalist leaders and agitated for independence. In 1946, when France made Madagascar an overseas territory of the French Republic, four Malagasy representatives were elected to serve in the Constituent Assembly in Paris. Political parties proliferated on the island. In March 1947 nationalists launched a rebellion against French rule. The uprising soon engulfed a third of the island. By the time the last of the rebels surrendered in 1949, an estimated 100,000 people had died. Yet the push for independence continued. In 1956 France granted self-government to its other overseas territories, including Madagascar. The country finally became independent on June 26, 1960.

See also: ANDRIANAMPOINIMERINA (Vol. III); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MADAGASCAR (Vols. I, II, III, V); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV).

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Maga, Hubert

(1916–2000) *First president of the independent Republic of Dahomey (present-day Republic of Benin)*

Born in Parakou, in east-central DAHOMEY (now the Republic of BENIN), Hubert Maga was educated at the elite ÉCOLE WILLIAM PONTY in DAKAR, SENEGAL. He then worked as a teacher before becoming a territorial councilor for northern Dahomey, in 1947. Three years later he was elected to represent Dahomey in the French National Assembly, serving as a deputy until 1958.

In 1958, when the FRENCH UNION disbanded and Dahomey became an autonomous member of the French Community, Maga became the country's prime minister. He was charged with the difficult task of uniting Dahomey's disparate ethnic groups in the drive for inde-

pendence. He succeeded, and in 1960, following a referendum for total independence from France, he was elected president of the new Republic of Dahomey.

In the 1950s Maga led the Dahomean Democratic Movement, a political party that he would later merge with the Dahomean Republican Party to form the Dahomean Progressive Party, which became the coalition government of Dahomey between 1958 and 1960.

The nation that Maga inherited was poor and divided along ethnic and regional lines. Maga, a northerner, was accused by southern Dahomeans of squandering huge amounts of French aid on such unpopular projects as the construction of a presidential palace. In 1963, amid increasing pressure from political opposition, Maga was ousted in a coup d'état by his friend Christophe Soglo (1909–1984), the commander of Dahomey's small army. Although deposed as president, Maga was kept on as Soglo's foreign minister. Maga returned to power and, from 1970 to 1972, was the de facto head of state as chairman of Dahomey's Presidential Council.

See also: COUP D'ÉTAT (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Maghrib (Maghreb)   Region of Northwest Africa along the Mediterranean Sea; it extends from the Atlas Mountains to the coast and includes present-day MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and part of LIBYA. Much of the coastal region of the Maghrib had been conquered by the Ottoman Empire, which ruled it through much of the 19th century. Under Ottoman rule, individual political entities, however, enjoyed considerable local autonomy, and Morocco never came under Ottoman control. The corsair fleets of coastal cities such as ALGIERS helped finance local governments through their raiding of Mediterranean shipping. As European navies grew in power in the Mediterranean and pushed the corsairs back, coastal-based governments, mostly Arab in make-up, were squeezed and resorted to taxing rural areas. In the process these governments sought to extend their control over the Berber-speaking interior, which in turn led to rebellion.

European governments took advantage of this turmoil and the weakening of the Ottoman Empire to carve out colonies from the Ottoman provinces of the Maghrib. European SETTLERS, who became known as COLONS, emigrated to North Africa, attracted by the temperate climate and fertile soils of the coastal regions. Algeria,

which the French first invaded in 1830, was the first to fall in this process of expansion. This was followed by the French conquest of Tunisia, in 1881, and the Italian conquest of Libya, in 1911. Only in Morocco did the earlier government survive, but it did so as a French PROTECTORATE, with its powers greatly diminished, between 1912 and 1956.

European invaders frequently encountered staunch resistance in the Maghrib. In Morocco, for instance, a former colonial administrator named Mohamed ben ABD EL-KRIM (c. 1880–1963) led an effective political and military resistance against French and Spanish encroachment. He even declared the short-lived independent Republic of the RIF. Eventually, however, the Europeans were able to establish control over the entire region. More settlers followed, especially in Algeria. But the spirit of independence did not die, and following World War II (1939–45), one after another of the countries of the Maghrib gained its independence. In Algeria, violence accompanied the struggle for independence. In Tunisia, however, it came fairly peacefully.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, ed., *Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in the Maghrib: History, Culture, and Politics* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

Mahdi, Muhammad Ahmad al- (Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdallah) (1844–1885) *Sudanese religious leader*

Born in the town of Dongola, in the northern part of present-day Republic of the SUDAN, Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdallah was a deeply religious person who ultimately led an Islamic renewal movement that was to change the course of Sudanese history. He never traveled outside the Sudan and thus received his education from Sudanese Muslim teachers. Initiated into the Sammaniyya, a reformist Sufi Muslim order, he gained a reputation for holiness and supernatural powers as a result of his teaching and preaching. He actively spoke out against non-Islamic practices such as the wearing of amulets, the consumption of tobacco and alcohol, the wailing of women at funerals, MUSIC in religious processions, and visiting saints' tombs.

To cure the social ills of the Sudan, Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdallah called on Muslims to observe customary Sudanese religious practices and to conduct human affairs in accordance with the precepts of Islamic law, or *sharia*. Most significantly for the history of the Sudan and the wider region, he represented a direct challenge to Egyptian rule on the grounds that it was oppressive and unjust.

As was a frequent practice among Sufi orders, a band of devout followers gathered around Muhammad Ahmad. Committed to his vision of a more just Sudanese society, these loyal followers came from far away to meet with him at Aba, his island retreat located on the White Nile, some distance south of KHARTOUM.

In 1881 Muhammad Ahmad declared that he was the Mahdi, the long-awaited redeemer ordained by God to appear at the end of time to fill the world with divine justice. Instrumental in this declaration was ABDALLAHI IBN MUHAMMAD (1846–1899), a devout Muslim who became Ahmad's disciple and, later, his designated successor, or *khalifa.*

The concept of the Mahdi is an important element among the Sufi religious orders. The term itself occurs in neither the Quran nor in the traditions of the prophet Mohammed. Rather, it is a popular belief that held that a redeemer would emerge from the chaos and trouble associated with the end of the world and would establish God's justice. To many Sudanese people the social disorder and disruption of the Sudan in the 1870s and 1880s seemed just such a time.

The Mahdi's religiously based challenge to Egyptian authority so alarmed the governor-general that he dispatched a military force to seize Muhammad Ahmad and suppress his movement. The Mahdi and the Ansar, as his followers were known, drove off the Egyptian force, however, and then retreated to a more remote region. This "victory" lent credibility to Muhammad Ahmad's claim to be the Mahdi and inspired dissident elements from across the Sudan to join the Ansar. An ill-advised expedition by an Egyptian provincial governor against the Ansar ended in total disaster, making the Egyptian position increasingly tenuous.

Political events in EGYPT itself further weakened the response to the growing Mahdist challenge. In 1881 Ahmad URABI (1841–1911) led a successful revolt against the khedive's government. In 1882 the British invaded Egypt, restored the khedive, and occupied the country. In the Sudan further uprisings and major military defeats at El Obeid in early 1883 and at Shaykan toward the end of the year doomed Egyptian rule in the Sudan. As a last ditch effort, the Egyptian government sent the British hero, General Charles George GORDON (1833–1885), to Khartoum as governor-general. He arrived in early 1884, but Khartoum was soon besieged by the Mahdi's forces. The city fell to the Ansar in January 1885, with Gordon dying in the fighting, two days

before a relief expedition arrived. The Mahdi himself died six months later. Abdallahi, his *khalifa,* took over control of the MAHDIYYA, as the Mahdi's movement had become known.

Although joint British–Egyptian control over the Sudan was reestablished in 1899 by agreements called the ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM, Muhammad Ahmad is still considered the "Father of Independence" by many Sudanese.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols, II, III, IV); *SHARIA* (Vols. II, IV); SUFISM (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881–1898,* 2 ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Mahdiyya (1885–98) Movement and government founded by Muhammad Ahmad (1844–1885), later called al-MAHDI. The Mahdiyya controlled the northern two-thirds of the Sudan from its capital at Omdurman.

Neighboring EGYPT had first established control over much of the Sudan in the 1820s, during the reign of the Ottoman pasha Muhammad Ali (1769–1849). His grandson, Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), further extended Egyptian control in the 1860s and 1870s to include an area on the upper Nile about half the size of the continental United States. Khedive Ismail's governor-general for the Sudan, now a province of Egypt, was the British general, Charles George GORDON (1833–1885).

Britain established a PROTECTORATE over Egypt in 1882, after first deposing Khedive Ismail, in 1879, and then defeating the nationalist forces of Ahmad URABI (1841–1911). Britain refused, however, to get involved with the growing challenges that Egypt faced from the south, in the Sudan. Gordon resigned, left the Sudan, and was replaced by an Egyptian, Muhammad Rauf (1832–1888). A crisis in governance was shaping up in the Egyptian Sudan, presenting an opportunity for revolution.

A religious mystic and teacher named Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdallah took advantage of this opening to lead an Islam-inspired campaign to force the Egyptians, who were viewed as oppressors, out of the eastern Sudan. In 1881 he announced to his followers that he was the Mahdi, the long-awaited redeemer ordained by God to appear at the "end of time" to fill the world with divine justice. His declaration was supported by ABDALLAHI IBN MUHAMMAD, a devout Muslim in search of the Mahdi, who became Muhammad Ahmad's disciple. In return the Mahdi named Abdallahi his *khalifa* (lieutenant, successor).

At times of crisis in the Islamic world it was common for ordinary Muslims to look for the appearance of the Mahdi. Not surprisingly, therefore, as the situation in the Egyptian Sudan worsened, people began to follow Muhammad Ahmad and accept his declaration. Support

came from three sources. The first two were genuinely pious Muslims and those with grievances against the Khedive's government. The third element was made up of Baggara cattle nomads who resented the taxes imposed by the Egyptians and who became the core of the Mahdist fighting forces.

Governor-General Muhammad Rauf did not take the emergence of the Mahdiyya seriously enough at first and failed to quash the incipient rebellion. A small force of his troops, using modern weapons, were defeated by the Mahdi's forces. The Sudanese saw this victory as a sign that Muhammad Ahmed was truly the Mahdi. As a result, the Mahdiyya grew in size and strength and soon were in open rebellion against their Egyptian rulers. As his forces recorded more victories, the Mahdi's reputation and stature in the Muslim community grew even greater. In 1883 he achieved a major victory over Egyptian forces by capturing El Obeid, southwest of the capital of KHARTOUM. The Egyptian government then sent General Gordon, charging him to make peace with the Mahdi or to evacuate Khartoum. Gordon failed in his mission and was defeated and killed in 1885 while trying to defend Khartoum. The Mahdi died shortly thereafter, as the British sent a force to defeat him.

After the Mahdi's death his followers organized an independent state under the *khalifa,* Abdullahi. Their capital was at Omdurman, across the river from Khartoum. With its army victorious, this Mahdist state dedicated itself to the expansion and purification of Islam in the Sudan. Internal problems, however, soon began to arise. Khalifa Abdullahi failed to replace the civil servants who had worked for the previous regime and were still loyal to it. He also made the mistake of reinstating the Egyptian system of taxation that had long caused Sudanese resentment.

The Mahdist Sudan fell into a period of conflict and tension. Some of this was caused by competition among the Mahdi's three core groups of supporters, and some was caused by its attempts to expand its borders. It also faced the very real threat that Egypt, now a British protectorate, would attempt a reconquest. That attack finally came in 1896, when a combined British and Egyptian military force invaded the Sudan. The campaign ended with an Anglo-Egyptian victory over the Mahdist state at the Battle of OMDURMAN, in 1898, and the Khalifa's death in battle, in 1899. Despite the collapse of the Mahdist state, however, the Mahdiyya survived as both a political and a religious movement, playing an active role in the affairs of the modern-day Sudan.

See also: ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM (Vol. IV); JIHAD (Vol. IV).

Further reading: P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881–1898,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Maherero, Samuel (c. 1854–1923) *Leader of the Herero people in South West Africa (present-day Namibia)*

Born about 1854, Samuel Maherero became the leader of the HERERO following the death of his father, Chief Maherero, in 1870. During the initial years of his reign, the younger Maherero focused on the long-standing war between the Herero and the neighboring NAMA people, with whom the Herero had engaged in raids and skirmishes for decades.

By the 1890s, however, Maherero faced a new challenge in the form of the rapidly developing German colonial empire in SOUTH WEST AFRICA. From a handful of MISSIONARIES, in the mid-1880s, the German presence had steadily grown until, by 1901, it had reached more than 3,000 farmers and other settlers. Beyond this, the number of well-armed and well-trained German troops in the area was steadily increasing. Although he was reluctant to relinquish either territory or control, Maherero initially sought ways to accommodate the German colonists and their armed forces. Risking the anger of many of his subchieftains, in 1894 he even signed a treaty that allowed Germany to place Hereroland under its PROTECTORATE.

That the treaty was a disastrous mistake became clear almost immediately. Not long after it was signed, a small subgroup of the Herero, the Herero Mbandjeru, rebelled against the German forces. Maherero, however, was bound by his treaty and denied them support. To make matters worse, disease wiped out vast numbers of Herero cattle in 1897, bringing Maherero's people to the brink of starvation and forcing them to accept menial jobs under the Germans on railways and in mines.

By the turn of the century the situation had reached a crisis, with the white population steadily increasing and the Herero being consistently cheated of land and cattle. Finally, in 1903, when the BONDELSWARTS, a neighboring Nama clan, rebelled against the German administration, Maherero saw his chance to expel the foreigners and launched his own revolt.

The Germans realized the seriousness of the threat posed by the Herero revolt and quickly made peace with the Bondelswarts before turning their attention to Maherero's rebels. Led by ruthless commander Lothar von Trotha, the well-equipped German army put in motion a battle plan that led to one of the most brutal chapters in the history of colonial Africa. Von Trotha forced Maherero's army toward Waterberg, northeast of Windhoek, and surrounded them, forcing the Herero to retreat toward the Omaheke Desert. Then Von Trotha issued what amounted to an extermination order, declaring that any Herero—man, woman, or child—found within the borders of German-claimed territory would be killed. By 1905 more than 65,000 Herero had died, trapped in the desert without food or water or hunted down and killed by von Trotha's troops. What had once been one of the region's major ethnic groups was virtually wiped out.

Maherero, however, survived, along with three of his sons. Making his way across the northern Kalahari Desert, he reached British territory and settled in BOTSWANA, where he lived until 1923. Eventually he was buried back in his homeland, where to this day people gather to commemorate him and the other Herero leaders.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); KALAHARI DESERT (Vols. I, II); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Horst Drechsler, *Let Us Die Fighting* (Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill, 1981).

Maji-Maji Rebellion (1905–06) Uprising among Africans in the southern region of GERMAN EAST AFRICA (present-day TANZANIA) against the oppressive German colonial authorities; it led to the deaths of more than 200,000 Africans from combat and starvation. By the late 1890s Germany had fully established its COLONIAL RULE over German East Africa. The colony was utilized as a source of ivory, and the colonial administration levied heavy taxes on the African population to generate revenue to cover the costs of administration. The German authorities often collected taxes through violence and intimidation. They also installed a forced-LABOR program, requiring African farmers to neglect their own farms to work on government lands in order to produce CASH CROPS, such as COTTON. African laborers received negligible wages, and were often beaten if deemed not productive enough.

At the beginning of the 20th century the spirit medium KINJIKITILE (d. 1905), who claimed to be possessed by a snake spirit, began spreading anticolonial messages throughout the southern area of German East Africa. He asserted that the spirits were calling for the Germans to be driven out. He convinced Africans throughout the region that use of a magic water (*maji maji,* in Swahili) would protect them from German bullets and thus insure their military success. Kinjikitile gained a large following, enough that the Germans had him arrested and executed in 1895 on charges of treason.

With Kinjikitile's death African hatred and resentment boiled over. That same year, the revolt began in the Matumbi hills, where conscripted African workers refused to labor in the government cotton fields. The rebellion then spread, not necessarily in an organized fashion, but in spontaneous outbursts that involved several different ethnic groups. The Maji-Maji fighters targeted Europeans in general, including MISSIONARIES and administrators.

The colonial administration dismissed the early stages of the rebellion as merely a minor riot caused by "sorcery and copious beer drinking following a good harvest." Though initially caught off-guard by the rebellion's ferocity and rapid spread, the Germans recovered almost immediately. Maji-Maji assaults on German ma-chine gun posts quickly proved the ineffectiveness of Kinjikitile's magic water.

The rebellion's turning point came at Mahenga, a town about 180 miles (290 km) west of DAR ES SALAAM. There German soldiers armed with two machine guns slaughtered thousands of comparatively lightly armed Maji-Maji fighters. The Ngoni, who contributed an army of 5,000, suffered the brunt of the losses. The Maji-Maji Rebellion ultimately marked the destruction of the Ngoni people.

By 1907, using superior armaments and a "scorched-earth" policy, the Germans had fully suppressed the revolt. The devastation of much of the region's land led to a massive famine that resulted in more deaths than the rebellion itself. In all, casualties from the rebellion and the subsequent famine numbered nearly 250,000.

The Maji-Maji Rebellion offers excellent examples of how the history of an event may be skewed or altered by varying perceptions. When Britain took over German East Africa as a League of Nations MANDATE (it became British TANGANYIKA), British historians made a point of highlighting German colonial atrocities. This may have been for the purposes of justifying Britain's own control of the region and portraying themselves in a better light through comparison. The British also suggested that the role of spirit guidance and magic in the rebellion demonstrated how the Africans were not advanced enough to govern themselves.

In addition, the general perception of African unity against the Germans may not be entirely true. Interviews with elder members of the Lurugu people suggest the Lurugu were relatively open to the German presence in the region, seeing the Germans as potential allies against the Mbunga people who had been raiding Lurugu villages.

The Maji-Maji Rebellion and revolts in German SOUTH WEST AFRICA (present-day NAMIBIA) at about the same time alerted Germany and the rest of Europe to the deep currents of RESISTANCE AND REBELLION that ran through the African populations they had colonized. Germany immediately altered its colonial policies in East Africa, easing the use of violence as a means of enforcement and encouraging higher levels of EDUCATION and health standards for Africans.

In a larger scope the rebellion demonstrated a level of anticolonial unity among African peoples that was not previously seen in the colonies. The Maji-Maji Rebellion

also served as inspiration for those who, in the 1960s, led the struggle for an independent Tanzania.

See also: BONDELSWARTS (Vol. IV); CHIMURENGA (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vols. IV, V); NGONI (Vol. III); SPIRIT POSSESSION (Vol. I).

Malan, D. F. (Daniel Francois Malan) (1874–1959)
South African prime minister (1948–1954) and founder of the National (or Nationalist) Party

Born near Riebeek West, Cape Province, SOUTH AFRICA, Malan was a childhood friend of his future political rival, Jan Christiaan SMUTS (1870–1950). After earning a doctorate in divinity from the University of Utrecht in Holland, Malan returned home to take up duties as a minister of the Dutch Reformed church. An ardent Afrikaner nationalist and champion of the AFRIKAANS language, he left the ministry in 1915 to became editor of *Die Burger* (The Citizen) a pro-Afrikaner CAPE TOWN daily newspaper. He entered parliament in 1918, and in 1924 he became minister of the interior under J. B. M. HERTZOG (1866–1942), the Nationalist Party prime minister. In 1933, however, Malan broke with the Hertzog faction of the Nationalist Party over Hertzog's political alliance with Smuts against the extreme nationalists. Malan then formed the hardline Purified Nationalist Party.

Malan favored neutrality during World War II (1939–45) and reconciled with Herzog, who also favored neutrality. Together they formed the National Party, which maintained a minority vote in the House of Assembly during the war years. After the war, in 1948 Malan led the National Party to a surprising electoral victory over Smuts's United Party. Malan then became both prime minister and minister of external affairs.

Malan and the National Party were committed to the policy known as APARTHEID, or "separateness," that sanctioned white supremacy and the political, economic, and social subordination of black South Africans. Malan stepped down as prime minister in 1954 after winning further gains for the National Party in the national elections of 1953. He then retired from political life.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vol. IV, V).

Malawi Present-day southeastern African country measuring about 45,700 square miles (118,400 sq km) in size and surrounded by TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, and ZAMBIA. From the late 1800s until 1964 Malawi languished under British COLONIAL RULE as the colony of NYASALAND.

By the 18th century the SLAVE TRADE, which had existed in the region since the ninth century, began to flourish as Portuguese contact created a new market for Arab and Swahili merchants. By the turn of the 19th century

the lucrative trade in captives had brought the militaristic Ngoni people to the region. It also brought the YAO, who became dominant slave traders in the area east of Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa). KISWAHILI-speaking traders from the coast spread Islam to the Lake Region and the Shire Highlands in the 1860s. Christianity was introduced through the efforts of the Scottish missionary and explorer David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873), who alerted the European community to the horrors of SLAVERY in East Africa. By the early 1870s Christian MISSIONARIES had established a European presence, and by the 1890s British forces had eliminated the region's slave trade. The missionaries desired the protection afforded by a colonial government, and the people of Malawi also were wary of the influence of diamond mogul and imperialist Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) as well as the potential for a Portuguese annexation of the region. This led the British to establish the Shire Highlands Protectorate, in 1889. In 1891 the Shire Highlands Protectorate became the British Central African Protectorate, and in 1907 the territory was named Nyasaland.

Malawi during the Colonial Era: Nyasaland The British set about building an infrastructure of roads and railways, and CASH CROPS such as tea and tobacco were grown on large European-owned plantations. The small community of European SETTLERS constituted the primary interest of the colonial government, and African needs were continuously neglected. To fund the administration of the colony, Britain implemented a "hut tax" and gradually suppressed traditional African farming methods, essentially forcing Africans to either work on plantations or find jobs outside of Nyasaland to support themselves. Large numbers migrated to SOUTH AFRICA to form part of the LABOR force in the GOLD mines and elsewhere.

One of the migrants from Malawi was Clements KADALIE (1896–1951), who founded an important labor union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, which became the first African mass movement in South Africa.

Though some African groups had initially welcomed colonial rule, many, such as the Yao and the CHEWA, put up firm resistance. In 1915 the Yao missionary John CHILEMBWE (c. 1872–1915) initiated a revolt called "The Rising" in response to British oppression. The rebellion was quickly put down, but Chilembwe's efforts inspired future nationalist movements.

In 1944 Nyasaland's first political party, the Nyasaland African Congress, came into being. Five years later

Africans were finally allowed seats on the protectorate's legislative council. The potential for increased participation in the colonial government by the African majority vanished, however, when the British, against vehement African protest, linked Nyasaland with NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day Zambia) and SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE) to form the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION in 1953.

The federation was intended to give the colonies the economic stability needed to rival the influence of South Africa. Africans in Nyasaland, however, saw the move as a reassertion of colonial rule and a step toward an entrenched, white-dominated minority government like that of the virulently racist regime in South Africa. The federation's capital was established at SALISBURY, in Southern Rhodesia, and most of the industrial and financial strength of the federation was concentrated in that colony. Nyasaland received hardly any of the supposed benefits of federating, adding fuel to the burgeoning nationalist movement in the PROTECTORATE.

In 1957 the Nyasaland African Congress leader, Hastings Kamuzu BANDA (c. 1898–1997), led protests against British plans to merge the federated colonies into a single state. By 1959 anticolonial demonstrations were turning violent, leading the British authorities to declare a state of emergency, imprison Banda, and ban the congress. While in prison Banda founded the Malawi Congress Party, becoming the party's president-for-life after his release in 1961. The nationalist efforts led the British to abandon their plans for further consolidation of the colonies, and in 1963 the Central African Federation was dissolved. That year, Banda became prime minister, a position he retained until the following year, when Nyasaland became independent Malawi. In 1966 the country became a republic, with Banda as its president. Due to years of British colonial neglect, Banda inherited a country that was among the poorest on the continent.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MALAWI (Vols. I, II, III, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Martin Chanock, *Law, Custom, and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1998).

Mali Present-day central West African nation, about 478,800 square miles (1,240,100 sq km) in size, stretching north into the Sahara desert, where it shares borders with ALGERIA and MAURITANIA. Other countries bordering Mali include (east to west) NIGER, BURKINA FASO, IVORY COAST, GUINEA, and SENEGAL. The population is concentrated in the southern half of the country in the watershed of the Niger River. Beginning in 1890, the region of modern Mali became part of France's colonial empire as the colony of FRENCH SOUDAN.

French Soudan was the site of parts of the empires of Ghana and Mali, two of Africa's most celebrated states. In the middle of the 19th century, two Islamic empires, the TUKULOR EMPIRE of UMAR TAL (1794–1864) and the smaller MANDINKA empire of the DYULA warlord SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900), had come to dominate the region. France, however, indicated its colonial intentions in 1855, when it founded a fort at Médine, in the Niger River valley. By 1880 France had claimed the territory as French Upper Senegal but faced formidable resistance to further incursion from the Tukulor and Mandinka forces. In 1890 France renamed the territory French Soudan.

Mali during the Colonial Era: French Soudan Ultimately France defeated the Tukulors in 1893, and two years later French Soudan became part of FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF). Samori Touré's Mandinka Empire, the final major resistance to French control, collapsed in 1898.

A somewhat amorphous territory, in 1904 French Soudan was made part of the administrative federation of Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Upper Senegal–Niger) but then became French Soudan again, after the Upper Volta (present-day Burkina Faso) and Niger colonies were split off, in 1919 and 1922, respectively. France administered Soudan with its customary policy of indirect rule when and where it could, governing through appointed local chiefs. The colonial ECONOMY revolved around the cultivation of COTTON and GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) for export.

The Republic of Mali was named after the Mali Empire, recalling the region's past glory. Mali's first president, Modibo Keita, claimed the Mali emperors as his ancestors.

After World War II (1939–45) France allowed French Soudan to establish political parties as part of French colonial reforms. These parties eventually merged to form the Sudanese Union, which was tied to the interterritorial AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY. In 1958 French Soudan became the Sudanese Republic, an autonomous member of the French Community, with the Sudanese Union-African Democratic Rally as its dominant political party. The next year, the Sudanese Republic linked with Senegal to form the Mali Federation. The federation was short-lived, however, as political differences led Senegal to secede a year later. In 1960 the Sudanese Republic became the fully independent Republic of Mali, under the Marxist leadership of Modibo Keita (1915–).

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); GAO (Vol. II); MALI, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, III, V); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); KEITA,

In this photo, taken in 1937, Muslim worshippers in the city of Jenne, in French Soudan (today's Mali), gathered near the wall of the mosque. © *New York Times*

MODIBO (Vol. V); SONGHAI (Vols. II, III); SUNDIATA (Vol. II); TIMBUKTU (Vol. II).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1995,* 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Mami Wata (Mammy Water) Water spirit revered primarily in the coastal regions of the West and Central Africa. In the 20th century a number of the spirit's attributes were controversially linked to the influence of COLONIALISM. Mami Wata is the pidgin English name for the powerful water spirit also known by the names Ezenwaanyi, Nnekwunwenyi, Ezebelamiri, and Nwaanyi mara mma. Belief in Mami Wata is found mainly in the regions of the present-day Republic of BENIN, TOGO, southwest GHANA, NIGERIA, as well as CAMEROON and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Its origins are somewhat unclear. The Mami Wata deity seems to have first appeared in southern Nigeria in the early 20th century. However, the Mami Wata priesthood, known as the Mamaissii, is also associated with Dahomean Vodoun, the

ancient RELIGION based on spirit worship and the precursor of the Vodou religion practiced in Haiti.

Flora Nwapa (1931–1993), one of the first Nigerian women writers to be published in English, used Mami Wata extensively in her writing, most notably in her children's book *Mammywater* (1979). Scholars have noted that Nwapa used the spirit as a symbol of feminist ideals, since Mami Wata embodies the sense of independence characteristic of urban women with their significant degree of economic autonomy.

Mami Wata is worshipped primarily in coastal or riverine areas, where drownings and other aquatic disasters are attributed to the spirit. However, Mami Wata is also a spirit of excess and overabundance and is believed to sometimes bestow great wealth on her favored follow-

ers. Devotees of Mami Wata wear the spirit's colors, red and white, with red representing the corporeal, such as blood, illness, and heat, and white representing the spiritual, such as clarity, transparency, and truth. Typically depicted as a fair-skinned mermaid with long black hair and large, piercing eyes, Mami Wata also is often shown with snakes wrapping her torso, representing the supernatural as well as the male aspect of the water spirit sometimes assumes.

Despite her ties to abundance and wealth, followers of Mami Wata believe the spirit is barren, or infertile. In Nigeria Mami Wata is often considered the cause of barrenness and venereal disease (which can be a cause of infertility), though she is also believed to grant fertility to barren women who devote themselves to the spirit. The spirit is also believed to have the ability to take the form of a promiscuous woman, and thus prostitutes are often referred to as *mami watas.* Mami Wata's association with the rampant problem of veneral disease in Africa demonstrates how attributes of the spirit have been influenced by the problems related to URBANIZATION.

Though there is a long tradition of belief in water spirits in Africa, Mami Wata displays unique, if controversial, ties to colonialism. Anthropologists have suggested Mami Wata's image, with light-colored skin and "European" features, symbolizes the power and wealth of the white woman during the period of COLONIAL RULE in Africa. On the other hand, many images of the deity come from the Indian Hindu tradition. Mami Wata's typical representation as foreign and as possessing, as well as desiring, wealth (in modern times, her shrines often feature consumer products such as designer perfumes and sunglasses) also seems to indicate that her image has been highly influenced by colonialism and urbanization.

Other anthropologists have pointed out that in Africa white has long signified the world of spirits. There are also known traditions involving the use of chalk to whiten the skin to symbolically counteract the "redness" of people in states of high emotion or sickness. Though the influence of colonialism on the cult of Mami Wata is debatable, the symbolic possibilities are difficult to ignore and may well be representative of African attempts to assimilate the disruptive effects of colonialism and accelerated urbanization into long-standing indigenous spiritual traditions.

See also: NWAPA, FLORA (Vol. V); RELIGION, TRADITIONAL (Vol. I).

mandate Order or commission from the League of Nations to establish a responsible government over a conquered territory in the aftermath of World War I (1914–18). In Africa the League of Nations authorized the victorious Allies, or mandatories, to administer the colonies that Germany forfeited as a result of their defeat. At the conclusion of the First World War, control over the former German colonies passed to France, Britain, and Belgium. The French received the larger parts of TOGO (formerly the German colony of TOGOLAND) and CAMEROON (formerly Kamerun), both located in western Africa. Britain received a smaller portion of Togoland, which it administered together with the neighboring GOLD COAST COLONY (known today as GHANA). Britain also received the western part of Cameroon, which it administered along with the colony of NIGERIA, Cameroon's neighbor to the west.

The colonies of the former GERMAN EAST AFRICA were mandated to Britain and Belgium, with Britain receiving TANGANYIKA (today's TANZANIA) and Belgium receiving RUANDA-URUNDI (the present-day countries of RWANDA and BURUNDI). German SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA) was handed over to SOUTH AFRICA, since the South African army had wrested the territory from Germany at the outset of the war.

This apportioning of African lands was not merely a repeat of the European PARTITION that came about from the BERLIN CONFERENCE of 1884–85. Instead the mandates were placed under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations, a body created to protect the people in European colonies from the predations of the colonizing powers following the war. The new organization assigned its mandates in the spirit of the "Fourteen Points" described by American president Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) regarding the reestablishment of world peace. Among the points was a call for the impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based on the equality of the interests of the indigenous population. In other words, contrary to the prewar administration of the former German colonial territories, the mandatories were now supposed to run the colonies in a manner that provided equally for the advancement of Africans.

The mandated territories were to be held in trust until Africans were able to control their own affairs. Most Western observers believed that a century would be required to complete the transformation. However, the devastation resulting from World War II (1939–45) and the rapid emergence of AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS that followed in its wake led the European countries to disengage quickly from the mandate system. With the collapse of the League of Nations in 1946, the mandates were reconstituted as TRUST TERRITORIES under the auspices of the United Nations. By 1962 all the trust territories except South West Africa had become independent nations.

The situation for the people of South West Africa was complicated by the fact that, unlike the other African mandates, their territory was administered as an integral part of South Africa, as if it were a northern province. Because of the nature of South Africa's administration and the intransigence of its APARTHEID government, it was not until 1990 that South West Africa became the independent country of Namibia.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Mande (Manding, Mandingo, Mandingue) A diverse population of some 46 LANGUAGE communities dispersed throughout West Africa but predominantly in present-day GUINEA and the Republic of MALI. While the term Mande represents a group of many languages, four of them are mutually intelligible: MANDINKA, Maninka, Bamana (Bambara), and DYULA. The Mande languages appear to have originated in the region of the headwaters of the Senegal, Gambia, and Niger rivers.

Most Mande-speaking peoples trace their historical origin to the ancient West African Empire of Mali, which spoke Maninka. They base their heroic origins on the epic of Sundiata, the traditional founder of the Mali Empire. With their common language and shared historical past, the Mande, despite being spread across a large geographic area, retained a cultural identity.

Photographed in 1947, these Mande musicians from the French colony of Upper Niger are playing traditional flutes. © *New York Times*

A shared Mande cultural identity aided SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900), a late-19th-century Dyula leader, in building a large state in the western savanna regions. Samori spoke Maninka and utilized Mande political institutions for anchoring his state at the local level. However, after the French defeated Samori in 1898, much of the Mande-speaking heartland became a part of France's colonial empire.

French authorities originally intended for the Mande-speaking territories to be part of the larger FRENCH WEST AFRICA. Because of cultural continuity and a history of strong governance, though, the French found it difficult to bring these territories into the fold. In an effort to diminish Mande strength, France tried to divide and conquer, creating individual colonial entities that broke apart the Mande-speaking population, grouping them instead with members of other language families. For example, Maninka speakers were split between the colony of FRENCH SOUDAN (present-day Mali) and Guinea, and those in Guinea were grouped with 19 other language groups living between them and the coast. Despite the efforts of the French, however, most Mande speakers were able to cross the artificially contrived borders, thereby allowing their commercial activities to continue to thrive.

See also: BAMANA (Vol. I); BAMBARA (Vols. II, III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); MANDE (Vols. I, II); SUNDIATA (Vol. II).

Mandela, Nelson (Nelson Rolihlala Mandela; Madiba) (1918–   ) *South African lawyer and resistance leader*

Mandela was born in the village of Qunu, located in the XHOSA-speaking Transkei region of the eastern Cape Province of SOUTH AFRICA. His father, a high counselor to the paramount chief of Thembuland, died when Mandela was still a young boy. After his father's death Mandela was placed in the care of the paramount chief and was raised to become the principal counselor to the heir to the chieftaincy. Eschewing the local affairs and politics of the Transkei, Mandela instead studied to become a lawyer.

After being dismissed from FORT HARE COLLEGE for his part in a student demonstration, Mandela went to JOHANNESBURG and completed his degree via correspondence at the University of South Africa. While completing his degree Mandela joined the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) in 1942, quickly joining a burgeoning youth movement within the organization led by Anton Lembede (1914–1947).

This group of young ANC members included Walter SISULU (1912–2003) and Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993), whom Mandela had befriended at Fort Hare. They thought that the gradualist tactics of the ANC leadership were ineffective and believed that a more prudent course of action was to promote African nationalism with the goal of self-determination. In 1942 they formed the African National Congress Youth League, which quickly exerted influence within the ANC power structure.

In 1950 Mandela was elected to the ANC national executive committee, and in 1952 he was elected national volunteer-in-chief. The duties of this position included traveling the country to organize resistance related to the ANC's defiance campaign, which called for mass civil disobedience in response to South Africa's racist APARTHEID legislation. Mandela was arrested for his role in organizing the defiance campaign. Moreover he was banned from attending ANC gatherings and was prohibited from leaving Johannesburg.

In December 1952 Mandela and Oliver Tambo opened a legal partnership in Johannesburg. Their endeavor was the first black law office in the country.

Mandela was arrested again in 1956 along with 155 other political activists and charged with high treason, a crime punishable by death. Mandela and the codefendants were detained while the five-year trial progressed. A highly respected lawyer, Mandela acted as defense attorney for the accused, ultimately earning acquittals for the most serious charges. He was eventually released but the trial brought about a change in Mandela's ideology of resistance. In 1958 he married Nkosikazi Madikizela (1934–   ), who was known as Winnie and became a prominent freedom fighter in her own right.

In 1960 the South African government banned the ANC, and Mandela and his colleagues were forced to go underground to continue their resistance movement. By 1962 they had come to the conclusion that the use of violence was inevitable, leading to the formation of the ANC's military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), with Mandela as commander-in-chief.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vols. IV, V); MANDELA, NELSON (Vol. V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Vol. V).

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Mandinka

West African people who are part of the larger MANDE group; also the name of the LANGUAGE spoken by these people. Speakers of Mandinka and the closely related Maninka claim descent from groups that were once a part of the Mali Empire. Their languages are two of the four mutually intelligible forms of the larger Mande group, which consists of 46 separate languages in

all. Because they are understood by speakers of other Mande languages, Mandinka and Maninka have long been used as the lingua franca of trade and commerce across much of West Africa.

Many Mandinka speakers ultimately fell under British COLONIAL RULE in GAMBIA. However, those Mandinka speakers who were part of the TUKULOR EMPIRE of UMAR TAL (1794–1864) fell within the French colonial orbit following Umar's defeat, in 1863. After 1898 Maninka speakers, too, came under French control, as the French extended their influence eastward following the defeat of SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900).

Today the Mandinka ethnic group can be found stretching from the mouth of the Gambia River inland across the West African savanna region. Mandinka speakers live mostly in The Gambia, GUINEA-BISSAU, and SENEGAL, and Maninka speakers are found throughout MALI, GUINEA, BURKINA FASO, SIERRA LEONE, and LIBERIA.

See also: MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); MANDINKA (Vol. II).

Maranke, John   (1912–1963) *Prophet and founder of an apostolic African church in Zimbabwe*

John Maranke was born Muchabaya Ngomberume, in northeastern SOUTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZIMBABWE), to the daughter of a prominent SHONA chief. He took his mother's clan name of Maranke when, on July 17, 1932, he had a revelation inspiring him to preach Christianity.

After receiving an elementary education at a Methodist mission school, Maranke worked as a laborer in the town of Umtali. He then experienced a long period of illness during which he had dreams that culminated in his revelation. Afterward Maranke believed himself to be a new John the Baptist, and he set out to baptize and proselytize among his close circle of family and neighbors. Eventually he founded a church, Humbowo Hutswa we Vapostori (The New Revelation of the Apostles), claiming that his visions were providing further guidance on its structure and rituals. His church's practices drew heavily on the Christian Old Testament, the teachings of Christian MISSIONARIES, and older indigenous religious beliefs. Healing was also an important component of church ritual.

During the 1940s and 1950s Maranke continued to develop the Vapostori church, and upon his death in 1963, his two sons, Abel (d. c. 1988) and Makebo (d. 1992) took over the church leadership. In the decades since African independence, as with many other African Pentecostal churches, the Vapostori Church has continued to grow and attract large numbers of new adherents. Presently, more than 70 years after its founding, the Vapostori church, also known as the Apostolic church of John Maranke, has more than a half-million members.

The latter years of the colonial era in Africa saw the rise of many PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS. Like Maranke, their founders often claimed to be guided by visions that followed a near-death experience.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); HEALTH AND HEALING (Vols. IV, V); RELIGION (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Bennetta Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles: Ritual and Conversion in the Church of John Maranke* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975).

Margai, Milton (Sir Milton Augustus Striery Margai) (1895–1964) *First prime minister of independent Sierra Leone*

A mild-mannered conservative who remained pro-British throughout his life, Margai was the son of a wealthy merchant. Educated in the best schools in SIERRA LEONE, he graduated from FOURAH BAY COLLEGE, in FREETOWN. He then went to England to pursue his medical studies at the University of Durham and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine.

From the late 1920s until the 1950s Margai served in Sierra Leone as a medical officer in the government service, where he became known for his work in prenatal and postnatal care. He was also instrumental in training midwives and in improving conditions for children in the country.

Margai's mild manner did not preclude political activism. Although he was a life-long moderate, he was a prominent nationalist and one of the key figures in Sierra Leone's independence movement. Rising from the Bonthe District Council, to which he was first elected in 1930, he eventually served in the Protectorate Assembly. In 1946 he joined the Sierra Leone Organization Society, the ancestor of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), which was founded during the early 1950s by Margai and his brother Albert (1910–1980). Freetown politician Constance CUMMINGS-JOHN (1918–2000) helped organize women's support for the party. The SLPP was Sierra Leone's first nationalist party, and it consistently advocated a path of self-government for Sierra Leone within the British Commonwealth.

Through the early 1950s Margai assumed a number of increasingly important political roles, rising from the legislative council to the executive council, and by 1953 to the ministries of health, AGRICULTURE, and forestry. In 1954 he became chief minister when Sierra Leone was granted self-government, and he was reappointed chief minister in 1957. During the latter part of the 1950s

Margai's SLPP was split, as his brother Albert, who was more radical, led a splinter group to form a rival political party. Still, Milton Margai held on to power and was named premier, and later prime minister, as the country moved toward full independence. He died in office on April 28, 1964, after a short illness. Albert Margai succeeded Milton as prime minister but lacked his popularity, and in 1967 he lost the election to Siaka Stevens (1905–1988).

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONAL-ISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Marrakech (Marrakesh) City in west-central MO-ROCCO, located at the foot of the Atlas Mountains. Founded in 1062 during the era of the Almoravid Empire (c. 1060–1146), Marrakech developed into a prosperous commercial center for trans-Saharan trade. After serving as the capital under the Sadis, in the 16th century the city became a military post for the successor Alawite rulers. In 1912 the Mauritanian leader, Ahmad al-Hibah, took control of the city in an effort to stave off French COLO-NIAL CONQUEST. The French defeated him that same year and captured Marrakech. During the subsequent period of French COLONIAL RULE, which lasted until Morocco gained its independence in 1956, the modern part of the city was built. It contrasts sharply with the ancient sector of the city, called the medina.

By 1920 a railroad connected Marrakech to the coastal ports of Casablanca and Safi, thus enhancing the city's role as a center of commerce. Since independence in 1956 the city has continued as an important commercial center and has become a significant tourist destination. The population was estimated at 243,000 in 1960.

See also: ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); ATLAS MOUNTAINS (Vol. I); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MARRAKECH (Vols. II, III, V); SADIAN DYNASTY (Vol. II); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Mau Mau Name, meaning "Burning Spear," given to KIKUYU guerilla fighters during a long period of violent insurrection in KENYA during the 1940s and 1950s. Although the roots of the Mau Mau rebellion lay in the whole history of British involvement in Kenya, the more immediate cause lay in the 20th-century land policy of the Kenyan colonial government.

In the years following World War I (1914–18) the colonial authorities encouraged emmigration from both Britain and continental Europe, appropriating thousands of square miles of land for the new settlers. As immigrants arrived, more and more land was taken, primarily from the Kikuyu ethnic group. By the 1940s just a few thousand Europeans owned nearly one-third of Kenya's land, mostly in the fertile highlands, while millions of Africans were forced to live on inferior land that they could never officially own.

Protests against the government's policies took place throughout the 1920s and 1930s, but despite the efforts of Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978) and other Kikuyu leaders, no lasting changes were affected. The situation finally came to a head as Africans who had served Britain during World War II (1939–45) returned home to find that Britain was not keeping either of its wartime promises to return land to Africans and rescind discriminatory social policies.

In 1946 security forces at a demonstration in NAIROBI killed several demonstrators, sparking violent acts of retribution throughout the Kenyan countryside. During this period of instability a revolutionary Kikuyu cadre emerged, eventually calling itself the Land Freedom Party (LFP). The main goal of the LFP was the end of minority white rule. Unlike the more conservative Kenya African Union, which had led antigovernment protests since the 1920s, the LFP rebels were willing to use violence to achieve their ends.

The LFP army was an assemblage of cells, or units, usually numbering no more than a hundred fighters per cell. Their weapons were simple, usually bows and arrows, spears, short machetes, or firearms that were either homemade or captured from settlers and British soldiers. In spite of their lack of supplies the LFP army soon built itself into a formidable force. In the months that followed the initial flurry of violence, activity by Mau Mau, as the rebel movement was by then called, was limited. However, as sympathy for their goals grew, and as fear of Mau Mau attacks increased, the rebels grew stronger.

A key element to the strength of the movement was the so-called Mau Mau oath. Drawing on Kikuyu traditions in which oaths are considered sacred bonds, Mau Mau members pledged never to inform on one another and to drive whites from power, killing them if necessary. The pattern of sporadic Mau Mau attacks with a limited government response continued for several years. In 1952, however, the Mau Mau assassinated a well-known supporter of the British, Chief Wariuhu, and the government clamped down immediately. Within two weeks Britain declared a state of emergency, and as thousands of British troops poured into the country, the colonial government began a massive roundup of Kenyan political leaders. In the initial sweep more than 4,000 Africans, among them Jomo Kenyatta, were detained.

When Mau Mau activity continued, the British government arrested and detained more Kikuyu and forcibly moved others to "protected" villages where they lived under the total control of the colonial authorities. In trying to suppress the Mau Mau uprising the British raided and destroyed entire communities, often torturing detainees and holding them without charges or trials.

In April 1954, as part of what was called Operation Anvil, colonial police rounded up the entire African population of the city of Nairobi, separating out approximately 70,000 Kikuyu from the 100,000 detainees. More than 30,000 of these Kikuyu were then taken to prison camps and their families sent to overcrowded "native reserves." Given such tactics, it is not surprising that by late 1954 almost one-third of all Kikuyu men had been put in prison.

Throughout Kenya the colonial authorities instituted a system of quick and immediate "justice." Taking the Mau Mau oath became a capital offense under the rules of the state of emergency, and public hangings—outlawed in Britain a century earlier—became commonplace in Kenya. More than 1,000 Africans were hanged between 1953 and 1956. Those oath takers who were spared the gallows were coerced under the threat of torture to take counter-oaths, or "cleansing vows," by which they foreswore Mau Mau and pledged their loyalty to the colonial government.

Although Mau Mau activity had declined markedly by 1956, the authorities still refused to lift the state of emergency, and they continued to hold tens of thousands of Kikuyu in detention. Following an incident in which a group of Mau Mau prisoners were beaten—and 11 of them killed—a public outcry finally made the government release the remaining detainees and relax the state of emergency.

The Mau Mau uprising marked a military defeat for the Kikuyu, but it forced the Kenyan and British authorities to reevaluate East African colonial policy. Within months of lifting the state of emergency, talks were underway in London to effect a transitional government that would place Kenya on the road to independence and majority rule.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MBOYA, TOM (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

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Mauritania Present-day country of northwestern Africa, some 398,000 square miles (1,030,800 sq km) in size and bordered by ALGERIA, MALI, SENEGAL, and WESTERN SAHARA; during the 19th century the region of present-day Mauritania fell prey to the French campaign of COLONIAL CONQUEST in West Africa.

The Maures, who were the indigenous Arabic peoples controlling the region's trade, had established profitable coastal commercial ties with the Portuguese in the 15th century. Maure traders charged European traders a *coutume,* or annual fee, for trade rights. During the 19th century, however, attempts by the Maure to reestablish their own sovereignty in the region met with defeat at the hands of French colonial forces.

By 1840 France had laid claim to Senegal and was expanding its West African colonial empire, which led to their control over neighboring Mauritania. Under the French governor of Senegal, Louis FAIDHERBE (1818– 1889), French troops conquered the Maure Walo kingdom and launched assaults on the Brakna and Trarza emirates. Despite the Maure effort to capture Saint-Louis, in 1855 France was victorious, establishing a PROTECTORATE over the defeated Maure and ending the *coutume* payments. This success led Faidherbe to send expeditions to the interior in both 1859 and 1860 to extend French COLONIAL RULE beyond the coast. However, successive colonial administrators after Faidherbe failed to build on his initiative, and by the start of the 20th century, France had done little to strengthen its control over Mauritania. The *coutume* had by this time been reinstated, a telling sign of France's administrative weakness and the Maures' staunch independence.

Mauritania during the Colonial Era The situation changed under a new policy of "peaceful penetration" initiated by French administrator Xavier Coppolani (1866–1905). From 1901 to 1905 Coppolani, who came to be known as the "Pacific Conqueror" by the Maure, employed divide-and-conquer tactics along with efforts at protection and peace. At the time the Maure were involved in constant internal warfare and raiding and were enthusiastically supplied with firearms by French commercial interests in St-Louis who became rich through the weapons trade. Much to the dismay of these French companies, Coppolani negotiated with two of Mauritania's three most powerful marabouts, or Islamic leaders, Shaikh Sidiyya BABA (1862–1926) and Shaikh Saad Bu, winning their support for a French-imposed peace over the region. By 1904 Coppolani had established firm French control over the Senegal River valley, eventually extending French power into the south-central area of Mauritania. Also in 1904 France established Mauritania as a protectorate separate from Senegal, and later that year it became the Civil Territory of Mauritania.

Coppolani's campaign of PACIFICATION failed in the northern Adrar region, however, where the third influential marabout, Shaykh Ma al-Aynin, sided with MOROCCO in its claims to Mauritania. Coppolani was killed in 1905, and three years later France began to conquer the Adrar through force. Although occasional conflicts oc-

curred as late as 1955, France had effectively subdued any resistance by 1912.

In 1920 Mauritania became part of FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF). The administration of Mauritania differed from that of the other AOF colonies, however, in that the marabouts were instrumental in the governance of the colony. Also, due to France's relatively late "pacification" of Mauritania, many of the *cercles,* or administrative subdivisions, of the colony were headed by military commanders. Maure warrior leaders were also enlisted in the colonial government, in keeping with Coppolani's original efforts at maintaining peace in the region.

During World War II (1939–45) the pro-German Vichy government of France assumed control of AOF, installing racist policies and practicing increasingly brutal forms of forced LABOR. Toward the end of the war Mauritania and AOF came to side with the Free French forces of Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970). In 1944, as a reward for French African colonies' contribution to the war effort, colonial reforms were instated, including an abolition of forced labor and an expansion of EDUCATION and health care. In 1946 the new French constitution established Mauritania and the other French African colonies as overseas territories of the FRENCH UNION. French citizenship was granted to all, as was the right to vote, to form territorial assemblies, and to send representatives to the French National Assembly.

In 1946 suffrage was limited to only a few groups, such as government officials, property owners, and the members of trade and LABOR UNIONS. The right to vote was gradually extended to a wider range of people until 1956, when it became universal in the French African colonies.

In 1946 Mauritania's first political party, the socialist-minded Mauritanian Entente, was formed by the Senegalese leaders Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001) and Lamine GUÈYE (1891–1968). Headed by Horma Ould Babana, the Mauritanian Entente handily won the 1946 territorial assembly elections but was defeated just as easily in 1951 by the Mauritanian Progressive Union (MPU). Babana fled to Morrocco, where he formed the National Council of Mauritanian Resistance.

In 1956 the Loi Cadre, or Overseas Reform Act, gave the French African colonies domestic autonomy, and Moktar Ould Daddah (1924–) became prime minister. Daddah was immediately faced with the problem of Mauritania's sharply divided populations. The northerners, who were mostly of Arab descent, supported union with Mo-

rocco. Mauritanians in the south, on the other hand, more closely identified with the populations of sub-Saharan Africa and preferred to join Mali and Senegal in the Mali Federation. The latter group formed parties such as the Gorgol Democratic Bloc and the Union of the Inhabitants of the River Valley to oppose the northern, pro-Morocco Maures. In response to the desires of both factions, Daddah called for unity, and in 1958 the MPU, the Mauritanian Entente, and the Gorgol Democratic Bloc merged to form the Mauritanian Regroupment Party. The new party supported total independence, rejecting union with Morocco or the Mali Federation. Unity did not last long, however. In 1958 the Mauritanian National Renaissance Party, or Nahda, was formed in opposition to the Regroupment Party's desire to keep close ties with France.

In 1958 Mauritania became an independent member of the French Community, and in that same year it became the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. In 1960 it declared full independence. Daddah once again brought together the various sides of Mauritania's political scene, becoming the country's first president, in 1961. The nation's various political parties, including Nahda and Daddah's Mauritanian National Union, merged to form the Mauritanian People's Party, which was declared the only legal party in Mauritania.

At independence the vast majority of the population lived in the rural areas in the southwestern part of the country, subsisting either on farming in the river regions or by means of nomadic PASTORALISM. The country had very few university graduates and less than a thousand high school students. Its TRANSPORTATION infrastructure was extremely rudimentary, with few paved roads and no port facilities. Nouakchott, Mauritania's national capital, had been only a small village as late as 1958, when a massive construction project was started to accommodate 15,000 residents.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MAURITANIA (Vols. I, II, III, V); NOUAKCHOTT (Vols. II, V).

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Mauritius Island nation in the Indian Ocean, situated approximately 500 miles (805 km) east of MADAGASCAR. Although it measures only 720 square miles (1,870 sq km), by the 1850s Mauritius was the sugar capital of Britain's empire, producing than 100,000 tons (90,718 metric tons) each year. In the sugar fields, LABOR had been done by African slaves brought from the mainland, but in 1935 Britain, which acquired Mauritius from France in 1814, abolished SLAVERY throughout its empire. By the 1830s indentured laborers imported from British-

ruled India were doing the bulk of the work in the sugar industry. It was not until the 1870s that the indenture system was officially terminated, but even after that, conditions for the workers remained horrible. By the early 20th century more than 450,000 Hindu and Muslim laborers had been brought to the island to work the plantations. The Mauritian sugar industry, however, had already begun to decline after the 1860s. Producers cut costs, centralized production, and encouraged individuals to pool their capital to establish small farms, thus worsening the conditions of the workers. These efforts proved incapable of stopping the slide, and the island never regained its former economic significance.

Despite being a British colony, the island continued to hold on to its French linguistic and social traditions. The Franco-Mauritian elite class—made up primarily of plantation owners, officials, and other people of wealth—retained its political power. It was not until the early 20th century that the Creole middle class, made up of both people with mixed-race ancestry and descendants of African slaves, achieved inroads into the political system. The Indo-Mauritians, traditionally forced to the bottom of the island's social ladder, did not make any significant progress in terms of political or social power until well into the 1920s and 1930s.

In the era of DECOLONIZATION following World War II (1939–45) Mauritius moved slowly toward nationhood. A new constitution in 1947 and another in 1958 gradually extended the franchise and broadened the political base of power. However, discord arising from the island's ethnic diversity—which was compounded by the entrenched political power of the elite—consistently led to conflict, including periods of rioting, in the years leading up to independence in 1968.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MAURITIUS (Vols. I, II, III, V); MONO-CROP ECONOMIES (Vol. IV).

M'baye d'Erneville, Annette (1926–) *Senegalese poet best known for writings emphasizing a love of humanity and the empowerment of African women*

Born in Sokone, Western SENEGAL, M'baye was educated at the Saint-Joseph de Cluny à Saint-Louis and the École Normale d'Institutrices, a teacher's college for girls located near DAKAR. She ultimately became general superintendent of the École Normale before continuing her studies in Paris. In 1959 M'Baye returned to Senegal, where she became the commissary of Regional Information, in Diourbel. In 1963 she founded the magazine *Awa,* and shortly thereafter became Program Director for Radio Senegal. She published her first book of poetry, *Poèmes africains,* in 1965. This was followed by *Kaddu*

(1966), *Chanson pour Laïty* (1976), *Le Noël du vieux chasseur* (1983), and *La Bague de cuivre et d'argent* (1983). Her fine poetry and journalistic leadership have made M'Baye one of the influential African literary voices of her generation.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Mbeki, Govan (1910–2001) *South African political activist, intellectual, and journalist*

Govan Mbeki was born into a staunch Wesleyan Methodist family in the Transkei, located in the Eastern Cape Province, SOUTH AFRICA. He remained closely connected to the region and its peasant population for the duration of his life. After graduating with a bachelor's degree in political studies and psychology from FORT HARE COLLEGE in 1937, he assumed a teaching position at Adams College in NATAL. This missionary-administered secondary school fired him, however, because of his political activism, most notably relating to the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), which he joined in 1935. To make a living he managed a cooperative store, and from 1939 to 1943 he edited *Territorial Magazine* (later renamed *Ikundla yaBantu*). In the early 1940s Mbeki also served as a representative to the Transkeian Territories General Council, which was a regional legislative body with limited authority over local matters.

Mbeki's first loyalty was to the ANC, a political body that his able leadership helped to build into a strong and disciplined organization in the Eastern Cape. In 1943 his literary and intellectual talents were utilized in the drafting of "African Claims," a seminal ANC document that called for the principles of the ATLANTIC CHARTER to be applied to the treatment of blacks in South Africa. In 1954 he became editor of the Eastern Cape for *NEW AGE*, a political newspaper. Mbeki was instrumental in organizing the Congress of the People, held July 25–26, 1955, in Kliptown, outside JOHANNESBURG. This conference resulted in the formulation of the FREEDOM CHARTER, which subsequently served as the blueprint for the struggle of the ANC and other black opposition groups dedicated to overthrowing APARTHEID. Mbeki continued as an active member of the ANC for the remainder of his life and lived to see his son, Thabo Mbeki (1942–) elected president of South Africa in 1999.

See also: MBEKI, GOVAN (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Mboya, Tom (Thomas Joseph Odhiambo Mboya) (1930–1969) *Trade unionist and political activist in Kenya*

Born to LUO parents who were field workers on a sisal plantation, Mboya saw first-hand the hardships and poverty that were part of life for most Africans in colonial

KENYA. Receiving an elementary education, he was forced to drop out of secondary school in order to help send his siblings to school. He had two years further training as a sanitary inspector and after graduation found employment in NAIROBI, where he also became active in trade union affairs.

Mboya soon organized a national union of government workers, which in turn led to his developing a network of contacts with union leaders in both Britain and North America. By 1953, at the age of only 23, he became the general secretary of the new Kenyan Federation of Labor, which was, in the absence of African-dominated political parties, the only national organization speaking for Africans in Kenya.

After a period studying in India and at Oxford University, in England, Mboya visited the United States to establish study programs for Kenyan students. Returning to Kenya in 1956, he immediately put his organizational experience to work, using demonstrations and political pressure to force the British colonial authorities to provide Africans with civil liberties. As those rights began to be granted—including the right to establish political parties—Mboya began the People's Convention Party, which had as its slogan the words that became a catchphrase among the African nationalist and independence movements: *Uhuru Sasa*, or "Freedom Now." In 1957, in the first Kenyan election in which Africans were allowed to vote, Mboya was elected to the Legislative Council.

For the next half-dozen years Mboya was a leading figure in the drive for Kenyan independence. In 1958 he served as the chair of the All-African Peoples' Conference, where such future African leaders as Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961), Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), and Robert Mugabe (1924–) met to formulate strategies for furthering the cause of African independence. He also was instrumental in obtaining the release from prison of the prime symbol of the Kenyan independence movement, Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), and in setting up the multiracial government that guided Kenya in the transition to independence. A firm believer that newly independent nations like Kenya needed the stability of a single-party government, Mboya also was one of the initial organizers of the Kenya African National Union, the party that dominated the nation during the early days of independence.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LABOR UNIONS (Vol. IV); MBOYA, TOM (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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medicine While traditional medicine has sustained the African population for thousands of years, Western biomedicine is relatively new to Africa. In the 19th century, a few Africans—James Africanus Beale HORTON (1835–1883) is an example—trained abroad as medical doctors and returned to Africa to practice. However, it was the institution of colonialism that was largely responsible for the introduction and spread of Western biomedicine across Africa.

At the time when colonial doctors and MISSIONARIES were establishing African biomedical clinics, a new way of understanding disease was gaining momentum in the West. The new, SCIENCE-based framework, called the *germ theory* of disease, upended African traditional medical systems that often attributed the source of disease to human or supernatural agents. In light of the germ theory, missionary healers chastised African patients for using traditional medicine, which the Europeans thought of as irrational WITCHCRAFT.

The colonial and missionary healers tended to lump all of the non-Western traditional medical practices into one category, thereby devaluing the different medical systems and treatments that were, and still are, available in Africa. Different traditional medical systems successfully used herbs, rituals, prayers, charms, minerals, animal products and byproducts, song, DANCE, offerings, and foods for treatment of many different biological and social conditions. As Western-style medicine became more common, however, traditional healers began to incorporate some of the Western medicines into their practice, as well.

Victoria Hospital at Lovedale Institute in the eastern Cape Province of SOUTH AFRICA is an example of the hospitals that medical missionaries established in many parts of the continent. Founded by Church of Scotland missionaries in 1898, it immediately established an experimental nursing school for Africans, which, by 1902, evolved into a three-year nursing course. In 1908 one of the early course graduates, Cecilia Makinwane (b. 1880), became the first registered African nurse in South Africa. To honor Makinwane's accomplishment, the South African government in Mdantsane named a 1,450-bed hospital for her.

The practice of Western biomedicine spread especially rapidly after World War II (1939–1945), when inexpensive drugs, many developed during the war, became more widely available. In general the first Africans to have access to Western medicine were the laborers and residents who lived near the urban areas, where the colonial doctors also lived. The more rural areas, however,

By the early 1940s, when this photo was taken, innoculations against sleeping sickness were an important step forward for Western-style medicine in tropical Africa. © Actualit/New York Times

were exposed to colonial medicine only through missions. While colonialism was responsible for forcing traditional healers to keep their practices secret from, it was also responsible for numerous positive changes in health conditions. For example, vaccination programs begun during the period eventually led to the elimination of diseases, such as smallpox, that had long plagued the continent.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); HEALTH AND HEALING IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV) MEDICINE (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Further reading: Philip D. Curtin, *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Adell Patton, Jr., *Physicians, Colonial Racism, and Diaspora in West Africa* (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 1996).

Menelik II (Sahle Mariam) (1844–1913) *Ethiopian emperor*

One of Africa's greatest 19th-century rulers, Menelik II took his name from the reputed founder of ETHIOPIA, the legendary son of King Solomon and Queen Makeda (of Sheba). During his long, tumultuous reign, he transformed Ethiopia into a relatively modern state with a strong army. Born in 1844, Menelik was the grandson of Sahle Selassie (1795–1847), who set himself up as the ruler of the independent kingdom of SHOA. From an early age, Menelik—or Sahle Mariam, as he was named at birth—was raised at the royal court of the Ethiopian emperor TÉWODROS II (1820–1868), who conquered Shoa and took both Menelik and the youngster's mother to his capital. There Menelik learned the arts of war and politics, rising to be the governor of Shoa. Eventually Menelik fell out of royal favor when Téwodros suspected

him of joining regional warlords in a planned rebellion. Menelik was imprisoned but fled to Shoa, where he crowned himself king.

Menelik's early reign in Shoa offered glimpses of policies he would follow later in life. For example, in a time of religious animosity and strife he exercised religious tolerance, allowing Islam and traditional African religions to be practiced along with the Coptic Christianity of his own ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. He also played a wily political game, attempting to maintain a neutral path in the tangled web of Ethiopian, British, and Mahdist interests. Equally important, he recognized the need for Ethiopia to modernize and gain access to European technology, especially in weaponry. He felt this was crucial for countering the increasingly aggressive moves of the European powers. Toward that end he purchased state-of-the-art weapons from Italy and France and hired Europeans to instruct Ethiopians in everything from military science to ARCHITECTURE.

When Téwodros was succeeded on the Ethiopian throne by Kassa (1831–1889), who took the name of YOHANNES IV, Menelik initially made moves to try to take power from the new emperor. In the end, however, he negotiated a compromise in which he exchanged recognition of Yohannes's authority for guarantees that he would succeed Yohannes as emperor. In the meantime he continued to rule in Shoa, forging treaties with various European nations and expanding his borders southward into Harer.

> **Téwodros met his end in 1868, after becoming involved in a complex dispute with Great Britain. The British military force sent to Ethiopia easily defeated Téwodros, who committed suicide rather than surrender. The emperor's quick defeat further convinced Menelik of the need to develop a modern, well-equipped army.**

Yohannes's rule came to an end in 1889. Facing encroachments from Italy in the east, and from the Sudanese Mahdists in the west, Yohannes attempted to defend his

As they prepare to receive U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt's Diplomatic Treaty Mission of 1903–04, Emperor Menelik II and members of his royal court entered the Aderach, or Audience Hall, in the palace at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. © *Library of Congress*

kingdom from both enemies. Ultimately he was not successful, and he was defeated and killed by the Mahdists in March, 1889.

Realizing that Ethiopia might easily slip into feudalism or even anarchy, Menelik worked quickly to consolidate his power. Armed as they were with sophisticated weapons, his forces were able to put down opposition from the various princes and warlords who held local power in the country. However, the newly crowned emperor was less decisive in dealing with external threats. Not sure that his forces would be able to defeat an all-out Italian invasion, Menelik preferred to negotiate rather than directly confront Italy. He therefore held back, signing the Treaty of Wichale and allowing the Italians to set up their colony in neighboring ERITREA.

Ultimately, that treaty was to prove the undoing of Italy's further colonial aspirations in Africa. Apparently using the kind of subterfuge that had marked many Europeans' dealings with African leaders, the document was issued in two versions, one Italian and the other, Amharic. The two were apparently not the same, with the Amharic version guaranteeing Ethiopia's independence and the Italian version essentially reducing Menelik's kingdom to an Italian PROTECTORATE. When he discovered the deceptive strategy, Menelik took decisive action. Rejecting the treaty, he declared his full intention to oppose any Italian attempts at taking control, backing up his assertions with new arms purchased from France and Russia. Italy, on its part, dispatched an army under General Oreste Baratieri (1841–1901), the celebrated Italian hero who vowed to capture Menelik and bring him to Rome in a cage.

Despite a few initial successes, Baratieri proved no match for Menelik, who amassed a force of almost 200,000 soldiers, the majority of them equipped with modern rifles. Learning too late of the size of the force opposing him, Baratieri found himself not only isolated deep within Ethiopian territory but also pressed by his own government to achieve a quick victory.

Both sides dug in to relatively secure positions, where they remained until a lack of food and the urgings of the Italian government finally forced Baratieri to advance. At the Battle of ADOWA, on March 1, 1896, the Italians met with defeat unlike any other suffered by modern Europeans in Africa. Unable to hold off Menelik's troops, Baratieri's force 20,000 was routed, taking upwards of 10,000 casualties. To add to the humiliation, several hundred Italians and their Eritrean allies were taken prisoner and held in Menelik's capital of ADDIS ABABA until they were ransomed by the Italian government.

Menelik used his victory to secure a treaty guaranteeing Ethiopian independence. To the surprise—and disapproval—of many Ethiopians, however, he did not attempt to negotiate a complete Italian withdrawal. Instead, possibly in order to use the Italians in his international diplomatic game or possibly because he was not sure he could win a full-scale war with a major European power, he allowed Italy to keep its colony in Eritrea.

Hailed as a major military victor, Menelik was visited and courted by diplomats from virtually every European nation. Secure in his power, he continued the policies he had begun earlier, modernizing his nation and making sure that it would remain independent. He built roads, railroads, and bridges, encouraged the use of European MEDICINE and technology, and instituted monetary and postal systems for the nation. He also developed schools, hospitals, and even hotels. Above all, he increased the centralized authority of the emperor and the bureaucrats who carried out his commands.

Many of Menelik's achievements proved short-lived, however. Not long after the turn of the 20th century, he began suffering a series of seizures that left him increasingly incapacitated. He tried to set up a line of succession that would allow his grandson, Lij Iyasu (1896–1935), to take power. For a time Menelik's brilliant and powerful queen, the Empress Taitu (c. 1840–1918), was able to hold on to power, ruling in her husband's name. Upon his death, however, the weak and incompetent Iyasu came to the throne, which he held only a few years. With Iyasu's fall from power in a 1916 coup d'état, Ethiopia returned to a short period of the decentralization until, in the 1920s, HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) began to reconsolidate Ethiopia on his way to becoming emperor.

See also: COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); MAHDI, AL-MUHAMMAD AHMAD (Vol. IV); MAKEDA, QUEEN (QUEEN OF SHEBA) (Vol. I); MAHDIYYA (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Mensah, E. T. (Emmanuel Tettey) (1919–1996)
Ghanaian musician and band leader

In the aftermath of World War II (1939–45), a new MUSIC form, HIGHLIFE, emerged in West Africa. It was heard first in GOLD COAST COLONY (present-day GHANA) and then in NIGERIA. At the forefront of this musical genre was E. T. Mensah. Beginning in 1930, as a schoolboy in his hometown of ACCRA, Mensah played the piccolo in the student Accra Orchestra. Within a few years he and his brother started the Accra Rhythmic Orchestra. By this time he had also started playing the saxophone and trumpet. Indeed, it was as a trumpeter and singer that he was to gain fame. During the Second World War European musicians with a jazz background influenced the existing dance bands such as those of Mensah and his brother.

Mensah began to experiment with a blend of American swing, West Indian calypso, older indigenous music forms, and other musical genres, leading to his particular brand of highlife music. He also moved away from the big band format that had held sway on the popular music scene to play in smaller groups, such as his own Tempos, which he founded in 1948. This was also a period of increasing political activity due to heightened NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS and also increasing URBANIZATION with a new and vibrant URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE. E. T. Mensah and the Tempos captured the spirit of the times, and his musical influence spread to Nigeria, where he was soon touring. It was not long before the music reached England, where several cities had significant West African and West Indian populations who picked up and spread highlife music. In 1953 Mensah and his band made a highly successful tour of England, where he recorded what were to be some of his biggest hits. By all accounts the high point in Mensah's career was performing with the great American jazz musician, Louis Armstrong (1900–1971), who came to Ghana in 1957 to help celebrate its independence.

The emergence of a new popular form of African music in the 1960s, known as Congolese, was to eclipse highlife in popularity. Mensah continued to perform and record highlife songs, as did others he influenced, but they were no longer in the forefront of popular music in West Africa. However, for his admirers, who were many, Mensah always will remain the "king of highlife."

Merina Largest ethnic group of the island nation of MADAGASCAR. The Malagasy-speaking Merina had near-complete control of the island before it became a French PROTECTORATE, in 1895. The early Merina evolved out of the mixing of the indigenous African Vazimba people and the Indonesian Hova. After nearly one hundred years of warfare, the two groups began assimilating into one another. By the 15th century the Merina had founded a small kingdom in the elevated central plateau of Madagascar. By the end of the 18th century, the Merina king Andrianampoinimerina (c. 1745–1810) had established his capital at Tananarive (which is now called Antananarivo). There he centralized his power and forged a powerful kingdom known as Imerina.

The Merina had gained much of their prosperity through the SLAVE TRADE, exchanging captives for European firearms. King Radama I (c. 1793–1828) ended the slave trade in return for British military supplies, which were used to further Merina dominance over the various coastal peoples. Radama also opened his kingdom to MISSIONARIES who, through their efforts to educate and win converts, helped spread Merina culture even further. Radama's successor, his wife Ranavalona I (r. 1828–1861), was strongly anti-foreign, first outlawing Chris-

tianity and then, in 1837, expelling all foreigners from Imerina. Ranavalona's son, Radama II (1829–1863) reestablished European ties during his two-year reign from but was assassinated for his pro-French position. By the 1880's, under Queen Ranavalona II (r. 1868–1883), who converted to Christianity, and Ranavalona III (1861–1917), the highly-centralized Merina state came to dominate all of Madagascar save for parts in the south and west.

In 1883 the French began their COLONIAL CONQUEST of Madagascar. By 1895 French troops occupied Tananarive, and the Merina soon came under French COLONIAL RULE. The Merina monarchy was abolished in 1897, and Queen Ranavalona III was deported to ALGERIA, where she remained for most of her life.

Under the Fench policy of *politique des races* (race politics), the Merina benefited more than the other Malagasy peoples on the island. Regardless, Merina nationalism grew during World War I (1914–18) and World War II (1939–45), in which Malagasy troops played a role. Madagascar was under the control of the French Vichy government until the British seized the island in 1942, turning it over the Free French the following year. In 1947 Merina and other Malagasy nationalists rebelled, but the French crushed the uprising.

At independence, in 1960, Philibert Tsiranana (1910–1978) of the Tsimihety people assumed the presidency of Madagascar and established policies that favored the coastal regions over the inland Merina. However, due to their long-time dominant position on the island and the favoritism they received during the colonial era, the Merina continue to be prominent within the civil service, business, and professional sectors of Madagascar.

See also: ANDRIANAMPOINIMERINA (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDONESIAN COLONISTS (Vol. II); MERINA (Vol. III); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV).

Milner, Alfred (Sir; Lord Alfred Milner)
(1854–1925) *British administrator in South Africa*

Milner excelled as a student, attending Oxford before a brief stint as a journalist. He became the private secretary to Lord Goschen (1831–1907), who, in 1890, used his influence to appoint Milner as the undersecretary of finance for the British colonial administration in EGYPT. In 1892 Milner published *England in Egypt,* which documented British involvement in Egypt and argued for an even greater British presence in the country.

Milner's reputation earned him the positions of high commissioner of SOUTH AFRICA and governor-general of the CAPE COLONY. He faced problems caused by the failed JAMESON RAID (1895), an even that aggravated tensions between the governing BOERS and British UITLANDERS of the TRANSVAAL Republic. Milner became concerned that, without heightened involvement, Britain would lose its

South African interests, and he spoke out for the equal treatment of Uitlanders in the AFRIKANER REPUBLICS of the Transvaal and ORANGE FREE STATE. He also saw the GOLD mines of the WITWATERSRAND in the Transvaal as an essential economic resource for establishing British dominance in Africa. Various strategies for gaining an upper hand in the region, conducted by both Milner and Joseph Chamberlain (1836–1914), secretary of state for the colonies, led to the eventual outbreak of the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902).

Britain annexed the Transvaal and Orange Free State while the war was ongoing, and in 1901 Milner was called upon to administer the states. The following year Milner helped draft the Treaty of VEREENIGING, which ended the war.

As the Governor of Transvaal, Milner guided the reconstruction of the war-ravaged, economically depressed Boer territories. Facing a LABOR shortage in the gold mines, Milner made the highly controversial move of importing indentured Chinese workers. He continued his efforts in South Africa until 1905.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Mineral Revolution Period at the end of the 19th century marked by the discovery of large mineral deposits in modern-day SOUTH AFRICA. Africans mined and traded GOLD long before the arrival of Europeans. In the late 1860s, however, the traditional role of minerals in African society changed. In 1866, alluvial DIAMONDS were discovered in the Vaal River. Soon after, dry deposits of diamonds were found at what would become the city of KIMBERLEY. The discovery initiated a massive migration to what was a sparsely populated region. In 1871, Britain annexed the diamond fields in the face of opposing Boer claims from the ORANGE FREE STATE (OFS) and the TRANSVAAL.

By the 1880s Kimberley had quickly expanded to become the largest city in the southern African interior. DIAMOND MINING at Kimberley became the underpinning of the region's economy. Imports to CAPE COLONY and NATAL increased dramatically, allowing their governments to make improvements to infrastructure. At the same time, diamonds soon eclipsed agricultural products as the colonies' primary EXPORTS, and a regional banking system began to take root to handle the changing financial environment. The capital-intensive nature of diamond mining led to a consolidation of the small-scale miners, and the industry ultimately fell under the control of Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) and the company he headed, DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD.

In 1886 the discovery of gold in the WITWATERSRAND ushered in a new phase to the Mineral Revolution. After the find, thousands of miners, 10 times the number at Kimberley, descended upon the area. A MINING camp emerged, eventually becoming the city of JOHANNESBURG, which would quickly eclipse Kimberley in importance.

Unlike the earlier diamond discovery, the gold deposits were located in a gold-bearing reef that required deep mine shafts, extensive machinery, and a complex refining process. The deposits were also within the borders of the Transvaal Republic, which was under the Boer government of Paul KRUGER (1825–1904). Though vexed by the chaos brought by the influx of foreigners, whom they termed UITLANDERS, the BOERS realized that the tax income generated by the mines gave them the opportunity to establish their freedom from British influence.

Despite the Boers' goal of autonomy, by the 1890s the British colonies to the south moved closer to unification with the Boer republics of Transvaal and the OFS. The British victory in the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902) ultimately resulted in the unification of the defeated Boer republics with the Cape Colony and Natal to form the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA in 1910.

The effects of the Mineral Revolution went far beyond the political reorganization of southern Africa. The LABOR required by the new industries resulted in massive African migration to the region, especially from ZIMBABWE (called SOUTHERN RHODESIA at the time) and MOZAMBIQUE. The free movement of laborers, however, forced the mining industry to offer incentives to attract the needed workforce. The resulting power of African laborers became a problem for the colonial administrators, who sought to maintain white supremacy in the region. As a result Africans were subjected to pass laws, which were used to monitor and restrict their movements and which compelled them to live in mineworker compounds that essentially functioned as forced-labor camps. The concentration of the laborers gave rise to new urban centers and the phenomena of URBANIZATION. Eventually the shift in settlement patterns destroyed African rural life and made the traditional homestead economy unsustainable.

The era of the Mineral Revolution also was marked by an improvement in communication capabilities and infrastructure, particularly in railroad and port construction. The new railroads granted unprecedented ease of access to the southern African interior and created opportunities for agricultural trade, though most of the larger farms capable of taking advantage of these opportunities were owned by white farmers employing cheap or forced African labor.

See also: MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V).

minerals and metals Valuable metals lying near the earth's surface—among them GOLD, iron ore, and COPPER—have been mined in Africa for thousands of years. However, the extraction of metals and equally valu-

able minerals changed dramatically when European colonialists realized the extent of Africa's natural resource wealth. The first major thrust to exploit mineral resources on a large scale came in the 1860s, after the discovery of DIAMONDS, in present-day SOUTH AFRICA. In the 1880s the discovery of nearby gold reserves prompted further exploration of resources in Africa and sparked what is now called the African MINERAL REVOLUTION.

In the late 1800s rich copper reserves were discovered in what became known as the COPPERBELT, in NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA) and in Katanga (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO).

Even prior to the era of full-fledged colonialism European CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES were developing large-scale, heavy MINING techniques to exploit difficult-to-extract minerals, such as gold, zinc, and cobalt. In South Africa major mining activities also focused on coal, which was plentiful and was used to provide power for both the mining industry and, in later years, the railway.

Mining developed in other parts of the continent, as well, in the 1900s. For example, tin and coal were being extracted from Nigerian soil as early as 1902. Large diamond deposits were discovered in SOUTH WEST AFRICA (present-day NAMIBIA), ANGOLA, and SIERRA LEONE by 1920. Industrial diamonds were mined for export in the BELGIAN CONGO as early as the 1920s. Britain's GOLD COAST COLONY (today's GHANA) supplied manganese; the country also exported bauxite (aluminum ore) on a small scale, and gold on a major scale, during this period.

Until the 1930s mining was developed mainly in southern Africa and along the West African coast. After World War II (1939–1945), however, mineral extraction developed rapidly in other parts of West Africa, as well. In the 1950s bauxite was discovered in GUINEA, and American and European mining concerns began exploiting iron reserves and diamonds in LIBERIA. Iron deposits were discovered in MAURITANIA in 1935, but large-scale extraction did not begin until 1960.

By 1960 African resources made up a large portion of the world's mineral and metal supply. African copper accounted for approximately 22 percent of the world's supply; African cobalt accounted for 77 percent of world supply; manganese accounted for 22 percent; diamonds, 95 percent; gold, 52 percent; and platinum accounted for 30 percent of the world's output. In addition Africa's nonmetal mineral deposits, such as phosphates and asbestos, made up a large share of the world market.

Between 1950 and 1975 increasing development and industrialization led to worldwide demand for Africa's NATURAL RESOURCES. However, the minerals and metals themselves were not the only resources exported from the continent. The profits from the mining industry, too, flowed out of Africa and into the coffers of foreign mine owners and investors. Despite the fact that they made up the majority of the mining LABOR force,

Africans themselves received negligible benefits from the stripping of their lands.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. V).

mining   Mining was a major activity in Africa long before European colonists arrived in great numbers in the 1800s. One of the world's oldest iron mines, believed to have been active more than 45,000 years ago, is located in SWAZILAND, in SOUTH AFRICA. Africa has a rich history of iron smelting for agricultural tools and weapons, and the precolonial kingdoms of western Africa also used locally mined GOLD dust for currency in trading.

Before the end of the 19th century European-owned mining operations in Africa were extracting large amounts of gold, COPPER, and DIAMONDS from mines in southern Africa. And by the end of the colonial era minerals and metals extracted from African mines also included tin, nickel, bauxite, uranium, zinc, coal, lead, and agricultural phosphates.

The mining economy began to change substantially with the discovery of copper in the 1850s and diamonds in the 1860s, in an area that is today part of South Africa. Initiating what became known as Africa's MINERAL REVOLUTION, the discovery of these deposits led to an influx of prospectors, smugglers, and adventurers. New companies formed quickly—including Rio Tinto-Zinc, DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD., and Consolidated Gold Fields—and dominated the mining industry for the next century. The latter two were founded by the influential British colonialist Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), who went on to found the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC). One of the principal objectives of the BSAC was to speculate on the exploration for, and exploitation of, gold deposits in ZIMBABWE (which was colonial SOUTHERN RHODESIA). Any profits from the mining industry were reinvested to extract additional NATURAL RESOURCES.

Once mineral resources were discovered in great quantities in Africa, the colonial powers focused their energies on extracting these resources as rapidly and inexpensively as possible. With this imperative, cheap LABOR became a priority. In 19th-century South Africa, European SETTLERS made up the majority of miners. During the late 1800s, however, greater numbers of black Africans were recruited and coerced into working in the mines. Between 1907 and 1922 major strikes by white miners caused mine owners to hire even more black African laborers, who could be coerced to do the same work as white miners but for less pay.

The conditions in and around mines were often unsafe and demeaning. Mining employers usually required miners to live near the mines in cramped, unsanitary housing. Laborers went long stretches without contact with their families, working long hours in dangerous

conditions for very little pay. Private companies that bought concessions to the mineral rights through colonial agreements reaped the profits from the mining industry. African laborers, on the other hand, did not benefit very much from the lucrative mining industry. Investments that could have gone to better working conditions instead were used to facilitate the further extraction of raw resources for consumption by an increasingly industrialized Western Europe.

The pattern of mineworker repression held for many areas in present-day South Africa and, to some degree, in the COPPERBELT region of today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO (the former BELGIAN CONGO). There were, however, other mining operations in the Copperbelt that maintained much less control over the lives of the miners. Some even encouraged families to migrate together to the mining towns.

After World War II (1939–45) and into the 1970s the mining industry expanded along with the world demand for minerals and metals. Large-scale, industrial mining took place all over the African continent, including copper mining in ZAMBIA and present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo, iron ore mining in LIBERIA, bauxite mining in GUINEA, and uranium mining in NAMIBIA and NIGER. Diamond and gold mining continued in GHANA (the former GOLD COAST COLONY) and SIERRA LEONE. Spanish corporations mined phosphates in MOROCCO, and tin was mined in northern NIGERIA. The thoroughgoing European exploitation of Africa's mineral resources—and its labor force—left many nations dependent on the mining industry even after independence.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); METALS (Vol. I); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V); MINING (Vols. II, III, V).

Mirambo (c. 1840–1884) *Political leader of the Nyamwezi people of Tanzania*

In the 19th century the interior of East Africa was the site of a dramatic increase in both the SLAVE TRADE and IVORY trade. This was also a time of turmoil and upheaval that provided opportunities for ambitious individuals to carve out positions of authority and power for themselves. One such man was Mirambo, a leader of the NYAMWEZI people living in the west-central region of present-day TANZANIA.

The Nyamwezi were particularly well-situated to take advantage of the growing volume of trade, since the major trade routes from the coast to Lake Tanganyika ran through the heart of their country. Mirambo utilized this strategic position and his own leadership skills to build a large Nyamwezi state in the third quarter of the 19th century.

Sometime after 1850, upon the death of his father, Mirambo inherited the chieftainship of a small Nyamwezi state. He then set out to establish his control over neighboring Nyamwezi chiefdoms, utilizing the innovative ZULU-style military techniques and strategies introduced by Ngoni military bands that had pushed into the area from southern Africa.

By the late 1860s Mirambo had built the largest of the Nyamwezi states. Other Nyamwezi chiefs sought to ward off Mirambo's growing power by using their ties with Arab traders from the SWAHILI COAST, who had set up a trading center in Tabora. In the early 1870s, after several years of fighting that severely disrupted the trade routes, Mirambo and the sultan of ZANZIBAR, ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888), reached an agreement. This pact recognized Mirambo's authority over the area in return for not interfering with the Arab trade network, allowing Mirambo to continue building his state.

Mirambo's state attracted the attention of a number of European visitors, such as the adventurer Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904), who called Mirambo "the Napoleon of Central Africa." In 1880, however, two Englishmen were killed in Mirambo's territory. This caused the British, whose influence in Zanzibar was growing, to view Mirambo in an increasingly negative light. British hostility in turn undercut Mirambo's alliance with the sultan's government, which then began to support Mirambo's Nyamwezi opponents.

In 1884 Mirambo's armies were already on the defensive when their leader died of throat cancer. His state did not long survive his death, as ambitious rival Nyamwezi leaders expanded their own territories. Eventually, however, German soldiers incorporated the Nyamwezi area into GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Norman R. Bennett, *Mirambo of Tanzania* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

missionaries Individuals who worked to convert non-Christians to Christianity and who, for the most part, worked as members of organized missionary societies associated with major denominations. There were also individuals within Islam who engaged in missionary work, but in Africa, the term "missionary" has come to be associated with Christianity.

The late 18th century witnessed an upsurge of evangelism among European Christians. They often broke away from established churches, such as the Church of England, to found new denominations, such as the Methodists. They also founded missionary societies, including the LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY (LMS) in 1795 and the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS) in 1799, to promote their efforts both domestically and overseas.

The late 1700s also saw the rise of the movement to abolish the SLAVE TRADE and, later, the practice of SLAVERY

itself. The British were the first to do this, abolishing the slave trade in 1807. Africa soon became a focal point of European missionary activity, with the earliest missions established in West Africa and SOUTH AFRICA. British abolitionists founded the Province of Freedom, which became SIERRA LEONE, in 1787, and CMS missionaries arrived in 1804. Much of their early focus was on EDUCATION for the purpose of acquiring LITERACY needed to read the Bible and other religious material. This led to more advanced schooling, including the founding in 1827 of FOURAH BAY COLLEGE.

In CAPE COLONY and neighboring areas of present-day South Africa, sustained missionary activity began in 1792 with the arrival of German Moravians to work among the Khoikhoi. The first group of LMS missionaries arrived three years later, and by 1816 the LMS was fielding 20 missionaries, making it the largest missionary body in the region. Two of its missionaries, Robert MOFFAT (1795–1883), who arrived in 1817, and Dr. David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873), who arrived in 1841, came to epitomize 19th-century missionary activity in Africa.

Western-style EDUCATION formed a major component of mission work, with early missionaries contributing significantly to reproducing African languages in writing. Moffat, for example, worked exhaustively on Setswana, the LANGUAGE of the TSWANA people. Mission schools began to produce well educated Africans, some of whom became ordained ministers and missionaries among their own people. Indeed, under the leadership of Henry Venn (1796–1873), the CMS carried out its Niger Mission to the YORUBA-speaking area of modern-day NIGERIA through the agency of individuals educated first in Sierra Leone. These included Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891), who was ordained in 1843, and later consecrated as the first African Anglican bishop, in 1864. A counterpart of Crowther in South Africa was Tiyo SOGA (1829–1871), who was ordained as a Presbyterian minister, in 1856, and played a key role in translating the New Testament into the XHOSA language.

As the era of PARTITION of Africa among the European powers began later in the century, missionary societies became increasingly reluctant to work through Africans such as Crowther and Soga. Thus, the CMS mission to BUGANDA, which began in 1877, was entirely in European hands. Such exclusion from positions of authority and leadership in the mission churches sparked independent churches such as that led by Isaiah SHEMBE (c. 1870–1935), in South Africa, and the LUMPA CHURCH, founded by Alice LENSHINA (1924–1978), in colonial ZAMBIA. In IVORY COAST, Liberian-born William Wade HARRIS (c. 1850–1929) attracted thousands to his independent church with his charismatic preaching. Leaders such as these three were considered prophets, and their prophetic movements proved to be powerful organizing forces. For this reason, they often ran afoul

of colonial authorities, as did Simon KIMBANGU (c. 1887–1951), whom the colonial authorities in the BELGIAN CONGO arrested, in 1921, and held in prison until his death in 1951.

After World War II (1939–45), in keeping with the process of DECOLONIZATION, mission churches tried to broaden their appeal to Africans. This led them to ordain an increasing number of Africans as ministers. Their schools had already turned out many of the leaders of African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS. These missionaries encouraged, albeit inadvertently, the emergence of the independent churches that after 1960 increasingly contested the Western churches for adherents among the faithful.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); KHOIKHOI (Vols. II, III); MISSIONARIES (Vols. III, V); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); RELIGION (Vols. III, IV, V); SHEPPARD, WILLIAM (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa: 1450–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1996).

Moffat, Robert (Reverend) (1795–1883) *Missionary and linguist in southern Africa*

Raised in a Presbyterian family in Scotland, Moffat went to England and apprenticed to become a gardener. There, influenced by Methodist preachers, he joined the LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY and committed himself to bringing Christianity to Africa. He arrived in CAPE TOWN in 1817, and a year later he was sent to a mission station in Namaqualand, a region in the northern CAPE COLONY (present-day southern NAMIBIA). In 1821 he was reassigned to BECHUANALAND (present-day BOTSWANA). There he worked first in the settlement of Dithakong and later in Kuruman, where he stayed for 50 years.

> **During a sabbatical in England (1839–43) Moffat met and recruited David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873) for missionary work in Africa. In 1845 Moffat's eldest daughter, Mary, married Livingstone, who went on to achieve fame as an explorer as well as a missionary.**

While in Kuruman, Moffat became proficient in the LANGUAGE of the TSWANA people, a Bantu tongue known as Setswana, and compiled a grammar of the language. He translated the New Testament into Setswana and had it published in London in 1840. Later he also translated

the Old Testament as well as a hymnbook and the classic Christian morality tale *Pilgrim's Progress,* by John Bunyan (1628–1688).

Moffat won many converts and achieved great popularity. During the 1820s he established a close friendship with Mzilikazi (c. 1790–1868), the king of the NDEBELE, whose people were migrating through Bechuanaland at that time. In the late 1830s, however, the Ndebele were pressured by Afrikaner incursions and moved on. They ultimately settled in the southwestern part of modern-day ZIMBABWE, and Moffat lost contact with the king. The two met again in the 1850s after Moffat had journeyed across the Kalahari Desert. Although Moffat never succeeded in converting Mzilikazi to Christianity, in 1859 the Ndebele king allowed the first permanent mission station to be built in his kingdom. The station was run by Moffat's son, John Smith Moffat (1835–1918). The presence of this mission station in Zimbabwe helped pave the way for British MINING and colonizing expeditions in the 1880s and ultimately, in 1893, the conquest of the Ndebele by Cecil RHODES (1853–1902).

In 1870 the senior Moffat and his wife returned to Britain, where he continued his scholarly work in linguistics, wrote his memoirs, and sought to recruit others for missionary work.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vol. IV); BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); MISSIONARIES (Vols. III, IV); NAMA (Vols. III, IV); NAMALAND (Vol. III); RELIGION (Vols. III, IV).

Mogadishu Capital and principal port of SOMALIA, located in the southeastern part of the country, on the Indian Ocean. Mogadishu was a successful trading center as early as the 10th century, when Arab and Persian merchants came to the area. In 1892 the sultan of ZANZIBAR leased the port at Mogadishu to Italy, which was interested in colonizing the Horn of Africa. By 1905 the city had become the capital of ITALIAN SOMALILAND, taking on the characteristics of an Italian colonial city, with a Roman Catholic Cathedral and European-style colonial administrative buildings and housing. The Italians also developed a school system for the Somalis, with a government school to teach Italian.

The Sultan of Zanzibar took control of Mogadishu in 1871. He built the Garesa Palace, which today houses a museum and library.

By the outbreak of World War II (1939–45), some 8,000 Italians lived in the colony, most of whom were civil servants and their family members. British troops occupied the city early in the war and favored the forces of Somali nationalism against fascist Italian interests. This set the stage for a clash in Mogadishu between Italian settlers and Somali nationalists. The violence began in 1948 and left scores dead and injured on both sides. The King's African Rifles—the British colonial regiment in East Africa—restored order.

Although Italy was on the losing side in World War II, the Italian government once again administered Mogadishu from 1950 until 1960, when the United Nations declared the city part of a TRUST territory. In 1960, when Mogadishu became the capital of independent Somalia, the population of the city stood at approximately 86,000.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); BENADIR COAST (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MOGADISHU (Vols. II, III, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PERSIAN TRADERS (Vol. II); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Mombasa Major port city on the East African coast of present-day KENYA. Mombasa's history from the 16th century through the 19th century is marked by a number of shifts in power. The Portuguese maintained an unsteady dominance over Mombasa, which was the primary town on the SWAHILI COAST, from the early 16th century until 1698. After years of struggle, Omani Arabs finally drove the Portuguese out and the Omani Sultanate assumed control. Bitter feuding between the rival Masrui and BUSAIDI dynasties ended with Mombasa under the rulership of Busaidi Sultan Sayyid Said (1791–1856).

In 1841 Said moved the capital of Oman from Muscat to the island of ZANZIBAR, just to the south of Mombasa, establishing the sultanate of Zanzibar. The city of Zanzibar became a center for the Indian Ocean SLAVE TRADE as well as a major depot for the IVORY TRADE. Mombasa flourished economically, providing Zanzibar with a steady supply of captive humans and ivory. At mid-century the population stood at about 10,000.

In 1873 the British, who had long exerted influence within the sultanate, forced the sultan ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888) to abolish the slave trade, though this did little to suppress trade activity. With colonial aspirations and the ostensible desire to permanently shut down the slave trade, Britain, in a PARTITION agreement with Germany, assumed control of Kenya and UGANDA, in 1886. In 1887 Britain secured concessions along the Kenyan coast from Sultan Barghash, and in 1888 the Imperial British East Africa Company made Mombasa its headquaters for the administration of Kenya. The company's financial difficulties led to intervention by the British government, which established the East African Protectorate, in 1895.

Mombasa was capital of the PROTECTORATE until 1906, when the capital was moved to the new colonial city of NAIROBI.

In 1901 a railroad linking Mombasa, with its population of about 25,000, to Kisumu, on Lake Victoria, ensured that Mombasa continued as a major port of entry to East Africa and facilitated trade to Uganda and the interior. Until the end of World War I the city had been confined to a 7.5 square-mile (16 sq km) island, but continued economic growth led to its expansion to the mainland by 1930. The African LABOR force on the railways and harbors also grew steadily and became increasingly well organized. Strikes in the aftermath of World War II (1939–45) heralded the beginning of the nationalist movement on the coast.

Another post–World War II development was the beginning of tourism. The early tourists were white SETTLERS from SOUTH AFRICA and SOUTHERN RHODESIA. At the time of Kenya's independence, in 1963, Mombasa was a vastly different city than it had been under the Busaidi sultans, but it still remained largely a Muslim, KISWAHILI-speaking town.

See also: BRITISH EAST AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMAN EAST AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MASRUI (Vol. III); MOMBASA (Vols. II, III, V); OMANI SULTANATE (Vol. III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); SAYYID SAID (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); TOURISM (Vol. V).

Mondlane, Eduardo (Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane) (1920–1969) *Major figure in Mozambique's independence movement*

Born in Manjacaze, a town in southern MOZAMBIQUE, Mondlane was raised by his widowed mother, who instilled in him a desire for education. Against seemingly insurmountable odds, he attended, first, a local school, which he entered at the age of 11, and then a series of mission and religious schools. He completed his secondary education in SOUTH AFRICA, where he won a scholarship. From there Mondlane went on to the University of Witwatersrand, also in South Africa. In spite of the fact that he was one of only 300 blacks on a campus of 5,000 students, he became a campus leader. This visibility, however, brought Mondlane to the attention of the white South African authorities, the newly elected Nationalists, whose racist APARTHEID policies were hostile to any signs of black leadership. Refusing to renew his student residence permit, in 1949 they effectively banned him from completing his education in South Africa.

Back in Mozambique Mondlane organized a national student union known as UNEMO. This and other political activities led to his arrest by the Portuguese colonial government, in October 1949. Seeking a way to more closely monitor Mondlane's activities, the Mozambican authorities arranged for him to study at the University of Lisbon, in Portugal, where he was subject to constant surveillance. In Portugal, however, he also met other future leaders from elsewhere in Portuguese Africa, including Agostinho Neto (1922–1979) of ANGOLA and Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973) of GUINEA-BISSAU. A scholarship gave Mondlane the opportunity to attend Oberlin College, and at the age of 32 he enrolled as an undergraduate student in the United States. At Oberlin he met his wife, Janet Rae Johnson (1920–   ), and completed his bachelor's degree. From there he continued on, earning a Ph.D. in anthropology from Northwestern University and doing postdoctoral study at Harvard University.

Mondlane accepted a job with the United Nations, in New York City, where he became a close friend of Tanzanian Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), who urged him to consider using TANZANIA as a base of operations in the drive for Mozambique's independence. After joining the faculty of Syracuse University, Mondlane went to DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania, in the summer of 1962. There, along with representatives of several Mozambican groups, he formed the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). Elected president of FRELIMO, Mondlane left the classroom behind to devote himself full-time to the independence movement.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF MOZAMBIQUE (Vol. V); MONDLANE, EDUARDO (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

money and currency   Under COLONIAL RULE the various objects that had been used as money for the growing TRADE AND COMMERCE gave way to standardized coins and paper notes issued by governments. By the early 19th century Africans still exchanged what was, essentially, "commodity money," such as salt bars, cowrie shells, and the like. Silver coinage, however, was increasingly used for the external trade involving Europeans. The earlier forms of money survived well into the colonial period for purposes of exchanges among Africans at the local level. However, as part of developing both the colonial state and the colonial ECONOMY, European administrations issued coins and paper bank notes at rates that were tied to the value of money in the home countries. They also took the name of the home country currencies. Thus, in BRITISH EAST AFRICA there were shillings, in EGYPT, the Egyptian pound, and in FRENCH WEST AFRICA, the West African franc.

The transition from older currencies led to inconveniences and dislocations for Africans, but this was not a concern of the colonial authorities. Rather, they wanted to see the full monetization of the economy. In the first place, this facilitated colonial TAXATION by providing a standardized and readily transferable form of money. Africans were forced to either sell goods they produced,

usually CASH CROPS, or work for wages to pay taxes. In turn the tax receipts could be used to pay the costs of administration, including the wages of Africans in the civil service or other parts of the government.

Monetization of markets also promoted the taxation of both imports and EXPORTS in terms of duties. After receiving colonial currencies for the commodities they sold in the market for export to Europe, African producers then had easily exchanged money to buy goods imported from Europe. This became increasingly important as Africa became more fully integrated into the world economy during the colonial period. On the other hand, this also exposed Africans more fully to global economic fluctuations. The Great Depression of the 1930s, for example, had a major impact on both African producers and consumers. The process of URBANIZATION and the development of extensive wage-labor forces would have been severely impeded without the availability of standardized currencies. In the rural areas, on the other hand, except for paying taxes, money tended to be hoarded and saved for "rainy day" contingencies.

Monetization also allowed governments to regulate commerce by imposing currency controls, which they began doing early in the colonial period. As European countries attempted to recover from the economic devastation of World War II (1939–45) they stopped permitting the free exchange of their currencies, including those of the colonies, into other currencies. In the British case, the currency reserves of the colonies were generated by trading surpluses. These, in turn, helped support the value of the British pound sterling. France used this system to retain tight control over monetary allocations within its colonies.

By 1960 the economies of most African countries were fully dependent on the use of standardized government-issued currencies for the purchase of goods and services in the formal sectors of the economy. Although barter continued to be important in the exchange of locally produced foodstuffs and services in the rural areas—and in some aspects of the informal urban economy, as well—the governments of newly independent countries were positioned to issue their own national currencies.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vols. I, II, III, V).

mono-crop economies Economic structure common in colonial Africa in which a colony was largely dependent on the export of a single cash crop. AGRICULTURE constituted the principal economic activity throughout Africa at the time of the COLONIAL CONQUEST and the PARTITION of the continent among the European colonial powers. Once they had taken control of the continent, these occupying powers sought ways to develop their colonies' economies. Historically, colonial occupiers ma-

nipulated their colonies to cover the costs of COLONIAL RULE and, if possible, to generate a profit, too. This was no different in Africa, and the taxation of agricultural commodities for export was an obvious solution.

Colonial authorities promoted the production of crops for export back to their own countries, where the crops would be consumed or processed for use in manufacturing. Generally, the focus was on a single cash crop. Thus, EGYPT and the the Sudan became heavily dependent on exporting COTTON to Britain for use in British textile mills, while MALI and CHAD were in a similar situation with France. GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) were another such cash crop, with the SENEGAMBIA REGION developing a mono-crop economy around that export. In the mid-1920s Firestone started its massive RUBBER plantations in LIBERIA, leaving the country's economy dependent on that one crop.

Mono-crop economies have a number of disadvantages in contrast to multi-crop economies. First, monoculture—the growing of a single crop over large areas—is highly susceptible to plant diseases and insects, as well as variability in the weather. For example, swollen shoot disease in COCOA trees led government agricultural agents in the British GOLD COAST COLONY to destroy diseased trees. In the second place, such economies are very vulnerable to market price fluctuations, over which they have little control. It was a combination of the destruction of diseased trees and low prices that led cocoa farmers to stage the GOLD COAST COCOA HOLD-UP, in the late 1930s.

Some colonial economies became as dependent on the export of a single mineral as others did on a single cash crop. For example, in the African COPPERBELT, a region that spanned NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA) and the Katanga province of the BELGIAN CONGO, colonial authorities focused economic development solely on the production of COPPER.

At the time of independence, most African countries were locked into a dependence on the export of one or two major commodities. Decades of colonial rule had produced a situation in which, in the words of a popular saying, "Africa produces what it does not consume and consumes what it does not produce."

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. IV, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DEPENDENCY (Vol. V); EXPORTS (Vols. IV, V); NEO-COLONIALISM (Vol. V); UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. IV, V).

Seen here in 1942, the "The Waterside," Monrovia's business district, remained quiet even during the tumultuous days of World War II.
© Ziff-Davis photo

Monrovia Capital and principal port of LIBERIA, located at the mouth of the St. Paul (Mesurado) River, on the Atlantic Ocean. The American Colonization Society (ACS) founded Monrovia in 1822, when it sent the first shipload of former slaves there to establish what grew into Liberia. The ACS purchased land from a local chief and named the new settlement after James Monroe (1758–1831), the United States president. The town grew as more former slaves and freedmen arrived from the United States and the British West Indies and as people migrated from the countryside. The foreign immigrants, known as Americo-Liberians, adopted a colonialist attitude toward the indigenous Africans, which led to tensions and clashes.

In 1848 Liberia declared itself independent from the ACS and made Monrovia the national capital. (However, the United States did not officially recognize the country until 1862.) About the same time that Liberia declared independence, Liberia College (the future University of Liberia) was established, with Edward Wilmot BLYDEN (1832–1912) and Alexander CRUMMEL (1819–1898) becoming its first two professors. The new institution put Monrovia on its path to becoming the educational center of Liberia.

During World War II (1939–45) United States forces expanded the capacity of the port, and the economy subsequently grew based on the export of iron ore and RUBBER. In 1961 Monrovia, with a population of about 115,000, hosted the conference that initiated the anticolonial Organization of African Unity.

See also: MONROVIA (Vol. V); MONROVIA GROUP (Vol. V); ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Morocco Country in northwest Africa, 279,400 square miles (723,600 sq km) in size, bordering the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Neighboring countries of present-day Morocco include ALGERIA and WESTERN SAHARA. Because of Morocco's key position at the crossroads of Mediterranean and Saharan trade routes, European colonial powers occupied the region during the 19th and 20th centuries.

During the reign of Moulay Abderrahame (r. 1822–1859) Morocco resisted European imperialism. By supporting Algerian resistance against the French and by using diplomatic ties with Britain, Morocco managed to repel French incursions. This approach led to the Treaty of Tangier (1856), an agreement with Britain that made the port of Tangier, on the Strait of Gibraltar, a free-trade

port. It also made Tangier's British citizens autonomous, freeing them from Moroccan taxes and allowing them to be subject to British, rather than Moroccan, law.

In 1859–60, following Morocco's defeat in the Tetuan War, Sultan Muhammad IV (r. 1859–1873) was forced to cede to Spain territories in the southern part of the country, along the Atlantic coast of the far western Sahara. The peace treaty at the conclusion of the war gave Spain control of Morocco's customs house in order to pay down the Moroccan war debts. Under this arrangement one-half of the proceeds went to pay the war indemnity to Spain, and one-half went to pay off British creditors. When the Europeans rejected an increase in tariffs for Moroccan imports, the sultan resorted to increased domestic taxation, creating discontent in a population already suffering from the effects of a series of poor harvests (1871–76).

Muhammad was succeeded by Mawlai al-HASAN (r. 1873–1894), who renewed efforts to keep Moroccan territory free of European control. To this end he sought to westernize the country and modernize the army. Al-Hasan's efforts, however, were neutralized during the reign of his immediate successor, Moulay Abdelaziz (r. 1894–1908). In 1904 Spain and France signed a secret treaty that divided Morocco into a northern Spanish zone and a southern French zone. This led in 1912 to the declaration of the protectorates of FRENCH MOROCCO and SPANISH MOROCCO.

Morocco during the Colonial Era: French Morocco and Spanish Morocco France appointed Marshal Louis H. G. LYAUTEY (1854–1934) as resident-general to share power with the Moroccan sultan. With Lyautey, France attempted to apply lessons learned from earlier colonial experiences to the occupation of Morocco. Although the French administration chose the government cabinet and controlled the army, it allowed for the continuation of the indigenous Moroccan social and political structure. Lyautey made Rabat, on the Atlantic coast, the new political capital and developed Casablanca as a seaport; instead of taking over existing towns, French settlers built new westernized towns.

Following the divide-and-rule approach that had proved successful elsewhere, the French colonizers used their economic influence to co-opt the Moroccan elite, which included provincial governors, religious leaders, urban merchants, and members of the ruling family. The colonizers also sought to pit Arabic-speaking urbanites against the Berber-speaking rural population.

By the 1930s more than 200,000 French citizens had settled in Morocco. During World War II (1939–45) Morocco was the site of Allied military bases for prosecuting the war.

Although French and Spanish COLONIAL RULE met with continual resistance, the official quest for Moroccan independence began only during the reign of MUHAMMAD

V (1909–1961), who came to power in 1927. In 1944, toward the end of the war, Muhammad issued the Independence Manifesto, calling for Moroccan independence and the reinstitution of the monarchy. Muhammad's historic speech, delivered in Tangier, rekindled national consciousness and resistance to foreign occupation.

The most significant resistance to European imperialism was put up by the BERBERS of the RIF Mountains, in northern Morocco. Beginning in 1893 the Riffi—people of the Rif—fought against Spanish encroachment from the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts. Their armed rebellions took many Spanish lives and forced Spain to fortify its coastal garrison town of Melilla.

When the Treaty of Fez (1912) awarded Spain the mountains near the Riffi enclaves of Melilla and Ceuta, Moroccan military commander Mohamed ben ABD EL-KRIM (1882–1963) led a resurgence of the Riffi resistance. At first, Abd el-Krim succeeded largely because the Spanish forces lacked leadership and equipment. In 1925, however, French forces joined with the Spanish, and, with superior weaponry and organization, the French subdued the Riffi resistance. Ultimately they exiled Abd el-Krim to RÉUNION ISLAND in the Indian Ocean.

By 1952 there were mass demonstrations across North Africa against continued French COLONIAL RULE. In Morocco, France met this challenge by dethroning Muhammad and sending him to MADAGASCAR, in 1953. The French administration replaced the popular leader with an aged relative, Mohammed bin Arafa, causing widespread resentment among the country's nationalists, who rallied to support the exiled king. By 1955 the situation was so volatile that France allowed Muhammad V to return. Once he was restored to power, Muhammad V led negotiations to put an end to the Spanish and French protectorates, and in 1956 Morocco officially declared itself an independent constitutional monarchy.

The new government, dominated by the Istaqlal Party, set about founding schools and universities, establishing local elected assemblies, and improving the country's infrastructure. Muhammad also restored Islamic practices that had been suppressed under foreign rule and successfully fought to clean up government corruption. By 1960 Morocco had formally recovered most of the territory that had been stripped from it by Europeans, with the exception of the southwestern region that later became the country of Western Sahara.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MOROCCO (Vols. I, II, III, V); MAGHRIB (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV);

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Mossi States (Moshe, Moose, Mohe, Mosi) Confederation of states including Yatenga, Fada-n-Gurma, Nanumba, Ouagadougou, Mamprusi, Tenkadogo, and Dagomba located in northern present-day GHANA and in BURKINA FASO. Due to their interior location, the Mossi did not participate directly in the coastal trade. Only after the Europeans defeated the coastal and forest-zone kingdoms during the PARTITION of Africa did they seek to develop a trading relationship with the Mossi.

The French and the British competed with each another to establish a monopoly that would control trade in the interior region bordering the upper Niger River. After the British conquered the ASHANTI EMPIRE, they moved further into the interior and incorporated some Mossi peoples into their new colony of the Gold Coast. The French gained control of much of the region by defeating the TUKULOR EMPIRE under AHMADU SÉKU (d. 1898), in 1896, and the MANDINKA Empire under SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900), in 1898. The Mossi leader, the *mogho naba,* rebuffed the French request to sign a trade treaty, however, and the French invaded Ouagadougou, in 1896. Because they met significant resistance from the Mossi people, they adopted a policy of indirect rule. They created the colony of the Upper Ivory Coast, which later became the UPPER VOLTA territory, in 1919. In 1947 the borders of Upper Volta were finalized. (In 1984 the name of the country was changed to Burkina Faso, meaning "Land of the People of Dignity.") The Mossi today make up more than half of Burkina Faso's population.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MOSSI STATES (Vols. II, III); NIGER RIVER (Vol. I).

Further reading: Elliot Skinner, *The Mossi of the Upper Volta* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964).

Mozambique Country located in southeastern Africa bordered by SOUTH AFRICA and SWAZILAND to the south, ZIMBABWE and ZAMBIA to the west, and MALAWI and TANZANIA to the north. Mozambique covers 297,800 square miles (771,300 sq km) and has a 1,750-mile (2,816-km) coastline on the Indian Ocean. While the coastal regions are generally low-lying, the elevation in the central and northwestern areas of the interior rises to 5,000 feet (1,524 m), with several higher points.

Between 1850 and 1975 Mozambique was ruled by Portugal, although at the beginning of this period, Portuguese control was largely limited to the coastal fringe and the Zambezi River valley. As the Portuguese attempted to expand the area under their COLONIAL RULE, they encountered organized African resistance.

There were several major nodes of resistance in the 19th century, one of which was the Ngoni peoples. In the mid-19th century, under the leadership of Shoshangane (d. 1859), the Ngoni arrived in Mozambique from the NATAL region of SOUTH AFRICA. Fleeing the military campaigns of the ZULU leader, Shaka (1787–1828), the Ngoni invaded the Gaza state of south-central Mozambique. At first the Ngoni in the Gaza state were sufficiently strong to reduce the Portuguese trading posts in their area to tributary status. The Portuguese became involved in the succession disputes after Soshangane's death and in 1862 helped Mzila (c. 1810–1884) gain the throne, which initiated Portugal's claims of authority over the country.

Although Mzila and his successor, GUNGUNYANA (c. 1850–1906), sought diplomatic relations with the British, by 1891 Britain recognized the Portuguese claims to Mozambique. Portugal then mounted a determined military effort to establish authority over the rest of southern Mozambique. Wielding modern weaponry, including machine guns, Portuguese forces defeated Gungunyana by 1895 and exiled him to the Azores Islands.

In 1890 Gungunyana entered into a concession agreement with the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY of Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), believing that such ties would help him stave off the mounting Portuguese pressure. He did not realize, however, that he was negotiating with agents of a private individual and company and not official British diplomats. The assistance he sought in maintaining his sovereignty through this agreement thus never materialized.

A second pocket of active African resistance was led by Joaquim José da Cruz, also known as Nyaude. He established a base of operations that enabled him to levy tolls on traffic along the Zambezi River, which flows through central Mozambique on its course to the Indian Ocean. Portuguese attacks against Nyaude's position failed in both 1853 and 1869, but in 1888 the Portuguese fi-

nally were able to secure the area, which by then was ruled by Nyaude's son. The Portuguese then exiled those they captured.

Resistance efforts such as these left Portugal in a tenuous position in terms of its claims to control over Mozambique. Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company took advantage of this situation and claimed jurisdiction over substantial areas of Mozambique. In 1891, however, Portugal reached an agreement with Britain that allowed it to reestablish some of its territorial claims in Mozambique. Portugal then continued to rule the area as a colony until independence in 1975.

The agreement struck between Portugal and Britain solidified Portugal's hold on territory in Mozambique. However, the agreement gave Britain territories in central southern African that effectively put an end to the previous Portuguese hopes of creating a region of control linking Portugal's African holdings from Mozambique, on the Indian Ocean, to ANGOLA, on the Atlantic Ocean.

Mozambique during the Colonial Era   Portugal set about reorganizing its administration of Mozambique in the late 19th century. It had long used the *prazo* system to stake its claims to the Zambezi valley. (*Prazos da coroa,* loosely translated as "terms of the crown," were crown grants given to distinguished colonials of Portugal.) While grants such as the *prazos* had their legal limitations, in reality, the *prazeros* were basically independent. Living on a distant continent with little communication—or fear of punishment, for that matter—some *prazeros* exceeded their territorial claims; many others continued to enslave Africans, despite Portugal's official abolition of SLAVERY in Africa. The *prazero* system remained in effect up until the 1880s, but in the era of the colonial PARTITION of Africa it outlived its purpose. Most historians agree that the abandonment of the Portuguese *prazo* system was responsible for the much more destructive system of colonialism that followed.

By the end of the 19th century Portugal had secured its claims to Mozambique but had not yet effectively occupied much of the interior. To do so, it handed over the administration of large areas of the country to CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES. Three, all founded in the 1890s, were of particular importance: the Mozambique Company, the Niassa Company, and the Zambezia Company. Interestingly, these companies were controlled and financed by the British. The companies were responsible for planning and developing MINING ventures and plantations for producing CASH CROPS for export. Also, they were responsible for constructing railroads between Mozambique and neighboring countries. These development projects relied primarily on forced African LABOR. In addition, Portugal relied heavily on the taxation of African workers for financing its colonial government. As a result, in order to pay the taxes, tens of thousand of Mozambican men entered into migratory labor to work on the GOLD mines located along South Africa's WITWATERSRAND.

In order to further solidify its control over Mozambique, Portugal undertook a series of military campaigns during the early 20th century, finally leading to the effective occupation of the Manica, Zambezia, and Niassa regions. These campaigns were necessary because the private companies were too weak to establish needed control on their own. Intensification of Portuguese control eventually reduced the need for the private companies, so Portugal ultimately revoked private charters. Even after the conclusion of major military operations, in 1917, sporadic revolts occurred, including one in the Zambezia region (1917–1921) and a tax revolt in Mossuril (1939).

Mozambique and the Salazar Regime   A new phase in the colonial history of Mozambique began with a change of government in Portugal, in 1926. That year a coup d'état led to the creation of the Estado Novo (New State), which eventually brought to power the dictator Antonio Salazar (1889–1970), in 1932. From that time until the end of Salazar's dictatorship in 1968, the existing pattern of colonial exploitation intensified, with coerced labor, forced cultivation of COTTON and other cash crops for export, excessive taxation of Africans, and low wages. Thus the system of colonial rule was even further streamlined to benefit the Portuguese colonizers at the expense of the colonized. Until the end of the Second World War (1939–45), the number of European SETTLERS remained small, and most lived in the colonial capital of LOURENÇO MARQUES (today's Maputo) or the port city of Beira. After the war, however, the government promoted emigration from Portugal to the African colonies, so that independence in 1975 an estimated 250,000 Portuguese resided in Mozambique.

African resistance against Portuguese control and the abuses associated with it had never ceased. However, from the 1930s until independence, Mozambique witnessed ever-increasing levels of civil unrest. Several protests occurred in the port city of Lorenço Marques between the 1930s and the mid-1950s. The first significant action of this sort was carried out by dockworkers in late 1930. The second occurred in 1948, and it led to several hundred Africans being deported or imprisoned in São Tomé, an island off the coast of Angola. In 1956 yet another rebellion resulted in the death of 49 dockworkers. Portuguese efforts at suppressing the rebellions were often brutal.

Fearsome repression, often resulting in wholesale death, was also a continuing aspect of Portuguese control over the Mozambican countryside. For example, in 1960 members of the Makonde people in northern Mozambique were arrested after failing to secure a petition to create an African association. Those arrested were taken to an unknown location, but only after the murder of more than 600 Africans, including several important chiefs who protested their detention.

After World War II most colonial powers began the DECOLONIZATION process that would lead to independence for their former colonial charges. Portugal, on the other hand, was determined to maintain a strong hold over its African colonies, including Mozambique, Angola, and GUINEA. In this setting it was not surprising the African nationalism dating from earlier in the 20th century became even more acute during the 1950s and 1960s. The triumph of Mozambican independence, however, would not occur until 1975, following a prolonged and bitter 13-year war.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); MOZAMBIQUE (Vols. I, II, III, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

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Mphahlele, Ezekiel (Es'kia Mphahlele, Bruno Eseki) (1919–   ) *Acclaimed South African writer, critic, and scholar of African literature*

Born in PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA, Mphahlele married Rebecca Mochadibane, in 1945, and began teaching high school while earning a bachelor's degree at the University of South Africa. After graduating in 1949 he taught for three years before being banned from the classroom for his anti-APARTHEID activism, which included protesting the Bantu Education Act, a segregationist law typical of South Africa in that era. Turning away from teaching, he worked for the influential black urban DRUM magazine, in JOHANNESBURG, writing essays and acting as the fiction editor from 1955 to 1957. At that time, Mphahlele left South Africa to lecture in English and literature, first at the University of Ibadan, in NIGERIA, and then at other universities in Africa, Europe, and the United States.

Mphahlele published his first collection of stories, *Man Must Live and Other Stories,* in 1947; his autobiography, *Down Second Avenue*—a vivid, politically aware account of growing up in segregated Pretoria township—came out in 1959. Mphahlele continued writing throughout the 1960s and beyond, turning out critical essays, novels, and poetry, and also editing collections of African literature and poetry for university presses. He is widely regarded as one of the foremost authorities on African literature in English.

See also: BANTU EDUCATION (Vol. V); IBADAN, UNIVERSTIY OF (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); MPHAHLELE, EZEKIEL (Vol. V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Mqhayi, S. E. K. (Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi) (1875–1945) *Xhosa writer and poet from South Africa*

S. E. K. Mqhayi was born among the rural XHOSA-speaking people of the eastern Cape Province of SOUTH AFRICA. As a boy he learned about Xhosa traditions, culture, and oral literature, and he came to appreciate praise poems, known as *izibongo,* and the vocabulary and literary skills they required. Mqhayi attended local church-affiliated schools, and in 1891 he went on to the highly esteemed Lovedale School, which was run by Scottish Presbyterian MISSIONARIES. There he trained as a teacher, a profession he practiced intermittently along with working on several African-run NEWSPAPERS. His journalistic career, which continued into the 1920s, included a stint, from 1920 to 1922, as editor of *IMVO ZABANTSUNDU* (African Opinion), which had been founded by the pioneer African journalist, John Tengo JABAVU (1859–1921). In 1925 Mqhayi settled near King William's Town in the eastern Cape Province and devoted the rest of his life to his writing and to visiting among his own Xhosa people.

As an author who drew on Xhosa oral literary forms to produce written works, Mqhayi played a role for Xhosa literature similar to what Tanzania's Shaaban ROBERT (1909–1962) did for KISWAHILI, especially in terms of his poetry. Some of his work drew on Christian themes, as in the case of his early novel *U-Samson* (1907), which utilized the biblical story of Samson to critique modern society. This was followed by *Ityala lamaWele* (The Legal Case of the Twins), which drew on both Genesis 38:27–29 and Mqhayi's memories of the indigenous court proceedings of his childhood, and which some critics consider to be his most important prose work. Mqhayi's later utopian novel *U-Don Jadu* (1929) dealt with the theme of an integrated Christian South Africa drawing on both its indigenous African and immigrant European heritages. Following up on his training as an educator, Mqhayi sought to inform his fellow Xhosa by writing about important African historical figures. In 1925, for example, he produced a biography (1925) of John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922), one of the leading Africans of his day. Mqhayi also translated into Xhosa an English-language biography of Ghanaian educator James E. Kwegyir AGGREY (1875–1927).

Praise poetry, or *izibongo,* traditionally was the highest form of literary art among the Xhosa. The poet, or *imbongi,* employed highly figurative speech to not only praise but also speak candidly about the qualities of his subject. When the United Kingdom's Prince of Wales visited South Africa in 1925, Mqhayi "praised" him with the following poem:

Ah Britain! Great Britain!
Great Britain of the endless sunshine!
She hath conquered the oceans and laid them low;
She hath drained the little rivers and lapped them dry;
She hath swept the little nations and wiped them away;
And now she is making for the open skies.
She sent us the preacher; she sent us the bottle,
She sent us the Bible, and barrels of brandy;
She sent us the breechloader, she sent us cannon;
O, Roaring Britain! Which must we embrace?
You sent us the truth, denied us the truth;
You sent us the life, deprived us of life;
You sent us the light, we sit in the dark,
Shivering, benighted in the bright noonday sun. *

In spite of his success as a writer of prose, Mqhayi was best known—in his own time and since—for his poetry, especially for his reworking of the oral heritage of *izibongo* into a written form. This was a form that resonated with the Xhosa audiences he addressed and that continues to shape the work of Xhosa poets in the early 21st century.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: A. C. Jordan, *Towards an African Literature: The Emergence of Literary Form in Xhosa* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1973).

* Note: the translation of Mqhayi's poem is by Jordan in *Towards an African Literature*, p. 27.

Msiri (Msidi, M'siri, Mushidi) (c. 1830–1891) *Nyamwezi trader and self-proclaimed king in what is now the Congo province of Katanga.*

Born in NYAMWEZI region of west-central TANZANIA in 1830, Msiri was the son of an influential figure in the East African long-distance caravan trade. Establishing close relationships with various chieftains along the trade routes, Msiri quickly expanded his father's commercial network. Key to this was his use of profits from the sale of COPPER, ivory, and human captives for the purchase of guns, powder, and ammunition. With these he was not only able to control his trade routes but soon was able to carry out his own slave raids.

By 1856 Msiri's influence in the region allowed him to turn his trading enterprise into a kingdom, known as Garenganze, which eventually grew to include all of Katanga east of the Lualaba River, in present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO. From Msiri's capital of Bunkeya, his traders traveled east and west, ultimately stretching his direct trade links to places as far away as the SWAHILI COAST and the neighboring Indian Ocean island of ZANZIBAR, which was then the commercial hub of the East African trade. This was done in cooperation with powerful Swahili and Arab traders in the interior, such as TIPPU TIP (c. 1830–1905).

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, however, Msiri increasingly came into contact with Belgians in the CONGO FREE STATE, which was expanding rapidly as the forces of King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) seized control of vast regions to the north of Katanga. This land-grab culminated in December 1891 with the arrival in Bunkeya of Captain William Stairs (1863–1892), a Canadian-born British officer in the service of King Leopold. Originally resistant to the idea of acknowledging Leopold's sovereignty, Msiri eventually acquiesced. Late in the negotiations, however, a Belgian officer found himself surrounded by Msiri's warriors and, in a panic, shot and killed Msiri, touching off what quickly became a massacre. Eventually Msiri's kingdom was replaced by the Bayeke kingdom, which had begun its ascendancy in the region during the mid-1800s. Soon, however, the Congo Free State and NORTHERN RHODESIA, which was administered by the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY, placed the entire area firmly under COLONIAL RULE, bringing to an end the era of powerful East African traders and state builders such as Msiri.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); IVORY TRADE (Vol. IV); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

Muhammad V (Side Muhammad Ben Yusuf) (1910–1961) *King of Morocco*

Never noted as a firebrand, Muhammad was handpicked for the Moroccan sultanate by the French colonial authorities, who believed that he would be an acquiescent ruler. However, to their surprise, Muhammad became an effective nationalist leader, able to force the issue of Moroccan independence and ultimately, in the mid-1950s, to liberate his country.

Taking the throne in 1927 as Muhammad V, he at first followed a fairly moderate course. By the mid-1930s, however, he became increasingly nationalistic, urging the French, for example, to abandon their policy of having two different legal systems for Morocco's Arabs and BERBERS. He also created an annual Throne Day holiday on which his speeches would foster nationalist sentiments and activities.

Although loyal to the Allies during World War II (1939–45), Muhammad V grew even more nationalistic during the war years, encouraged, in part, by American president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), who had advised him to press for independence from France.

By 1951 he was so openly identified with the independence movement that the French fomented rebellions against him. In 1953 he was deposed and exiled, sent first to the Mediterranean island of Corsica and then to the Indian Ocean island of MADAGASCAR. During his absence, however, civil disruptions and even terrorism increased so rapidly in Morocco that France, already facing rebellion in nearby ALGERIA, was forced in November 1955 to allow him to return and resume the throne. In March 1956 he succeeded in negotiating a treaty with France that gave Morocco full independence.

As the sultan of an independent nation, Muhammad V took a moderate stance in many areas, while taking firm control of the nation. Retaking the throne in 1957, he pursued a policy that asserted his own personal authority over the nation. As the decade went on, however, he gradually passed more and more of the daily control of the nation to his son Hassan, who favored a more active government. Finally, in 1960, he turned over the reigns of government to Hassan, who became King Hassan II (1929–1999), after his father's death. Muhammad remained king, in name only, until his death in 1961.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HASSAN II (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: C. R. Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Muhammad Abdullah Hassan (Sayyid Muhammad Abdille Hassan) (1864–1920) *Nationalist and resistance leader in Somalia*

Hassan was born in northern Somali territory in the Horn of Africa. As a boy he began his Islamic education and by age 10 he could read the Quran. While still a teenager he set up his own school to teach the Quran, and soon his reputation for learning and piety earned him the honorific title of *sheikh.* In his late teens he signed on as a crew member on a trading vessel that traveled the Somali coastal regions, and he also traveled overland to the Sudan. About that time, his homeland came under British COLONIAL RULE as the PROTECTORATE of BRITISH SOMALILAND.

After his travels Hassan returned home and married before setting out in 1894 on the pilgrimage to Mecca, the holy Islamic city in Saudi Arabia. It was in Mecca that he met Sayyid Muhammad Salih (d. 1919) and joined the religious brotherhood, the Salihiyya, that Salih had founded.

Upon returning to the Somali port city of Berbera, Hassan proselytized on behalf of the Salihiyya in opposition to the well-established Qadiriyya brotherhood. He also became increasingly anti-British, believing that colonial rule was corrupting and destroying the Islamic way of life among his people. Calling for the expulsion of the British but unsuccessful at gaining many followers, he moved back to his home area, gradually amassing a large following of devout supporters. In 1899 he launched his first incursion against the colonial occupation.

> Hassan was a poet as well as a skilled orator, both admired traits among the Somali people. His oratory was probably the main reason for his success in gaining a following.

For the next 20 years Hassan led a fierce resistance against the forces of ETHIOPIA in the contested area of the OGADEN, where his father's family originated, and British Somaliland. The British initially derided Hassan, dubbing him the "Mad Mullah" for his messianic teaching. They underestimated him, however, as he consistently eluded capture and commanded an army that at its height numbered 15,000.

In 1904, after a series of defeats, Hassan fled to ITALIAN SOMALILAND, where he stayed until 1907. He then returned to British Somaliland and continued his attempts to drive out the colonial powers. In 1920 the British Air Force delivered a crushing bombardment on Hassan's position. Killed in the raid, Hassan died as a martyr to his followers and as one of the forefathers of Somali nationalism.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SUFISM (Vols. II, III, IV).

music A vital facet of life in Africa, music commemorates important occasions for both individuals and communities. It complements other mediums of expression such as DANCE, theater, and oral tradition. It accompanies and organizes the rhythms of work, and it provides entertainment and comfort. The many musical styles that have developed across Africa share certain common features that distinguish them as uniquely African. At the same time, however, the breadth of diversity makes it impossibly to treat "African music" as a unified entity.

Instruments The diversity of African music is evident in the vast number of distinctive African instruments that can be heard throughout the continent. Africans do not normally categorize instruments in a fashion comparable to that of Western musicologists, but their instruments can be roughly fitted into the same broad categories, which

include drums (membranophones), wind instruments (aerophones), stringed instruments (chordophones), and self-sounding instruments (idiophones). In spite of this, it must be remembered that instruments often take on a highly personal role for African musicians, in large part because musicians typically craft their own instruments.

The nature and scale of African societies can influence the type of instruments utilized by members of a given community. Historically, Africans living in highly centralized and hierarchical states have tended to see the human voice as very important. At the same time, among these peoples musical instruments tend to be fewer in number. In contrast, in smaller, less tightly organized societies, man-made instruments occupy a more prominent place. Ecology and the particular materials available also determine what instruments appear in different settings. For example, not surprisingly drums are most commonly utilized in regions that are heavily wooded.

Throughout African societies, drums play a pivotal role, especially in West Africa. Drums come in many sizes and shapes and are constructed of varied materials. The bodies of drums are fashioned from wood, gourds, and clay, while the skins of cows, goats, and reptiles typically serve as drum membranes. Among the more recognizable African drums are the hourglass-shaped West African tension drums, widely known as *talking drums*. These can produce sounds that mimic human voices, and, for the initiated, convey messages. The goblet-shaped *djembe* drums of GUINEA and the bowl-shaped *ngoma* drums of southern Africa are also distinctive.

Wind instruments, which include the flute, trumpet, oboe, and whistle, are made of calabashes, wood, ivory, the horns of cattle, in addition to metal. Large horn bands often arose in powerful kingdoms, most notably in West Africa and the Great Lakes region. Brass bands sprang up in the latter half of the 19th century, directly influenced by military bands of the colonial powers. The impact of Cuban music on West African dance music has been especially influential in spreading brass wind instruments.

Although the lute, zither, musical bow, and lyre are widely employed stringed instruments, perhaps the most celebrated African stringed instrument is the 21-string kora, which is part lute and part harp. In West Africa, especially in the Sahel region among the MANDE, the kora is closely associated with the griot (also known as a *jeli* or *jali*). Griots, who function as oral historians, praise singers, counselors, and minstrels, recite epic poetry and perform praise singing, invariably accompanied by a kora. This underscores a general trend in African music, linking music with oral literature. During the course of the 20th century, particularly after World War II (1939–45), the guitar became an increasingly important instrument among African musicians.

There are two principal types of self-sounding instruments: the xylophone and the lamellophone. The defining characteristic of this class of instruments is that the body of the instrument vibrates to produce sound. The xylophone, usually referred to as a balafon or marimba, is constructed of wooden bars fastened to hollowed-out gourds that resonate with sound when struck with sticks.

The lamellophone is a kind of thumb piano, commonly known as the mbira, *kalimba,* or *sansa,* and is most prevalent in southern and Central Africa. It is normally constructed with 10 metal straps, which are attached to a resonator of wood. (See photo on p. 219 of Vol. II.)

The human voice, too, serves as an important musical instrument. Possibly the most distinctive African vocal style is call-and-response singing. This involves a soloist calling and the chorus responding collectively to the soloist's prompt. Although call-and-response is practiced throughout Africa, it is among the ZULU of SOUTH AFRICA that the traditional call-and-response a cappella, choral music known as *isicathamiya* has gained the greatest following.

Social Role   Music is interwoven into the everyday fabric of African societies and cannot be understood properly outside the context of its cultural settings. It serves a wide range of functions and is at the heart of many social, cultural, religious, and commercial activities. Important life transitions, such as initiation cere-
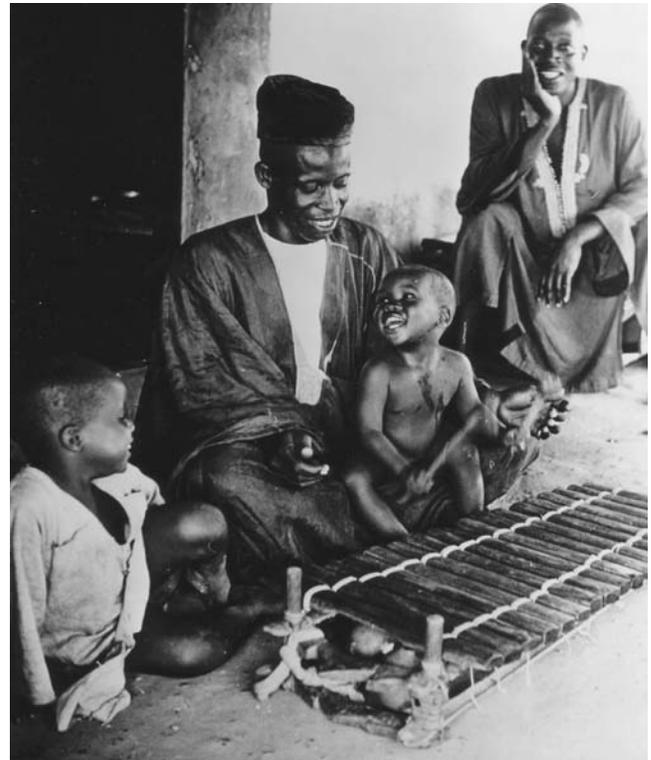
In this photo taken in 1957, father and son both enjoy playing a marimba in Sanniquellie, Liberia. © *Library of Congress*

monies, weddings, and funerals require specific forms of music. Similarly, the veneration of ancestors, healing ceremonies, and spirit possession ceremonies all must be accompanied by the appropriate music. Music can also signal the presence of a deity, or it can be used to summon one. Specific instruments are associated with certain spiritual or curative properties. For instance flutes and horns are widely associated with spirits.

The making of music is normally not limited to a select cadre of professional musicians, even though the latter exist. More generally, African men and women are expected to acquire skill in singing and dancing as a step in becoming full members of a given society. In undergoing initiation to adulthood, they receive instruction in song and dance.

African Musical Styles One cannot speak of African music as if the incredibly diverse array of Africans universally embrace one monolithic form. Many different styles have evolved as part of a dynamic and ongoing process of blending between indigenous musical genres. The coming together of diverse musical styles has also resulted from the migrations of distinct African peoples throughout the continent. Wherever groups have migrated, they have introduced new musical forms that have influenced and become integrated with the music of the region, adding to the adaptability and sophistication of African music. Given the dynamic and fluid nature of African musical forms, the suggestion that African music was in some sense static and unchanging prior to COLONIAL CONQUEST would be historically incorrect. It would also be misleading to characterize African musical styles as traditional and Western or Arabic musical influences as modern or modernizing.

With increasing European penetration of Africa during the 19th century, and finally, the imposition of formal COLONIAL RULE, African music became increasingly influenced by Western music. Christian music, in the form of Protestant hymns and Catholic liturgical chants, had a significant impact in West and Central Africa. In North and East Africa, Middle Eastern and Arabic influences were more pronounced. Indian music, too, made inroads in eastern Africa, particularly with the establishment of significant Indian communities in UGANDA, KENYA, TANZANIA, and South Africa.

Interestingly some of the external musical styles that have exercised the greatest impact on African musicians were introduced by communities of the AFRICAN DIASPORA. *Goombay,* a music that developed among the Jamaican Maroons, is one such example. This style spread throughout West Africa in the early 19th century, after being introduced into SIERRA LEONE by freed Maroons. Jazz, ragtime, and reggae provide further instances of music created by persons of African descent, who have drawn on African musical traditions, and who have, in turn, influenced African music.

Each region of Africa boasts distinctive varieties of music, reflecting both indigenous musical styles and the musical traditions of different colonial powers. As a result, to a certain extent, there are broad similarities in the contemporary musical forms of English-speaking, French-speaking, and even Portuguese-speaking Africa. For example, in the former West African British colonies of NIGERIA, GHANA, and Sierra Leone, the guitar has left an indelible imprint on musical expression. The term *palm-wine music* refers in a broad way to the music of the African coast, which blended indigenous musical styles with those introduced by European sailors. As a result Western instruments such as accordions, harmonicas, and guitars were adapted by African musicians.

The original Jamaican Maroons were enslaved Africans who were freed as the Spanish fled Jamaica, then a possession of Spain, in front of a British invasion. Receiving their name from the Spanish word *cimarrón,* meaning wild or untamed, the Maroons settled in the island's tropical forests and proved very effective at resisting British control, fighting a series of wars with the colonial authorities over roughly 75 years. Groups of escaped slaves also joined the Maroons and swelled their numbers.

Guitar bands known as HIGHLIFE bands flourished in Ghana and Nigeria in the post World War II era, especially in the urban areas. Among the notable bandleaders were E. T. MENSAH (1919–1996) and Nana Ampadou (1945–). They also drew upon calypso, Cuban rhythms, and the big-band sound that was popular at the time in the United States and Europe. In Nigeria, *juju,* a guitar band style closely associated with the YORUBA, has become extremely popular, owing in part to the popularizing efforts of I. K. Dairo (1930–1996). In *juju* music, Western keyboards, accordions, and pedal steel guitars are mixed with Yoruba percussive rhythms. In Central Africa, *soukous*, which drew on Cuban rumba music, attained great popularity as early as the 1930s. In South Africa, the *marabi,* a keyboard style of music, evolved in the black townships in the early 20th century. By the 1920s, influenced by African American jazz bands, it had incorporated the big band sound and given birth to groups such as the Jazz Maniacs. It continued to evolve into a uniquely South African jive music known as *mbaqanga.* Perhaps the most famous South African musical group, the Jazz Epistles, emerged from the *mbaqanga* tradition. Formed in 1959, the Jazz Epistles featured Abdullah Ibrahim (1934–), who was then known as Dollar Brand, on the piano,

Hugh Masekela (1931–) on the trumpet, and Kippi Moeketsi on the alto sax. Their first recording, made in 1960, marked the beginning of modern South African jazz.

I. K. Dairo was not initially a professional musician, although he was only 12 when he joined his first band. As with so many of his contemporaries, he was a migrant worker, and he also was a small-scale trader. However, he continued to work as a musician until 1956, when he formed in his own band, which in 1959 became the Blue Spots. As part of his effort to take *juju* music to new levels, he researched Yoruba ORAL TRADITIONS. As a composer, instrumentalist, and vocalist, he drew on Yoruba call-and-response traditions, the Yoruba talking drums, the accordion, and rhythms from Latin America. His standing among his fellow musicians was such that when he died, in 1996, no Nigerian musicians performed for five days, and the RADIO carried only his music.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GRIOT (Vol. II); IBRAHIM, ABDULLAH (Vol. V); MASEKELA, HUGH (Vol. V); MUSIC (Vols. I, II, III, V); SITI BINTI SAAD (Vol. IV); THUMB PIANO (Vol. II); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

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Mutesa I, Kabaka (c. late 1830s–1884) *Ruler of the kingdom of Buganda, in present-day Uganda*

Mutesa I reigned as *kabaka,* or ruler, of the kingdom of BUGANDA from 1852 to 1884. During these years he increased the kingdom's commercial contacts with Arab traders from the SWAHILI COAST, who had first arrived at the royal court in 1844, eight years before Mutesa's reign began. Also during his reign, Europeans were admitted into the kingdom for the first time.

Mutesa I was an autocratic ruler, known for the great rewards and severe punishments he meted out to those he felt deserved them. However, upward mobility in his kingdom was based on achievement rather than social rank. As a result his capital became a magnet for ambitious and adventuresome subjects. The *kabaka* himself was head of a military and civil bureaucracy that served solely at his pleasure. Buganda was prosperous and militarily superior to neighboring kingdoms, and eager to expend its influence over them.

Mutesa increased Buganda's wealth by raiding neighboring states to get slaves and ivory. These items were traded to Arab merchants in exchange for firearms and COTTON. For a time, because it supported his dealings with the Arabs, Mutesa observed the traditional Muslim practice of fasting during the month of Ramadan. However, in 1877, because he wanted European support against incursions from EGYPT, he also welcomed Christian MISSIONARIES into his kingdom.

Mutesa's court was first visited by Europeans in 1862, when an expedition led by John Hanning SPEKE (1827–1864) passed through Buganda in search of the source of the Nile River. Next to arrive, in 1872–73, were the British army officers Samuel BAKER (1821–1893) and Charles George GORDON (1833–1885), in command of Egyptian troops in the service of Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895). The two men were probing southward in search of trade and territorial expansion, and Mutesa saw the visit as an opportunity to help mount an expedition against the neighboring kingdom of BUNYORO. The Anglo-Egyptian group, however, preferred to advance up the Nile and offered no assistance.

In 1875, when British journalist Henry Morton stanley (1841–1904), visited Buganda, he counted 125,000 troops and 230 war canoes in readiness for a single campaign against the kingdom of Busoga to the east.

Mutesa was never converted to Christianity, despite the presence of missionaries from the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, whom he had allowed into the country after 1877. Catholic missionaries arrived in 1879. Eventually, rival Protestant, Catholic, and Islamic religious factions emerged, reflecting some of the deeper social and political tensions in the kingdom. In 1884 Mutesa I died in his capital at Lubaga Hill, a walled city with a population of 40,000. He was succeeded by his son, Mwanga II (c. 1866–1903), in an orderly transition of power. Unlike Mutesa, however, Mwanga was weak and vacillating, and Buganda soon entered a period of unrest.

See also: BUSOGA (Vol. III); RAMADAN (Vol. II); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

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N

Nairobi Capital of BRITISH EAST AFRICA (also known as Kenya Colony), located in the fertile central highlands of present-day KENYA; the city retained its capital status after Kenyan independence, in 1963. Nairobi was founded, in 1899, as a camp for British colonists and Asian laborers working on the Mombasa-Uganda railroad. Due to its high elevation (5,500 feet; 1,676 m) and pleasant climate, the camp soon attracted Asian merchants, British settlers and officials, and Africans from throughout the region. By 1905 the British had moved their colonial capital to Nairobi from the coastal city of MOMBASA.

Nairobi took its name from the MAASAI term, Enkare Nairobi, meaning "place of cool waters."

During the early 20th century Nairobi's commercial and economic sectors continued to develop despite several regional outbreaks of bubonic plague. European SETTLERS, attracted by the agricultural potential of the fertile surrounding area, gave the town a British colonial character, in terms of both its ARCHITECTURE and its segregated residential areas. In order to accommodate European settlers, however, the British administration forced many black Kenyans from their land. The people most seriously affected by this land policy were the KIKUYU (Gikuyu), Kenya's largest indigenous ethnic group. In light of the British land grab, many Kikuyu migrated to Nairobi and began to form political organizations with the aim of getting their land back. The future president of independent Kenya, Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), was one of the prominent leaders of this political process.

After World War II (1939–45), because of a substantial expansion in manufacturing, Nairobi added an industrial sector to its existing commercial and government sectors, bringing an influx of African migrants. Some of these new arrivals were able to find housing in legally recognized African residential areas, but many settled as illegal squatters. At the same time, the nationalist MAU MAU movement challenged the colonial order to face the reality of Kenyan independence, which was finally achieved, in 1963, after decades of Mau Mau violence and British reprisals. At independence, Nairobi, with an estimated population of 266,800, remained the capital.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NAIROBI (Vol. V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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Nama Ethnic group of southern NAMIBIA that today makes up approximately 5 percent of the country's population. From 1904 to 1908, the Nama revolt against German colonial occupation nearly led to their annihilation. Known by the early European colonists as Khoikhoi, the Nama were first driven northward from their original home to an area near the Orange River, along Namibia's southern border with SOUTH AFRICA. During the mid 1800s the Nama moved again, this time to a region near Windhoek, the present-day Namibian capital, located in

the central highlands. This semi-arid region of grasslands and shrubs has been their homeland ever since.

A pastoral people who have survived for centuries as subsistence farmers and herders, the Nama have a vital musical and poetic tradition. Storytelling, for which they are renowned, has been one of their primary ways of keeping their history and traditions alive in the present day. Their LANGUAGE uses various clicking sounds and is in the Khoisan language family that also includes the SAN languages.

During the first decade of the 20th century the Nama joined with the HERERO in a rebellion against German COLONIAL CONQUEST that lasted nearly four years. Following a period of German expansion in their territory, in January 1904, the Herero rose up against COLONIAL RULE, initially killing more than 100 settlers and troops. The German colonial authorities responded with particularly brutal force. Still, in October 1904, the Nama, in spite of long-standing differences that in the past had frequently led them into conflict with the neighboring Herero, joined the uprising.

Led for much of the time by their leader Hendrik WITBOOI (1830– 1905), the Nama steadfastly refused to surrender even in the face of a particularly ferocious German PACIFICATION effort. German troops embarked on a campaign of torture, lynching, and mass murder after their commander, Lothar von Trotha (1848– 1920), gave orders to kill any Nama or Herero who did not leave the territory. By the time the rebellious Herero and Nama put down their weapons, in 1908, thousands had been killed, and another 15,000 Herero and 2,000 Nama had been herded into concentration camps where they became subjects of medical experiments, sexual abuse, and forced LABOR. Ultimately, as many as 60,000 Herero— almost 80 percent of their population—and 50 percent of the Nama population of 20,000 people lost their lives.

It took decades for the Nama to recover from the disaster, but by the middle of the 20th century, although somewhat lessened in power and influence, they once again had become one of the main ethnic groups of the Namibian region.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); KHOIKHOI (Vols. II, III); KHOISAN (Vol. I); MAHERERO, SAMUEL (Vol. IV); SOUTH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Namibia Mineral-rich country located in southwest Africa on the Atlantic Ocean. A German colony called SOUTH WEST AFRICA from 1884 to 1915, Namibia measures 318,300 square miles (824,400 sq km) in area and has a mostly arid and semiarid climate. It is bordered by ANGOLA, BOTSWANA (called BECHUANALAND during the colonial era), and SOUTH AFRICA. The most influential groups in Namibia include the OVAMBO, who constitute about 50 percent of the population, the HERERO, NAMA, and Afrikaner and German minorities.

By 1860, SAN hunter-gatherers, Namibia's original inhabitants, had been pushed into the Kalahari desert by Bantu-speaking agro-pastoralists, such as the Ovambo and the Herero, who eventually came to dominate the north and central areas. In the meantime the Khoisan-speaking Nama peoples had established control over the southern portions of the territory. The Nama and the Herero clashed frequently over land, which both needed for grazing their herds, until increasing incursion by German explorers and traders gave the two peoples a common enemy.

By the 1870s the British had established the settlement of WALVIS BAY and seemed set to establish COLONIAL RULE over the entire area. However, the cost of such a venture proved prohibitive, and Germany, through a combination of dubious treaties, military force, and outright theft, began to annex territory. By the end of the 1880s, Germany had established the colony of South West Africa. As of the early 1900s the Germans had gained total control of the southern and central regions, using genocidal tactics to virtually annihilate the resisting Herero and Nama peoples.

After Germany's defeat in World War I (1914–18), South Africa governed South West Africa under a MANDATE from the League of Nations. After World War II (1939–45) South African prime minister Jan Christiaan SMUTS (1870–1950) sought to convince the newly formed United Nations (UN), which replaced the League of Nations, to permit South Africa to incorporate South West Africa as a fifth province. Opposition to South Africa's racial policies led the United Nations to reject the overture and to have South Africa administer the country as a UN TRUST TERRITORY instead. South Africa, however, refused to accept UN oversight and instead continued to administer South West Africa "in the spirit of the League (of Nations) mandate."

As a result of South Africa's administration, the South West African economy was closely tied to that of South Africa, with South African MINING companies realizing huge profits that would have been impossible without African LABOR. Likewise, the country's commercial fishing and farming industries were expanded using black laborers while profits went to white-owned South African companies and farms.

In line with NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS elsewhere in postwar Africa, Namibian groups began efforts to rid themselves of South African rule. The Herero, who had suffered under brutal conditions during the earlier German colonial era, officially petitioned for British trusteeship. When that proved impossible, in 1946, the Herero leaders began asking the United Nations to support an independent Namibia. They received little help, however.

Because of the country's established system of racial inequality, progress toward independence was slow. Treating the territory as a fifth province of South Africa, the Afrikaner-led government gave parliamentary representation to its white residents. For the rest of the population, it implemented its APARTHEID policies and denied Africans and mixed-race people access to the political system. They also refused to issue passports to Namibian activists, thereby keeping them from garnering support from abroad. Moreover, following decades of colonial rule, Namibians lacked the economic means to pressure the South African government to change.

As the situation worsened, Namibians began organizing protests by any means possible, with African and mixed-race miners forming unions and holding strikes. Similarly, youth groups, sometimes aided by European missionary church organizations, made vocal demands for civil rights.

Finally, in 1956, the Herero paramount chief, Hosea Kutako (1870–1970), succeeded in getting a representative to petition the United Nations for help. Although progress was still slowed by the bureaucratic foot-dragging of the South African government, independence movements were emerging all over the African continent, and it seemed that Namibian independence was not far off.

In 1959 Namibians founded their own independence-minded political party, the South West Africa National Union (SWANU). It continued the UN petition process, called for better EDUCATION and health services for Africans, and demanded a more equitable distribution of the country's land and NATURAL RESOURCES. At the same time, SWANU began smuggling members across the border to British Bechuanaland (soon to be independent Botswana) to train as freedom fighters.

For some Namibians, however, SWANU was too accommodating to the South African government. Among them was Sam Nujoma (1929–) and members of his Ovamboland People's Organization, which broke from SWANU to create the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), a more militant group that approached the independence movement with greater urgency. However, as they had done with SWANU, the South African government refused to recognize Nujoma's party and banned meetings; independence was still a long way off for Namibia's people in 1960.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NAMIBIA (Vols. I, II, III, V); NUJOMA, SAM (Vol. V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SKELETON COAST (Vol. III).

Nana Olomu (c. 1852–1916) *Prominent trader and political leader of the Itsekiri people of the Niger Delta*

The abolition of the SLAVE TRADE and the emergence of "legitimate trade" in products demanded by an indus-

trializing Europe led to a growth in CASH CROPS for export. One of the most important of these was PALM OIL, with Southern NIGERIA emerging as the major producer. African traders acted as intermediaries in this commerce, buying palm oil in the interior, transporting it to the coast, and selling it to British merchants. The Itsekeri people on the northwestern edge of the NIGER DELTA were among those most deeply involved in this trade.

Nana Olomu's father was the leading Itsekiri trader of his time, and Nana in turn became the wealthiest trader of his day. His wealth meant power, and, in 1884, though he faced internal political opposition, he became governor of the Benin River. At the urging of the British consul, this office had been established by the Itsekiri traders more than 30 years earlier to control the region.

The profitable trade of the delta became increasingly attractive to British merchant interests. In 1879 George GOLDIE (1846–1925) brought together the separate private British firms trading in the delta to form the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY (RNC). The British government, which had been signing treaties with coastal rulers in preparation for the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), established a PROTECTORATE over the region. Britain then ceded administrative responsibility of the Niger Delta to the RNC.

A struggle to control trade ensued between the RNC and the Delta trading states. In the Itsekiri case, the commercial struggle ended in war, in 1894, with the British eventually the victors. Nana surrendered to the British authorities, who then tried him on various charges. Nana was found guilty and was sent into exile in ACCRA, the capital of the British GOLD COAST COLONY. He resided there until 1906, at which time he was allowed to return home. He died in 1916.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); KOKO, FREDERICK WILLIAM (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

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Nasser, Gamal Abdel (Gamal Abdal, Gamal Abdul) (1918–1970) *Egyptian president and Arab leader*

Gamal Abdel Nasser was born in a poor suburb of ALEXANDRIA, a seaport city in northern EGYPT. The son of a postal worker with southern-Egyptian peasant roots, Nasser was educated at the Egyptian Military Academy when it was opened to non-aristocratic students. In 1938 he graduated from the academy and joined the officer corps. Together with fellow army officers, he helped to found a secret society, the Free Officers Movement, whose aim was to combat both governmental corruption and British imperialism. He fought in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War and was wounded in battle. In 1952 General

Muhammad Naguib (1901–1984), a hero of the Arab-Israeli War, led the Free Officers in a bloodless coup d'état that forced King FARUK (1920–1965) into exile.

In 1953 the Free Officers formed the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), which Nasser secretly dominated. Empowered to govern the country for three years, the RCC banned all political parties but the Arab Socialist Union. It abolished the monarchy, named the popular General Naguib president, and declared the country a republic. Nasser's public role was minister of the interior. Policy differences between Nasser and Naguib, however, soon resulted in a power struggle between the two leaders.

In 1954 Nasser deposed Naguib, named himself president, and began a sweeping social and political revolution known as Arab Socialism, that also included a program of land reform. A decree limited the total acreage any Egyptian could own to slightly more than 200 acres (80 hectares). All lands above this amount were purchased from the owner by the government and distributed to landless peasants.

Under Nasser the government increased spending on free public EDUCATION, passed progressive LABOR laws, and improved public health and housing. He also enlarged the army and the police, turned Faruk's palaces into government offices, and allowed national monuments to decay. To build popular support for his reforms, Nasser rewrote schoolbooks, filling their pages with images of a prerevolution Egypt populated with oppressed peasants and imperialist masters. He also expanded Egypt's participation in the Arab League. In 1956 Nasser was officially elected president of Egypt under a new constitution that made Egypt an Arab, socialist state and gave Nasser broad executive powers.

Following a policy of nonalignment that Nasser called "positive neutralism," Egypt resisted taking sides with either the Western powers or the Soviet Union during the Cold War (1947–91). Instead Egypt willingly accepted monetary aid from both sides. As a reaction to this policy, the United States and Britain withdrew their financing from the ASWAN HIGH DAM, a massive flood-control project that Nasser supported. Nasser responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal Company, intending to use its profits to finance the dam. Judging Nasser's actions a threat to the canal, Britain, France, and Israel united to attack Egypt, strip away the Sinai Peninsula, and reoccupy the SUEZ CANAL zone. The United States and the Soviet Union intervened to stop the Suez War (or Suez-Sinai War, as it is sometimes called), and UN troops were stationed in Sinai as peacekeepers. In the end, Egypt kept the canal and received assistance from the Soviet Union to construct the Aswan Dam. Nasser's government then expelled thousands of British and French citizens and confiscated their property. This defiance of former colonial powers like Britain and France made Nasser a hero in the Arab world.

In 1958 Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic, or UAR, as it was often called, with Nasser as head of state. Nasser hoped that the UAR would someday include every Arab land. The new state lasted only three years, until 1961, when Syria withdrew, but Nasser continued to call Egypt the United Arab Republic until his death.

Nasser's dream of Arab unity was an expression of his belief in pan-Arabism. His book, *The Philosophy of the Revolution* (1959), maintained that the European nations intentionally divided the Middle East into many different states in order to keep them politically and economically vulnerable. A unified Arab world, he contended, could stand up to the West. In defense of Arab Socialism, he noted how foreigners extracted wealth from Egypt but left it under-industrialized and dependent upon CASH CROPS such as COTTON. He further believed that oil profits should be divided equally among all the states in the region.

As Egypt entered the 1960s, the political situation in the region, worsened by Nasser's refusal to recognize the state of Israel, remained volatile. Egypt's defeat by Israel in the Suez War of 1956 caused him to divert money into building up Egypt's armed forces. Egypt also began to accept military aid from the Soviet Union, which sold weapons to the other Arab countries as well. Continued conflict with Israel marked the upcoming years of Nasser's life.

See also: NASSER, GAMAL ABDEL (Vol. V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Natal   Former British colony and now a province of present-day SOUTH AFRICA. During the first half of the 19th century the region that is now Natal was home to ZULU groups that were trying to repel an influx of Boer settlers, who were migrating to the area in large numbers. After years of warfare, in about 1840 the BOERS secured tracts of land through treaties with the Zulu leader, Mpande (1798–1872), and established the settler colony of Natalia. At the same time, however, Africans who had been forced from the region by the Zulu Mfecane (a military campaign of territorial expansion) began to return to Natal, eventually outnumbering the white settlers and destabilizing Boer control of the colony.

Britain took advantage of the instability in the region and claimed the area as a PROTECTORATE in 1843. As a result most of the AFRIKAANS-speaking Boers in Natal migrated to the two interior AFRIKANER REPUBLICS—the TRANSVAAL and the ORANGE FREE STATE (OFS). Natal was

then governed as an extension of CAPE COLONY until 1856, when the British proclaimed the region a crown colony.

Under British rule white farmers began to experiment with growing a number of CASH CROPS for both local consumption and export. Sugar became increasingly important. Unable to recruit sufficient African LABOR, the colony decided, in 1858, to import indentured workers from India. Within a few years more than 6,000 Indians arrived in Natal, and they continued to do so until the end of the indenture system, in 1911. Joined by other Indian immigrants, they came to outnumber the white population by the end of the century. As they left the sugar estates at the end of their indenture, they became small-scale farmers or entered commerce.

The Indians' struggle against discriminatory legislation led to the arrival of the young lawyer Mohandas GANDHI (1869–1948) in Natal, in 1893. Over the next two decades he developed the nonviolent resistance practice of _SATYAGRAHA,_ which he was then to implement in India in the ultimately successful effort to end British rule there.

In the latter half of the 19th century, Natal and the surrounding regions were marked by constant conflicts among Boer, Zulu, and British interests, the bloodiest of these conflicts being the ANGLO-ZULU WARS. By 1897, however, the Zulu were defeated, and their territory, Zululand, was officially made part of Natal. The Boers invaded the colony during the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), but they were eventually repelled by British forces.

Despite Britain's military might, the Zulu continued to resist COLONIAL RULE into the 1900s. The Zulu king DINIZULU (1868–1913) was charged with treason for his role in leading rebellions against the British in 1889 and 1908. This resistance, however, was insufficient to oust the British from the region. In 1910 Natal joined Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and the OFS to form the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

See also: CETSHWAYO (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

National Congress of British West Africa

Inter-territorial political body founded by J. E. CASELY-HAYFORD (1866–1930), the Gold Coast intellectual. Casely-Hayford believed that the most effective path to West African independence involved cooperation among all Africans. In 1920, following the conclusion of World War I (1914–19), a new current of African nationalism offered Casely-Hayford and his Nigerian colleague, Dr. Akiwande Savage, a chance to organize a conference in support of West African self-determination.

The conference, attended by West African leaders and held in ACCRA, passed resolutions calling for various reforms. These included an end to British-controlled judiciaries, economic and political equality for Africans, and African input on the political direction of the former German colonies. (Germany lost its colonies, including TOGOLAND [now TOGO] and Kamerun [part of today's CAMEROON] in West Africa, when it lost the war; Britain and France shared control of these two colonies under the MANDATE system of the League of Nations.) At the end of the conference the leaders made their gathering a permanent entity, naming it the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA).

The NCBWA met on three other occasions, in 1923 in FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE; in 1925–26 in Bathurst, The GAMBIA; and in 1930 in LAGOS, NIGERIA. At the later meetings the congress had to repeat many of its original demands, exposing its inability to organize the masses and bringing to light the lack of engagement by the colonial governments. Despite its inability to gain the reforms in COLONIAL RULE that it sought, the NCBWA was a precursor of the more militant—and more successful—West African nationalist movements that formed after World War II (1939–45).

See also: NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: J. Ayodele Langley, _Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900–1945: A Study in Ideology and Social Classes_ (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1973).

nationalism and independence movements

Anticolonial in its origins, nationalism constituted a set of political ideas that over time gave rise to independence movements seeking to end COLONIAL RULE in Africa. In the late 19th century, many African societies put up a spirited resistance to European COLONIAL CONQUEST. In the early decades of the colonial era, widespread RESISTANCE AND REBELLION gave testimony to continued African unwillingness to accept colonial rule. Gradually, however, African opposition shifted to a different political realm. Whereas initial resistance and subsequent rebellions were largely attempts to restore the old order, some Africans began to look forward to a new order. The impetus for rising nationalism was the deep dissatisfaction with being subjects of colonial empires rather than citizens of their own societies. However, the shape that nationalism took drew from the dominant currents of political thought in Europe at the time.

The patterns of political thinking that can be labeled nationalism first emerged among those who had received

African Independence

MOROCCO
1956

TUNIS
1956

Mediterranean Sea

WESTERN
SAHARA*
1976

ALGERIA
1962

LIBYA
1951

EGYPT
1922

Red Sea

MAURITANIA
1960

MALI
1960

NIGER
1960

CHAD
1960

SUDAN
1956

ERITREA
1993

SOMALILAND
REPUBLIC
declared 1991

SENEGAL
1960

GAMBIA 1965

GUINEA-
BISSAU 1974

BURKINA
FASO
1960

GUINEA
1958

NIGERIA
1960

DJIBOUTI
1977

SIERRA
LEONE
1961

IVORY
COAST
1960

GHANA
1957

BENIN
1960

CENTRAL
AFRICAN REPUBLIC
1960

ETHIOPIA

LIBERIA

TOGO
1960

CAMEROON
1960

SOMALI
REPUBLIC
1960

EQUATORIAL GUINEA 1968

SÃO TOMÉ & PRÍNCIPE 1975

GABON
1960

DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC
OF THE CONGO
1960

UGANDA
1962

KENYA
1963

REPUBLIC OF
THE CONGO
1960

RWANDA 1962

BURUNDI 1962

Cabinda (ANGOLA)

TANZANIA
1961

ATLANTIC

OCEAN

COMOROS
1975

MALAWI
1963

ANGOLA
1975

ZAMBIA
1964

MOZAMBIQUE
1975

MADAGASCAR
1960

ZIMBABWE
1980

NAMIBIA
1990

BOTSWANA
1966

INDIAN

SWAZILAND 1968

OCEAN

SOUTH
AFRICA
1910

LESOTHO 1966

■	Countries that have retained their independence
☰	Countries gaining independence by 1945
░	Countries gaining independence 1945–54
▨	Countries gaining independence 1955–64
⋮	Countries gaining independence since 1964
‖	Countries gaining independence from an African state

* Sovereignty is disputed as of 2004.

a Western-oriented EDUCATION. As the historian Robert W. July (1918–   ) observed, "The educated African was the parent of the independent African." Among the earliest people to argue for a new political direction for Africa was the Liberian educator and political thinker Edward Wilmot BLYDEN (1832–1912). Blyden made a significant contribution to West African intellectual history by articulating ideas about African nationalism and PAN-AFRICANISM. Similarly, in EGYPT, the 1881 mutiny of Egyptian army officers led by Colonel Ahmad URABI (1841–1911) was an attempt to force the khedive to adopt a more nationalist stance and a new constitution and elections.

With the defeat of independent African states in SOUTH AFRICA, African leaders such as the CAPE COLONY newspaper editor John Tengo JABAVU (1859–1921) began calling for African participation in the parliamentary government. His position also highlights the significant role that NEWSPAPERS played in spreading ideas of nationalism in an era before RADIO became widespread.

African nationalists began to form overtly political organizations, although for the most part they were not yet dedicated to political independence. In 1912, for example, young, French-educated Muslims in ALGERIA organized the Party of Young Algeria. These "Young Algerians," led by Ferhat ABBAS (1899–1985) were seeking full French citizenship rights. They also desired assimilation with France and civil and social equality between mostly Christian Europeans and Muslims. That same year witnessed the founding of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), in South Africa, as a challenge to European SETTLERS who dominated the country's political life. The first generation of ANC leaders was also seeking full citizenship rights.

There was an upsurge of African nationalism and associated political organizations in the aftermath of World War I (1914–18). Nationalists focused on the Fourteen Points of U.S. president Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924). In particular they looked to his fifth point, which called for an impartial adjustment of all colonial claims. The guiding principle for that adjustment was that the interests of the indigenous population must have equal weight with the claims of the government. At the Paris Peace Conference, in 1919, a group of young Egyptian nationalists arrived, organized into a delegation (*Wafd* in Arabic) to press the assembled Allied powers for Egyptian independence. Though they were unsuccessful, they then constituted the WAFD PARTY, which was the country's leading political party until 1952. Nationalists in the four British West African colonies formed the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, which existed throughout the 1920s. It called for an end to British-controlled judiciaries, economic and political equality for Africans, and African input on the political direction of the former German colonies. In KENYA, a young government clerk, Harry THUKU (1895–1970), in 1921 helped launch the East African Association and the Young Kikuyu Association, which were the first of several political organizations to form in that colony. The intellectual currents of NÉGRITUDE and PAN-AFRICANISM also helped stimulate African nationalism in the 1920s and the 1930s, since they also were addressing the colonial condition.

For many Africans, the Italian invasion of ETHIOPIA in 1935 marked the beginning of World War II (1939–45) instead of the more conventional European-centered date of 1939. This event heightened feelings about liberation for many nationalists. They were particularly incensed by the failure of the major colonial rulers in Africa to come to the assistance of one of the three African member states of the League of Nations. The fall of France to Germany in 1940 greatly weakened France's long-term hold on its colonial empire, as did the British defeats in Asia at the hands of the Japanese. As the Allied leaders attempted to rally their demoralized populations, the colonized peoples were listening. Thus, in 1943, the ANC published a document entitled "The Atlantic Charter from the Standpoint of Africans within the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA," which called for full African participation in the country's educational, political, and economic activities.

In the aftermath of the war African nationalism became much more assertive and vigorous, and the earlier political organizations transformed into political parties calling for independence. In NIGERIA, for example, Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996) established, in 1944, the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons. He also founded six NEWSPAPERS, including the *WEST AFRICAN PILOT,* through which he launched a massive anticolonial campaign. Although the colonial government banned two of his papers, Azikiwe had helped unleash political forces that would lead Nigeria to independence and, in 1963, Azikiwe to the presidency. Likewise, in GHANA, Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) returned from England in 1947 to work as a political organizer. In 1949 he formed his own political party, the CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (CPP), to press for immediate independence for the GOLD COAST COLONY, which became Ghana in 1957.

In the colonies that constituted FRENCH WEST AFRICA, African political leaders, led by Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993) and Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) met in BAMAKO (in what was then FRENCH SOUDAN), in 1946. There they formed the multi-colony, multiethnic AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY (Rassemblement Democratique Africain, RDA). Although Houphouët-Boigney claimed that the organization was not a political party, the RDA quickly spawned associated, individual political parties in each of the constituent territories. Touré then used the GUINEA branch of the RDA, the Democratic Party of Guinea, to lead his country to independence in 1958. The other French West African colonies became independent countries in 1960.

Nationalism and the movement toward independence often evolved into a violent liberation struggle. This was particularly true in Algeria and Kenya, where both countries had white settler populations that were determined to hang onto their privileged way of life. By 1948, frustrated with the continuing determination of the COLONS to stymie any meaningful Muslim political advance, revolutionary

Algerian fighters founded the Organisation Sécrete (Secret Organization) and plotted the violent overthrow of colonial rule. Ahmed BEN BELLA (1916–   ), who was to become president of independent Algeria in 1963, was one of its key leaders. By 1954 it had evolved into the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT and led the prolonged and bloody war that brought independence in 1962.

The struggle in Kenya was neither as prolonged nor as destructive of human life, but it nonetheless was both costly and bloody. It took the form of the MAU MAU movement and lasted from the late 1940s until the mid-1950s. Though the British security forces managed to suppress it, the Mau Mau fighters succeeded in propelling the British government to grant independence to Kenya. The events in Algeria and Kenya were a forecast of later wars of liberation in the Portuguese colonies and in Rhodesia (today's ZIMBABWE).

By 1960 the forces of African nationalism had crafted independence movements throughout much of the continent that brought an end to decades of colonial rule. Elsewhere this independence did not truly arrive for years. The struggle for independence was to last the longest for the countries of southern Africa.

See also: DECOLONIZATION (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Toyin Falola, ed. *Africa.* Vol. 4. *The End of Colonial Rule: Nationalism and Decolonization* (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2000).

National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN)

Independence movement of ALGERIA that, from 1954 to 1962, led the armed resistance to French COLONIAL RULE. After World War II (1939–45), movements calling for Algerian independence emerged throughout the country. One such organization was the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques, MTLD), founded by Messali Hadj (1898–1974). In 1947 the MTLD created the Special Organization (Organisation Spéciale, OS) as a secret military wing. The OS was founded to manage and carry out covert military operations against French occupation when political channels were unavailable. When the French police dissolved the OS, in 1950, its leader, Ahmed BEN BELLA (1916–   ), created the Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action (Comité Révolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action, CRUA) to replace it.

The leaders of CRUA, including Ben Bella, were located in CAIRO and known as the "externals," while CRUA members within Algeria were known as "internals." In early 1954 CRUA leaders began to organize an armed resistance against French occupation. Later that year, CRUA was renamed the National Liberation Front (FLN). The FLN then separated itself from military action by creating the National Liberation Army (Armée de Libération Nationale, ALN) to fight Algeria's war of independence.

In November 1954 the FLN began its rebellion, with the ALN launching multiple attacks against government and commercial targets throughout Algeria. The initiation of armed resistance soon garnered the support of a host of other Algerian nationalists, including Ferhat ABBAS (1899–1985), who was considered the founder of Algerian nationalism.

One group that did not align itself with the FLN was the National Algerian Movement (Mouvement Nationale Algérien, MNA), which was founded by Messali Hadj after the failure of the MTLD. Concerned with opposition to its leadership position within the independence struggle, the FLN eventually destroyed the MNA in Algeria. However, the MNA still held strong support among Algerian nationals in France, so the FLN responded by building up its own support in France. Taking their fight to Europe, the two resistance groups engaged in bloody "café wars" that left almost 5,000 dead.

As the ALN fought military battles against French occupation, the FLN attempted to gain the political support of the Algerian population. At the same time, French settlers known as COLONS began to form vigilante units to hunt down suspected FLN members. Though the French government did not sanction the colon actions against the FLN, the colonial police tacitly approved of the anti-FLN campaign.

French animosity toward the FLN increased dramatically after an incident at Phillipville, in 1955, in which the FLN killed more than 100 civilians. French forces retaliated in kind, claiming to kill more than 1,000 ALN members (though the FLN put the number of Muslim deaths, including non-FLN members, at more than 10,000). In 1956 France arrested FLN externals who were in Algeria for a leadership meeting and interned them for the duration of the war.

The FLN battle to gain self-determination was put in jeopardy, in 1958, with the return to power of Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970). De Gaulle quickly introduced a referendum to decide the status of Algeria, and exhorted rebel leaders to participate in elections. The FLN, fearful that the referendum could undermine popular support, refused de Gaulle's invitation and set up a government-in-exile led by Abbas. Called the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, it was located in TUNIS, the capital of neighboring TUNISIA. The FLN continued to use guerrilla tactics in

an attempt to disrupt the referendum vote. Ultimately, however, the FLN was unsuccessful, and 96 percent of Muslim voters supported Algeria's continued relationship with France.

Originally a loosely disciplined group of less than 1,000 men, the ALN gradually evolved into a fighting force of more than 40,000. Over time the ALN came to occupy areas of the Algerian countryside, driving out French police forces and even collecting taxes in certain instances. All told the ALN's struggle against French occupation cost the lives of more than 1,000,000 Algerians.

By 1959, however, the international community was pressuring France to grant Algeria its independence, and domestic French opposition to the conflict with the FLN was running high. Finally, in 1961 France and the FLN sat down to talks that led to a cease-fire in March 1962. Later that year, Algeria was granted independence.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Vol. V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Benjamin Stora (translated by Jane Marie Todd), *Algeria, 1830–2000: A Short History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001).

natural resources   Africa has benefited from its diverse natural resources for generations. Historically, Africans used natural resources in a more sustainable manner than in the recent past, partly due to much lower population densities. When Europeans arrived in Africa, however, they recognized the wealth of natural resources and designed colonial economies to exploit as many resources as possible. The subsequent extraction and export of resources helped fuel the Industrial Revolution in Europe, which, by that time, had greatly reduced its own natural resources.

The natural resources of principal importance during the colonial period were related to AGRICULTURE and MINING. Africa's volcanic areas, such as the Rift Valley of East Africa, contain very fertile soils, while other areas have very old soils that have leached their nutrients over thousands of years and are no longer productive. Under colonialism, African farmers in both types of environments were encouraged and coerced—through the imposition of taxes or the threat of violence—to cultivate CASH CROPS for export rather than traditional subsistence crops.

Cash crops grown during this period included COFFEE, tea, tobacco, sisal, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), sugar cane,

COCOA, palm products, and trees for lumber. Many of the agricultural economies of African countries today remain dependent on the production of cash crops.

Although GOLD, COPPER, and iron ore had been mined in Africa long before Europeans arrived, the colonial focus on extracting MINERALS AND METALS resulted in what came to be called the African MINERAL REVOLUTION. Beginning in the latter half of the 19th century, European mining companies began investing in heavy machinery to extract large quantities of mineral resources at depths previously impossible to mine. With prospectors digging mines wherever they could, southern, Central, and West Africa soon became the focus of extensive diamond, gold, iron, and copper mining.

The harvesting and extraction of all these natural resources required human capital resources, as well. Africans exclusively provided the needed LABOR. As colonial subjects, hundreds of thousands of Africans, usually men, were either coerced or forced to leave their villages to work in the mines or on plantations for little or no money.

After World War II (1939–45) Europeans finally came to realize that Africa's natural resources were, in fact, being overused. As a result concepts that had not previously been of concern, such as the depletion of forests and the preservation of Africa's natural and wildlife resources, became a priority. By end of the colonial period, governments were beginning to create nature reserves and national parks, although often without consultation of indigenous populations. In addition, concerns about agricultural productivity lead to the implementation of soil erosion management techniques.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CONSERVATION (Vol. V); NATIONAL PARKS (Vol. V); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vols. III, V); WILDLIFE (Vol. V).

Ndebele (Matabele)   Bantu-speaking people living primarily in present-day ZIMBABWE who trace their origins to the ZULU of SOUTH AFRICA. In 1823 the Ndebele leader Mzilikazi (1790–1868) broke away from the Zulu king Shaka (1785–1828) and, along with a number of followers, settled in the region of present-day PRETORIA, South Africa. There they assimilated or conquered surrounding peoples, adding to their numbers. The continued threat posed by the Zulu and by encroaching BOERS prompted Mzilikazi, in 1837, to migrate to what became Matabeleland, located in the southwest of present-day Zimbabwe. Founding their capital at Bulawayo, the Ndebele used their military might to conquer and incorporate many of the local SHONA people into their state, while raiding others living outside their borders.

The Ndebele kingdom was short-lived, however. LOBENGULA (1836–1894) became king in 1870, two years after Mzilikazi's death, and ruled with a strong hand. Even so, he and his people faced an influx of Europeans drawn

by the discovery of GOLD deposits south of Bulawayo. In 1888 Lobengula granted mineral rights in Matabeleland to the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC), headed by Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), in exchange for firearms and ammunition. Rhodes then used this concession to move white settlers into the region, thus circumscribing Ndebele authority and power.

After the Ndebele raided Shona villages in territory controlled by the BSAC in an attempt to reassert their authority, the British stormed Bulawayo in 1893. Lobengula went into exile, where he eventually died. His heirs were never allowed to claim the Ndebele throne, and the settlers claimed their lands as part of the new British colony of SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now Zimbabwe). In 1896, however, the Ndebele rose in a rebellion called the CHIMURENGA and regained some of their land and herds in the peace settlement that followed.

Though their kingdom passed out of existence, the Ndebele people and culture persisted and today are a major ethnic group in Zimbabwe. While many continue to live in rural areas, raising maize (corn) and herding cattle, others became urbanized or engaged in migrant LABOR. Many also became political activists, contributing to the nationalist struggle that resulted in Zimbabwe's independence in 1980.

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NGUNI (Vol. III); SHAKA (Vol. III).

Négritude   A nationalist, pan-African literary and cultural movement among French-speaking intellectuals from Africa and the AFRICAN DIASPORA. Négritude emerged from the political activities of people of African descent living in the French Caribbean possessions of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and French Guiana. As citizens of France, politicians from these islands had begun to articulate an identity that affirmed racial pride well before the emergence of the formal Négritude movement on the eve of World War II (1939–45).

The word *négritude* was first used by writer and politician Aimé CÉSAIRE (1913–) of Martinique in his 1939 poem "Cahier d'un retour au pays natal" (Notebook of a return to my native land). The central figure of the poem is a black West Indian who returns to his home island from France. He represents the legacy of French colonialism and the various threads of African cultural identity that, intertwined, produce a unique racial endowment called *négritude*.

Césaire and like-minded, French-speaking black intellectuals developed the concept to generate a movement representing a collective identity for people of Africa and the African Diaspora. These people, they argued, shared a common culture, history, and experience of cultural domination.

The Négritude movement, though, was not only concerned with issues of culture and history. One of its major contributions lay in the arts. By adapting the French LANGUAGE to African conditions, it helped create new poetic and literary forms.

Although the Négritude movement originated in the French Caribbean, intellectuals from these islands were not alone in expressing the positive values of racial pride. Césaire, in fact, gave American poet Claude McKay (1890–1948) of the United States credit for expressing the values of Négritude in his verse. McKay, Langston Hughes (1902–1967), and other writers of the Harlem Renaissance in the United States gave testimony to a rich black culture. *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) by W. E. B. DU BOIS (1868–1963) was also a critical contribution to the formulation of Négritude thought.

Négritude became the literary and cultural arm of the Pan-African movement, which insisted on the need for black equality if people of African heritage were ever to participate fully in the global community. PAN-AFRICANISM helped bring an end to formal COLONIAL RULE in Africa and prompted greater black intellectual and cultural autonomy.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); NEOCOLONIALISM (Vol. V); *PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE* (Vol. IV); SENGHOR, LÉOPOLD (Vols. IV, V).

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New Age   Militant national newspaper published in SOUTH AFRICA from 1954 to 1962. By the 1950s South African presses offered a broad range of NEWSPAPERS, published for a wide variety of readerships, black and white. Alongside the mainstream, big-city dailies such as the *Star,* published in JOHANNESBURG, and the *Cape Argus,* in CAPE TOWN, were those papers that served as voices of protest and resistance against the political system that supported white supremacy. The protest papers became increasingly militant after the Afrikaner National Party won the 1948 election and began institutionalizing racism under the guise of APARTHEID.

One of the papers that most vigorously opposed white supremacy was the *Guardian.* Founded in 1937 as a LABOR UNION newspaper for African, white, and Coloured unionists, intellectuals, and politicians in Cape Town, the *Guardian* quickly attracted a broad national readership. At the same time, however, it upset government authorities. In 1952 the police raided its offices and issued banning orders against its editor, Brian Bunting (1920–). As part of its survival strategy the *Guardian* underwent a

series of name changes before becoming *New Age,* which it remained from 1954 to 1962.

In its incarnation as *New Age,* the paper reached the peak of its influence. By 1958 it had a paid national circulation of 30,000 and a readership of about 100,000. Its popularity among African, Cape Coloured, and liberal white readers was a testament to the quality of its writers and their fearlessness in attacking unjust government policies. Among the writers was noted political journalist Govan MBEKI (1910–2001), who was the editor and branch manager of the paper's Port Elizabeth office in the eastern Cape Province from 1955 to 1962. During that time the columns of the *New Age* covered race issues (including anti-pass-law demonstrations), LABOR abuses, and industrial disasters such as the Coalbrook Mine collapse that killed more than 400 miners in 1960. Chief Albert LUTULI (1898–1967), the president of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, rightly described the paper as "the fighting mouthpiece of African aspirations."

It was precisely because it was such a strong champion of African rights in the increasingly repressive and politically hostile environment of apartheid South Africa that *New Age* was forced to cease publishing. Following the police massacre of peaceful protesters at Sharpeville in March of 1960, the paper wrote in-depth stories under bold headlines that declared the event a "mass slaughter." In response to the subsequent nationwide disturbances, the government cracked down, declaring a state of emergency. It closed the doors of *New Age,* arresting Bunting and other staff members.

The paper reappeared later in 1960, boldly continuing its coverage of the South African political scene. However, the state was becoming even more repressive, and the publication of *New Age* was officially prohibited on December 1, 1962. The paper changed its name to *Spark,* but the following year the government closed it down for good. Bunting, who had been editor since 1948, was forced to leave the country, ending the 25-year history of the *Guardian* and its successor newspapers. Those tumultuous 25 years witnessed a steady decline in the freedom of the press in South Africa to the point that it virtually disappeared in the early 1960s.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

newspapers Print media first became widespread in Africa during the 19th century, as colonial governments sought to control the African population by communicating to them what the rulers wanted them to know. The first newspapers were hand produced and published under the direction of the British government. Some publications ran for only a few editions, but, by 1900, there were more than 70 newspapers printed in West Africa alone.

Colonial Newspapers Africa's first newspapers were gazettes, or small, official government publications. The first gazette, the *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser,* ran for only three months, in 1800. The following year, the *Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser* began publication in FREETOWN. The *Royal Gold Coast Gazette,* published in present-day GHANA, was a hand-written newspaper that began publication in 1822. The gazettes were sold in the streets by hawkers who earned a small commission.

In East Africa, journalism was dominated by British settlers. The region's first newspaper was the *East Africa and Uganda Mail,* published in MOMBASA, KENYA in 1899. Other British-run newspapers included the *East African Standard,* in NAIROBI; the *Uganda Argus,* printed in KAMPALA; and the *Tanganyika Standard,* printed in DAR ES SALAAM. These publications presented conservative views in favor of white settlers and opposed black liberation.

Newspapers in West Africa were also greatly influenced by the British. Beginning in the 1940s, a newspaper conglomerate called the London Mirror Group published British-style newspapers including the *Daily Times* and *Sunday Times of Lagos,* in NIGERIA; the *Gold Coast Daily Graphic* and *Sunday Mirror,* in ACCRA; and the *Sierra Leone Daily Mail,* in Freetown. The Mirror Group newspapers trained journalists, including some Africans, and used modern printing presses and photo equipment. Features in these papers included news headlines, professional news reporting, editorials, sports news, and special-interest sections such as women's pages.

In southern Africa, print media were dominated by Argus South African Newspapers, which, starting in the 1950s, controlled the major news publications in SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE), NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA), and SOUTH AFRICA. Argus published the *Rhodesian Herald* and the *Sunday Mail* in SALISBURY (now Harare), the *Chronicle* and *Sunday News* in Bulawayo, and the *Umtali Post,* in Umtali (now Mutare). In Zambia, the Argus Group published the *Northern News* (later called the *Times of Zambia*) and the *Sunday Mail.* Reflecting the racist attitude of the white government in South Africa, the country's Argus newspapers tended to ignore the black majority. These newspapers included *The Star* of JOHANNESBURG, the *Sunday Times,* the *Cape Times,* and the *Cape Argus.*

Missionary Newspapers The important role that European MISSIONARIES played in the culture and politics of colonial Africa extended to the press, as well. They devoted space in their media to attacks on societal ills as well as to articles that attempted to persuade people to convert to Christianity. Because of their status of being related to, and yet outside, the colonial government, missionaries enjoyed the privilege of a greater freedom of expression. However, by criticizing the colonial government they were seen as being on the Africans' side, and they sometimes incurred the ire of colonial authorities.

Beginning in 1859, the first newspaper in Nigeria, *Iwe Irohin Fun Awon Ara Egba ati Yoruba* (Newspaper for the Egbas and the Yoruba), was written and typeset by hand in the YORUBA language and published by Henry Townsend of the Anglican Church Mission Society.

African Newspapers As might be expected, Africans saw newspapers as a means not of supporting the status quo, but of spreading anticolonial ideas and promoting nationalism. Since, in the 19th century, Africans generally lacked the financial and mechanical resources required to establish media operations, they had to import printing presses and machines from Europe or, more rarely, acquire them second-hand from failed colonial newspapers.

One serious early journalist was Charles Force. In 1826 Force, a freedman from the United States, brought a small, hand-operated printing press to MONROVIA, LIBERIA and set up the *Liberia Herald,* a four-page monthly. Although Force died not long after establishing the *Herald,* it continued publication for more than 30 years under different editors, including Edward Wilmot BLYDEN (1832–1912), an anticolonial activist from the West Indies.

In South Africa the first newspaper to cater to a black readership was IMVO ZABANTSUNDU (African Opinion), launched in 1884 by John Tengo JABAVU (1859–1921). The newspaper was published both in the XHOSA language and in English. Despite Jabavu's death, *Imvo ZabaNtsundu* continued publication until 1998.

Between 1836 and 1977 the non-white South African population—including black Africans, Cape Coloureds, and Indians—was served by more than 800 publications that varied in size and frequency of printing.

Newspapers were a particularly important tool for the Kenyan independence movement. The first African-owned newspaper in Kenya was *Mwigwithania* (meaning "work and pray" in Kikuyu). First published in 1928, *Mwigwithania* was edited by the future leader of the Kenyan independence movement, Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978). Newspapers like Kenyatta's became so effective that, by the time of the MAU MAU movement in the 1940s and 1950s, British authorities were suppressing the African press by denying publishers their licenses, blocking their newsprint supply, or by banning them outright.

In LAGOS, Nigeria, the publication of the WEST AFRICAN PILOT marked a major development in the history of black newspapers in Africa. Founded by Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996) and launched November 22, 1937, the *West African Pilot* became the medium for some of the strongest printed attacks on colonialism. Its initial circulation of 12,000 doubled by the 1940s, making the newspaper unparalleled in both the size of its readership and the extent of its influence.

At one point British authorities even arrested Azikiwe for pieces published in the newspaper, fearing that certain pieces printed in the *West African Pilot* might foment rebellion within the African population. In spite of this setback, however, Azikiwe went on to establish a chain of six newspapers throughout Nigeria.

Newspapers during Independence In the late 1950s and early 1960s the press in Africa reflected the mood of the political environment. In Rhodesia, Roy WE-LENSKY (1907–1991), who later became prime minister of the short-lived CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (1953–1963), ran the *Northern News* from 1944 until 1950, at which time he sold it to Argus. Welensky ensured that the paper conformed to his white-supremacist political views by appointing its editor and writing the editorials himself. At the same time, African nationalists were using newspapers to claim the right to be heard, the right to print people's views without government interference, and the right to self-government. In Northern Rhodesia, African-owned newspapers provided a voice to those who spoke out against both colonialism in general and Welensky's racist government. These papers included *African Times* (1957–58), published by Elias Mtepuka, and *African Life* (1958–61) published by Sikota Wina (d. 2002), who later became a prominent politician when Northern Rhodesia became independent Zambia.

At the end of the colonial period many of the continent's major newspapers were owned and run by foreign news groups. However, after independence, feeling that the foreign-owned print media did not serve the needs of their people, many African governments seized control of major newspapers.

The United Nations reported that, by 1964, there were 220 daily newspapers in Africa with a total circulation of 3 million.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); WALLACE-JOHNSON, I. T. A. (Vol. IV).

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Niger Landlocked modern-day country, approximately 458,100 square miles (1,186,500 sq km) in size, that is bordered to the north by ALGERIA and LIBYA, to the east by CHAD, to the south by NIGERIA and Republic of BENIN, and to the west by BURKINA FASO and the Republic of MALI. The northern region of Niger is dominated by the vast and arid Sahara desert, an area inhabited by TUAREGS since the 11th century. Heading south, the terrain becomes increasingly fertile and supports pastoral herding as well as AGRICULTURE.

In the 1840s the once-great KANEM-BORNU empire, which had ruled southeastern Niger, was near its end. At the same time the expansion of the FULANI-ruled SOKOTO CALIPHATE, centered within northern Nigeria, was also ending. The Kanem-Bornu and Fulani declines allowed for the expansion of the HAUSA kingdom of Damagaram throughout much of southern Niger, giving rise to a Hausa cultural renaissance.

In the latter half of the 19th century, the beginning of a prolonged drought in the region enabled the Tuaregs to extend their control further south. Despite this expansion of Tuareg influence, southern Niger remained an area of convergence for multiple kingdoms and people, many of them refugees from the warfare that pervaded the region.

Niger during the Colonial Period: Upper Senegal and Niger; French West Africa European colonialism reached Niger relatively late, with the southern states of Dosso and Gaya signing treaties with the French during the 1890s. Tuareg people were not as accommodating, and they zealously resisted France's efforts of COLONIAL CONQUEST. Tuareg resistance prevented the French from establishing a firm control of Niger for more than 20 years.

In 1900 Niger was established as a French military dominion and placed under a succession of administrative bodies. In 1903 it was grouped with other territories of the Sudan to form Senegambia and Niger. This area became Upper Senegal and Niger one year later and then was placed under the administration of FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Afrique Occidentale Francaise, AOF).

Another severe drought, this one lasting from 1913 to 1915, caused widespread famine in the region and motivated a migration of Niger's population to the south. This migration impaired Tuareg control of the northern areas of the country. Despite their weakened state the Tuaregs, angered by newly imposed taxes and the French recruitment effort for World War I (1914–19), engaged in a widespread rebellion from 1916 to 1917. The insurgence was brutally suppressed, and the French, satisfied the country was secure, transferred the governance of Niger to a civilian administration. In 1922 France declared Niger a colony, ushering in an era of relative peace.

In the period between the two world wars Niger underwent changes similar to those of other African colonies, marked by a rapid spread of Islam and the expansion of agriculture with the help of improved irriga-

tion. During this time the French practice of forced LABOR increased and was used to expand the country's infrastructure.

During World War II (1939–45) Niger followed the lead of the other AOF colonies and, in 1942, pledged its loyalty to the Vichy government within German-occupied France. After the war French constitutional reforms opened the door to self-government, as France granted Africans French citizenship and representation in the French National Assembly.

Within Niger, local advisory legislatures were organized as political participation among the population increased. The first political party of Niger was the Sawaba (Independence) Party, headed by Djibo Bakary (1922–1998). In the 1958 referendum on continued alliance with France, Bakary encouraged a vote of "no." Niger voted to join the French Community, however, and Bakary's attempt to defeat the referendum served only to anger France. With French support, Hamani Diori (1916–1989), leader of the Niger branch of the AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY (Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine, RDA), quickly rose to prominence. Diori led the RDA to a position of power in Niger and eventually exiled Bakary to GUINEA. In 1960, upon Niger's independence, Diori became the country's first president.

See also: BORNU (Vol. II); DIORI, HAMANI (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); KANEM (Vol. II); NIGER (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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Niger Delta Largest river delta in Africa, located in southern NIGERIA; also known to Europeans in the 19th century as the Oil Rivers because of the local PALM OIL trade. The environment of the Niger Delta caused the peoples there to develop differently from their IGBO and YORUBA neighbors. Delta ethnic groups—including the Itsekiri, Ijaw, Urhobo, and Ogoni—lived in mangrove swamps and sustained themselves through fishing and trade, purchasing staple crops from the interior, and selling sea salt, palm products, and other trade items that were convenient for long-distance commerce. Once they had thrown off the yoke of conquest by the kingdom of BENIN, these people established city-states that grew wealthy first from the SLAVE TRADE in the 18th century and then from other forms of commerce in the 19th century. Because they were adept at traveling by canoe, these delta traders became the intermediaries between interior markets and European merchants, whose ships could not navigate the shallows of the Niger Delta. Through their trading associations, delta peoples were able to purchase European weapons, which allowed them to procure goods from interior markets by force if necessary.

In a society based on patron-client relationships, delta peoples purchased Igbo slaves and incorporated them into their extended families, whose members—both slave and free—produced wealth for the house. Slaves of ability and intelligence could eventually buy their freedom because they were encouraged to generate house income from which they received a commission. Trade-driven, Niger Delta city-states such as Warri, Nembe (known to the British as Brass), Calabar, New Calabar, and Ubani (Bonny) were cosmopolitan, with multilingual inhabitants who spoke at least one indigenous LANGUAGE, Igbo, as well as a pidgin English in order to trade with the Europeans. Although each city-state was successful in conquering interior lands for trade, no one city-state succeeded in unifying the region under a single government.

Britain was interested in creating a palm-oil monopoly in the Oil Rivers, and in 1849 it appointed John Beecroft (1790–1854) as consul to the region. Beecroft established the Courts of Equity, through which conflicts among traders could be resolved. From 1850 to 1870, trade in the Delta increased, making the region a commercial hot spot as Europeans began staking territorial claims in Africa.

In 1869 JAJA (1821–1891), a former slave of Igbo descent, left Ubani. By the following year he established the independent trading kingdom of Opobo. Although Jaja sent soldiers to help the British in the Anglo-Ashanti War of 1873, he openly resisted their policy of free trade. Fearing his power, the British finally accused him of illegal trade and exiled him to the West Indies, in 1887.

Britain declared a PROTECTORATE over the Oil Rivers in 1887, and in 1914 it consolidated the administration of the Niger Delta together with other protectorates to create the colony of Nigeria. As early as 1921 Britain was offering oil exploration rights to private petroleum companies. However, oil was not discovered until 1956, which again made the Niger Delta a focal point of European interest. The development of its oil reserves brought incredible wealth to Nigeria but also sparked civil war, government corruption, dissent, and violence in the years following Nigerian independence, in 1960.

See also: NANA OLOMU (Vol. IV); NIGER DELTA (Vols. I, V); OIL (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

Nigeria Large West African country, 356,700 square miles (923,900 sq km) in size, located on the Atlantic coast and bounded by the present-day nations of CHAD, CAMEROON, NIGER, and Republic of BENIN. The dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria are the HAUSA-speaking FULANI, in the north; the YORUBA, in the southwest; and the IGBO, in the southeast, near the NIGER DELTA.

Although Britain established a coastal PROTECTORATE as early as 1849, Africans in the interior continued to control their own governments. Their primary contact with Europeans was with traders, who wanted to monopolize their markets, and with MISSIONARIES, who wanted to convert them to Christianity. From 1850 until the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), British expansion in Nigeria was largely the result of the actions of these traders and missionaries. After 1885, however, the British government moved swiftly to annex all the territory that comprises modern-day Nigeria

In the middle of the 19th century, the majority of the region's trade was in PALM OIL, which moved primarily through the ports of the Niger Delta. Commercial activity in the delta boomed, with African traders acting as intermediaries between the interior producers and the European traders who remained on the coast because of the delta's shallow waters.

In 1849 Britain appointed adventurer and trader John Beecroft (1790–1854) the first British Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, two areas along the Nigerian coast. In an effort to maintain British trade in the region, Beecroft and the coastal rulers established a court of equity to solve problems arising between African and European traders. Beecroft was officially there to promote trade, but he also took the opportunity to extend the British sphere of influence, using warships to force local indigenous leaders to sign British treaties.

As steamship TRANSPORTATION on the Niger River improved, the palm-oil trade spread to the interior. By 1860 British companies had established trade from Hausaland, in the north, all the way to LAGOS, on the coast; by 1865 direct trade with interior merchants was as important as that on the coast.

In the mid-19th century, wars were frequent among the Yoruba states of western Nigeria. In 1861 Britain annexed Lagos—a Yoruba-dominated town—in anticipation of a potential French annexation of warring Yoruba states. By 1863 regional trade had diminished to a trickle, and the new British lieutenant governor, John Hawley Glover (1829–1885), used military force to stop the Yoruba infighting and permit trade to resume. Glover's intervention did not put an end to Yoruba hostilities but it did serve to extend British authority further into the interior.

In 1865 the British Parliament came to the conclusion that the colonial government had assumed too much responsibility in West Africa, and it therefore advocated phasing out all activity on the Nigerian coast. However, traders and missionaries forced the govern-

ment to reevaluate its decision. Ultimately Britain's reasons for maintaining its Nigerian holdings were economic as well as nationalistic. British industry could not afford to lose access to the region's valuable NATURAL RESOURCES, especially palm oil. This, combined with the threat of invasion by other European colonizers, in particular, France and Germany, led the British to declare the Nigerian protectorates.

Near the close of the 19th century, the kingdom of BENIN declined and began to withdraw from trade. This soon became the focus of British intervention. In 1897 a British agent named Phillips demanded an audience with the *oba* (king) of Benin during the Ague Festival, a most sacred festival during which the *oba* was forbidden to meet with anyone who was not an Edo. Phillips persisted, and when he and his contingent entered Benin, they were ambushed and killed. Responding quickly, Britain conquered Benin within six weeks, and British-dominated trade in the region resumed.

With British trade along the southern coast largely unchallenged, Britain looked to expand its colonial influence into the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, in northern Nigeria. Britain was competing with France for control of the interior Niger River basin. Ultimately, fringe areas of Sokoto became part of the French colonies that are today BURKINA FASO and Niger.

Between 1900 and 1906, British forces led by Sir Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) gained control of Sokoto in a methodical, step-by-step process against a well-established Muslim state. With the capture of the city of Sokoto, and the subsequent defeat of the fleeing sultan in 1903, the conquest seemed complete. As High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria, Lugard successfully initiated a policy of indirect rule by which the legitimate emirs governed as intermediaries between their people and the new, British colonial government.

The policy of indirect rule did not fare so well in Southern Nigeria. Many African groups in the southern region did not have social structures built around a single leader, making the northern model of indirect rule impossible. As a result, in 1919 the British administration assigned warrant chiefs to help them govern the Niger Delta and Igbo peoples. The African warrant chiefs were unpopular because the position was illegitimate in the eyes of local people. Many of them also were perceived as being as corrupt as the British administrators they represented.

Nigeria during the Colonial Era   On the eve of World War I (1914–19) the Britain unified its various Nigerian protectorates to form the single colony of Nigeria. However, it continued to administer the north separately from the south. After the war, victorious Britain encouraged the expansion of its trade and industry, and Africa emerged as a market for the consumer goods that were unavailable during the war. However,

from 1930 to 1938, the worldwide Great Depression sharply cut back production and profits. Nigerian small farmers suffered, too, since the prices of their goods fell.

By the end of the 1930s Nigerians were beginning to imagine an independent Nigeria. These early nationalist stirrings gained momentum when Britain and the United States signed the ATLANTIC CHARTER (1941), pledging to respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they lived. After World War II (1939–45) Nigerians actively supported PAN-AFRICANISM by attending Pan-African Congresses; they further demonstrated nationalist fervor by participating in the first General Strike, which occurred in 1945 and paralyzed all essential services in the country.

In 1946 the drafting of the first Nigerian constitution, the Richard's Constitution, showed that the British government was willing to meet some of the nationalist demands for a greater degree of self-government. Further revisions were made to the constitution in 1951, 1953, 1954, and 1957, by which time Nigeria was nearly prepared for self-government.

In 1960 the country finally became independent as a federal republic composed of three states, each of which was dominated by a major ethnic group: the Hausa, in the Northern Region; the Yoruba, in the Western Region; and the Igbo, in the Eastern Region. Lagos was the federal capital. The political dialogue in the fledgling country divided people along regional lines, which were also ethnic lines. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) was the main party of the Northern Region, the most populous of Nigeria's three states. The NPC was led by Ahmadu BELLO (1909–1966) and Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966), who was prime minister at independence. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, led by Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996), was dominant among Igbo voters. The Action Group, headed by Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987), enjoyed the support of most Yoruba speakers.

Political tensions and rivalries at the time of independence were heightened by the question of who were the principal beneficiaries of independence. Because a British-style EDUCATION opened the doors for governmental participation and economic advancement, the Yoruba were the first to benefit from British employment. This was because Lagos, a Yoruba town, was the capital. The country's first institute of higher learning, the University of IBADAN, was constructed in the heart of the Yoruba area.

The next groups to benefit from independence were the Igbo and Ibibio, who had been the beneficiaries for many years of widespread missionary schools. Educated Igbo and Ibibio became middle-class clerks, railway workers, and storekeepers, and many also migrated to Lagos to take up well-paid government positions.

Despite having one of their own as the prime minister, the northerners benefited the least from independence. This was due in large part to the fact that Christian

missionaries and their schools did not enter the Northern Region. British colonial officials were careful not to offend the sensibilities of the region's Muslim leaders, upon whom they depended to keep the peace, and so they refused to give missionaries permission to work there. With a general absence of British schooling, few northerners had readied themselves to participate in the new government in Lagos.

The political, social, and economic tensions existing in Nigeria at independence soon erupted, and by the middle of the decade the country was embroiled in a lengthy and bitter civil war.

See also: BIAFRA (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); HAUSA STATES (Vol. III); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NIGERIA (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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Nkomo, Joshua (Joshua Mqabuko Nyongolo Nkomo) (1917–1999) *Nationalist leader in the struggle for Zimbabwe's independence*

Joshua Nkomo was born in the Matabeleland region of SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE) to a prosperous, cattle-raising family. After obtaining an elementary education at a Catholic mission school, Nkomo worked as a carpenter and truck driver to fund his education in SOUTH AFRICA. There he attended Adams College, in DURBAN, and the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work, in JOHANNESBURG. Upon his return to Zimbabwe, in 1947, Nkomo took up a position as a social worker with Rhodesian Railways and also served as a lay preacher. In 1951 he completed his bachelor's degree by correspondence through the University of South Africa. In 1952 he became general-secretary of the Rhodesian Railways Employees' Association, and, under his leadership, the labor union came to represent 3,000 members among its 22 branches.

About that time, Nkomo also became increasingly involved in politics, heading a branch of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC), in Bulawayo, the country's second largest city. Despite his vocal opposition to the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION—which brought together Southern Rhodesia, NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA) and NYASALAND (now MALAWI) into one federation—in 1953 Nkomo stood for office in elections for the country's newly formed parliament but was unsuccess-

ful. In 1957 the SRANC and another independence-minded political organization, the African National Youth League, merged, and Nkomo became the new president of the reconstituted organization. It became the leading opposition group to white COLONIAL RULE.

In February 1959, while Nkomo was attending an anticolonial conference in CAIRO, the SRANC was banned and 500 of its members detained. Rather than return home, Nkomo stayed in EGYPT for several months and then moved to London to organize opposition to Southern Rhodesia's white government. The following year, after former members of the banned AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS formed a successor organization, the National Democratic Party, Nkomo was elected its president in absentia.

See also: LABOR UNIONS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NKOMO, JOSHUA (Vol. V).

Nkrumah, Kwame (Francis Nwia Kofi Nkrumah) (1909–1972) *First president of Ghana*

Kwame Nkrumah was born Francis Nwia-Kofi Ngonloma, in the British GOLD COAST COLONY (today's GHANA). He was educated at the Prince of Wales' College at Achimota (ACHIMOTA COLLEGE), with Dr. James E. Kwegyir AGGREY (1875–1927) as his mentor. Nkrumah became a teacher in the early 1930s and then left to pursue higher education in the United States. He attended Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania, where he earned two bachelor's degrees, the second in theology. Nkrumah then completed a master's degree in education at the University of Pennsylvania. While there, he helped to found the African Students Association of America and Canada.

The prominent Nigerian nationalist Benjamin Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996) also earned degrees from both Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania and encouraged Nkrumah to follow in his footsteps.

In 1945 Nkrumah went to London to study law and work on his doctoral dissertation. However, he became involved with the prominent West Indian pan-Africanist, George Padmore (1905–1959). Abandoning his studies, he helped organize the Fifth Pan-African Congress, at Manchester. Nkrumah served as the co-chair of the congress with W. E. B. DU BOIS (1868–1963). About the same time, Nkrumah also was made vice president of the West African Students Union. In line with his increasing nationalist thinking, he changed his name to Kwame Nkrumah, taking his last name from his school days when

In 1960 Dr. Kwame Nkrumah wore traditional clothing as he was sworn in as the first president of the Republic of Ghana. © *New York World-Telegram & Sun Collection/Library of Congress*

a teacher wrote down his name incorrectly and choosing the name Kwame (meaning "Saturday born").

In 1947 Nkrumah wrote his first book, *Towards Colonial Freedom.* The vision espoused in his book led to Nkrumah's selection by Dr. J. B. DANQUAH (1895–1965), a prominent Ghanaian political figure, to serve as the organizing secretary for the UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (UGCC), a newly founded political organization. Nkrumah's work for the UGCC included organizing nonviolent demonstrations against British rule. In 1948 he founded the *Accra Evening News,* a newspaper that had the goal of educating the population of the Gold Coast on the pressing need to rid themselves of British colonialism. Also in 1948, Nkrumah was one of the UGCC executive members, known as the "Big Six," who the British detained in the colony's Northern Territories because of their militant activities.

Upon his return from detention Nkrumah was dismissed from his post as general secretary of the UGCC because of differences with Danquah and others. In the aftermath of his dismissal Nkrumah formed his own political party, the CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (CPP), in 1949. The CPP was more radical than the UGCC and appealed to the middle and lower economic classes rather than to the elites represented by the UGCC. Nkrumah's approach was one of positive action, and his

slogan was "Self-Government Now." In 1950 Nkrumah was arrested for encouraging demonstrations that turned into riots in ACCRA. The following year, while still in prison, he was voted into office as the CPP swept the elections by winning 34 out of 38 seats; he was then released from prison to participate in the new government. In 1952, in anticipation of Gold Coast independence, Governor Sir Charles Arden-Clarke (1898–1962) invited Nkrumah to begin forming a new government as the prime minister of the Gold Coast Colony. Maintaining the momentum begun in 1951, Nkrumah and the CPP continued winning widespread popular support. Finally, following elections in 1957, he became prime minister of the newly independent state of Ghana.

For his domestic policy, Nkrumah tried to reverse the poor planning and mismanagement of the colonial period. Diversifying the economy and attracting foreign investment, he embarked on a five-year plan that he hoped would strengthen Ghana's position in the world ECONOMY. In the country's AGRICULTURE sector, Nkrumah removed the monopoly enjoyed by foreign companies like the UNITED AFRICA COMPANY and introduced incentives to COCOA producers. By diversifying agriculture and introducing mechanized farming, Nkrumah tried to reduce Ghana's dependence on foreign foodstuffs. He further moved the country toward INDUSTRIALIZATION by encouraging manufacturing and by establishing lending institutions, including the central Bank of Ghana. Nkrumah's government set up a nationalized airline, Ghana Airways, and a shipping company, the Black Star Line, named after the failed shipping company of Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940), whom Nkrumah greatly admired. It also established a relatively modern RADIO and television station with an emphasis on education and entertainment. In order to promote education and welfare, Nkrumah's government promoted literacy and trained workers through vocational classes.

In foreign policy, Nkrumah's vision—not only for Ghana but also for the entire continent—revolved around PAN-AFRICANISM. For example, in April 1958 he invited representatives from the independent African countries (EGYPT, ETHIOPIA, Ghana, LIBERIA, LIBYA, MOROCCO, Republic of the SUDAN, and TUNISIA) to meet in Ghana. Then, in December, he convened an All-African Peoples Conference, in Accra, to discuss the end of COLONIAL RULE throughout the continent. It was the first such Pan-Africanist conference on African soil, and it attracted many African political leaders. Regarding Ghana's alignment in the Cold War, Nkrumah adopted African Socialism and remained neutral in a manner similar to presidents Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), of Egypt, and Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984), of GUINEA.

In 1960 Nkrumah led Ghana in becoming a republic, with Nkrumah himself assuming the presidency. Ghana prospered during the first years of his tenure as president.

The country's stable economy led the masses to support his costly industrial programs, his expansion of infrastructure, and his far-reaching social programs. However, support for his programs plummeted as Ghana's economy declined along with the fall in the world price of cocoa in the mid-1960s.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NKRUMAH, KWAME (Vol. V).

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Nongqawuse (c. 1840–c. 1900) *Prophetess among the Xhosa people of South Africa*

Born about 1840, Nongqawuse was orphaned and raised by her uncle and her guardian, Mhlakaza, in the Transkei region of the eastern CAPE COLONY, SOUTH AFRICA. In her mid-teens she claimed that she was visited by "new people," or the spirits of her XHOSA ancestors. She related how they instructed her to convince the Xhosa to kill their cattle, destroy their stores of corn, and not sow the next harvest. If the Xhosa carried out these directions and refrained from practicing WITCHCRAFT, Nongqawuse's "new people" promised that, in return, the Xhosa would receive large numbers of healthy cattle and bountiful harvests, and that kinsmen killed in recent wars with the British would return from the dead. Nongqawuse's message found a receptive audience among the Xhosa: At the time lung sickness ravaged Xhosa cattle herds, and the Xhosa had already surrendered much of their land to the Cape Colony during the Cape Frontier Wars.

Nongqawuse's prophesies started to gain attention in April 1856, and during the next 15 months she was able to convince important Xhosa chiefs to place trust in her. The end result of her unfortunate prophesies exacted a steep price among her people. Some 400,000 cattle were destroyed, somewhere between 35,000 and 50,000 Xhosa died of starvation, and probably three times that number were forced to leave their lands in search of food and employment. Although the particulars of Nongqawuse's life after the anticipated "new people" failed to materialize are somewhat murky, it seems reasonably certain that she was handed over to the British colonial authorities, taken to CAPE TOWN in 1858, and confined there. After being released, she apparently returned to the eastern Cape Colony, married, had two daughters, and died about 1900 on a farm near Alexandria.

One of the most prolonged struggles between Africans and Europeans, the Xhosa Wars, also known as the Cape Frontier Wars and the Kaffir Wars, were fought intermittently for 100 years (1779–1879). The eighth and most costly of the Xhosa Wars ended in 1853, with much Xhosa territory opened to European settlement.

See also: CAPE FRONTIER WARS (Vol. III); CATTLE (Vol. I); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: J. B. Peires, *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856–7* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1989).

Northern Rhodesia Colonial territory that became the present-day country of ZAMBIA. In 1890 LOZI king Lubosi LEWANIKA (1845–1916) signed a treaty that gave the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC) mineral prospecting rights in his kingdom. Taking advantage of the equivocal wording of the treaty, the BSAC soon came to control the whole territory and ruled it until 1923, when Britain took over direct administration.

For administrative purposes the BSAC initially divided the territory into Northwestern Rhodesia, with headquarters at Kalomo, and Northeastern Rhodesia, with headquarters at Fort Jameson (now Chipata). Later, in 1911, the two regions were merged and renamed Northern Rhodesia after BSAC founder Cecil RHODES (1853–1902). Its capital city initially was the southern town of Livingstone, overlooking the Victoria Falls, but, in 1935 the seat of government was moved to LUSAKA. From 1953 to 1964 Northern Rhodesia was aligned in the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION with the two neighboring British protectorates of SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE) and NYASALAND (now MALAWI). On October 24, 1964, Northern Rhodesia emerged from the colonial yoke as independent Zambia.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); PROTECTORATE (Vol. IV).

Nyamwezi Second-largest ethnic group of present-day TANZANIA. The Nyamwezi played a critical role as middlemen in the 19th-century trade between the SWAHILI COAST and the East African interior. The Nyamwezi, who speak a Bantu language, are an agricultural and cattle-raising people living in west-central Tanzania. Historically they had lived in small chiefdoms rather than a single, large state.

In the 19th century the Nyamwezi were strategically located to take advantage of the IVORY TRADE and SLAVE TRADE, both of which were expanding inland from the Indian Ocean coast. Early in the century young Nyamwezi men began working as porters. They carried heavy loads of ivory tusks and COPPER from the interior to coastal ports such as BAGAMOYO and returned home with trade goods. By mid-century, Arab and Swahili traders established trading centers in the interior. One of these was Tabora, founded in 1852 in the heart of the Nyamwezi region.

Trade and associated political turmoil led to rivalries among Nyamwezi chiefs. Many of these chiefs sought to create larger states that could control and profit from the expanding trade. The most notable was MIRAMBO (c. 1840–1884), who by the late 1860s had built the most powerful of the Nyamwezi states. His state did not long survive his death, however. It disintegrated in the face of opposition from rival Nyamwezi leaders.

Within a few years, while the colonial powers continued to amass territory in East Africa, German soldiers incorporated the Nyamwezi into the colony of GERMAN EAST AFRICA. The Nyamwezi today number about 1.8 million people. They continue to farm largely on a subsistence basis but also grow CASH CROPS such as COTTON and tobacco. Tabora is a major railroad, commercial, and administrative center.

See also: TABORA (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

Nyasaland (1889–1964) Colonial name of the British PROTECTORATE in southeastern Africa that became the independent country of MALAWI. The British claim to the region of Nyasaland was originally established, in 1889, as the Shire Highlands PROTECTORATE. As early as the 1850s, Scottish MISSIONARIES had visited the area, failing in their goal to convert large numbers of Africans but managing to disrupt the regional SLAVE TRADE, which gradually dwindled. When British colonial forces arrived, they faced great resistance from the region's YAO, CHEWA, and Ngoni peoples, but eventually they were able to establish COLONIAL RULE. Throughout the PACIFICATION process, the local IVORY TRADE remained strong. The protectorate was renamed Nyasaland in 1907.

In 1953 Nyasaland was joined with SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE) and NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA) to form the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION. The federation was unpopular with the African population of Nyasaland, and opposition to the federation and British oppression in general gave strength to a powerful nationalist movement, led by Hastings Kamuzu BANDA (c. 1898– 1997). After struggling with violent African demonstrations the British disbanded the federation in 1963, and in 1964 Nyasaland became independent Malawi.

Nyasa is the local word for "lake." Present-day Lake Malawi was formerly known, redundantly, as Lake Nyasa.

See also: NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Nyerere, Julius (Julius Kambarage Nyerere) (1922–1999) *First president of Tanzania*
Nyerere was born in 1922 in Butiama, TANGANYIKA. His father was the chief of the Zanaki, one of the country's smaller ethnic groups. Young Nyerere attended a local primary school and then the government secondary school at Tabora, which at the time was the only secondary school for Africans. About this time he converted to Catholicism, taking the name Julius.

In 1945 Nyerere obtained a teaching certificate from Uganda's Makerere College (later to become Makerere University) and then returned to Tabora to teach at a Catholic mission school. He later went to study at the University of Edinburgh, where, in 1952, he received a master's degree in economics and history. He thus became Tanganyika's first university graduate. After graduation he again took up teaching, this time at a Catholic school near the colonial capital of DAR ES SALAAM. About that time, Nyerere also married Marie Gabriel Magige, with whom he eventually had eight children.

Having been involved in the anticolonial movement while a student in Edinburgh, Nyerere became active in politics upon his return to Tanganyika. He again participated in the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), which he had initially joined at Makerere. Founded by British colonial officials as a forum for soliciting African ideas, the TAA proved inadequate for furthering the cause of African nationalism and bringing an end to COLONIAL RULE. As a result, in 1954, Nyerere and others formed the country's first political party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) out of the TAA. The party became a strong, nonviolent popular movement.

Because Britain ruled Tanganyika first as a League of Nations MANDATE and then as a TRUST TERRITORY under the auspices of the United Nations (UN), it had to report to the United Nations on its administration of the country. Nyerere made use of this situation to make the case for independence before the UN Trusteeship Council, first in 1956 and again in 1957.

In 1958, elections for the Legislative Council led to TANU winning 28 of 30 seats. Two years later Britain granted Tanganyika limited self-government, with Nyerere, the TANU leader, becoming chief minister. He became

prime minister when Tanganyika attained independence, in 1961, and then he became president when the country became a republic, in 1962.

Nyerere became known by the honorific title *mwalimu,* the KISWAHILI word for teacher. In many respects he was a teacher for his entire adult life, first in schools and then as the leader of a newly independent nation.

In 1963, following a popular revolution on the island of ZANZIBAR, off the coast of mainland Tanganyika, Nyerere took the lead in merging the two separate states of mainland Tanganyika and Zanzibar to create the United Republic of TANZANIA. He remained president until voluntarily stepping down in 1985.

See also: EDUCATION (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); MISSIONARIES (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NYERERE, JULIUS (Vol. V); TANZANIA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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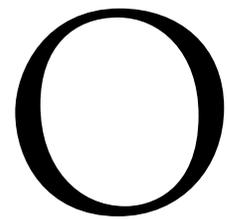
Obote, Milton (Milton Apolo Obote) (1924–   )
Ugandan independence and political leader

Obote was born in the northern part of UGANDA and educated at missionary schools. He then attended secondary school at Busoga before going to Makerere College (now Makerere University), in KAMPALA, the Ugandan capital. He left Makerere after two years without graduating and went to the neighboring British colony of KENYA during the 1950s to work. He first became involved in politics by working for a time with the dynamic Kenyan labor-union leader and political nationalist, Tom MBOYA (1930–1969). When he returned to Uganda in 1956, Obote continued his political activities, becoming a leader in the Uganda National Congress, one of several Ugandan nationalist parties spearheading the drive for independence from Britain.

After serving in various appointed and elected legislative posts, Obote became president of the Uganda National Congress party. In 1960 he merged his party with elements of the Uganda People's Union, a rival party, to form the more powerful Uganda People's Congress. A year later, still striving to unite the country's disparate forces, Obote joined with Kabaka (King) Yekka's Buganda Party, creating a political party large enough to compete with the dominant Democratic Party. Victorious in the elections preceding independence, Obote became prime minister as Britain withdrew from Uganda in 1962, and the country gained independence.

See also: BUGANDA (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OBOTE, MILTON (Vol. V).

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Odinga, Oginga (Jaramongi Oginga Odinga) (1912–1994) *Luo political leader in Kenya*

Born in Bondo, in the Nyanza province of KENYA, Odinga was the only child in his LUO family to receive an education. He attended the ALLIANCE HIGH SCHOOL near NAIROBI and then completed his studies at Makerere College, graduating in 1939. He worked in EDUCATION until 1946, teaching at the Church Missionary School in Maseno and serving as headmaster at the Maseno Veterinary School. In 1947 he left teaching for business and opened the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation. He also became politically active by reviving the Luo Union organization.

It was also in 1947 that Odinga became involved in politics as a member of the Kenyan Legislative Council. He became a fervent nationalist and supporter of the KIKUYU leader Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), who headed the Kenya African Union. After the British colonial government imprisoned Kenyatta for his alleged leadership of the MAU MAU movement, Odinga ignored the opportunity to assume the forefront of the independence movement. Instead he dedicated himself to campaigning for Kenyatta's freedom. In 1960 he helped found the Kenya African National Union, and when the party had significant results in the 1961 elections, Odinga was able to secure Kenyatta's release. When Kenyatta became president of independent Kenya, in 1963, he rewarded Odinga with the vice presidency. They were soon to part ways, however, over their differing approaches to Kenya's path to development.

See also: DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vols. IV, V); ODINGA, OGINGA (Vol. V).

Ogaden   Low plateau area of southeastern ETHIOPIA that was important seasonal pasture land for Somali nomads. Prior to becoming Ethiopia's emperor, the king of SHOA, MENELIK II (1844–1913), began expanding into this region and other southern areas outside the Amharic-speaking core of Ethiopia. The region, however, continued to be contested terrain between Ethiopia and ITALIAN SOMALILAND and thus essentially went unadministered in the early 20th century. Sayyid MUHAMMAD AB-DULLAH HASSAN (1864–1920) took advantage of the lack of either Ethiopian or Italian governmental control to use the region as a refuge for his anticolonial forces. Until his death in 1920, Hassan used Ogaden in his effort to rid SOMALIA of colonial rulers, launching attacks on the Ethiopian- and Italian-controlled areas as well as on BRITISH SOMALILAND.

As Somalia moved toward independence, in 1960 the British- and Italian-ruled areas were unified. Somali leaders then sought to regain control of the Ogaden in order to create a united "Greater Somalia" with the other traditional Somali territories of DJIBOUTI, which was still FRENCH SOMALILAND, and the Northern Frontier District of the then British colony of KENYA. The United Nations, however, recognized Ethiopia's control of the Ogaden.

Somalia's irredentism led at first to low-level conflict, and then major fighting, from 1964 on. It was only in the late 1970s that Cuban troops and Warsaw Pact support enabled the leftist government of Ethiopia to establish firm control over the region. The disintegration of Somalia's central government in the 1990s reduced the challenge to Ethiopia's control of the Ogaden.

Irredentism is a term that comes from the word *irredenta,* a territory historically or ethnically related to one political unit but under the political control of another.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Olympio, Sylvanus (Sylvanus Epiphanio Olympio) (1902–1963) *First president of the Republic of Togo*

Born to a powerful family in LOMÉ, the capital of what was then French TOGOLAND, Olympio was a member and later leader of the Committee of Togolese Unity (Comité de l'Unité Togolaise, CUT). The CUT supported reduced ties with France and the reunification of the Ewe, a large ethnic group in southern French TOGO. The colonial PARTITION of the Ewe homeland had left the Ewe

population split between colonies ruled by three separate European powers: the British GOLD COAST COLONY (present-day GHANA), German Togoland, and French DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN). When German Togoland was divided into British Togoland and French Togoland following World War I (1914–18), the Ewe were split further. Following World War II (1939–45), Olympio used his influence as president of the Togo Assembly and deputy to the French National Assembly to promote the Ewe cause. Ultimately, however, his efforts failed, as British Togoland voted to join with the Gold Coast in 1956. The Gold Coast and British Togoland became independent Ghana the following year.

Also in 1956, French Togoland became an internally autonomous republic in the FRENCH UNION. Elections that year brought Olympio's brother-in-law, Nicholas Grunitzky (1913–1969) of the Togolese Progress Party, to power as prime minister. Olympio and the CUT protested the results, and in 1958 the United Nations supervised a new election, which the CUT won handily. Olympio became prime minister and then president when Togo gained full independence in 1960. In 1961 he was officially elected president, and Togo became a one-party state, with the CUT dominating the legislature.

In 1960 Olympio turned down an offer by Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), the Ghanian president, to join Togo with Ghana. Insulted, Nkrumah closed Ghana's border with Togo, causing Togo, the smaller country, significant economic difficulty.

Olympio quickly became unpopular among the Togolese. Despite having driven most of his opposition into exile, Olympio's strict economic policies and authoritarian tendencies caused dissatisfaction, especially among Juvento, the youth wing of the CUT. Also, his refusal to fund an increase in the army's personnel soon made him an enemy of Togo's small military establishment. In 1963 the military staged a coup d'état, overthrowing Olympio and assassinating him in the garden of the United States embassy, where he sought refuge. The coup was the first of many in sub-Saharan Africa in the postcolonial era.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Omdurman, Battle of (1898) Conflict that marked the end of the Mahdist state in what is now the Republic of the SUDAN. In 1898 a combined British and Egyptian

military expedition under the command of Sir Horatio Herbert KITCHENER (1850–1916) launched a campaign to reassert control over Sudan, which was officially a province of EGYPT. Forces loyal to Mahdist leader, ABDALLAHI IBN MUHAMMAD (1846–1899), had driven the Egyptian government from the Sudan, culminating in the capture of KHARTOUM in 1885 and the death of British general Charles George GORDON (1833–1885).

The reconquest took place in two stages. First, Kitchener moved south from Egypt, systematically defeating Mahdist forces and capturing key towns. He simultaneously built a railroad to support his southward advance. In the second stage, Anglo-Egyptian forces pushed into the heart of Sudan. At this point they attacked Omdurman, the Mahdist capital, which was situated across the Nile River from the old capital of Khartoum. Supported by gunboats anchored in the Nile, Kitchener's army of 15,000 was able to defeat 43,000 Mahdist troops. Although Abdallahi ibn Muhammad escaped, he was pursued and later killed in battle, in 1899. Following those events, Britain and Egypt jointly ruled Sudan under the terms of an agreement known as the ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM (1899) until its Sudan's independence, in 1956.

See also: AL-MAHDI, MUHAMMAD AHMAD (Vol. IV); MAHDIYYA (Vol. IV).

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oral traditions The social values, guidelines, and histories that form the spoken record of societies. While African societies have maintained their oral traditions since the colonial period, literacy in foreign languages and the new writing technology imposed by the colonizers—and maintained after independence—brought about irreversible changes to oral tradition.

The necessity for writing down the oral genre comes from the desire to preserve it, on the one hand, and the need to legitimize precolonial history through a written text, on the other. Although Europeans were not generally interested in preserving and maintaining African oral traditions, Western anthropologists and historians have been interested in collecting the stories and, later, arguing their validity.

Changes in the maintenance and transmission of the oral tradition did not immediately change with the arrival of Christian MISSIONARIES and the colonial government. On the contrary, African oral traditions were so deeply entrenched in the medium of the spoken word that their conversion to writing evolved over time. By the 20th century, however, writing technology was changing both the composition and performance of indigenous African history.

During the colonial era a number of African literary figures wrote in the LANGUAGE of the colonists. But many also were inspired by the language and oral traditions of their own cultures. For example, S. E. K. MQHAYI (1875–1945) drew heavily on his knowledge of XHOSA oral literature. In GERMAN EAST AFRICA (present-day TANZANIA), poet Shaaban ROBERT (1909–1962) made use of his extensive knowledge of oral verse forms in writing his KISWAHILI poems.

In much of West Africa, for example, the knowledge of oral tradition was typically controlled by a cultural caste known as griots (from French), or *jeliw* (from MANDE). These storytellers are local cultural historians who have the responsibility of maintaining the accuracy of the tradition as it is passed down. The storyteller must excite the audience by his accurate yet creative and compelling understanding of the contribution to the events made by the audience's ancestors. This type of oral tradition is history, but it also is performance ART. The storyteller often relates the words in song, accompanied by performances on musical instruments such as the *balafon* (xylophone), *kora* (stringed harp), and drum. In this way, the oral nature of the literature is kept alive as it is passed from generation to generation.

However, once the free-flowing oral tradition is transcribed into the local language—or translated and transcribed into a foreign language—it exists in a fixed form. This means that anyone who is literate has access to knowledge that was previously the specialized knowledge of one group. It also means that if the story is now passed down in a written form, the storyteller or historian loses the ability to adapt the performance of the tradition according to the values of the audience.

As oral traditions are performed and transcribed by anthropologists and historians, the story that passes into the repository of Western knowledge focuses on only that one version, which becomes the "official" history. An example of an oral tradition that has been recorded and read in Western classrooms is the epic of the first Malian king, Sundiata. His oral tradition is presented in prose form, originally as a poem and song. At some point, a single indigenous historian wrote down a version of the poem. That one version was then translated and transcribed by one publisher. The publisher's translation, whether accurate or not, became the "official" version of

the epic sold in Western markets, regardless of whether it was the version accepted by the indigenous culture.

> Newly created oral traditions may or may not follow the established pattern of orality. The oral tradition that has been created around the Maninka-speaking intellectual Souleymane KANTÉ (1922–1987) differs from the Sundiata oral tradition because it was immediately recorded in the written form of the Maninka language and preserved in the indigenous N'ko alphabet.

See also: GRIOT (Vol. II); ORAL TRADITIONS (Vol. I); SUNDIATA (Vol. II).

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Orange Free State (OFS)   Boer province (1854–1902) in the central highveld of SOUTH AFRICA, north of the Orange River. The region of the Orange Free State was inhabited by the Griqua and SOTHO peoples when, in the 1830s, Boer farmers from the CAPE COLONY began entering the area to establish their own independent republic.

The Boer migration, called the Great Boer Trek, was followed by an influx of British settlers. Over strong Boer objections, the British presence led, in 1848, to the region's annexation by Britain as the Orange River Sovereignty. By 1854, however, economic and military problems led Britain to cede sovereignty of the territory to the BOERS, under the provisions of the Bloemfontein Convention. The Boers established a republic with a parliamentary system, naming it the Oranje Vrystaat, or Orange Free State (OFS), and retaining Bloemfontein as the capital. Their government specifically served only white settlers.

Wars between the OFS and neighboring BASUTOLAND in 1858 and 1865 led to Boer expansion at Sotho expense. For its part, Britain, which wanted to check OFS expansion, annexed the remaining area of Basutoland in 1868. Then, in the late 1860s, Britain also annexed the western part of the OFS after great deposits of DIAMONDS were discovered near KIMBERLEY. It was, however, British conflict with the Boer government of the TRANSVAAL that led to war between Britain and the Boers.

The ANGLO-BOER WAR (also known as the South African War) finally broke out in 1899. The OFS sided with its fellow Boer republic of the Transvaal against Britain. Early on, the republican armies held sway against the British, but by May 1900, the tide had turned, and Bloemfontein fell to British forces. Boer guerrillas extended the fighting into 1902, when the Treaty of VEREENIGING ended the war. The Orange Free State became the British-ruled Orange River Colony, which was incorporated into the newly formed UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA as the Orange Free State Province in 1910.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vol. IV); DIAMOND MINING (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); GREAT BOER TREK (Vol. III); NETHERLANDS AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ORANGE RIVER (Vols. I, III).

Oromo   Large, mostly Muslim ethnic group living in the Horn of Africa; also the LANGUAGE they speak. The Oromo are mostly agriculturalists and constitute the majority population in ETHIOPIA, inhabiting the central region of Oromia (Oromiyya). Today they also reside in parts of SOMALIA, KENYA, Republic of the SUDAN, ERITREA, and DJIBOUTI.

> Made the capital by Amharan Emperor MENELIK II (1844–1913), ADDIS ABABA was originally named Finfinnee, and served as the capital of Oromia. The Oromo still call the city Finfinnee and hope for its return to Oromo control.

In the latter half of the 19th century, when European colonization of Africa began in earnest, the Oromo had the dubious distinction of being one of the few African peoples to be colonized by other Africans—in this case, Amharic-speaking Ethiopians. Ethiopian emperors YOHANNES IV (r. 1844–1889), from Tigray, and Menelik II (r. 1889–1913), from SHOA, suppressed the Oromo people in a campaign that is now described plainly as genocide. With superior organization and European weaponry, Menelik stripped the Oromo of any power in Ethiopian society and brutally forced them into positions of servitude and even outright SLAVERY. It is estimated that during Menelik's reign, Ethiopia's Oromo population shrank from approximately 10 million to 5 million, with many people forced to take refuge in neighboring countries.

Menelik's grandson and designated heir, Lij Iyasu (r. 1913–1916), was the son of the Oromo governor of Wello, a region in northeastern Ethiopia. Although never formally crowned, Iyasu enjoyed the status of emperor during his short reign, which was characterized by national programs aimed at restoring Oromo independence. A Muslim, Iyasu was forced from power by Ethiopian princes and the lead-

ers of the ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. In 1926 Ras Tafari (1892–1975) claimed the Ethiopian crown. Iyasu died following a military campaign in Afar, and Ras Tafari went on to become Emperor HAILE SELASSIE.

The Amharic-speakers who ruled Ethiopia referred to the Oromo as the *Galla,* a derogatory term of uncertain origin. To the Amhara, the connotations of the term *Galla* included pagan, uncivilized, outsider, enemy, slave, and inferior. European historians and writers, who used the more widely translated Amharic literature on the subject of the Oromo, have perpetuated the use of the Galla label, even to the present day.

In the 1930s, under Haile Selassie (1892–1975), Ethiopia continued its political, economic, and social subjugation of the Oromo people. By 1935, however, the country was more concerned with defending itself from Italian invasion than with the Oromo. As Italy's forces launched offensives from the Red Sea, some Oromo soldiers defected to support them against the Amhara-dominated Ethiopian national forces. Despite Ethiopia's modernized army, by 1936 Italy claimed victory, forcing Haile Selassie into exile. For the Oromo, the Italian victory granted a short reprieve from the brutal treatment they received under Selassie's regime. In a situation that was rare in colonial Africa, the victory of the European forces actually improved the lot of an indigenous people. However, following Italy's defeat in World War II (1939–45), Haile Selassie returned to the throne, and Ethiopia's national policies once again marginalized the Oromo population.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); OROMO (Vols. I, II, III, V); OROMO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION (Vol. V).

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To call attention to what he believed to be unfairly high taxes, in 1930 an Oromo chieftain gathered together a number of his countrymen and provided each of them with a long piece of lumber. The group then waited near a palace window in hopes of gaining the attention of Ethiopia's emperor. © *New York Times*

Ottoman Empire and Africa Exercising sovereignty over the majority of North Africa as of the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire played an important role in Africa until it was dissolved in the wake of World War I (1914–18). Ottoman sovereignty over the countries of North Africa dated to the mid-16th century. During the 17th and 18th centuries, however, Ottoman control increasingly came to be exercised through local rulers who, while acknowledging the Ottoman sultan's ultimate authority, were granted power over virtually all local affairs.

As the 18th century came to an end, the Ottoman sultans began losing effective control of the region. In EGYPT, for example, by the middle of the 19th century, Egyptian nationalist Duse Muhammad ALI (1769–1849) and his successors had guided that country toward even greater autonomy than before. They governed their state with only the barest acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the sultan in Istanbul. Elsewhere, in 1830, the French forced the Ottoman bey, or governor, to flee ALGIERS, and France soon established its COLONIAL RULE over all ALGERIA. Within a few years France had extended its influence east to TUNISIA, which it eventually invaded and claimed by 1881.

Only in LIBYA was the Ottoman sultan able to retain a substantial degree of control. Following the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), however, as the European powers scrambled to divide up Africa among themselves, Britain and France encouraged Italy to extend its sphere of influence to include Libya. Although Italy made moves toward colonization, it was not until 1911 that it was able to engineer a crisis with the Ottoman government and invade TRIPOLI. The sultan's troops—led by the future leader of post-Ottoman Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881–1938)—could only retreat inland, where they organized indigenous resistance to the Italian invasion. Facing further hostilities in his Balkan provinces, the Ottoman sultan ultimately sued for peace and, in 1912, relinquished control over Libya's two provinces, TRIPOLITANIA and Cyrenaica. Italy took control of the region's government, although the sultan was allowed to maintain a figurehead position as religious leader of Libya's Muslims. Later, following the Ottoman defeat in World War I (1914–18), even this arrangement was abandoned, and the long presence of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa came to an end.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. III).

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Oubangui-Chari French colony in Central Africa covering the area of present-day CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. Until the late 1800s, Central Africa was largely untouched by COLONIAL CONQUEST. By 1894, however, the French declared a colony in the territory between the Oubangui (Ubangi) and Chari rivers, in the heart of the African continent. In 1906 France linked the colony's administration to that of neighboring CHAD to form Oubangui-Chari-Chad. Four years later Oubangui-Chari-Chad was united with two other French colonies, GABON and FRENCH CONGO (now part of the Republic of the CONGO) in an administrative region called FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA. After World War II (1939–45), Oubangui-Chari moved toward independence and in 1958 became autonomous as the Central African Republic. In 1960 the nation became fully independent, with David Dacko (1930–　) as its first president.

See also: DACKO, DAVID (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Ovambo Largest ethnic group in NAMIBIA, they form roughly two-thirds of the country's population. The Bantu-speaking Ovambo were central to the country's independence movement. In the 14th century the Ovambo had migrated from the upper regions of the Zambezi River and settled in the area of present-day southern ANGOLA and north-central Namibia. By the late 19th century, however, Europeans had begun to establish a presence in southwestern Africa, and Germany was awarded a sphere of influence over the region during the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85). Through the use of underhanded treaties, police force, and outright theft, Germany gradually imposed COLONIAL RULE over much of the area. In response to escalating oppression, the HERERO and the NAMA of central and southern Namibia launched rebellions that were brutally quashed by German troops. Though the Ovambo participated in one battle during the Herero rebellion (1904–07), the Germans did not resort to military force to establish their rule in Ovamboland. Rather, they entered into treaties with the individual chiefs to lay claims to sovereignty over the northern region, a process they completed in 1910.

After World War I (1914–18) Germany's colony of SOUTH WEST AFRICA became a League of Nations MANDATE under the supervision of SOUTH AFRICA. South Africa then used military force to consolidate its control of Ovamboland. It maintained its administration of the region after World War II (1939–45) and essentially considered it as a fifth province under APARTHEID rule. Under colonial rule Ovamboland became a colonial backwater, supplying migrant LABOR for the other parts of the colony. As a result its inhabitants lived in considerable poverty.

In 1959 Ovambo activists Samuel Nujoma (1929–　) and Andimba (Herman) Toiva ja Toivo (1924–　) formed the Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO). That same year, in conjunction with the Herero-led South West African National Union, the OPO began organizing resis-

tance to apartheid relocation policies. The OPO's activities led to a South African backlash, and Nujoma was forced into exile.

While Nujoma was in exile Ovamboland continued to be a hotbed for the independence movement. The OPO evolved into the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and expanded beyond its Ovambo roots. In 1989, after South Africa finally surrendered its claim to the territory, Nujoma returned from exile and led SWAPO to victory in the national elections. Namibia became independent in 1990, and Nujoma assumed the presidency. As of 2004 Nujoma and the largely Ovambo SWAPO continued to dominate the Namibian political scene.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (Vol. V).

Ovimbundu Ethnic group of the Benguela Plateau in present-day ANGOLA. By the 18th century the Bantu-speaking Ovimbundu had established 22 kingdoms in the Benguela highlands. The Ovimbundu underwent a series of economic changes during the colonial era. Trade with the Portuguese was established by the late 1700s, and by 1800 the Ovimbundu had come to dominate the regional trade of captives and ivory. Though the Portuguese campaign of colonial conquest had begun as early as 1575, with the establishment of the coastal stronghold of LUANDA, the Ovimbundu resisted colonial rule until 1902. The outlawing of the slave trade and the construction of the Benguela railway, in 1904, undermined the Ovimbundu's trade superiority, and the Ovimbundu became involved in the rubber trade until that, too, declined in the early 1900s. The Ovimbundu then turned to CASH CROPS, such as COFFEE, as the backbone of their ECONOMY. By the 1960s, soil conditions and encroaching Portuguese settlers forced a large percentage of Ovimbundu males to labor on Portuguese coffee plantations, in the cities of Luanda and Lobito, or in industrial plants.

Perhaps the most cohesive ethnic group in colonial Angola, the Ovimbundu benefited from the establishment by MISSIONARIES of a number of Christian villages, complete with schools and health clinics. The Ovimbundu's strong economic background and general solidarity made them a powerful popular base for anticolonialist efforts led by Jonas Savimbi (1934–2002) and his national Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, UNITA),

formed in 1966. After Angola achieved independence in 1975, UNITA continued to fight in a civil war with its rival, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. Largely because of Ovimbundu support, Savimbi and UNITA were able to continue the war until Savimbi's death in 2002.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OVIMBUNDU (Vols. II, III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SAVIMBI, JONAS (Vol. V).

Ovonramwen (r. 1888–1897; d. 1914) *The last* oba *(king) of the powerful Edo kingdom of Benin*

Ovonramwen came to power as the *oba* of the kingdom of BENIN in 1888, a time when British COLONIAL RULE was expanding throughout southern NIGERIA. When his father, Oba Adolo (r. 1848–1888), died, a struggle for the throne ensued. Eventually Ovonramwen gained power by killing his rivals. However, his kingdom was shrinking rapidly due to increasing British encroachment. In 1892 Britain and Benin negotiated a treaty that, from the British perspective, established Benin as a British PROTECTORATE. Ovonramwen, on the other hand, ignored the treaty.

Through various means Britain was bringing the other rulers of southern Nigeria within its colonial orbit, and, after 1895, Benin alone retained its independence. The people of Ovonramwen's kingdom practiced human sacrifice in their traditional rituals, which the British saw as a convenient excuse for intervening in Benin's internal affairs. In January 1897 the consul-general of Britain's Niger Coast Protectorate set off to BENIN CITY, the kingdom's capital. Under the threat of military action, Ovonramwen and his counselors were pointedly asked to submit to British colonial authority, which they refused. When a small British party was massacred—in an action instigated by some of Ovonramwen's African opponents—the British launched an invasion with an already assembled force of 1,500 soldiers. Ovonramwen failed to defend Benin City, but he retreated into the countryside, continuing to resist the British authorities before finally surrendering in August. With its COLONIAL CONQUEST of southern Nigeria complete, Britain then deported the *oba* to the city of Calabar, in southeastern Nigeria, where he died in 1914. After Ovonramwen's death, Britain restored the Benin kingship as a largely ceremonial office, installing his son, Aiguobasinmwin as *oba*.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

P

PAC See PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS.

pacification Term used by Europeans to describe the intimidation and violent suppression used to subdue resistance to COLONIAL CONQUEST in Africa. Pacification, or "making peace," was a process begun after the PARTITION of Africa by the European powers in 1884–85. It typically involved dispatching heavily armed COLONIAL ARMIES into territories occupied by indigenous African peoples. The armies met with fierce resistance throughout the continent. However, since European armaments were usually far more advanced and lethal than those used by Africans, European pacification campaigns were usually successful at achieving the goal of securing a territory for further colonial development.

Whenever possible, European armies employed African mercenaries to aid them in ridding an area of a common enemy. Typically these mercenaries were paid with a share of the plunder taken from a conquered village.

All of the European colonial powers—France, Britain, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Italy—embarked on pacification campaigns of some kind in Africa. Pacification was intended to establish an easy and effective occupation and to create an environment that would increase the potential for prosperity for future white set-tlers. Despite the patina of legitimacy that the colonial powers gave to their efforts, the process was often marked by contemptible actions on the part of the European soldiers, their leaders, and security officials. Crimes committed in the name of pacification included the arbitrary killing of people, including women and children; the enslavement of captives; the burning of villages and crops; and the stealing of cattle and other livestock. As a rule, any African resistance to European pacification efforts was crushed quickly and viciously.

Although most of the colonies were considered "pacified" by the onset of World War I (1914–18), some remote areas of Africa remained unsecured for European colonial administration as late as the 1930s.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); BRITAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

palm oil The liquid extracted from the fermented fruit of the oil palm. The oil palm was long one of the important West African FOOD CROPS, and in the 19th century it became one of the region's leading CASH CROPS. During the 19th century the increased use of machinery brought about a corresponding increase in the need for lubricating oils. In the same period, abolitionists who were vigorously engaged in attempts to suppress the SLAVE TRADE actively promoted "legitimate trade" in agricultural products and other goods to replace the infamous trade in human beings. Palm oil—and also palm kernels—readily fit both needs.

In parts of western Africa, palm oil was a key export for decades prior to European colonization. This palm plantation worker in Cameroon collected palm seeds, which were then processed for their versatile oil. © *National Archives*

By 1850 Britain alone was importing some 30,000 tons of West African palm oil annually. Over the second half of the century, palm-oil EXPORTS, mostly from NIGE-RIA, averaged about 50,000 tons annually. While some palm trees were planted, most of the production came from controlled groves of wild palms. Most of those engaged in the production were small-holder farmers.

Palm oil continued as a major cash crop for Nigeria and other parts of West Africa during the colonial period. Furthermore, European plantations also began to play a role. Chief among these were the plantations in the BEL-GIAN CONGO (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO) owned by the British Lever Brothers Company. In 1911 William Lever won the right to use up to 1.9 million acres (750,000 hectares) of palm-bearing land to get palm oil for his company's soap business.

The market for palm oil expanded after World War II (1939–45), when further advances in refining the oil made it possible to use unhydrogenated palm oil in processed food products. This led to a rapid expansion of palm oil exports and the spread of palm oil production to other parts of the world. By 1982 Malaysia, in Southeast Asia, had become both the world's largest pro-ducer and exporter of palm oil. Nigeria, with about half the total for Africa, remains the largest African producer of palm oil.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, IN-FLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); PALM OIL (Vol. III).

Further reading: D. K. Fieldhouse, *Unilever Overseas: the Anatomy of a Multinational, 1895–1965* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1978); Susan M. Martin, *Palm Oil and Protest* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Pan-Africanism Idea that all people of African descent share histories, interests, and concerns and should unite to develop their common culture. The founding of the Pan-Africanism movement is typically credited to Henry Sylvester Williams (1869–1911), a scholar from Trinidad, West Indies, who founded the African Association in 1897. A year later the African Association called for a meeting to consider the oppression of the AFRICAN DIASPORA in a world increasingly dominated by whites. Many black intellectuals from the Americas and the West Indies embraced the idea, and the African Association, which changed its name to the Pan-African Association (PAA), planned the first Pan-African Congress (not to be confused with the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS of SOUTH AFRICA).

The tangible results of the First Congress, held in London in 1900, were minimal, and two years later, the PAA disbanded as a result of internal discord and financial difficulties. Other pan-African events not connected to the PAA included an International Conference held at the Tuskegee Institute by Booker T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915) that attracted both African and African-American attendees.

However, largely because of the efforts of African-American W. E. B. DU BOIS (1868–1963), the Pan-African Congress reconvened in 1919, 1921, 1923, and 1927. Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940), a black leader from Jamaica, also attended these early congresses.

The 1919 congress is known as the First Pan-African Congress (PAC), and it coincided with the Paris Peace Conference held at Versailles ending the World War I (1914–18). Attendee W. E. B. Du Bois wanted to address the Paris Peace Conference to suggest that the PAC have input into the disposition of the African colonies stripped from Germany and Italy. Although Du Bois was able to speak with conference officials, the delegation was not allowed to present its case at the conference.

As the 20th century progressed, Pan-Africanism stimulated African political activity, becoming a theme that bound Africa's various NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS. The African colonies sided with their respective colonizers in World War II (1939–45), but African support for the Allied war effort did not prevent them from looking for ways to achieve independence. At the conclusion of World War II, the Fifth Pan-African Congress met in Manchester, England, to discuss the immediate future of Europe's African colonies. Although the meeting was relatively unheralded, it served to galvanize the world's black leaders. Attendees of the event included Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), the future leader of GHANA; Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), the future president of KENYA; Hastings Kamuzu BANDA (c. 1898–1997), the future president of MALAWI; and Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987), a prominent Nigerian nationalist.

In 1947, Senegalese author Alioune DIOP (1910–1980) founded *PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE,* a literary journal devoted to furthering the intellectual Pan-Africanist movement known as NÉGRITUDE.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vol. V).

Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) Militant black opposition organization in SOUTH AFRICA that emerged from the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). The Pan-Africanist Congress was founded on April 6, 1959, by disaffected members of the African National Congress. The ideological basis for the PAC can be traced back to the 1940s and the formation of the ANC Youth League, a branch of the ANC that called for mass demonstrations and a variant of African nationalism known as *Africanism.* Among its key members was Robert SOBUKWE (1924–1978), a staunch Africanist who cofounded the PAC and later became its first president. During the 1950s, Africanists within the ANC grew increasingly disenchanted with its policy of multiracialism and its willingness to admit whites, Indians, and Coloureds as members or as allies. Africanists were opposed to the Charterist movement, which stemmed from the FREEDOM CHARTER of 1955, and which embraced the principle that South Africa belonged to all its peoples, regardless of race. They also felt that this approach weakened the forces against APARTHEID and reinforced the patronizing colonialist image of Africans as incapable of providing their own leadership. The PAC was explicitly an African nationalist organization, and, impatient with the organization-building approach of the ANC leadership, determined to win African rights through militant action supported by the masses.

The PAC identified with and sought to emulate the continent-wide struggle of African peoples against white COLONIAL RULE. In particular, it looked to Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), who led GHANA to independence in 1957. The PAC believed it was necessary for Africans to forge their own future to boost self-confidence and adopted the slogan "Africa for the Africans." Sobukwe led the Africanists out of the ANC in late 1958, and in April 1959 he and other dissatisfied ANC members founded the PAC at Orlando, a suburb of JOHANNESBURG. Sobukwe was elected its first president.

The PAC also formed its own labor-union organization called the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa. In March 1960 the PAC organized a campaign of defiance, which led to the Sharpeville massacre, in which 69 African protesters where shot dead by South African police. The subsequent harsh government repression resulted in the imprisonment of Sobukwe and the banning of the PAC, the ANC, and other opposition organizations.

See also: NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (Vol. V); SHARPEVILLE (Vol. V).

Further reading: Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1978); Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945* (New York: Longman, 1983).

partition While the origins of European colonies or "spheres of influence" can be traced back to the Portuguese maritime exploration of the 15th century, it was not until the late 1800s that full-scale colonialism took shape. In the early 19th century the prohibition of the SLAVE TRADE by Britain signified an international economic shift, with Africa being perceived not as a source of LABOR but as a source of raw materials for use by industrial Europe. Thus, access to African resources became an essential part of economic policy. As late as the 1870s, however, European states had not yet embarked a policy of COLONIAL CONQUEST, as they were largely able to obtain what they wanted through trade and commercial treaties. By 1875 only about one-tenth of the continent had been colonized, with the main areas being in the extreme northern and southern parts of the continent.

A number of developments changed the relationship between Europe and Africa. INDUSTRIALIZATION led to new European advances in communications (e.g., the telegraph), TRANSPORTATION (e.g., improved steam navigation and railroads), and military technology (e.g., the machine gun). Europe thus developed a huge technological advantage over African states and peoples. Further, advances in tropical MEDICINE (e.g., the use of quinine to control

malaria) enabled Europeans to operate in the tropical zones with fewer setbacks from disease. These advancements gave Europeans the tools they needed to occupy the continent.

Though the slave trade persisted even into the 20th century, Europe's efforts to suppress it played a large role in shaping imperial aims in Africa during the late 19th century. Many MISSIONARIES and explorers engaged in activities with the stated goal of ending SLAVERY on the continent. Though they were not always successful in their endeavors, these missionaries and explorers did expand Europe's influence and provide the avenues through which the United Kingdom and other European countries established the foundations of their African colonial empires.

The motivation for colonial conquest stemmed largely from increased rivalry among the European countries on both economic and political grounds. Developments came to a head when King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) of Belgium and his International African Association laid claim to large portions of the Congo River Basin. Increasing diplomatic tensions in Europe led German chancellor Otto von BISMARCK (1815–1898) to organize the BERLIN CONFERENCE, in 1884. This diplomatic gathering was ostensibly concerned with humanitarian issues, but it actually intended to establish guidelines for the amicable European partition of Africa. All of the major European powers were present, along with the United States, but there were no African representatives. The conference recognized Leopold II's claims in the Congo region and, more significantly, it concluded that any colonial power could claim a "sphere of influence" over an African territory if it first secured "effective occupation" of that territory.

Upon the conclusion of the conference in 1885, the partition of the continent commenced in earnest. Fueled by nationalistic pride, political rivalry, and the promise of economic gain (which was amplified by the discovery of DIAMONDS, GOLD, and other MINERALS AND METALS), European states rapidly laid claim, on paper at least, to broad swaths of African territory. Establishing control on the ground was frequently a much slower process, due in large part to African RESISTANCE AND REBELLION. In some instances, as when Ethiopian emperor MENELIK II (1844– 1913) defeated an Italian army at the Battle of ADOWA in 1896, the resistance was successful. By that date, however, all of Africa, save ETHIOPIA, LIBERIA, MOROCCO, and the AFRIKANER REPUBLICS of the TRANSVAAL and the ORANGE FREE STATE, were at least nominally under European COLONIAL RULE.

Even the countries that maintained their sovereignty after 1896 fell in some way under the influence of colonialism. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State became British possessions after the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902). France and Spain had divided Morocco by 1912. Liberia, established as a colony for Africans freed from slavery in America, was essentially an economic colony of the United States. And from 1936 to 1941 Ethiopia was occupied by the forces of fascist Italy.

Though Africans would struggle against European colonizers for years to come, and though the balance of colonial power would shift as well, by the beginning of World War I (1914–18) the partition of Africa was complete. The results were a haphazard imposition of colonial borders, dividing territories with no concern for the traditional or ethnic boundaries of the Africans living there. Essentially a reorganization of hundreds of cultures and societies, the lines of partition shaped the formation of present-day African nations, and remained an influence even after the reestablishment of Africa's independence.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); EUROPE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vols. III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); PROTECTORATE (Vol. IV); UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: H. L. Wesseling, *Divide and Rule: the Partition of Africa, 1880–1914* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1996).

pastoralism Lifestyle of people whose economic, cultural, and social institutions center on livestock such as cattle, sheep, camels, and goats. In many pastoralist societies, the number of animals owned by determines the prestige of the owner. Among some groups, the TSWANA of southern Africa, for instance, cattle also might serve as the foundation of the group's political structure. During the era of COLONIAL RULE, European colonial administrators often tried to force pastoralists, such as the MAASAI of East Africa, to settle and begin a sedentary existence. Pastoralism, however, has persisted into the 21st century.

See also: PASTORALISM (Vol. I).

Further reading: Dorothy L. Hodgson (ed.), *Rethinking Pastoralism in Africa: Gender, Culture & the Myth of the Patriarchal Pastoralist* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio Univer-

sity Press, 2000); M. A. Mohamed Salih, Ton Dietz, and Ghaffar Mohamed Ahmed Abdel, eds., *African Pastoralism: Conflict, Institutions, and Government* (London: Pluto Press in association with OSSREA, 2001).

Paton, Alan (1903–1988) *South African author and political activist*

Born in 1903 in Pietermaritzburg, in present-day KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA, Alan Paton became one of South Africa's most celebrated authors. His widely read novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country,* published in 1948, poi-gnantly highlighted the racial tensions that divided his country's European and African populations. The novel has been the basis for the 1950 musical, *Lost in the Stars,* by Maxwell Anderson (1888–1959) and Kurt Weill (1900–1950), as well as two feature-length dramatic films, released in 1951 and 1995.

Paton is well known for his other novels, which include *Too Late the Phalarope* (1953) and *Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful* (1981). He also wrote biographies, most notably of the South African politician Jan Hofmeyr (1894–1948) and the Archbishop of CAPE TOWN, Geoffrey Clayton (1884–1957). Both of these works appeared in 1964. In addition, Paton wrote a play called *The Lost Journey* (1959) about the famous British missionary and explorer, David LIVINGSTONE, (1813–1873).

Paton first worked as a schoolteacher and then entered social work, eventually serving as the principal of the Diepkloof Reformatory in JOHANNESBURG. Paton's political activities grew out of deeply held principles. A public critic of APARTHEID and racial discrimination, he was a founder—and later president—of South Africa's Liberal Party, which challenged the country's racial policy. (The government banned the Liberal Party in 1968.) While his political activities did little to deter apartheid, as an author, Alan Paton contributed significantly to undermining the credibility of the South African apartheid state.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Peter F. Alexander, *Alan Paton: A Biography* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Pedi
Large ethnic group living in the Northern Province of SOUTH AFRICA. The Pedi, also known as the Northern SOTHO or Bapedi, first established a kingdom around the beginning of the 17th century, in the region between the Vaal and Limpopo rivers, in present-day South Africa. It was not until the late 1700s, however, that all of the Pedi were united under King Thulare (d. 1824), after which they came to dominate the TRANSVAAL. In the early 1800s the Pedi came under attack from the marauding NDEBELE, led by their chief Mzilikazi (1790–1868). The mil-

itaristic ZULU expansion, known as the Mfecane (The Crushing), further threatened the Pedi. In the aftermath of the Ndebele and Zulu attacks, Thulare's former kingdom was left in shambles. Led by Thulare's son, Sekwati (d. 1861), the Pedi relocated east of present-day PRETORIA, where they gradually recovered much of their lost power.

Under Sekwati, the Pedi made peace with the Zulu and also granted land to the east of the kingdom to the BOERS, who had arrived in the region during the Great Boer Trek. Conflicts between the Pedi and the Boers immediately erupted as the Boers encroached on Pedi land and accused the Pedi of stealing livestock. Violence broke out in 1838, 1847, and 1852, before Sekwati negotiated a peace that lasted until his death in 1861. During the ensuing power struggle, Sekwati's son Sekhukhune (d. 1882) defeated and exiled his brother Mampuru (d. 1883), assuming the Pedi throne.

After GOLD was discovered in the settlement of Pilgrim's Rest, in 1873, the Pedi began working the mines for far less compensation than their white counterparts. Conflict over pay and over Boer trespassing on Pedi land led to war in 1876. While the Pedi sent the Boers into retreat, Boer attacks on crops and livestock left the Pedi starving. One year later, however, the Boers themselves were weakened when the British annexed the Transvaal. Sekhukhune then launched a war against the British, winning a number of battles before being soundly defeated in 1879. In 1896 the British divided the Pedi kingdom in two, creating a rivalry that further weakened the group.

Following the British defeat of his brother's Pedi kingdom, Mampuru plotted to kill Sekhukhune, a plan he carried out in 1882. Mampuru was caught one year later by South African authorities and executed for Sekhukhune's murder.

Shortly after the formation of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, in 1910, the Pedi were forced to live in cramped "native reserves." In 1959 the Pedi were confined to Lebowa, part of the APARTHEID homeland system designed to segregate and manage the African population in South Africa. Only the fall of apartheid toward the end of the 20th century allowed the Pedi to finally emerge from the shadow that fell over them during the era of COLONIAL RULE. By that time nearly four million Pedi were living in northern South Africa, and the Pedi LANGUAGE, today one of 11 official languages spoken in the country, was spoken by nearly 10 percent of the population.

> **Mass graves discovered in Lebowa in 1986 suggest the "homeland" government responded brutally to any dissent within its jurisdiction, though no one has been held responsible for the deaths.**

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); GREAT BOER TREK (Vol. III); MFECANE (Vol. III); MZILIKAZI (Vol. III).

Pelewura, Madam Alimotu (c. 1865–1951) *Political figure and leader of market women in Lagos, Nigeria*

Alimotu Pelewura, a YORUBA-speaking Muslim, came from a humble background. The daughter of a fish trader, she went to work alongside her mother at an early age, without a formal education. Her husband died young, and she never remarried. Madam Pelewura then focused her energies on organizing and leading her fellow market women, who mostly came from backgrounds similar to her own.

In LAGOS, NIGERIA, as in many other parts of West Africa, women were the principal distributors and retailers of food and many other goods. They thus played a critical economic and social role in the life of the region's cities and towns. Furthermore, as the market ECONOMY expanded during the colonial era, with increases in the production of CASH CROPS and a growing wage-LABOR force to sell to, the opportunities for market women correspondingly grew. For the most part they operated on a small scale, working out of stalls in the marketplace. Collectively, however, they exercised considerable power, and they were aware that by organizing they could promote their interests.

By 1910 Madam Pelewura had emerged as the leader of the market women of Lagos, a position formally acknowledged by the *eleko* of Lagos, who was the city's *oba* (ruler). By the 1920s, some 8,000 Lagos market women organized the Lagos Market Women's Association, with Pelewura as its president.

As president of the association, Madam Pelewura oversaw the administration of the Ereko Market, which was the central market in Lagos. The market women paid small weekly dues to the association, which in turn actively worked on their behalf. The association became so powerful that, by the early 1930s, the British colonial administration grew alarmed. They did not like seeing Africans, especially African women, exercising so much power. Indeed, in the 1930s, when the colonial government sought to move the Ereko Market to a less desirable location, Madam Pelewura organized large-scale protests that blocked the move. Such successful obstruction of a colonial government's plans was highly unusual and a sign of the influence wielded by Madam Pelewura.

During World War II (1939–45) Pelewura and her association again clashed with the British authorities. This time Britain sought to impose price controls and take direct control over the distribution of *gari,* a flour made from cassava tubers and the basic foodstuff in most of the region. This led to continuous tension and strife between the Lagos Market Women's Association and colonial administrators throughout the war period.

Because of her leadership role, Madam Pelewura continued to be actively involved in politics. She was generally effective at ensuring the continued support of the *eleko* and his councillors for the market women's interests. She also became embroiled in the emerging nationalist politics that sought to challenge the political status quo of the colony. She became a political ally of Herbert MACAULAY (1864–1946), one of Nigeria's earliest nationalist politicians, and founder, in 1923, of the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). Macaulay recognized the benefits of having the market women and their leader backing NNDP activities.

After the war Pelewura, who was then over 80, continued to participate in both nationalist and local politics. The *eleko* conferred additional recognition on her as a representative of the common people before his court. She was also selected to take part in a political delegation to London to protest Britain's postwar plans for Nigeria, but she was too frail to make the trip. Indicative of the respect she had earned among the population of Lagos, when she died in 1951, more than 25,000 people joined the funeral procession to the cemetery.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Peters, Karl (1856–1918) *German explorer*

Born September 27, 1856, in Neuhaus an der Elbe (in present-day Germany), Peters was the son of a clergyman who studied history and philosophy. During a stay in England he became convinced of the need for Germany to develop a colonial empire. To this end, in 1884 he founded the Society for German Colonization.

Operating without official sanction from the German government, Peters ventured into eastern Africa, meeting with numerous African leaders, signing treaties, and acquiring territory for his society. These were for the most part areas that ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888), the sultan of ZANZIBAR, claimed to rule. In the wake of the BERLIN CONFERENCE of 1884–85, Otto von BISMARCK (1815–1898), the German chancellor, declared the society's lands to be a German PROTECTORATE, thus forming part of what came to be known as GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

Known for his harsh policies, as well as for his extreme nationalism, Peters served in the German colonial administration from the capital at BAGAMOYO, on the northern coast of TANGANYIKA (present-day mainland TANZANIA). In 1897, however, the imperial colonial commissioner in the German legislature called Peters to account for cruelties committed during his administration, effectively putting an end to his career in Africa. He died in September 1918, in Woltorf, Germany.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV).

photography   Photography was invented in Europe around 1839, and photographic studios were set up in EGYPT and SOUTH AFRICA as early as the 1840s. Soon photographers were operating in LUANDA, ANGOLA and FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, as well. In East Africa, Indian photographers set up large, commercial studios in KENYA, TANZANIA, and ZANZIBAR. The clients at these studios were mostly Europeans who sat for portraits, but photographers also took pictures of cultural scenes and places of interest.

Anthropologists and ethnographers used photographic images in Africa extensively during the second half of the 19th century. However, many of the so-called anthropological portrayals of Africans were set up in ways that, ultimately, reinforced negative stereotypes of both Africa and its peoples.

Adventurous photographers were attracted to scenic Egypt and the Nile region. Among them was Austrian artist Richard Buchta, who photographed the upper Nile and northern UGANDA. Scientists and adventurers traveled to other remote regions of Africa, as well. Some explorers employed photographers for their expeditions. For example, British explorer and missionary David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873) brought along John KIRK (1832–1922), a naturalist and physician, to take pictures of his Zambezi expedition of 1858–62.

Around 1870 improvements in photographic technology led to an increase in the number of studios in Africa's capital cities and major towns. Photographers of this era used heavy "box cameras," which did not have shutters. Instead, they exposed large negatives that they retouched and printed. (The later integration of a darkroom in the camera meant that a negative could be produced on printing paper and processed immediately.) Continued technological advances in photography resulted in simpler processing techniques and lower prices for pictures. Colonial governments encouraged lowering the costs of photography, since they often compelled Africans in the colonies to carry identity pictures issued by colonial administrations.

The first locally manufactured cameras appeared in NIGERIA and GHANA in the 1920s. During this period new uses for photography came about, including photo reportage and news photography. Also, images of Africa were coveted by research institutions and magazines such as *Life* and *National Geographic*. DRUM magazine, which became Africa's most popular periodical in the 1950s, employed African photojournalists like Peter Magubane (1932–   ) of South Africa.

A number of professional African photographers began garnering fame in the early 20th century. One was Alex Agbaglo Acolatse (1880–1975) from the GOLD COAST COLONY (now Ghana). In TOGOLAND (now TOGO), which was then ruled by Germany, he became one of the first African professional photographers. His images can be seen in German archives.

In Sierra Leone two brothers, Arthur and Alphonso (1883–1969) Lisk-Carew, founded a studio in Freetown in 1905. Their business included selling postcards, stationery, and photographic equipment and supplies. The British colonial government recognized the brothers' professionalism and contracted them to record government events for propaganda purposes. The Lisk-Carews' work can be seen in British archives.

During the 20th century photography quickly grew into a profession, with talented and creative African photographers adapting their techniques to suit their environments. In the 1940s the number of African-operated photographic studios increased greatly, due in large part to the introduction of medium-sized cameras, low-priced enlargers, and electrification, which allowed for the use of artificial lights in studios.

By the 1950s photography was widespread, and the range of events that photographers were contracted to cover broadened to include formal government and political events, traditional ceremonies, religious events, weddings, funerals, and sports contests. However, as was the case around the world, African photographic studios began to decline after the 1960s. At this time new technologies allowed individuals to use less expensive cameras and film to process their own photographs.

See also: PHOTOGRAPHY (Vol. V).

Plaatje, Sol T. (Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje) (1876–1932) *Tswana journalist, novelist, and political activist in South Africa*

Born on a farm called Dornfontein, on October 9, 1876, Plaatje was educated at nearby Pniel mission station and, subsequently, at a mission school in Beaconsfield, CAPE COLONY. Quickly distinguishing himself as a stu-

dent, he progressed rapidly, eventually earning an appointment as a pupil-teacher, a post that he kept from 1892 to 1894. In 1894 he moved to KIMBERLEY, in northern Cape Colony, where he took a job as a letter carrier, one of the few occupations that could provide advancement for Africans.

His job at the post office gave Plaatje an entrance to the more educated and cosmopolitan element of Kimberley's African population, people who worked as teachers, court interpreters, clerks, and members of the clergy. Plaatje soon was involved in a variety of community affairs, serving as the secretary for local cricket clubs, singing with the Philharmonic Society, and joining the South Africans' Improvement Society, whose meetings and discussions formed the beginnings of his political activity. By 1898, the year in which he also married Elizabeth M'belle, the sister of his life-long friend Isaiah Bud M'Belle, Plaatje's English had become proficient enough for him to take a job as a court interpreter, one of the most prestigious jobs available to Africans at the time.

A gifted linguist, Plaatje spoke several African languages, including his own TSWANA, plus SOTHO, XHOSA, ZULU, and Koranna as well as the European languages of English, Dutch, and German.

Taking up a position with the court in the town of Mafeking, Plaatje found himself in a smaller, less cosmopolitan community. But there, too, he managed to find companionship among educated and politically aware individuals, the most noteworthy of whom was Silas Telesho Molema, a member of one of the region's most influential families.

With the outbreak of the ANGLO-BOER WAR, in 1899, Mafeking was attacked by Boer forces from across the TRANSVAAL border. During the siege that followed Plaatje was asked to type a diary being kept by a white magistrate, Charles Bell. Responding to Bell's words, Plaatje eventually began recording his own thoughts and reactions to the siege in a work that many years later, in 1976, would be published as *Mafeking Diary: A Black Man's View of a White Man's War.*

In 1901 Silas Molema purchased a newspaper called *Koranta ea Becoana* (Tswana Gazette) and appointed Plaatje editor. With articles in both Tswana and English, the paper quickly became, under Plaatje's leadership, a weekly periodical that brought messages of progress and EDUCATION to the African population as well as advocacy of constitutional rights. Although, by 1902, Plaatje had left his job with the court and was devoting more time to the paper, the enterprise was never economically viable,

and by 1908 its financial ground was foundering. In 1910, however, Plaatje found support among several wealthy Africans for another newspaper, this one called *Tsala ea Becoana* (The friend of the Tswana). For a time this newspaper—the second of three Plaatje eventually would establish—provided him with both income and a forum for his ideas.

During this period, when the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA was created and its white leadership became more conservative and more restrictive, Plaatje was increasingly drawn into the political arena. By 1909 he had become one of the leaders of the South African Native Convention and was instrumental in the transformation of this loosely knit organization into the South African Native Congress, the ancestor of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), in 1911. Serving as the ANC's first corresponding secretary, Plaatje put his experience as a journalist and newspaper editor to work.

In 1913 his concerns about the well-being of the African people coalesced into his opposition to the 1913 Native Land Act, which he believed would have disastrous effects on the African population. With Plaatje's encouragement, protests were held, representatives were sent to the capital in CAPE TOWN, and money was raised to send a delegation to London to voice Africans' opposition to the measure.

In 1914 Plaatje sailed for London as part of the ANC's delegation, an effort that, ultimately, was unable to affect either the rejection or even the modification of the measure. When the rest of the delegates returned to South Africa, Plaatje decided to remain in England where he worked on a manuscript about African life (*Native Life in South Africa)* and continued to press for African rights. While the bulk of his time in England was spent on his effort to galvanize opinion against the Land Act, Plaatje managed to find time to take on several other projects, including writing an essay on Shakespeare and several books on Tswana LANGUAGE and culture. These books, which included a volume of traditional Tswana proverbs, were part of Plaatje's growing fascination with finding ways to preserve Tswana culture in the face of the seemingly unstoppable advance of European influence. Asserting the innate value—rather than the "backwardness" observed by Europeans—of Tswana language and culture, Plaatje's writings represented an early and significant step in preserving Tswana identity.

In 1917 Plaatje returned to South Africa, where his activities soon brought him to the attention of the government. Breaking with the ANC's policy of refraining from overt criticism of the government, he spoke out against South African policies and was arrested on a number of charges.

Plaatje soon returned to London, in 1919, hoping to draw attention to injustices and discrimination in South Africa. These efforts soon carried him beyond England to Canada and the United States, where he held forth at a se-

ries of speaking engagements that kept him abroad until 1923. When he returned to South Africa he found conditions even worse for Africans. Making his living once again as a writer and journalist, he continued to serve as a leader and spokesperson of the African cause.

Plaatje's works of fiction drew him considerable attention and, in North America, sales. They included *The Mote and the Beam,* a tale of a sexual relationship between a black and a white in South Africa, and *Mhudi,* a historical novel about early South African life.

See also: BECHUANALAND (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Solomon Plaatje, *Selected Writings* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1998); Brian Willan, *Sol Plaatje: African Nationalist, 1876–1932* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1984).

political parties and organizations African political organization was generally suppressed, and, in some places, declared illegal during the era of COLONIAL RULE.

However, even before the end of the 19th century, Africans were organizing to protest European colonialism. For example, in 1897 Western-educated African lawyers in the British GOLD COAST COLONY founded the ABORIGINES' RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY to voice opposition to British claims on African territories.

In the first decades of the 20th century, Africans continued founding political organizations, including the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (1912), in SOUTH AFRICA, and the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA (1920), in Gold Coast Colony. Following World War II (1939–45), political organization revolved around the various African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS across the continent. Many of these movements evolved into recognized political parties that vied for seats in post-independence governments.

See AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY; CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY; NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT; PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS; UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION; UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY; WAFD PARTY.

See also: POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V).

Further reading: M. A. Mohamed Salih, ed., *African Political Parties: Evolution, Institutionalization and Governance* (London: Pluto Press, 2003).

porterage A form of transport used for TRADE AND COMMERCE when animal-drawn transport is impractical or unavailable or if river transport is impossible. Porter-

Shown "headloading," these women porters carry rice to the market in Dar Es Salaam, in c. 1900. *© Francis C. Fuerst/New York Times*

age, sometimes called headloading, was very common prior to widespread motor and rail transport and was frequently used to transport CASH CROPS and other trade items to market.

In the West African forests and rain forests TRANS-PORTATION is difficult because tropical diseases such as sleeping sickness, which affects both animals and humans, restrict the use of draft animals. Consequently, humans must carry their own loads, and the most effective way to do this is through headloading. The practice is common in portions of East Africa, as well. In contrast, porterage did not play a role in trans-Saharan trade because of the availability of camels.

Children learn the skill of headloading at a very early age, using it while collecting firewood and bringing water from a well or stream. Through such repeated practice, they strengthen their neck muscles so that they can carry weights as heavy as 50 pounds while walking with their hands free.

In both East and West Africa, traders conducted long-distance overland trade through porterage. Both slave laborers and professional porters were used to transport heavy loads, including ivory. Some ethnic groups, such as the NYAMWEZI of TANZANIA, were particularly adept at porterage and plied their skills professionally. Porterage was one of the few ways in which African men could earn a cash wage to pay colonial taxes.

Today, however, porterage is no longer the factor in long-distance trade it was in the past. Still, it is regularly practiced throughout Africa in both rural and urban areas. Indeed, women carrying produce and other goods to market in this convenient and inexpensive fashion is a familiar sight.

See also: TRADE (Vols. I, II, III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. IV, V).

Portugal and Africa Portugal's colonial presence in Africa was the longest of the European powers. From the latter half of the 19th century onward, Portugal shored up its occasionally harsh COLONIAL RULE. By the beginning of the 1960s, however, African nationalist movements in Portugal's colonies had begun the inexorable movement toward independence.

For centuries Portugal's activity in Africa was limited primarily to the SLAVE TRADE on both the east and west coasts of Africa. However, in the 19th century, the slave trade was largely abolished, and Portugal gradually turned its attention to colonizing several territories where it already had a presence. In southwestern Africa, the Portuguese controlled ANGOLA; in the southeast, they were the main European power in the MOZAMBIQUE region; and in West Africa, where the Portuguese had traded with coastal peoples since the 15th century, they held the territory that would become GUINEA-BISSAU. Portugal's colonial

territorial expansion gained momentum in the middle of the 19th century and culminated in the Portuguese participation in European PARTITION of Africa at the BERLIN CONFERENCE in 1884–85.

About 60 years prior to the Berlin Conference, Portugal lost its colony of Brazil, in South America. Portugal saw in Africa a chance to revive its hopes for empire, and in the late 19th century, its interest in Africa evolved to take on nationalistic and imperial—rather than purely economic—characteristics.

At the beginning of the 20th century Portugal's territorial claims in Africa were much larger than the areas actually under its control. And as Portugal increased the vigor of its colonial efforts, it faced more instances of RESISTANCE AND REBELLION by indigenous Africans. These acts were often brutally repressed by the Portuguese authorities and frequently resulted in large-scale death and destruction.

As part of Portuguese attempts to settle and pacify African territories, the Portuguese government began officially sanctioning the emigration of its citizens from Portugal. These efforts, however, did not meet with much success, since the settlers took African land and jobs and caused social upheaval. Generally the Portuguese settlers took up residence in the colonies' major urban ports such as LUANDA, in Angola, and LOURENÇO MARQUES, in Mozambique. The majority of the settlers who didn't move to the ports tried to establish plantations, which typically were worked by underpaid African laborers in harsh conditions. Others worked with European CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES to exploit regional resources.

The Republic of Portugal faced a crisis in the early 1920s, resulting in a military coup d'état in 1926. By 1932 the country was under the leadership of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970), who abolished the old constitution and instituted an authoritarian state, which he led as prime minister, until 1968. As part of his sweeping economic reforms, Salazar quickly imposed direct rule over Portugal's African colonies. Even though the dream of a Portuguese-African empire was hardly becoming a reality, Salazar encouraged a steady flow of Portuguese settlers to Africa. Portuguese migration to the colonies even accelerated during the period following World War II (1939–45).

Portugal was officially neutral during World War II and, therefore, neither gained nor lost African territory as a result of the war. In the latter half of the 1940s, African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS began pressing for an end to colonial rule. As a concession to nation-

alist demands, Salazar revised the Portuguese constitution to change the status of Portugal's African territories from colonies to overseas territories. Change was slow in coming, however, and, by the 1950s, the independence movements were agitating for true independence. Salazar responded by allowing a secret colonial police force, known as PIDE, to use violence, intimidation, and even murder to subvert the efforts of the independence movements. In turn Africans in the Portuguese colonies turned to guerrilla warfare in order to pressure Portugal to withdraw.

Male Portuguese settlers in Africa had a long history of producing children with African women, and by the beginning of the 20th century, the Portuguese colonies—especially in western Africa—had sizeable mixed-race populations. A Portuguese doctrine, described by the term *lusotropicology,* proposed that part of Portugal's mission in Africa was to fuse the Caucasian and Negroid races to form a "superior" Portuguese-African race. Conversion to Catholicism also played an important role in the doctrine.

In Angola the most effective nationalist movement proved to be the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular da Libertação de Angola, MPLA), a Marxist-oriented organization led by Agostinho Neto (1922–1979). The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola, FNLA), a pro-West liberation organization led by Holden Roberto (1923–   ), also joined in the fighting. Because of their opposing ideologies, the two major Angolan independence movements ended up warring with each other, as well as with the Portuguese colonial government. In addition, as the war dragged on, the former Soviet Union and the United States became involved, thereby making Angola a front of the Cold War between the superpowers.

In Mozambique the Portuguese government was opposed by the Liberation Front of Mozambique (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, FRELIMO), and in West Africa the independence struggle was led by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC). By the mid-1970s the sustained efforts of all of these organizations, along with a regime change in Portugal, were responsible for achieving African independence for Portugal's former colonies.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: David Birmingham, *Portugal and Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years* (London: Longman, 1981).

Portuguese Guinea Low-lying West African coastal colony held by Portugal until independence, as GUINEA-BISSAU, in 1973. From the 15th century until 1879, Portuguese settlements and commercial activities on the West African mainland were administered from the CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, located about 500 miles (805 km) off the coast of Portuguese Guinea. In 1879, however, Portugal established a new administrative center on the island of Bolama, off the mainland coast, and began running colonial trading stations from there.

The territory of Portuguese Guinea was occupied by several African ethnic groups, including the Balanta, on the coast, and the Fula, MANDINKA, Manjaca, and Pepel in the interior. The Portuguese colony included the 30-plus islands of the Bijagos Archipelago but was surrounded on all sides by French-claimed territory. Following the Portuguese abolition of the SLAVE TRADE, in 1869, GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), RUBBER, wax, and ivory became the main colonial trade items.

From the time of its founding, Portuguese Guinea was the site of often brutal efforts by the Portuguese to establish colonial control in the interior regions. Decades of repression and mistreatment erupted in nationalist sentiments after World War II (1939–45), with Africans calling for an end to European COLONIAL RULE. The Portuguese were not compliant, however, and in the mid-1950s Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973) formed the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Partido Africano de Independencia de Guine e Capo Verde, PAIGC) and began an armed insurgency against Portuguese government forces.

The regional war continued into the 1970s, with the PAIGC finally declaring independence in 1973. The declaration was ratified in 1974, and the former colony took the name Guinea-Bissau. Amílcar Cabral, the longtime PAIGC leader, had been assassinated early in 1973. As a result, prior to independence, Amílcar's half-brother, Luis Cabral (1931–   ), who was also the PAIGC deputy secretary, was elected Guinea-Bissau's first president.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years* (Harlow, U.K.: Longman, 1981).

Prempeh I, Agyeman (Nana Agyeman Prempeh I, Nana Kwaku Dua III) (1870–1931) *The 13th* asantehene *(king) of the Ashanti in Ghana*

Known for resisting British colonial overtures, Agyeman Prempeh I ruled the ASHANTI EMPIRE, in present-day

GHANA, from 1888 until his death in 1931. He assumed the throne after a bitter five-year civil war to crown the successor to Kwaku Dua II, who died, in 1884, after a 40-day reign. The war pitted Prempeh's supporters, who included Yaa ASANTEWA (1850–1921), a powerful queen mother of one of the states of the confederation, against a group of Ashanti king-makers supporting Prempeh's cousin, Yaw Atwereboana, who they thought would seek closer ties with the British colonial administration. This attitude alienated the majority of the Ashanti people, who had been waging war against Britain for decades, and Agyeman Prempeh I finally assumed power in 1888. The Ashanti struggled to maintain independence until, in 1896, a British expeditionary force attacked KUMASI, the Ashanti capital, arresting Prempeh in the process. A year later, the British claimed the territory as part of their Gold Coast PROTECTORATE.

Violence flared again in 1900, when British colonial governor Sir Arnold Hodgson demanded to sit on the Ashanti Golden Stool, the sacred symbol of Ashanti sovereignty. In light of this grave insult, Ashanti insurgents, led by Yaa Asantewa, who was acting as queen mother, attacked and destroyed the British fort in Kumasi. Britain, which had long struggled to subdue the proud and independent Ashanti people, responded to the attack with its full imperial force, crushing the uprising and declaring the Ashanti kingdom a British colony in 1901.

Prempeh, who remained in British custody, chose exile over subjecting his people to a protracted war against the heavily armed British forces. Originally he was imprisoned in Elmina Castle on the southern coast of Ghana, and then, in 1897, he was sent to SIERRA LEONE, where a continuous flow of Ashanti visitors caused the British to move him again, this time to the remote island of SEYCHELLES, in the Indian Ocean. There he began compiling *The History of Ashanti Kings,* an important English text for understanding the history of the Ashanti kingdom.

Yaa Asantewa was the most important source for *The History of Ashanti Kings.* A member of the Ashanti royal dynasty, she possessed extensive knowledge of the oral history of her lineage, which she shared with Prempeh when they were both in exile on Seychelles.

By the early 1920s various organizations had convinced the British that Prempeh no longer represented a serious threat to the administration of the GOLD COAST COLONY and that it would be in their best interest to release him. In November of 1924 Prempeh returned to Kumasi

from Seychelles to a hero's welcome. The British recognized him only as the chief of Kumasi, but the Ashanti people treated him as true royalty. Prempeh lived in circumstances befitting his royal stature until his death in 1931. He was succeeded by his nephew Osei Tutu Agyeman Prempeh II (r. 1931–1970).

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); GOLDEN STOOL (Vol. III); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Agyeman Prempeh, E. Akyeampong, A. Adu Boahen, N. Lawler, T. C. McCaskie, I. Wilks, eds., *The History of Ashanti Kings and the Whole Country Itself and Other Writings* (London: British Academy, 2003).

Présence Africaine Literary journal dedicated to fostering the writings of black Africans. Established in 1947 by Senegalese author Alioune DIOP (1910–1980), *Présence Africaine* has been committed to the publication of works by black African intellectuals and others within the AFRICAN DIASPORA, regardless of philosophy or politics. In the 1950s *Présence Africaine* became one of the chief voices for NÉGRITUDE, the pan-Africanist literary movement. Authors whose work appeared in the journal not only gave expression to the value of their African culture and heritage, but also revitalized pan-Africanist goals.

***Présence Africaine* advertises that "Since 1941, Africans, Madagascans, and West Indians in Paris have been preoccupied with affirming the 'presence' or ethos of the coloured communities of the world, defending the originality of their way of life and the dignity of the culture."**

At first *Présence Africaine* received validation on the world stage by virtue of its editorial committee, which included the well-known European intellectuals Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, Emmanuel Mournier, and André Gide. In time, however, the white, European editors were discreetly dropped in favor of French- and English-speaking black Africans.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vol. IV).

Pretoria Administrative capital of SOUTH AFRICA, located in the north-central part of the country in what is now Gauteng Province. By 1855 migrants of the Great Boer Trek had established themselves in the TRANSVAAL

region and had begun to see the need for an established capital to function as a center of Boer influence. Marthinus W. Pretorius (1819–1910), who later served as the first president of the South African Republic (1857–77), founded the city of Pretoria in response. He named it after his father, Andries Pretorius (1798–1853), one of the prominent leaders of the Great Trek.

In 1938 Afrikaner nationalists commemorated the centenary of the Great Boer Trek with a reenactment involving columns of ox-drawn Boer wagons. Coming from across the country, the wagons converged on the newly erected Voortrekker Monument, which stood on a prominent hill on the southern edge of Pretoria. The famous Battle of Blood River, in which Andries Pretorius defeated a ZULU force 20 times the size of his own, is commemorated in bas-relief on the stone wall surrounding the monument. In the years following the centennial celebration, the monument became a significant physical reminder of Afrikaner nationalist history, playing a key role in preserving and promoting it.

In 1860 Pretoria became the capital of the South African Republic. However, it remained a small frontier town with residents numbering fewer than 5,000 until the discovery of GOLD on the WITWATERSRAND in the 1880s. Indeed, even in the aftermath of the MINERAL REVOLUTION—and despite rail lines that, by 1894, linked it directly to both CAPE TOWN and DELAGOA BAY—Pretoria continued to grow slowly. As a result, in contrast to the booming MINING center of JOHANNESBURG barely 31 miles (50 km) to the south, Pretoria remained an AFRIKAANS-speaking city rooted in its Boer past. Its role as the capital of an independent Afrikaner state ended in 1900, when British forces captured it in the course of the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902). The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of VEREENIGING at Melrose House, which still is one of Pretoria's important historic sites.

In 1910, Pretoria, with a population of about 55,000 people, became the administrative capital of the newly formed UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. The impressive Union Buildings, designed by Sir Herbert Baker (1862–1946), one of the foremost architects of his day, were built to house the country's administrative office.

Pretoria grew much more rapidly once it became a national capital, with a city center devoted to government offices as well as numerous commercial and industrial enterprises. It was a highly segregated city, however, with separate residential areas for whites, Africans, and Asians. This segregation became even more pronounced in 1948, with the introduction of APARTHEID laws. By 1960 the population of the city proper was 303,700, with an additional 120,000 in the adjoining black, urban townships.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); AFRIKANERS (Vols. IV, V); ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); BOERS (Vols. III, IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GREAT BOER TREK (Vol. III); PRETORIA (Vol. V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Further readings: Joy Collier, *The Purple and the Gold: The Story of Pretoria and Johannesburg* (Cape Town, South Africa: Longmans, 1965).

prophets and prophetic movements Beginning in the latter half of the 19th century, it became increasingly common for African individuals to emerge as prophets, beginning religious movements that continued after their death. These prophets, who claimed to have been directed by God to preach to their people, generally combined elements of indigenous RELIGION with Christianity, which had been introduced by European MISSIONARIES. Often the prophetic movements attracted large numbers of people who no longer found the answers they were seeking in older religious beliefs but also found that the Christian message as preached by the missionaries left something to be desired.

See CHIMURENGA; CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF; HARRIS, WILLIAM WADE; KIMBANGU, SIMON; KINJIKITILE; LENSHINA, ALICE; MARANKE, JOHN; NONGQAWUSE; SHEMBE, ISAIAH; TANI, MAAME HARRIS "GRACE."

See also: PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. V).

protectorate Political relationship in which one state surrenders a portion of its sovereignty to another while usually retaining some control over internal governance. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many African lands were designated as protectorates by the European colonial powers. Typically the relationship resulted in the colonial power exerting its will over the protectorate in issues regarding foreign affairs and commercial enterprises. A protectorate differed from a colony in that it was technically separate from the protector and ostensibly retained some rights of self-government. Frequently, however, becoming a protectorate was only an intermediate stage on the road to annexation and complete loss of sovereignty.

See also: BERLIN CONFERENCE (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV); TRUST TERRITORY (Vol. IV).

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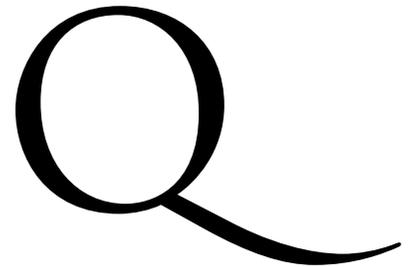
Quatre Communes French term meaning "four communes" or "four townships," referring to the western SENEGAL ports of DAKAR and Rufisque, the island of Gorée, and the island city of St-Louis. In the 1870s the French began extending voting rights to all male inhabitants of their colonies, and by 1887 the Quatre Communes were incorporated as French territories, with representation in the French Chamber of Deputies.

Senegal's political situation was complex throughout the 19th and into the 20th century. In the first half of the 19th century, the ports of Saint-Louis and Gorée—essentially the extent of the French holdings in West Africa—were busy centers of the French trade in captives and gum-arabic. (Dakar and Rufisque went largely undeveloped until the late 19th century.) By 1848, however, the French had outlawed the trade in human captives and extended some rights of French citizenship to the inhabitants of their colonial territories in Senegal.

The French term *commune,* the second word of Quatre Communes, indicates a French political division known as a *commune de plein exercice.* This was a municipality that exercised full representation at the French Assembly in Paris.

In 1854 Louis FAIDHERBE (1818–1889) became governor of France's colonies in Senegal, and French colonial operations soon expanded. French incursions into the Muslim-dominated interior regions made the political situation even more complex, with some citizens given rights of French citizenship while others were ruled by whatever system of government was already in place. By the late 1850s the French had begun to develop Dakar in order to export GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) back to Europe. After the completion of the Dakar–to– Saint-Louis railroad, in the mid-1880s, Dakar's growth exploded, and in 1902 Dakar replaced Saint-Louis as the administrative capital of FRENCH WEST AFRICA. Rufisque, located a few miles down the coast from Dakar, prospered along with the new capital.

In the decade leading up to World War I (1914–18), the French maneuvered to revoke some of the civil rights of the Senegalese people, especially Muslims. However, in spite of this, Blaise DIAGNE (c. 1872–1934), the first black African to be elected to the French Assembly, led the nation's efforts to support France in the war, recruiting upwards of 180,000 African troops to fight on the European continent.

During World War II (1939–45), when France was occupied by German forces, the collaborationist Vichy government in France stripped the people of the Quatre Communes of most of their civil rights. After the Allied victory, however, the French restored civil and political rights to what they had been before the war. Postwar politics in the Quatre Communes was dominated by Lamine GUÈYE (1891–1968) and Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001), who, in 1960, led the nation to independence.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

R

Rabearivelo, Jean-Joseph (1901–1937) *Malagasy poet from Madagascar*

Rabearivelo was born into an aristocratic MERINA family in Antananarivo, MADAGASCAR. French COLONIAL RULE had impoverished Madagascar's elite, however, and Rabearivelo grew up relatively poor. From an early age, he was an avid reader of French literature, which gave him an intense desire to go to France. He never had the opportunity to leave Madagascar, however.

In 1923 he became a proofreader at a small publishing house in Imerina, in the central highlands of Madagascar. That same year, Rabearivelo's first publication appeared in the journal *Anthropos,* and in 1931 he started his own journal, *Capricorne.* He also became a member of the prestigious Malagasy Academy and completed several acclaimed plays and volumes of poetry. Unlike many other African-born writers of his generation, Rabearivelo refrained from outward political activism in his poetry, preferring instead to focus on his dark and fractured interior world.

Despite his literary accomplishments, any rise in Rabearivelo's position or income was blocked by the oppressive French colonial administration. The administration finally offered to send him to France, but it rescinded the offer shortly thereafter. It is thought that this final insult precipitated Rabearivelo's suicide by poisoning on June 22, 1937.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Moradewun Adejunmobi, *Jean-Joseph Rabearivelo, Literature, and Lingua Franca in Colonial Madagascar* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996); Simon Gkandi, *Encyclopedia of African Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Rabih bin Fadlallah (Rabeh Zubair) (c. 1835–1900) *Muslim reformer and military empire builder in the Lake Chad region*

Rabih's military career began when he was a lieutenant of Rahma Mansur al-ZUBAYR (1830–1913), who was engaged in trading for ivory and slaves in the Bahr-al-Ghazal region of present-day southern Republic of the SUDAN. When the the Sudan's British administrator, General Charles George GORDON (1833–1885), moved against al-Zubayr in the efforts to suppress the SLAVE TRADE, Rabih found himself on his own, but with an army under his command.

Though he claimed that he supported Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1885) and his reform of Islam, Rabih was more of a military adventurer than a Muslim reformer. Setting out to build an empire for himself in the central sub-Saharan savanna, in 1892 he seized the capital of Bagirmi in present-day CHAD, and he then moved on to KANEM-BORNU. By 1896 he had completed its conquest and was in the process of building his own dynasty in Bornu when he in turn became ensnared in the European COLONIAL CONQUEST of this region. He had a strong and well-armed force of some 20,000 soldiers, and he was able to inflict a few defeats upon the French in early skirmishes with them. However, as was the case with other powerful contemporary leaders in the West African interior, such as SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900) and AHMADU SÉKOU (d. 1898), the European colonial forces were simply too powerful. Rabih died fighting the French in 1900, and Britain, France, and Germany divided his domains among their West African colonies of NIGERIA (Britain), Chad (France), and Kamerun (Germany).

See also: CHAD, LAKE (Vols. I, III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); PARTITION (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

race and racism   Race as a means of division is a social construct rather than a biological fact, for in biological terms, all human beings belong to a single race. Racism consists of the social interaction among humans involving and deriving from behaviors and attitudes that differentiate humans on the basis of the assumed existence of races.

Human societies have long viewed each other in what could be termed racial stereotypes, but these views usually were in terms of social characteristics. Thus, during much of the era of the SLAVE TRADE, Europeans often spoke of African societies as "primitive" and "savage" in contrast to their own supposed state of being "civilized." These were not, however, considered innate or immutable characteristics. As a result some early MISSIONARIES were able to accept as counterparts—if not exactly equals—people such as the Nigerian Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891) and the South African Tiyo SOGA (1829–1871) based on their educational accomplishments and their commitment to the Christian faith.

In the mid-19th century, however, views and beliefs about race took on a biological dimension. Central to this was the work of Charles Darwin (1809–1882), in particular his seminal work *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life,* which was published in 1859. While Darwin was referring to flora and fauna, not human beings, his explanation of the mechanism by which species evolved—natural selection—was embraced by those who wished to use race to explain the differences among human societies. The application of Darwin's ideas to human beings became known as Social Darwinism, with the social economist Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) and his notion of the "survival of the fittest" playing a particularly prominent role. Other writers of the time were also coming to similar conclusions, including Comte de Gobineau (1816–1882), who utilized a "scientific" concept of race to explain the rise and fall of civilizations. Dividing humanity into three races—black, yellow, and white—de Gobineau deemed whites the superior race and "pure," Aryan whites the most superior of all.

For Africa, the most significant aspect of these "modern" views of race was that they came to the fore during the late-19th-century surge of European imperialism that led to the PARTITION of Africa. For many Europeans the COLONIAL CONQUEST and COLONIAL RULE that followed needed an intellectual justification, something that Social Darwinism conveniently supplied. Simply put, whites alleged that blacks were biologically inferior and thus were incapable of ruling themselves. A corollary of that argument implied that whites had a moral responsibility to rule over Africans for their own good and welfare. This justification was expressed in Rudyard Kipling's pro-imperialist poem, The "White Man's Burden."

Africa's colonial rulers and the scholars who accompanied them cast everything about Africa in racial terms. For example, C. G. Seligman (1873–1940), an anthropologist writing in 1930, stated that the languages of West Africa consist of words that for the most part "are simply monosyllables . . . like the syllables in a child's first reading book." He also wrote that sub-Saharan history was "no more than the story of the permeation through the ages . . . of the Negro and Bushman aborigines by Hamitic blood and culture." He categorized these Hamites as Caucasians who were "the great civilizing force of black Africa" before the colonial period.

The racism that emerged from theses intellectualized views of human beings pervaded colonial rule. It could result in raw exploitation, as in the brutality associated with the Belgian interests in the CONGO FREE STATE or the harshness of APARTHEID in SOUTH AFRICA. It could also result in the type of indifference to human suffering that resulted in the tens of thousands of deaths from disease and neglect among African porters in the Carrier Corps in the East African theater of World War I (1914–18). A similar situation involved the thousands of Africans who died in building the railway from the coastal port of Pointe Noire to BRAZZAVILLE in the early 1930s. In its less harsh dimensions, racism guided the approach to administration in the colonies, in which Africans were treated as subjects and not citizens. In those colonies without significant numbers of European SETTLERS, this approach had a relatively benign side to it, expressed in notions of "trusteeship" and "association." However, in colonies with a large settler population, such views led to oppression of the indigenous black population. The unfair and demoralizing land alienation that characterized these colonies was but one example of this.

Africans responded vigorously to European views on race and the notions of racial superiority. African intellectuals such as Edward Wilmot BLYDEN (1832–1912) also used the idea of racial differences in arguments. However, they wrote about the past achievements of the "Negro race," its positive inherent attributes, and the values of its culture. At the same time, the Francophone intellectuals of the NÉGRITUDE movement followed much the same line of thought, asserting an African cultural identity intertwined with the legacy of French colonialism and embodied by a unique racial endowment. Taking the notion of black achievement still further, in the mid-20th century, the Senegalese historian and scientist Cheikh Anta DIOP (1923–1986) argued that ancient Egyptian civiliza-

tion was not of Caucasian descent, as the prevailing view at the time would have it, but instead black African at its core.

In the political arena, Africans such as Sol T. PLAATJE (1876–1932), Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), and Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) implicitly and explicitly rejected the racist assumptions that underlay colonial rule. They had little problem tapping into the anger Africans held over the humiliation they experienced at the hands of colonial administrators, businesspersons, missionaries, and settlers. Concurrently, LABOR leaders such as A. W. G. CHAMPION (1893–1975) and Clements KADALIE (1896–1951) were able to build LABOR UNIONS around African workers' demands for improved wages and working conditions as well as their resentment over racial slights and injustices.

Ideas of race—and the racism it engendered—were closely associated with the rise of colonialism, but they were also linked to its demise. Indeed the fatal weakness of colonialism was that defining the realities of the colonial situation in racial terms blinded those in positions of power. The colonialists' general failure to consider African views and desires led future African leaders such as Nigeria's Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996) to deny the legitimacy of colonial rule and demand political independence. This later led to the rise of African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS and eventually to the end of the colonial era.

See also: ANTHROPOLOGY AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); WHITE MAN'S BURDEN (Vol. IV).

radio Radio was introduced to most African countries because, as in the case of Britain, the European powers wanted to extend domestic radio broadcast systems to other countries within their spheres of influence. Colonial governments originally saw the radio as a propaganda tool rather than a means of development, and early broadcasts were in the languages of the respective European colonial powers.

The first radio broadcast in Africa occurred as part of a British Empire broadcasting experiment on December 19, 1932, in NIGERIA. On that day the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) inaugurated the world's first regularly scheduled shortwave overseas service. Because the broadcasts were in English, they were accessible only by the educated and affluent members of the population. Almost 10 years later, in ZAMBIA, the British first broadcast news in indigenous languages. During World War II (1939–45) they used local languages to report on the progress of Allied forces, many of whom were African. Though electrical service was rare in rural Africa, some chiefs did have radio sets powered by large batteries.

In the British colonies, two patterns of establishing radio stations emerged. The first was that of retransmitting programs from British Empire Broadcasting Service, and the second was that of setting up a station with its own programs. The British, who tended to centralize their broadcasting, used unified controlled short wave transmissions covering a large territory. The Portuguese, on the other hand, favored a decentralized system to serve individual provinces. The French used a mixture of regional and national broadcasting systems called *radio diffusion nationale*. Policies established by the respective colonial powers often were carried over in the countries that gained independence. For instance, both the British and French exercised state radio monopolies that the African governments perpetuated after independence.

The first popular radio that was affordable to many Africans was manufactured by Ever Ready in 1949. Called the "Saucepan Special"—the prototype was built in the shell of a metal saucepan—it became popular in African townships and rural areas despite its rather steep price of about $14. A decade later, the "Saucepan Special" was replaced by the transistor radio, which became so popular that people carried them everywhere, even to the fields and on social outings. The radio had such a major impact on the lives of many Africans that, instead of singing songs and telling fireside stories, they listened to radio programs and music from other parts of the world.

By 1955 there were more than 1 million radios in sub-Saharan Africa, and 10 years later that number exceeded 7 million. By the end of the 20th century there were more than 100 million radios in Africa.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV); RADIO AND TELEVISION (Vol. V); TELECOMMUNICATIONS (Vol. V).

Further reading: Richard Fardon and Graham Furniss, eds., *African Broadcast Cultures: Radio in Transition* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000); Graham Mytton, *Mass Communication in Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983).

recaptives Africans freed from slave ships intercepted by British navy patrols on the high seas off the coast of West Africa. Most recaptives were sent to FREETOWN, the capital of SIERRA LEONE, where they were considered free on arrival. A small number of recaptives also were delivered to LIBERIA, Sierra Leone's neighbor to the south. From 1807, when Britain outlawed its SLAVE TRADE, until 1870, more than 50,000 Africans were removed from slave ships and relocated to Sierra Leone.

Along with freed slaves from the United States; Nova Scotia, Canada; and islands in the West Indies, the recaptives formed a distinct class of society in Sierra Leone. Called *Krios,* members of this new group generally respected Western culture and took to the belief in EDUCATION and self-improvement. During the 20th century, the

children of educated recaptives comprised a formidable group that lobbied for African control of both church and state.

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Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891), the first African bishop of the Anglican church, was a recaptive originally from NIGERIA. Samuel JOHNSON (1853–1901), a noted YORUBA teacher, missionary, and historian, was the son of recaptive parents.

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See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); KRIO (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Akintola Wyse, *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An Interpretive History* (London: Hurst, 1989).

Reindorf, Carl (Reverend Carl Christian Reindorf) (1834–1917) *Ghanaian minister and Gold Coast historian*

Carl Reindorf was the son of Christian Reindorf (1806–1865), a merchant of Danish and Ga-Dangme parentage, and Anoa Ama (a.k.a. Hannah, 1811–1902), a Ga-Dangme woman from ACCRA, GHANA. In many ways, Reindorf's social background was thus representative of Accra, a city that evolved from Ga-Dangme and European roots and the place where Reindorf spent much of his life. In 1842 Reindorf enrolled in a Danish school at Christianborg Castle in Accra. He was baptized in 1844 and continued his education at the Presbyterian Basel mission. In 1855 he became a missionary, teaching Bible interpretation and literacy in Ga. He took the position of assistant teacher at Akropong Seminary in 1860 and went on to head the Basel middle school at Christianborg Castle.

While Britain was still struggling to establish its rule over the GOLD COAST COLONY (present-day Ghana), Reindorf served as an assistant surgeon during the Ada-Awuna War (1866) and the Ga-Akwamu War (1869–70) and was commended by Britain for his efforts. He was ordained as a full minister of the Presbyterian church in 1872, and he was appointed minister for the village of Mayera near Accra, where he founded a school for boys.

It was after his retirement in 1893 that Reindorf produced his most lasting achievement, *A History of the Gold Coast and Asante.* This extensive work covers Ghana's history beginning in the precolonial era to 1860, giving histories of not only the Ga-Dangme but also the Akwamu, Akyem, Fante, and Ashanti as well. Much of its content reflected what he had first learned as a child about Ga-Dangme culture and society from his paternal grandmother.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV, V); AKWAMU (Vol. III); AKYEM (Vols. II, III); DENMARK AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); FANTE (Vols. II, III); GA-DANGME (Vols. II, III); GOLD COAST (Vol. III); MISSIONARIES (Vol. IV); TRADING STATIONS, EUROPEAN (Vol. III).

religion During the colonial era, religion played a crucial role in determining the conditions of African societies and economies and, hence, African history.

African Traditional Religions The number of practitioners of African traditional religions declined as Islam and Christianity continued to spread inland from the coastal regions. Even so, African traditional religions were, and still are, popular and widely distributed throughout the continent. African animistic or traditional belief systems are so diverse that it is impossible to define them. The practice of traditional religions remains exceptionally strong in parts of West Africa, in parts of present-day MOZAMBIQUE, and in the southern region of the present-day Republic of the SUDAN.

Islam and Africa Because Islam came to the continent so early, many Africans consider it an indigenous religion. In the 19th century a great number of Africans converted to Islam for various reasons, often financial. In some cases, Muslims conquered an area and the indigenous people wanted to avoid paying an exorbitant tax levied on non-Muslims. Others wanted to gain access to the wealth generated by the long-distance trade that tended to exclude non-Muslims. Still others appreciated LITERACY in Arabic script—a skill often acquired as a feature of Islamic conversion—because it allowed them to keep better business or governmental records.

Of course there were those who genuinely preferred the Islamic religion. Africans found it relatively easy to accept Islam because it allowed for the incorporation of some of their existing customs and traditions into Islamic practice. In marriage, for example, many Africans believed that you could have as many wives as you could support and treat equitably; in traditional Islam, a man may have as many as four wives if he can support and treat them equitably.

In West Africa, where Islam already had a long history, Islamic brotherhoods provided people with a tool of social organization. For example, the various Islamic states controlled by the SOKOTO CALIPHATE or the TUKULOR EMPIRE would have been impossible to unify without the influence of Islamic Sufi brotherhoods. In the Sudan, the MAHDIYYA brotherhood organized significant anticolonialist resistance, as did the Sanusiyya brotherhood in ALGERIA and modern-day LIBYA. The Salihiyya brotherhood, led by MUHAMMAD ABDULLAH HASSAN (1864–1920), fought to keep Somaliland (present-day SOMALIA) free of Christian and European influence.

Christianity in Africa Christian MISSIONARIES, both Catholic and Protestant, were very active in Africa during the 19th century, especially in Central and southern Africa and along the west coast. Where they could gain the trust of the local African population, Europeans set up missions and set about converting people and spreading Western-style EDUCATION.

Similar to conversion to Islam, a number of Africans converted to Christianity for reasons other than faith. Some wanted access to the wealth associated with the long-distance European trading network, run primarily by Christians. Others, who observed the shift of power to the Europeans with better technology, foresaw that conversion to the new religion might allow them to participate in the spoils of governance. Still others appreciated the record-keeping potential of literacy in European and African languages. And, as with Islam, some converts truly preferred the tenets of Christianity to their original religion.

Unlike Islam, however, Christianity was not as readily adaptable to the African cultural profile. In the case of marriage, for example, the African norm was polygyny (more than one wife) while the Christian missionaries promoted monogamy (one man, one wife).

By the latter half of the 19th century, African missionaries were becoming more common, and the Anglican Church had consecrated its first African bishop, Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891), from NIGERIA. With the growing number of Christian communities, prophetic movements, too, emerged with more regularity.

Syncretism In the cases of both Islam and Christianity, Africans generally did not accept the outside religion exactly as it was. Instead they evaluated the new religion in terms of the one that they already knew and selected the things they liked about the new religion without completely renouncing their original religion. An example of this combination of religions, called *syncretism,* would be the practice of Muslims "protecting" themselves by wearing amulets containing Quranic scripture instead of indigenous fetishes. Another example is the identification with and combination of indigenous gods and Catholic saints.

In some cases the reasons for choosing Islam or Christianity were based on the participation of the religion's adherents in the SLAVE TRADE. Many indigenous people of West Africa chose Islam over Christianity because, in their experience, the slave traders had been Christian. However, in East Africa, many indigenous people chose Christianity over Islam because, for them, the majority of slave traders had been Muslim.

In addition to African traditional religious beliefs, Islam, and Christianity, there were other religions that had a presence on the continent in the colonial era. In ETHIOPIA, where Coptic Christianity dominates, the African Jewish community known as the BETA ISRAEL were a persecuted minority for centuries. Also, in 1875, Africa's first Hindu temple was built in DURBAN, in SOUTH AFRICA, to serve the large number of Indian Hindi laborers there.

See also: RELIGION (Vols. I, II, III, V); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SUFISM (Vol. IV).

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resistance and rebellion Actions by Africans included both overt forms of resistance against the initial COLONIAL CONQUEST and more covert resistance against COLONIAL RULE carried on during the decades of colonial administration. Africans resisted European efforts at establishing territorial control over their lands long before the era of PARTITION that began in the 1880s. In SOUTH AFRICA, for example, the XHOSA fought a series of nine Frontier Wars (1779–1878), first against Boer settlers and subsequently against the British colonial government of the CAPE COLONY.

When France embarked upon its conquest of ALGERIA in 1830, it achieved fairly rapid initial success against the provincial governors who had reported to the Ottoman Empire. In the Kabylia, however, the French then ran up against the strong resistance of the BERBERS, who undertook a bitter and prolonged 16-year struggle before finally surrendering in 1847. In what is today GHANA, the ASHANTI EMPIRE fought several major wars with Britain between 1824 and 1896 before finally capitulating. EGYPT witnessed the emergence of Colonel Ahmad URABI (1841–1911), who incited a popular movement for the protection of Egypt and the defense of Islam against the growing foreign presence. This led to a British military invasion in 1882, the defeat of Urabi, and Britain's annexation of Egypt.

The BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85) marked a fuller phase of European colonial conquest and expansion. It also initiated greater African resistance, which ranged

throughout the continent and varied in size and intensity. In the NIGER DELTA, for example, merchant princes such as JAJA (1821–1891) and NANA OLOMU (c. 1852–1916) fought and ultimately lost what amounted to trade wars against British merchants who were backed by the British Royal Navy and who wanted to break the African merchants' hold on trade with the Nigerian interior. France embarked on major military campaigns in the West African interior in hopes of adding vast tracts of territory to its empire. SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1910), who had begun building his own large, multiethnic, Muslim state in the 1860s, was one of those who, beginning in the late 1880s, fiercely resisted French expansion. He was finally captured in 1898.

Across the continent, African states large and small opposed the European colonial expansion. Sometimes they experienced temporary success on the battlefield, but only Emperor MENELIK II (1844–1913) of ETHIOPIA

was fully successful in his resistance, defeating an Italian army at the Battle of ADOWA, in 1896. By the eve of World War I (1914–18), the overt stage of African resistance was basically concluded, although Berber resistance in MOROCCO effectively fought off both the French and the Spanish for much of the 1920s.

The establishment of colonial rule, however, did not end African opposition against the Europeans occupying their lands. One of the earliest rebellions, occurring in 1896, was mounted by the NDEBELE and the SHONA against the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC). The BSAC, which only three years earlier had defeated the Ndebele kingdom, had great difficulty in suppressing this uprising, known as the CHIMURENGA. German colonial occupation faced major rebellions in both GERMAN EAST AFRICA (present-day TANZANIA) and SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA). The 1905–06 MAJI-MAJI REBELLION in

Police wielded clubs to disperse women during a demonstration in Durban, South Africa, in 1959. © *AP*

the former resulted in more than 200,000 African deaths from combat and famine. Meanwhile, in South West Africa, the HERERO revolt of 1904–07 forced Germany to call in 10,000 troops in order to quash it. There were many other such revolts of varying magnitude and success. Almost inevitably, however, the occupying colonial powers managed to suppress them. With the firm establishment of colonial administration, the rebellions seemed more and more hopeless and faded away.

The end of overt rebellions did not mark the end of resistance to the colonial takeover. Instead Africans adopted more covert forms of resistance that occasionally resulted in overt violence. Colonial TAXATION often provoked resistance. In southeastern NIGERIA, for example, in what has become knows as the ABA WOMEN'S REVOLT (1929–1930), local women mounted a strong protest against the threat of new taxes. Typical of the reaction of the colonial authorities, the police were called in force to suppress the Nigerian women. The compulsory growing of CASH CROPS led to more subtle forms of resistance. For example, MOZAMBIQUE peasants often would boil COTTON seeds before planting them, causing the crop to fail. This would enable them to spend their time growing FOOD CROPS for their own consumption instead of cotton, which was labor-intensive and produced very little profit.

The formation of LABOR UNIONS, through which Afri-can workers sought to improve their incomes and working conditions, constituted a form of resistance as well. For instance, by the early 1920s Egyptian workers had begun to agitate for eight-hour workdays and the right to organize and bargain collectively, as well as other rights enjoyed by workers in Europe. Some of the earliest strikes took place in 1924. As Egypt became increasingly industrialized, especially after 1930, worker militancy grew accordingly. Shortly after World War II (1939–45) a series of strikes gripped the country, with the colonial administration calling in both the police and the army to suppress them. Such LABOR militancy and unrest were part of the country's wider economic and social problems that led, in 1952, to the military overthrow of the Egyptian puppet monarchy and the establishment of Egypt as a republic.

Africans also expressed their discontent with colonial rule through RELIGION. While not necessarily overtly political in the way that tax protests could be, religion could lead to direct open resistance, as in the case of the LUMPA CHURCH. When the church's founder, Alice LENSHINA (1924–1978), first began to preach, she addressed social ills in a way that challenged white-missionary authority. By the late colonial period, however, her church was challenging the right of the NORTHERN RHODESIA colonial authorities to tax church members. Lenshina was never imprisoned, but in 1921 colonial authorities in the neighboring BELGIAN CONGO did arrest Simon KIMBANGU (c. 1887–1951), fearing that his preaching was generating opposition to their control. He remained in prison the rest of his life.

Neither resistance nor rebellion was able to halt or overthrow colonial rule, but such actions served to undermine and weaken it. In this way, at least, they helped pave the way for the emergence of the African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS that in many ways embodied the same spirit.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Clifton C. Crais, et al., eds., *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1779–1865* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Réunion Island   French island located in the Indian Ocean and measuring about 970 square miles (2,512 sq km). Part of the Mascarene Archipelago, Réunion is located roughly 420 miles (680 km) east of MADAGASCAR and 110 miles (180 km) southwest of MAURITIUS.

Britain seized Réunion during the Napoleonic Wars (1805–15), along with Mauritius and the SEYCHELLES, but returned it to France as part of the 1815 Treaty of Paris. Under British rule, sugarcane was introduced to the island, and Réunion quickly became a mono-crop economy run by an elite class of sugar barons, with most of the arable land devoted to sugar production.

Britain led the campaign to abolish SLAVERY in Réunion and Mauritius in the 1830s, leading France to bring in indentured laborers from Asia to work the sugar plantations. The presence of Asians led to the emergence of a highly diversified, Creole-speaking population. However, French remained the official LANGUAGE, and the islanders tended to be Catholic in their religious persuasion due to the presence of French MISSIONARIES.

During the reign of French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), Réunion was known as Bonaparte Island.

The 1869 opening of the SUEZ CANAL marked the end of Réunion's economic success, as the island gradually ceased to be an important shipping center. In 1946 the island became a French *département,* similar to a county or state, and Saint-Denis was named its capital. Though calls for independence have occasionally unsettled Réunion, the island remains, for the most part, content with its strong ties to France.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MONO-CROP ECONOMIES (Vol. IV); RÉUNION ISLAND (Vols. III, V).

Rhodes, Cecil (Cecil John Rhodes) (1853–1902)
Financier and British empire builder

One of the more colorful—and controversial—figures of the colonial period in Africa, Cecil Rhodes was a prospector, financier, politician, and architect of imperialism, playing the game of statecraft with both astonishing success and failure. While his efforts resulted in the acquisition of enormous amounts of wealth and territory for Britain, they fell short of his goal of complete British domination of Africa "from Cape to Cairo."

Early Life Born July 5, 1853, Rhodes was the son of an Anglican clergyman. Suffering from poor health, he was sent to the warm climes of Africa, where he was to join his brother, Herbert (1845–1879), on a COTTON farm in NATAL. Arriving there at the age of 17, he found that Herbert had left for the newly discovered diamond fields near KIMBERLEY. In time, Herbert returned, and the two brothers attempted to make a viable venture out of the farm. It did not take long for it to become clear that the diamond fields held a better chance of success for the brothers. Indeed, his various business ventures relating to DIAMOND MINING proved so lucrative that, by the time he was 20, Cecil Rhodes had made himself a substantial fortune.

Cecil Rhodes never abandoned his belief that a proper education was important, personally, professionally, and socially. In 1873 he returned to England and enrolled in Oxford University. He then divided his time between Kimberley and Oxford, completing his university studies while simultaneously amassing incredible wealth.

Rhodes as Financier The secret of Rhodes's diamond fortune lay not in multiple individual discoveries. Instead he did what so many 19th-century tycoons did, creating a monopoly that controlled virtually all aspects in the production of a given commodity. During the 1870s and 1880s, in the early stages of his career, Rhodes formed partnerships with others like himself—prospectors and owners of small mines. He eventually united these small holdings into DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD., an organization that controlled a substantial amount of the MINING industry in southern Africa. Rhodes then acquired the only competing organization of size, the Kimberley Mine of Barney Barnato (1852–1897), taking control of it in 1888. This allowed

Rhodes to dominate virtually all of Kimberley's diamond production. When GOLD was discovered in the TRANSVAAL, in the mid-1880s, he quickly acquired large stakes in those mines as well, although he never established the commanding position in gold mining that he did with DIAMONDS.

So complete was Rhodes's monopoly, that by 1891 he controlled 90 percent of the world's known diamond production.

Politics and Statecraft Unlike some other tycoons who entered politics later in life and only after amassing their fortunes, Rhodes's financial and political careers moved in lockstep almost from the beginning. To Rhodes, politics was seen as a means of both building his own personal wealth and increasing the size of the British Empire. From his youth Rhodes was a committed imperialist who envisioned British domination reaching not only across Africa, but across the entire globe. The fact that the spread of British power could also increase his own wealth was to him simply a matter of good fortune.

Rhodes began his political career in 1881, when he was elected to the CAPE COLONY Parliament. As one of the richest individuals in southern Africa, he was then able to use his political position as a stepping stone to even more power. In 1882 he served on a commission whose task it was to bring peace to fractious BASUTOLAND. There he encountered the famous General Charles George GORDON (1833–1885), who impressed Rhodes with his ability to get his way, not necessarily by military force, but through meetings with African leaders. It was a lesson that Rhodes himself would try to apply, with mixed success, throughout his career.

Early on, Rhodes began to envision a "Cape-to-Cairo" corridor of British dominance, an area that would open vast areas of mineral and other wealth to British settlement, as well as help Britain control much of Africa. Standing in his way, however, were not only African governments and leaders, but also Belgians, Germans, and other Europeans who had joined the scramble for African colonies. Hoping to achieve his goal through negotiation, Rhodes helped forge several agreements between Africans, BOERS, and British interests in BECHUANALAND (today's BOTSWANA), from 1882 to 1885. Some agreements managed to solve crises of the moment; others left hanging issues that were not resolved until after the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902). In 1888, after several years of careful preparations, Rhodes persuaded King LOBENGULA (1836–1894) to concede exclusive mining rights in his Mate-

beleland kingdom to Rhodes. Rhodes then quickly secured a charter for a new business venture, the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY, to develop the territory. Now having what was, in effect, total control of this vast territory, in 1890 Rhodes sent pioneers into both Matebeleland and Mashonaland (the two major areas of what is now ZIMBABWE), which were soon renamed Rhodesia in his honor.

From 1890 to 1895 Rhodes served as prime minister of the CAPE COLONY. One of the most significant pieces of legislation he introduced prefigured the Bantustans of the later APARTHEID era. He also moved to limit the already restricted franchise rights of Africans. When it came to the Boers of the Cape Colony, he proved particularly adept at diplomatically bridging the gaping division between them and the English-speaking settlers of the Colony.

During this period Rhodes had frequent dealings with Paul KRUGER (1825–1904), at the time president of the TRANSVAAL, who was fiercely opposed to any political rights for either British settlers, who were dubbed UITLANDERS (foreigners), or black Africans. Kruger was intent on maintaining Boer control of his state's internal politics and its autonomy from any British imperial encroachment. Kruger had managed to close off most of the open routes through the Transvaal, extracting heavy customs duties on all goods entering or transiting the state. This policy outraged Rhodes, who was eager to gain access to the supposed gold fields that lay north of the Limpopo River in present-day Zimbabwe. He became increasingly eager to take action against Kruger and the Boers. This, combined with his desire to relieve what he alleged to be injustices perpetrated against the Uitlanders in Boer territory, led Rhodes to disaster.

The Jameson Raid   On December 29, 1895, Rhodes's hand-picked administrator of the Matebele territories, Leander Starr Jameson (1853–1917), launched a military attack, appropriately called the JAMESON RAID, into the Transvaal. Although the action was ostensibly taken in order to protect the Uitlanders from persecution, in truth, it was a maneuver intended to force the Uitlanders to rise in rebellion against the Boers in order to establish British control over the Transvaal and its gold-mining region. The Uitlanders did not respond, however, and the invaders were quickly routed, with the entire band either killed or captured.

Ultimately Jameson and his cohorts were tried and sent to prison, the Boers strengthened their hold over the Transvaal, and Rhodes was forced to resign as prime minister of the Cape Colony.

Rhodes's Final Years   The remainder of Rhodes's life was marked more by failure and bitterness than his earlier success. In 1896 he took part in the suppression of a revolt in Matebeleland by helping to negotiate a settlement with NDEBELE leaders. But after that, no longer holding any direct political power, he was forced

to concentrate his energies on developing the region that bore his name. On a personal level the situation was equally bleak. Although he never married, Rhodes became involved in scandals centering around a notorious Russian adventuress, Princess Catherine Radziwill (1858– 1941), who was eventually sent to prison after forging documents in Rhodes's name. Afflicted with heart disease, Rhodes was physically unable to play much of a part in the Anglo-Boer War, though he was involved in the siege at Kimberley. Nor did he live to see the end of that conflict, which, ironically, brought Britain the full control of South Africa that Rhodes had desired for so long. He died at home in a seaside suburb of CAPE TOWN in 1902.

Rhodes's will left the bulk of his fortune for philanthropic uses, in particular for the famous Rhodes Scholarships that financed study at Oxford for students from the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Germany. For many years only white males were eligible to apply.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); AFRIKANERS (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. (IV) PARTITION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Robert Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Antony Thomas, *Rhodes: Race for Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

Rif (Riff)   Rugged mountainous area in northern MOROCCO that became a stronghold of Berber resistance to Spanish and French colonial governments; also the name given to the Berber resistors. Bounded by the Mediterranean to the north and the Rif Mountains to the south, the Rif region covers a stretch of northern Morocco from Tangier, near the Strait of Gibraltar, to the western border with ALGERIA. Historically the region was the home of various independent Berber peoples, most of whom traded and practiced limited subsistence farming of figs and olives.

In 1893, fearing further encroachment by Spaniards into their territory, fierce Berber forces from throughout the Rif attacked the Spanish settlement at Melilla, on the Mediterranean coast. Spain responded by sending 25,000 troops to push the BERBERS back into the mountains. To keep peaceful relations with Spain, the Moroccan sultan agreed to make reparations and vowed to help suppress the Rif in the future.

The 1912 Treaty of Fez divided Morocco into a
southern French Zone and a northern Spanish Zone. This
demarcation did little to change the political situation in
the region, however, and the pattern of Berber resistance
in the Rif continued. The militant leader Ahmad al-
Raisuli (d. 1925) began calling for the removal of Spanish
troops. He had previously been a Spain-appointed gover-
nor in northern Morocco, but when Spain began expand-
ing its territorial claims in the Rif, al-Raisuli led attacks
against the Spanish forces in and around Melilla, begin-
ning in 1919.

Al-Raisuli eventually surrendered to Spanish authori-
ties in 1922, after which time he actually fought along-
side the Spanish against the forces of his longtime rival,
Mohamed ben ABD EL-KRIM (c. 1880–1963), a Berber mil-
itary commander and respected scholar who was success-
fully organizing forces to impede the movement of
Spanish troops throughout Rif. In 1921–22 Spain sent a
battalion to subdue Abd el-Krim, but his forces destroyed
the Spanish troops, numbering almost 20,000, igniting
what would come to be known as the War of Melilla, or
the Rif War. Following his victory, in 1923 Abd el-Krim
declared an independent Islamic Rif Republic in the
Spanish-occupied territory.

The army of the Republic of the Rif was highly orga-
nized and fought with state-of-the-art weapons, including
machine guns and mountain howitzers, and by 1924 Abd
el-Krim's military successes had caused Spain to with-
draw its troops from the Moroccan interior to concentrate
on defending its coastal enclaves.

In an attempt to solidify the legitimacy of his re-
public, Abd el-Krim assembled a legislature, tried
to get diplomatic recognition from Britain and
France, and even negotiated with European compa-
nies to offer them MINING rights in the Rif. The
fledgling nation's hopes were dashed, however, as
numerous international treaties had secured Spain's
international claims to the territory.

Despite the early success of the Rifi—Berber inhabi-
tants of the Rif—against the Spanish in the north, their
short-lived republic began unraveling when they attempted
to rid the southern region of French occupation. In short
order, the French and Spanish combined their forces to
secure the Melilla port and force Abd el-Krim to fight on
both northern and southern fronts. As a testament to
their organization and fierceness, the Berber forces man-
aged to engage upwards of 300,000 combined Spanish
and French troops in the Rif. In the end, however, Abd
el-Krim surrendered to the French, in 1926, and was ex-
iled to RÉUNION Island, a French territory in the Indian
Ocean. After its defeat the Republic of the Rif disinte-
grated, and the Spanish resumed their relatively peaceful
occupation of the region until the Spanish Civil War
(1936–39), during which time Generalissimo Francisco
Franco (1892–1975) used northern Morocco to launch
attacks against the Spanish Republic.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND
AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol.
IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Jose E. Alvarez, *The Betrothed of
Death: The Spanish Foreign Legion During the Rif Rebellion,
1920–1927* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing
Group, 2001).

Río de Oro See WESTERN SAHARA.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vol. III); RÍO DE
ORO (Vol. II); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); DAKHLA
(Vol. V).

Robert, Shaaban (1909–1962) *Tanzanian poet and es-
sayist*

Robert was born near Tanga, in GERMAN EAST AFRICA
(present-day TANZANIA). Although his father was Chris-
tian, Robert followed the Islamic faith. While Robert's life
is not well documented, his work helped establish a mod-
ern literary style for the KISWAHILI language while also
preserving traditional African verse forms. He mixed these
traditional forms with experimental ones and often used
the *utendi* verse form, which was reserved for narration
and didactic themes. In this way he served to link classi-
cal and modern Swahili literature. Among Robert's works
are *Kufikirika* (The conceivable world) (1946), *Maisha
yangu* (My life) (1949), *Maisha ya Siti Binti Saad, mwim-
baji wa Unguja* (Life of Siti Binti Saad, poetess of Zanz-
ibar) (1958), and *Insha ya mashairi* (Essays and poems)
(1959). While writing for much of his adult life, he sup-
ported himself by working as a civil servant for the
British colonial government of TANGANYIKA. A govern-
ment monthly published many of his poems. Robert died
in DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania, in 1962. A volume of his
complete works, entitled *Diwani ya Shaaban,* was pub-
lished posthumously in 1966.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV);
SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III).

Roberts, Joseph J. (Joseph Jenkins Roberts)

(1809–1876)   *American-born statesman and independent Liberia's first president*

Born a free black in Norfolk, Virginia, Joseph J. Roberts trained as a boatman, shuttling goods between Norfolk and Petersburg, Virginia. After his father died his mother and six siblings emigrated to LIBERIA, on the West African coast, in 1829. The family built a house on their allotted land and established a successful store in MONROVIA, supplying traders with PALM OIL, hides, wood, and ivory.

At the age of 24, Roberts was named high sheriff of the colony by the American Colonization Society, which oversaw the administration of Liberia. As sheriff he helped to collect taxes and keep the peace between colonists and the indigenous African peoples who lived near the Monrovia settlement. Following his success as sheriff, in 1839 Roberts was selected as the colony's lieutenant governor. A year later, following the death of Liberia's white governor, Thomas Buchanan (the brother of future U.S. president James Buchanan), Roberts became Liberia's first black governor.

Both Britain and France had colonial interests on the coast of West Africa (territories that would later become SIERRA LEONE and IVORY COAST, respectively), but neither country recognized Liberia as an independent nation. Seeing that this could lead to territorial disputes, Roberts and the American Colonization Society decided that the colony should become an independent republic. In 1846 the Liberian legislature voted in favor of independence, and Governor Roberts won the colony's first election to become the first president of the Republic of Liberia. Roberts sailed to Europe to get formal recognition of his new republic, and by 1849 Britain, Belgium, and France all recognized Liberia and established diplomatic ties. The United States officially recognized Liberia much later, in 1862.

After securing international recognition, Roberts's next order of business was to establish Liberia's borders, which he did through negotiations with indigenous rulers in the region. Roberts smartly gave some of these rulers positions in the republic's legislature, which gave him greater leverage in local disputes, including his attempts to curtail the illegal SLAVE TRADE that continued in the interior. After four terms as president, Roberts declined a fifth term, and Stephen Benson (1816–1865) assumed the presidency in 1855.

For the next 15 years Roberts served as a major general in the small Liberian army and as a respected foreign diplomat to France and Britain. He also helped establish Liberia College in 1856, serving as its first president and teaching classes in jurisprudence and international law. In 1871 Edward J. Roye (1815–1871), the incumbent president of Liberia, was removed following an embezzlement scandal, and Roberts was again asked to lead the country. He served out a sixth term as president before his death in 1876. Roberts's birthday, March 15, is celebrated as a national holiday in Liberia.

See also: UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Royal Niger Company

One of a number of CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES that European powers utilized to establish colonial footholds in Africa. The Royal Niger Company (RNC) began operation in the NIGER DELTA in the 1870s, trading in commodities such as PALM OIL, palm kernels, and other CASH CROPS.

The origins of Royal Niger Company lay with George GOLDIE (1846–1925), one of a number of British merchants trading in the lower Niger region. In 1879 he organized the UNITED AFRICA COMPANY to further his trading operations, changing its name to the National Africa Company in 1882. It became the Royal Niger Company in 1886, when it received a British charter that provided British military protection and the rights to secure and administer any territories obtained through negotiations with local rulers. The company then took over the administration of Britain's Oil Rivers PROTECTORATE, with the exception of the Niger Delta, which was under the control of the Liverpool traders. The Company established its headquarters at Asaba, which was located inland on the lower Niger River.

Competing with French and German entrepreneurs, Goldie and his agents secured trading agreements with peoples located along the Niger and Benue rivers, in present-day NIGERIA. By establishing a network of trading stations along the navigable waterways in the interior, Goldie broke long-term trading agreements between European merchants and coastal African rulers that had restricted foreigners to trading at the region's ports. The company governed the territory that it controlled by administering a rudimentary justice system, which it supported with gunboats. Although Goldie's charter was based on free trade in the Niger Basin, he imposed tariffs on non-British goods and seized smuggled goods, punishing purchasers who lived in areas under RNC control. The RNC also supported MISSIONARIES and enforced the anti-slave-trade efforts of Britain. The company extended its area of operation into northern Nigeria when it secured agreements with the SOKOTO CALIPHATE in 1884 and with Borgu in 1894.

The growing rivalry between Britain and France during the process of PARTITION led British prime minister Lord SALISBURY (1830–1903) to conclude that the British government would have to directly take over colonial administration in Nigeria if Britain was to retain control of this important region. Thus in 1900 the RNC surrendered its administrative role to British colonial authorities. It received full compensation for its administrative infrastructure and half the royalties on all minerals produced in Nigeria for the following 99 years.

See also: BORGU (Vol. III); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Geoffrey L. Baker, *Trade Winds on the Niger: The Saga of the Royal Niger Company 1830–1971* (London: Radcliffe Press, 1997).

Ruanda-Urundi Region wtihin GERMAN EAST AFRICA that came under Belgian administration as a League of Nations MANDATE following World War I (1914–18). In 1962 the territory was split to form the present-day nations of RWANDA and BURUNDI.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

rubber Elastic substance harvested from tropical trees. In colonial Africa, rubber collected in the wild was a highly valued commodity. Africans traded rubber with Europeans prior to the colonial era. In 1840, however, the process of vulcanization was discovered, allowing for many industrial uses that were previously impossible. By the 1890s both the demand and the uses for rubber were increasing rapidly, and European CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES rushed to the CONGO FREE STATE and FRENCH WEST AFRICA to stake claims on territories where wild rubber trees grew.

Using forced LABOR schemes, companies marched African laborers into the forest to collect the sap from wild rubber trees and vines. As the sap coagulated, or hardened, it was rolled into balls for easy TRANSPORTATION.

Rubber collectors are seen at work in French Equatorial Africa in 1943. © *Library of Congress*

Africans in the Congo Free State who failed or refused to meet unrealistically high production quotas were beaten, mutilated, and even murdered. The crimes perpetrated by Europeans in Congo Free State made that colony a symbol of colonial abuse.

In West Africa—especially in GUINEA, IVORY COAST, and SIERRA LEONE—wild rubber was typically harvested by local workers and sold to European export companies at prices that were kept artificially low by the British administration. By 1900 Britain was importing as much as 20,000 tons of wild African rubber.

Harvesting rubber can kill the tree. During the colonial period, European companies looking for cheap rubber and hardwoods contributed to the degradation of Africa's tropical forests that continues to this day.

The market for African rubber began to decline about 1910, when Asia began producing the commodity more cheaply. In Malaysia the collection of rubber sap on Britain's colonial plantations required far less labor and time than what was required for harvesting wild African rubber. Moreover, newspaper reports had sparked international condemnation of the scandalous worker abuse in the Congo Free State, forcing European concessionaires to run their operations on a smaller scale.

In the 1920s the African rubber industry shifted again. At the time, about two-thirds of the world's rubber production was supplying the automobile industry in the United States. Britain, however, controlled the world supply of rubber and therefore was able to control prices, as well. In light of this, in 1926 the American Firestone Company established a one-million-acre plantation in LIBERIA in order to control its own rubber supply. According to the concession agreement, the Firestone Company had to pay off a huge Liberian debt to Britain, but, in exchange, it gained unprecedented influence in Liberia's governmental affairs. By 1930 the company had colluded with the Liberian government to recruit up to 30,000 workers, perhaps a third of whom received no pay and were, in effect, slaves. In addition, the Liberian economy became so dependent on Firestone that the American dollar became the country's official currency in the 1940s.

During World War II (1939–45), when Japan took control of British rubber plantations in southeast Asia, the Firestone plantation in Liberia became a main supplier of rubber for the Allied forces. As late as the 1960s, there were still as many as 20,000 workers on Firestone's Liberian plantation.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vols. IV, V).

Rwabugiri, Kigeri IV (d. 1895) *Powerful Rwandan mwami (king) just prior to the era of German colonialism*

Before the ascension of Rwabugiri to the throne in 1865, RWANDA had gone through centuries of territorial consolidation that had expanded the core state of Nyignya. Once in power Rwabugiri took the name Kigeri IV and used a series of military campaigns to unite most of the remaining independent smaller states in the region. (Some northern kingdoms remained independent.)

With his power centralized, Rwabugiri was able to extend the reach of the royal political structures into the outskirts of the kingdom. At the same time, Rwabugiri took the opportunity to significantly increase the authority ascribed to the *mwami*. Using his new powers, he seized land and dismissed the claims of regional sovereignty made by the clan chieftains who had ruled under the traditional system.

Of TUTSI heritage, Kigeri IV appointed other Tutsi to positions of importance. This ethnic preference magnified the cultural differences between the Tutsi and HUTU. Though sometimes seen as comprising a different social class, the Hutu actually had long interacted with the Tutsi on relatively equal footing. As a result of Rwabugiri's policies, however, the Tutsi-Hutu dynamic shifted to one more clearly defined by roles of social superiority (Tutsi) and subjugation (Hutu). COLONIAL RULE, particularly during the period of the Belgian MANDATE, reinforced this stratification. This change was a precursor to the problems of 20th-century Rwanda, where a society divided between the politically dominant Tutsi and the numerically superior Hutu erupted into a devastating civil war.

After Rwabugiri's death, in November 1895, his son, Mibambwe Rutarindwa (d. 1896) succeeded him as *mwami*. The following year, political intrigue led to Mibambwe's assassination and his replacement by Yuhi IV Musinga (r. 1896–1931). The battle for succession greatly reduced the political power of the *mwami,* and within a few years, Rwanda had become a part of GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); *MWAMI* (Vol. III).

Rwanda   Mountainous eastern Central African kingdom that regained independence from COLONIAL RULE in 1962. Covering only 9,600 square miles (24,900 sq km), present-day Rwanda is bordered by BURUNDI to the south, TANZANIA and UGANDA to the east, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the west. Lake Kivu lies along the western border.

At the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), Germany claimed the region occupied by two long-standing African states, Rwanda and Burundi. Both states were inhabited largely by the agriculturist HUTU ethnic group but were politically dominated by the pastoralist TUTSI group.

Rwanda during the Colonial Era: Ruanda-Urundi   By the early 1890s German explorers had arrived, and the process of German COLONIAL CONQUEST had begun. At the time, Kigeri IV RWABUGIRI (r. 1860–1895) was still the *mwami* (king) of a powerful and expanding kingdom. His death, in 1895, led to a succession dispute among his sons. Compounded by the rise of German colonialism, the conflict caused divided loyalties among Rwanda's lesser chiefs and weakened the centralized power of the *mwami*. Ultimately the victor in the struggle over the throne, Yuhi IV Musinga (r. 1896–1931), actively collaborated with the German authorities, who, by 1906, were fully in control of his kingdom. Rwanda became part of GERMAN EAST AFRICA and was administered, together with the neighboring kingdom of Burundi, as RUANDA-URUNDI.

Between 1910 and 1912 the Schutztruppe, the colonial force of imperial Germany, made several military expeditions to quell an ongoing popular uprising in northern Rwanda. The failed uprising was led by northern Hutu groups called Kiga, who had remained independent when Rwabugiri centralized his power in the late 19th century. Underscoring the regional differences that plagued Rwanda, Tutsi soldiers and some southern Hutu assisted the Germans in putting down the Kiga rebellion. Their collaboration elevated the Tutsi in the eyes of the German colonialists but embittered the northern Hutu.

German colonial rule in East Africa did not last long. After Germany was defeated in World War I (1914–18), Ruanda-Urundi came under Belgian control as a League of Nations MANDATE. In 1925 the mandate was joined administratively with the BELGIAN CONGO. Belgium managed Ruanda-Urundi through indirect rule, endowing the Tutsi with political dominance over the Hutu, who were largely reduced to indentured laborers. However, EDUCATION provided by Catholic MISSIONARIES led to a growing group of educated Hutu who chafed under the old feudal system that the Belgians had continued because it simplified their rule. The largely Hutu peasantry was also engaged in producing exportable CASH CROPS, especially COFFEE, on the country's rich soils. Population growth, however, was making adequate land for crops and herds increasingly scarce, which added to social unrest.

After World War II (1939–45), Belgium retained Ruanda-Urundi as a TRUST TERRITORY, this time mandated by the United Nations, the successor to the League of Nations. By the mid-1950s, the relationship between Rwanda's Tutsi and Hutu populations had become extremely volatile, with the Hutu majority calling for more autonomy from the Belgian administration as well as relief from Tutsi domination. Beginning in late 1959, armed rebels representing the Party for Hutu Emancipation began a "peasant revolution." Led by Gregoire Kayibanda (1924–1976), Rwanda's Hutu deposed the Tutsi monarch, Kigeri V Ndahindirwa, and launched a campaign of anti-Tutsi

violence that led to the death of many thousands and drove thousands more into exile.

As the revolution continued through 1960–61, Hutu representatives replaced many Tutsis in government at the local level, and Kayibanda declared Rwanda a republic. In 1962 Belgium recognized the Kayibanda government, granted Rwanda independence, and began withdrawing from the country. Independence did not bring peace, however, and the ethnic hatred spawned in Rwanda during the colonial era persisted into the 21st century.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); KAYIBANDA, GREGOIRE (Vol. V); RWANDA (Vols. I, II, III. V).

S

Sadat, Anwar as- (1918–1981) *Anticolonialist who became president of Egypt*

Born in the town of Mit Abul Kom, near CAIRO, Anwar Sadat grew up during the period of British COLONIAL RULE in EGYPT. In 1938 he enrolled in the Egyptian Military Academy in Cairo and upon graduating was stationed at a remote outpost. There he met Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), and the two helped found the Free Officers Organization, a secret organization dedicated to overthrowing British rule in Egypt.

Sadat had 12 siblings and his upbringing was a humble one. Ordinarily, his background would not have merited entrance to the Egyptian Military Academy, which was attended by the upper class. His father, however, managed to persuade an Egyptian aristocrat to assist his son, and Sadat was eventually enrolled in the academy.

A staunch anticolonialist, Sadat supported Nazi Germany with the hope of driving the British from Egypt. He was arrested twice for collaborating with German forces during World War II (1939–45). After the war Sadat joined an underground movement opposed to the puppet Egyptian monarchy headed by King FARUK (1920–1965). Sadat was again arrested, in 1946, for antigovernment activities. He was released in 1948 and a year later rejoined the army and given the rank of captain.

Sadat, however, still desired an Egyptian government free from British influence. In 1952 the Free Officers Organization staged a coup d'état, overthrowing King Faruk and eventually installing Nasser as president. Sadat became Nasser's communications officer and ran a newspaper, *Al Gumhuriah* (The Republic), that was the voice of the Free Officers' movement. Under Nasser, Sadat later served in a number of high-level government positions, including the vice presidency, from 1964 to 1966 and again in 1969–70. In 1970, during Sadat's second term as vice president, Nasser died, leaving Sadat to assume the presidency.

See also: ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vols. IV, V); COUP D'É-TAT (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SADAT, ANWAR AS- (Vol. V).

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Salisbury (Harare) Capital city of colonial SOUTH-ERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE), located in the northeastern part of the country. Salisbury was founded in 1890 by the Pioneer Column, a police force of the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC), which established colonial control over the region on behalf of Cecil RHODES (1853–1902). The settlement was named in honor of British prime minister Robert Lord SALISBURY (1830–1903).

The BSAC envisioned Salisbury as a center for the MINING of GOLD, similar to JOHANNESBURG, but the anticipated gold wealth never materialized. Instead the town

developed as a commercial and government center serving the white settler population engaged in commercial AGRICULTURE. Industry was never the focal point of investment during the era of COLONIAL RULE, so most of Salisbury's African inhabitants were employed in the service sector; whites held managerial positions or were skilled workers.

In 1891 the city was redesigned following a grid pattern, with wide boulevards and avenues replacing the initial haphazard settlement pattern—a new layout that facilitated the racial segregation that was imposed by the BSAC.

Beginning in 1896 the system of taxation that British colonial authorities imposed on Southern Rhodesia's rural villages forced many African men to seek work in Salisbury, creating a housing shortage. This rural-to-urban migration increased further once the town's economy was strengthened by the completion of rail links to Beira, MOZAMBIQUE, in 1899, and to SOUTH AFRICA via Southern Rhodesia's TRANSPORTATION hub at Bulawayo, in 1902.

The area of Salisbury designated for white residents, known as "Avenues," expanded north and east of the central business district, while the African residential area was located to the south of the city, downwind from the emissions of the city center. In 1935 Salisbury became an official city, with a population of approximately 32,000, of whom about 30 percent were white. Growing rapidly after World War II (1939–45), the city became the capital of the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION, a political alliance that brought together Southern Rhodesia with two other British colonies, NORTHERN RHODESIA and NYASALAND. White immigration from Britain after the war helped fuel this growth further, as did continued African immigration, still mostly male, from the rural areas. Despite the government's attempt to maintain segregation, by 1941 three-quarters of the male African workers resided in shacks on their employers' property in the Avenues section.

By 1961 the city's population exceeded 300,000, with whites still constituting about 30 percent of the total. After independence Salisbury was renamed Harare after a hill located above the settlement of a local Shona chief.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); HARARE (Vol. V); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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Salisbury, Robert Lord (1830–1903) *British statesman in Africa*

Born in 1830, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil was the son of the second Marquis of Salisbury. Educated at Eton and Oxford, Cecil was then sent by his father on a two-year voyage to various territories of the British Empire. The first-hand experience of Britain's widespread imperial interests helped him to get elected to Parliament in 1853, at the age of 23. In 1868 Cecil's father died, making him the third Marquis of Salisbury.

During his long career as a Tory member of Parliament, Salisbury was a staunch yet practical conservative. He gained a reputation as a skillful politician and capable foreign diplomat and, following the elections of 1885, Salisbury served simultaneously as prime minister and foreign secretary. He was briefly out of office but returned as prime minister in 1886, and it was during this second administration that Salisbury left his mark on British political history.

A reluctant imperialist, Salisbury presided over the acquisition and maintenance of British colonies in Africa, including KENYA, UGANDA, NIGERIA, SOUTHERN RHODESIA, and NORTHERN RHODESIA. He tended to be satisfied with coastal colonial enclaves, which could be more easily secured by Britain's naval supremacy. Though a devout Anglican, Salisbury nevertheless was not an active proponent of MISSIONARIES and instead tended to favor a more traditional lifestyle among the indigenous population of Britain's African colonies. Salisbury was consistently critical of the brutal actions of British expansionist Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), and reportedly was "unimpressed" by Rhodes's obvious kowtowing in naming the capital of SOUTHERN RHODESIA after him.

Under his leadership Britain showed a willingness to defend its colonial territories but tried whenever possible to avoid foreign wars. This policy became increasingly difficult toward the end of the 19th century as the PARTITION of the continent among the various European colonial powers intensified. In 1890, with Germany, and 1891, with Portugal, Salisbury's administration established treaties to define colonial boundaries in East Africa. Then, in 1898, Britain and France came to the brink of war over a territorial dispute in the region that is now southeastern Republic of the SUDAN. Known as the FASHODA Incident, the crisis was brought on by Britain's insistence on maintaining control over the upper Nile in the face of France's attempts to establish dominion across the entire African continent, from West Africa to the Nile. Eventually they agreed on the boundaries between their spheres of influence.

In 1899, however, hostilities did erupt with the onset of the ANGLO-BOER WAR, which continued until 1902. Salisbury's diplomatic approach proved to be ineffective in mediating the disputes between the imperialist British colonial administration of South Africa and the BOERS, or AFRIKANERS, of the TRANSVAAL, who sought to maintain their independence from Britain. Salisbury despised the fighting, calling it "Joe's War" in reference to Joseph Chamberlain, his appointed Colonial Secretary, who vigorously supported Britain's colonial expansion. Though the war did end with the Treaty of VEREENIGING (1902), it

cast a pall on the closing years of Salisbury's political ca-
reer. He resigned as prime minister in 1902 and died the
following year.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); COLONIAL
CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Samkange, Stanlake (1922–1988) *Scholar, novelist,
journalist, political activist, and publisher from Zimbabwe*

Stanlake John Thompson Samkange was born to a
distinguished family in the Zvimba Communal Lands of
ZIMBABWE (then known as SOUTHERN RHODESIA). His fa-
ther, Thomas Samkange (1887–1956) was a prominent
Methodist minister and political activist, while his mother,
Grace Mano Samkange (c. 1895–1985) was a member of a
church women's organization known as *manyo*. At the
time that the young Samkange was a student, churches
were responsible for administering Western-style schools
for Africans. He attended the local Methodist school and
then a Methodist boarding school, the Waddilove Insti-
tute, in ZIMBABWE. In keeping with their progressive atti-
tudes, the Samkanges wanted their son to receive the best
education possible, so they sent him to Adams College in
NATAL and then to FORT HARE COLLEGE, in the eastern
Cape Province of SOUTH AFRICA.

Upon graduating Samkange returned home, teaching
at a government school and then working as a freelance
journalist. Influenced by the example of Booker T. WASH-
INGTON (1856–1915), Samkange wanted to start a
school, Nyatsime College, to be modeled after Washing-
ton's Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama. Work on organizing
the college began in the early 1950s. Samkange then
spent two years in the United States, 1957 to 1959, pur-
suing a master's degree from Syracuse University, in New
York. His visit enabled him to generate African-American
support for his school, which finally opened in 1962.

From 1951 to 1966, except for his two years at Syra-
cuse, Samkange was extremely active in Zimbabwean na-
tional politics. He was committed to ending white
political dominance of Southern Rhodesia, but he was
not a revolutionary nationalist. His approach—and that
of the organizations to which he belonged, such as the
Bantu Congress, the All-African Convention, the United
Rhodesian Party, and the Central African Party—was es-
sentially one of working toward gradual reform from
within the political system. Thus, when Rhodesia an-
nounced its unilateral declaration of independence from
Britain in November 1965, Samkange was not in position
to support the armed independence struggle movement
that followed.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V);
EDUCATION (Vols. IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE
MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SAMKANGE, STANLAKE (Vol. V); SIT-

HOLE, NDABANINGI (Vols. IV, V); UNILATERAL DECLARATION
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**Samori Touré (Samori, Samori Turé, Samory
Touré)** (c. 1830–1900) *Mande-speaking empire builder
in West Africa*

Born into a DYULA family living in the interior GUINEA
savanna town of Konyan, Samori Touré descended from
Muslim merchants who had turned to farming. His family
was closely allied with the Kamara clan, and adhered to
the Kamara's traditional RELIGION. However, Samori
Touré himself left farming to become a merchant, which
helped him reconnect with his Islamic Dyula heritage.

During the first half of the 19th century Muslims con-
tended with those who practiced indigenous African reli-
gions for control over the savanna peoples. Muslim Sisé
warriors conquered Samori Touré's hometown and captured
his mother, whereupon he joined the Sisé army. Quickly
learning military skills, he soon distinguished himself as a
soldier. By 1861 he struck out on his own and imposed his
leadership on his mother's non-Muslim Kamara kinspeople.
He then used his skills to help his family resist the spread of
Sisé Islamic imperialism. Although his army was weak, he
demonstrated extraordinary tactical ability, and through the
1860s he extended his authority over the Dyon and Milo
river valleys.

By 1873 Samori Touré had disassociated himself from
his non-Muslim elders and established Bisandugu, in pre-
sent-day Guinea, as the capital of the centralized state he
was constructing. He divided his empire into cantons,
with a governmental head that was either his relative or
friend, assisted by a war chief. The cantons served to
unite ethnic groups and families who had been previ-
ously at war with one another.

> The army was the basis for Samori Touré's political
> authority. It consisted for the most part of captives
> trained from their youth to serve as professional
> soldiers. Known as *sofa,* they were infantrymen
> armed with rifles. At critical moments Samori
> Touré could field an army of 10,000 to 12,000
> well-armed, highly trained, and effectively led *sofa.*

Between 1875 and 1879 Samori Touré went on to
conquer the entire upper Niger valley from Siguiri to
Kouroussa. The addition of this territory gave him a com-
mon border with the TUKULOR EMPIRE of al-Hajj UMAR TAL

(1794–1864), with whom Samori Touré negotiated a treaty. By the beginning of the 1880s Samori had seized the Muslim city of KANKAN and destroyed his previous oppressors, the Sisé empire. The Samori empire, also known as the MANDINKA empire, was by this time the third largest in West Africa, after the Tukulor empire and the SOKOTO CALIPHATE.

Unlike Usman dan Fodio (1754–1817) of the Sokoto Caliphate or al-Hajj Umar Tal of the Tukulor empire, Samori Touré did not establish his empire to fulfill a jihad designed to spread Islam. His empire was secular in nature, but Samori Touré chose Islam as the unifying force through which he could legitimatize his personal rule over his ethnically diverse subjects. Although he waged war against other states ruled by Muslim clerics, Samori Touré surrounded himself with Muslim advisers. He even took the title *almami*, the equivalent of imam, and in 1884 he began the process of converting all of his subjects to Islam.

Samori Touré tried to expand his empire along trade routes, but the West African Muslim empires had begun to suffer the encroachment of European colonial powers, and he came up against the French imperialist expansion at BAMAKO. He was able to maintain a semblance of his empire through minor fighting and treaties, and he also used his mercantile relations with the British in SIERRA LEONE to supply his armies with rifles from FREETOWN. However, in spite of Samori Touré's best efforts, beginning in 1882 the French began a systematic campaign of COLONIAL CONQUEST against his Mandinka empire.

Employing guerrilla warfare, Samori Touré held off French troops while also carving out a new state in the region of present-day GHANA and IVORY COAST. By 1894 Samori Touré had retreated to his new empire, using scorched-earth tactics to devastate the lands left to the French. However, he realized too late that he needed help from other African states against the French invasion. By 1898 the French had conquered the Mandinka empire and captured Samori Touré after he fled to what is now LIBERIA. After his capture the French deported Samori Touré to GABON, on the Central African Atlantic coast, where he died in exile.

See also: AHMADU SÉKU (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SOKOTO CALIPHATE (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV); USMAN DAN FODIO (Vol. III).

San Khoisan-speaking people of the Kalihari Desert region of southern Africa, living primarily in present-day BOTSWANA, NAMIBIA, ANGOLA, and northern SOUTH AFRICA. Among the most ancient of African peoples, the San have existed as semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers in southern Africa for anywhere from 20,000 to 30,000 years. By the third century BCE, however, Bantu-speaking peoples had migrated from the north and settled in San lands. This expansion of Bantu speakers eventually pushed the San into the inhospitable, semi-arid regions of the Kalahari Desert.

"San," derived from the NAMA word *saan*, meaning "bush-dwellers," is only one of many names applied to these people. They are also widely known by the pejorative term "Bushmen," as well as by the names Khwe and Basarwa. Anthropologists today consider the use of the term "San" as appropriate, despite the fact that the word had taken on derogatory connotations in the Nama LANGUAGE.

The arrival of Dutch settlers in the 1600s presented further problems for the San, who lived just beyond the borders of the CAPE COLONY. The BOERS, as the settlers were known, saw the San as dangerous and helplessly barbaric. This low opinion of the San, coupled with the raids the San conducted to capture Boer cattle, led to a drawn-out extermination campaign by the Boers. The sporadic Boer-San conflicts, lasting from 1676–1861, ultimately resulted in the destruction of much of the San population. The remaining San continued to be marginalized, oppressed, and even enslaved by both black and white farmers throughout the period of COLONIAL RULE in southern Africa. Their lands stripped from them and their hunting traditions drastically limited, the San were essentially confined to the Kalahari desert, where the adverse conditions served as their only protection.

The San are still very much marginalized, most notably in Botswana, where they have been repeatedly dispossessed of their lands and forbidden to carry out their usual hunting practices. As recently as 2002 the San, considered "Stone Age creatures" by Botswana's government, were forced off their lands in Botswana in what has been viewed as an attempt at ethnic cleansing. The government has compared the attempt to rid the country of the San to the culling of elephants.

By the 20th century, the San people numbered around 100,000, with the largest populations living in Botswana and Namibia. Continuing to live through foraging, along with some AGRICULTURE and animal husbandry, many San had also been forced to work as cheap farm LABOR.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); SAN (Vols. I, III).

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al-Sanusi, Muhammad Ali ibn (Sidi Muhammad b. Ali al-Sanusi) (1787–1859) *Sufi Muslim leader in Arabia and North Africa*

Born in the Algerian town of Mustaghanim, al-Sanusi was initially educated at small, local Quranic schools, or *zawiyas.* He then completed his formal studies in 1805 at the university mosque of the Qarawiyyin, in Fez, MOROCCO. He continued his studies at other Islamic universities, including the famed al-Azhar in CAIRO, EGYPT. After performing his hajj, or pilgrimage, to Mecca, al-Sanusi became a disciple of Ahmad bin Idris al-Fasi (1760–1837). Although he was trained as a teacher, al-Sanusi went on to write prolifically throughout his life, authoring more than 40 works.

In ALGERIA in 1837, al-Sanusi created the Sanusiyya brotherhood, a Sufi group that was criticized by some traditional Islamic scholars for al-Sanusi's overly original doctrinal interpretations. At the same time, French colonialists were taking control of much of the region, and al-Sanusi was drawn into conflicts with them. In an effort to avoid further problems with Europeans, in 1843 al-Sanusi moved his headquarters east to coastal Cyrenaica (in present-day LIBYA), a city that remained under Muslim Ottoman control. There he established a Supreme Council and a school at al-Bayda, attracting a number of followers, mostly from among the region's indigenous rural population.

In 1853 al-Sanusi's growing concern with further French encroachment in North Africa led him to direct his followers to take a more militant stance. At the same time, however, he retreated from the coast to the interior, settling at Jaghbub, a Saharan outpost on the route to Cairo. Finding refuge from the conflicts and modernization that accompanied French colonialism, al-Sanusi pursued a lifestyle reminiscent of that of the prophet Muhammad (c. 560–632). At his desert retreat he created a Quran-based social model that attracted rural people and nomads to his brotherhood. Because he advocated respect for, and duty to, the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman administration exempted him from paying a property tax, instead allowing the Sanusiyya to collect tithes, or voluntary contributions, from its members.

Al-Sanusi died in 1859, respected as a scholar and remembered as one of the early advocates of North African independence from Europe. Following his death, the Sanusiyya Supreme Council ruled until al-Sanusi's sons were properly prepared to assume control. When the time was right the political leadership of the brotherhood was assumed by Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1902), and the religious leadership was given to Muhammad al-Sharif (1846–1896), who directed the Sanusiyya university at Jaghbub.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); EDUCATION (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II, III, IV); ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); QURAN (Vol. II); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SUFISM (Vols. II, III, IV).

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São Tomé and Príncipe Small country, made up of two islands totaling 390 square miles (1,010 sq km), located off the Atlantic Ocean coast of GABON. The Portuguese first came to these two islands in the late 15th century. The Portuguese crown granted land for settlements on the island of São Tomé in 1493, and on neighboring Príncipe island by 1500. In the mid-1800s the economic focus of the islands' Portuguese-owned plantations turned from sugar to the production of COFFEE and COCOA, and cocoa production became increasingly important as the demand in Europe and the United States increased. By 1908 São Tomé and Príncipe had become a leading world cocoa producer.

The Portuguese-owned plantations, or *roças,* on São Tomé and Príncipe used African laborers, many of whom were brought from the Central African mainland. Although the Portuguese abolished SLAVERY in their African colonies in 1876, conditions on the "legitimate" *roças* remained harsh and abusive long after.

During the 1900s, poor pay and brutal working conditions created great dissatisfaction among the plantation workers in São Tomé and Príncipe. In 1953 riots finally erupted. In their attempts to quell the uprising, Portuguese security forces and police killed several hundred Africans. The killings came to be known as the "Batepa Massacre," and today the government observes the anniversary of this event as a national day of remembrance.

In the 1950s and 1960s resistance to colonial oppression grew, and an organized independence movement developed under the leadership of the Movement for the

Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe, based in neighboring mainland Gabon. In 1975 the two islands gained independence as the nation of São Tomé and Príncipe.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Sarbah, John Mensah (1864–1910) *Barrister and statesman of the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana)*

John Mensah Sarbah was of Fante origin and came from CAPE COAST, a coastal commercial town in the British GOLD COAST COLONY (now GHANA). As a teenager he went to London to study law and in 1887 was called to the English bar, thus becoming the first African barrister from the Gold Coast. Sarbah's early legal writing posited the argument that British rule of African lands was illegitimate. At the same time, however, Sarbah realized that regardless of the lawfulness of Britain's COLONIAL RULE, British occupation of his native land was not likely to end soon. As a consequence Sarbah focused on increasing African participation in the colonial administration and called for an expansion of self-government as a British colony.

In 1894 the British set forth the Crown Lands Bill as a guideline to determine the ownership of land within the Gold Coast. African opposition to this legislation was strong, and in 1897 Sarbah helped found the ABORIGINES' RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY as an opposition group to the British land policy. In addition, as a member of the Gold Coast legislative council, Sarbah used his position to promote the argument that land ownership should be based on African law. Sarbah's efforts paid off with the eventual failure of the proposed legislation and the maintaining of customary land ownership rights.

In addition to being an accomplished lawyer, Sarbah was also a respected author. He wrote numerous legal treatises including *Fanti Customary Laws,* in 1897, and *Fanti National Constitution,* published in 1906. These works examined ways in which the Fante, having been exposed through trade to Western ideas and institutions over 300 years, could draw on their own traditions as well to develop a distinctly Fanti approach to government within the framework of British colonial rule.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FANTE CONFEDERATION (Vol. IV); LAW IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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satyagraha

satyagraha Political and spiritual principle of nonviolent protest against injustice developed by Mohandas GANDHI (1869–1948) during his stay in SOUTH AFRICA, from 1893 to 1914. Gandhi's principal concern was finding a way to overcome the superior might of the British colonial administration to win rights for the country's Indian community. *Satyagraha* comes from a Sanskrit word and translates roughly as "truth force" or "soul force."

In 1906 the British administration in the colony of NATAL proposed a set of laws that discriminated against Indians, many of whom were indentured workers in the colony's sugarcane fields. Seeking a way to force the government to withdraw the legislation, Gandhi developed *satyagraha* as a revolutionary form of political protest. Drawing on the lives and teachings of the Buddha (563–483 BCE), Socrates (470–399 BCE), Jesus Christ (4 BCE–29 CE), and Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), Gandhi envisioned a means of defying the laws that he believed were unjust. It was hoped that those who imposed and upheld the unjust laws would reconsider them when faced with the calm resolution of activists inspired by the spirit of love and truth inherent in *satyagraha*. This novel form of political action empowered the oppressed masses and served as an important part of Gandhi's spiritual philosophy.

Upon his return to India, Gandhi successfully employed *satyagraha* to organize Indians into forcing the British to end COLONIAL RULE in that country. *Satyagraha* influenced the struggle for black rights waged by the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS in South Africa as well as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

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Schreiner, Olive (1855–1920) *Noted South African intellectual, pacifist, suffragette, and author*

Olive Schreiner was born at the Lutheran Mission Station at Wittebergen, in the eastern CAPE COLONY, SOUTH AFRICA. Raised in a Calvinist household by her German father and English mother, both MISSIONARIES, she read voraciously and began writing her own stories and essays at a young age. After working as a governess for wealthy AFRIKANER farmers for 11 years, in 1881 Schreiner traveled to England. There she abandoned her original plan to study medicine, and within two years she found a publisher for her autobiographical novel, *The Story of an African Farm,* which met with immediate success. The radical anti-imperial political views she ex-

pressed in her book gave Schreiner a reputation as a rising Victorian intellectual.

Schreiner returned to South Africa in 1889 and continued writing fiction and essays. Three years later she married Samuel Cronwright, an ostrich farmer. In 1895 her first child died shortly after birth; subsequently, she would suffer a series of miscarriages. Schreiner put her energies into writing. Over the next decades she attacked imperialism, especially the activities of mining magnate Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), and criticized Britain for its part in the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902). In fact, the British authorities interned her for a year for supporting the BOERS. After the turn of the century she wrote forcefully in support of women's suffrage and was an outspoken opponent of violence, particularly the brutality of World War I (1914–18). After a bout with depression Schreiber died of heart failure in 1920.

Throughout her life Schreiner immersed herself in philosophical texts and espoused what were considered radical ideas on pacifism, politics, and sexuality. In some recent scholarly criticism, Schreiner is called to task for her negative portrayal of native African people in her fiction, but her works are invaluable for understanding the effects of South Africa's history of war and oppression on its women.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Schweitzer, Albert (1875–1965) *German-born humanitarian, writer, theologian, and doctor*

Albert Schweitzer was born at Kaysersberg, near Strasbourg in the Alsace region of Germany (now France). Educated in both Germany and France, he studied science, music, and theology before devoting his life to serving humanity.

In 1902 Schweitzer became the principal at a theological seminary at the University of Strasbourg, where he was inspired to become a missionary. Between 1905 and 1913, he studied medicine at the university, raising money for a hospital that he planned to build in Africa. In March 1913 he and his wife left Europe for Lambaréné, in rural FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (present-day GABON). Upon his arrival Schweitzer converted an abandoned chicken coop into a crude hospital building, where he treated patients both young and old who suffered from ulcerated and infected sores and a variety of tropical diseases, including sleeping sickness and malaria. Many patients also suffered from leprosy.

About 1915 Schweitzer formulated the central thought that would come to symbolize his unique brand of humanitarianism: reverence for life. When he and his wife, Helene (1879–1957), returned to Europe in 1917, he spent the next seven years writing, teaching, lecturing, and giving concerts to raise funds for his Lambaréné hospital, which was in dire financial trouble throughout the World War I years (1914–18). In 1923 he published the first two volumes of his epic work, *The Philosophy of Civilization,* in which he articulated his ideas on "reverence for life." In 1924 he returned to Africa, alone this time, to rebuild his hospital and continue his missionary work.

Back in Africa Schweitzer continued to write, publishing numerous memoirs and essays including *On the Edge of a Primeval Forest* and *From My African Notebook,* in which he recorded his experiences as a doctor and missionary. During World War II (1939–45) Schweitzer maintained the hospital at Lambaréné, relying on contributions from various support groups, including The Albert Schweitzer Fellowship, in the United States.

In recognition for his work as a dedicated humanitarian, Schweitzer was awarded the 1952 Nobel Peace Prize. He used his $33,000 prize to expand the hospital at Lambaréné and build a leper colony.

In the 1940s and 1950s Schweitzer continued his humanitarian work in Africa, occasionally going abroad to lecture or receive awards. In 1959 he returned for good to Lambaréné. He died in 1965 at the age of 90. A product of his era, Schweitzer is remembered for a somewhat contradictory legacy as a compassionate missionary, pacifist, and humanitarian of the first order, who at the same time exhibited an autocratic and paternalistic attitude toward Africans.

See also: DISEASE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); HEALTH AND HEALING (Vols. IV, V); MISSIONARIES (Vol. IV).

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science Scientific discovery and advances are well documented in ancient African history. However, European colonization of the continent tended to undermine African scientific discovery, labeling African knowledge "inferior" to Western knowledge. In general, when anthropologists studied indigenous knowledge during the colonial period it was to maintain a record for museums or to understand the so-called native mind in order to control the continent more efficiently. Rarely were such investigations intended to learn anything substantive that might inform Western scientific methods.

The primary goal of Western science in colonial Africa was to aid in the extraction of resources to the European nations. Colonizers used scientific advances to improve MINING techniques, to improve the health of Europeans residing in Africa and of laborers working in their enterprises, and to create African markets for European goods.

Often, indigenous technologies and information systems were actively discouraged or even banned. For example, in some areas of Africa indigenous medical practitioners were jailed. The Nigerian iron-smelting industry of precolonial times was undermined by the importation into Africa of scrap iron that flooded the market and diminished the demand for local iron products. This and similar actions had the effect of stalling indigenous creativity and technological advances during this period.

Due to the enormous mineral wealth of some places in Africa, the earth sciences—which included geologic exploration—and the field of engineering were two major areas of focus during the colonial era. Western scientific exploration was also brought to Africa in order to export and exploit other areas of its natural environment. Botanists returned from Africa with hundreds of species of native plants to be examined and labeled in research centers in Europe, such as the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, in England. The European perspective was that new species were officially "discovered" only after they were incorporated in the Western taxonomic systems, despite the fact that Africans had known about and used these species for thousands of years. Europeans also set up colonial botanical gardens to experiment with the importation of economically useful plants.

During the colonial period little effort was made to educate the African population in the disciplines of Western science. This was partly due to the racist belief, intimately connected to so-called scientific discoveries made during the SLAVERY period, that viewed indigenous African populations as biologically inferior to Western races. The creation of scientific research centers in Africa did not begin until after World War II (1939–45). An example of the rare colonial institute that served African scientists was the Fundamental Institute of Black Africa (known by its French acronym, IFAN), in DAKAR, SENEGAL. At this center of scientific research, African scholars such as Cheikh Anta DIOP (1923–1986) were able to conduct scientific inquiry with assistance of respected French scholars.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. V); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vols. IV, V); SCIENCE (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Senegal Present-day country with an area of 76,000 square miles (196,800 sq km) that is defined to the north and northeast by the Senegal River, which generally follows the country's northern border with MAURITANIA. Senegal is bordered to the east by MALI, to the south by GUINEA and GUINEA-BISSAU, and to the west by the Atlantic Ocean. A unique geographic feature of Senegal is that it nearly surrounds the country of the GAMBIA.

By the mid-19th century, the indigenous people of Senegal were quite familiar with European influences. The region had long been a major center of TRADE AND COMMERCE, with the French building a factory in St-Louis as early as 1659. Much of the early economic activity in the area centered around the SLAVE TRADE, but when the trade was outlawed by the French in 1848, the region's indigenous people turned to the cultivation of GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) as their main source of income.

During this time the dynamic of everyday life was changing in Senegal. The Senegal River cities of St-Louis and Gorée were introduced to the French policy of *assimilation,* which was based on the belief that French culture was superior to that of the indigenous people. As a result, a divide developed between those who accepted assimilation—the mixed-raced *métis* and African river traders—and those who ignored or disdained the fledgling westernization of the region.

This latter group was composed mostly of Africans living beyond the coastal trading centers. The WOLOF to the east were one such group. Though the French-appointed governor Louis FAIDHERBE (1818–1889) annexed their territory in 1858, the Wolof, whose leaders were Islamic converts, fought a war of resistance against the French COLONIAL CONQUEST of the SENEGAMBIA REGION until 1886. Further opposition came in the form of the Tukolor leader UMAR TAL (1797–1864), who battled the French along the Senegal River Valley until a truce was declared in 1860.

As African resistance in Senegal eased, France embarked on expanding the infrastructure of its territory. The French founded the city of DAKAR in 1857, and in 1885 a railroad was constructed between it and St-Louis. This sparked the growth of Dakar to the point that, by the turn of the century, the city was the largest in Senegal and the seat of the colonial government.

While Senegal expanded in size and in EXPORTS, the policy of assimilation continued, and Africans gained rights that were unheard of in other parts of the continent. The cities of Saint-Louis, Dakar, Gorée, and Rufisque were governed by democratically elected municipal administrations and together formed the symbolic QUATRE COMMUNES (Four Townships) of Senegal. In 1879 the French granted full male suffrage to those who could prove that they had lived within the Quatre Communes for five years. As a result Africans could participate in electing Senegal's deputy to the French Parliament. Later in 1879, Senegal formed a legislative council that was vested with authority over local administrative and financial matters.

Despite their voting rights, Africans in Senegal were unable to exercise much influence over Senegalese politics. France exerted as much control as possible over the legislative council, while French merchants used operatives within the territory to protect their commercial interests. The local political environment was controlled by the *métis,* who through their wealth and education held sway over the African majority. Election fraud was pervasive during this time, and, if necessary, the *métis* could buy the support of the African electorate.

Senegal during the Colonial Era Near the end of the 19th century the number of French settlers arriving in Senegal began to increase, and in 1895 the territory was officially declared a French colony. Later that year Senegal was incorporated into FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF), and Dakar was named the capital of the new federation.

In the early 20th century the policy of assimilation was transformed into one of *association,* which accepted the legitimacy of African heritage, though only as subordinate to French culture. For Africans in French territories, this shift resulted in new difficulties, including capricious governance and increased use of forced LABOR. Africans within the Quatre Communes, however, viewed themselves as French citizens, and were troubled by France's attempts to deny their constitutional rights.

Between 1907 and 1914 France gradually revoked the citizenship of Africans within the Quatre Communes. In 1910, in an attempt to defend their political position, Africans formed a political party, the Young Senegalese, and were able to elect a small number of representatives to the legislative assembly. Despite the efforts of the Young Senegalese, Africans continued to lose their rights until the election of Blaise DIAGNE (1872–1934) in 1914 as deputy to the French Parliament. Diagne, the first African to hold the position, successfully fought for African rights, and in 1916 his efforts helped the people of the Quatre Communes to regain citizenship. Diagne's success in the battle for Senegalese citizenship was in large part a result of his accomplishment, during World War I (1914–18), of recruiting thousands of men from AOF for the French army. African conscripts contributed greatly to the western front, marked by the exploits of the TIRAILLEURS SÉNÉGALAIS.

After the war Diagne proposed an extension of citizenship to the rest of AOF but met with little success. Following his initial efforts at expanding the rights of Africans, Diagne, a staunch believer in *assimilation,* frequently supported French colonial policies. This fostered a constant but weak opposition, with the deputies who succeeded him emulating Diagne's politics. As a result, true empowerment of Senegal's African population did not occur until after World War II (1939–45).

In 1946 Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001) and his political mentor, Lamine GUÈYE (1891–1968), were elected to represent Senegal in the French Constituent Assembly. Senghor, who was a poet and intellectual, focused his attention on organizing disparate groups of the African populace in a movement towards integration of French and African culture. In 1958 he supported Senegal joining the French Community but soon after realized the inevitability of political independence.

In 1959 Senegal joined with Mali to form the Mali Federation, which was granted independence in 1960. The federation was short-lived, however, as the countries separated two months later, with Senghor elected as Senegal's first president.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GORÉE ISLAND (Vol. III); SENEGAL (Vols. I, II, III, V); SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); SENEGAL RIVER (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: Michael Crowder, *Senegal: A Study of French Assimilation Policy*, rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1967); William J. Foltz, *From French West Africa to the Mali Federation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965).

Senegambia region West African territory covering approximately 80,000 square miles (207,200 sq km) that includes the present-day states of SENEGAL and The GAMBIA. During the colonial era, the Senegambia region was the center of the production and trade of GROUNDNUTS (peanuts). Originally brought to the area from South America by Portuguese settlers in the 17th century, groundnuts thrived in the semi-arid savanna climate of the western part of the region.

Bounded by the Senegal River to the north, the Gambia River to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Senegambia region was home to diverse groups including the WOLOF, MANDINKA, FULANI, Jola, Serahuli, Tukulor, and Serer peoples. By the mid-19th century three significant developments that were to affect the region for the remainder of the century were apparent.

The first of these developments was the growing importance of groundnuts as an export cash crop. Increasing European demand for vegetable oils led to the heightened production and export of groundnuts via the highly navigable Gambia River. By 1851 Britain was exporting more than 11,000 tons of groundnuts, most of which were crushed for a versatile oil that could be used for cooking, for soap production, and for lubricating machinery. Senegal's groundnut production was even greater than the Gambia's, rising to average exports of 29,000 tons per year between 1886 and 1890. St-Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal River, was the center of the French groundnut trade.

The second development was the further spread of Islam in the region, sparked by the jihads that had begun earlier in the century. Of particular importance was the

jihad of al-Hajj UMAR TAL (1794–1864). Stimulated by his example, Maba Diakhou Ba (1809–1867), a respected Mandinka Muslim teacher, or marabout, launched a war against the local chiefs to establish a state based on Islamic law. After the death of Ba, the Wolof leader Lat Dyor Diop (1842–1886) continued the effort. As a result of these "marabout wars," the centuries-old process of Islamization of the region was brought to a successful conclusion.

Today groundnuts are still a chief crop in both Senegal and The Gambia. A good groundnut harvest in Senegal produces more than 1 million tons of groundnuts.

By 1864 Lat Dyor had already faced French colonial expansion and been defeated, forcing him to ask Ba for refuge. In 1882 he again confronted the French and fought against them until his death in battle in 1886. His story introduces the third theme, that of European COLONIAL CONQUEST and the imposition of COLONIAL RULE. The British and the French utilized their coastal strong points, such as Banjul Island, at the mouth of the Gambia River, and Gorée Island and St-Louis, in Senegal, as bases to expand their rule. Particularly important in this process was the French governor of Senegal, Louis FAIDHERBE (1818–1889), who in the 1850s began an aggressive policy of expansion. By 1889, in the aftermath of the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), which set the ground rules for the European PARTITION of the continent, Britain and France had divided the Senegambia region between them, with the much larger portion falling under French rule.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV, V); SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); SENEGAMBIA CONFEDERATION (Vol. V).

Senghor, Léopold (1906–2001) *Author and first president of Senegal*

Léopold Sédar Senghor was born into a Serer-speaking family living in Joal, near DAKAR, SENEGAL. Although he grew up in predominantly Muslim surroundings, his mother raised him as a Roman Catholic. He attended mission schools and then entered the seminary in Dakar. When he protested the racism he encountered, however, the church rejected him as a candidate for the priesthood, and he left to attend the Dakar Lycée. Recognized as a brilliant student, Senghor graduated in 1928 and won a scholarship to study at the prestigious École Normal Supèrieure in Paris. As France's cultural

and political capital, Paris drew students from across the French colonial empire, and while there Senghor met Aimé CÉSAIRE (1913–), from Martinique, and Léon Damas (1912–1978), from French Guyana, whom he joined in founding a literary review, *L'Etudiant noir* (The black student), in 1934.

Senghor's intellectual and social ventures and encounters took place not in Africa but in Europe, where he was introduced to the wider French-speaking black world, the world of the AFRICAN DIASPORA. However, he also established close ties with France, even becoming a good friend of Georges Pompidou (1911–1974), the future French president. In 1935 Senghor lived up to the academic reputation he established in Dakar by becoming the first of many prominent Africans to graduate from the prestigious Sorbonne with the Agrégation de l'Université, France's highest academic distinction.

Aimé Césaire and Léon Damas introduced Senghor to black American writers of the Harlem Renaissance. These figures included Claude McKay (1890–1948), Countee Cullen (1903–1946), and Langston Hughes (1902–1967).

After finishing school Senghor taught in France until the outbreak of World War II (1939–45), when he joined the French army. Captured by the Germans, he was briefly a prisoner of war until being released. He then returned to teaching but also joined the French resistance. When the war ended he became involved in politics. In 1945 he was elected as a deputy from Senegal to the French parliament, focusing increasingly on the issue of self-government for France's colonies. In 1956, however, he suffered a major defeat at the hands of Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993), a political rival and later president of IVORY COAST. Houphouët-Boigny defeated Senghor's party in the 1956 French legislative elections in every French colony except Senegal. Senegal became a republic in 1959 and, in 1960, Senghor became president, a position he held until resigning in 1980.

Parallel to Senghor's emergence as a major political figure was his growing stature as a poet and cultural figure. His *Chants d'ombre* (Shadow songs, 1945) gained him a reputation as a spokesperson for the growing pan-African literary and cultural movement called NÉGRITUDE. Along with Alioune DIOP (1910–1980), in 1947 he cofounded the journal PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE as a platform for Négritude writers. Senghor's political and literary activities reinforced each other, for they both reflected his belief in the uniqueness of the African personality and its right to coexist in equality with the European personality.

Léopold Senghor, center, wearing clear glasses, is seen with a group that proposed to secede from the Mali Federation in 1960. *© New York World-Telegram & Sun Collection/Library of Congress*

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vols. IV, V); SENGHOR, LÉOPOLD (Vol. V).

Further reading: Janet G. Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: a Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

settlers, European Europeans who immigrated to colonies in Africa to make their permanent home on the continent, in contrast to those who came to work for a period of time as government officials, for commercial firms, or for other reasons. The earliest European settlement in Africa took place in the second half of the 17th century, when approximately 2,500 people settled in the then Dutch-ruled CAPE COLONY. By 1793 they numbered about 13,830. Subsequent immigration to SOUTH AFRICA brought the European settler total to 250,000 by 1870. About that time, the discovery of large deposits of DIA-MONDS and GOLD led to significant immigration. As a result, by 1911, the total white population of the newly founded UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA was about 1.3 million people (out of a total population of 6 million). The settler population continued to expand so that it reached 3.1 million in 1960 and 6.1 million at present (out of a total 43.5 million).

The other area of significant early European settlement was in ALGERIA at the opposite end of the continent. France embarked upon its conquest of the country in 1830, and by the end of the decade there were already 100,000 Europeans, known as COLONS, living there. Their numbers continued to grow so that by 1880, 375,000 colons lived amidst Algeria's Muslim population of approximately 3 million. By 1954 there were almost one million colons in the country.

European settlers were also demographically significant in TUNISIA (250,000) and MOROCCO (363,000). The violent war for Algerian independence (1954–62) led, by its end, to a vast emigration of colons, so that today Europeans number less than 1 percent of the population. The

same holds true for the populations of MOROCCO and TUNISIA today.

The northern and southern extremes of the continent drew large numbers of settlers early on. In part this was because these regions are in temperate zones outside the tropics and so were conducive to European settlement in terms of climate, AGRICULTURE, and a disease-free environment. Although significant settler populations developed in some tropical African colonies, none reached the numerical or percentage size of those in southern Africa and North Africa. Where Europeans did settle, it was largely in the highland areas where conditions more nearly approximated the temperate environments. These settlers also arrived much more recently, for they came only after COLONIAL RULE was firmly in place. Thus, most of the other settler colonies were in East and southern Central Africa. The most prominent was SOUTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE), which had about 11,000 white settlers in 1900 and 136,000 at mid-century (out of a total population of 4 million). KENYA had approximately 39,000 in 1950, while there were 80,000 in ANGOLA and 52,000 in MOZAMBIQUE by that time. NAMIBIA, NORTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZAMBIA), LIBYA, and ERITREA also had substantial settler populations at mid-century.

Settler colonies exhibited many common features. Socially, the barriers between the indigenous population and the settlers were much stronger and more visible than elsewhere on the continent. Economically Africans were much more likely to have to work for whites in wage LABOR. This was due primarily to the large-scale European appropriation of African lands. South Africa exhibited the most extreme situation: By 1913 only 7 percent of the

European Settlers in Africa, 1919–1939

Concentration of European settlers

country's land surface remained in African hands. In Algeria two-fifths of the farmland was in colon hands by mid-20th century. Southern Rhodesian settlers already owned more farmland than Africans did by 1930, and subsequently they obtained additional land at African expense.

Land distribution reflected the political facts of colonies with large settler populations. While elsewhere European colonial administrators at least argued that they were ruling on behalf of the indigenous population, in the settler colonies this was not even an issue. Again it was in South Africa and Algeria that the settlers achieved the greatest political power. The creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 effectively made it a fully self-governing country under the control of the white electorate. Algeria's colons gained the political upper hand by 1870, electing representatives for both local and French governing bodies. They never gained the full autonomy of the white South Africans, however. Even where settlers did not gain such an extent of political power, they were the principal beneficiaries of colonial administration.

Because of the entrenched positions of the settler communities, the settler colonies faced the most violent struggles as their African majorities sought independence. The Algerian war was the bloodiest all, with perhaps 10 percent of the population killed in the struggle. In the early 1950s Kenya's British settlers faced violent outbreaks from members of the MAU MAU movement demanding the return of land to Africans. It took a 14-year struggle before Rhodesia became independent Zimbabwe in 1980. In the 1960s and early 1970s Portugal fought protracted and ultimately unsuccessful wars before its African colonies became independent. Only South Africa escaped an all-out war of liberation, due largely to the fact that its fully independent status led to a negotiated transfer of power from white to African hands in the early 1990s. As a result, that country retains a substantial white population. This was not the case for most other former settler colonies, where most settlers emigrated at the time of independence.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vols. IV, V); BOERS (Vols. III, IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Seychelles Small nation made up of 115 islands located about 1,000 miles (1,609 km) off the coast of KENYA. Originally a French possession, the Seychelles were under British COLONIAL RULE from 1814 to 1976. Once known by Portuguese sailors as the Seven Sisters, the Seychelles were taken by France as a possession in 1756. Britain claimed the islands from France under the 1814 Treaty of Paris. In the 1830s the British abolition of

SLAVERY caused upheaval on the archipelago, as many of the inhabitants were slaveholders and the economy, based on CASH CROPS such as COTTON, was largely sustained by slave LABOR. The economy therefore switched to less-involved crops such as coconut and vanilla, as well as guano (bird droppings), which was exported for use as fertilizer. Initially administered from MAURITIUS, another former French colony, by 1903 the islands were an official crown colony in their own right.

After World War II (1939–45) the Seychelles, which had never overly interested Britain, began to gain greater political autonomy. In 1948 Britain granted limited suffrage to the landed Seychellois, known as the *grands blancs* (great whites), who were allowed to elect a four-member legislative council to advise the British governor. The "great whites" dominated the Seychelles political scene until the 1960s, when the development of an urban, professional middle class posed a challenge to the old guard. The Seychelles Democratic Party, led by Sir James Mancham (1939–), and the Seychelles People's United Party, led by France Albert René (1935–), emerged as the main political entities on the archipelago. The leaders of these parties shaped independent Seychelles in the postcolonial era.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SEYCHELLES (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Shembe, Isaiah (c. 1870–1935) *South African religious leader*

Isaiah Shembe was born in NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA. His early life was a prosperous one, and at one point he was married to four wives, which was not unusual for a prominent ZULU man. While still a young man, Shembe experienced what he believed were four messages from God, two of which were in the form of a lightning bolt. During this time Christianity was slowly spreading through South Africa, and may have influenced Shembe's visions. According to legend, the second bolt scorched his body and finally convinced him to give up wickedness as well as his four wives.

After this revelation Shembe wandered the land as a prophetic healer, eventually becoming baptized and joining the African Baptist Church, which was independent of any European missionary control or oversight. In 1911 Shembe left this church, in which he was an ordained minister, and founded the Church of Nazaretha; the members of which are known as amaNazaretha (translated as Nazarites). He preached a theology that combined the teachings of the Old Testament with the customs and beliefs of indigenous Zulu RELIGION.

In addition to his devoutness, Shembe was known for his reverence of the environment. He taught that all living creatures should be treated with the same respect

as humans, and he imposed fines on his followers for misdeeds directed toward animals. Shembe established communal farms for his congregation throughout Natal, the largest at Ekuphakameni, and expected the converts to become self-sufficient farmers who did not over-cultivate or breed more livestock than necessary.

The rise of Isaiah Shembe as a religious leader was one of many prophetic movements in Africa during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Despite Shembe's Baptist background, many of his devotees believed him to be the Messiah, a feature shared with other movements. Their beliefs most likely resulted from Shembe's reputation as a healer and, after his death, his purported resurrection.

Although Shembe was uneducated, his son, Johannes Galilee Shembe (1904–1975), who succeeded him as the Nazarites' leader, was a graduate of FORT HARE COLLEGE.

In 1960 the Church had approximately 100,000 members, but it was to expand rapidly over the next couple of decades and reach 1,000,000 members by the early 1980s.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. II, II, IV, V); MISSIONARIES (Vols. III, IV, V); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. V).

Further reading: Irving Hexham and G. C. Oosthuizen, eds., *The Story of Isaiah Shembe*, 3 vols. (Lewiston, Me.: E. Mellen Press, 1996).

Sheppard, William Henry (Reverend) (1865–1927)
African-American Protestant missionary in the Congo

William Sheppard was born in Virginia in 1865, one month after the end of the U.S. Civil War (1861–65). He was fortunate to be one of the few African-American southerners of his generation to obtain a college degree, having been educated at Stillman College and then the Presbyterian Theological Seminary for Colored Men in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. The southern Presbyterian Church selected Sheppard, an ordained minister, to be the first African-American missionary it would send to Africa. In keeping with the segregated practices of the time, however, Sheppard served under the supervision of a white missionary. In 1890, accompanied by Reverend Samuel N. Lapsley (c. 1866–1892), Sheppard arrived in the CONGO FREE STATE (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO). During his 20 years as a missionary he witnessed the horrific effects of the COLONIAL RULE of King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) of Belgium.

Sheppard and Lapsley eventually set up a mission station in Congo's Kasai Province, where they learned the Kuba LANGUAGE and managed to establish good relations with the people of the Kuba ETHNIC GROUP. Up to that point the Kuba people had walled themselves off from such outsiders. Following Lapsley's untimely death from a tropical fever, Sheppard traveled back to the United States to recruit more MISSIONARIES. While in America, he married Lucy Gantt (1867–1955), who returned to the Congo with him and five other Americans.

Back in the Congo region, Sheppard found that Kuba people were being forced to seek refuge in the face of aggression from King Leopold's Force Publique, an army of African conscripts directed by European officers. Sheppard investigated the accusations of atrocities and protested to the administration, only to be brushed off. He continued to speak out, however, and in 1908 he wrote a letter to a newspaper in the Congo Free State detailing the brutal practices of European-owned CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES in the Congo, such as the Kasai Company. Sued for libel, Sheppard went to court, where he won his case.

Sheppard is remembered as one who informed the world of the atrocities that were being inflicted on the Congolese people during the colonial era. In 1910 he left the Congo, and in 1912 he became the minister for a Louisville, Kentucky congregation, serving in that capacity until his death in 1927.

See also: KUBA (Vol. III); BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Further reading: Pagan Kennedy, *Black Livingstone: A True Tale of Adventure in the Nineteenth-century Congo* (New York: Viking, 2002).

Shoa (Showa, Shewa) Province located in the mountainous central region of present-day ETHIOPIA; ADDIS ABABA, the current Ethiopian capital, is located at the center of Shoa Province. Throughout Ethiopia's long and storied history, Shoa, along with AMHARA and TIGRAY, was one of the most powerful kingdoms in what is now Ethiopia. In 1856 the newly crowned Emperor TÉWODROS II (1820–1868) attempted to consolidate his power. He had earlier established control over Amhara and other core areas and then annexed the independent kingdom of Shoa to complete the reunification of the historic Ethiopian state. For the following decade, Shoa was considered part of Téwodros's realm. To reinforce his control, he seized Sahle Mariam (1844–1913), the son of the recently deceased king of Shoa, Haile Malakot (1847–1855), and tutored him in the arts of statecraft. Eventually Téwodros even gave his daughter to him in marriage.

Sahle Mariam escaped from Téwodros's control in 1865, and three years later, after Téwodros chose suicide over the ignominy of defeat to British invaders, Sahle Mariam reasserted Shoa's autonomy with himself as king. Sahle Mariam took the name Menelik and began expanding the boundaries of his kingdom southward

and establishing its Amharic-speaking cultural dominance over non-Amharic people such as the OROMO and Muslims in the state of Harar. Ethiopian Emperor YOHANNES IV (1831–1889) managed to force Menelik to acknowledge his sovereignty in 1878, but Shoa remained relatively autonomous of the central state. When Yohannes died in battle against MAHDIYYA forces invading from the Sudan in 1889, Menelik assumed the throne under the name MENELIK II.

A capable leader and statesman, Menelik II is often credited with creating modern Ethiopia. Shoa's central importance in the empire was solidified when he moved the capital from Gonder, in Amhara, to Addis Ababa, in Shoa. Geographically Shoa was the southern frontier of the old Amharic-speaking core, but it was in the center of the rapidly expanding empire that Menelik II was creating. Shoa continued to be at the center of the empire during much of the 20th century. This included the brief period of Italian COLONIAL RULE (1935–41), when Addis Ababa served as the capital of Italy's East African empire. The end of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia led to new prominence under Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975), as Ethiopia became a leader in the continent's movement toward independence. It was only when Haile Selassie's reign began to falter after 1960 that Shoa's central role in Ethiopia began to slip somewhat.

See also: SHOA (Vol. III).

Shona Dominant ethnic group of present-day ZIMBABWE and also in part of MOZAMBIQUE. The Shona speak a number of closely related dialects of a Bantu LANGUAGE. They made up the core population of the Great Zimbabwe state, which was at its height in the 14th and 15th centuries, as well as its successor states of Mutapa and Rozwi. They referred to themselves by their various subgroupings, such as Karanga, Kalanga, and Zezeru. In the 1830s, offshoot groups from the ZULU Mfecane in SOUTH AFRICA severely disrupted the Rozwi state, which by this time was mainly a collection of smaller chiefdoms.

> The appearance of the NDEBELE about 1840 established a new major state in Zimbabwe. They called the people they encountered living there by the name of "Shona," which then became the common name.

The Ndebele conquered some of the Shona chiefdoms, incorporating their populations as a lower caste in the Ndebele kingdom. They raided other Shona chiefdoms for cattle and people, but many were left undisturbed by such

depredations. The Gaza state, another Mfecane offshoot, intruded on the Shona chiefdoms in Mozambique. The European PARTITION of the continent brought new and different pressures in the 1890s. The Shona did not resist the initial incursion of the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC), but in 1896 they joined the Ndebele in their rebellion against BSAC rule that has come to be called the CHIMURENGA. Among the Shona it was the spirit mediums of the Mwari cult rather than the chiefs that led the rebellion. After prolonged fighting the BSAC defeated the Chimurenga in 1897, and firmly established its COLONIAL RULE over the colony of SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Southern Rhodesia developed a large European SETTLER population, leading to the extensive appropriation of African lands, particularly among the Shona. This especially was the case for areas near the railroads and highways. Many Shona found themselves working on white-owned commercial farms, while others lived in crowded and marginal "native reserves." Others, still, left their families in the rural areas and went to work in the urban areas or in the mines of Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The European presence also led to significant missionary activity, which led to the spread of Christianity and Western-style EDUCATION. This enabled some, such as Stanlake SAMKANGE (1922–1988) and Ndabaningi SITHOLE (1920–2000), to gain a substantial level of education that they then utilized for political leadership. By the late 1950s discontent over their economic and political status was producing a growing nationalism among the Shona.

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); KARANGA (Vol. II); MFECANE (Vol. III); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); ROZWI (Vol. III); SHONA (Vol. II); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III).

Sierra Leone Present-day country, approximately 27,700 square miles (71,700 sq km) in size, on West Africa's Atlantic coast. Bordered by GUINEA and LIBERIA, Sierra Leone began as a British colony initially settled by formerly enslaved Africans.

The Temne were the indigenous inhabitants of the region where the British Sierra Leone Company set up FREETOWN and the original colony, called the Province of Freedom. Beginning in 1787 the colony became home for numerous freed slaves from Britain, Nova Scotia, and Jamaica.

In 1808 the Sierra Leone Company began to founder, and Britain declared the settlement a crown colony and took up the responsibility of running it. The British then constructed a naval base at Freetown, which had the best natural harbor on the West African coast, to aid them in combating the SLAVE TRADE, which the British had outlawed in 1807. Human captives who had been inter-

cepted and liberated by British vessels were taken to Freetown, and by 1864 more than 50,000 of these RECAPTIVES had joined the colony.

Between the ex-slave settlers and the recaptives, a wide variety of West African ethnic groups populated Freetown, leading the British to attempt a program of cultural unification and Christianization. Carried out primarily by Protestant MISSIONARIES of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, the effort was largely successful, leading to the eventual formation of a KRIO, or Creole, culture.

Krios made up a population that was distinct from the indigenous peoples of the interior. Throughout the 19th century, the colonial administration and the Church Missionary Society endeavored to make the freed slaves and recaptives a unified non-ethnic group that was Christian, Western, and, according to their patronizing notions, "civilized." Missionaries within Sierra Leone established schools such as the Annie Walsh Memorial School for girls (founded in 1816), FOURAH BAY COLLEGE (1827), and the Sierra Leone Grammar School (1845). Krios were regarded as "subjects" of the United Kingdom, a more privileged status than that accorded to the "PROTECTORATE natives" after 1896. As supposedly civilized individuals, Krios were allowed to participate in the government of Freetown, electing a mayor and members of the Municipal Council. With access to education and the governmental apparatus, the Krios of Freetown produced figures such as the noted medical doctor James Africanus Beale HORTON (1835–1883), the attorney and Freetown mayor Samuel LEWIS (1843–1903), and the first African Anglican bishop, Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891).

In 1896 the British declared the hinterland a protectorate, and the crown colony and the hinterland together became the present-day area of Sierra Leone. Britain proclaimed the protectorate in an effort to frustrate French encroachment into the region during the period of European PARTITION of Africa. The British protectorate, which was inhabited by about 16 other indigenous groups, was linked with the Freetown colony, forming the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone, with Freetown as the colonial capital. British officials and Krios were appointed to various positions in the protectorate, and the local indigenous ethnic groups were directly ruled by traditional elites who took instructions from the British colonial administration in Freetown. Christian missionaries established missions in the interior and carried out large-scale conversions.

A railroad linking the interior to the coast was completed in 1908, encouraging the export of PALM OIL and GROUNDNUTS (peanuts), but the protectorate was otherwise not afforded the attention that the colony received. In Freetown, however, the establishment of the protectorate spelled the end for many Krio officials involved in the colonial administration. They were phased out in favor of British administrators.

In 1898 an African revolt, led by the Temne chief Bai Bureh (d. 1908), was initiated in response to the hut tax Britain had imposed to finance the protectorate. The revolt was promptly quashed, effectively ending African resistance to British COLONIAL RULE in Sierra Leone.

Following World War I (1914–18), iron and DIAMOND MINING became major industries in Sierra Leone, employing as many as 16,000 Africans by 1926, often for minimal wages and under oppressive conditions. During World War II (1939–45) Freetown served as an important navy and air base for Allied forces operating in the South Atlantic, and 7,000 Sierra Leoneans fought in the war.

After the war, in spite of Krio calls for a greater role in the government, the British passed a colonial constitution, the Stevenson Constitution, which was opposed and could not be implemented until 1950. In 1951 the Stevenson Constitution awarded more power to the indigenous Africans of the protectorate, who greatly outnumbered the Krio minority of Freetown and the rest of the original colony. Also in 1951 elections were held, with the Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP), based largely in the protectorate, dominating the new government. In 1961 Sierra Leone achieved full independence within the British Commonwealth, with SLPP leader Dr. Milton MARGAI (1895–1964) as prime minister. Freetown, no longer predominantly Krio, was made the national capital.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SIERRA LEONE (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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Sisulu, Walter (Walter Max Ulyate Sisulu)
(1912–2003) *Leading political figure in South Africa*

Walter Sisulu was born in Engcobo, Transkei, in the Eastern Cape Province, SOUTH AFRICA. Coincidentally, he was born in 1912, the same year that saw the establishment of the activist group that later became the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), the organization to which he dedicated much of his adult life. He went to JOHANNESBURG in 1929, working several jobs, including a stint as a GOLD miner. He joined the ANC in 1940 and was responsible for recruiting Nelson MANDELA (1918–) into its ranks. Sisulu, along with Mandela and Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993), were among a small handful of young ANC members who formed the ANC Youth League in 1943.

This new arm increased the militancy of the ANC, and as a result the parent organization became more responsive to grassroots issues of concern to the masses. In 1944 Sisulu married Albertina Thetiwa (1918–   ), who became an important anti-APARTHEID activist in her own right.

Under the influence of Sisulu, the ANC Youth Leaguers undertook strikes, boycotts, and public protests in an attempt to pressure the government to grant more rights to black South Africans. Initially Sisulu favored an Africanist, or separatist, approach that excluded non-Africans from involvement in the ANC. In the 1950s, however, he gradually modified his views to the point that he was key in cementing working relations with the South African Indian Congress and other racial groups that sought to bring an end to apartheid. Throughout the rest of his career with the ANC, Sisulu was considered one of its most skillful tacticians, particularly renowned for his moderation and pragmatism.

From 1949 to 1954 he served as the secretary general of the ANC and was responsible for formulating and coordinating the Defiance Campaign of 1952, which increased ANC membership to more than 100,000. During the 1950s Sisulu wrote numerous articles for political South African NEWSPAPERS, including *NEW AGE* and the *Guardian*. In 1954, sponsored by the government of India, he published a book on African nationalism.

In the mid-1950s, as state repression grew more intense, Sisulu was frequently arrested. Most notably he was one of 156 individuals tried during the Treason Trial, begun in 1956 as a government effort to neutralize anti-apartheid forces. On trial again in 1964, he was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island for his political activities. While in prison Sisulu read extensively, earning a secondary degree in ART history and anthropology. In 1984 he was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison, in CAPE TOWN, from which he was released in 1989.

See also: SISULU, ALBERTINA (Vol. V); SISULU, WALTER (Vol. V).

Sithole, Ndabaningi (1920–2000) *Clergyman and political leader in Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe)*

Born to parents who adhered to indigenous SHONA religious practices and beliefs, Sithole did not become a Christian until attending a British mission school in Shabani, in 1932. Later he became a student at the Dadaya Mission school, run by the future prime minister of SOUTHERN RHODESIA, the Reverend Garfield Todd (1908–2002). A determined student, Sithole excelled in his studies and became a teacher at the Dadaya Mission school while also earning a bachelor's degree through correspondence from the University of South Africa. From 1953 to 1956 Sithole was a student at Newton Theological Seminary in Massachusetts and also toured the United States, lecturing and preaching. In 1956, having been ordained as a

Congregationalist minister, he returned to Southern Rhodesia, where he was a school principal and minister.

In 1959 Sithole published *African Nationalism,* a book that made the case against the racist white government of Southern Rhodesia. His election in 1959 to the presidency of the African Teachers' Association gave him a springboard into politics, and in 1960 he became a member of the National Democratic Party (NDP), headed by Joshua NKOMO (1917–1999).

African Nationalism argued on Christian grounds for interracial justice within the highly segregated Southern Rhodesian society, which was dominated by whites. In this sense, Sithole was reflecting the views of Garfield Todd, who believed that Christian principles required white Rhodesians to provide a fuller economic, political, and social scope for African participation in Southern Rhodesia.

As the treasurer of the NDP, Sithole became so involved in his political activities that he ultimately gave up his teaching position. His involvement in the NDP provided him a course to leadership within the turbulent world of Rhodesian politics and allowed him, in the upcoming years, to take a major part in the colony's independence from British COLONIAL RULE and white-settler political domination.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); EDUCATION (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); SITHOLE, NDABANINGI (Vol. V).

Siti binti Saad (c. 1885–1950) *Legendary singer from Zanzibar*

Siti binti Saad was born into SLAVERY on rural ZANZIBAR island and given the name Mtumwa (literally, "slave"). In the late 19th century major political changes took place in Zanzibar that were to affect her and the other slaves, who made up about three-fourths of the island's population. In 1890 Britain took over Zanzibar as a PROTECTORATE, and in 1897 the European occupier compelled the governing BUSAIDI dynasty to abolish the practice of slavery. This unleashed a gradual social revolution, as the former slave population began to build and assert an identity as free people. For many, part of this process involved a move from the rural areas to ZANZIBAR CITY. The future singer joined this migration in 1911.

Siti binti Saad sold the pots that she made for a living on the streets of Zanzibar. To attract buyers she devel-

oped a performance style that included singing and reciting verses. She first attracted attention with her engaging voice, and she then began to learn the Quran and recite its verses. She was such a dynamic performer that she attracted the attention of members of the island's Omani Arab elite, who bestowed the name of *Siti* (Lady) upon her as a sign of their respect and appreciation for her performance. Thus through her MUSIC the former slave girl, Mtumwa, rose to the position of a lady.

After World War I (1914–18) Siti binti Saad formed a band that began to perform *taarab* music, but in a new, revolutionary way. *Taarab* had originated as court music sung in Arabic during the reign of Zanzibari Sultan ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888). Siti binti Saad and her band took it out of the court and into the public sphere, performing in KISWAHILI, the LANGUAGE of the urban neighborhoods populated by former slaves. In doing so, she made *taarab* into a form of music that was quintessentially Zanzibari. While the band performed for the elite on some occasions, their songs reflected the concerns of the Zanzibari working class of both genders. The lyrics dealt with topical politics, the structure of society, and everyday concerns of marriage, family, love, and sex.

In March 1928 Siti binti Saad and her band traveled to Bombay, India, to record their music for the international recording company, HMV (His Master's Voice). Their songs, sung in Kiswahili, had gained immense popularity on their home island of Zanzibar and along the East African SWAHILI COAST and in the interior. In three sessions they recorded about 100 songs, which HMV put on records that were bought by an estimated 72,000 fans by 1931. This was the first time that East African performers had recorded their music for commercial release. Siti binti Saad thus stands as the premier East African musician of her time, and her influence is still felt today.

See also: OMANI SULTANATE (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

slavery The institution of slavery in Africa is as old as it is in other parts of the Eastern Hemisphere, but it has received much more attention because of the impact of the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE on the Western world. The abolition of the transatlantic trade in the 19th century did not bring about the abolition of slavery in Africa.

Many scholars who study the slave trade prefer the term "servitude" when referring to the institution of slavery in Africa. Among the Ashanti of present-day GHANA, the term *akoa* denoted different levels of servility, some of which could be loosely translated to mean servant or subject. Among the Fulbe-speaking FULANI of the Futa Jalon region of GUINEA, the words that translate as "slave" vary from *machudo* to *huwowoh,* but both mean more precisely, "agricultural worker." Among the Anyungwe of central MOZAMBIQUE, *kapolo* meant a person of inferior status,

often forced to work without pay. The persistence of words in modern African languages that denote various forms of servitude point to the complex history of slavery on the continent.

Slavery in Africa was not devoid of exploitation. Indeed, at times in some African societies, slaves were absolute property or chattel of their owners and could be denied personal freedoms, such as sexual rights. The recruiting of slaves on the continent was done generally through warfare between kingdoms, states, towns, chiefdoms, and villages. Wars and state-building efforts that spanned the 19th century often generated large numbers of slaves. For individuals such as SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900), slaves were a by-product of his larger objectives. For others such as RABIH BIN FADLALLAH (c. 1835–1900), capturing slaves constituted a principal objective. Some-times powerful states forced weaker societies to enter into a tributary arrangement, essentially making servants of the tributary state. Sometimes crimes, harassment, debt, threats, famine, or hunger often led people to leave their homes and volunteer for servitude. Other people—criminals, for example—lost their freedom and had to become slaves.

Slaves were in demand in Africa before any recorded European involvement. Large numbers of Africans were enslaved and forced to mine GOLD in the AKAN mines in West Africa prior to European contact. By the 16th century the African owners were paying Portuguese traders in gold in exchange for the slaves they provided. Likewise, other Europeans, including the English, the Dutch, and the Danes, entered the trade and provided slaves in exchange for gold. When Britain defeated the ASHANTI EMPIRE in the ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS, thousands of slaves took advantage of the defeat of the Ashanti to escape from slavery. The DOUALA of West Africa also became involved in the trade when they needed workers in their gold mines. Gold-rich Douala kings fed, clothed, and sometimes married their slave women.

Slavery sometimes was useful in the affairs of the state. In military states, slave soldiers played a significant role in the selection of kings. In other areas, slaves became trusted advisers and administrators to royal courts. Often, African slaves were domestic servants who became members of the family and KINSHIP group of their masters, and slaves in this situation could rise above their stations. For example, JAJA (1821–1891), the powerful merchant and later ruler of Opobo in the NIGER DELTA, was born a slave.

Domestic servants were entrusted with household chores, but some of the young females might also become wives to their masters or to some other free members of society. New extended family settings were by-products of the relationship between domestic servants and their masters' families. Over time large numbers of descendants of domestic servants even became family leaders of their former masters' households. Female domestic ser-

vants were also employed to tend babies. While their children could be integrated into the households of free husbands, servant women were less likely than men to be able to escape from servitude because they were tethered in place by their children.

Colonial governments gradually instituted laws stipulating that individuals could not be born into slavery after a given date, but such decrees varied widely in terms of dates and extent. Thus, slaves in the GOLD COAST COLONY were free as of 1874, but in the interior regions of SIERRA LEONE, slavery was not abolished until 1928.

Slavery and the slave trade in Africa continued throughout the colonial period and right up to the present in various forms. The institution of slavery has been much more visible in areas where highly centralized political structures existed, such as SENEGAL, the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, EGYPT, MALI, MAURITANIA and the Nilotic Sudan. Indeed, for a number of years the British colonial government tolerated slavery in Northern NIGERIA because of its economic importance to the indigenous Muslim Fulani elite, through whom the British governed using indirect rule. Colonial governments resorted to the use of forced LABOR, very similar to slavery in some instances, to build infrastructure, including streets, railroads, and harbors.

In recent years the governments of the Republic of the SUDAN and MAURITANIA have been accused of practicing slavery. They deny the accusations while admitting to practicing some form of servitude, contending that such practices existed in the past without degenerating into anything similar to the Atlantic slave trade.

See also: SERVITUDE (Vol. I); SLAVERY (Vols. II, III).

Further reading: Trevor R. Getz, *Slavery and Reform in West Africa: Toward Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Senegal and the Gold Coast* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003).

slave trade Trade in human beings was an increasingly significant and even dominant aspect of social, economic, and political developments in much of Africa between 1500 and the early 1800s. Though it declined, the slave trade continued to be significant through the remainder of the 19th century and into the early 20th century.

The Slave Trade Continues By the early part of the 19th century, a general European and American condemnation of SLAVERY and the slave trade slowly was bringing the Atlantic slave trade to a halt. Ironically, Great Britain, which had benefited greatly from the slave trade, took the lead. In 1807 Britain enacted legislation that outlawed the involvement of British subjects in the slave trade. The following year the United States abolished its slave trade.

Although most other European nations soon followed the British and American examples, the trade continued, spurred on by conflicts in the Nilotic Sudan and southern NIGERIA, and by the continued expansion of commercial networks in the Congo and northern ANGOLA. European slavers and African middlemen continued to ship enslaved Africans to the Americas, and to Brazil and Cuba in particular. Some of the last shipments of enslaved Africans to the Americas went to Cuba, then a Spanish colony, where prices for slaves were high and the trade was legal. On Africa's eastern coast some enslaved Africans from the Sudan and eastern Africa were taken to the Middle East and others went to India and South Asia.

According to a Dutch navy officer, as many as 30,000 enslaved Africans a year continued to be exported from the coast at the mouth of the Congo River as late as 1860. Cuba imported at least 122,000 slaves in the 1850s, most of whom came from western Central Africa.

A clandestine slave trade thrived, as well. European slavers and their African collaborators would meet secretly and negotiate prices before loading ships with Africans captured in the interior and transported by road or canoe to the coast. The ships would then sail with their captives to the Americas. This sort of clandestine trade continued until the 1880s.

Abolition and Resettlement Britain championed the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade by stationing a navy squadron along the coast of SIERRA LEONE in the early part of the 19th century. Hundreds of slave ships and crews were captured on the high seas and thousands of Africans were freed and resettled in FREETOWN, Sierra Leone. A racially mixed court in Freetown often tried the crews. The liberated Africans ultimately formed part of the KRIO community. The United States joined Britain in "repatriating" both American freed slaves and RECAPTIVES in what became the Republic of LIBERIA in 1847. The French also established a similar settlement in Libreville, GABON, thus creating a third center for the liberation of freed slaves and recaptives.

The Slave Trade and Colonial Labor Needs The need for LABOR rose with the intense European demand for African NATURAL RESOURCES and CASH CROPS. West African groundnut (peanut) planters used slave labor to cultivate the crops in places such as Northern NIGERIA, SENEGAL, and The GAMBIA. Similar cash crops,

such as COCOA in the GOLD COAST COLONY (now GHANA), COFFEE in UGANDA and IVORY COAST, tea in KENYA, RUBBER in the CONGO FREE STATE, and PALM OIL in Calabar (Nigeria) needed labor performed by enslaved Africans to produce the required quantity for European markets. In Portuguese-controlled territories especially, the clandestine slave trade was used to provide labor in order to produce coffee, tobacco, and sugar. However, free labor also was a feature of the cash crop industry, usually provided by small-scale African farmers.

While European individuals, companies, and governments outwardly prohibited participation in the slave trade, often they tacitly condoned, benefited from, and even participated in the use of slave labor on the continent throughout the colonial era.

The Fernando Po scandal was a typical example of European and African collaboration in the clandestine slave trade. A Spanish syndicate in search of slave labor reached an agreement in 1928 with some officials in the Liberian government to supply labor for the Spanish cocoa plantations on the island of Fernando Po. In light of the irregularity of the transaction, a League of Nations committee investigated the so-called Liberian contract labor system and condemned it as slavery.

See also: SLAVE TRADE, THE TRANSATLANTIC (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trade* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1990); David Northrup, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1994).

Smuts, Jan Christian (1870–1950) *Military and political leader, and one of the founders of the Union of South Africa*

A major political figure in SOUTH AFRICA for more than half a century, Smuts was, along with Louis BOTHA (1862–1919), one of the founders of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. Serving in a variety of positions, he frequently represented South Africa on the world stage and played a role in both the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I (1914–18), and the founding of the United Nations. Throughout his life Smuts remained a South African nationalist, albeit one who was more willing to take a moderate stance on race relations and ties with Britain than many of his fellow South Africans.

Born in the CAPE COLONY, Smuts came from a family with deep roots in the Boer community. He was, however, a British subject, and he received his education at Cambridge University. After completing his studies in law he returned to the Cape Colony, where he became a practicing attorney.

In the 1890s Smuts found himself increasingly at odds with Britain over its attempt to wrest control of southern Africa from the BOERS. The final catalyst for Smuts's break with Britain was the infamous JAMESON RAID of 1898. Led by Leander Starr Jameson and instigated by Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), this attempt to overthrow the Afrikaner government of the TRANSVAAL was purportedly taken in defense of the "oppressed" UITLANDERS, as the non-Boer immigrants to South Africa were commonly known. To Smuts, this was a clear sign of Britain's intention to carry out its territorial ambitions. Renouncing his British citizenship, he moved to the South African Republic, where he steadily became more involved in public affairs.

During the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902) Smuts commanded Boer forces in their ultimately doomed battle against the British Empire. Ever pragmatic, though, after the war Smuts came to the conclusion that hard-line Boer opposition to Britain would only lead to further disaster. Instead he advocated cooperation between Britain and the Boers, a route he followed in conjunction with Botha. Ultimately this led to the founding of the Union of South Africa, made up of the two former Boer republics of the ORANGE FREE STATE and the TRANSVAAL as well as the Cape Colony and NATAL.

With Botha as South Africa's first prime minister, Smuts assumed a variety of roles in the new nation's government, at one time serving simultaneously as defense minister, minister of the interior and mines, and minister of finance. During World War I he also assumed direct command of the South African forces fighting against German troops in GERMAN EAST AFRICA. By 1917 he had taken on an even larger role, becoming part of Britain's Imperial War Cabinet in London, as well as one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles.

Although Smuts succeeded Botha as prime minister after Botha's death in 1919, political dissension intensified within South Africa. Smuts's pragmatic stance, combined with his anti-LABOR policies, brought about his fall from power in 1924. However, in 1933 he returned to power in a coalition cabinet, eventually becoming South Africa's wartime prime minister at the outbreak of World War II (1939–45).

Despite being named a field marshal, he did not take command of troops in battle. Instead he spent most of the war in London, where he eventually became active in organizing the United Nations. Politically, he once again fell victim to more extreme elements, and the South African Nationalist Party defeated him and his party in the election of 1948.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vol. V); KRUGER, PAUL (Vol. IV); VEREENIGING, TREATY OF (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: J. C. Smuts, *Jan Christian Smuts: A Biography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1973).

Sobukwe, Robert (1924–1978) *Leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa*

Born in Graff-Reinet, Cape Province, SOUTH AFRICA, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was educated at the country's premier educational institutions for Africans, Healdtown secondary school and FORT HARE COLLEGE. While at Fort Hare, he joined the Youth League of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). At the time, this was a particularly risky thing to do, since the ANC Youth League endorsed militant popular protest to force the South African state to alter its overtly racist policies.

After graduation in 1949 Sobukwe assumed a teaching position in Standerton, TRANSVAAL, but was dismissed because of his political activism. He was able to find other employment as an instructor of ZULU at the University of Witwatersrand.

During the 1950s, as the ANC was moving toward cooperation with other racial groups in order to combat APARTHEID, Sobukwe became increasingly opposed to the organization's policy of multiracialism. Instead he advocated an Africanist, or separatist, policy, whereby Africans would rely only on themselves in their attempt to overcome the government's unjust laws.

In 1955 he became the editor of *The Africanist,* which was the official voice of the Africanist bloc within the black opposition. In 1958 he led the breakaway Africanist faction out of the ANC and helped found the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC) the following year. He was elected its first president and became its leading theoretician. In March 1960 the PAC led demonstrations against the pass laws that required all Africans to carry state-issued identity documents. The protests ended in the Sharpeville massacre, in which South African police killed 69 Africans. The government banned the PAC and arrested Sobukwe, imprisoning him for the next nine years.

See also: PAN-AFRICANISM (Vol. IV); SHARPEVILLE (Vol. V); SOBUKWE, ROBERT (Vol. V).

Further reading: Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1978).

Soga, John Henderson (Reverend) (1860–1941) *Author, minister, and historian of the African peoples of South Africa*

Soga was the eldest son of a XHOSA father, Tiyo SOGA (1829–1871), the first black South African to be ordained as a Christian minister. His mother, Janet Burnside, was Scottish. John Henderson Soga was born in England and grew up in the eastern Cape Province town of Mgwali. Often sick as a child, he returned to England with his mother on several occasions for medical care. In 1870 his parents sent him to Glasgow, Scotland, for his elementary education, after which he attended the University of Edinburgh. He graduated from Edinburgh in 1890 and then attended the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall. Soga became an ordained minister in 1893 and returned to South Africa as a missionary in the Mount Frere district of present-day Transkei. Later he moved to a mission in Elliottsdale. His career as a minister, and that of his father, are examples of the important role that African Christians played as MISSIONARIES to their own people.

Following in the footsteps of his father, John translated religious texts from English into Xhosa and vice versa. In 1929 he completed a Xhosa translation, begun by his father, of John Bunyan's popular Christian allegory, *Pilgrim's Progress.* In 1930 he published a Xhosa history, entitled *The South-Eastern Bantu* (1930), that has been a standard in the field ever since. His later works included *The AmaXhosa: Life and Customs* (1931) and *Bantu Literature and Life* (1935).

> John Henderson Soga's younger brother Allan Kirkland Soga (d. 1938) was a journalist who was active in politics and was a founding member, in 1912, of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

After a long and distinguished career as a writer, translator, and missionary in South Africa, Soga retired with his Scottish wife to England in 1936. They and their son were killed in a German air raid on Southampton in 1941.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Soga, Tiyo (1829–1871) *Missionary, journalist, writer of hymns, and collector of Xhosa folklore*

A scholar and journalist as well as an evangelical preacher, Tiyo Soga was a prime force in the establishment of Presbyterian missions in SOUTH AFRICA. He was also a talented linguist who helped supervise a XHOSA translation of the Gospels. Born in Tyume, CAPE COLONY, in 1829, Tiyo was the son of one of the main advisors to the powerful Xhosa chieftain, Ngqika (c. 1775–1829). While Tiyo was a child, his mother converted to Christianity. Released from her polygamous marriage, she and her son moved to the Chumie Mission, where the boy began his schooling. In 1844 he began study at Lovedale, but the 1846–47 war between the Xhosa and the Cape Colony caused the

school to close. Soon thereafter Lovedale's former principal took Tiyo to Scotland, where he attended Normal School in Glasgow and was "adopted" by the congregation of the John Street United Presbyterian Church. He was baptized in 1848.

Soga returned to the eastern Cape and, beginning in 1849, served as an evangelist, first in Chumie, and then at a new mission he opened at Uniondale. His work proved especially difficult because the people at Uniondale associated Christianity with the COLONIAL RULE they were fighting against. When another war broke out in 1850, Soga's mission was burned to the ground on Christmas Day. He then returned to Scotland to embark on further studies and enrolled at the Theological Hall, in Glasgow. He was ordained as a minister by the United Presbyterian Church in 1856, and soon married a Scotswoman, Janet Burnside.

Soga's return to the eastern Cape in 1857 coincided with the great period of turmoil known as the CATTLE KILLING. It was in the midst of the subsequent political upheaval and mass starvation that Soga started his missionary work, first at Peelton and then at Mgwali. Over the years that followed, Soga developed successful missions throughout the region. Poor health, however, hampered his ministry. During this period he also wrote hymns and translated the first part of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* putting the words of the famous allegory into Xhosa.

Writing, in one form or another, was an important part of Soga's life and work. He was a prominent contributor to the newspaper, *Indaba,* which was published in both Xhosa and English. Many of his articles appeared under the pseudonym Nonjiba Waseluhlangeni (Dove of the Nation). He also collected dozens of Xhosa tales, legends, and sayings, putting down some of the most noteworthy of them in a volume called *The Inheritance of My Children,* which he hoped would help his children understand and appreciate their African heritage.

Some of Soga's most lasting literary accomplishments came as the result of his service on the board that oversaw revisions to the Xhosa translation of the Gospels. Here his experience as a composer of hymns as well as a journalist helped him make major contributions to a revised translation of the Gospel that influenced generations of African converts to Christianity.

In ill health for much of his life, Soga died in 1871, succumbing to tuberculosis. The legacy he left behind included his extensive missionary work and his spreading of the belief, which he passed down to his followers and children alike, that Xhosa traditions and culture were every bit as important as those of Europe. Tiyo Soga's children included Alan Kirkland Soga (d. 1938), a newspaper editor and founder of a group that became a political ancestor of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, and John Henderson SOGA (1860–1941), who carried on his fa-

ther's missionary and literary work. The daub-and-wattle church that Soga built in Mgwali still stands today.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); EDUCATION (Vols. IV, V); NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV).

Sokoto Caliphate

Muslim theocratic state established in Northern NIGERIA in the early 1800s; it fell to the British in 1903 and became part of colonial Nigeria. The Sokoto Caliphate was a FULANI-led, Muslim empire established over the HAUSA States in the early 19th century, in the aftermath of the JIHAD led by Usman dan Fodio (1754–1817). Upon Usman's death, the caliphate passed to his son, Muhammad Bello (c. 1781–1837), who transformed the caliphate into a vital power. By the mid-1850s Sokoto had become the largest empire in Africa since the collapse of Songhai. Its influence spread far outside its borders, as it inspired jihads and the rise of other theocratic Muslim states in SENEGAL, MALI, IVORY COAST, CHAD, and the present-day Republic of the SUDAN.

The vigorous economy of the caliphate was based on well-established Hausa commercial activity with ties to trans-Saharan trade. Major items included salt, cloth, and leather. But it was the commerce in human beings that was its primary source of income, with the captives taken in the caliphate's regular wars being shipped to various parts of Hausaland, where they worked in everything from AGRICULTURE and herding to crafts.

Politically the caliphate was a loose confederation of semi-autonomous emirates, or Muslim states, with supreme authority over the confederation resting in the caliph, or sultan. Relatively early in its history, conflict between Muhammad Bello and his uncle, Abdullah (d. 1829), led the caliphate to become divided into eastern and western regions. Although each region had its own capital—Sokoto being the capital in the east and Gwanda the capital in the west—both recognized the supreme authority of the caliph in Sokoto.

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At its peak in the 1850s, the Sokoto Caliphate was made up of 30 semi-independent emirates, as well the capital region of Sokoto. It stretched over 900 miles (1,448 km) from Dori, in present-day Mali, to Adamawa, in CAMEROON.

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The state had faced internal rebellions and wars with African neighbors throughout much of its history, but French-British rivalry for territorial empire in the aftermath of the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884−85) meant that the caliphate eventually faced forces it could not defeat. By the late 1890s the French had advanced into northern

and western regions, but the greatest threat was from the British in the south, where the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY had gained sovereignty over much of the territory. When the company lost its charter in 1900, those lands were placed under direct British control, and Captain Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945) then launched major efforts to establish British COLONIAL RULE over Sokoto. In 1903 he defeated the caliph, Muhammad Attahiru (d. 1903), who died soon after. Lugard then dismantled the caliphate.

Following a policy of indirect rule that he advocated for colonial administration, Lugard allowed local emirates to remain in place as long as they acknowledged British sovereignty, abolished SLAVERY, and followed various other administrative practices.

See also: BELLO, MUHAMMAD (Vol. III); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); USMAN DAN FODIO (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); HAUSA STATES (Vol. II, III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV); PARTITION (Vol. IV); SOKOTO CALIPHATE (Vol. III).

Somalia East African country, 246,000 square miles (637,100 sq km) in size, located on the Horn of Africa; during the colonial era, the region, known as Somaliland, was hotly contested among both European and African imperial powers. Somalia is bordered by DJIBOUTI to the north, KENYA to the south, and ETHIOPIA to the west.

The late 19th century saw no fewer than five countries lay claim to portions of what is now the nation of Somalia. Britain wanted to acquire Somali territory for use in animal husbandry, specifically to supply meat to its naval port in Aden, on the Arabian Peninsula. France had established its claim to the port of Obock (in present-day Djibouti) and was seeking more territory. In 1870, EGYPT, then under the control of the Ottoman Empire, occupied portions of the Somali Coast in response to European encroachment. However in 1885, when Egypt was forced to withdraw from the region in order to combat the MAHDIYYA uprising in the Sudan, Britain stepped into the void, establishing coastal claims.

Soon both Italy and Ethiopia began to stake their own claims to Somali territory. By 1889 Italy had acquired protectorates within southern Somaliland. Between 1887 and 1897 Ethiopia, under Emperor MENELIK II (1844–1913), annexed the Muslim emirate of Harer and the region of western Somaliland known as the OGADEN, over which Ethiopia claimed sovereignty. By 1900 the entire region had been divided, resulting in BRITISH SOMALILAND to the north, FRENCH SOMALILAND (the future Djibouti) to the northwest, and ITALIAN SOMALILAND to the south. Ethi-opia claimed the Ogaden as Ethiopian Somaliland, and another portion was claimed by Britain as the Northern Frontier District of the colony of Kenya.

The Somali, among the most ethnically homogenous peoples of Africa, remained divided under COLONIAL RULE until 1935, the year Italy invaded Ethiopia. A year into World War II (1939–45), the Italians conquered British Somaliland and the Ogaden, reuniting all of the Somali territories except for French Somaliland. The reunification under Italy was brief, however, as Britain recaptured British Somaliland in 1941 and went on to liberate Ethiopia. Britain then set up a military administration over the Somali territories, and in 1948 a colonial government was once again established. That same year the Ogaden was returned to Ethiopia, derailing the desires of Somali nationalists who desired a "Greater Somalia." In 1950 Italian Somaliland was returned to Italy as a United Nations TRUST TERRITORY, under the condition that the colony become independent in 10 years.

Ethiopian and British forces were met with violent resistance in the form of the so-called dervish movement headed by the devout and militant anti-foreign Islamic leader, Muhammad Abdullah HASSAN (1864–1920). The war he led lasted until his death in 1920, and resulted in the death of approximately one-third of the northern Somali population.

While Italian Somaliland benefited from development under colonial rule, British Somaliland was largely neglected. Upon the merging of the two colonies, discrepancies in terms of economic strength and political experience caused a skew in power that favored southern Somalia.

Italy adhered to the deadline and withdrew from Italian Somaliland in 1960. Submitting to Somali nationalist fervor, Britain granted British Somaliland independence that same year, and the two former colonies merged to become the United Republic of Somalia. A coalition government was then formed in MOGADISHU, formerly the capital of Italian Somaliland, with the Somali National League and the United Somali Party representing the North, and the dominant Somali Youth League (SYL) representing the South. Aadan Abdullah Usmaan (b. 1908) of the SYL became the country's first president.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); HALLIE SELLASIE ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SOMALI (Vol. II); SOMALIA (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Sotho One of southern Africa's largest groups speaking a Bantu-based LANGUAGE; the Sotho (pronounced *sutu*) can be divided into three separate peoples, each of which speaks its own Sotho-based language: the Basotho, the PEDI, and the TSWANA.

The Basotho Historically, the Sotho-speaking people (often called the *Basotho*) lived primarily in a region that includes present-day LESOTHO (a small independent country located completely within the borders of SOUTH AFRICA), the adjacent Free State, and, to a lesser extent, the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The Sotho trace their origins as a modern people to the early 1800s, when large numbers of Sotho were displaced by the ZULU Mfecane, a period of expansion for the Zulu nation. Sotho refugees were united by their leader, Mshweshwe (c. 1786–1870), who formed the Sotho kingdom by the early 1830s. The kingdom then became a British PROTECTORATE in 1868 and remained under British rule until independence, in 1966. Many Sotho people migrated to work on the diamond mines and then the GOLD mines of South Africa in the later 19th century, so that today they also live in the JOHANNESBURG urban area. Today people who speak Sesotho, as the Sotho language is called, form nearly 8 percent of the South African population. Sesotho was among the first African languages to develop a written form.

The Pedi The Pedi kingdom originated among the northern Sotho people, in the 17th century, in the region between the Vaal and Limpopo rivers in present-day South Africa. United under King Thulare (d. 1824), the Pedi dominated the TRANSVAAL and exploited the Phalaborwa mines, which yielded iron and COPPER for trade. In the 1800s NDEBELE attacks and the Zulu Mfecane forced the Pedi to resettle east of the present-day city of PRETORIA. There they battled both the BOERS and British settlers before being defeated in 1879. Subsequently many Pedi were forced to LABOR on the mines and white-owned farms. Later they suffered greatly under South Africa's APARTHEID policies. The Pedi Sotho language is spoken by almost 10 percent of today's South Africans.

The Tswana As with the Basotho and Pedi, the Tswana were also greatly affected by the Zulu Mfecane, which forced them to unite and restructure their society. The Tswana also became embroiled in the Boer and British conflicts of the late 1800s. They were ultimately dominated by the British, who established the protectorate of BECHUANALAND in 1885. Bechuanaland became independent BOTSWANA in 1966. Setswana, or Tswana, common throughout Botswana, is spoken by 8 percent of South Africans. Presently, the three languages of these groups—Sotho, Pedi and Tswana, are among the 11 national languages of South Africa.

See also: ANGLO-BOER WAR (Vol. IV); BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MFECANE (Vol. III); MSHWESHWE (Vol. III); PHALABORWA MINES (Vol. III); SOTHO (Vol. III).

South Africa Present-day country at the southern tip of Africa with an area of 470,700 square miles (1,219,100 sq km). South Africa completely surrounds the country of LESOTHO and is bordered by NAMIBIA to the northwest, by BOTSWANA and ZIMBABWE to the north, and by MOZAMBIQUE and SWAZILAND to the east.

During the first half of the 19th century, the ZULU period of expansion known as the Mfecane resulted in the temporary depopulation of large areas of fertile land in what later became the TRANSVAAL, the ORANGE FREE STATE (OFS), and NATAL. This allowed the BOERS, who had migrated from the CAPE COLONY to these areas during the Great Boer Trek (1835–early 1840s), to lay claim to large tracts of seemingly unoccupied land. In the mid-1840s Britain annexed Natal, which led to an exodus of Boer families to the OFS and the Transvaal. British settlers arriving in Natal in turn brought indentured Indian workers to supply LABOR on sugar plantations. In the meantime the Cape Colony continued on its path of steady if unspectacular economic growth. It also continued to expand its borders, especially eastward into the lands of the XHOSA.

African Resistance to European Expansion As the Boers migrated, the indigenous inhabitants of the region attempted to contain them. For example, the NDEBELE, led by their king, Mzilikazi (1790–1868), fought the Boers for three years near PRETORIA before retreating to an area north of the Limpopo River.

Meanwhile the Zulu impeded the movement of AFRIKANERS (another name for the Boers) into Natal. Under the leadership of CETSHWAYO (c. 1826–1884) and DINUZULU (1868–1913), Zulus also resisted British colonial actions in Natal. They inflicted heavy losses upon the British at the Battle of ISANDLWANA, but the Zulus eventually lost the ANGLO-ZULU WAR (1878–79). After the war Britain severely weakened Zululand by dividing the kingdom among 13 chiefdoms. Nearly a decade later, in 1887, Britain annexed Zululand to Natal.

Some African groups fared better against European intrusion. For example, the SOTHO battled the Boers off and on for years, ultimately retaining a homeland, BASUTOLAND (later Lesotho), with the help of the British. At the end of the century, some of the TSWANA, under the leadership of KHAMA III (1835–1923), were able to prevent the incorporation of much of BECHUANALAND (later Botswana) into the neighboring white-ruled colonies.

Unification of South Africa The importance Britain ascribed to South Africa increased dramatically with the discovery of DIAMONDS at KIMBERLEY in 1866, and the GOLD rush on the WITWATERSRAND during the 1880s. Wanting to ensure their access to the resource-

rich land that sparked the MINERAL REVOLUTION, Britain favored the political unification of Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the OFS. The AFRIKANER REPUBLICS of the Transvaal and the OFS, however, opposed unification, and the conflict of interests came to a head with the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), thanks in large part to the heavy-handed tactics of administrator Lord Alfred MILNER (1854–1925). Though the Boers met with early success, the British, with the resources of an entire empire, eventually emerged victorious.

With peace restored to the region, Britain established the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA in 1910. However, with no black political representation in the new parliament and an ineffective English-speaking electorate, control of the Union government fell to the Afrikaners. Generally Afrikaners practiced an austere form of Calvinism and held an unyielding belief in white supremacy. They shared a common sense of nationalism that the British colonists in South Africa lacked, and this strengthened their political resolve.

One goal of Afrikaner nationalism was to expand the legislation that gave whites a privileged position in South African society. Hence, the Native Labor Regulation Act of 1911 outlawed blacks from breaking a LABOR contract. Later that year the government passed the Mines and Works Act, which codified the long-standing practice of reserving skilled MINING jobs for whites. Then in 1913 the government passed the Native Lands Act, which created separate living areas for blacks and whites and prohibited blacks from acquiring land outside of "native reserves."

The Native Lands Act designated less than 7 percent of the land in the Union for blacks, though they made up more than two-thirds of the population. Meanwhile, the remaining land—more than 90 percent of it—was reserved for whites, who made up only one-fifth of the population.

Africans did not accept these new laws silently. In 1912 black activists founded the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which in 1923 became the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). The ANC vigorously protested the actions of the Union's government but, with little support among South Africa's British politicians, the Afrikaner-controlled government continued to institute its racist policies unabated.

In the elections of 1924 the union's relatively moderate prime minister, Jan Christiaan SMUTS (1870–1950), was defeated by J. B. M. HERTZOG (1866–1942), an avowed ardent Afrikaner nationalist. Hertzog quickly introduced more legislation that benefited whites, including the Wage Act of 1925, which promoted the preferential hiring of white workers.

In the 1930s Hertzog attempted to shore up his support by allying himself with his former opponent, Smuts, and formed the new United Party (UP). This did not sit well with the many Afrikaners who believed that Smuts was not a strong supporter of Afrikaner nationalism. As a result, disenchanted UP members split from the party to form the Purified National Party (PNP) under the leadership of D. F. MALAN (1874–1959), a fervent Afrikaner nationalist and white-supremacist.

World War II and its Aftermath World War II (1939–45) proved to be a divisive period for Afrikaners. Smuts believed that South Africa was bound by loyalty to the British Commonwealth and should enter the war on the side of Britain. Hertzog meanwhile, favored neutrality. Still others pushed for an alliance with Germany and a reorganization of South Africa into a Nazi state. Smuts prevailed, however, causing Hertzog to resign. Smuts again became prime minister, while Hertzog joined with Malan to form the Reunited National Party (Herenigde National Party, HNP). Following the war, in the pivotal 1948 election, the UP government was ousted in favor of the HNP.

The war had stimulated South Africa's manufacturing sector, resulting in a job explosion that drew more blacks into the urban work force. This URBANIZATION, especially marked in cities like JOHANNESBURG and DURBAN, contributed to an increase in black political activity, which became more vocal in its insistence on racial equality.

Political activity among South Africa's blacks unnerved Afrikaner nationalists, who began pushing for laws to further limit the movement of blacks into white-controlled areas. Malan, for his part, supported a ban on interracial marriage and more stringent enforcement of labor laws. Malan and the HNP grouped the tenets of their platform under a single, descriptive name, APARTHEID, which is AFRIKAANS for "aparthood," or "separateness."

The HNP soon joined with the Afrikaner Party in the reformed National Party (NP), which quickly began passing legislation that made apartheid a binding system of social, economic, and political organization. During this time, one of the system's leading proponents was Hendrik VERWOERD (1901–1966). South Africa's minister of native affairs from 1950 to 1958, Verwoerd served as the country's prime minister from 1958 until his death in 1966. With Verwoerd's support, the South African government passed laws to divide cities into racially segregated areas and to create supposedly self-governing African "Bantustans" (black homelands). Further legislation established a separate system of EDUCATION for blacks.

In response to the government's more insistent separation of the races, black political organizations also adopted stronger positions. The ANC Youth League was a younger and more militant arm of the ANC. Founded by Anton Lembede (1914–1947), it was later led by Nelson MANDELA

(1918–), who oversaw an increase in ANC membership from 10,000 to more than 100,000 by 1952. In concert with other political groups such as the South African Indian Congress, the ANC organized antigovernment rallies. They especially targeted the laws that made it mandatory for blacks to carry a passbook at all times.

Despite its efforts the ANC was unable to gain much ground in its fight against apartheid. Increasing frustration among some members led to the foundation of the militant PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC) in 1959. The following year the PAC organized a national campaign against passbooks, calling on blacks to leave their passbooks at home and rally peacefully outside police stations to invite arrest. It was hoped that the arrests would overwhelm the South African judicial system and call attention to the inequities of the system.

However, one such rally in the city of Sharpeville ended in disaster, with police opening fire, killing 69 demonstrators and wounding 200 more. The incident led to massive work stoppages and continued demonstrations. As a result the South African government declared a state of emergency, arresting thousands and outlawing both the ANC and the PAC.

After the incident at Sharpeville, the government became even harsher in dealing with opposition groups and their leaders. Annoyed by international criticism of apartheid, especially by newly independent members of the British Commonwealth, the Union of South Africa became defiant in its preservation of the system. A referendum limited to whites voted in favor of forming a republic free of all ties to Britain, and on May 30, 1961, Prime Minister Verwoerd declared the independent Republic of South Africa.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MFECANE (Vol. III); SOUTH AFRICA (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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Civil unrest and police repression were a large part of life in South Africa in 1957. *© AP Newsfeatures*

cal Imagination in South Africa (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Robert Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa,* 3rd ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001).

Southern Rhodesia Colonial territory that became present-day ZIMBABWE. Beginning in the 1850s, the region that became Southern Rhodesia rapidly changed with the arrival of British explorers, colonists, and MISSIONARIES. In 1888 the NDEBELE king, LOBENGULA (1836–1894), signed a treaty with the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC), led by Cecil RHODES (1853–1902), which permitted the company to mine GOLD in the kingdom. Within a few years, the BSAC established an administrative center at SALISBURY (now Harare) and had taken control of the whole country, renaming it Southern Rhodesia in Rhodes's honor.

Southern Rhodesia officially became a British colony in 1923, a year after a whites-only referendum chose self-government over joining the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA to the south. Three decades later, in 1953, the whites of Southern Rhodesia supported the creation of the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION, which brought Southern Rhodesia together with the two British protectorates of NYASALAND (now MALAWI) and NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA). The federation was disbanded in 1963, and two years later the whites of Southern Rhodesia announced a unilateral declaration of independence, although Britain refused to recognize the new nation, now named simply Rhodesia.

The other nations of the former Central African Federation achieved independence in 1964, but the minority white rulers in Rhodesia clung to power until 1980. At that time, the majority black population won independence and renamed the nation Zimbabwe after the famous stone city of Great Zimbabwe, located on the Zimbabwe Plateau.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (Vol. V).

South West Africa German PROTECTORATE and colony from 1884 to 1915. South West Africa was governed by SOUTH AFRICA from 1915 until 1990, the year that it became independent NAMIBIA. During the colonial era the protectorate was bordered by ANGOLA, NORTHERN RHODESIA, BECHUANALAND, and the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

After South West Africa was declared a German colony in 1885, German MINING companies and their financiers began prospecting in the interior regions of the country. These territories, however, were occupied by the NAMA and HERERO peoples, who attempted to repel the outsiders. In short order German forces were dispatched to the region

and, using genocide as a tactic of regional PACIFICATION, they decimated the indigenous populations of the region.

The German colony of South West Africa excluded the coastal town of WALVIS BAY, which was claimed by British settlers from CAPE COLONY, in South Africa.

After World War I (1914–18) Germany's African colonies were divided among the victorious Allies. The League of Nations authorized South Africa, which in 1915 had invaded and occupied the territory on behalf of the Allied Powers, to administer South West Africa as a MANDATE. The South African administration instituted its segregation policies that favored the white, largely AFRIKAANS- and German-speaking population of South West Africa at the expense of the country's African and mixed-race populations. The indigenous Africans were confined to nonproductive "native reserves," where they were unable to maintain a livelihood based on the traditional practices of AGRICULTURE and PASTORALISM. In particular, OVAMBO men were thus forced to engage in migrant LABOR and work for white enterprises. In contrast, the most fertile and mineral-rich lands were allocated to the minority whites and South African firms.

The white-minority South African government ruled South West Africa and after 1948 implemented the same racist APARTHEID policies that it used to maintain political and social superiority at home. For this reason, independence was very slow in coming to South West Africa's oppressed majority. Finally, in 1989, the decades-long efforts of nationalist leaders, coupled with international pressure, paid off and the country held its first national elections. Samuel Nujoma (1929–   ), the leader of the South West Africa People's Organization, became the country's first president, and in 1990 Nujoma declared the independent Republic of Namibia.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NUJOMA, SAMUEL (Vol. V); TRUST TERRITORY (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Soviet Union and Africa The government of what was the former United Soviet Socialist Republics, or Soviet Union, became involved in Africa in the early 20th century, not long after the Bolshevik Revolution (1917) established the communist Soviet state in Russia. From that time onward Soviet interaction with Africa took many forms.

Once the communist revolution in Russia succeeded, the newly renamed Soviet Union focused much of its energy on fomenting revolution against capitalist states

around the world. The Soviet leadership made concerted efforts to send communists to Africa to reinforce the ideas of national liberation already present in the minds of African colonial subjects. The success of the Soviet revolution clearly demonstrated to the African colonies that liberation was within their reach.

By 1921 white socialists in SOUTH AFRICA organized Africa's first Communist party, which found support among South Africa's blacks and Coloured population. Before the decade was over, the Communist International, a Soviet body organized to coordinate the world's communist parties, had passed a specific resolution to support the liberation of all oppressed people in the European colonies.

For the most part, after World War II (1939–45), the European colonizers were only marginally concerned with advancing African independence movements. Because of this the Soviet Union was able to make great strides in presenting itself across the African continent as a possible post-independence benefactor.

Furthermore, the Cold War period exacerbated international tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both sides of this ideological conflict were actively involved in African politics. Soviet aid came in the form of weapons, training, and financial assistance that was intended to fuel the emerging nationalist conflicts and further assist in the development of African nationalism. Soviet overtures were not entirely for the sake of national liberation, however. Africa's strategic position near the oil sources of the Middle East and its own incredible wealth of NATURAL RESOURCES, including uranium, were compelling reasons for the Soviets to have allies in Africa. Although Soviet influence in African affairs was limited during the period immediately following the Second World War, its role would increase dramatically from 1960 onward.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Soyinka, Wole (Akinwande Oluwole Soyinka)

(1934–) *Nigerian playwright, novelist, and winner of the 1986 Nobel Prize in Literature*

Born in 1934, in a village in the YORUBA-speaking region of Western NIGERIA, Soyinka came from a family that was representative of the spiritual and intellectual divisions facing Africans of his generation. His mother was a Christian convert known for her religious devotion, and his father, although an agnostic, was the head of a Christian primary school. His grandfather, however, insisted that Soyinka be instructed in the traditional ways of his Yoruba culture, and saw to it that the boy went

through the appropriate Yoruba initiation rituals before being sent off to a colonial government school. As a result Soyinka grew up recognizing the validity of both the African and European traditions, not just in ART and culture, but in terms of RELIGION as well.

Eventually attending University College in IBADAN, Soyinka studied Yoruba and Greek mythology as well as dramatic literature. After publishing several poems and short stories while still an undergraduate, he went to England to study drama at Leeds University. After graduating he spent two years with London's Royal Court Theater. In 1957 Soyinka's first play, *The Invention,* was produced. A satire of colonial Africa, *The Invention* examines the confusion of the colonial authorities when people of Africa suddenly lose their black skin color. He also wrote the widely popular *Trials of Brother Jero* (1960) during this period, which came to be widely performed in both Britain and Nigeria. Soyinka returned to Nigeria in 1960, already an established playwright of some note. But his literary career was only beginning, for he was soon to become one of Africa's best-known and most widely respected contemporary writers. He also developed into a highly vocal critic of the political scene within Nigeria and of the failures of postcolonial African states to achieve for their citizens the promises of independence from COLONIAL RULE.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); IBADAN, UNIVERSITY OF (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); SOYINKA, WOLE (Vol. V).

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Spain and Africa

In general, Spain's colonial interest in Africa was limited to settlements along the Mediterranean Moroccan coast (known as SPANISH MOROCCO) and outposts on the continent's northwest Atlantic coast (known as SPANISH SAHARA). Spain's only sub-Saharan colony was SPANISH GUINEA—a small territory on the southern West African coast and offshore islands, the most important of which was Fernando Po—which later became EQUATORIAL GUINEA.

For centuries Spain had posted naval forces in the Moroccan coastal towns of Ceuta and Melilla to patrol the Mediterranean. In 1859–60, however, MOROCCO disputed the boundaries of the Spanish settlements, and the two countries came to war. Following a Spanish victory, Morocco was forced to recognize Spanish authority in the two towns and also had to cede territory along its south-

ern coast. The international right of Spain to rule these territories (and Spanish Guinea) was officially recognized by the other European colonial powers following negotiations at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85).

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The Spanish settlements in northern Morocco often faced armed resistance from indigenous BERBERS who fiercely defended their territory, known as the RIF, against colonial occupation by both Spanish and French forces.

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In 1912 Morocco became a French PROTECTORATE, but Spain was allowed to continue its rule in the areas it already controlled. These included the southern coastal settlements of Villa Cisneros (now Tarfaya), and Río de Oro (now Dakhla). By 1934 Spain had suppressed indigenous Saharawi resistance and added Ifni and Laayoune, the new colonial administrative center, to its holdings. Spain also exercised control over the Canary Islands, located in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of Spanish Sahara. Like Ceuta and Melilla, the Canaries had long been used to protect Spanish maritime interests.

During the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), control of Spain's Moroccan territories became crucial because of their proximity to the Spanish mainland. In 1936 the Spanish Republican government sent military leader Francisco Franco (1892–1975) to the Canary Islands for fear that he might lead his troops in a rebellion. The move failed, however, when Franco seized the islands within a few months. This made it possible for him to move some of his Nationalist troops to the Moroccan mainland, from which he launched air attacks against Republican forces in southern Spain. Franco's Nationalists eventually won the war.

In 1956, following the French lead, Franco returned most of Spain's former territories to Morocco. However, the discovery of huge deposits of valuable minerals in the Moroccan interior caused Spain to put off a total withdrawal from its former Saharan colonies. Further complicating the issue, local Saharawi herders and farmers claimed territorial rights in the western Sahara and renewed their armed resistance to the last vestiges of Spanish colonialism. The Saharan territorial disputes involving Spain would last until the 1976, when, under the watchful eye of the United Nations, the last Spanish forces and administrators officially withdrew from Laayoune.

See also: FERNANDO PO (Vol. III); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, V).

Spanish Guinea Coastal West African colony that became EQUATORIAL GUINEA in 1963. The colony was made up of a small continental region as well as five islands, including Fernando Po (present-day Bioko). In 1858 Spain took control of Fernando Po from the British. Through the Treaty of Paris (1900) Spain formalized its claims to Fernando Po and the neighboring continental territory. The colony of Spanish Guinea was Spain's only colonial possession in Africa outside MOROCCO and SPANISH SAHARA.

Spain established Spanish Guinea as an overseas territory in 1959, granting all of its inhabitants the rights and privileges of Spanish citizens. African nationalist movements led to autonomy as Equatorial Guinea in 1963, and full independence in 1968.

See also: FANG (Vols. I, II); FERNANDO PO (Vol. III); MALABO (Vol. V); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Spanish Morocco PROTECTORATE established by Spain over portions of MOROCCO from 1912 to 1956. In 1859 Spain and Morocco fought over the disputed boundary of the Spanish city of Ceuta, on Morocco's northern Mediterranean coast, near the Strait of Gibraltar. Ultimately, Spanish troops invaded Morocco, securing Ceuta and the mountainous coastal region that included the cities of Tétouan and Melilla, home to a number of fiercely independent Berber groups. The following year Morocco, impoverished, militarily weak, and lacking decisive leadership, also ceded Tarfaya, a region along the southwestern Atlantic coast that included Río de Oro and Ifni.

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In the 19th century the activity of the Barbary corsairs, or pirates, led Spain to secure the sea routes along Africa's northern Mediterranean coast. Since access to the Atlantic Ocean was so important, control over the Strait of Gibraltar, the Mediterranean gateway to the Atlantic, became a primary concern of the European powers.

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In 1904 a secret treaty between Spain and France divided Morocco into a northern Spanish zone and a southern French zone. The Spanish zone, administered by Spanish-appointed Moroccan governors, covered an area from south of Tangier, in the west, to the Algerian border, in the east, and included the RIF mountains. After the treaty was signed, the BERBERS in northern Morocco grew increasingly militant in their opposition to Spanish control, and in 1909 Spain had to send 90,000 troops to Melilla to quell their resistance.

In 1912 the Moroccan sultan Moulay Hafid (r. 1908–1912) signed the Treaty of Fez, making Morocco a French

protectorate governed by a resident-general. By the same treaty Spain was allowed to continue as the chief power in the mostly coastal regions it already controlled.

By 1921 the well armed and highly organized Berber resistance in the Rif was meeting with unprecedented success. The Berber military leader and respected scholar Mohamed ben ABD EL-KRIM (c. 1880–1963), who resisted both French and Spanish colonial efforts, established his independent Islamic Republic of the Rif after destroying a Spanish force sent to root him out. In 1926, however, Abd el-Krim surrendered to the French forces that were sent to aid Spain in putting an end to his rebellion.

In 1936 rebel Spanish general Francisco Franco (1892–1975) began attacking the Spanish Republic from Morocco, signaling the start of the Spanish Civil War (1936–39). Following his victory in 1939, Franco got support from Germany's Nazi government. When France fell to Germany in 1940, Spanish troops moved in to occupy Tangier. They withdrew, however, with the Allied victory in 1945.

After the war, Spain—in spite of its Fascist leadership—administered its holdings in Morocco rather liberally. The Spanish let members of the Moroccan royal family retain a nominal amount of governing power and allowed the territory's inhabitants practice their religions freely. In 1953 the French deposed King MUHAMMAD V (1910–1961), but Spain continued to recognize his rule. Following Muhammad's lead, Moroccan nationalist sentiments grew to the point that France granted Morocco its independence in 1956. Later that year, in light of France's actions, Spain also agreed to withdraw from Morocco, although the Mediterranean port cities of Ceuta and Melilla remained, and still are today, Spanish enclaves.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); PARTITION (Vol. V); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

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Spanish Sahara (1884–1976) Colonial territory in western North Africa that became WESTERN SAHARA in 1976. At the BERLIN CONFERENCE of 1884–85, Spain claimed a PROTECTORATE over territory along the Atlantic coast of what was then southern MOROCCO. Initial attempts by Spain to settle in the interior region were successfully repelled by the indigenous Saharawi BERBERS, so Spain's efforts at COLONIAL CONQUEST were confined to the coast. By 1935 Spanish Sahara included settlements at Laayoune, the administrative capital, Villa Cisneros (now Tarfaya), Río de Oro (now Dakhla), and Ifni.

In 1956 both Spain and France withdrew their colonial governments from northern Morocco and granted the nation autonomy. In the southern regions, however, Spanish business and financial interests had begun large-scale MINING of the region's valuable phosphate deposits. As a result Spain continued its COLONIAL RULE in the area, denying independence and suppressing Saharawi nationalism. Regional anti-Spain violence raged from 1956 to 1958. The situation was so dire that the Spanish forces enlisted the help of French troops, and together they finally put down the Saharawi insurgency.

Despite the successful independence efforts that swept across the African continent throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s, territorial disputes among Morocco, MAURITANIA, and Spain kept the western Sahara region under Spanish colonial control. Finally, in 1976 Spain withdrew and the territory was renamed Western Sahara, with Morocco administering the northern two-thirds of the country and Mauritania governing the southern one-third.

See also: SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Speke, John Hanning (1827–1864) *British army officer and explorer*

Born in England, Speke attended military schools before joining the British army in India in 1844. Ten years later, upon completion of his tour of duty in India, Speke traveled to Africa, stopping first in the British colonial outpost of Aden, in Arabia. There he met the famed African explorer Richard burton (1821–1890), who was preparing for an expedition to Somaliland, in the Horn of Africa. Speke joined the expedition as one of Burton's forward scouts in 1855. Taken prisoner and badly beaten by Somali marauders, he escaped his captors but had to return to England to recover from his injuries. When he was again able, Speke traveled back to Africa to join Burton in further exploration. In 1857 the two men set off from zanzibar for the interior hoping to find the source of the Nile River.

Both Speke and Burton soon came down with malaria, but they continued on, eventually reaching the commercial port town of Ujiji, on the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika. The expedition then became increasingly difficult, and Speke, nearly blind from an eye infection, decided to part ways with Burton. Speke headed north, and in August 1858 he and his party encountered

a vast lake that he named Victoria in honor of the English queen. Speke was satisfied that he had found the source of the Nile and set off for Britain.

Speke's report on his findings impressed the British Royal Geographical Society, which immediately offered to fund another expedition to confirm the discoveries. Leaving less than a year after his return, Speke retraced his steps to Lake Victoria. After exploring the region the expedition found that the lake released its water northward, toward the Nile. Following the river's course the expedition passed through several kingdoms, including BUGANDA.

In his journal Speke wrote extensively of his four-month stay in Buganda at the court of Kabaka, or King, MUTESA I (c. late 1830s–1884). The two men became friendly, with Speke showing Mutesa how to hunt with firearms, and Mutesa telling Speke, through a KISWAHILI interpreter, the oral history of his people. Much of the history was reproduced in Speke's *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile,* published posthumously in 1868.

When the caravan arrived in BUNYORO, however, the king did not allow it to pass through, so Speke chose instead to travel overland, thereby losing sight of the river. Later, despite the growing body of evidence in his favor, this detour kept Speke from being able to say definitively that he discovered the source of the Nile. Nevertheless, when Speke returned to England, he was widely regarded as a hero. In 1864 he accidentally shot himself in a hunting accident and died.

See also: EXPLORATION (Vol. III); VICTORIA, LAKE (Vols. I, V).

Stanley, Henry Morton (Sir) (1841–1904) *Writer and explorer instrumental in the establishment of the Congo Free State*

Famous for locating the well-known explorer Dr. Robert LIVINGSTONE (1818–1873), who had been assumed to be "missing" while on an expedition, Stanley went on to become, in his own right, one of the late 19th century's most noted European adventurers and explorers of Africa.

Born John Rowland in Wales in 1841, the future explorer was an illegitimate child whose parents could not afford to raise him. As a result he was sent to a workhouse at an early age, where he endured a bleak life of abuse and mistreatment. Determined to make something of his life, he wandered the British Isles for a while, even-

tually getting hired as a cabin boy on a merchant ship bound for the United States. Arriving in New Orleans at the age of 18, he worked for an American merchant who eventually took him in and whose name Stanley adopted. Adventurous by nature, Stanley saw military service on both the Confederate and Union sides of the U. S. Civil War (1861–65), worked on merchant ships, and finally took on assignments as a journalist in the western United States.

Stanley's experience as a journalist led to overseas assignments in Africa, where in 1868 he reported on the war in Abyssinia (present-day ETHIOPIA). His articles for the *New York Herald* gained him considerable notoriety. More important, they earned him the assignment of locating Livingstone, who had not been heard from since he went in search of the source of the Nile. Stanley set out from ZANZIBAR in March 1871, finally encountering the legendary missionary and explorer in November 1872. It was then, at Ujiji near Lake Tanganyika, that he uttered the words that have been forever linked with his name, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume."

The "discovery" of Livingstone launched Stanley on a series of expeditions of his own. Following the death of Livingstone in 1873, Stanley was hired by the *New York Herald* and London's *Daily Telegraph* to continue the late explorer's work. On an epic journey that lasted from 1874 to 1877, Stanley followed the Congo River from its source, in present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO, to its mouth in the Atlantic Ocean. Seeking backing for further efforts in the area, Stanley was dismayed to learn that Britain was, at the time, not interested in developing a presence in the region. He therefore accepted an invitation from King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) of Belgium to undertake another expedition that lasted from 1879 to 1884. During the course of that trip, Stanley helped lay the foundations of the CONGO FREE STATE. Later he was instrumental in gaining American support for Leopold when the Belgian monarch was given personal control of the vast Congo region following the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85). Stanley's final African expedition came in 1887–89, when he went to rescue Emin Pasha, the governor of Egypt's Equatoria Province (in present-day southern Republic of the SUDAN), who had been "lost" during the Mahdist revolt.

His adventures in Africa completed, Stanley went on to a career as an author and politician. Books such as *Through the Dark Continent* (1878), *In Darkest Africa* (1890), and *The Founding of the Congo Free State* (1885) helped seal his fame. He served as a member of Parliament, from 1895 to 1900, and was knighted, in 1899. Ultimately, however, he must be remembered for his role in founding what turned out to be the most horrific example of COLONIAL RULE in Africa—the Congo Free State.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); EXPLORATION (Vol. IV); STANLEYVILLE (Vol. IV).

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Stanleyville

Stanleyville Port city on the Congo River named after explorer Sir Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904). In 1882–83 Stanley was exploring the African interior in the service of Belgian King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) when he established an outpost, known as Falls Station, on an island in the Congo River. The station was located just downriver from Boyoma Falls (formerly Stanley Falls), which marked the upper limits of river navigation. Later moved to the north shore of the river, by 1898 the station had grown into a city called Stanleyville. At the time, the area surrounding Stanleyville was sparsely populated, dense forest. Before long, however, Stanleyville was a major center for trade to and from Kinshasa, located downriver about 770 miles (1,239 km) to the southwest.

Stanleyville continued to grow, becoming by the middle of the 20th century the third principal city of the BELGIAN CONGO, along with Kinshasa and Lubumbashi. In the 1950s it was very much a Belgian colonial city when Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961), a charismatic former postal clerk, gained political clout by organizing the African people of Stanleyville to demand Congolese independence from Belgium. Unmoved, Belgian colonial officials in Stanleyville had Lumumba arrested, causing a wave of civil unrest in the city. After his release Lumumba continued his political activism with the Congolese National Movement, getting elected as Congo's prime minister in 1959, and eventually leading the country to independence in 1960.

Within months, however, internal dissension among the Congo's leaders turned violent. Lumumba and his supporters retreated to Stanleyville, where they proclaimed themselves the leaders of the "free republic of the Congo." Charged with inciting a Stanleyville riot that caused 30 deaths, Lumumba was arrested again and taken away from the city. In January 1961 he was executed by unknown assailants outside the southern Congo city of Elizabethville, leaving Stanleyville, and the country, in chaos. Stanleyville was renamed Kisangani in 1966.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Sudan, Republic of the

Sudan, Republic of the Present-day country directly south of EGYPT, in northeast Africa, with an area of 966,800 square miles (2,504, 000 sq km). Known during the colonial era as the Sudan, it is also bordered by the present-day countries of LIBYA, CHAD, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, UGANDA, KENYA, ETHIOPIA, and ERITREA.

For most of the 19th century, the Sudan was under the political authority of Egypt, which itself was a province of the Ottoman Empire until the middle of the century. In 1801 the British occupied Egypt after expelling Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1873) and his French forces from the region. During the 1820s Egypt, under the order of the pasha Muhammad Ali (c. 1769–1849), invaded the Sudan to expel the Mamluks from the region. Ali was also interested in the prosperous SLAVE TRADE of the Sudan, and commandeered 30,000 Sudanese captives for use in the Egyptian army.

During this era of Egyptian rule, known as the Turkiyah, Egypt imposed oppressive taxes on the Sudanese people. In 1822 Ali's son, Ismail (1795–1822), who had led the Egyptian invasion, was assassinated. His death stirred the Sudanese into a mass rebellion that was brutally crushed using scorched-earth tactics. In the aftermath the Sudan was left ravaged and many of its people were either exhausted or had fled to the Ethiopian border.

After 1825 Egypt eased the despotic nature of its rule and attempted to cultivate wealth from the Sudan. The Egyptians introduced agricultural techniques such as improved irrigation in an effort to increase farmer output and, in turn, tax income. These efforts largely failed, however, as did an ill-conceived attempt at iron MINING and the fervent search for GOLD. In the end, early Egyptian rule of the Sudan was marked by increasing apathy, and except for the slave trade it was economically fruitless. Egypt, however, was successful in establishing a parasitic, multitiered bureaucracy that was headed by a governor-general stationed at KHARTOUM.

During the 1830s most of the Egyptian activity in the Sudan was in the northern region of the territory. Historically, there was a significant difference between the people in the northern and southern parts of the Sudan. Arabic-speaking Muslims were predominant in the north, and though typically of mixed descent, they viewed themselves as Arabs. In the south, most of the population was black African and followed traditional African religions. Furthermore, the people south of the Sudd, a vast, long-impenetrable swampland, had been in complete isolation before an Egyptian gold expedition finally ventured into the area in 1839.

Though it lacked the desired gold deposits, the area south of the Sudd possessed large amounts of ivory. The discovery soon drew European and Arab traders to the previously disregarded land. The population of the area, initially cordial, began to resist the intrusion of the traders. As the IVORY TRADE expanded, the supply of ivory gradually decreased, and trading posts developed as staging grounds for elephant hunts in the interior. Indigenous resistance increased and the trading posts evolved into fortified trading camps called *ZARIBAS* that became centers of power in the region. Traders made more frequent raids and began to take prisoners from the resisting population,

eventually selling them to slavers from the north. The slaving activities of the traders resulted in the seizure of thousands of Africans and devastated the southern Sudan's social and economic structure.

During the 1860s Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), who succeeded Muhammad Ali, began to extend Egyptian rule into southern Sudan. In 1869 Ismail appointed Sir Samuel BAKER (1821–1893) as governor of the newly forged Equatoria Province of the upper Nile, charging him with carrying out the expansionist initiative. Under pressure from Britain, Egypt extended its rule in large part to end the southern slave trade. Baker's harsh and inconsistent tactics, however, garnered animosity from both the slave traders of the region and the Sudanese he was sent to protect. In 1874 Baker, who had become governor-general of the Sudan, was replaced by Charles George GORDON (1833–1885). Gordon's administration was just as oppressive as Baker's was, but he succeeded in ending the slave trade and crushing the resistance of defiant slavers.

The opening of the SUEZ CANAL in 1869 increased British interest in Egyptian affairs, and in 1879 the British forced Ismail to abdicate in favor of his more easily controlled son, Muhammad Tawfiq (1852–1892). In 1880 Gordon resigned his post. The feebleness of his successors and the political disarray of Egypt led to a deterioration of conditions in the Sudan.

Within this environment of instability arose the Islamic holy man Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1885). Ahmad preached a strict form of Islam and advocated the expulsion of foreign forces from the Sudan. He quickly gained a strong following and eventually declared a JIHAD against the Egyptian occupation. Initially dismissed as a religious fanatic, al-Mahdi led a rebellion that by 1885 had captured Khartoum and effectively gained control of the whole Sudan. He died six months after the fall of Khartoum, but his victory was secured and initiated the era of the MAHDIYYA rule of the Sudan.

Al-Mahdi's death led to years of factional bickering among the Mahdist leadership. In 1891, however, ABDAL-LAHI IBN MUHAMMAD (1846–1899) rose to become the leader of Mahdiyya and was given the title of Khalifa (successor). Under the Khalifa, the Mahdiyya continued the jihad in an attempt to spread their version of Islam. The new jihad was largely a failure, however, and severely weakened the Mahdiyya's once overpowering army.

By the 1890s other colonial powers began to question Britain's claim over the Sudan and the headwaters of the Nile. As a result the British sought to reestablish Egyptian control over the Sudan. So, in 1896, a joint British-Egyptian invasion began under the leadership of Horatio Herbert KITCHENER (1850–1916). The Mahdists resisted but eventually were overwhelmed by British firepower. The decisive blow occurred in 1898 at the Battle of OMDURMAN, where the Mahdists lost 11,000 warriors while inflicting only 48 casualties upon the British. The Khalifa was able to escape, but he died one year later, ending coordinated Mahdist resistance.

The Sudan during the Colonial Period: Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Concerned about further revolts by the Mahdists, Britain was unwilling to allow the Sudan to revert solely to Egyptian rule. Accordingly, on July 10, 1899, Britain established an agreement of joint authority called the ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM. By the terms of this agreement, the Sudan became a political entity separate from Egypt.

Dominated from the start by the British, the condominium was not a relationship of equal partners. Though formally appointed by the khedive, the governor-general of the Sudan was named by the British. Although he officially reported to the British Foreign Office through the British diplomatic agent in CAIRO, the governor-general administered the Sudan as if it were a British colony. Most of the administrative personnel were British officers attached to the Egyptian army. Beginning in 1901 these administrators were replaced by civilians from Britain. Egyptians filled the middle-level posts, and Sudanese held the lower-level positions. In 1910 an appointive legislative council was formed that retained power until 1948, when it was superceded by a partly elected legislative assembly.

The British treated the northern and southern regions of Sudan differently. While they modernized the north—introducing technology and new styles of administration—they left the south largely unattended. Britain barred northerners from entering the south to help the region develop along indigenous lines. The British also advocated the expression of African culture in the south, while discouraging the practice of Arab customs and the religion of Islam. This separation from the north left the south isolated from commercial and educational activities and stifled modern development in the region.

During the early part of the Condominium, Britain began to shape the Sudan to its liking. The colonial power built a railway that linked northern Sudan with Egypt and was later expanded to connect the inland city of Sennar to ports along the Red Sea. This new railroad neatly complemented the changes introduced to Sudanese AGRICULTURE, the most notable of which being those related to the GEZIRA SCHEME. Begun in 1911 as a joint venture between the Sudanese government and the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, the Gezira Scheme was used to supply COTTON to British textile factories. Helped by the construction of a large dam near Sennar in 1925, cot-

ton production in the region increased dramatically. In addition, newly constructed railroads made exporting the cash crop a relatively easy endeavor.

In 1922 Britain unilaterally declared Egypt independent. Independence was hardly complete, however, as the British maintained a strong military and retained political influence in the country. The Egyptian constitution was presented a year later, but it made no reference to Egypt's sovereignty over the Sudan. With the status of the Sudan still unanswered, Britain and Egypt entered negotiations to determine the parameters of their new relationship. The two countries were slow to reach an understanding, however, largely due to disagreement over the status of the Sudan. Unhappy with the deliberate pace of the proceedings, Egyptian nationalists rioted.

In 1924 the governor-general of the Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated in Cairo. Britain blamed Egyptian nationalists for the murder, and the British responded by ordering all Egyptian personnel to leave the Sudan. A year later the Sudan Defense Force was formed to replace the Egyptian troops that had been stationed there.

During this time Britain increasingly used indirect rule to govern the Sudan, delegating judicial and administrative duties to local chiefs. This concerned the Sudan's educated elite, who believed that the arrangement further alienated southern Sudan and would hinder the transfer of power from colonial authorities. This dissatisfaction with British policy gradually led to an increase of Sudanese nationalism, which began in earnest during the 1930s.

In 1936 a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty allowed the return of some Egyptians to Sudanese governmental posts. The agreement angered educated Sudanese, who resented the fact that they were not consulted on issues affecting the Sudan. From their dissatisfaction arose, in 1938, the Graduates' General Congress, which was initially founded by alumni of Gordon's Memorial College but grew to accept all educated Sudanese.

The congress demanded self-determination for the Sudan once World War II (1939–45) was over, but its demands were ignored. Unable to agree on a plan of action, the congress divided into two factions that later became political parties. Ismail al-Azhari (1902–1969) founded the Ashigga, later the National Unionist Party (NUP), which favored union of the Sudan and Egypt. Ashigga gained support from Sayed Sir Ali al-Mirghani, head of a powerful religious sect that had supported a strong relationship with Egypt. Meanwhile the Umma Party also obtained the support of a religious leader, Abdur-Rahman al-Mahdi, son of Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi, who agreed with party's call for a fully independent Sudan.

The NUP boycotted the 1948 elections, allowing the Umma to gain decisive control of the Legislative Assembly. In 1952 they negotiated with Britain the Self-Determination Agreement, which angered Egypt and led to the dissolution of the condominium.

Independence Later that year, the Egyptian government of King FARUK (1920–1965) was overthrown by a military coup led by Muhammad Naguib (1900–1984) and Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970). The new Egyptian government was accepting of Sudanese self-rule and in 1953 signed an Anglo-Egyptian treaty that created a three-year period of self-rule for the Sudan at the end of which the Sudanese would decide their fate.

A 1952 electoral victory by the NUP seemed to mark the Sudan's intention to eventually vote for unification with Egypt. Sudanese nationalism, however, eventually prevailed, as al-Azhari, who became prime minister in 1954, shifted his position on the issue to follow the changing public opinion. In 1956 the Sudanese parliament unanimously voted for a declaration of independence, with al-Azhari forming a coalition government soon after.

Al-Azhari's government was short-lived, however, as a new coalition government, led by Abd Allah Khalil (1888–1970), took control in July 1956. Two years later Ibrahim Abboud (1900–1983) led a successful military coup. Abboud created the Supreme Council, which was composed of military officers, to govern Sudan. Despite strong opposition to his rule, Abboud maintained control over the Sudan until 1964.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SUDAN, REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. I, II, III, V); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II); SUDD (Vol. I).

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Suez Canal Artificial waterway linking the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea. Although artificial waterways linking the Red Sea and the Nile River had existed in ancient times, the modern idea for the canal was born during France's invasion of EGYPT (1798–1801), led by Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821). However, nothing came of Napoleon's vision of a canal for more than 50 years. Then, in 1854, the French diplomat and canal builder Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805–1894) obtained permission from the viceroy of Egypt to design and construct a waterway between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

Planned by an international group of technicians and engineers and built with money raised by the sale of stock in the private company that was to run it, the Suez Canal took almost 10 years and the work of more than a million laborers to build. The workers endured virtually slave-like conditions and nearly 125,000 died during construction, mainly of cholera. When completed in November 1869, the canal stretched 121 miles (195 km) and linked the Mediterranean Sea with the Gulf of Suez (which

opens to the Red Sea and, in turn, the Indian Ocean). The canal's opening was a gala event planned by the new viceroy, Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), to showcase the efforts he was making in order to transform CAIRO into a modern world capital.

In addition to new roads, grand hotels, and entire suburbs, among Ismail's plans for the grand opening of the canal was an opera house in which there would be the premiere of a work by the noted Italian composer Giusseppe Verdi (1813–1901). Unfortunately Verdi was unable to complete the opera on time, and *Aïda,* his opera about ancient Egypt, was not performed for another year, when it was staged at the Cairo Opera.

For almost a hundred years the canal was run by the Suez Canal Company, a corporation dominated, at first, by the French and Ottomans. Great Britain, which initially had opposed the construction of the canal, had no part in either its construction or its early operation. In 1875, however, in response to the financial crisis brought on by Khedive Ismail's disastrous economic policies, Britain bought the Khedive's shares in the company and assumed a dominant role.

In spite of the roles Britain and France played in the canal's operations, during its early years issues involving the Suez Canal were kept removed from politics. Indeed, according to an 1888 treaty, the Convention of Constantinople, it was to be open to the vessels of all nations, in war and peace. The canal's history during much of the 20th century, however, has been a political and, occasionally, a martial tangle.

During World War I (1914–18), for example, Britain stationed troops at the canal in order to protect it from possible falling under control of the Central Powers. Similarly, invoking clauses of its 1936 treaty with Egypt, Britain guarded the Suez Canal with troops during World War II (1939–45) and closed the canal to German, Italian, and Japanese shipping.

The situation, however, changed dramatically during the 1940s and 1950s. Although the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 assured Egypt of independence, the agreement guaranteed Britain the right to maintain troops and protect the Suez Canal. In the years following World War II, these clauses became flash points among Egyptian nationalists anxious to take control of their country's leadership. In 1951, with anti-British and antiforeign riots paralyzing Cairo, Egypt repudiated the treaty, forcing Britain to agree to withdraw its troops from the canal zone by 1956.

The issue of control of the canal was a key element in the 1952 coup d'état that overthrew King FARUK (1920–1965) and the eventual rise to power of president Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970).

Hostilities peaked in 1956 when, angered over the withdrawal of British and United States aid for his ASWAN DAM project, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the canal just days after Britain withdrew its troops from the canal zone. Replacing the long-standing canal company administration with an Egyptian Canal Authority, the government took immediate control of the waterway. Reaction to Nasser's takeover of the canal was immediate, not only from Britain, but also from France and Israel. Israel, which had been prevented from using the canal since the ARAB-ISRAELI WAR of 1947–48, attacked in October of 1956, supported by British and French air power. Days later British and French troops arrived to retake the canal.

In one of the many tests of its ability to maintain the peace during the Cold War era, the United Nations quickly sent in peacekeepers and eventually helped negotiate a settlement. With United Nations assistance, sunken ships, mines, and other obstacles were cleared

At Port Said, seen here in about 1900, Egyptian beef was loaded aboard ocean liners to pass through the Suez Canal. © *Underwood & Underwood/Library of Congress*

away and the canal was reopened in April 1957, with Egypt paying the shareholders of the old canal company for the nationalized shares. This paved the way for the relatively peaceful operation of the canal for the next decade.

See also: ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV,V); MEDITERRANEAN SEA (Vol. I); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); OTTOMAN EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); RED SEA (Vol. I); SUEZ CANAL (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Sufism   Mystical form of Islam. African Sufism has roots that date back to the 12th century, and it still is a dominant element in the forms of Islam practiced on the African continent. During the 18th and 19th centuries, as the Turkish Ottoman Empire began to falter, African Sufi *turuq* (sing., *tariqa*), or brotherhoods, gained large followings across northern Africa. Although they weren't necessarily militant, these brotherhoods generally opposed European colonialism.

The origin of the word *Sufi* is uncertain. Since Sufis preached a purification of the heart, *Sufi* may be related to the Arabic word *safa*, meaning "to clean." It is also possible that *Sufi* came from the Arabic word *suf*, meaning "wool," since early Sufis rejected earthly pleasures and wore coarse wool shirts instead of more comfortable fabrics.

Like all Muslims, Sufis follow a path based on the life of the prophet Muhammad and on *sharia*, the laws defined by the interpretation of the Quran and Sunna. For Sufis, however, the personal, spiritual relationship with God, or Allah, is of utmost importance. In this way Sufism transcends political movements and intellectual systems.

Although all Sufis focus on spiritual development and purification of the heart, even within Sufism there is debate as to what constitutes a true practice. In Africa, where Islam was often adapted to fit better with deeper-rooted traditional beliefs, the mystical elements of Sufism have inspired numerous innovations. For example, some Sufis use MUSIC, DANCE, and mystical rituals to celebrate Allah, while others denigrate these activities as *schrick* (false practices or unnecessary additions in the teachings of Islam, which is a very serious offense among Muslims).

As in other parts of the Islamic world, Sufi leaders in Africa were usually charismatic teachers who cultivated their reputations as spiritually superior individuals. Their small group of students could then recruit others, eventually forming a *tariqa*, or brotherhood, which could then act en masse to achieve social, political, or even military objectives. Among the more influential Sufi brotherhoods in Africa during the 19th and 20th centuries were the Qadiriyya, Tijaniyya, Sanusiyya, and MAHDIYYA.

The Qadiriyya, one of the oldest Sufi brotherhoods, was especially active in West Africa in the early 19th century. Usman dan Fodio (1754–1817) was a member of the Qadiriyya, and his loyal following helped him organize his jihads to establish the SOKOTO CALIPHATE in present-day NIGERIA.

Toward the middle of the 19th century, UMAR TAL (1794–1864), a Muslim cleric of the Tijaniyya order, founded the TUKULOR EMPIRE in present-day eastern SENEGAL and southern MALI. The impact of the teachings of Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya on Usman dan Fodio and Umar Tal, respectively, instigated these two leaders to carry out successful jihads in West Africa.

About the same time, an influential North African Sufi leader, Muhammad Ali bin al-SANUSI (1787–1859), called upon his Sufi brethren to take up arms to repel French colonial encroachment in ALGERIA and Cyrenaica (now LIBYA). With a social model based on a strict reading of the Quran, the Sanusiyya found many willing recruits throughout the rural areas in the region. Their struggle was fueled by the reputation of Europeans as heathen invaders who threatened the Muslim way of life.

In the late 19th century, Cheik Amadou Bamba (c. 1850–1927), from Senegal, founded a *tariqa* that became known as Muridiyya, which emphasized obedience and hard work. The Muridiyya mixed Qadiriyya, Tijaniyya, and African practices.

In northeast Africa, the Mahdiyya Sufi brotherhood, founded by Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1885), drove the non-Muslim Egyptian rulers from the region and eventually controlled most of the northern part of present-day Republic of the Sudan. Despite the Mahdi's 1898 defeat at the Battle of OMDURMAN by British and Egyptian forces, the Mahdiyya brotherhood remained an influential religious order and still wields power in contemporary Sudan.

In SOMALIA, too, Sufi brotherhoods, especially the Qadiriyya, were instrumental in social organization. Later they also led the resistance to Italian colonization. One of the prominent Qadiriyya leaders, Uways bin Muhammad al-Barawi (1847–1909), translated Arabic works into KISWAHILI, the lingua franca of East Africa, in order to spread his message.

By the beginning of the 20th century, African Sufi brotherhoods had lost much of their social and political power to the European colonial administrations that replaced them. In religious and spiritual matters, however, the brotherhoods remained strong, keeping their special Islamic practices alive for future generations.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); QURAN (Vol. II); QADIRIYYA (Vol. III); SHARIA (Vol. V); SUFISM (Vols. II, III); USMAN DAN FODIO (Vol. III).

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Swahili Coast Area varying from 12 miles (20 km) to 200 miles (320 km) wide and stretching some 1,800 miles (2,897 km) along the East African coast from southern SOMALIA to northern MOZAMBIQUE; also includes offshore islands and those in the Indian Ocean such as ZANZIBAR and the COMOROS.

The name *Swahili,* derived from the Arabic *sahel,* for "coast," means "people of the coast." It is an apt description, as the Swahili are a varied and scattered people who live in the coastal regions of East Africa. They are united by a common LANGUAGE, KISWAHILI, and by a common RELIGION, since most Swahili practice Islam. Historically, the Swahili were merchants and traders, though their influence in these areas declined as the colonial powers usurped control of commerce. Many Swahili have at one time or another asserted an Arab ancestry. This was probably done to gain the benefits of preferential treatment toward Arabs that was common during COLONIAL RULE or to distinguish themselves from their slaves. Despite these claims, historical and archaeological evidence shows that the Swahili are African in origin.

Long involved with the TRADE AND COMMERCE of the Indian Ocean, by the 1850s the Swahili coast was controlled by the Omani Sultanate. In fact, by 1840 the Omani Sultan Sayyid Said (1791–1856), realizing the vast economic potential of the lands, had completed the move of his capital to the island of Zanzibar. From there he solidified control over key coastal port towns such as MOGADISHU, MOMBASA, and BAGAMOYO, which enabled him to expand into the interior. The booming trading activity along the Swahili Coast made Zanzibar extremely wealthy. But a large portion of this trade was in captives, evidenced by the success of the infamous TIPPU TIP (c. 1830–1905).

The continuing SLAVE TRADE was increasingly untenable to the British, who in 1873 pressured the sultanate to abolish the slave trade. Weakened by declining income, a subsequent loss of control over the mainland merchant and planter communities, and growing European pressure, the sultanate of Zanzibar gradually ceded most of its territory and influence to the colonial powers as the 19th century came to an end. The Anglo-German agreement of 1886 divided the sultanate's mainland territory between GERMAN EAST AFRICA (later TANGANYIKA) and what would later become BRITISH EAST AFRICA (now KENYA). In 1889 Mogadishu and neighboring areas became a part of ITALIAN SOMALILAND. In 1890 Zanzibar itself became a British PROTECTORATE. Germany later ceded its territory along the Swahili coast after defeat in World War I (1914–18), with Britain given a League of Nations MANDATE to govern the area of Tanganyika (now part of TANZANIA).

The division of the Swahili Coast among the various colonial powers led to a final demise of the city-states that had characterized the region. Moreover, the subsequent linking of the coast to the individual colonies on the interior disrupted the Indian Ocean commercial orientation of the coastal civilization. During the colonial period the Swahili Coast's central role in trade with the interior began to decline, as advances in shipping diminished the need for the Swahili-controlled ocean trade routes. Cash crop AGRICULTURE became increasingly important throughout the region as a means for the colonial powers to tax the African population, who at the time were mainly employed as farmers. At the time of independence in the 1960s, political and economic control was transferred from the colonial authorities to elites drawn from people of the interior and not the coast. While Kiswahili had become a national language in Kenya and Tanzania, it was because it was a politically neutral language. This in turn reflected the demographic and political marginality of the coast and its peoples in the new nations.

See also: BUSAIDI (Vols. III, IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SAYYID SAID (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III).

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Swaziland Mountainous country that covers approximately 6,700 square miles (17,400 sq km) in southeastern Africa and is bordered by SOUTH AFRICA and MOZAMBIQUE.

The origins of present-day Swaziland date to the ZULU Mfecane of the early 1800s, which forced the Ngwane, under king Sobhuza I (c. 1795–1836), to move northward into what became Swaziland. Under Sobhuza's son, Mswati II (1820–1868), the Swazi, as they came to be called, established a stable kingdom.

Swaziland derives its name from Mswati II (also spelled Mswazi), who was called the Swazi's greatest fighting king.

By 1860 the Swazi borders reached well beyond those of the present-day nation. Mswati, in contrast to other African leaders of his time, avoided war with whites, but he sought British assistance against Zulu raids. A steady stream of European SETTLERS also entered Swaziland seeking concessions for rights to land and minerals. By 1890 the entirety of Swaziland was tied up in concessions, and the Swazi had effectively lost their independence.

The Swazi also became embroiled in the bitter struggle between the BOERS and British settlers. The Boers were seeking access to the sea, which could be achieved through Swaziland, while the British wanted to deny them such access. In 1893 Britain and the Boer South African Republic (SAR) agreed over vigorous Swazi protests that the SAR should administer all of Swaziland. However, following the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), a much smaller Swaziland fell under British control, and beginning in 1906 the British High Commissioner to South Africa administered Swaziland, as well as BASUTOLAND and BECHUANALAND.

When the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA was formed, in 1910, it appeared that Swaziland, along with Basutoland and Bechuanaland, would be incorporated into the new union. However, despite South Africa's requests, the British refused to transfer the colony to the union, a position that later solidified as South Africa instituted APARTHEID following its 1948 elections. Furthermore, the Swazi political system remained basically intact because it had never been defeated militarily. Under King Sobhuza II (1899–1982), who ascended the throne in 1921, the monarchy continued to exercise considerable authority. Sobhuza also sought to regain land lost through the earlier concessions, but much of the economy remained in white hands. When Swaziland became fully independent in 1968, it did so as an absolute monarchy in modern guise.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MFECANE (Vol. III); SWAZILAND (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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Syad, William J. F. (1930–1988) *Somali statesman and poet*

Born in FRENCH SOMALILAND (today's DJIBOUTI), Syad studied at the Université de Paris, Sorbonne, France. His subsequent writings made him a leading proponent of a united SOMALIA free of both French and Italian rule. Because of these activities he ultimately was forced into exile. From 1955 to 1960 he worked for the official RADIO station of Djibouti. With the founding of a united and independent Somalia in 1960, Syad became the nation's first head of the Department of Tourism and Culture at the Ministry of Information. In the years that followed, Syad continued in government service, both at home and abroad. Meanwhile, his literary voice grew, and he produced plays and wrote four volumes of poetry. In all of these works he sought to blend Islamic and Western thought, ultimately leaving an indelible humanist mark on African literature.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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al-Tahtawi, Rifaah Rafi (Rifaa Rafé al-Tahtawi)
(1801–1873) *Egyptian scholar and educational pioneer*

Born to an aristocratic family in Tahta, upper EGYPT, Tahtawi proved himself a budding intellectual at an early age, memorizing the Quran and attending the renowned al-Azhar University at the age of 16. There he studied under Sheik Hassan Mohammed al-Attar, who believed Muslim countries could improve themselves through the study and utilization of Western SCIENCE, MEDICINE, and pedagogical methods. Tahtawi graduated in 1823 and then served as a teacher at al-Azhar until 1825. He was then appointed as the imam, or religious head, of an educational mission to Paris, where he learned French and studied translation. By 1830 he had translated 12 French works from various disciplines and produced a book entitled *A Paris Profile.*

In 1831 Tahtawi returned to Egypt and began work as a translator at the Egyptian Medicine School and later, in 1833, at the Artillery School, where he translated engineering and military texts. In 1835 he founded the Al-Alsun Translation School, which ultimately became a university. Realizing that the preservation of the past was essential to establishing a national identity, Tahtawi formulated a plan in 1835 to preserve Egypt's many ancient artifacts. Individuals who found artifacts would turn them over to Tahtawi to be added to the collection at Al-Alsun. Its courtyard gradually became the precursor to Egypt's first antiquities museum.

Continuing his efforts in translation, in 1841 Tahtawi founded the Translation Department, which focused on translations in the areas of medicine, math, social science, physics, and Turkish texts. Tahtawi was at his most productive during the reign of Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), working diligently as a member of Ismail's Schools Department and later as head of the National Bureau Council, where he oversaw the teaching of Arabic in Egypt.

It was during this time as well that Tahtawi made his most significant advances in pioneering women's EDUCATION. As early as 1836 Tahtawi had been gathering support for women's education, before then nonexistent in institutional form, among the Egyptian upper class. During the 1860s Khedive Ismail enlisted Tahtawi to prepare the public to accept the institutional education of women. This led, in 1872, to the publication of his *Honest Guide,* which outlined the benefits of women's education. Arguing that the oppression of Egyptian women arose from moral faults within the Muslim community, he encouraged a return to what he saw as the true meaning of Islam. In 1873, with the help of Ismail's wife Tchesme Afit Hanim, the Sufiyya School opened as the first state school for girls in Egypt. That same year Tahtawi died, leaving a legacy of both preserving Egypt's past and building its future.

> **Tahtawi is also known as the "father of Egyptian journalism." He founded Egypt's first newspaper, *Al-Waqal al-Misrea.***

See also: ISLAMIC CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV, V); NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Tambo, Oliver (1917–1993) *South African anti-apartheid activist and African National Congress leader*

Oliver Reginald Tambo was born in Bizana, in East Mpondoland of the Eastern Cape Province, SOUTH AFRICA. He attended FORT HARE COLLEGE, where, in the late 1930s, he first became acquainted with his life-long friend, Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ). Graduating with a bachelor's degree in 1941, he continued on at Fort Hare to pursue an honors degree in education, simultaneously becoming active in the politics of the national liberation movement. In 1942 Tambo was expelled—along with Mandela—for organizing a student boycott in reaction to the school's refusal to allow a democratically chosen student council. Afterward, Tambo began teaching in JOHANNESBURG, a career he stuck with until the late 1940s. He began studying law in 1948 and, with Mandela as his partner, established the first black law practice in South Africa, in 1952.

After joining the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) in the early 1940s, Tambo, along with other young ANC members including Mandela, Walter SISULU (1912–2003), and Anton Lembede (1913–1947), founded the ANC Youth League. This organization radicalized the ANC and made it more responsive to the concerns of ordinary Africans. In 1949 Tambo was elected to the ANC national executive committee, proving instrumental in the adoption of the Program of Action, an agenda for ANC-led, mass-based resistance to APARTHEID. This new populist direction in ANC policy led to the Defiance Campaign of 1952, during which protesters courted arrest by defying what they viewed as unjust and oppressive laws.

Tambo was banned and arrested for high treason in 1956, although he was released the following year. He progressed up the organizational ladder of the ANC, occupying the position of ANC secretary-general between 1954 and 1958, before becoming deputy president in 1958. In the latter half of the 1950s, when a faction within the ANC moved toward an Africanist approach that would exclude all non-African participation in the organization, Tambo insisted on keeping the organization multiracial. As a result, in 1959, activist Robert SOBUKWE (1924– 1978) established a breakaway faction and named it the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC). The subsequent Sharpeville crisis of 1960, sparked by PAC anti-pass-law demonstrations, led the government to declare a state of emergency. That same year, fearing the arrest and detention of its leadership, the ANC selected Tambo to go into exile to provide leadership from abroad.

See also: TAMBO, OLIVER (Vol. V).

Tanganyika During the colonial era, the name of the mainland portion of present-day TANZANIA. In the latter half of the 1800s, BUSAIDI rulers of ZANZIBAR claimed sovereignty over much of the coastal regions of East Africa. By 1886, however, German adventurers had established treaties with local rulers in Tanganyika, making the territory part of the colony of GERMAN EAST AFRICA. During World War I (1914–18) British forces occupied Tanganyika and, following Germany's defeat, the area was given to Britain. In 1919 British authority over the colony was confirmed under the MANDATE system of the League of Nations. The British colonial administration thus answered to the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations (UN), which, in 1946, made Tanganyika a UN TRUST TERRITORY, also under British administration.

Following World War II (1939–45) the nationalist Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU) worked to terminate British colonial authority over the country. The leader of TANU, Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), asserted the primacy of African interests at the international level when, in 1955 and again in 1956, he pleaded Tanganyika's case before the United Nations, in New York. The United Nations finally pressured Britain to allow elections and establish a representative government. TANU won national elections in 1958 and 1959, and in 1961 Tanganyika became independent, with Nyerere as the first president.

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In 1964, a year after a revolution in Zanzibar overthrew the Busaidi sultan, Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Six months later the name was changed to Tanzania.

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See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Tani, Maame Harris "Grace" (c. 1880–1958) *Cofounder of the Twelve Apostles Church, in Ghana*

Born in a coastal fishing village in the southwestern part of present-day GHANA, Tani gained a reputation as a healer in an area where hospitals were not common. In 1914 the charismatic prophet William Wade HARRIS (c. 1850–1929) baptized her when he was passing through her region (which, by that time, was the British GOLD COAST COLONY). Tani joined Harris's mission and, for a brief time, was married to him. However, when he returned to IVORY COAST, she remained in her home region to carry on his work.

Along with another of Harris's baptized converts, Papa Kwesi "John" Nackabah (c. 1870–1947), Tani founded the Twelve Apostles Church, which became the largest independent church in southern Ghana. As the two "elders" of the church, Tani and Nackabah faced opposition from colonial officials, MISSIONARIES, and even some African leaders. They were able to overcome this opposition, however, by recognizing the importance of existing indigenous religious beliefs during the challenging times of the colonial era.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vols. IV, V); RELIGION (Vols. III, IV, V).

Tanzania Modern East African country made up of the former colonial territory of TANGANYIKA and the island of ZANZIBAR. Tanzania, which also includes Pemba and Mafia islands, covers approximately 342,100 square miles (886,000 sq km). It is bordered by UGANDA and KENYA to the north, MOZAMBIQUE, MALAWI (formerly NYASALAND), and ZAMBIA (formerly NORTHERN RHODESIA) to the south, and RWANDA and BURUNDI to the west. Also to the west is Lake Tanganyika, which lies between Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

By the 19th century East African ports such as Tanga and BAGAMOYO were busy trading centers for East Africa's Arab merchants, who dealt in human captives and luxury items, including ivory. In the 1860s the coastal city of DAR ES SALAAM, the present-day capital of Tanzania, began to grow in importance as well.

Ngoni groups, meanwhile, conquered inland areas in southern Tanzania. About the same time, NYAMWEZI groups, many managing to avoid Ngoni conquest, expanded their influence throughout central Tanzania south of Lake Victoria. The Nyamwezi kingdom, led by MIRAMBO (c. 1840–1884), grew especially powerful by controlling the bustling trade routes that led from the interior to the trade ports along East Africa's SWAHILI COAST.

At the outset of the era of European COLONIAL CONQUEST in the 19th century, Britain began developing ties with the Arab BUSAIDI sultans, who, after 1840, used Zanzibar as the administrative center of a vast, coastal trading empire that stretched as far north as present-day SOMALIA. On the mainland, however, the German East Africa Company struck treaties with local rulers allowing them to claim Tanganyika, the territory between British Kenya and Portuguese Mozambique.

Tanzania during the Colonial Era: Tanganyika and Zanzibar In 1890, as a result of the agreements forged at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), Germany claimed Tanganyika as a PROTECTORATE and Britain claimed Zanzibar. The German colonial administration used force to recruit African LABOR to produce tobacco, sisal, COFFEE, and COTTON for export. Britain, meanwhile, went about spreading its influence in other areas and allowed the Busaidi sultans to continue their nominal rule on Zanzibar.

Germany's colonial claims also included RUANDA-URUNDI, regions that would become the independent nations of Rwanda and Burundi in 1962.

Widespread resistance to German COLONIAL RULE in Tanganyika culminated in the MAJI-MAJI REBELLION of 1905–06. During the uprising as many as 200,000 Africans, many of them Ngoni, died in fighting and subsequent hardship. After crushing the insurgency, Germany governed its East African colony with increasing harshness. Before long, however, Germany was forced to cede its African colonies, a consequence of its defeat in World War I (1914–18). According to a League of Nations MANDATE Tanganyika was entrusted, in 1919, to Britain, which also ruled Kenya to the north. The British colonial administration answered to the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations (UN), which, in 1946, made Tanganyika a UN TRUST TERRITORY also under British administration.

After World War II (1939–45) African NATIONALIST AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS called for the end of colonial rule throughout the continent. In 1954 former schoolteacher Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) helped organize the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU), the first African political organization in Tanganyika. Using international diplomacy, Nyerere and TANU called upon the United Nations to pressure Britain to establish a representative government. In 1958 Tanganyika finally held national elections, in which TANU won the majority of the seats. In 1960 Britain granted Tanganyika limited autonomy, and the following year, when the country was given its independence, Nyerere became prime minister. He became Tanganyika's first president when the country became a republic, in 1962.

The road to independence was vastly different on the island of Zanzibar, where Britain's colonial policy of indirect rule left the Arab sultanate intact. In 1963 Britain granted Zanzibar its independence, reinstating the sultanate in the form of a constitutional monarchy. The African-majority population on the island resented the continuation of Arab rule, however, and within a year, a bloody revolt overturned the sultanate. By the end of 1964 Zanzibar joined with Tanganyika to form the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, with Nyerere its president and Abeid Awani Karume (1905– 1972) of Zanzibar the vice president. Six months later the name of the union was changed to Tanzania.

In northern Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Lumbwa men pose with a truck that accompanied them on a lion hunt in 1927. *© New York Times*

See also: AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); TANZANIA (Vols. I, II, III, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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taxation, colonial   Colonial governments levied taxes for the purposes of both meeting the costs of administration and for generating needed sources of LABOR. Africans had long been accustomed to paying different types of taxes, depending on what type of state they lived in and what the state needed in terms of revenue. Usually, though, the taxes were paid in kind or through services, since MONEY AND CURRENCY were more associated with TRADE AND COMMERCE than with the necessities of everyday life. Colonial governments introduced new forms of taxation along with the other innovations and changes they brought to African life. These systems of taxation often led to the monetization of the ECONOMY and the introduction of government-issued coins and bank notes with set values that were determined by the colonial governments.

Colonial taxation basically had two purposes. The first was to defray the high cost of administering the African colonies. Taxpayers in Europe generally opposed paying taxes to fund the colonies, and it was the taxpayers who elected the colonial governments. Those in government, therefore, had little choice but to shift the tax burden to their colonial subjects, who under the circumstances of COLONIAL RULE did not have a voice in their governments.

The imposition of taxation often sparked revolts against the colonial authorities, especially early on in the colonial era. In GERMAN EAST AFRICA, for example, the administration found itself short of both administrative personnel and funds. In 1897 it imposed a hut tax, which was enforced, sometimes using harsh violence, through local officials. This conduct led to resentment and ultimately fuelled the MAJI-MAJI REBELLION (1905–06). Similarly, the British imposition of a five-shilling hut tax in SIERRA LEONE, in 1898, provoked the Temne chief Bai Bureh (d. 1908) to lead a revolt that became known as the Hut Tax War. Even as the colonial period entered its

more mature stage and methods of collecting taxes had been regularized, the imposition of a tax could provoke unrest, as happened in NIGERIA with the ABA WOMEN'S RE-VOLT (1929–30). Also, the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA made taxation without representation one of their main grievances in their effort to reform colonial rule.

Another major reason that colonial officials imposed taxes was to generate LABOR for the colonial economy. Colonial officials recognized that many colonial enterprises were economically marginal to the point that they could not afford to pay living wages. As a result, rather than requiring employers to pay wages that would attract labor, administrations resorted to various taxing schemes. Levying taxes for labor purposes was particularly prevalent in southern Africa, where white commercial farmers needed workers for their large farms and the MINING industry needed large numbers of miners. By 1899, for example, the GOLD mines on South Africa's WITWATERSRAND employed 100,000 Africans. One of the reasons the colonial governments of the region imposed poll taxes, which every male over the age of 18 had to pay, was to force them into the wage-labor force.

Throughout their West African colonies, France imposed new taxes that needed to be paid in French currency. This required Africans to earn hard currency either by producing CASH CROPS for sale or by engaging in wage labor on plantations or in the urban areas. The French also imposed a policy of forced labor in order to generate workers for projects such as the building of roads, railroads, and ports.

The manner and purpose of colonial taxation reveals just how authoritarian colonial governments truly were. They did not have to respond to the people living in their colonies because they were subjects and not citizens. The arbitrary nature of colonial taxation was one of the factors that helped fuel the rise of African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS that ultimately brought an end to colonial rule.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Téwodros II (Theodore II, Kassa, Lij Kassa)
(1820–1868) *Ethiopian emperor*

Born in 1820 and given the name Kassa, or Lij Kassa, the future emperor came from a family that had traditionally ruled the Qwara district of northwestern ETHIOPIA, near the Sudanese border. He was raised by his half-brother, Kinfu (d. 1839), who was one of the many feudal warlords who held sway in Ethiopia at the time. Following Kinfu's death, Kassa became a *shifta,* a warrior who refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of any particular feudal lord.

A fierce leader and brilliant strategist, Kassa soon attracted a following, which he led to a number of military successes in the late 1840s. By 1852 he had embarked on a campaign of conquest that, within three years, left him in control of all of Ethiopia. On February 11, 1855, he had himself crowned and anointed *negus nagast* (king of kings), taking the name Téwodros II after a legendary figure Ethiopians believed would someday bring peace and prosperity to the land.

As insightful as he was ruthless, Téwodros believed that only by modernizing would Ethiopia be able to restore the greatness it had realized in its past. He knew, however, that modernization was not possible without first putting an end to the feudal system that had divided the country for so long. To centralize authority and break the power of the warlords, he set up a system of governors and judges, all under his direct authority. He also established a national army that he hoped would replace the independent armies of the feudal lords. He even attempted to reform the Ethiopian Church, whose vast, tax-exempt holdings and incessant doctrinal rivalries, he believed, were a primary obstacle to modernization.

At the same time that he attempted to carry out this process of unification and centralization, Téwodros brought in European technicians, engineers, and teachers to modernize the nation. Soon, his foreign advisors were at work constructing bridges and roads and helping Ethiopians develop their own manufacturing capabilities.

Many in Ethiopia opposed Téwodros's actions. His attempts to transform the Ethiopian Church—especially to find a way to tax its holdings—angered not only religious officials but also conservative-minded farmers and peasants. Similarly, his new administrative and judicial systems, as well as his attempt to do away with private armies, cost him the support of the warlords. As a result he spent much of his time—and treasure—putting down rebellions on the part of warlords who refused to give up their traditional power. As his army grew to a force 50,000 full-time soldiers, it was not long before Ethiopia's peasants were starving in order to feed and clothe the emperor's troops.

By the 1860s Téwodros's reforms had reduced Ethiopia to poverty and chaos, and the warlords were more in control than ever. Fearing not only his own people but also invasions by the Egyptians and the Ottoman Turks, Téwodros appealed to Britain's Queen Victoria (1819–1901) for help. When his appeal went unanswered, the prickly emperor seized diplomats and other foreign nationals, taking them, along with the last remnant of his army, to his mountain fortress at Magdala. Eventually Britain sent a substantial force to Ethiopia to free the captives, launching an attack on Magdala on August 10, 1868. The specific accounts vary, especially as to whether or not Téwodros eventually released the captives or not. The final result, however, was that Téwodros's forces were easily defeated, and the emperor killed himself rather than surrender to the foreign invaders. The British then withdrew.

In the aftermath of Téwodros's defeat, a period of civil war engulfed Ethiopia until Kassa Mercha was able to defeat the other warlords and become the Emperor YOHANNES IV (1831–1889).

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Richard K. P. Pankhurst, *A Social History of Ethiopia: The Northern and Central Highlands from Early Medieval Times to the Rise of Emperor Tewodros II* (Trenton, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1993).

Things Fall Apart   (1958) First novel written by the Nigerian writer Chinua ACHEBE (1930–   ). *Things Fall Apart* became one of the most widely read English LAN-GUAGE novels of the 20th century. The book's title comes from a line in the poem "Second Coming" by the Anglo-Irish poet William Butler Yeats (1865–1939) in which the poet apprehensively describes the end of European civilization after World War I (1914–18). In the novel, Achebe portrays the end of the traditional IGBO world in NIGERIA at the start of the 20th century. He describes the subtle ways through which British colonialism and Christianity undermined traditional African cultural and social values. The novel's hero, Okonkwo, grew up in a society that possessed a strong sense of communal purpose and deep religious beliefs. It also had a system of social hierarchy in which every stratum of society knew its place and purpose. In the course of the novel, Achebe shows how the religious and cultural values that the British impose on the Igbo disrupted the social hierarchy and subverted their traditional beliefs. Okonkwo's refusal to adjust to the ways of the outsiders pits him against his fellow Igbo and ultimately leads to his suicide.

Critics have noted that Achebe's novel is both an attempt to present the values of traditional Igbo culture to the outside world and a reminder to his own people that their traditional culture is a sustaining source.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vols. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Thuku, Harry (1895–1970) *Kikuyu political leader*

Born in Kiambu, KENYA, to a powerful KIKUYU family, Thuku received his education in missionary schools and went on to become a clerk for the colonial treasury in NAIROBI. Thuku's position allowed him to move to the forefront of the developing nationalist movements among Africans in Nairobi. Nairobi's growth from a shantytown to the capital of BRITISH EAST AFRICA, in 1906, had brought European SETTLERS into conflict with the indigenous Kikuyu, who suffered from the loss of their lands as well as from discriminatory taxation and LABOR policies. In response, in 1921, Thuku and fellow Kikuyu Jesse Kariuki founded the East African Association, a movement among Nairobi youths of various ethnic backgrounds. In that same year Thuku also founded the Young Kikuyu Association. Through these organizations, Thuku gave voice to a wide range of African grievances against the colonial government, challenging the overall white rule, the low-paying labor policy, the head tax, and the theft of land by white settlers. Of particular issue was the imposition of the *kipande,* a required identification card distributed by the colonial government to all Africans.

Within a year Thuku's movements were gaining significant support both within Nairobi and in surrounding areas. In 1922 colonial authorities arrested Thuku, an act that led to a massive protest and the death of over 20 Africans, who were killed when fired upon by colonial police. Thuku was forced into exile in Kismayu, SOMALIA, and the East African Association fell apart. While in exile Thuku took up farming. He later became a successful COFFEE farmer back in Kenya.

In 1928, during Thuku's absence, the Young Kikuyu Association reformed as the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), for which Thuku remained an inspirational leader. Upon his return, in 1931, Thuku's views had become too moderate for the KCA's leadership. Because of this Thuku split from the group, in 1935, to form the Kikuyu Provincial Association. In 1944 he joined the Kenya African Union (KAU), and in 1960 he became a member of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), led by former KCA general secretary and future president of Kenya Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978). These organizations evolved from one another and stemmed from Thuku's Young Kikuyu Association. In 1963 the nationalist movement Thuku helped initiate culminated with Kenya's independence.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, IN-FLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Kenneth King, ed., *Harry Thuku: An Autobiography* (Nairobi: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1970).

Tigray (Tigrai)   Province in the northeastern region of ETHIOPIA and the neighboring region of southern ERITREA inhabited by Tigrinya-speaking people, who are also called the Tigray. The site of the ancient kingdom of Aksum and the 1896 Battle of ADOWA, Tigray had been largely autonomous from the greater Ethiopian state until Emperor TÉWODROS II (1820–1868) defeated its governor and incorporated it as a province in his newly reconstituted Ethiopian state. In the aftermath of Téwodros's death, in

1868, Tigray again reasserted its autonomy from the central state. Its king, Kassa Mercha, led Tigray to defeat rival Ethiopian states, and in 1872 he crowned himself *negus nagast* (king of kings, or emperor) of Ethiopia. He took the name YOHANNES IV (1831–1889). Yohannes IV made his capital the Tigrayan city of Mekele, in the Ethiopian highlands. The key to his power was his army, which he had managed to equip with modern weapons, including machine guns and mortars purchased from European allies, primarily Britain. Yohannes IV led his forces to victory over Egyptian forces in 1875 and again in 1876. His bold leadership raised his profile and kept northern Ethiopia peaceful until the late 1880s, when the MAHDIYYA invaded from the Sudan, to the west. In March 1889 Yohannes IV led the Tigrayan army to victory over the Mahdiyya, at Metema, but he died from wounds suffered in battle.

The name of this province in northern Ethiopia is sometimes spelled Tigre or Tigré, which can cause confusion. The people of Tigray speak Tigrinya, a LANGUAGE based on ancient Ge'ez. In Eritrea, the people of Tigray are also known as the Tigrinya. The Tigray are descended from the Aksumites who once ruled much of Ethiopia. Confusion arises, however, because areas in Eritrea and the Republic of the SUDAN to the north of Tigray province are inhabited by a related—but culturally distinct—ethnic group called the *Tigre*. These people speak a language called *Tigré*, also based on Ge'ez. Although related, the languages spoken by the mostly Christian Tigray and the predominantly Muslim Tigre are mutually unintelligible. The group that rebelled against Ethiopian rule in the 1960s was made up of Tigrinya-speaking people from the Tigray ethnic group.

The death of Yohannes IV was followed by a war of succession among different Tigrayan contenders. The ensuing confusion allowed MENELIK II (1845–1912), the powerful king of SHOA, a major Amharic-speaking province to the south, to seize the throne and become Ethiopia's emperor. Tigray was thrown into chaos again late in 1895, when Italian imperialist forces invaded the region from the Red Sea. Until that time, Ras Mengesha (d. 1906), the Tigray governor, had refused to recognize Menelik as emperor. However, overwhelmed by the invasion, Mengesha bowed to Menelik's authority and asked for military support from Ethiopia's central government. The following year Menelik's Ethi-opian army, which included thousands of Tigrayan soldiers, routed the Italian

forces at the Battle of Adowa. The victory preserved Ethiopia's independence from European COLONIAL RULE for another four decades as well as doing much to restore Tigray's pride. Over the next few years, Ras Mengesha resumed his insubordination until Menelik finally had him arrested. In 1906 Mengesha died while under house arrest, leaving no Tigrayan claimant to the Ethiopian throne when Menelik died, in 1912.

The Ethiopian throne remained thereafter in the hands of AMHARA, with the last emperor being HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975). Known as Ras Tafari prior to his coronation as emperor, Haile Selassie was the regent from 1916 to 1930, prior to reigning in his own name from 1930 to 1974. In 1936, in the aftermath of yet another Italian invasion of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie fled to Britain. The five-year period of Italian occupation that followed was characterized by famine, war, humiliation, and discontent among Tigray's population.

During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, many of Tigray's famed stelae, or ceremonial stone grave markers, were transported to Italy. One of the most impressive markers, dating back to the kingdom of Aksum (500 BCE–1000 CE), decorated Mussolini's Ministry for Africa, in Rome.

Most of Ethiopia rejoiced when, in 1941, British forces invaded Ethiopia to oust the Italians and help Haile Selassie reclaim his throne. The people of Tigray, however, were not entirely pleased. First, they still felt that the rightful successor to the throne after Yohannes IV should have been from Tigray. Second, they expected their emperor to be a fierce warrior in the mold of Yohannes IV and, despite Haile Selassie's earlier valor on the battlefield, they resented his flight in the face of the Italian invasion. In response to the emperor's return, they organized an uprising known as the Weyane. When the emperor asked Britain to help him suppress the Tigrayan rebels, the British obliged, launching air strikes on Tigrayan positions. The city of Makele, the center of Tigray resistance, fell to the combined Ethiopian-British forces in October 1943, and imperial order was restored to the province.

After the overthrow of Haile Selassie, in 1974, a Tigrayan independence movement, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), emerged. It first gained control of Tigray, reasserting its autonomy from the government in ADDIS ABABA. Then, in alliance with the Eritrea People's Liberation Front, the TPLF succeeded, in 1991, in overthrowing Mengistu Haile Mariam (c. 1937–) and installing one of its founders, Meles Zenawi (1955–) as the head of the government.

The vicious suppression of the Weyane by the Ethiopian emperor was not easily forgotten, but Haile Selassie wisely arranged a marriage between his granddaughter, Aida Desta (1927–), and Tigray's governor, Ras Mengesha Seyoum, the grandson of Yohannes IV. With Tigrayans thus pacified, Haile Selassie reascended the throne in a traditional ceremony in Aksum that consecrated the legitimacy of new Ethiopian emperors. However, the discontent in Tigray with Amhara dominance, emanating from Menelik's national capital of Addis Ababa, never fully disappeared.

See also: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MELES ZENAWI (Vol. V); TIGRAY (Vols. I, V); TIGRE (Vol. I); TIGRINYA (Vol. I).

Timbuktu (Timbuctoo) City in present-day northern Republic of MALI, located near the Niger River on the southern border of the Sahara desert, known for its legendary wealth as a trade center. Founded in 12th century, Timbuktu had a long history as an important center at the intersection of trans-Saharan and Sudanic West African trade routes. Timbuktu also possessed a long-standing reputation as a center for Islamic learning that began with the construction of the Great Mosque (Djinguereger), in the 14th century. Between the 15th and 19th centuries, political control of the city changed hands many times. Although Timbuktu's significance as a great trading center had declined somewhat, the city remained strategically important. In 1844 the city revolted against the Islamic state of Masina after the death of Macina's founder, AHMADU SÉKU (d. 1844). The Muslim conqueror UMAR TAL (1794–1864), however, was able to bring Timbuktu somewhat within the orbit of his TUKULOR EMPIRE after midcentury.

France gained control of Timbuktu, in 1894, as part of its COLONIAL CONQUEST of what became FRENCH WEST AFRICA. At the time the Islamic scholarly community consisted of approximately 25 famous scholars who were still residing in the city. The French attempted to restore Timbuktu under their COLONIAL RULE, but they did not make the necessary investments in road and rail connections with other cities and regions of Mali and neighboring countries. It thus remained difficult to reach, with the Niger River providing the best means of TRANSPORTATION. Camel caravans were still setting out from the city across the Sahara late into the 20th century. With approximately 6,600 inhabitants, the city became part of the Republic of Mali when the country gained independence, in 1960.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); NIGER RIVER (Vols. I, II); SAHARA (Vols. I, II); TIMBUKTU (Vols. II, III); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Elias N. Saad, *Social History of Timbuktu: The Role of Muslim Scholars and Notables, 1400–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Tinubu, Madame (1805–1887) *Influential trader and politician in southwestern Nigeria*

Madame Tinubu exemplifies the powerful role that women have played outside the home in many areas of West Africa. Born in the inland town ABEOKUTA, she rose to prominence as a merchant in the YORUBA-speaking region of southwestern NIGERIA, trading mainly between Abeokuta and the coastal port cities of Badagri and LAGOS. She lived in an era when African-European commercial relations were changing from the SLAVE TRADE to so-called legitimate commerce. The commodities of this trade were mostly CASH CROPS, such as COTTON and PALM OIL, which were exported as raw materials to rapidly industrializing Europe. For example, in 1856 alone, the Egba region centered on Abeokuta exported 15,000 tons of palm oil through Lagos.

In 1832 Tinubu married Adele (d. 1834) who had been, and in 1833 again became, the *olugun* (ruler) of Lagos. The Lagos throne was entering a very turbulent period, especially when British agents began inserting themselves in the succession process. When Adele died, his son Oluwole (d. 1841) assumed the throne. As a leading merchant and as the widow of Adele, Tinubu wielded considerable political power. Her influence was such that her biographer considered her a king-maker. Political power in Lagos, however, was slipping from local to British hands. Lagos soon had its own British consul, Benjamin Campbell, who in 1856 forced Olugun Docemo to expel Tinubu from Lagos. She then returned to Abeokuta, where she was prominent in commercial and political affairs.

> In recognition of her role in the civic life of Abeokuta, Madame Tinubu was bestowed with the honorific title of *iyalode,* which is given only to the most powerful woman in a Yoruba community.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Tippu Tip (Tipu Tib, Hamed bin Muhammed) (c. 1830–1905) *Builder of a major commercial empire in the East African interior*

Born Hamed bin Muhammed on the island of ZANZIBAR, Tippu Tip was the son of an African mother and a

highly successful Afro-Arab merchant and plantation owner. By age 12 he was accompanying his father on trading ventures onto the mainland at a time of the rapid expansion of the SLAVE TRADE and IVORY TRADE. By 1850 Hamed, now known as Tippu Tip, was striking out to build his own fortune and independent base of power. He proved adept at combining the necessary commercial acumen, military skills, and leadership to become one of East Africa's leading Zanzibari traders. In the 1860s he pushed into present-day northeastern ZAMBIA and the eastern portion of the present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO. By the early 1880s, utilizing both warfare and diplomacy, he was able to begin sending large caravans of human captives and ivory to the coast.

In 1882 Tippu Tip returned to Zanzibar, his first visit to the island in 12 years. As part of an effort to cement his claims over vast stretches of the interior, the ruler of Zanzibar, Sultan ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888), appointed Tippu Tip governor for the eastern Congo region. The sultan's territorial ambitions, however, conflicted with increased European empire-building activities. In 1885 Germany began asserting its control over the cities of the SWAHILI COAST, its first step toward founding the colony of GERMAN EAST AFRICA. In the Congo, Belgium's King LEOPOLD II (1835–1909) was busy laying the foundations of the CONGO FREE STATE, which was not a colony but the personal possession of the king.

At first the Congo Free State's military forces were too weak to force a confrontation with Tippu Tip and his fellow Arabs. As a result he acted as an agent for King Leopold II for a few years. However, as the Congo Free State grew in strength, it no longer had need of its Arab allies. Consequently, when Tippu Tip left for Zanzibar in 1890, the Free State forced a military confrontation that led to war. By 1894 the Free State was in full control of the region.

> **In the later years of his life Tippu Tip wrote his autobiography, which was translated into English by W. H. Whitely in 1966. The book has since become a KISWAHILI literary classic.**

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV).

Tirailleurs Sénégalais Black, African-born troops serving in the French Army. In 1857 the governor general of FRENCH WEST AFRICA, Louis FAIDHERBE (1818–1889), faced a military manpower shortage due to the death of large numbers of his French-born soldiers from tropical diseases. Recognizing that Africans were seemingly more immune to these illnesses, Faidherbe decided to recruit Africans into a special French army unit to be used in the African service. Eventually known as the Tirailleurs Sénégalais, these troops went on to serve not only in Africa but throughout the French colonial empire and in Europe itself.

> **The French word _tirailleurs_ can be translated as "riflemen." Although, as time went on, members of the Tirailleurs Sénégalais came from many different ethnic groups and places, the initial name Sénégalais remained the one most commonly used.**

Though some of the early members of the Tirailleurs Sénégalais were recruits attracted by promises of good pay, uniforms, and booty, many were slaves purchased from African masters and trained to be soldiers. By the 1880s, however, the practice of purchasing slaves declined markedly, and the majority of the Tirailleurs were former prisoners of war, defeated soldiers who decided that serving with the victorious French forces was a better fate than the alternatives. Beginning with World War I (1914–18) and until the end of World War II (1939–45), the soldiers in the ranks were mostly conscripts. During the last 15 years of French COLONIAL RULE, however, they were volunteer, professional soldiers. In addition, although the higher-ranking positions in the units were invariably reserved for white Frenchmen, Africans eventually became accepted as both non-commissioned and lower-ranking commissioned officers. This ultimately led to enlistments by members of Africa's own ruling classes, who saw service in the army as respectable employment and even as a means of social advancement in lands now dominated by the French colonialists.

> **Although the soldiers of the Tirailleurs Sénégalaise came from many different ethnic groups, the majority were Bambara, with high numbers of Tukolor and MANDE speakers as well. There were so many Bambara, in fact, that the two languages used for commands in the units were pidgin French and Bombara, the Bambara tongue.**

By the beginning of the 20th century, the Tirailleurs Sénégalaise had established a reputation as fierce and effective combat troops. After 1905 they began to be used outside of Africa. Because of this the established recruit-

ment techniques were no longer supplying enough troops, and the French government had to find new ways to add to the force. As a result, by World War I conscription was used to fill the need for troops. The Tirailleurs Sénégalese ultimately played an important role in World War I, in which more than 30,000 African-born soldiers died on the battlefields of Europe in the service of France.

At the outset of World War II, some 75,000 African troops were stationed in France, with 15,000 or more becoming prisoners of war. Furthermore, the vast majority of troops in the Free French army of General Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) were African-born. In an ironic twist, more than half of the troops who landed in southern France to liberate that country in 1944 were African-born soldiers. In all, more than 200,000 served in the French army during the war. As military veterans, they often became active in NATIONALIST AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS because they were upset over the paltry veteran benefits they received for their wartime service.

This Tirailleur was awarded the Cross of Liberation by General Charles de Gaulle during ceremonies held in 1942 in Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa. © Free French Press/Office of War Information/Library of Congress

After World War II the French reduced the size of the Tirailleurs Sénégalais to roughly 34,000 men. Africans were now serving in the middle ranks of commissioned officers. A majority of these soldiers were stationed outside French West Africa. They saw action in both ALGERIA and Indochina, and a number of them were among the French army that surrendered to the Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The Tirailleurs Sénégalais contingents from the various French West African colonies were to constitute the basis for the new national armies upon the breakup of French West Africa, in 1960.

See also: ARMIES, COLONIAL (Vol. IV); BAMBARA (Vols. I, II, III); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DIAGNE, BLAISE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V).

Further reading: Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1991).

Tiv Largest ethnic group of the Benue State in NIGERIA. The Tiv constitute one of Nigeria's largest ethnic minorities, composing 2.5 percent of the country's population. A small number of Tiv speakers can also be found in CAMEROON. Tiv myths of origin say that they came "from the southeast" before settling in their present-day homeland, in Nigeria's Middle Belt.

For defensive purposes the Tiv lived in stockaded villages, and it was not until the period of British COLONIAL RULE that they dispersed into smaller settlements. The initial British penetration into Tivland occurred in 1906, but permanent colonial control was not firmly established until the end of World War I (1914–18). They gradually became involved in cash-crop production in addition to their earlier system of AGRICULTURE, which was centered on the production of FOOD CROPS.

Like their neighbors the IGBO, the Tiv organized a stateless society. At the local level there was no chief, and decisions concerning laws and law enforcement were made by consensus of the family elders. During the colonial period the British delegated powers of governance over the Middle Belt region to their Muslim, HAUSA-FULANI allies. The non-Muslim Tiv, resentful of Islamic, outsider control, erupted in violence in the early 1960s.

> More recently the Tiv have been involved in repeated ethnic clashes with neighboring peoples, including the Jukun, who are the ethnic majority of Taraba to the east of Benue State. These clashes have resulted in thousands of deaths, as well as thousands of refugees fleeing the violence.

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); LANGUAGES (Vol. I); LANGUAGE USAGE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I).

Togo   Present-day West African country 22,000 square miles (57,000 sq km) in size, located on the Gulf of Guinea; Togo shares borders with GHANA to the west, Republic of BENIN to the east, and BURKINA FASO to the north. The area that is present-day Togo was hotly contested in the early 1800s, with the Akwamu state, the ASHANTI EMPIRE, and the kingdom of DAHOMEY competing for regional dominance.

Known by Europeans as TOGOLAND, the region was frequently raided by the Ashanti for human captives to support the SLAVE TRADE. Denmark was the controlling European presence in the coastal area until the middle of the 1800s, when German MISSIONARIES and traders began to establish settlements in Togoland's port city of Anécho. Led by the efforts of the diplomat Gustav Nachtigal (1834–1885), Germany secured treaties with coastal chiefs, and at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85) the German PROTECTORATE of Togoland was recognized.

Togo during the Colonial Era: Togoland Through the 1890s, the Germans expanded their protectorate northward, encountering little resistance. By 1904 Germany signed treaties with both France, which had colonized neighboring Dahomey (present-day Republic of Benin), and Britain, which had established the GOLD COAST COLONY to the west, thereby setting the boundaries of German Togoland.

Germany enacted an ambitious public works program in the colony, building modern roads and railways and encouraging the production of the colony's main agricultural EXPORTS, namely COTTON, RUBBER, COCOA, and palm products. The port city of Lomé, named the colonial capital in 1897, was developed extensively. Despite Germany's success in creating and administering a strong infrastructure for the colony, the brutal treatment of Africans and the policies of direct taxation and forced LABOR tarnished the image of Germany's *Musterkolonie* (model colony).

Germany maintained its colonial rule in Togoland until 1914, when, in the first victory for Allied forces in World War I (1914–18), British and French troops easily seized the colony. After the war Togoland was divided into two League of Nations mandates, with western Togoland coming under British administration and eastern Togoland going to the French. British Togoland was governed as part of the Gold Coast. French Togoland remained a separate entity until 1934, when it was linked to Dahomey and later to french west africa. In 1946 the mandates became United Nations trust territories and remained under British and French rule.

In 1947 the Ewe people, who were the majority population in southern British Togoland, began to call for a unified, independent Togo. Their people split by the colonial divisions Germany, Britain, and France had imposed on their homeland, the Ewe sought to reunite their fractured population. The plan fell apart, however, when the rest of British Togoland voted to be fully incorporated into the Gold Coast, which the British were moving quickly toward independence. In 1957 the Gold Coast and British Togoland became independent Ghana.

A sliver of land 320 miles long with a 32 mile coastline, French Togoland retained its borders and, in 1956, became an internally autonomous country within the FRENCH UNION. In 1958 the country's population voted for full independence. Sylvanus OLYMPIO (1902–1963), the head of the Committee of Togolese Unity, became president when the independent Republic of Togo was established in 1960.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DENMARK AND AFRICA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); EWE (Vols. II, III) FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SLAVE COAST (Vol. III); TOGO (Vols. I, II, III, V); TRUST TERRITROY (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Togoland Colonial name of the territory that became the independent Republic of TOGO, in 1960. Beginning in the mid-1800s, German explorers, MISSIONARIES, and traders began settling along the coast of Togoland. One such explorer, Gustav Nachtigal (1834–1885), forged agreements with local leaders that gave Germany trading rights within these leaders' kingdoms. With these agreements in place, Germany's occupation of Togoland was recognized by the other European powers at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), allowing Germany to claim the territory as a PROTECTORATE. The German colonial administration then proceeded to build railroads and develop the port facilities at Lomé, the administrative capital, in order to transport the region's agricultural products, which included COTTON, RUBBER, COCOA, and palm products.

During the course of World War I (1914–18), combined British and French forces seized Togoland, and at the end of the war the territory was divided between Britain and France to be administered as League of Nations mandates. In 1957 the western territory administered by Britain joined with the GOLD COAST COLONY to become the newly independent nation of GHANA. The eastern, French mandated territory joined the FRENCH UNION in 1956, and achieved independence from France in 1960. The new Republic of Togo was led by President Sylvanus OLYMPIO (1902–1963).

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Touré, Ahmed Sékou (1922–1984) *Trade unionist and president of independent Guinea's First Republic.*

Born to a poor, Muslim family in Faranah, GUINEA, near the headwaters of the Niger River, Sékou Touré attended Quranic school before getting a Western-style education at French-speaking elementary and technical schools. In 1941 he took a postal job and four years later cofounded Guinea's first trade union for postal workers. He was exposed to Marxism by trade unionists from the French Communist party, but he disavowed Marxist-Leninist communism, claiming instead to be a socialist. In 1952 Sékou Touré founded the general Union of the Workers of Black Africa, which, while under his direction, never lost a strike. Throughout the latter half of the 1950s he continued working in prominent, union roles.

Sékou Touré's leadership of LABOR UNIONS provided him with a basis for engaging in the politics associated with African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS. In 1946, at the Bamako Conference in neighboring FRENCH SOUDAN (now MALI), he helped found the popular AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, RDA) and became the party's vice president. As the RDA emerged as the dominant African political organization in FRENCH WEST AFRICA, Sékou Touré took control of the Democratic Party of Guinea (Parti Démocratique de Guinée, PDG), the Guinea branch of the RDA.

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In his campaign to become the leader of government of an independent Guinea, Sékou Touré evoked the name of the renowned hero of Guinean resistance, SAMORI TOURÉ (c. 1830–1900). Sékou Touré even falsely claimed to be his grandson.

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Drawing on the prominence of Islam in Guinea, Sékou Touré unified the region's diverse ethnic groups with an unspoken promise of making Guinea an Islamic state (which, ultimately, he did not do). By advocating a greater role for African women in public office and a redistribution of land, Sékou Touré appealed to peasants, women, and youth—the audience targeted by the PDG. He opposed the rule of chiefs, claiming that they supported French COLONIAL RULE and were obstacles to reform.

In 1957 his party won 56 of the 60 seats in the Territorial Assembly, and Sékou Touré became mayor of Conakry, Guinea's capital, and representative to the French National Assembly. The following year he led the drive for a "no" vote on the referendum, called by French president Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970), for continuing affiliation with France through membership in the FRENCH UNION. Guinea was the only French West African state to vote "no," and de Gaulle granted the country immediate independence. However, as part of his attempt to discourage other former colonies from following Guinea's lead, de Gaulle cancelled all French aid and withdrew all French personnel, equipment, and supplies from Guinea. Sékou Touré's radical decision for independence encouraged the DECOLONIZATION of the rest of France's sub-Saharan possessions and also led to the collapse of the RDA.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols II, IV, V); SÉKOU TOURÉ, AHMED (Vol. V).

Further reading: W. A. E. Skurnik, *African Political Thought: Lumumba, Nkrumah, Touré* (Denver: University of Denver, 1968).

towns and cities The colonial era saw the widespread growth of towns and cities in various parts of Africa, with many precolonial small towns growing into large ones and larger cities becoming even more densely settled. Especially in the 20th century, increasing urban populations altered the face of Africa, resulting in sweeping changes to FAMILY relations, the environment, and the African ECONOMY. These changes, very few of them entirely positive, challenged existing values, beliefs, and social norms.

See also: ABIDJAN (Vol. IV), ACCRA (Vol. IV), ADDIS ABABA (Vol. IV); ALGIERS (Vol. IV); BAMAKO (Vol. IV); BANGUI (Vol. IV); BANJUL (Vol. IV); BRAZZAVILLE (Vol. IV); CAIRO (Vol. IV); CAPE TOWN (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DAKAR (Vol. IV); DAR ES SALAAM (Vol. IV); DURBAN (Vol. IV); ELIZABETHVILLE (Vol. IV); FREETOWN (Vol. IV); JOHANNESBURG (Vol. IV); KAMPALA (Vol. IV); KANKAN (Vol. IV); KANO (Vol. IV); KHARTOUM (Vol. IV); KIMBERLEY (Vol. IV); LAGOS (Vol. IV); LEOPOLDVILLE (Vol. IV); LIBREVILLE (Vol. IV); MOGADISHU (Vol. IV); MOMBASA (Vol. IV); NAIROBI (Vol. IV); STANLEYVILLE (Vol. IV); TIMBUKTU (Vol. IV); TOWNS AND CITIES (Vols. I, II, III, V); URBANIZATION (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vol. IV); ZANZIBAR CITY (Vol. IV).

trade and commerce Although trade—and trade routes—had been well established in Africa for thousands of years, long-standing patterns of African trade and commerce were undergoing fundamental changes by the middle of the 19th century. This process accelerated during the colonial period.

For centuries Africans had conducted trade in everything from metals to crafts. With the arrival of Europeans, however, both international and domestic commerce became dominated by the SLAVE TRADE. In the years before 1800 this trade in human captives spread from West and Central Africa to the Atlantic, from the savanna regions

south of the Sahara across the desert to North Africa, and from the Horn of Africa into the Arabian Peninsula. By 1800 this trade had expanded still further because of increases in the East African slave trade. In spite of the widespread abolition of the slave trade, which was begun by Britain in 1807, the trade continued, finally reaching a peak of 130,000 captives per year. Eventually, however, abolition of the trade took hold, and the Atlantic trade was in sharp decline by 1850. As a result, other forms of commerce, called *legitimate trade* in retrospect, took the place of the trade in human captives.

This shift away from the slave trade actually had begun in the early 1800s. At that time much of the trade involved the production of CASH CROPS for export. Industrializing Europe needed oil crops, such as GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) and oil palms, to lubricate machinery as well as for consumption. The scale of this commerce increased steadily over the course of the century, and, through the 1860s at least, the terms of trade (i.e., what one country or region could obtain as imports with a set quantity of exports) favored Africa. Ironically, and unfortunately, it was the need for LABOR in the production of cash crops that kept the internal African slave trade going throughout much of the 19th century.

As was true in the era of the international slave trade, African merchants dominated the early decades of the exporting of commodities. Initially the most prominent merchants were politically powerful individuals such as the merchant princes of the NIGER DELTA or the politically connected Madame TINUBU (1805–1887). Over time, however, a new merchant class emerged, typified by people such as Richard Beale BLAIZE (1845–1904).

The process of European colonial expansion and the establishment of formal COLONIAL RULE, however, spelled the end of the powerful African merchants. European commercial firms such as the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY and its successor, the UNITED AFRICA COMPANY, linked as they were to the colonial administrations, squeezed the African merchants out of business. Thus, in the colonial period, African commercial life centered on traders such as Madam Alimotu PELEWURA (c. 1865–1951) rather than the heads of large commercial firms.

In colonies such as the CONGO FREE STATE (later the BELGIAN CONGO) and those of FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA, where the colonial governments handed out large tracts of land to CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES, large-scale African traders also lost out to European merchants. The European-owned companies monopolized the export-import business, leaving the collection of cash crops from small-scale African farmers and the sale of imported commodities at the local level to African traders. These traders also faced increased competition at the local, retail level, for small-scale businesspeople from Greece, Lebanon, and India began to enter the local, retail trade.

Developments in East Africa were similar to those in West Africa, but with some notable differences. One major difference was that of chronology. Both West and East Africans were involved in complex trading systems, both local and long-distance. However, while the West African slave trade was gradually slowing down, the trade in slaves was increasing at ports along the SWAHILI COAST in East Africa. In response to the demand for human captives, interior peoples such as the NYAMWEZI and the YAO opened new trade routes between the interior and the coast. Ivory, too, continued to be a major trade item along these same trade routes. In addition, Arab planters on Indian Ocean islands and along the African coast were also raising cash crops such as cloves and copra for export to Europe.

The coastal merchants were both Arabs and Swahili and operated under the political sovereignty of the BUSAIDI sultanate of ZANZIBAR. Beginning about mid-century, Zanzibari traders became more active in the interior, and by the 1870s the sultanate was attempting to expand its territorial control inland from the coast, especially in what is today TANZANIA. Under the leadership of individuals such as TIPPU TIP (c. 1830–1905), Zanzibari traders pushed into the eastern Congo by the early 1880s. The European colonial conquest of this region proved even more disruptive of African commercial life than it did in West Africa. Commercial activities changed from African and Arab hands to that of large firms such as the German East Africa Company. Throug-hout the colonial period, major commercial activities remained in the hands of European-owned firms. Individuals in ASIAN COMMUNITIES, however, controlled much of the business at the retail level in both the rural areas and cities.

Trade and commercial patterns were different in both southern and North Africa. The European SETTLERS of SOUTH AFRICA had a strong merchant class from the early years of British rule of the CAPE COLONY. The spread of commercial farming, with the introduction of wool-producing Merino sheep in the 1840s, and then the establishment of sugar plantations in NATAL, led to an upsurge of commercial activity. This paled, however, in comparison with the level of economic activity that the MINERAL REVOLUTION produced.

Throughout the 19th century commerce at all levels remained fully in white hands, although by late century some Indians in Natal were entering trade at the lower levels. In the 20th century trade and commerce were increasingly focused on the cities, as the pace of urbanization and industrialization quickened over the first half of the century. By 1960 approximately half of South Africa's population was urbanized, including the vast majority of whites, who had enormous purchasing power.

The situation in North Africa was much more varied. The French conquest of ALGERIA, dating from about

Colonial Exploitation of Sub-Saharan Africa: Cash Crops and Mining, 1919–1939

Map labels: *Nile R.*, *Red Sea*, SENEGAL, GAMBIA, *Niger R.*, *Lake Chad*, NIGERIA, *Blue Nile*, *Lake Tana*, SUDAN, *Gulf of Aden*, **Au**, *Benue R.*, *White Nile*, *Lake Turkana*, KENYA, *Bight of Benin*, CAMEROON, *Congo R.*, *Lake Albert*, GOLD COAST COLONY, *Bight of Biafra*, BELGIAN CONGO, *Lake Victoria*, *Indian Ocean*, *Lake Tanganyika*, **Cu**, *Atlantic Ocean*, ANGOLA, *Katanga*, GERMAN EAST AFRICA, **Cu**, *Lake Nyasa*, GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA, *Zambezi R.*, **Au**, RHODESIA, **Cu**, *Mozambique Channel*, REUNION ISLAND, MAURITIUS, Johannesburg, **Au**, *Orange R.*, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, N

Legend:

Minerals & Metals
Coal · Diamonds · **Cu** Copper · **Au** Gold

Cash Crops
Cocoa · Rubber · Coffee · Sisal · Cotton · Sugar · Groundnuts · Tobacco · Palm Oil

0 — 800 Miles
0 — 800 Kms

1830, led to the large-scale immigration of white settlers, know as colons. They appropriated large amounts of land and came to dominate much of the commercial agriculture. Wine made up over half of the colony's exports in the interwar period, with a small number of European producers responsible for the bulk of the production. The majority of colons settled in the coastal cities, especially ALGIERS, where they dominated commercial life just as they dominated other aspects of society. EGYPT, on the other hand, did not experience significant European settlement, and European commerce was unable to make much headway against the well-entrenched Egyptian merchant class. The establishment of the wholly Egyptian-owned Bank Misr in 1920 was a further boost to indigenous commercial life. Significant foreign capital was invested in Egypt, but much of it in Egyptian-owned firms.

The year 1960 witnessed a transformation of trade and commerce in Africa from what it had been in 1850. For the most part large-scale European firms controlled the flow of both exports and imports at the wholesale level. At the retail level the situation was more varied. In West Africa, for example, African traders still dominated local markets, but in South Africa, retail commerce was almost wholly the domain of Europeans, with some limited Indian participation. As with so many other patterns of African life, the newly independent countries inherited a very colonial system of trade and commerce.

See also: COLON (Vol. IV); ECONOMY (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. I, II, III, V).

transportation From 1850 onward, significant changes began to take place in the modes of transportation in Africa. These changes took the form of the mechanization of transportation that the Industrial Revolution made available in Europe earlier in the century. The navigable rivers of Africa were few in number, with only the Congo, Niger, and Nile being of major significance, although other rivers such as the Gambia and the Senegal and stretches of the Zambezi also were passable. They had long been used for transportation purposes. It was on these rivers that the first major transportation changes occurred with the introduction of steam navigation. The Nile saw the beginning of steam navigation early in the century. In 1857 the British government promoted steam navigation on the Niger River by contracting with a British trader and providing him with a subsidy to maintain a steamboat on the river. Steam navigation on the Congo quickly emerged as that river became the main transport artery for the CONGO FREE STATE. In fact the locations of both LEOPOLDVILLE and STANLEYVILLE were determined because of their locations at either end of a key navigable stretch of the river.

The first steamboat to maintain regular steamer service on the Niger was the *Dayspring,* which was put in service in 1857. The enterprise ended in failure when the *Dayspring* went aground on a large rock at Jebba, which was located hundreds of miles upstream from the mouth. Other steamers, however, were soon in service on the Niger as well as its major tributary, the Benue River.

While steam navigation was a significant transportation innovation, it had limited applicability because of the small number of navigable rivers. The major transportation changes came with the introduction of railroads. Except for EGYPT, where the government of Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895) was able to raise the necessary capital to launch railroad construction in the Nile Delta region in the 1850s, the building of railroads in Africa was almost wholly a colonial enterprise. Railroad construction began in ALGERIA in the 1870s, largely to serve the needs of the expanding COLON population. The 1870s also witnessed the beginnings in SOUTH AFRICA of what was to become the most extensive railway system on the continent. Spurring this construction was the MINERAL REVOLUTION that was tied to the discovery of DIAMONDS and GOLD deep in the interior. Between 1897 and 1905 the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY oversaw the extension of lines from South Africa northward into its new colony of SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Railway construction patterns for most of Africa were very different from those in colonies with large populations of European SETTLERS. Sometimes the purposes could be strategic. For example, part of the British military advance into the present-day Republic of the SUDAN in pursuit of the MAHDIYYA included building a railroad. Begun in 1896, that railway stretched from Wadi Halfa, at the head of navigation on the lower Nile, across the desert to the great bend above the fourth cataract. Within two years rail workers had extended the rail further south to Atbara. This enabled the British army to have a dependable supply route in preparing for the decisive Battle of OMDURMAN, in 1898. Silmilarly, beginning in 1899, the British pushed a railroad inland from MOMBASA to Lake Victoria in order to secure their hold on the region.

Once COLONIAL RULE was firmly in place, colonial governments built railroads primarily for the purpose of developing the colonial export-oriented economies. Thus, in 1898 the Congo Free State built a rail line between Leopoldville and the Atlantic Ocean port of Matadi. This enabled travelers and traders to bypass the long stretch of rapids on the lower Congo. By 1918 the government of the BELGIAN CONGO had connected ELIZABETHVILLE by rail to the navigable reaches of the upper Congo in order to export COPPER through the port at Matadi. As early as 1906 the French had established a rail link between BAMAKO on the Upper Niger and Kayes at the head of navigation on the Senegal River. This connection facilitated French administrative control of their sprawling West African colonial empire and allowed for its economic development. Colonial economic development in MALI centered on COTTON, while that in SENEGAL depended on GROUNDNUTS (peanuts). Completion of the railroad from Kayes to the port at DAKAR further facilitated the transport of these and other CASH CROPS.

Outside of the MAGHRIB and South Africa, with their large settler populations that could demand well-developed rail networks, the railroad map of colonial Africa was mainly a series of lines stretching inland from port cities to the interior. Few branch lines existed, and, except within southern and North Africa, seldom did the rail lines of one colony link with those of a neighboring colony. This was even the case when adjacent colonies were part of the same empire, as in FRENCH WEST AFRICA. Thus, at independence, African countries inherited railroads and associated port facilities that were not designed for internal communications and development but rather export-oriented economies.

Road construction began to take hold in the 1920s, as motor vehicles started to become an important means of transportation. At first the colonial governments built roads as feeder links to their railways. Soon, however, road networks began to develop more fully. They had the advantage of being cheaper and more flexible than railroads, and they also were more likely to serve the needs of local Africans.

Unlike railroads, which required large amounts of capital and extensive administration, road transport was open to small entrepreneurial enterprises. Africans, especially in the well-developed market economy of West Africa, quickly took advantage as both owner-operators and users of the new opportunities that road transport provided.

Air travel, which did not become significant on a global scale until after World War II (1939–45), was not very well developed in colonial Africa. Other than air routes between Europe and North Africa, which emerged in the aftermath of World War I (1914–18), regular air service did not come to most of the continent until the 1930s. Even then it was not very extensive. For example, in 1936 it took four days for a passenger to fly from Belgium to Leopoldville. By comparison, at that same time, the weekly mail ships reached CAPE TOWN from Southampton, England in 14 days. Even as late as 1960, most airline services linked African countries with Europe, and there were few internal flights.

Motor vehicles remained a rarity for most Africans as late as the 1950s. Only in South Africa were there more than 60 vehicles per thousand people. In the vast area of French West Africa, on the other hand, there were fewer than four vehicles per thousand people.

Colonial Railways in Sub-Saharan Africa, c. 1919–1939
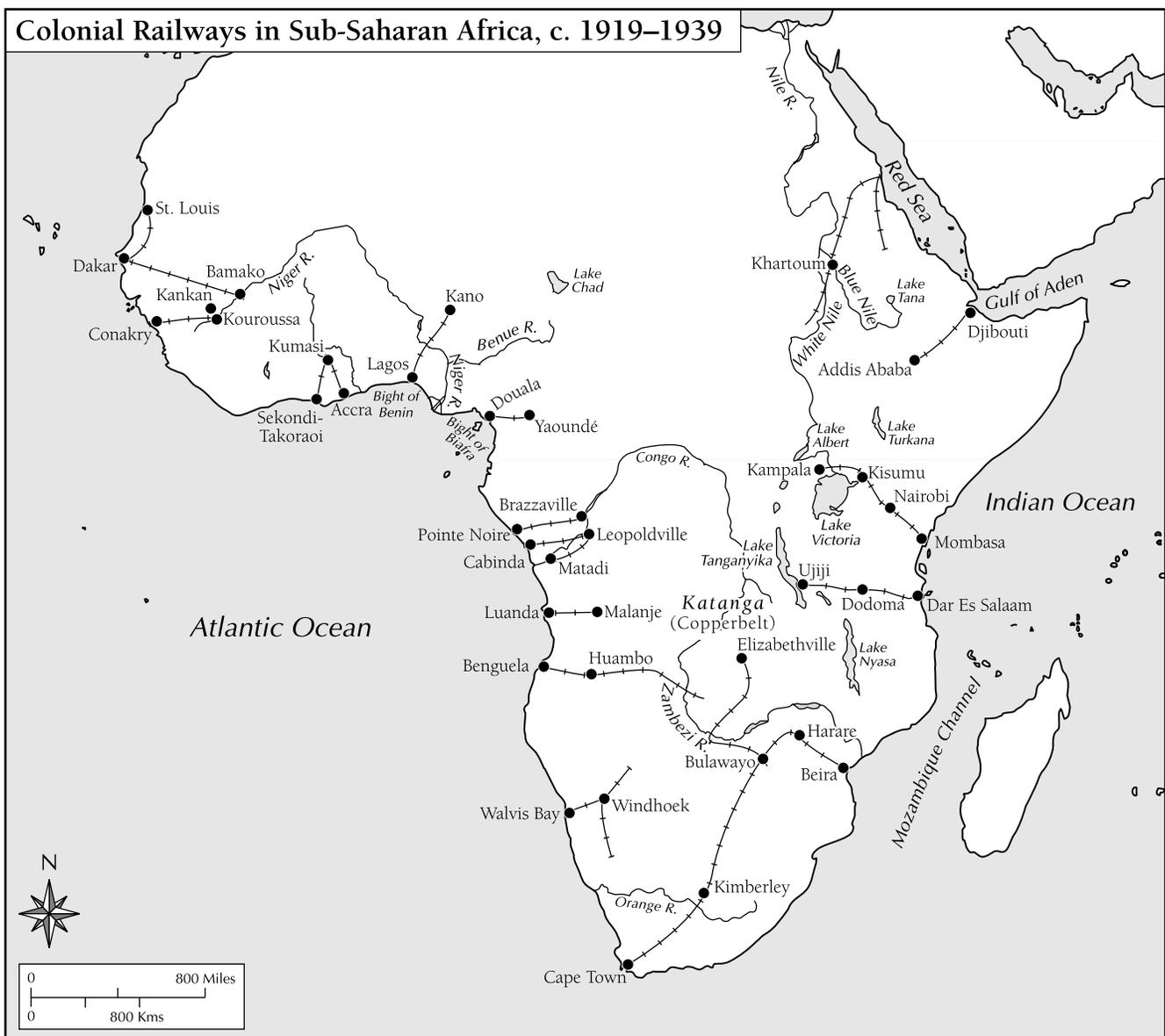
See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); GAMBIA RIVER (Vol. I); NIGER RIVER (Vol. I); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); SENEGAL RIVER (Vol. I); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. IV, V); TRANSPORTATION (Vol. V); ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vol. I).

Transvaal, the (1852–1902) Province of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (1910–1961), located in the highveld of present-day SOUTH AFRICA, between the Vaal and Limpopo rivers. The restraints of British rule upon the BOERS of the CAPE COLONY inspired the Great Boer Trek (1835–early 1840s), a large Boer migration into the hinterland of southern Africa. Once across the Vaal River, the Boers met resistance from the area's indigenous people, especially the NDEBELE, the PEDI, and the ZULU. Tenacious and ruggedly individualistic, the Boers eventually prevailed, spreading out across the region in loosely organized settlements.

At the Sand River Convention (1852) Britain recognized the Transvaal as a sovereign state and PRETORIA was named the new republic's capital. From it inception the Transvaal encountered economic difficulties, and in 1877 the British peacefully annexed the bankrupt country as part of its confederation plans for South Africa. Three years later, frustrated by unfulfilled British promises, the Boers revolted and regained the Transvaal's independence.

In 1886 the discovery of GOLD in the WITWATERSRAND of the Transvaal precipitated a large influx of foreigners into the region. The city of JOHANNESBURG quickly sprang into existence as the center of the MINING industry. The Boers, attempting to maintain political control of the Transvaal, denied the franchise to the new immigrants, especially English-speakers, who began to outnumber the Boers. The English migrants, pejoratively called UIT-LANDERS (outsiders) by the Boers, became increasingly dissatisfied with their lack of political power. Their unhappiness culminated in the ill-advised JAMESON RAID (1895), which Cecil RHODES (1853– 1902), a principal mining capitalist and prime minister of the Cape Colony, instigated in an attempt to overthrow the Boer government.

After the failure of the Jameson Raid, relations between the Transavaal and Britain deteriorated. Hostilities culminated in the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), which pitted the Transvaal and its fellow Boer republic, the ORGANGE FREE STATE (OFS), against the British Empire. The Boer armies earned early victories, but superior British numbers eventually overwhelmed them. The Treaty of VEREENIGING ended the war in 1902, making the Transvaal a colony of Britain.

Led by Louis BOTHA (1862–1919), in 1907 the Transvaal received the right to a limited self-government under British authority. AFRIKANERS immediately dominated the government, protecting the advantages afforded the white population. In 1910 the Transvaal united with the OFS, NATAL, and the Cape Colony to form the Union of South Africa. The Transvaal became the economic powerhouse of the union and eventually the political powerhouse as well.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); GREAT BOER TREK (Vol. III); KRUGER, PAUL (Vol. IV).

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Tripoli (Tarabulus al-Gharb, in Arabic) Capital of LIBYA, located on the Mediterranean coast in the northwestern part of the country. The Ottoman Empire reestablished direct rule over the province of TRIPOLITA-NIA in 1835. From 1850 to 1911 Tripoli—the only urban center in the region—was the capital of Tripolitania (the Ottoman province of Tarabulus al-Gharb). Tripoli's citizens included Turkish administrators, 4,000 Europeans from the Mediterranean island of Malta, and 25,000 Tunisians, who emigrated in 1883 to escape the newly declared French PROTECTORATE of TUNISIA to the west. The Ottoman Empire controlled the area until the Italians seized Tripoli, in 1911, during the Turko-Italian War (1911–12).

Under Italian control, many more European SETTLERS came to the city and the urban ARCHITECTURE began to reflect the colonial influence. Built using European techniques of urban construction, the new city structures eventually extended beyond the original city wall. Despite its growth Tripoli remained a relatively small colonial town until the late 1950s, when the effects of Libya's new petroleum industry began to appear.

See also: ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); TRIPOLI (Vol. V).

Tripolitania Region in present-day western LIBYA located on the coast of the Mediterranean. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Tripolitania was governed by the Ottoman Empire and, later, by Italy. Ruled as a vassal state by the Ottomans since the 17th century, in 1835 Tripolitania became an Ottoman province directly ruled by a governor-general, who was appointed by the sultan. While the Ottoman administrators actively tended to the coastal regions, they were less interested in pacifying the Fezzan region in the interior.

After the Berlin Congress of 1878 the Italians considered Tripolitania part of their Mediterranean-sphere of influence; however, the Ottoman rulers did not relinquish control of the region. In 1879 the provinces of Tripolitania

and Cyrenaica (present-day eastern Libya) were separated. Later, in the early 20th century, the Young Turk movement within the Ottoman government allowed both provinces to send representatives to the Ottoman Parliament.

In 1911 Italy engineered a crisis to undermine the Ottoman government. Claiming that the Turks had armed the indigenous peoples of Tripolitania against the Italian settlers, Italy declared war and invaded the region. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881–1938), the future leader of Turkey, Ottoman troops withdrew to the interior and organized indigenous resistance to the Italian invasion. However, because a separate war was threatening their empire on the Balkan Peninsula, the Ottomans sued for peace with Italy. As part of the peace agreement the Ottoman Empire granted independence to both Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in 1912, at which time the Italians formally annexed the two territories. In spite of the annexation, the Italian colonial administration maintained the Islamic Ottoman sultan as the religious leader, vesting him with the power to appoint the *qadi* (judge) in Tripoli to oversee the administration of the *sharia* courts.

In Islamic theocracies, *sharia* courts dispense justice based on civil laws that are determined by the clerical interpretation of the Quran, Islam's holy book.

In 1934 Tripolitania and Cyrenaica together became the Italian colony of Libya, and in 1939 Libya was formally made part of Italy.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

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trust territory Region or state held in trust (that is, governed on behalf of the indigenous inhabitants) by a colonial power under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) Trusteeship Council. The UN Charter established the Trusteeship Council to supervise the administration of trust territories as one of the six basic functions of the United Nations. For the most part, African trust territories were the former mandates of the defunct League of Nations. The central aims of the UN trust-territory system were to protect and support Africans as they moved toward independence.

All of the League of Nations mandates became trust territories except SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA). In that country, SOUTH AFRICA, its neighbor to the south,

continued to govern without the oversight authority of the Trusteeship Council. In addition, Italy was allowed to resume its administration of ITALIAN SOMALILAND, which it had lost to Britain early in World War II (1939–45).

Africa's UN trust territories became independent nations beginning in 1957, when the British-administered area of TOGOLAND was incorporated with the British GOLD COAST COLONY to create independent GHANA. By 1962 the former trust territories of Somaliland, French Togoland, British Cameroons, French Cameroons, TANGANYIKA, and RUANDA-URUNDI were all independent or part of independent countries.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MANDATE (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PROTECTORATE (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Tswana People of southern Africa who live primarily in BOTSWANA and SOUTH AFRICA. Today, Setswana, the LANGUAGE of the Tswana people, is spoken by approximately 4 million people in South Africa and Botswana alone. It is a Bantu language so closely related to that of the SOTHO that it sometimes is called "Western Sotho." The first of the Sotho-Tswana group of languages to be written down, Tswana was studied extensively by MISSIONARIES during the early 19th century. This resulted in a Tswana translation of the biblical gospel of Luke as early as 1830. Other biblical translations followed in the 1840s and 1850s. Beginning in 1914 the noted scholar, journalist, and political activist Sol T. PLAATJE (1876–1932) brought Tswana some notoriety with his translations of Tswana proverbs in an endeavor to promulgate pride in Tswana traditions.

During the 19th century a combination of factors led to the diminishing of Tswana power and culture. The ZULU Mfecane (The Crushing) drove a number of other peoples—primarily Nguni, Hlubi, and Ngwani—into Tswana territory, forcing the Tswana to compete for land and food. Later, military incursions by the Zulu themselves as well as by the founder of the NDEBELE nation, Mzilikazi (1790–1868), led to the devastation of much of the Tswana lands. To make matters still worse, internal disagreements led Tswana minor chieftains to split off and form their own sub-groups, further diluting Tswana power.

All of this left the Tswana vulnerable to Europeans, both BOERS and the British, who attempted to appropriate Tswana lands as they searched for pasture and farmlands and other imperial objectives. By 1886 European incursions were so extensive that the northern Tswana region had become the British PROTECTORATE of BECHUANALAND, and the southern chiefdoms had been incorporated into the CAPE COLONY. Subsequently the British

colonial administration largely neglected the territory, and many Batswana were reduced to working as migrant laborers in the South African mines or as farm workers on land that was once their own in order to pay the heavy colonial taxes.

Inhabiting the western limits of the rain-fed agricultural area of the southern African interior, the Tswana have for centuries been a primarily agrarian and pastoral people. Their cattle herds have played particularly important economic and social roles, for they reflected an individual's wealth and social standing. They also developed extensive trading relationships with nearby Khoisan-speaking hunter-gatherers. The extremely well-organized Tswana society was noteworthy for its complex judicial system and its royal power, which was based on the ownership of cattle.

See also: MFECANE (Vol. III); MZILIKAZI (Vol. III); TSWANA (Vols. I, III).

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Tuaregs Mostly nomadic Berber peoples who have long occupied harsh regions of the Sahara desert, engaged in camel PASTORALISM. Throughout history, Tuareg strongholds have included Gao and TIMBUKTU in present-day MALI, the Aïr Massif in NIGER, and the Ahaggar (Hoggar) Massif in southern ALGERIA.

Until the late 19th century Tuareg people were masters of the Saharan interior. Trans-Saharan trading caravans had little option but to hire local Tuaregs as guides and for protection against raiding parties (often other Tuaregs). The Tuaregs themselves also participated in the Trans-Saharan trade, exchanging GOLD, silver, and ivory jewelry—small luxury items that made their trans-Saharan crossing worthwhile—for the goods that they needed to survive.

As the 20th century progressed, however, Tuareg culture changed radically. The French colonial administration built roads through Tuareg-inhabited regions, and before long, trucks came to replace camel caravans as the preferred form of TRANSPORTATION. Later, air travel further reduced the need for desert guides.

With their shrouded faces and mysterious bearing, the Tuaregs captured the imagination of the French in the late 1800s and early 1900s. (See photo on following page.) *L'Atlantide* (Atlantis), a novel by Pierre Benoit (1886–1962), became a bestseller. In the book, a Frenchman is captivated by a Tuareg enchantress, whose castle is hidden in the Ahaggar Mountains.

Prior to French colonization, in the late 1800s, Tuaregs managed their affairs through clan confederations. But, in light of Tuareg strength, the French redrew national boundaries in the Sahara with the purpose of breaking the Tuareg confederations into smaller, less powerful bands. The Tuaregs' condition continued to deteriorate in the 20th century, as their former way of life became untenable and they became increasingly marginalized, with Tuareg grazing lands taken by the French authorities and young Tuareg men forcibly recruited for LABOR and military duty. Still, those Tuaregs living in Aïr retained their independence up until World War I (1914–18).

In 1916, however, French troops crushed a Tuareg uprising in Aïr, later capturing and executing Kawsen ag Muhammad (d. 1919), the chief who led the insurgents. Despite decreased levels of political organization, Tuaregs in Niger continued to engage French colonial forces in a fierce war. Ultimately the uprising was suppressed and many Tuaregs migrated south to NIGERIA.

In the early 1960s the Tuaregs in Mali and Niger were still dispossessed and began small-scale, armed insurrections, which were violently suppressed by the governments of those newly independent nations.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); TUAREGS (Vols. I, II, III, V).

Further reading: H. T. Norris, *The Tuaregs: Their Islamic Legacy and Its Diffusion in the Sahel* (Warminster, U.K.: Aris & Phillips, 1975).

Tubman, William (William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman) (1895–1971) *Seven-term president of Liberia*

Born into a family with a long tradition of religious and government service, Tubman was educated in missionary and public schools before entering the army, in 1910, and rising to officer status. While still in the army, he worked for various civil-service agencies and studied law, eventually being appointed the Harper County attorney. Tubman was heavily involved in local politics and Liberia's major party, the True Whig Party, when he was

elected to the national legislature in 1923. He served as a lawmaker until being appointed an associate justice of the Liberian Supreme Court in 1937.

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William Tubman's father, Reverend Alexander Tubman, was not only a Methodist minister but also a senator, the speaker of the House of Representatives, and a general in the Liberian army.

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In 1943 Tubman became the leader of the True Whig Party and was elected Liberia's president for what would be the first of seven consecutive terms. Once in office he implemented the Unification Policy—an effort to unite indigenous Liberians and descendants of settlers—and also proposed the Open Door Policy, by which LIBERIA welcomed development from foreign sources to help enrich the country. He even toured the United States, in 1954, in an attempt to build economic and political partnerships.

Tubman died in 1971 from complications related to prostate surgery. Today he is remembered for his strong international leadership and for providing the once-isolated hinterlands of Liberia with congressional representation as well as economic development.

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Tukulor empire Muslim caliphate established by UMAR TAL (1794–1864) in the region between the upper Senegal and Niger rivers, covering parts of present-day SENEGAL, GUINEA, and the Republic of MALI. In 1826 the

The traditional indigo-dyed scarves worn by these three warriors gave the Tuaregs the name "People of the Blue Veil." This photo was taken in 1934. © *Wide World*

Tukulor Muslim cleric and reputed miracle-worker Umar Tal undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, where the head of the Sufi Tijaniyya brotherhood named him its caliph for western Africa. On his way home, Umar Tal studied under Muhammad Bello (1781–1857), ruler of the SOKOTO CALIPHATE, and married Bello's daughter before returning to his Tukulor homeland in the Fouta Toro (in present-day Guinea). There, in 1845, he established a Muslim community and set about building an Islamic theocratic state that was to become the Tukulor empire.

The title *al-Hajj* is given to Muslims who have made the pilgrimage to the Muslim holy city of Mecca. The title of *caliph* is reserved for the supreme ruler and religious head of a Muslim group or state.

Unsuccessful in his attempts to convert the surrounding populations to Islam, Umar Tal launched a JIHAD to impose Islamic rule. By 1854 he had conquered the Bambara kingdom of Kaarta, located in the upper Senegal River basin. However, his expansion westward along the Senegal River was halted by French colonial forces under the command of governor Louis FAIDHERBE (1818–1889), who forced Umar Tal to sign a treaty establishing the Bakoye River, a tributary of the Senegal River, as the western boundary of the Tukulor empire. Between 1859 and 1861 the empire spread eastward, with Umar Tal's armies overrunning the Bambara kingdom of Segu and the FULANI Islamic state of Macina. By 1863 the empire stretched as far east as TIMBUKTU (in present-day Mali) and was nearly as large as the Sokoto Caliphate.

The empire was far from stable, however. Revolts repeatedly broke out among the conquered Bambara and Fulani peoples. Almost as soon as Umar Tal had conquered Timbuktu, it was taken by the TUAREGS. Umar Tal's attempts to maintain his empire led to the enslavement of thousands and the death of thousands more. In 1864, while battling Fulani rebels, Umar Tal was killed, and his son, AHMADU SÉKU (d. 1898), became the Tukulor ruler. Séku's control over the empire gradually crumbled,

Tukulor and Mandinka Empires, 1870s

Macina   Kingdom

0   300 Miles

0   300 Kms
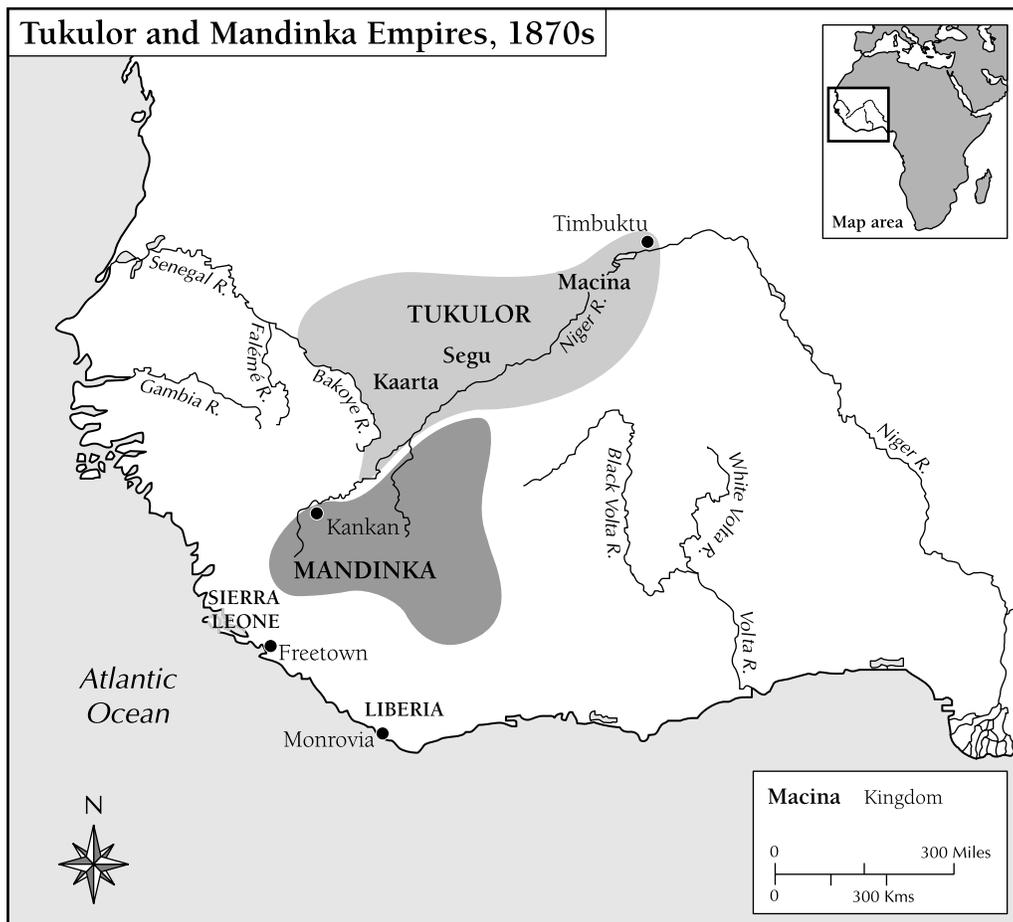
and the French, eager to expand their colonial holdings eastward, moved in. By 1893 Séku had surrendered, and the Tukulor empire was assimilated into what would become FRENCH WEST AFRICA.

See also: BELLO, MUHAMMAD (Vol. III); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FULANI JIHADS (Vol. III); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); JIHAD (Vol. II, V); TUAREGS (Vols. I, II, III); TUKULOR (Vols. II, III); SUFISM (Vols. III, IV).

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Tunis   Capital of the North African country of TUNISIA. The city is located on an inlet of the Gulf of Tunis, on the Mediterranean Sea. Founded in the ninth century, Tunis is the country's oldest city. By the late 16th century, it was part of the Ottoman Empire, with a bey, or Ottoman governor, in charge. A majority of Arab Muslims and a small minority of Jewish residents inhabited the old Arab sector of the city, known as the Medina. The city's winding streets generally bustled with business during the day and remained relatively quiet at night. For the most part women remained inside—off the streets and out of the public eye.

Tunis became increasingly diverse as the 19th century progressed, however, with more European immigrants moving there from all over the Mediterranean region. The arrival of the foreigners caused major changes in the social, political, and economic conditions of the city. For example, a different sort of nightlife developed in the Medina, with the opening of bars and wine shops and increased public drinking. In addition, non-Muslim females frequented the streets and transformed this previously males-only domain into a space where men and women interacted regularly. At the same time, the crime rate rose, and the government responded by attempting to implement stricter control on the populace.

By 1881 the bey's control over the city had weakened sufficiently that an invasion of Tunis by French forces encountered little resistance. That same year the bey signed the Treaty of Bardo with France, acknowledging French supremacy in the region and making the city a French PROTECTORATE. Within 30 years, the city was home to significant minority groups from France, Italy, Britain, Malta, and Spain.

Although there was some resistance to French occupation, a group of young intellectuals emerged in support of ties with France. Known as the "Young Tunisians," they were in favor of modernizing the city. However, dissent grew among the general population, especially after a Muslim child was killed in a rail accident. France responded to the civil unrest by declaring martial law, which lasted from 1912 until 1921.

In the 1930s a more nationalistic group of younger, French-educated Tunis residents formed the Neo-Destour Party. Under its leadership, support for independence mounted, and in 1956 Tunis, with 410,000 inhabitants, became the capital of a newly independent Tunisia.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); TUNIS (Vol. II, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Tunisia   Country on the Mediterranean Sea measuring approximately 60,000 square miles (155,400 sq km) and bordered by ALGERIA to the west and LIBYA to the east.

Tunisia in the 19th Century   Prior to the mid-1800s a Tunisian regency ruled the country under the supervision of the Ottoman Empire. Tunisian prosperity can be measured from the rule of Bey Hammuda (1759–1814), who created an industrious nation by balancing the economic, religious, and military sectors of society. After Hammuda, between 1837 and 1855, Bey Ahmed I (1806–1855) modernized the Tunisian army and created a navy. However, Bey Ahmed I and MUSTAFA KHAZNADAR (1817–1878), the minister of the treasury, bankrupted the state by supporting the Ottoman Empire in its military campaigns during the Crimean War (1853–1856). Rejecting the modernization of his predecessors, Bey Mohammed II (1810–1859), who ruled from 1855 until his death, pushed for a return to traditional practices and declared a constitution guaranteeing equality in taxation, freedom of RELIGION, and mixed European-Tunisian courts. Despite Mohammed's efforts, however, Europeans infused themselves into Tunisia by pressuring the government to allow them—for the first time—to own land.

Bey Mohammed as Sadiq (1814–1882), who ruled from 1859 until 1882, inaugurated a new constitution that provided for a limited monarchy with cabinet ministers. Although supported by many foreigners and Tunisian reformers, the new constitution was rejected by both the religious establishment and France, which viewed it as a disguise for autocratic corruption. In 1863 Khaznadar, by that time the prime minister, and his loyal clique of financial friends negotiated a loan with the Parisian d'Erlanger Bank for the Tunisian treasury. After Khaznadar and the others received their commissions on the deal, the treasury received only one-fourth of the total loan. Consequently, in order to meet the interest payments on the loan, the Bey doubled taxes and revoked the tax-free status of churches and some businesses. During the resulting "Tax Rebellion," in 1864, Britain, France, and Italy sent troops to protect their citizens and financial investments, and in 1869 the Bey surrendered control of his country's finances to an in-

ternational commission run by France, Britain, and Italy. The Bey tried unsuccessfully to retain Tunisian autonomy by petitioning the Ottoman Empire to make Tunisia a province. Khaznadar, for his part, was dismissed in 1873 and fled to France after being charged with embezzling 50 million francs from Tunisia's coffers.

KHAYR AL-DIN al-Tunisi (d. 1889), one of the great Muslim reformers of the period, became the country's new prime minister and immediately turned his focus on administrative and financial reform. He confiscated the estates of former prime minister Khaznadar and turned them into the Sadiqi College of Tunis, dedicated to the EDUCATION of future civil servants. In addition, al-Din created a government printing press to produce textbooks for the college and to reproduce Islamic legal documents. He also tried to curb government spending and eliminate abuses by tax collectors.

All of these efforts at reform went to little avail, however, for in 1878 France, the United Kingdom, and other European nations met at the Berlin Congress, where they divided Africa into "spheres of influence." As a result Tunisia and much of the rest of North Africa were designated part of France's sphere. In 1881 France invaded Tunisia, claiming that it was harboring Algerian rebels, and forced the bey to sign treaties creating a French PROTECTORATE under Governor Jules Cambon (1845–1935). Italy objected, citing that its settlers in Tunisia outnumbered those from France three to one, but it could do little to change the course of events.

Tunisia during the Colonial Era: French West Africa Burdened with the responsibility of reducing the Tunisian debt, the French retained the existing administrative structure (although the real power lay in the hands of the French resident-general, who imposed direct rule). The expectation among Tunisians was that the French protectorate was a temporary measure until the debt was paid in full.

Firmly in control of the region, France set about the PACIFICATION and development of the interior. It built new roads to open the region to commerce, attempted to control the nomadic groups by forcing them to settle, and exploited the land's phosphate mineral deposits. In light of the benefits of French modernization, and keeping in mind the temporary nature of French control, Tunisian reformers supported the protectorate. The Arab-language newspaper that was founded at the time, *al-Hadira,* supported the protectorate and promoted modernization and education for all, including females. Editorials in the newspaper encouraged the French to use qualified, young Tunisians—most of whom had graduated from the Sadiqi College—in their colonial administration. A group of these graduates, styling themselves after the reform-minded Turkish army officers known as the Young Turks, took on the name Young Tunisians. By 1911 they were politically aware enough to begin challenging French COLONIAL RULE.

Tunisia during Wartime During First World War the nationalist movement continued in Tunisia, culminating in the founding of the DESTOUR PARTY in 1920. In 1934 the radical wing of the Destour party created its own party, the Neo-Destour party, under the leadership of Habib BOURGUIBA (1903–2000). The new party organized a strong underground movement, firmly establishing itself as the political party for independence. During World War II (1939–45) Tunisia remained under Vichy control and witnessed many major battles of the North African campaign. Bourguiba and the Neo-Destour party supported Charles DE GAULLE (1890–1970) and the Free French government. Despite their wartime loyalty, however, Tunisians were not invited to share in the spoils of victory, a decision by the French that bred ill will throughout the country.

Toward Independence France tried to maintain Tunisian support and loyalty by appointing a Tunisian prime minister, who would appoint a cabinet with equal numbers of French and Tunisian ministers. However, as in the past, the power rested in the hands of the French resident-general. The Tunisians resisted, and after a violent demonstration in TUNIS, the capital, the resident-general arrested Bourguiba and other members of the Neo-Destour party. These acts of suppression were met with spontaneous protests and the massing of 3,000 Tunisian *fellagha* (freedom fighters) in the mountains. In response to this show of anti-French sentiment—and considering the difficult situations in both Indo-China and Algeria—France granted Tunisia self-government in 1955.

Full independence arrived the following year, and Bourguiba set about creating a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution. Under Bourguiba's leadership, Tunisia became a modern, secular state with a universal adult franchise and universal education with equal rights for women. Although the population was predominantly Islamic, secular laws were instituted and the influence of Muslim brotherhoods was suppressed. When Bourguiba became president of the Tunisian republic in, 1957, he outlawed opposition parties. By 1959 Bourguiba presided over a one-party state in which he had enormous executive powers. Although Bourguiba followed a pro-Western foreign policy, Tunisia's relations with France remained strained until 1962, when neighboring Algeria finally received its independence.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MAGHRIB (Vols. I, II, III, V); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV), TUNISIA (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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Turner, Henry M. (1834–1915) *African-American religious leader*

Born in South Carolina, Turner learned to read and write through the aid of young clerks in the law office where he worked as a janitor. After a period as an itinerant preacher he joined the all-black African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), eventually settling in Washington, D.C., where he became well known for his oratorical skills as a preacher and his outspoken statements on racial issues. During the Reconstruction Era he became increasingly disillusioned with the progress of civil rights for African-Americans, and he looked to relocation in Africa as a solution to the economic, political, and social problems confronting African-Americans.

By 1868 Turner was speaking out not only in opposition to white racism but also in favor of the establishment of an African nation inhabited by young blacks from North America. Racism, he proclaimed, was so deeply rooted in the United States that people of color could achieve respect only by leaving American soil and settling in lands containing black majorities. From the late 1860s through the 1890s he insistently preached for the creation of a new state for African-Americans on African soil. Active in the establishment of schools and churches in various places in Africa—including SOUTH AFRICA, LIBERIA, and SIERRA LEONE— Turner also founded NEWSPAPERS and other periodicals to support his cause.

By the turn of the 20th century, however, Turner's idea of massive emigration no longer seemed to appeal to most African-Americans. In 1893 his plan was rejected by a national convention of African-Americans, and news of a failed emigration effort by a large group of African-Americans in the mid 1890s further disillusioned people with the notion of relocation. The tide seemed to turn totally against Turner when, in 1895, Booker T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915) spoke at the Atlanta Exposition in favor of African-American patience and forbearance in hopes of eventual equality in American society. As Washington and his ideas gained acceptance among a majority of African-Americans, Turner's program of relocation was increasingly marginalized. In the end, Turner's idea appealed only to poor African-Americans who were, ironically, unable to afford the passage to Africa and would have lacked the money or skills needed to establish new lives for themselves once on the continent.

In his later years, although no longer in the vanguard of African-American political activities, Turner continued to remain a respected figure, drawing crowds for his frequent speaking engagements and maintaining a power base in the AME church with its 250,000 members. He died in Ontario, Canada in 1915, still convinced that African-Americans could never lead lives of true equality without removing to a place in which blacks, rather than whites, were the majority population.

See also: DUBOIS, W. E. B. (Vol. IV); BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENT (Vol. IV); GARVEY, MARCUS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Stephen W. Angell, *Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and African-American Religion in the South* (Chattanooga, Tenn.: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1992).

Tutsi (Batutsi) Ethnic group inhabiting present-day RWANDA and BURUNDI.

There are two primary ethnic groups in Rwanda and Burundi, the Tutsi and the HUTU. Tutsi make up about 14 percent of the population in each country. Tutsi pastoralists have historically maintained monarchies that were served by the Hutu agriculturalists. Despite their superior numbers, the Hutu were considered socially inferior by the Tutsi.

During the colonial period both German and Belgian administrators observed the social superiority of the markedly leaner and lighter-skinned Tutsi and favored them within the colonial apparatus. Tutsi and Hutu share the same languages: Kinyarwanda in Rwanda and, the closely related Kirundi in Burundi.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); TUTSI (Vols. II, III, V).

Tutuola, Amos (1920–1997) *Yoruba writer and folklorist from Nigeria*

Amos Tutuola was born to YORUBA parents in ABEOKUTA in southwestern NIGERIA. As a child Tutuola enjoyed listening to and telling Yoruba folktales, which would later figure largely in his writing. Due to financial difficulties and the death of his father, Tutuola only received six years of formal education. He worked as a farmer, blacksmith for the British Royal Air Force, breadseller, and messenger for the Nigerian Department of Labor. With a limited formal education and working-class background, Tutuola differed markedly from other famous and slightly later Nigerian writers such as Chinua ACHEBE (1930–) and Wole SOYINKA (1934–), both of whom were university educated. As a result he did not write in the precise English of Nigeria's educated elite.

Instead Tutuola told his stories in the English that ordinary Yoruba-speakers used when speaking English, a language that captured the cadence and syntax of Yoruba. He also drew much of his material from Yoruba folktales and traditions, which he wove into his narratives in many ways. His first published work, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* (1952), reflected these dimensions of his writing. It is the tale of a man so enamored by palm wine that he is willing to travel to the Land of the Dead to bring back to earth a recently deceased wine maker.

The Palm-Wine Drinkard is populated with fantastically imaginative characters derived from Yoruba folktales. They include a monstrous red fish with multiple horns and eyes, and a mysterious, handsome man who rents his body to lure women into the forest. As the women follow the man into the trees, he begins to fall apart, until all that remains is a skull. Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe interprets The Palm-Wine Drinkard as a moral indictment of the laziness produced by Western consumerism.

The linking of the worlds of reality and magic characterizes most of Tutuola's works, including his second book, *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* (1954). This novel deals with a young boy's experiences in a parallel universe of magic, spirits, and ghosts. Although *The Palm-Wine Drunkard* was well received by critics in Britain and North America, making its author one of the most famous writers of Africa's postcolonial period, many Western-educated Nigerians reacted to it with hostility. Tutuola's use of the language of the streets angered some who felt it reflected badly on the people of Nigeria. Others felt that his material drew too closely upon traditional themes and images, making it almost an unacknowledged "borrowing" of that material for Tutuola's own uses. As a result none of Tutuola's subsequent works received the same accolades as initial efforts.

The criticism did not seem to bother Tutuola, however, as he continued writing his books in his own manner for the remainder of his life. Holding a minor job with the Nigerian Radio Company for most of his life, he continued to publish through the 1950s and on into the 1980s. During the 1970s and 1980s he was given various fellowships and grants that allowed him to leave his job and work on university campuses. Schools that hosted Tutuola included the University of Ife, in Nigeria, and the University of Iowa, in the United States.

See also: LANGUAGE USAGE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Twe, Didwo (c. 1879–1960) *Liberian leader*

A member of the Kru peoples from the Liberian interior, Didwo Twe was educated first at Cuttington College in LIBERIA before going to the United States to attend St. Johnsbury Academy, in Vermont, and Rhode Island State College. A brilliant student and orator, he also was a rebel against Liberia's political system that perpetuated the authority of an entrenched Americo-Liberian elite over the Kru and other indigenous peoples. Although well educated in terms of Liberia, Twe chose to associate himself with the less-privileged social realm into which he originally was born. Returning from the United States in 1910, he began working for the Liberian government and then became a member of the Liberian House of Representatives. Yet as a lawmaker he found himself powerless to get legislation introduced that would prohibit the use of forced LABOR. This issue became such a scandal that a League of Nations Commission of Inquiry went to Liberia and exposed the abuses, forcing the country's president and vice president to resign. However, instead of moving ahead with reform, the government of President Edwin Barclay, which lasted from 1930 to 1944, cracked down on Twe and other protesters. Twe had to flee to SIERRA LEONE, though he later returned, in 1936, and made his peace with the ruling establishment.

During the 1950s Twe returned to the political fray with an attempt to launch an opposition Reformation Party. He sought to challenge President William TUBMAN (1895–1971) who, as the leader of the dominant True Whig Party, had been in office since 1944 (he served until his death). Twe believed that with the support of the 1.5 million indigenous peoples of the interior he would be able to overcome Tubman and the Americo-Liberian elite. However, Twe did not take into account the fierceness of Tubman's support. Members of the Reformation Party were harassed, and the government confiscated funds and jailed officials for what the government termed seditious or unlawful behavior. Although Tubman ultimately decided to preserve the sham of democracy and allow Twe's party to participate in the election, at the last moment the Reformation Party was tossed off the ballot on a technicality.

Rather than submit, Twe protested, taking his case to the United Nations. Tubman saw to it, in 1953, that Twe was banished and forced to go into hiding. Tubman allowed Twe to return to Liberia, in 1960, and even arranged a state funeral when he died. The issues that Twe raised, however, did not die with him, as the overthrow and execution of Tubman's successor, William Tolbert (1913–1980), was to illustrate.

See also: LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Uganda Landlocked country in East Africa, some 91,100 square miles (236,000 sq km) in size, located to the north and west of Lake Victoria. Today Uganda is bordered by the Republic of the SUDAN to the north, KENYA to the east, RWANDA and TANZANIA to the south, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the west.

The people of precolonial Uganda lived in largely self-contained societies, having limited contact with outside influences. The area was made up of a few large, centralized kingdoms spread among many smaller, loosely organized clans. The two most prominent kingdoms were BUGANDA and BUNYORO, which competed for supremacy over the area.

Between the 16th and 18th centuries Bunyoro was the most powerful kingdom of the region. The area held large iron and salt deposits, which allowed the kingdom to prosper from regional trade. By the 19th century, however, the egalitarian structure of the Bunyoro ruling clan began to weaken the kingdom, as the occurrence of civil wars and secessions increased.

The kingdom of Buganda arose in the 15th century, when Bito clan aristocrats left Bunyoro and took control of a number of small chiefdoms. Buganda was initially much smaller than Bunyoro but began to grow during the 17th and 18th centuries. The expansion of the Ganda (the people of Buganda) was guided by the secure rule of the *kabaka* (king), whose authority could not be questioned. As Buganda broadened its borders, new land and people were incorporated into the kingdom under the leadership of provincial chiefs appointed by the *kabaka*.

By 1850 traders from the SWAHILI COAST were in the region in search of ivory and slaves. European visitors soon followed, beginning in 1862 with the arrival of ex-plorer John Hanning SPEKE (1827–1864). In 1875 Kabaka MUTESA I (late 1830s–1884) gave audience to the newly arrived Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904), who urged Mutesa to invite MISSIONARIES to Buganda. Searching for new allies to help him defend against potential Egyptian and Sudanese invasions, as well as incursions from neighboring Bunyoro, Mutesa agreed to Stanley's proposal.

> **Buganda held dominion over Lake Victoria thanks to its royal navy. Consisting of hundreds of canoes, the force could transport Ganda warriors anywhere along the lake's shores.**

In 1877 a group from the Protestant CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY arrived, followed two years later by representatives of the French-Catholic White Fathers missionary society. By the 1880s the Protestants and Catholics, as well as ZANZIBAR-based Muslims, successfully converted substantial numbers of Ganda. In 1888 the converts revolted against the *kabaka*, whose overthrow sparked a civil war among the Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims. Eventually, in 1892, the Protestants and Catholics joined forces to defeat the Muslims. The victorious Christians divided Buganda and controlled the kingdom as a shadow-government that ruled through a figurehead *kabaka*.

Uganda during the Colonial Period Soon after the end of the civil war, competing colonial interests, represented by the German Karl PETERS (1856–1918) and the

British Captain Frederick LUGARD (1858–1945), entered Buganda and fractured the Christian alliance. In 1892 Protestant and Catholic Ganda converts began fighting over control of the kingdom. The Catholics gained a quick advantage, but Lugard intervened and turned the tide in favor of the Protestants—and the British.

After securing Buganda the British turned their attention to the Bunyoro kingdom, which was firmly united under Kabaka KABAREGA (c. 1853–1923). Although they initially met with resistance from Kabarega's well-armed military, the British, with the help of Ganda Protestants and Sudanese mercenaries, finally came to occupy Bunyoro. British also gained control, through force and by treaty, of the outer regions of the territory, and in 1896 Britain made Uganda a PROTECTORATE.

In 1897 the Sudanese mercenaries who had helped the British against Bunyoro mutinied. The rebellion lasted two years and was put down with the help of the Ganda Protestants. The British recognized the vital Ganda support through a treaty that allowed for limited self-government within the Uganda protectorate. The British also gave the Ganda half of the territory of the conquered Bunyoro kingdom. This arbitrary division of land was contended for decades and came back to disrupt Uganda in the 1960s.

Once the British solidified their authority in the region, they began the process of governance. To administer their protectorate the British used the Ganda as tax collectors and local organizers. The use of the Ganda as extensions of the British government created resentment in other kingdoms of the region, especially Bunyoro, which rose in rebellion in 1907. As a result of the uprising, which was called *nyangire* (refusing), the British removed the Ganda from their roles as government agents.

In the early 1900s the British focused on developing Uganda's infrastructure and encouraging AGRICULTURE production, especially COTTON. The income from cotton farming created a relatively robust economy, and, unlike cotton in most other African colonies, the crop generated a reasonable income for Uganda's farmers. Taxation on the crop had made the Ugandan colonial administration self-sufficient by the beginning of World War I (1914–18).

The war had little effect upon Uganda beyond a few British-German encounters in the outskirts of the protectorate. After the war a political movement led by young bureaucrats, the Young Ganda Association (YBA), called for a transformation of the African leadership in the protectorate. At first they aligned themselves with Kabaka

Daudi Chwa II (1897–1942), but he died before garnering significant political power. After Chwa's death, the YBA gained favor with British colonial administrators, and the older generation of African leaders was gradually replaced by younger men. This transformation culminated, in 1926, with the resignation of Buganda's chief minister, Sir Apolo KAGWA (1869–1927).

In 1921, Britain established the Uganda Legislative Council. It disproportionately represented European special interests, however, and Africans showed little interest in sitting on the council, holding their own traditional councils in higher regard.

Despite the worldwide economic depression of the 1930s, Uganda's economy remained active and its population increased. As the protectorate evolved, Africans began to challenge colonial rules that they felt were unfair. Especially disconcerting to the African populace were the price controls on CASH CROPS, the exclusion of Africans from cotton ginning, and the lack of African representation on the Legislative Council. These objections continued through World War II (1939–45) and led to riots in 1949. Three years later the reformist colonial governor, Sir Andrew Cohen (1909–1968), answered the African grievances by eliminating price discrimination, establishing African cotton ginning, and reorganizing the Legislative Council to include popularly elected members to represent African interests.

During the 1950s Uganda moved toward independence, and new political activity began to take hold. At the time there was discussion that Uganda would join an East African federation with Kenya and TANGANYIKA (now Tanzania). The possibility alarmed many Africans, who worried that such a federation might become dominated by the racist, white settlers of Kenya.

African concerns about the federation were championed by the Buganda *kabaka* at the time, F. W. Mutesa II (1924–1969), otherwise known as "King Freddie." Before his opposition to federation, Mutesa was considered a panderer to colonial interests. His nationalist stance on the nature of Buganda independence, however, resulted in Cohen exiling him to Britain in 1953. The British expulsion of Kabaka Mutesa made him a national hero, and the lack of a suitable replacement forced Governor Cohen to restore him to the throne two years later.

Upon his return Mutesa negotiated the transfer of a considerable amount of power from the British colonial administration. A group of loyal Ganda rallied around him, calling themselves the "King's Friends." They envisioned an independent Uganda dominated by the king-

dom of Buganda and headed by the *kabaka,* and they labeled those who opposed this idea as the "King's Enemies." This power grab by Buganda nationalists sparked widespread resistance to Ganda dominance. Milton OBOTE (1925–), a northerner, from the Lango ethnic group, took advantage of the prevalent anti-Buganda sentiment and, in 1960, formed the Uganda People's Congress (UPC). The UPC gained widespread popular support, and upon Uganda's independence, in 1962, Obote became the country's first prime minister, while Mutesa became the non-executive president.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GANDA (Vols. II, III); GREAT LAKES REGION (Vol. III); UGANDA (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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uhuru Word used to describe the NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS in TANZANIA and especially KENYA. *Uhuru* comes from the KISWAHILI language and means "freedom" or "independence."

> **Kenyans born after independence—December 12, 1963—are now coming of age as politicians and civic activists. Their movement, often called the "Uhuru Generation," calls for a changing of the old-guard leaders who were born into a Kenya that was part of the British Empire.**

Uitlanders Pejorative term used to describe foreigners who flooded into the TRANSVAAL in present-day SOUTH AFRICA in the mid-1880s, after GOLD was discovered on the WITWATERSRAND. Thousands of Uitlanders came to southern Africa from all over the world to make their fortunes as miners and entrepreneurs in what was, at the time, the world's largest gold discovery. This intrusion of outsiders into the relatively homogeneous and mainly rural Afrikaner population of the Transvaal Republic created a large cultural gulf between the two groups. AFRIKANERS resented the Uitlanders, regarding them as interlopers. They sought

to exclude the Uitlanders from political power, most notably by denying them political rights until they had been residents of the Transvaal for 14 years.

The treatment of Uitlanders grew still worse in the wake of the abortive JAMESON RAID, conducted in 1895, which unsuccessfully attempted to replace Afrikaner rule of the Transvaal with British imperial rule. The already uneasy relations between the British government and the Transvaal Republic under President Paul KRUGER (1825–1904) grew worse, culminating in the outbreak of the ANGLO-BOER WAR, in 1899. Despite the Britain's victory in this war and an continued influx of British settlers, Afrikaners mobilized effectively in the postwar years and succeeded in maintaining political power in the Transvaal.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); MINING (Vol. IV).

Umar Tal (Al-Hajj Umar ibn Said Tall) (1794–1864) *Islamic scholar and Tukulor state builder in West Africa*

Umar Tal was born in the northern region of modern-day SENEGAL, near the Senegal River. He received a Quranic education in Arabic from his religious father. After continuing his studies with other religious scholars he embarked on a pilgrimage, at the age of 23, to the Islamic holy city of Mecca in the distant Arabian Peninsula. Preceded by his reputation as a devout religious scholar, Umar Tal was well received along his journey. His travels enabled him to see first-hand a large area of Africa as well as the core of the Islamic world. This included the contrasting situation of EGYPT under its ruler Muhammad Ali (1769–1849) and the militant Wahhabi movement, with its stress on Islamic fundamentalism. During his visit to Mecca he joined the Tijaniyya brotherhood, a strict, Sufi Islamic sect, and was eventually named its caliph (leader) for West Africa. Under his leadership the Tijaniyya brotherhood challenged the older Qadiriyya order in West Africa and formed the base for Umar Tal's later state-building efforts.

Returning to Africa in 1833, Umar Tal spent several years in the SOKOTO CALIPHATE. He endeared himself to the emir, Sultan Muhammad Bello (c. 1787–1831), and married his daughter. Bello also instructed him in the ways of political leadership. Upon Bello's death, Umar Tal, who had amassed a sizable following, moved to present-day GUINEA.

In Guinea Umar Tal organized his thoughts about converting people to Islam, wrote on religious devotion and the beliefs of the Tijaniyya brotherhood, and again increased the size of his following. In 1845, hoping to expand his influence, he returned to his homeland to preach. His efforts were largely unsuccessful, however, and in 1848 he moved, along with his followers, to Dinguiraye, a city in Guinea near the border with Senegal.

In 1854, after preaching and conversion failed to rid his homeland of adherents to traditional religious beliefs, Umar Tal ordered a JIHAD for the purpose of expanding Islam. He backed up his directive by unleashing the military might of his following. Living off the land, Umar Tal and his army terrorized the non-Muslims of the region and gradually increased his territorial holdings, initiating the birth of the TUKULOR EMPIRE.

Umar's hold over his empire was unstable, however, as the people he conquered constantly revolted. Complicating matters, his status as religious warrior became tainted when he defeated Macina, a state founded by equally devout Muslims. Even so, by 1863 Umar Tal expanded his empire as far as TIMBUKTU. A year later he died during a revolt in the city of Hamdalahi, in Macina. He was succeeded by his son, AHMADU SÉKU (d. 1898), who ruled the empire until his defeat at the hands of French colonial forces, in 1896.

See also: FULANI (Vol. II, III); FULANI JIHADS (Vol, III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); MACINA (Vol. III); QADIRIYYA (Vol. III); SUFISM (Vols. II, III, IV): TUKULOR (Vols. II, III).

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Union Minière (Union Minière du Haut-Katanga)

World's largest COPPER-mining company in the 1930s. The Union Minière operations were run from ELIZABETHVILLE (present-day Lubumbashi) in the Katanga Province of the southeastern region of what was then the BELGIAN CONGO (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO).

Large corporations, of which Union Minière was one of the most important, dominated the agricultural and MINING sectors of the Belgian Congo economy. Formed in 1906, the company moved quickly to exploit the rich deposits of Central Africa's COPPERBELT.

Africa's so-called Copperbelt measures some 280 miles (450 km) long and up to 160 miles (265 km) wide, running on a northwest-to-southeasterly axis from Katanga to Luanshya, in present-day ZAMBIA.

By 1910 the town of Elizabethville was established to house both the headquarters and some of the mining operations of Union Minière. Indeed, the city's history is inseparable from that of the company. In the heyday of the copper industry, Elizabethville was the Belgian Congo's boom town. It is estimated that in its first 30 years of op-

eration, the company employed a total of between 180,000 and 250,000 men. In the present day, the company has been taken over by the government and run as a state-owned corporation called the Générale des Carrières et des Mines (GECAMINES), but the copper smelter's tall chimney stack and the growing mountain of slag continue to define the city. Copper in the early 21st century is not the profitable enterprise it once was, so the state-owned GECAMINES does not generate the huge profits that Union Minière did for its European colonial owners. Zinc has since replaced copper as the principal metal mined by the company.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V); COPPER MINES (Vol. II); KATANGA (Vol. V); LUBUMBASHI (Vol. V); METALS AND MINERALS (Vols. IV, V).

Union of South Africa

Political union of CAPE COLONY, NATAL, the TRANSVAAL, and the ORANGE FREE STATE (OFS) established in 1910. In 1902 the Transvaal and the OFS became colonies of Britain under the terms of the Treaty of VEREENIGING, which was signed at the end of the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902). In 1905, craving political unification of the region, Britain allowed the two former AFRIKANER REPUBLICS a limited form of self-rule as a gesture of reconciliation. The BOERS, realizing union with the other British colonies was inevitable, quickly elected an Afrikaner government to ensure that their doctrine of white supremacy would have a voice during the unification process.

Representation of black-African interests was essentially nonexistent at the national convention. While the four colonies met, however, the South African Native Convention convened in Bloemfontein, marking the initiation of the first all-inclusive, African political association in the region. After Britain failed to keep promises of equal treatment, Africans began to establish political organizations in an effort to unite the black population across ethnic and geographical divisions. In 1912 the South African Native Congress, which would later become the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), was founded with the American-educated John L. DUBE (1871–1946) as its first president and Sol T. PLAATJE (1876–1932) as its first general secretary.

From 1908 to 1909 the representatives from the four colonies held a national convention in DURBAN, where

Colonial Expansion in Southern Africa

1896

ANGOLA

GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Windhoek

Walvis Bay (BRITAIN)

Atlantic Ocean

Kubango R.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICAN PROTECTORATE

Mozambique

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

Salisbury

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Bulawayo

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

Zambezi R.

MOZAMBIQUE

Quelimane

Beira

BECHUANALAND

Limpopo R.

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Johannesburg

Vaal R.

ORANGE FREE STATE

Orange R.

CAPE COLONY

Cape Town

Port Elizabeth

Lourenço Marques

SWAZILAND

ZULULAND

Durban

NATAL

BASUTOLAND

Indian Ocean

British possession

British protectorate

German possession

Portuguese possession

Independent Afrikaner Republics

Undefined boundary

1910

ANGOLA

Kubango R.

NORTHERN RHODESIA

NYASA-LAND

Mozambique

GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Windhoek

Walvis Bay (BRITAIN)

Atlantic Ocean

Salisbury

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Bulawayo

Zambezi R.

MOZAMBIQUE

Quelimane

Beira

BECHUANALAND

Limpopo R.

Johannesburg

Vaal R.

Orange R.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Cape Town

Port Elizabeth

Lourenço Marques

SWAZILAND

Durban

BASUTOLAND

Indian Ocean

Map area

they drafted a constitution for the forthcoming union. The Afrikaner colonies staunchly opposed an extension of suffrage beyond the white-male population. As a result a compromise was struck between the colonies, and each was allowed to maintain its existing franchise rules.

In the Cape this meant that Africans and Couloureds could still vote, though they were thoroughly outnumbered by whites.

The AFRIKANERS were also successful in gaining a disproportionate amount of parliamentary representation for

the rural communities, which were populated predominantly by Afrikaners at the time of unification, in 1910. This gerrymandering ensured that Afrikaners would dominate politics in SOUTH AFRICA for much of the 20th century.

Despite African efforts at political action, the Union of South Africa quickly subjugated the union's black population by using legislation such as the Native Lands Act (1913) and the Mines and Works ("Color Bar") Act (1911) and subsequent amendments to give unfair benefits to whites. This system of legal subjugation would last for decades, as racist segregation became ingrained in the culture of the union.

The goals of Afrikaner nationalism went beyond its racist segregationist policies. Afrikaners constantly fought for the supremacy of Afrikaner culture and succeeded in making AFRIKAANS an official LANGUAGE of the union in 1925.

White women were granted suffrage in 1930, but the South African government continued to infringe upon the voting rights of blacks. The 1936 Natives Representation Act removed Cape Africans from the common voters' roll and attempted to placate blacks by giving them white representatives in Parliament. The electorate was made exclusively white in 1956, when even mixed-race CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE were removed from the voting rolls.

After World War II (1939–45) Afrikaner policies were further cemented with the establishment of the APARTHEID system. In response to apartheid, South Africa's blacks embraced the Black Consciousness Movement and increased organized resistance. During the 1950s ANC leaders Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ), Walter SISULU (1912–2003), and Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993) coordinated workers' strikes and planned massive rallies. The white-controlled government took measures to quell the resistance, arresting black political leaders and ruthlessly suppressing demonstrations.

As apartheid became even more entrenched in the second half of the century, Britain was more vocal in its disapproval of the racist South African system. In response to anti-apartheid pressure from both Britain and the rest of the international community, in 1961 South Africa voted in favor of becoming a republic, while wishing to remain in the British Commonwealth. Its application was subsequently turned down, however, and the Union of South Africa became a republic fully independent of any ties with Britain.

See also: MINERAL REVOLUTION (Vol. IV); SWAZILAND (Vol. IV); WITWATERSRAND (Vol. IV); ZULU (Vol. IV).

United Africa Company   Large commercial firm in British West Africa that was part of the multinational Unilever Corporation. The United Africa Company (UAC) was the largest of several foreign-owned firms that dominated commerce in West Africa during the colonial period. The predecessors to the UAC were the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY, founded in 1886, and the African Association, founded in 1889. (In 1919 the latter company became part of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation.)

In 1920 William Lever (1851–1925), an English soap manufacturer, acquired the Royal Niger Company because of its involvement in the British West African trade in PALM OIL, which was used for the manufacture of soap. By 1929 Lever's company had joined with the African and Eastern Trade Corporation to form the UAC, which went on to become the dominant commercial force throughout Britain's West African colonies.

Many foreign trading companies went bankrupt during the great economic depression of the 1930s. The UAC, however, survived and even grew by consolidating its operations and entering into agreements that limited competition. As a primary buyer of African-grown CASH CROPS, the company organized groups of commodity buyers to force prices down. The UAC also diversified its holdings to include breweries, ranches, and various factories for producing consumer goods, industrial goods, and pharmaceuticals.

By 1979 the United Africa Company was operating in 23 African countries.

In addition, the UAC began to Africanize its management so that, as the colonies gained independence, local UAC operations were increasingly in the hands of nationals. Because of its longevity on the continent and its African management, the UAC is sometimes perceived as an African-held company. Its profits, however, continue to flow to Europe and are not reinvested on the continent.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CONCESSIONAIRE COMPANIES (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. IV, V).

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United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)   Political party in the GOLD COAST COLONY (now GHANA) that sought independence from Britain. In 1947 the Gold Coast's first political party, the UGCC was founded by Dr. J. B. DAN-

QUAH (1895–1965), an English-educated African lawyer, and other leading figures who believed that they were the best suited to lead their country to independence. The party thus represented the African elites who were positioned to take over the governmental positions held by the British when COLONIAL RULE ended. The party participated in the political process as permitted by the British, while at the same time pressing them for independence at the earliest possible time.

The UGCC leadership believed that independence could be gained through negotiation and political maneuvering. Their belief in the gradual transfer of political power—as dictated by the British colonial administration—was marked by their slogan, "Self-government in the Shortest Time Possible."

Later in 1947, in an effort to free leadership from organizational tasks and to allow them to pursue their own professions, the UGCC appointed Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) as the party's general secretary. The move backfired, as Nkrumah had a more galvanizing presence than his superiors. More appealing to working people than the party's middle-class leadership, Nkrumah quickly built a large following. In 1948 the British authorities arrested the "Big Six" of the UGCC leadership because of their role in fomenting opposition to British rule, a turn of events that Nkrumah welcomed. In 1949 Nkrumah left the party and took his supporters with him, forming the CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (CPP).

The CPP was more radical than the UGCC, evidenced by its slogan "Self-government *Now*." In 1951 the CPP defeated the UGCC in the Legislative Assembly elections. In 1952 Nkrumah became the Gold Coast's prime minister and, in 1957, prime minister of independent Ghana.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

United National Independence Party (UNIP)

Political party of NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA) that steered the country to independence by fighting against British colonial domination, racial segregation, and membership in the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (CAF). The roots of UNIP date back to the earliest history of African opposition to white, minority rule in southern Africa. The British Colonial Office began ruling Northern Rhodesia as a PROTECTORATE in 1924 and, until 1963, administered the country in favor of the minority, white population. Africans often staged strikes and work stoppages to protest unfair wages and taxes and other mistreatment. In 1948 African laborers formed the first African Mineworkers Union. In the same year, Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula (1914–1983), a former school-teacher, brought together various Rhodesian welfare associations under one umbrella congress. By the early 1950s, Nkumbula had begun working with

general secretary Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–   ), also a former school teacher, to fight racial segregation and to achieve Northern Rhodesia's independence from COLONIAL RULE.

However, the Africans' situation worsened from the 1950s. A movement to consolidate the British protectorates of NYASALAND (now MALAWI) and Northern Rhodesia with the colony of SOUTHERN RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE) gained popularity among the white population living in these colonies.

Africans from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland opposed the idea, primarily because the settler colony of Southern Rhodesia had interests at odds with their own. They also believed that federation would prolong colonial-style rule. These objections, however, could not halt the movement toward federation, and in 1953 the three colonies were officially joined into the CAF.

African resistance to the federation continued, supported by existing nationalist movements in the region. In Northern Rhodesia, opposition was led by the ANC, which used boycotts to express displeasure with the CAF. Their efforts were met with harsh government retaliation.

In 1955 Nkumbula and Kaunda were jailed. By this time support for the ANC had spread, and the organization had grown into a national political party. About 1958, however, the two leaders came to a disagreement over the future direction of the organization. Kaunda, supporting a more aggressive opposition to the CAF, left the ANC and formed the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC). In 1959 ZANC boycotted the general election set for March 20, and as a result only one-quarter of eligible Africans registered to vote. The prime minister of the CAF, Sir Roy WELENSKY (1907–1991), ordered the arrest of ZANC leaders claiming they had been involved in illegal actions. Kaunda and other party leaders were arrested and ZANC was banned.

While Kaunda was in detention, ZANC was revived as the United National Independence Party (UNIP) by Mathias Mainza Chona (1930–2001), a militant nationalist, who kept the leading position for Kaunda. Upon his release in 1960, Kaunda became president of UNIP and led the party in its fight to dissolve the CAF and gain independence for Northern Rhodesia.

See also: CHONA, MATHIAS MAINZA (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (Vol. V).

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United Nations and Africa   The United Nations (UN) was founded on October 24, 1945, in the wake of World War II (1939–45). There were 51 founding members, only four of which were African states—EGYPT, ETHIOPIA, LIBERIA, and SOUTH AFRICA. As of the year 2000, UN membership has since increased to 189, with more than a quarter of the member states coming from Africa.

The United Nations has a short but important history in Africa. The present-day United Nations was a result of the League of Nations project, which was initiated after World War I (1914–18) but faltered in the years leading up to World War II. The United Nations was formed in that war's aftermath to foster the idea of collective security. The central principles of the organization include sovereign equality among nations, non-intervention, nonaggression, and respect for the independence and territory of member states.

> The United Nations is a complex, international umbrella organization that includes six basic organs: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice, the Economic and Social Council, the Secretariat, and the Trusteeship Council. Each organ is charged with different responsibilities.

The main purposes of the United Nations are the maintenance of international peace and security, fostering friendly relations among states, finding solutions to social and economic challenges, and developing an understanding of the respect for human rights.

When the United Nations was founded, most of what would become Africa's countries was still under COLONIAL RULE. This situation soon changed, however, and many African nations immediately joined the United Nations after achieving independence. With each newly independent country that joined the organization, Africa increasingly made its international presence felt, especially in the General Assembly, to which every member nation sent representatives.

During the 1950s the United Nations was influential in the DECOLONIZATION process. This was especially true for the Trusteeship Council, which required colonial powers to make annual reports on each UN TRUST TERRITORY they governed. At the same time colonized peoples could send delegations to the United Nations as a way to express grievances. By 1960 GHANA, LIBYA, MOROCCO, Republic of the SUDAN, and TUNISIA had gained their independence and joined the United Nations, bringing the African contingent to nine.

In 1956 the United Nations intervened in the Suez Crisis, which unfolded after Egyptian president Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) nationalized the SUEZ CANAL. When Britain, France, and Israel launched an offensive against Egypt, UN secretary-general Dag Hammarskjöld

In 1958 the secretary-general of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, meets with the president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah. © *New York World-Telegram & Sun Collection/ Library of Congress*

(1905–1961) helped defuse the situation by sending an international peacekeeping force made up of soldiers from member nations. The success of this UN Emergency Force set a precedent for the deployment of UN peacekeeping troops to trouble spots around the world.

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Independent African countries also allied themselves with other formerly colonized countries in the BANDUNG AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE, **which laid the foundation for the Nonaligned Movement. Founded in 1961, the Bandung Conference nations sought a position that avoided the intensifying Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.**

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Perhaps the most notable direct UN intervention in sub-Saharan Africa in its early history occurred in the former BELGIAN CONGO. Upon declaring independence as the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, in 1960, the country immediately fell into crisis, with ethnic and political rivalries making the region very unstable. Although a substantial UN military and civil presence helped keep the situation from exploding into outright civil war, the intervention also led to the death of the UN secretary general. In 1961 the plane carrying Hammarskjöld crashed en route to the Congo.

In 1958, with the establishment of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the General Assembly took a step that, in subsequent years, had major implications for economic development. While at first the primary concern of the ECA was the economic reconstruction of countries and regions devastated by war, its later focus shifted to social, economic, and infrastructure development.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. V); CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V); DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MANDATE (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NONALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

United States and Africa American involvement on the African continent was minimal during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Though American slavers were active on the western coast of Africa since the mid 1600s, United States (U.S.) involvement on the continent was relatively minimal when compared to other nations until the end of the U.S. Civil War (1861–65).

After the war, American MISSIONARIES, who initially came to Africa in the 1820s, began to arrive in greater numbers. Some, like the Reverend William H. SHEPPARD (1865–1927), who worked in the Congo region, were individual African-Americans acting under the auspices of white-run American churches—in his case the Presbyterian Church. Others were sponsored by African-American denominations such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which sent missionaries to southern Africa in the 1890s.

Representatives from the United States were present at the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85), but they were not involved in the partition of the African continent. Still recovering from its devastating Civil War, the United States was reluctant to join in the "scramble for Africa," a phrase used to describe the colonization of Africa by European powers in the late 19th century. In general, until World War I (1914–18) the United States limited its political involvement in Africa to LIBERIA, a country founded by freed American slaves in 1822. After the war, however, the United States became more engaged in African affairs. For example, American leaders denied France and Britain the right to annex Germany's former colonies outright and pushed instead for League of Nations MANDATE status for those territories.

Between the two world wars, U.S. interest in Africa was largely economic, with investments in RUBBER operations in Liberia and mines in southern Africa. Even so, U.S. influence did go beyond the commercial realm. The BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENT, for instance, encouraged the return of African-Americans to their homelands in Africa. The philosophy behind the movement was articulated as early as the second half of the 19th century by the American physician Martin Delaney (1812–1885) and gained support in the early 20th century through the efforts of Jamaican Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940).

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In the first half of the 20th century, many important African nationalist leaders, including Kwame NKRUMAH **(1909–1972) and Nnamdi** AZIKIWE **(1904–1996), received their university education in the United States**

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The United States landed troops in North Africa during World War II (1939–45) and helped expel German and Italian forces from the continent. After the war the United States was concerned with strengthening France and Britain, making it wary of the instability African independence could cause those nations. As a result the United States supported the short-term preservation of

European colonial possessions and a gradual move toward self-government. Later, as African nations claimed their independence, the United States became more politically involved in the continent, as it attempted to gain allies for its struggle against the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)

Black-nationalist organization founded by Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940) that became a popular African-American movement. Garvey, heavily influenced by the ideals of Booker T. WASHINGTON (1856–1915), founded UNIA in Jamaica, in 1914. Early on it had minimal success. In 1916 Garvey traveled to the United States, where he became deeply involved with the African-American struggle to achieve equal rights. Inspired, in 1917 Garvey moved the headquarters of the UNIA to Harlem, in New York City, where the UNIA then flourished.

Garvey's experiences with white racism led him to reject the possibility of integration. Instead Garvey proposed an extreme form of black nationalism that called for African-Americans and other members of the AFRICAN DIASPORA to return to Africa, reclaim it, and establish a great African nation independent and free from white control. He even sent a delegation to the League of Nations to argue that it hand over the former German colonies in Africa—lost by Germany in the wake of World War I (1914–18)—to the UNIA for the founding of his proposed independent state.

Garvey's message, with its elements of racial unity and pride in African heritage, became wildly popular, and by 1920 the UNIA had established almost a thousand local chapters throughout the United States, Canada, Central America, the Caribbean, and Africa. Africans were attracted by the focus on economic development of the continent and trading and shipping links through his Black Star and subsequent Black Cross shipping concerns. Garvey's *Negro World* newspaper, founded in 1918, further spread his ideas on the continent. At its height in the 1920s, the number of official UNIA members topped 6 million.

The size and popularity of the UNIA did not prevent it from having detractors, however. Prominent African-American leaders such as W. E. B. DU BOIS (1868–1963) and James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938) challenged Garvey's views, as did some of the more moderate African nationalists. J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, took a special interest in the activities of Garvey and the UNIA, and he ultimately had Garvey arrested on charges of mail fraud. Garvey was imprisoned in 1925, and then deported to Jamaica two years later. The UNIA faltered under the weight of the

scandal, and though Garvey remained involved in the organization until his death, in 1940, it never regained the influence it enjoyed in the 1920s.

See also: BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENT (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vol. IV); THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Upper Volta Colonial name of the territory that gained independence from France, in 1960, as Upper Volta; it was renamed BURKINA FASO in 1984. Beginning in the 15th century, the MOSSI STATES had control over most of the region known to Europeans as Upper Volta. By the end of the 19th century, however, French colonial forces overran the most powerful Mossi kingdom, Ouagadougou, marking the beginning of French COLONIAL RULE.

Upper Volta was so named because it is the northern source of both the Black Volta and White Volta rivers that fill Lake Volta, to the south, in present-day GHANA.

After World War I (1914–18) the French administration used a policy of forced LABOR with Upper Volta's peasant classes to develop a COTTON industry, even though the crop was labor-intensive and the soil was generally ill-suited for that purpose. In 1932, in order to administer the region more effectively, Upper Volta was divided and distributed among the neighboring French colonies of IVORY COAST, FRENCH SOUDAN (now MALI), and NIGER. However, after World War II (1939–45) the Mossi peoples, who wanted a separate territorial identity, pressured France to reinstate Upper Volta as part of the FRENCH UNION. The following year Upper Volta became an autonomous country within the French Community. In 1960 the fully independent Republic of Upper Volta was declared, and Maurice Yameogo (1921–1993), head of the Voltaic Democratic Union, was elected the nation's first president.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Urabi, Ahmad (1841–1911) *Leader of Egypt's first nationalist movement*

From a peasant background, Colonel Ahmad Urabi emerged as a nationalist leader in EGYPT under Khedive Muhammad Tawfiq Pasha (1852–1892). Egypt had been left in political turmoil when Tawfiq's predecessor, Khedive ISMAIL (1830–1895), was dismissed by the Ottoman sultan, in 1879. Ismail's overspending had placed Egypt deeply in debt to foreign creditors, and in response Britain

and France had taken control of the country's treasury, railroads, and many essential services.

In 1881, seeking to establish a government more favorable to the nationalist position, Urabi led a bloodless revolution against Khedive Tawfiq. Under Urabi's leadership Egypt's unpaid junior army officers demonstrated for their pay. Urabi then mobilized his followers to make broader political demands, which included restoring the officers' choice of war minister, enlarging the army, dismissing the prime minister, and reconvening the Assembly of Delegates. Eventually forcing Khedive Tawfiq to agree to a new constitution and elections, Urabi emerged as a national hero.

In 1882 Britain and France issued a joint declaration threatening to intervene on behalf of Khedive Tawfiq. Urabi, the war minister in Tawfiq's new cabinet, resisted, inciting a popular movement for the protection of Egypt and the defense of Islam against foreigners. Although this movement did not have wide popular support, it combined social protest with RELIGION and nationalism. In July of that year nationalist sentiment increased when the presence of Anglo-French naval vessels in the Mediterranean port city of ALEXANDRIA sparked anti-European riots. When Urabi refused to remove the armaments he had positioned to fortify the harbor, the French ships withdrew. The British responded by bombarding Alexandria and landing troops. Tawfiq sought British protection and left Urabi in charge of the government. In September 1882 Urabi's army was defeated at Tel-el-Kebir, near Alexandria. Urabi surrendered and was exiled to Ceylon. The British restored Khedive Tawfiq to power. Although Egypt was still formally an independent state within the Ottoman Empire, Britain had taken over direct control of its government.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Juan R. I. Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's Urabi Movement* (Cairo: University of Cairo Press, 1999); Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961).

urbanization Process of becoming a city. The phenomenon of urbanization is not new to the African continent. History describes great urban centers, including Great Zimbabwe in southern Africa, TIMBUKTU in West Africa, and Carthage in North Africa. These and other precolonial urban centers were places of refuge, ritual power, military force, trade, and wealth. The nature of governance in these urban areas was very different from that found in the colonial cities that developed after them. During the period of COLONIAL RULE, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the rate of urbanization, the motivation for urban growth, and the nature of the urban setting changed.

Colonial Administrative Centers When European colonial interests came to Africa, cities grew as administrative and industrial centers and as international and regional trading hubs. Such cities also were places for Europeans to reside. In West Africa, colonial cities grew near or around the established urban centers. Some, such as Jenne and Timbuktu, were situated along old trade routes; others, like ACCRA, developed around old ports.

In some cases the establishment of a new colonial administrative center near an ancient trading town would lead to the demise of the latter. Such was the case with BAGAMOYO, in what is now TANZANIA, when DAR ES SALAAM was made the new capital of GERMAN EAST AFRICA. The same situation came about in states not under colonial control, as well, as in the case of ETHIOPIA. There, in 1887, MENELIK II (1844–1913) moved the administrative capital of the empire from Ankober to ADDIS ABABA, and the importance of Ankober quickly faded. However, some ancient cities, including CAIRO and TUNIS, continued to thrive under colonialism.

Areas rich in NATURAL RESOURCES resulted in cities such as JOHANNESBURG and ELIZABETHVILLE (now Lubumbashi), with growing populations and TRANSPORTATION infrastructures that facilitated the extraction of their mineral resources. In eastern and southern Africa, towns emerged more as residential areas for Europeans. These urban areas included SALISBURY (present-day Harare), DURBAN, and NAIROBI. Entebbe, in UGANDA, and BAMAKO, in FRENCH SOUDAN (now MALI), are other examples of cities that developed as European administrative centers.

Urban Population Control In many of the new cities, colonial administrators implemented policies that maintained strict control over the urban activities and movement of the African population. European colonial authorities and settlers would have preferred to maintain urban centers as European spaces, but the LABOR demands brought on by increased INDUSTRIALIZATION required Europeans and Africans to reside near each other. Because of this, city officials planned segregated living areas to keep the two groups separate. This urban segregation was not a new concept in Africa, however, as ancient urban kingdoms on the continent also had maintained separate neighborhoods for different ethnic groups and economic classes.

In many East African countries colonial policies forbade Africans to reside in European-dominated urban areas. This, combined with a smaller urban base at the start of the colonial period, resulted in lower urban growth rates in that region.

Initially colonial policies were effective in separating Africans and Europeans. Over time, however, migration from rural to urban areas increased dramatically. Along with this movement of people, the rapid pace of natural population growth led to greater interaction between races and ethnic groups.

Growth rates in the urban areas usually outpaced the ability of the administration to provide services, and expansive squatter settlements often arose on the outskirts of towns. Generally these settlements were seen as illegitimate and therefore did not receive funding for public services. As a result, life in squatter settlements was tenuous. Colonial governments often rezoned these areas for industrial or commercial use, forcing the African inhabitants onto more marginal land. Further, limited resources often spurred competition that divided the residential areas by ETHNIC GROUP. Ultimately African squatter settlements were characterized by unemployment, overcrowding, poor sanitation, discrimination, and a lack of public services.

For much of the colonial period single males comprised the majority of African urban populations. This resulted from the explicit designs of colonial administrations to allow only temporary migration of laborers for industrial jobs. Colonial authorities believed that the best way to ensure that Africans did not reside in the cities permanently was to have them maintain ties to their rural homesteads by leaving their families behind. However, after 1945 more and more women began to move to the cities, and migration rates increased dramatically. For example, between 1912 and 1952 the estimated population of Casablanca, in MOROCCO grew from 20,000 to 682,000. During this period, as the lines between African and European areas began to blur, racial interaction and ethnic diversity became major features of the urban setting.

Independent Development   As squatter settlements and African urban residential areas grew, social and support networks developed, often out of necessity. By the mid-1900s African urban residents were taking it upon themselves to make up for the shortcomings they encountered in their economic and social situations. For example, unable to afford homes, they built their own housing using recycled and local materials, including mud, iron, and plastic.

Also, in an entrepreneurial sprit, they established small businesses that produced or sold much-needed, affordably priced consumer products to other poor urban Africans. This marked the beginning of an economic movement that would be known as the "informal economy" and that would come to employ great numbers of urban migrants.

Despite the rapid urban growth rates of the colonial period, during this time the majority of Africans still lived in rural areas. It is estimated that even as late as 1950 less than 15 percent of the total population of sub-Saharan Africa resided in urban centers. This would change drastically, however, with the explosive urban growth of the post-independence era.

See also: ACCRA (Vols. II, III, V); ADDIS ABABA (Vols. I, V); BAMAKO (Vols. II, III, V); CAIRO (Vols. II, III, V); CARTHAGE (Vol. I); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); COLONIALSIM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DURBAN (Vol. V); ENTEBBE (Vol. V); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); HARARE (Vol. V); INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vol. V); JENNE (Vols. II, III); JOHANNESBURG (Vol. V); LUBUMBASHI (Vol. V); NAIROBI (Vol. V); TIMBUKTU (Vols. II, III); TUNIS (Vols. II, V); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone, *Africa's Urban Past* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinneman, 2000); Tjalling Dijkstra, *Food Trade and Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa: From the Early Stone Age to the Structural Adjustment Era* (Leiden, Netherlands: African Studies Centre, 1995); Jane I. Guyer, ed., *Feeding African Cities* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987).

urban life and culture   Colonialism brought with it an increase in the growth rates of African cities and the widespread URBANIZATION of the continent that continues today. Although urban centers are not new to Africa, colonial administrators established industries and businesses for the export ECONOMY that demanded large amounts of African LABOR. African men, who migrated to the cities leaving their families in the countryside, comprised the bulk of laborers during this period. In cities like JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, this created a high male-to-female ratio in the urban areas and brought people from all different ethnic groups to the cities. This movement changed the feel of many urban centers from friendly, busy market centers to bustling centers of commerce composed more of strangers than neighbors.

Ethnic groups within cities tended to congregate in their own separate neighborhoods. This tendency was reinforced by migrants from the countryside who, as strangers to the city, sought out familiar surroundings in terms of language and culture. European colonizers, on the other hand, usually occupied neighborhoods with large houses and enjoyed access to more of the cities' urban infrastructure. They often employed Africans to clean their homes and serve as gardeners.

In the Arab-influenced areas of Africa, urban growth resulted in the establishment of different neighborhoods or sectors outside the walls of the traditional Arab quarters, which were known as *medinas.*

African workers often occupied organized housing for laborers, sharing small living quarters to save what little money they made to send home to their families. Merchants of different ethnic groups, who owned small shops or sold consumer goods on the streets and in open-air markets, occupied different neighborhoods as well. Initially colonizers invested only in whatever infrastructure was necessary to facilitate the export of Africa's resources. Most often this included railroads, road networks, and port facilities. Public TRANSPORTATION—other than services for moving laborers around—was not considered a priority until later in the colonial period.

After World War II (1939–45), the colonial powers began to plan for the eventual DECOLONIZATION of Africa. They then realized the need for facilities to educate the African middle class to have the skills to govern after independence. As a result, advanced educational institutions arose in the major cities across Africa. Other businesses and services developed as well, and African cities soon bustled with diverse markets, restaurants, hotels, movie houses, bookstores, and nightclubs.

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From the 1940s to the 1960s, a musical movement known as HIGHLIFE became popular in West African cities, especially in ACCRA, GHANA, and LAGOS, NIGERIA. This distinctly urban and cosmopolitan musical style reflected influences from traditional African rhythms as well as from American jazz and Caribbean calypso. The lyrics of the songs, sung in both English and indigenous tongues, often told of the challenges of life in the city.

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Whereas colonial cities had been the places where colonizers exhibited the most social, political, and economic control, in the late colonial period, cities came to be characterized by civil unrest. In the aftermath of World War II (1939–45), individuals and organizations from the educated, merchant classes, as well as LABOR UNIONS and student unions, agitated for the end of COLONIAL RULE. As a result political riots and strikes became an increasingly common urban phenomenon in Africa. The pattern continued into the era of independence, as the populations of African cities became even larger and more diverse.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); EDUCATION (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vol. V).

U Tamsi, Tchicaya (Gerald Felix Tchicaya U Tam'si) (1931–1988) *Leading Congolese nationalist and poet*

U Tamsi was born in the city of BRAZZAVILLE, when it was still the administrative capital of FRENCH EQUTORIAL AFRICA. In 1946 he moved to France, where he soon established himself as a leading, young Congolese voice. He joined the independence struggle in the 1950s, supporting the militant, nationalist politician Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961) and Lumumba's Congolese National Movement in its struggle to gain independence from Belgian COLONIAL RULE.

U Tamsi's sophisticated writings reflect a harsh world that is only slightly softened by hope. Stylistically he used humorous, symbolic, and surreal visions of reality as a means of commenting on the human condition. He also sought to further the exploration of NÉGRITUDE that had been begun earlier by Aimé CESAIRE (1913–   ), Leopold SENGHOR (1906–2001), and other French-speaking African and Afro-Caribbean intellectuals. By the time of his death, in 1988, U Tamsi had become one of Africa's leading poets, influencing an entirely new generation of writers.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

V

Vereeniging, Treaty of Peace treaty of 1902 that ended the ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), establishing TRANSVAAL and the ORANGE FREE STATE as British crown colonies and paving the way for the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. The Anglo-Boer War, or South African War, was the result of many years of tensions between British GOLD-mining interests on the WITWATERSRAND, and the BOERS of the Transvaal under the government of Paul KRUGER (1825–1904). Led by their high commissioner to SOUTH AFRICA, Sir Alfred MILNER (1854–1925), Britain pressured the Kruger government to yield to the British mining interests, though publicly Milner claimed to be seeking fuller civil rights for the mostly British immigrants called UITLANDERS, who had come to the Witwatersrand for economic opportunity. The British were also driven by a desire for a unified South Africa, for they were concerned about German support for the Boers. In 1899 A build-up of British troops in the CAPE COLONY was staged to provoke the Boers into declaring war. After the British defeated the Boer regular forces in the field, hostilities became marked by bloody guerrilla warfare and the atrocities of British concentration camps. On May 31, 1902, the two sides signed a peace treaty in Vereeniging, a town south of JOHANNESBURG, and the British secured victory.

The treaty resulted from tense negotiations between Milner and the Boers, who were headed by General Louis BOTHA (1862–1919). The British received full sovereignty over Transvaal and the Orange Free State, transforming the territories into crown colonies. In return, the Boers received 3 million pounds sterling toward their war debt, a protection of the Dutch LANGUAGE for official usage, and a continuance of previous property rights. The British also allowed the Boers to continue their policy of excluding non-whites in their territories from political enfranchisement. Finally, the British promised the Boers eventual self-government, which did not occur until 1910, when CAPE COLONY and NATAL merged with Transvaal and the Orange Free State to form the Union of South Africa. The union remained part of the British Empire and, later, the British Commonwealth, until 1961, but throughout this period the government was in the hands of AFRIKANERS, as the Boers came to be called.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Verwoerd, Hendrik (Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd; H. F. Verwoerd) (1901–1966) *Prime minister of South Africa from 1958 to 1966*

Born in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Verwoerd came to exercise great influence in the shaping of APARTHEID in SOUTH AFRICA. The son of MISSIONARIES, he emigrated with his family to South Africa in 1903. After studying in Europe, he returned to South Africa, in 1927, and became a professor of applied psychology (and later of sociology) at the University of Stellenbosch. From 1937 to 1948 he served as editor of the AFRIKAANS-language, pro-Nationalist Party newspaper, *Die Transvaaler,* which was published in JOHANNESBURG. Following the 1948 electoral victory of the Nationalist Party, with its almost exclusively white electorate, Verwoerd became a senator.

From 1950 to 1958 he held the important post of minister of native affairs. In that role, he was instrumental in formulating the policy of apartheid, which sought to maintain the supremacy of the minority, white population over the African majority. In 1958 Verwoerd was elected to the House of Assembly. Shortly thereafter, when Jo-

hannes Gerhardus Strijdom (1893–1958) died, Verwoerd took his place as prime minister of South Africa.

In an attempt to defuse the criticism aimed at apartheid, Verwoerd, in 1959, established a "homeland," or *Bantustan,* system for Africans. Under this system Africans were supposed to either already live in areas designated for their exclusive use or be resettled there. However, much of the land set aside for the homelands was among South Africa's least fertile, and resettlement into these homelands further isolated and segregated Africans from Europeans.

More than any other white South African politician of his time, Verwoerd molded the content and steered the direction of apartheid.

See also: VERWOERD, HENDRIK (Vol. V).

Further reading: Henry Kenney, *Architect of Apartheid: H. F. Verwoerd, an Appraisal* (Johannesburg: J. Ball, 1980).

W

Wafd Party Popular nationalist movement, initially organized by Sad Zaghlul (1857–1927), that evolved into the leading political party in EGYPT, from 1918 to 1952. The party originated in 1912, when Sad Zaghlul resigned as education minister in the PROTECTORATE government over disputes with Khedive Abbas II (1874–1944). Zaghlul and those associated with him were strongly influenced in their thinking by the Muslim philosopher and reformer Jamal al-Din al-AFGHANI (1838–1897). Once officially a part of the opposition, Zaghlul quietly worked to build support for a parliamentary government and a liberal democracy in Egypt.

The Wafd Party takes its name from the permanent delegation (*Wafd,* in Arabic) of Egyptians that Zaghlul led to London, in 1918, to argue the case for Egyptian independence. Zaghlul continued to press the nationalist cause at home and abroad until 1919, when British authorities had him exiled as a troublemaker. Political unrest, at times violent, in support of the independence movement marked the next three years. Finally, Britain decided to give up its protectorate over Egypt and unilaterally declared the country independent in 1922.

The Wafd organized itself into a political party in September 1923. Its electoral base included members of both the Muslim majority and the Coptic Christian minority. Campaigning on a platform of full independence and Egyptian control of the SUEZ CANAL and the Sudan, the Wafd Party won a landslide victory in the elections of 1924. As a result a new constitutional government emerged under King Fuad I (1868–1936), with a cabinet headed by Sad Zaghlul.

The Wafd Party remained a constant presence in Egyptian politics until 1953, when parliamentary government and liberal democracy were replaced by radical Arab nationalism. The charismatic Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) soon emerged as the leader of a new Egypt.

The Wafd Party did not completely disappear, however. In 1981 Hosni Mubarak (1938–   ) became president and instituted economic and political reforms. Five new political parties were established, including the reconstituted Neo-Wafd Party.

See also: NATIONALIST AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); MUBARAK, HOSNI (Vol. V).

Wallace-Johnson, I. T. A. (1895–1965) *West African labor union leader, politician, and pan-Africanist*

Born in Wilderforce, SIERRA LEONE, I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson established his country's first labor union and went on to become active in both African and international workers' causes. Educated at mission schools, he left before completing secondary school in order to support his family. After holding various jobs, in 1913 he went to work for the British colonial government. While employed as a clerk in government offices, he began his activities as a union organizer. His abilities as a public speaker, as well as his talent for organization, led to his rapid advancement in the union movement until his support of a workers' strike, in 1914, led to his dismissal from the government's customs office.

Over the next decade and a half, Wallace-Johnson served in the British Army, shipped out as a merchant sailor, and wrote for the *Daily Times,* a newspaper located in LAGOS, NIGERIA. By the 1930s, however, he had attained prominence as a spokesman for both the union movement as well as African nationalism, attending the International

Conference of Negro Workers, in Germany in 1930, as well as visiting the Soviet Union with a group of African nationalists. By the early 1930s he also had become an editor of and regular contributor to the Communist-oriented French publication, *Negro Worker*.

Later in the 1930s he became even better known when he was arrested for writing what British officials considered to be seditious material for the *African Morning Post,* in the GOLD COAST COLONY (today's GHANA). In England to appeal his conviction, he met a wide range of British intellectuals and African nationalists and took editorial positions with both *Africa and the World* and the *African Sentinel.*

In 1938, returning to FREETOWN, Sierra Leone from England, Wallace-Johnson brought with him several thousand copies of the African Sentinel, which were seized by customs officials. Using this as a rallying point, Wallace-Johnson quickly organized public appearances and demonstrations that enabled him to launch a new political party, the West African Youth League.

Back in Sierra Leone Wallace-Johnson launched a branch of the West African Youth League, aided in the effort by Constance CUMMINGS-JOHN (1918–2000). This was the nation's first effective mass political party, and it won elections for both the Freetown city council and the Sierra Leone national legislature. Wallace-Johnson seemed on his way to building a large-scale movement. Realizing the danger this represented to their authority, especially in light of the looming war clouds in Europe, British authorities moved to silence opposition. In 1939 they passed a number of new laws that severely limited civil liberties in Sierra Leone. Then, when World War II (1939–45) began, Wallace-Johnson was interned by the authorities as an "undesirable." Although Wallace-Johnson eventually was released in 1944, he never regained the power he once had. He continued to have speaking engagements, but his stands on a number of issues—including a proposed reorganization of Sierra Leone's Legislative Council—led to his marginalization as a political force. He died at the age of 70, while attending political conference in Ghana.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LABOR UNIONS (Vols. IV, V) NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV).

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Walvis Bay   City on the Atlantic coast of NAMIBIA, (formerly SOUTH WEST AFRICA) and important deepwater port. Located about 250 miles (400 km) west of the country's present capital, Windhoek, Walvis Bay is situated at the mouth of the Kuiseb River on the Atlantic Ocean. The Namib Desert surrounds Walvis Bay on three sides. Walvis Bay is one of only two ocean harbors in Namibia, the other being Lüderitz, which is located farther to the south.

Much of the settlement's history has been intricately tied to its value as a port. In 1487 Bartholomeu Dias (1450–1500), a Portuguese explorer, became the first European to enter Walvis Bay. He originally named it Conception Bay, but from the 16th century onward it became known as Whale Bay because of the high concentration of whales in the area. *Walvisbaai,* as it is known in Dutch and AFRIKAANS, also translates as "whale bay." It became a popular port for American whalers in the 18th and 19th centuries. Beginning in 1878 Walvis Bay and offshore islands in the area were claimed by Britain, though the British did not lay any claims to South West Africa overall. Then, in 1884, Walvis Bay was incorporated into the British-controlled CAPE COLONY, even though Germany had claimed the surrounding region as a colony in the same year. The area thus became a pawn in the European imperial competition that led to the colonial PARTITION of Africa.

When SOUTH AFRICA became a unified country, in 1910, Walvis Bay became part of it, specifically of the Cape Province. South Africa took over the administration of the former German colony of South West Africa after World War I (1914–18) as a MANDATE territory under the authority of the League of Nations. After 1948 South Africa continued to administer it as a TRUST TERRITORY for the United Nations.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); DIAS, BARTOLOMEU (Vol. II); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

warfare and weapons   During the colonial era, war in Africa was dominated by the spread of modernized weapons. As the European powers tightened their control on their African colonies, they increasingly supported their own armed forces with indigenous African soldiers and police, whom they equipped with industrialized armaments. This gave the colonial powers the means to dominate indigenous forces. There was the occasional rare victory for a traditionally armed African army—such as the Battle of ISANDLWANA (1879), in Zululand—but it was soon clear that there was little chance of indigenous Africans winning a sustained conflict against European forces.

The ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899–1902), in SOUTH AFRICA, represented the first time in Africa that two armies fully

equipped with modern weaponry conducted a prolonged war. Outside of the Anglo-Boer War modern weapons generally remained in the hands of the forces of the colonial powers. In ETHIOPIA, however, Emperor MENELIK II (1844–1913) amassed a powerful array of advanced arms, some imported and some produced in Ethiopia itself. Aided by these weapons, Menelik's forces were able to deal invading Italian forces a decisive blow at the Battle of ADOWA (1896), a victory that helped preserve Ethiopian independence until the 1930s.

As a result of this situation, except for occasional rebellions and outbreaks of violence, warfare during the colonial era was a matter of conflict between European armies. One of the few exceptions was the Italian invasion of Ethiopia during the 1930s, which saw the modern army of Mussolini's Fascist government easily defeat the ill-equipped forces of HAILE SELASSIE I (1892–1975). On the whole, however, armies on the African continent during this period were almost always led by European officers in pursuit of European aims, whether those aims be the quelling of a revolt or the more widespread conflicts of World War I and World War II.

See also: ANGLO-ASHANTI WARS (Vol. IV); ANGLO-BOER WAR (Vol. IV); ANGLO-ZULU WARS (Vol. IV); ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vols. IV, V); ARMIES, COLONIAL (Vol. IV); BIAFRA (Vol. V); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WARS (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); OMDURMAN, BATTLE OF (Vol. IV); PACIFICATION (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); TIRAILLEURS SÉNÉGALAIS (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); VEREENIGING, TREATY OF (Vol. IV); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vols. I, II, III, V); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR II AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Washington, Booker T. (Booker Taliaferro Washington) (1856–1915) *African-American educator and activist*

Washington was born into SLAVERY in Hales Ford, Virginia, in the United States. After emancipation, in 1865, he labored in salt and coal mines while also gaining an elementary education. In 1871 Washington enrolled in the Hampton Institute, a school for African-Americans in Hampton, Virginia. There he was exposed to the ideals of its principal, General Samuel C. Armstrong (1839–1893), who believed that a practical education was best for African-American students. After graduating, in 1875, Washington based his own ideology on Armstrong's theories and on the structured training he received at the Hampton Institute. Washington taught at Hampton from 1879 to 1881 before becoming the founding principal of a new school in Tuskegee, Alabama. Under his direction, the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute became a major center of African-American education.

In 1895 Washington delivered what came to be known as the "Atlanta Compromise" speech in Atlanta, Georgia, in which he outlined his ideology, which had been developed and put into action over 14 years at his Tuskegee Institute. The road to equality for African-Americans, Washington declared, was through a practical, or vocational, education rather than through a higher education based on the humanities. He argued that attaining economic stability and wealth would inevitably lead to an increase in social status; it would also win the respect and acceptance of the dominant white society. In the meantime Washington felt that African-Americans should remain patient and accept the current social and political discriminations they faced.

In the year following this address, Washington went on to become the most prominent African-American in the United States. He garnered the support of wealthy, white capitalists and philanthropists, to the point where they would not contribute to other African-American causes without Washington's approval. His "Tuskegee Machine" became a central institutional force in African-American society.

Washington's high profile, and that of Tuskegee, made him influential abroad as well, especially in Africa. His autobiography, entitled *Up From Slavery* (1901), was a major inspiration to Jamaican-born activist Marcus GARVEY (1887–1940). Washington's views on industrial education as a means of self-betterment made a great impression among Africans, who related the situation of African-Americans to their own. The Ghanaian educator James E. Kwegyir AGGREY (1875–1927), who had been educated in North Carolina, became an active proponent of Washington's philosophy for Africa under COLONIAL RULE. South African schools such as the Ohlange Institute at Inanda, SOUTH AFRICA, founded by John L. DUBE (1871–1946) and the AME Wilberforce Institute, in Evanton, TRANSVAAL, were modeled on the Tuskegee Institute. In planning FORT HARE COLLEGE, South African educational officials looked to Tuskegee for ideas. Schools in KENYA and GHANA, and in non-African countries like India and Panama, also looked up to Tuskegee.

In addition to influencing the development of schools in Africa, Tuskegee also had an influence on colonial AGRICULTURE. For example, the German colonial government of TOGOLAND hired African-American agricultural demonstrators trained at Tuskegee to assist them with growing COTTON as a cash crop.

While Washington was successful in walking the narrow line between attempting to better African-Americans and not threatening whites, he earned in the process a strong opposition. African-American intellectuals such as W. E. B. DU BOIS (1868–1963) challenged Washington's moderate and outwardly accommodating beliefs, calling instead for vigorous protest of social and political conditions and supporting the virtues of a more traditional,

less vocational higher education for the betterment of black society. By 1912 this opposition and the rise of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had begun to limit Washington's influence. In Africa, as well, the rise of NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS meant that African political leaders and thinkers increasingly embraced the more radical views of Du Bois, while Washington's approach began to fall out of favor. In the late 20th century, however, as the continent struggled with development, some of Washington's ideas again became current.

In 1915 Washington became ill while in New York City and returned to Alabama, where he died.

See also: EDUCATION (Vol. IV); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Watch Tower Movement Anticolonialist religious movement of Central and southern Africa. The Watch Tower Movement in Africa originated with the British missionary Joseph Booth (1851–1932). In 1892 the highly unconventional Booth established a mission of the Baptist Scottish Free Church, in Blantyre, in what was then the British colony of NYASALAND (present-day MALAWI). Treating Africans as equals and paying high wages, Booth's mission was very successful.

By 1903 Booth had joined the Seventh Day Adventist Church and was upsetting colonial authorities throughout Central and southern Africa with his anticolonial messages. Fearing possible rebellions in Booth's wake, the colonial governments of MOZAMBIQUE and then Nyasaland deported him, and he landed in SOUTH AFRICA. In 1906 the Seventh Day Adventists, seeking to distance themselves from his controversial activities, excommunicated Booth.

Disenchanted, Booth turned to the ideas of Charles Taze Russell (1852–1916), an American who had founded the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, in 1884. Russell preached that a period of great trouble, beginning in 1874, would lead to the Biblical apocalypse, in 1914, and result in a new period of peace, in 1915.

Booth brought Russellism back to CAPE TOWN, South Africa, and set about spreading Russell's beliefs through the mail and African MISSIONARIES. One such missionary was Elliot Kamwana (1872–1956), who had been previously baptized an Adventist by Booth and joined Booth's new movement. Kamwana took the religion into Nyasaland in 1909. He applied Russell's ideas to the African situation under COLONIAL RULE, claiming that 1914 was the year that all Europeans would leave Africa. Kamwana was successful in winning converts, baptizing an estimated 10,000 people

into the religion. He then took the Watch Tower Movement into Mozambique, where he preached until 1914, when the Portuguese colonial authorities deported him back to Nyasaland. Once World War I (1914–18) began, the British accused Kamwana of interfering with the recruitment of African troops and imprisoned him in the SEYCHELLES.

By 1910 Joseph Booth had dropped Russellism in favor of becoming a Seventh Day Baptist.

The growth of the Watch Tower Movement was not dependent only on Kamwana, however. Russellism fit neatly into the events of the period, with colonialism as the time of trouble and World War I as the beginning of the final, cleansing apocalypse.

During the 1920s, in spite of the fact that the war had ended with the Europeans still firmly entrenched in Africa, the Watch Tower Movement spread into the Katanga province of the BELGIAN CONGO. Known there as the Kitwala Movement, it proceeded to find many converts among the African miners of the COPPERBELT of the Congo and NORTHERN RHODESIA (present-day ZAMBIA). Espousing racial, economic, and political equality, the movement took on highly Afro-centric political tones, equating colonialism with evil. The radicalization of the movement in Africa led the international Watch Tower Movement (whose followers became known as the Jehovah's Witnesses) to renounce its African offshoot, while colonial authorities tried without success to ban the RELIGION entirely.

The anticolonialist, antiauthoritarian attitudes of the Watch Tower Movement also influenced John CHILEMBWE (c. 1872–1915), who in 1915 launched a rebellion against colonial authorities in Nyasaland. The rebels killed three white plantation owners before British soldiers put down the revolt. Chilembwe was shot while trying to escape into Mozambique.

Kamwana returned to Nyasaland in 1937 and participated in furthering the movement into the 1950s, though by that point its influence had diminished. Even after the end of the colonial era in Africa, however, the Watch Tower Movement and its antiauthoritarian stance continued, this time opposing the authority of the African governments by refusing to pay taxes and resisting mandatory

public-works projects. The Jehovah's Witnesses have since reconnected with many Watch Tower groups in Africa, though many still remain independent.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); KIMBANGU, SIMON (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Welensky, Roy (Sir) (1907–1991) *Labor union leader and politician in Rhodesia*

A powerfully built man who, from 1926 to 1928, was Rhodesia's heavyweight boxing champion, Roy Welensky rose through the ranks of the labor-union movement to become a key figure in Central African political developments during the 1950s and early 1960s. Born in SALISBURY (renamed Harare, in 1980), in SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE), he dropped out of school at the age of 14 and eventually worked for Rhodesia Railways, first as a fireman and later as an engineer.

An active LABOR unionist, Welensky rose steadily in the power structure of the railway workers' union before entering politics, serving on both Northern Rhodesia's Legislative Council and Executive Council. During World War II (1939–45), he was instrumental in the founding of Rhodesia's Labor Party, seeking to use it to keep jobs in the hands of white workers at the expense of Africans.

During this same period Welensky began urging the establishment of a unified Rhodesia, which he believed would be able to maintain white domination of the region. When British authorities joined the Rhodesias with NYASALAND in an independent federation known as the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION, Welensky became both deputy prime minister and minister of transport, posts he held from 1953 to 1956. He became prime minister in 1956, continuing to lead the United Federal Party and the federation until its demise, in 1963.

In 1964 Welensky published *Welensky, 4000 Days.* a defense of the Central African Federation and of his government. In it, he expressed great bitterness over British policy that he thought caused the collapse of the federation.

Following the dissolution of the federation Welensky left politics, entering a long period of retirement. He became an outspoken opponent of the African-dominated states that emerged from both Nyasaland (now MALAWI) and NORTHERN RHODESIA (now ZAMBIA). A staunch believer in maintaining ties with Britain, he also opposed the radical white government of Southern Rhodesia, which broke away from the United Kingdom in 1965.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV).

West African Pilot

Highly influential anticolonial newspaper published in LAGOS, NIGERIA, founded by leading nationalist politician Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996). Newspaper publishing had a long tradition in West Africa. As early as 1857 an African newspaper, the *Accra Herald*, was published in GHANA. While such NEWSPAPERS dealt with political issues, they usually did so rather gingerly, since their readership was primarily the educated African elite.

Nnamdi Azikiwe broke with this tradition when, in 1937, he founded the *West African Pilot*. This occurred upon his return to Lagos from ACCRA, where he had honed his journalistic skills for two years as editor of the *African Morning Post*. The *Post* had reached out beyond the older elite to the growing number of educated young people who were increasingly anxious to end colonialism. When Azikiwe publicly voiced this discontent, Britain charged him with sedition. His trial and ultimate vindication boosted his popularity and earned him a hero's welcome when he returned to Lagos.

With the founding of the *Pilot,* Azikiwe launched a revolutionary brand of journalism. In the words of one observer, it was "a fire-eating and aggressive nationalist paper of the highest order." Within a short time it had attracted a readership of 9,000, a high number for the time. During the next decade Azikiwe established a chain of six newspapers in major Nigerian cities. While they were consistently and aggressively critical of British COLONIAL RULE, they also were run along business lines. For not only was Azikiwe a staunch political nationalist, but he was also an economic nationalist, as indicated by his role in founding the African Continental Bank, in 1944.

Newspapers such as Azikiwe's *West African Pilot* were an important factor in the rise of African NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV).

Western Sahara

Present-day country of some 103,000 square miles (266,800 sq km) bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, with MOROCCO to the north and MAURITANIA to the east and south. During the colonial era the territory was known as SPANISH SAHARA. Prior to colonization the area that became Western Sahara was dominated by Sanhaja Berber traders, the group that established the Almoravid empire in the 11th and 12th centuries. The Saharawi, a pastoralist ethnic group originally from the Arabian Peninsula, arrived later and settled in pockets throughout northwest Africa.

In 1860 a weak and financially distressed Morocco ceded some of its arid southern coastal territory to Spain. Spain, for its part, desired to protect its trading and fishing interests in the Canary Islands, located in the Atlantic Ocean off the Moroccan coast. Then in the early 1880s Spain signed treaties with local groups that allowed it to establish a coastal PROTECTORATE that stretched from Cape Bojador to Cap Blanc (at the present-day border of Western Sahara and Mauritania). In 1884–85 the other European colonial powers confirmed these holdings at the BERLIN CONFERENCE.

During the first decade of the 20th century, Spanish settlers began moving into the hinterlands from their coastal settlements, causing the Saharawi to take up arms in an effort to repel the invaders. (The fierce Saharawi resistance to the colonial efforts of both Spain and France would continue until 1958.)

In light of the political instability that was threatening the country, in 1912 the Moroccan sultan Moulay Hafid (r. 1908–1912) signed the Treaty of Fez, officially making Morocco a French protectorate. By the same treaty, however, Spain was allowed to continue as the chief power in its coastal settlements in the Western Sahara. At the time these settlements included Villa Cisneros (now Tarfaya) and Río de Oro (now Dakhla). By 1930 the Spanish had established the town of Laayoune (El Aioún), which became the colonial administrative center. Four years later Spain annexed Ifni, a relatively small region (580 square miles; 1,502 sq km) to the north of Cape Bojador.

Spain basically ignored the inland regions of Spanish Sahara until the 1950s, when Spanish MINING companies began discovering phosphate deposits. (These organic compounds are used as fertilizer and have become a highly valuable commodity.) At the same time, however, African independence movements were gaining momentum, and the European colonial powers were beginning to withdraw from the continent.

In 1956, first France and then Spain—led by Generalisimo Francisco Franco (1892–1975)—returned most of their northern Moroccan settlements to local rule. However, since influential Spanish mining companies owned the rights to the region's phosphates, the Spanish government decided to hold on to its territories in the south. In the wave of anticolonial violence that followed (1956–58), Moroccan national forces appeared to join Saharawi troops in their attempts to expel the Spanish settlers and gain independence. In the end, though, Morocco joined with Spain and France to subdue Saharawi resistance. During what became known as the Ecouvillon Operation, Moroccan forces knowingly left the Saharawi troops vulnerable to Spanish-French attacks, resulting in devastating losses. In 1958, as a reward for the cooperation, Franco awarded Morocco governing power in Villa Cisneros, a region with potential for mineral exploitation.

During the fighting for Saharawi independence, the Moroccan press accused Spanish forces of using mustard gas to kill 600 Saharawi troops.

During the 1960s, with their armed resistance effectively defeated, the Saharawi turned instead to political and diplomatic means to achieve an independent Western Sahara. Despite their efforts, however, protracted territorial disputes among the governments of Morocco, Mauritania, and Spain allowed Spain to retain its western Saharan holdings until 1976.

See also: ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); POLISARIO (Vol. V); SAHARAWI (Vol. V); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV, V); SPANISH MOROCCO (Vol. IV); WESTERN SAHARA (Vols. I, II, III, V).

white man's burden   Doctrine that espoused a cultural superiority and the supposed "imperative" nature of European and American colonial expansion. In 1899 the British poet and novelist Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) published the poem "The White Man's Burden" in *McClure's,* a popular American magazine. Intended to tilt public opinion in favor of U.S. intervention in the Philippines, the poem cast American imperialism as a noble "civilizing mission."

The racist undertones of the poem implied that the indigenous peoples inhabiting the territories being colonized were incapable of self-rule. Though the poem sparked widespread criticism and was frequently parodied, it accurately reflected a common rationalization for the European intrusion into Africa.

See also: COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV).

Witbooi, Hendrik (1830–1905) *Last independent leader of the Oorlam people living in South West Africa (present-day Namibia)*

Hendrik Witbooi was the grandson of Kido Witbooi (c. 1780–1875), who in mid-century led his branch of the Oorlam people (who today are considered part of the CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE) to settle in southern NAMIBIA. They had moved out of the CAPE COLONY earlier in the century to avoid the increasing discrimination they were facing. In Namibia, Kido Witbooi expanded his authority through conquest to include the NAMA, another Khoikhoi people. He also converted to Christianity later in his life. Upon his death he was succeeded by his son, Hendrik's father, Moses Witbooi (1810–1888), who effectively had

been the ruler for a number of years. In 1888 Moses was killed by his own son-in-law. Hendrik then killed the usurper and assumed control.

Hendrik, who was baptized by German MISSIONARIES in 1868, had already developed a substantial following by the time he became the Oorlam-Nama leader. Other Khoikhoi groups soon turned to him as they contested the HERERO for control of southern Namibia. Rivalry for dominance among African groups soon gave way to resistance against German COLONIAL CONQUEST. Between 1890 and 1894 Witbooi fought to stave off German incursions into his territory, but he was finally defeated and made to accept German COLONIAL RULE. He then worked cooperatively with Governor Theodor Leutwin (1849–1921), assisting the Germans in subordinating other African peoples. He even participated in a military campaign to subdue the BONDELSWARTS Nama.

The Herero revolt against German colonial rule that began in 1904 led to the replacement of Governor Leutwin. Witbooi, concerned by the loss of his people's land to German settlers and the harsh policies of the government and no longer tied by personal obligations to Leutwin, joined the rebellion, in 1904. He was killed in the fighting a year later, and his followers soon surrendered. After another two years of fighting German colonial rule was firmly established in its new colony of SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); KHOIKHOI (Vols. II, III); MAHERERO, SAMUEL (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV).

witchcraft In many parts of Africa the use of sorcery or magic is believed to have the power to bring about desired events. It can have positive or negative connotations depending on whether it is intended to express ill will on the part of the practitioner or if it is meant to offer protection from the ill will of others. Colonial authorities, who publicly condemned both the practice of and the belief in witchcraft, had a hand in assigning negative connotations to it. The anti-witchcraft sentiment of colonial and missionary church authorities resulted in reports of witch-hunting and persecution. Some countries passed witchcraft prohibition laws. Anti-witchcraft movements, however, were as likely to be initiated and led by local Africans as by individuals acting on behalf of the colonial authorities or churches.

Among many people in Africa witchcraft is widely used to account for those things that do not have scientific explanations. In this limited sense, belief in witchcraft is not too far removed from some of the doctrines of the world's major religions.

Witchcraft practitioners use curses, the evil eye, or bad omens to supposedly cause harm, including afflictions and illness. If an individual comes down with an ill-

ness, determining whether it is the result of witchcraft involves establishing a reason why the use of witchcraft would be justified against the victim in the first place. A condition might be associated with witchcraft if it is particularly difficult to treat, reoccurring, strange, or if it results in sudden death. By the same token, if it is determined that an illness has a supernatural or human cause, among believers in witchcraft, that does not necessarily eliminate the possibility of a scientific explanation. For example, one can understand that malaria is contracted through the bite of a mosquito while at the same time crediting witchcraft as the reason why one person gets malaria while another does not. In other words, those who practice witchcraft are thought—even by those with a degree of "scientific" knowledge—to have the power to control the natural forces in the world.

The healing and religious movement launched by Simon KIMBANGU (c. 1887–1951) in the BELGIAN CONGO (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO), in 1921, exemplified the wide popular appeal of anti-witchcraft movements. He claimed to be an "apostle" of Christ and attracted large crowds who believed in his healing powers. To be healed, people had to abandon their so-called fetishes and beliefs in sorcery. Although the Belgian authorities imprisoned Kimbangu out of fear that he was preaching an anticolonial message, the movement he launched continued. It increasingly attracted followers in the 1930s, in large part because of its opposition to witchcraft and its efforts to purify society of its ills.

For believers in witchcraft, once an illness has been attributed to it, one must seek out a person—a *diviner*, for example—who can offer a counter-treatment using the same supernatural forces. Diviners use different tools to determine the cause of the affliction and the action that is necessary to fix it. For example, some diviners shake bones or seeds into a pile and "read" their formation or placement. Cures for witchcraft can call for using herbal remedies, completing ritualized ceremonies, or even avoiding specific foods or activities.

See also: HEALTH AND HEALING IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); MALARIA (Vol. V); PROPHETS AND PROHPETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV, V); SCIENCE (Vol. IV).

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Todd Sanders, eds., *Magical Interpretations, Material Realities: Modernity, Witchcraft and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (London: Routledge, 2001).

Witwatersrand GOLD-rich region of the TRANSVAAL, in central SOUTH AFRICA. The Witwatersrand gained international prominence for its huge, underground deposits of gold. Though Africans had mined the precious metal in the region for centuries, the first commercially viable discovery occurred in 1886. This discovery, along with the MINING of DIAMONDS at KIMBERLEY, to the west, sparked the South African MINERAL REVOLUTION. An influx of prospectors soon flooded the Witwatersrand, forming a large mining camp that would evolve into the city of JOHANNESBURG.

> **Witwatersrand is a Dutch word meaning "white water ridge." Ironically there is no white water near the heart of Witwatersrand, and the region is actually named for the water-like appearance of the quartzite found in the area.**

See also: ANGLO-BOER WAR (Vol. IV); CAPE COLONY (Vol. IV); PRETORIA (Vols. IV, V); UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Wolof Large, influential ethnic group of the SENEGAL and The GAMBIA region (Senegambia) in West Africa, where they had settled by the 1300s; also the LANGUAGE they speak. In 1854 the Wolof states of the SENEGAMBIA REGION faced French colonial expansion when Major Louis FAIDHERBE (1818–1889) was appointed the new governor of French Senegal. By 1858 Faidherbe had annexed the Wolof states.

> **Historically, Wolof speakers have been the largest ethnic group in the Senegalese capital city of DAKAR, where a Wolof trading community predated the city's founding by the French, in 1857.**

Local Wolof leaders resisted Faidherbe's attempts at further colonization by turning to Islam. By the mid-1860s, Maba Diakhou (1809–1867), a Tukulor Muslim leader, had converted many of the Wolof leaders. Among them were Lat Dior (r. 1842–1886) of Cayor, and Alboury N'Diaye (r. 1842–?) of Djolof. They in turn led the armed resistance against the French COLONIAL CONQUEST and occupation of the Senegambia. France's final defeat of the Wolof armies and the death of Lat Dior, in 1886, enabled the French to exercise direct control over most of the Senegal region. French colonization had wide-ranging influence in the Wolof states, disrupting the former Wolof political structure and minimizing the power and prestige of the Wolof nobility. As general social upheaval took over the region, many Wolof turned to the Mouride Sufi brotherhood led by Amadou Bamba (1850–1927).

By the end of the 19th century the Wolof were both largely acculturated to Islam and subjugated by the French. The Mouride brotherhood, with membership numbering about 70,000 by the early 1900s, maintained its authority by controlling a large peasant LABOR force and the production of GROUNDNUTS (peanuts) for Senegal's colonial cash-crop economy.

During both World War I (1914–18) and World War II (1939–45), many Muslim Wolof speakers were recruited by their religious leaders to fight for France.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES (Vol. I); SUFISM (Vols. II, III, IV); WOLOF (Vol. II); WOLOF EMPIRE (Vol. III); WOLOF STATES (Vol. II).

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women in colonial Africa Prior to the colonial period many women in Africa enjoyed a substantial amount of public influence as leaders of social groups and traditional religions. In addition, women were often integrated into local market economies as traders, earning an income separate from their husbands'. Beyond their public activities, women were responsible for child rearing, subsistence farming, and household chores such as collecting firewood and water. However, when European colonial authorities and settlers arrived in Africa, they brought with them their own strict ideas of a female's role.

For instance, most Europeans expected African women to be totally dependent on their husbands. Therefore colonial administrators ignored or undermined female leadership positions and did not address the traditional importance of women regarding agricultural production. However, women continued to provide the food for their families, since their husbands often migrated, willingly or unwillingly, to the mines, plantations, or towns to provide

cheap wage LABOR for the colonial export ECONOMY. Unless they were born in one of the older African towns such as ACCRA, in GOLD COAST COLONY (now GHANA), or MOMBASA (in KENYA), women were far less likely than men to be a part of the URBANIZATION process during the colonial era.

In the colonial era an African woman living in an agricultural community had many responsibilities. During the busy agricultural season her typical day might start before sun-up with washing and eating. After that she would walk to the field with her hand hoe and spend 8–10 hours preparing the soil, weeding, or planting. She might cook food in the field for lunch or skip eating until supper. After working in the field she would probably collect firewood and carry it back home on her head, which might take an hour, depending on the availability of wood in the area. To prepare for the evening meal she would pound or grind the grain for another hour or more and fetch water at a well that could be as far away as a few miles.

The woman would then have to light a fire and cook dinner, serving the family before feeding herself. After dinner she would wash the children, the dishes, and herself and then go to bed. Her workday might be from 11 to 14 hours long, and if she had young children, she might be doing much of the work with a baby strapped to her back.

During World War II (1939–45), with many men absent, women suddenly became the primary decision makers in their own households while continuing with their busy roles as caretakers and providers. However, with the limitations imposed by colonial policies, women had diminished access to resources such as credit, EDUCATION, and land. In addition, MISSIONARIES further increased a woman's workload by discouraging the practice of polygamy, which had served to distribute household activities among co-wives. In part, because of the colonialists ignored the public power of women, many women used the anticolonial independence movements as a way to voice their opinions and move back into the public sphere.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GENDER IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. IV); RELIGION (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I); WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL AFRICA (Vol. II); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III).

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World War I and Africa (1914–1918) Despite the fact that World War I began and ended on European soil, it profoundly affected millions of people on the African continent. This was the case because African countries were brought into the conflict by their European colonial subjugators, who relied heavily on African NATURAL RESOURCES and manpower.

Colonial Recruitment During the war Africans were engaged as porters as well as soldiers. For example, by using compulsory service for all African males, France enlisted more than 500,000 colonial subjects for the war effort. France was aided in its recruitment effort by Blaise DIAGNE (1872–1934), a Senegalese politician who enlisted more than 180,000 West African men and hoped that supporting the French cause would lead to greater rights for the Senegalese people. Britain also used forced conscription, enlisting roughly 30,000 soldiers while using more than 1 million Africans as porters. The colonial powers also utilized forced LABOR during the war, with Belgium, for example, forcing hundreds of thousands of Africans into PORTERAGE.

Not all Africans quietly accepted conscription into European armies, and resistance was manifested in various forms. Thousands of Africans went into hiding in some areas, while others took up arms against the Europeans. Beyond dragging African men into essentially foreign disputes, the war in Europe also diverted attention away form nascent anticolonial efforts in Africa.

Warfare in Africa and Abroad   Troops from FRENCH WEST AFRICA, known as the TIRAILLEURS SÉNÉGALAIS, and other French African possessions greatly contributed to war, engaging the Central Powers along the Western Front in Europe. However, unlike France, Britain did not use any African soldiers in Europe.

Most African soldiers fought in Africa. France and Britain used their COLONIAL ARMIES to attack all of the German African possessions. TOGOLAND (today's TOGO) quickly fell to Anglo-French forces in 1914. That same year the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA joined the British cause despite fervent opposition from AFRIKANERS in the TRANSVAAL and the ORANGE FREE STATE. The South African forces were sent to conquer German SOUTH WEST AFRICA (now NAMIBIA), in 1915, and quickly took control of the territory. German Kamerun (now CAMEROON) held out a little longer, falling in 1916.

The struggle for GERMAN EAST AFRICA, however, was quite different. Under the leadership of German lieutenant-colonel Paul Emil von Lettow-Vorbeck (1870–1964), the German East African forces held out against the numerically superior Allies for the duration of the war. At the

beginning of the war, Lettow-Vorbeck launched forays into KENYA against the British railway. Three months later the allies responded with a massive Anglo-Indian invasion, but Lettow-Vorbeck repelled the operation through superior tactical maneuvers and strategic use of his limited number of troops.

German East Africa's army included thousands of *askari*, or African soldiers, who outnumbered German soldiers by nearly three to one.

Bolstered by South African forces led by General Jan Christiaan SMUTS (1870–1950), the allies eventually penetrated German East Africa, in 1916, and captured the major cities of the territory. In response Lettow-Vorbeck initiated a campaign of guerrilla warfare, using his *askaris'* knowledge of the terrain to live off the land. German East Africa forces continued to pester and bog down Allied troops in the region until 1918, when Lettow-Vorbeck finally surrendered, two weeks *after* the signing of the Armistice had officially ended the war.

For the most part, however, the battlefields of Africa were ruled by Allied forces. For instance, when the sultan of DARFUR, Ali Dinar (c. 1898–1916), proclaimed his kingdom's allegiance to the Ottoman Empire, a small British force quickly defeated his forces, with the sultan dying during the fighting.

Aftermath At the end of World War I the status of many African territories changed. While the Allies were eager to annex the former territories of Germany and the Ottoman Empire, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) had a different agenda He introduced the Treaty of Versailles, which called for the formation of the League of Nations to maintain the hard-won peace. Under the treaty each of the former German colonies became a League of Nations MANDATE to be overseen by one of the Allies. SOUTH AFRICA took responsibility for South West Africa, while Britain oversaw parts of Cameroon and Togo as well as all of TANGANYIKA (later part of present-day TANZANIA). France received the other portions of Cameroon and Togo.

The changes brought about by the end of First World War went beyond exchanges of territory, however. Africans were emboldened by Wilson's Fourteen Points, which accompanied his League of Nations proposal and promoted the right to self-determination. Though the call for a right to independence for all people was eventually muted, the idea sparked the imagination of many Africans and was a seed to the independence movements that grew in the following decades.

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World War II and Africa Compared to the events of World War I (1914–18), the action affecting the African continent as well as its inhabitants during World War II (1939–45) was far greater in magnitude. African participation in World War II came in many forms. For example, the battle against the Axis of Germany and Italy came earlier to Africa than to Europe, with the invasion of ETHIOPIA by Italian forces in 1934.

The actual fighting done on African soil was more intense during World War II than in the previous world war. In the Horn of Africa the Italian conquest of Ethiopia led, with the outbreak of full hostilities in 1939, to an invasion by forces from Britain, East and West Africa, and SOUTH AFRICA. These forces, which included substantial numbers of Africans, quickly routed the Italian armies, giving the Allies their first important victory of the war.

Even more intense was the fighting in North Africa, where Germany's Afrika Korps was sent to support the Italian forces in LIBYA. With access to both oil and the SUEZ CANAL—key elements of both the Axis and Allied strategies—the fighting in North Africa was particularly fierce. Although the German Afrika Korps proved especially effective in the early stages of the war, their defeat

This photo from 1942 shows Free French artillery gunners, two of the many colonial troops who saw active service during World War II. © *Library of Congress*

by Allied forces, at the Battle of El Alamein, in 1942, eventually proved to be a turning point in the war.

Furthermore, although many African soldiers served in the armies of the European powers during the First World War, these numbers increased dramatically during World War II. For example, more than 80,000 of the well-known TIRAILLEURS SÉNÉGALAIS from FRENCH WEST AFRICA were called into immediate service in France during the early stages of the war. Between 1943 and 1945, more than 100,000 African soldiers were added to the French forces, primarily through conscription. France, of course, was not alone in its reliance on African troops. Britain recruited nearly 325,000 soldiers from East Africa alone, with one division playing an important role in the campaign in Southeast Asia. In addition, more than 200,000 white and 100,000 black South Africans served in Britain's forces, primarily in North Africa.

Beyond this, the war's impact on colonial life in Africa was astounding and affected the colonies in numerous ways. Economically, due to increased production of FOOD, Africa became more reliant on international markets. Politically, however, the changes in African society were more salient and had long-term effects on the continent.

As the war ended African soldiers returned to their homelands with new ideas about their place in the world. First, since some Africans served as equals with Europeans during the war, they began to demand equal treatment in all spheres. More importantly, however, was the impact of the ATLANTIC CHARTER of 1941, which suggested that peoples of the world have the right to national self-determination. This right to self-determination included Africans and was further guaranteed by the United Nations, which was established in 1945.

With these new ideas came radical change. African INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONALISM MOVEMENTS began to surface and Africans demanded to be free of COLONIAL RULE. Greater African participation in politics was evident as well as the increased formation of African political parties.

Over time the European nations began to relinquish control over their colonies; however, this was not always a smooth process. Examples of civil unrest and outright violent confrontation were evident in ALGERIA, the Congo region, and numerous African states. The end of World War II also brought the international political rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, both victors in the war. The tensions between the two countries signaled the beginning of what became known as the Cold War, which, in the 1960s and 1970s, would include proxy battles fought in Africa.

See also: ARMIES, COLONIAL (Vol. IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); MANDATE (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vol. V); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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X

Xhosa People of SOUTH AFRICA descended from an Nguni group of Bantu speakers who migrated from Central Africa, probably in the third or fourth century CE. Beginning in the latter part of the 18th century and continuing into the last quarter of the 19th century, the Xhosa were engaged in a series of nine Cape Frontier Wars (1779–1878). They first fought with Boer settlers and subsequently with the British colonial government of the CAPE COLONY. These conflicts resulted from competing interests over land use and cattle. (Cattle significantly determined a man's stature in Xhosa society.) The Xhosa met with varying degrees of success in defending their homeland; in the early fighting against the BOERS, they met with relative success. The superior resources of the British, however, proved too great. While they were able to win individual battles, they ultimately lost the wars. Moreover, with each military defeat came a further loss of land to white settlers.

In 1853, after an especially bitter and bloody war, a large tract of Xhosa territory was annexed into Cape Colony. Three years later the Xhosa began the CATTLE KILLING, an ill-fated attempt to magically rid their lands of whites. The Cattle Killing caused massive starvation among the Xhosa and severely weakened their ability to resist European intrusion. As a result, over the later part of the 19th century, the remaining Xhosa territory was incorporated into Cape Colony.

The British annexation of Xhosa land and the disintegration of herding culture that resulted forced many Xhosa to migrate to work for Europeans on farms and in mines. At the same time MISSIONARIES converted many Xhosa to Christianity and spread Western ideas through new EDUCATION initiatives. Under the leadership of individuals such as John Tengo JABAVU (1859–1921), editor of the Xhosa-LANGUAGE newspaper *IMVO ZABANTSUNDU,* many among the Xhosa turned from the military struggle to the political struggle in order to secure their rights and livelihoods. However, the political arena became much more complex and challenging after the Cape Colony became part of the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, in 1910. As South Africa fell further into a system of racial segregation, many of the African opposition leaders who emerged came from Xhosa heritage, including Nelson MANDELA (1918–) and Steve Biko (1947–1977).

See also: BIKO, STEVE (Vol. V); CAPE FRONTIER WARS (Vol. III); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); XHOSA (Vols. II, III, V).

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Y

Yao

Yao Ethnic group primarily inhabiting the highlands of what are now southern MALAWI and northern MOZAMBIQUE; since World War II (1939–45) Yao groups also have migrated to neighboring TANZANIA, to the north. During the early 1800s Yao traders began to serve as intermediaries between the people of the south-central interior and the Arab and Swahili merchants of coastal Kilwa. Initially politically decentralized, the Yao responded to the growing warfare, slave trade, and political disruption of the 19th century by arming themselves and then establishing political control over their area. They prospered by supplying ivory and slaves to the SWAHILI COAST in exchange for firearms and other manufactured goods imported from Europe and the United States.

Following a famine in the late 1800s, however, large numbers of Yao migrated to the interior highlands of Malawi. At this time, British MISSIONARIES in the region were working to end the SLAVE TRADE, and they attempted to convert the Yao in the process. For their part the Yao largely rejected Christianity and tended to prefer conversion to Islam, the religion of the Arabic slave traders on the coast.

Malawi came under British colonial control in the 1890s, and by 1907 the region had become the PROTECTORATE of NYASALAND. Under British rule, the SLAVE TRADE was outlawed, and many Yao men were arrested and imprisoned for attempting to continue this practice. Further impinging on the Yao way of life, in 1912 the British instituted a hut tax to pay for the administration of the protectorate. In order to raise the necessary money Yao men had few options beyond working on British-owned tea and tobacco plantations; some even traveled as far as SOUTH AFRICA to work in that country's GOLD mines.

A noted Yao Christian convert was the missionary John CHILEMBWE (c. 1872–1915). In 1915 Chilembwe led a small group of Nyasaland's Africans in a failed revolt against the rule of the British colonial administration.

During World War I (1914–18) British officials caused widespread resentment among Nyasaland's indigenous peoples by forcing them to enlist in the colonial army. Despite their objections, however, Yao soldiers helped the British in their campaigns in the East African theater of operations. Yao discontent with British rule continued through World War II, ending only in 1964 with the declaration of an independent Malawi.

See also: SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. IV); YAO (Vol. III).

Yohannes IV (Johannes IV, John IV, Kassa Mercha) (1831–1889) *Emperor of Ethiopia from 1872 to 1889*

After the death of the emperor TÉWODROS II (1820–1868), a four-year struggle for succession ensued. The main contenders for the throne were Tekla Giorgis of Gondar, the future Emperor MENELIK II (1844–1913), known at the time as Sahle Mariam and *negus* (king) of the SHOA kingdom, and Kassa Mercha, the governor of TIGRAY. After negotiations with Kassa Mercha and Sahle Mariam, Tekla Giorgis appeared set to succeed Téwodros

II as Ethiopia's emperor. However, Tekla Giorgis unwisely attempted to conquer Tigray and was defeated by a smaller but better equipped Tigrayan force. As a result Kassa Mercha ascended the throne, in 1872, and was crowned *negus nagast* (king of kings, or emperor) under the name Yohannes IV.

In order to consolidate his power Yohannes IV had to contend with the Ethiopian nobility, who exerted considerable regional control. While Yohannes had some difficulty establishing his authority in the north of the country, the main challenge to his power was Sahle Mariam in southern ETHIOPIA, who staunchly refused to recognize the new emperor.

Hailing from the Tigray region, Yohannes IV was the only non-Amharic-speaking emperor between 1270 and the end of the Ethiopian monarchy under HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975).

Sahle Mariam persistently reinforced his control in Shoa, extending his kingdom to include the lands of the OROMO peoples to the south and west and equipping his army with European firearms. It was not until 1878 that Yohannes IV was able to win Sahle Mariam's submission. However, this was only in exchange for Yohannes's recognition of Sahle Mariam's kingship south of Shoa. Despite this truce Sahle Mariam continued to strengthen his kingdom, and in 1882 another agreement was reached, whereby Yohannes's son wedded Sahle Mariam's daughter and Sahle Mariam was established as Yohannes's successor.

Yohannes's power struggle with Sahle Mariam was minor compared to the external threats that Ethiopia faced during his reign. The first came from EGYPT, which had imperial designs on Ethiopia as part of its plan to create a "Greater Egypt." Egyptian forces attempted to invade Ethiopia in 1875, but Yohannes rallied what amounted to a Christian crusade against the Muslim Egyptian invaders, and by 1876 he had driven the Egyptians out.

Italy, with its own goals of empire, proved a more difficult foe. Having assumed control of the ports of Aseb and Massawa (on the Red Sea, in present-day ERITREA), the Italians used this foothold to launch a campaign of COLONIAL CONQUEST into Tigray. The Italian advance was checked, in 1887, after a convincing Ethiopian victory at Dogali. In spite of this, Yohannes IV did not succeed at completely driving the Italians from the region. As a result Italy was allowed to establish the colony of Eritrea, and Ethiopia was denied its only access to the coast. It also set the stage for subsequent Italo-Ethiopian hostilities that continued until World War II (1939–45).

In another attempt to impose his authority, Yohannes implemented a policy of forced conversion to the Christian ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. Ethiopia's Muslims put up significant resistance to the policy, which forced them to be baptized, build churches, and pay church taxes.

Also in 1887, Sudanese Mahdists, followers of the messianic Islamic leader Muhammad Ahmad al-MAHDI (1844–1885), launched assaults on Ethiopia, destroying the city of Gondar. In response Yohannes IV led an Ethiopian invasion of Sudan, where he was killed in the Battle of Metema (1889). Just before his death Yohannes named his son as his successor, but the Shoan *negus* Sahle Mariam quickly stepped in and assumed the throne, taking the name Emperor Menelik II.

See also: ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Yoruba   General term used to describe the LANGUAGE, peoples, and kingdoms of southwestern NIGERIA and part of neighboring Republic of BENIN. By the beginning of the 19th century the Yoruba-speaking states had reached the height of their power as an empire. With their capital at Oyo, the Yoruba dominated regions within present-day western Nigeria and Benin and controlled long-distance trade with Europeans. However, events of the early 19th century and a subsequent rise of European colonialism led to Yoruba decline.

First, Britain banned the lucrative SLAVE TRADE, in 1807, taking away what had been a source of wealth. Then, by 1817 Muslim armies from northern Nigeria had conquered the northern Yoruba state of ILORIN, installing HAUSA-speaking FULANI chiefs.

In the latter half of the 19th century, as the connections between the Yoruba states disintegrated, previously conquered kingdoms, such as DAHOMEY (present-day Benin), began refusing to pay tribute. This political crisis came to a head in 1877 with the outbreak of a civil war that lasted until 1893.

As Britain tried to persuade the region to abolish the slave trade and encourage other commerce, British commercial interests took over the Yoruba port town of LAGOS in 1851. The king of Lagos signed a treaty, in 1861, ceding the city to Britain. British efforts to ensure free trade in the region included sending troops to stop the fighting among the Yoruba states. In 1886 British authorities in Lagos held a cease-fire conference to which all the opposing forces—except Ilorin—sent representatives. The agreement reached that year ended the Yoruba infighting. Under the provision of the agreement the Yoruba kingdom of IBADAN, which was

at the height of its power, became independent. However, by 1888 French traders were inserting themselves into the Yoruba trade network, so Britain forced the *alafin* of Oyo, the recognized Yoruba leader, to sign a treaty placing the Yoruba states under a British PROTECTORATE. In 1897 Ilorin and Nupe were conquered by armed forces representing the British ROYAL NIGER COMPANY. Despite resistance, by 1914 all the Yoruba states were under British rule.

In the early 20th century the British colonial government constructed a railroad through the Western Province of Nigeria to connect KANO, a Hausa state in the north, with the port at Lagos. The railroad proved a boon to AGRICULTURE, and many Yoruba farmers successfully integrated themselves into the colonial ECONOMY by growing COCOA for export.

In 1960 Nigeria became independent as a federal republic made up of three states, each dominated by a major ETHNIC GROUP. The Yoruba dominated Western Nigeria and for the most part supported the Action Group headed by Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987). In spite of independence, within a few years the country's ethnic-based politics plunged it into civil war.

Some Yoruba who had been sold into the transatlantic slave trade returned as emissaries of European organizations. One such figure was Samuel Ajayi CROWTHER (1808–1891), a Yoruba recaptive who, in 1854, helped the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY establish the Niger Mission at Onitsha. Crowther later became the first African bishop of the Anglican church.

See also: ALAFIN (Vol. II); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); YORUBA (Vols. I, II, V); YORUBA STATES (Vols. II, III).

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Z

Zambia Landlocked country located in southern Central Africa. It occupies an area of 290,600 square miles (752,700 sq km) and is mostly a plateau, rising to 8,000 ft (2,434 m) in the east. As early as the 15th century, major new waves of Bantu-speaking immigrants began arriving in Zambia, with the greatest influx occurring between the late 17th and early 19th centuries. These people came primarily from the Luba and Lunda kingdoms of what is now southern Democratic Republic of the CONGO and northern ANGOLA. They were joined in the 19th century by Ngoni peoples, from the south. Also, by the late 18th century, traders (including Arabs, Swahili, and other Africans) had penetrated the region from both the Atlantic and Indian Ocean coasts. By the middle of the 19th century the various groups were settled in Zambia in their present locations. Mainly organized into chieftaincies and monarchies, they developed a complex trading network in COPPER, ivory, iron, rhinoceros horn, and beads. The major kingdoms were those of the Bemba, Lunda, CHEWA, Ngoni, Luvale, Tonga, and LOZI.

Zambia during the Colonial Era: Northern Rhodesia The arrival of MISSIONARIES and explorers such as David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873) changed the political climate of Zambia. In 1890 the British took control of the Zambia region through the British empire builder, Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) and his BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (BSAC). The Lozi king, Lubosi LEWANIKA (1845–1916), asked the British for protection against the NDEBELE to the south, while also signing a treaty giving the BSAC MINING rights. The treaty led to BSAC control of the whole territory, which it administered as NORTHERN RHODESIA, from 1911 until 1923, when Britain assumed direct COLONIAL RULE.

During the BSAC administration, vast copper ore deposits were discovered in the north-central part of Northern Rhodesia (the area now called the COPPERBELT). The discovery of these deposits made the region one of the world's most renowned areas of concentrated mining. The BSAC, which owned the mineral rights, earned royalty payments amounting to £83 million ($166 million) by 1963.

The mining of copper required a large LABOR force, which meant that Zambians from all over the country were drawn to the Copperbelt. While Africans held low-level and unskilled positions, the management of the mines and all skilled jobs were in the hands of whites, many of whom were from SOUTH AFRICA, where racism was the norm. Zambians often staged strikes and work stoppages in protest against unfair wages and taxes, and in 1948 they formed the first African Mineworkers Union.

In 1953 Britain formed the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION to bring together its colonies of Northern Rhodesia, SOUTHERN RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE), and the PROTECTORATE of NYASALAND (now MALAWI), arguing that the federation would benefit the three countries economically. The politically dominant white settlers of Southern Rhodesia hoped that the alliance would counteract the economic hegemony of South Africa. African leaders, however, criticized the federation and mounted protests. While Britain hoped the federation would evolve into a better partnership with Africans, the Europeans, led by the federation's prime minister, Sir Roy WELENSKY (1907–1991), opposed any form of power sharing and worked against plans to establish African majority rule. When pressure from Britain and Africans increased, Welensky threatened to declare the federation independent from Britain.

Among Zambia's prominent ethnic groups are the Bemba, Luba, Lunda, and Luvale. Traditional among all of these people was a masquerade dance known as *likishi*, which involved the kind of intricate costumes and masks shown in this photo taken in 1935. © *National Archives*

Mounting African political dissatisfaction had led to the formation of the Northern Rhodesia Congress in 1948, with Harry Nkumbula (1916–1983), a former teacher, becoming its leader in 1951. His general secretary was another former schoolteacher, Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–). The party split in 1958, with Kaunda forming a separate party. In 1959 colonial authorities banned Kaunda's new party and sent Kaunda to prison for nine months for holding an illegal meeting. Released in 1960, Kaunda became president of yet another new party, the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP), which quickly grew. UNIP fought against the colonial government by launching a "master plan" of civil disobedience throughout the country, a tactic that UNIP hoped would force the British to dissolve the Central African Federation. The plan worked, and in 1963 Britain disbanded the federation and granted Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland their independence. On October 24, 1964, Kaunda became the first president of independent Zambia.

See also: BEMBA (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); KAUNDA, KENNETH (Vol. V); LUBA (Vol. II); LUBA EMPIRE (Vol. III); LUNDA EMPIRE (Vol. III); LUNDA KINGDOM (Vol. II); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NGONI (Vol. III); ZAMBIA (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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Zanzibar Island capital of the sultanate of Zanzibar, part of present-day TANZANIA. The island is 640 square miles (1,660 sq km) in size and is located 22 miles (35 km) off the coast of East Africa. During the 18th and early 19th centuries Zanzibar, along with other East African lands, was part of the Omani Sultanate under the rule of the BUSAIDI dynasty. The Omani Sultanate was essentially a maritime trading empire that stretched from

the Arabian peninsula to the SWAHILI COAST. In the 1830s Sultan Seyyid Said (1791–1856) took a great interest in the economic potential of the African possessions, and in 1841 he moved his capital to Zanzibar.

Seyyid Said's efforts to expand Zanzibar's influence were centered on trade in ivory, human captives, and spices, especially cloves, which were produced with slave LABOR on Arab-owned plantations in the coastal regions. Said's emphasis on trade strengthened the caravan routes into inland portions of eastern Africa and resulted in Zanzibar becoming the most affluent domain in the region. As a result, the island became a staging ground for explorers, including the Scottish David LIVINGSTONE (1813–1873), and his earnest pursuer, Henry Morton STANLEY (1841–1904).

Upon Seyyid Said's death, in 1856, the Omani Sultanate was partitioned. Geography guided division, with the Arabian and African territories grouped into two separate empires. Seyyid Said's son, Majid bin Said (c. 1835–1870), took over the African territories, which were named the sultanate of Zanzibar. At the time of Majid's ascension to the throne, the sultanate of Zanzibar controlled the Swahili Coast and to a lesser degree exercised influence over large areas of eastern Africa, including portions of what later became GERMAN EAST AFRICA, ITALIAN SOMALILAND (now SOMALIA), and BRITISH EAST AFRICA (now KENYA).

In 1896, after the British appointed his cousin sultan, Khaled bin Thuwain climbed through a broken window of the palace, claimed the throne for himself, and then amassed a few thousand supporters to defend his position. The British, unmoved, ordered him to surrender by 9:00 a.m. the next day. The new sultan, determined to maintain his hold on power, refused. At 9:02 a.m., August 27, British warships opened fire on the palace, eventually reducing parts of it to rubble. Sultan Khaled surrendered 38 minutes later, making the conflict, according to the *Guiness Book of World Records,* the shortest war in history.

When ibn Said BARGHASH (c. 1833–1888) succeeded his brother as sultan, Zanzibar's domain was still expanding. The upsurge of European imperial interests in East Africa in the aftermath of the BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–85) ended in a loss of control over Zanzibar's mainland areas, and in 1890 Zanzibar became a British PROTECTORATE. Britain, however, was more interested in expanding its sphere of influence than conquering Zanzibar. The British administration kept intact the office of sultan, though the position became mostly symbolic, and they divided the sultanate's lands with Germany and Italy.

By leaving the sultanate intact, the British allowed the island's Arab nobility to continue to dominate positions of power. Although they were the minority in Zanzibar, Arab nobles had long subjugated the African inhabitants of the island, many of whom had been brought there in bondage (although the British had abolished the SLAVE TRADE). The disparity between Arabs and Africans framed the events that preceded Zanzibar's independence and the eventual end of the sultanate.

During the 1950s political activity in Zanzibar grew as the country moved towards independence. Two parties, the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) came to the forefront of the political landscape. In 1957 the ZNP, ostensibly the party of the Arab population, won the first popular elections for the Zanzibar Legislative Council. A second round of elections, in 1961, resulted in neither party gaining a majority. The ZNP, however, was able to form a coalition government through an alliance with the smaller Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party. In 1963 Zanzibar gained its independence, and Britain, reinstating the sultanate as a constitutional monarchy, handed over control of Zanzibar to the ZNP-led government.

In 1964, however, the island's African majority, led by Abeid Awani KARUME (1905–1972) of the ASP, overthrew the sultanate and joined Zanzibar with TANGANYIKA in a new political union. Called the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the country was led by President Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), from Tanganyika, and Vice President Karume. Six months after unification, the republic changed its name to Tanzania.

See also: AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY (Vol. V); OMANI SULTANATE (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. IV); ZANZIBAR (Vols. I, II, III, V); ZANZIBAR CITY (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Laur Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2002).

Zanzibar City   Capital of present-day Zanzibar West region of TANZANIA, located on the western side of the island of ZANZIBAR. The site of Zanzibar City was first used as a fishing village between the eighth and 10th centuries. Possessing a deepwater harbor, it eventually became a well-known trading town for goods transported on the Indian Ocean trade routes. The Swahili inhabitants, who were mostly Muslim, developed strong trade ties, particularly with Oman, in Saudi Arabia, and in the mid-17th century the Omani army assisted in expelling the Portuguese from the SWAHILI COAST. By 1840 the sultan of Oman, Seyyid Said (1791–1856), had transferred his capital to Zanzibar City, which soon experienced

rapid growth and commercialization. It became an international center for the SLAVE TRADE, and its population grew from 50,000 in the 1850s, to 80,000 in the 1870s. Zanzibar City began to diversify as South Asians, Omanis, Swahilis from the mainland, and captured African slaves from the interior of eastern Africa migrated to the city. During this time the production of cloves, for which Zanzibar City is famous, began to flourish.

In 1890 Zanzibar became a British PROTECTORATE, and in 1897 the island's slave trade was abolished. Throughout the next several decades, former slaves abandoned the rural plantations and moved to the city in search of employment. This again dramatically increased the population of Zanzibar City. Without the lucrative slave trade, the exportation of cloves became the most important economic activity. Zanzibar gained independence in 1963, but both the city and the island were soon gripped by a violent revolution that overthrew the sultan and his government.

In 1964 the island of Zanzibar joined with TANGANYIKA to form the nation of Tanzania. Zanzibar City's importance as a port decreased when DAR ES SALAAM became the new country's capital and principal economic and commercial center.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); ZANZIBAR, CITY OF (Vol. V).

Further readings: Abdul Sheriff, ed., *The History and Conservation of Zanzibar Stone Town* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1995).

zaribas   Fortified camps of Sudanese slave traders in the present-day southern Republic of the SUDAN. *Zaribas* are named for the thorny hedges that surrounded the trading camps. In the 1820s Egypt invaded Sudan, seeking slave conscripts for its military. Because of this, the SLAVE TRADE, along with trade in ivory and other goods, became one of the economic mainstays of Egyptian-controlled Sudan.

Sudanese merchants from the KHARTOUM area, as well as Egyptian traders from the east, pushed southward along the White Nile into the Bahr-al-Ghazal region, setting up *zaribas* as they moved along. A highly predatory commerce developed under such merchant-commanders as Rahma Mansur al-ZUBAYR (1830–1913).

The commerce in human captives, conducted by Arabic-speaking traders from the north, helped lay the foundations for the deep division that exists in present-day Sudan, between the Arabic-speaking, Muslim north and the non-Arabic speaking, Christian and animist south. The *zariba*-based trading system continued until

the rise of the MAHDIYYA, the Islamic brotherhood that ousted Egypt from the Sudan, in 1885. After that time the *zaribas* also made convenient military outposts for both the Mahdiyya and the combined British and Egyptian forces who took control of Sudan, in 1899.

Zimbabwe   Present-day country in southeastern Africa 150,900 square miles (390,800 sq km) in size and marked by a large, central plateau. Zimbabwe is bordered to the east by MOZAMBIQUE, to the south by SOUTH AFRICA, to the west by BOTSWANA (formerly BECHUANALAND), and to the north by ZAMBIA (formerly NORTHERN RHODESIA).

In the early 19th century the period of ZULU warfare known as Mfecane (The Crushing) led to a large-scale migration among the peoples of southern Africa. One of these goups, the NDEBELE, were led by King Mzilikazi (1790–1868), a former Zulu general. Finally pushed out of the TRANSVAAL region by defeat at the hands of the BOERS, the Ndebele eventually reached southern Zimbabwe, where they quickly defeated Changamire, a SHONA kingdom.

The collapse of the Changamire kingdom did not destroy the cultural identity of the Shona people, who were descendents of the Bantu speakers who migrated to the Zimbabwean plateau more than a thousand years earlier, and who later erected the walled city of Great Zimbabwe. The Shona were skilled at iron working and pottery and noted for their expert musicianship. After the Ndebele invaded, much of the Shona population moved north and resettled in what became known as Mashonaland.

By about 1840 Mzilikazi settled his people in their newly conquered territory, which came to be called Matabeleland. He was a strong ruler and cemented his power by subjugating the remaining Shona clans into a feudal, caste-based social order. The relative isolation of the people of Zimbabwe from Europeans came to an end in the late 19th century, after European prospectors discovered GOLD deposits in Matabeleland, in 1867. Although these early discoveries did not lead to a permanent white presence, they foreshadowed the developments that would follow.

Interest in the potential of Zimbabwean gold deposits increased with the 1886 discovery of the massive gold-ore deposits of the WITWATERSRAND, in the Transvaal. This development fueled European hopes for similar deposits further north, bringing more European miners and prospectors into southen Africa.

By 1888, CAPE COLONY financier and mine owner Cecil RHODES (1853–1902) had negotiated MINING rights to Matabeleland with the Ndebele king, LOBENGULA (1836–1894), who had succeeded Mzilikazi, in 1870. Rhodes used the mineral concessions to gain a charter from the British government that allowed him to form the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY (BSAC). By 1890, however, Lobengula was wary of Rhodes and no longer wished to tolerate the presence of white settlers in the Ndebele kingdom. To avoid an immediate confrontation with the Ndebele, the initial group of BSAC settlers and miners, known as the Pioneer Column, avoided the Ndebele state and settled in Mashonaland in the area around SALISBURY (now Harare), a city they founded.

Despite the fact that the Europeans had settled outside of Matabeleland, the Ndebele understood the threat the BSAC presented to their kingdom. Lobengula subsequently sent agents to ask Britain's Queen Victoria to intervene on his behalf. His request fell on deaf ears, however, and in 1893 the BSAC invaded Matabeleland. The Ndebele resisted for months but eventually lost the war to superior British firepower. The Ndebele defeat, culminating in the death of Lobengula later that year, marked the demise of African sovereignty in the region. Two years later the territories of Matabeleland and Mashonaland were joined to form SOUTHERN RHODESIA, named in honor of Rhodes.

In reaction to new taxes and the BSAC expropriation of land, the Ndebele and Shona peoples rose up in a rebellion known as the CHIMURENGA. However, by 1897, the uprising had been quashed. The following year, the British created "tribal reserves." Africans were forcibly displaced to these areas, and their former lands were allotted to white settlers.

Initially the BSAC believed that the amount of gold in Southern Rhodesia would equal the massive amounts found in the Transvaal. By the early 1900s, however, it was evident that Southern Rhodesia held far less gold than the neighboring territories to the south. As a result the BSAC appropriated even more African land and focused its energies on agricultural production.

The amount of land allotted to Africans was a fraction of the amount retained for the BSAC and white settlers. Moreover, the scattered Native Reserves were assigned the least productive terrain. By World War I (1914–18) the BSAC and white settlers, who comprised 3 percent of the population, occupied 21 million acres of Southern Rhodesia's land and reserved the right to claim much of the remaining 70 million acres still in African hands.

In 1914, on the eve of World War I, the BSAC charter for Southern Rhodesia expired. Because of the exclusion of Africans from the electorate, white settlers effectively controlled the destiny of the PROTECTORATE. Opposed to joining the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, the settlers asked Britain to prolong their charter, which was extended for 10 years.

Zimbabwe during the Colonial Era: Southern Rhodesia In 1922, with the BSAC charter expiration just a few years away, Southern Rhodesia held a referendum to decide between joining the Union of South Africa or initiating self-government. The white settlers, who were the only ones allowed to vote on the matter, chose the latter, and in 1923 Southern Rhodesia officially became a British colony.

Southern Rhodesia prospered in the period between the two world wars, as the colony increased its revenue from mining and AGRICULTURE and expanded its infrastructure. For the Africans, however, the period marked an escalation of discriminatory practices by the white-minority-controlled government. In 1930 The Land Apportionment Act formalized the division of land based on race, with Africans having rights to 33 percent of the land, whites getting 50 percent, and the rest remaining for future allocation. Four years later a LABOR law was passed that excluded Africans from entering skilled trades, forcing them to work for marginal wages on white farms and in white-owned mines and factories. The labor situation only worsened during World War II (1939–45), as white commercial interests convinced the Southern Rhodesian government to pass the Compulsory Labor Act, which legalized African forced labor.

LABOR UNIONS in Southern Rhodesia were strictly controlled and banned in many sectors of employment. As a result Africans faced many challenges in manifesting discontent on a national scale. Even so, the Rhodesian African National Congress (RANC), founded in the 1930s, succeeded in voicing the concerns of African regarding unfair labor practices.

After the World War II, a movement among white settlers began to take root calling for the federation of Southern Rhodesia with Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and NYASALAND (now MALAWI). Africans were against the idea, but had no political position to voice their concerns. In 1953 the three territories joined to form the CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (CAF).

With the founding of the CAF, political opposition by black Africans in Southern Rhodesia began to increase in size and intensity. Joshua NKOMO (1917–1999), a leader

within the Rhodesian African National Congress, was strongly opposed to the CAF. After the RANC was banned, Nkomo formed the National Democratic Party, which later was banned also. Along with Ndabaningi SIT-HOLE (1920–2000), Nkomo then formed the Zimbabwe African People's Union, though that, too, was banned, in 1962.

As a result of African pressure, the CAF disbanded, in 1963. Two years later the whites of Southern Rhodesia, led by Prime Minister Ian Smith (1919–   ), announced a Unilateral Declaration of Independence for Southern Rhodesia, now simply called Rhodesia. Britain refused to recognize the new nation, and international pressure was applied to the Smith government to make it allow greater black representation. Despite the general movement toward African independence that swept across the continent throughout the 1960s, Rhodesia remained a white-minority-ruled nation until 1980.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); MFE-CANE (Vol. III); MZILIKAZI (Vol. III); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); ZIMBABWE (Vols. I, II, III, V).

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al-Zubayr, Rahma Mansur (Pasha) (1830–1913)
Sudanese administrator in the Egyptian-controlled Sudan

Rahma Mansur al-Zubayr was born in the region north of KHARTOUM, the present-day capital of the Republic of the SUDAN. In 1856 he became one of a number of northern Sudanese traders who engaged in raiding and trading for ivory and captives in the Bahr-al-Ghazal region in the southern Sudan. These traders operated out of fortified posts known as ZARIBAS. To expand his own trading operations, al-Zubayr collaborated with the Baggara nomads of southern DARFUR to secure his trading route back north to Khartoum. He also began to establish political control over the region through military conquest.

As a consequence the Egyptian colonial government based in Khartoum designated him the governor over what became the Bahr-al-Ghazal Province. However, when he visited Egypt in 1875 the Egyptian ruler, Khedive IS-MAIL (1830–1895), refused to let al-Zubayr return to southern Sudan. Then, in the early 1880s, al-Zubayr was suspected of conspiring with the MAHDIYYA Islamic brotherhood and was subsequently exiled to the British fortress at Gibraltar, on the southern Mediterranean coast of Spain. In 1899, when the British reconquered Sudan, they set up the ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM to govern the country. With the region secure, they allowed al-Zubayr to return to northern Sudan, where he lived until his death.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. III).

Zulu
Bantu-speaking people of Nguni descent in southern Africa whose kingdom reached the apex of power in the early 19th century. After the assassination of the Zulu king Shaka (1787–1828), in 1828, his half-brother Dingane (1795–1840), who had orchestrated the murder, took the throne. In December 1838, Dingane was defeated by a Boer force out to avenge the killing of more than a hundred Boer settlers earlier in the year. After his defeat Dingane fled, but he was captured and killed by the BOERS, who were abetted by Dingane's half-brother, Mpande (1798–1872). The death of Dingane and the Boer alliance with Mpande splintered the Zulu and left Mpande with the task of reuniting his people.

In 1842 Mpande withdrew his allegiance from the Boers and signed a treaty with Britain, which recognized Mpande "King of the Zulu Nation." Similar to his predecessors, Mpande frequently purged the ranks of his rivals, forcing many Zulu men to leave Zululand to escape his wrath. The emigrants took large numbers of cattle with them, and Mpande began raiding the herds of neighboring lands. In 1852 this process culminated with the invasion of SWAZILAND.

As Mpande began to age, two of his sons contested the right to succession. A prolonged struggle called the "Battle of the Princes" ended with CETSHWAYO (c. 1826–1884) emerging victorious. Though the British initially supported Cetshwayo, his growing regional influence eventually caused them, in 1878, to give him an ultimatum: pay British taxes, return stolen cattle, and put and end to raids on British settler farms, or face an invasion. Cetshwayo refused the British demands and Britain invaded Zululand.

The Zulu offered staunch resistance to the British, handing them a staggering defeat at the Battle of ISANDL-WANA (1879). However, the Zulu could not maintain their advantage, and within six months they were completely defeated at the Battle of Ulundi. Cetshwayo was captured a month later and exiled to CAPE TOWN. In an effort to dilute the power of the Zulu and prevent the rise of another Zulu king, the British divided Zululand into 13 chiefdoms.

The chiefdoms quickly were at odds, and the territory moved toward civil war. Seeking to quell the re-

This Zulu dance provides an interesting moment for U.S. sailors on a visit near Durban, South Africa, in 1948. © *New York Times*

gional tensions and protect their interests in NATAL, the British returned Cetshwayo to Zululand and installed him as the nominal ruler, in 1883. The following year Cetshwayo died and his son, Dinizulu (1868–1913), was named his successor.

Dinizulu formed an alliance with the Boers, who promised to protect him from British incursion in return for territory in Zululand. Boers began moving into the territory, raising concerns among the British settlers of nearby Natal, who clamored for British intervention. In response, in 1887 Britain annexed all of Zululand and declared it a colony. Dinizulu resisted, which sparked a war with Britain. The Zulu leader was eventually arrested and sent to St. Helena Island, off the West African coast. In 1897 Dinizulu was invited back to Zululand, though only as a British-paid "traditional leader."

In 1906, the last uprising before the Zulu fully succumbed to British rule was led by Bambatha (1856–1906), chief of the Zondi Zulu. Known as BAMBATHA'S REBELLION, the uprising was brutally crushed by Britain, with more than 4,000 Zulu losing their lives. After the Bambatha uprising, Zulu leaders held the title of "paramount chief." Their power was nominal, however, as they were effectively salaried employees of the South African government.

For ordinary Zulu, the loss of much of their land and cattle meant that they had to enter the wage-LABOR force, taking jobs such as working the docks in the port of DURBAN or GOLD mining on the WITWATERSRAND. Some who had managed to receive an EDUCATION from MISSIONARIES were able to find employment as clerks or teachers. From the ranks of these Zulu emerged top members of political movements, including the educator John L. DUBE (1871–1946), who was the first president of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, as well as influential labor leaders, such as A. W. G. CHAMPION (1893–1975).

See also: BANTU LANGUAGES (Vol. I); NGONI (Vol. III); SHAKA (Vol. III); ZULU (Vols. III, V).

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GLOSSARY

agriculturalists Sociological term for "farmers."

agro-pastoralists People who practice both farming and animal husbandry.

alafin Yoruba word for "ruler" or "king."

Allah Arabic for "God" or "Supreme Being."

Americo-Liberian Liberians of African-American ancestry.

ancestor worship Misnomer for the traditional practice of honoring and recognizing the memory and spirits of deceased family members.

al-Andalus Arabic term for Muslim Spain.

animism Belief that inanimate objects have a soul or life force.

anglophone English speaking.

apartheid Afrikaans word that means "separateness"; a formal system and policy of racial segregation and political and economic discrimination against South Africa's nonwhite majority.

aphrodesiac Food or other agent thought to arouse or increase sexual desire.

askia Arabic word meaning "general" that was applied to the Songhai kings. Capitalized, the word refers to a dynasty of Songhai rulers.

assimilados Portuguese word for Africans who had assimilated into the colonial culture.

Australopithicus africanus Hominid species that branched off into *Homo habilis* and *A. robustus.*

Australopithicus anamensis Second-oldest species of the hominid *Australopithicus.*

Australopithicus ramadus Oldest of the apelike, hominid species of *Australopithicus.*

Australopithicus robustus A sturdy species of *Australopithicus* that came after *A. africanus* and appears to have been an evolutionary dead end. *Australopithecus robustus* roamed the Earth at the same time as *Homo habilis.*

balkanization The breaking apart of regions or units into smaller groups.

barter Trading system in which goods are exchanged for items of equal value.

bey Governor in the Ottoman Empire.

Bilad al-Sudan Arabic for "Land of the Blacks."

bride price The payment made by a groom and his family to compensate the bride's father for the loss of her services because of marriage.

British Commonwealth Organization of sovereign states that were former colonies under the British Empire.

caliph Title for Muslim rulers who claim to be the secular and religious successors of the Prophet Muhammad.

caliphate Muslim state ruled by a caliph.

caravel A small, maneuverable ship used by the Portuguese during the Age of Discovery.

caste A division of society based on wealth, privilege, rank, or occupation.

circumcision The cutting of the clitoris (also called clitorectomy or clitoridectomy) or the prepuce of the penis; a rite of passage in many African societies.

cire perdu French for "lost wax," a technique used to cast metals.

clan A group that traces its descent from a common ancestor.

conflict diamonds Gems that are sold or traded extra-legally in order to fund wars.

conquistadores Spanish for "conquerors"; term used to describe the Spanish leaders of the conquest of the Americas during the 1500s.

constitutional monarchy State with a constitution that is ruled by a king or queen.

customary law Established traditions, customs, or practices that govern daily life and interaction.

degredados Portuguese criminals who were sent to Africa by the Portuguese king to perform hazardous duties related to exploration and colonization.

dhow Arabic word for a wooden sailing vessel with a triangular sail that was commonly used to transport trade goods.

diaspora Word used to describe a large, readily distinguishable group of people settled far from their ancestral homelands.

divination The interpretation of supernatural signs, usually done by a medicine man or priest.

djembe African drum, often called "the healing drum" because of its use in healing ceremonies.

emir A Muslim ruler or commander.

emirate A state ruled by an emir.

endogamy Marriage within one's ethnic group, as required by custom or law.

enset Another name for the "false banana" plant common in Africa.

ethnic group Term used to signify people who share a common culture.

ethno-linguistic Word used to describe a group whose individuals share racial characteristics and a common language.

eunuch A man who has been castrated (had his testicles removed), generally so that he might be trusted to watch over a ruler's wife or wives.

francophone French speaking.

government transparency Feature of an open society in which the decisions and the policy-making process of leaders are open to public scrutiny.

griot Storyteller, common in West African cultures, who preserves and relates the oral history of his people, often with musical accompaniment.

gross domestic product (GDP) Total value of goods and services produced by a nation's economy, within that nation. GDP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

gross national product (GNP) Total value of goods and services produced by the residents of a nation, both within the nation as well as beyond its borders. Like GDP, GNP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

hajj In Islam, a pilgrimage to Mecca.

hajjiyy "Pilgrim" in Arabic.

hegira Arabic for "flight" or "exodus"; generally used to describe the move of the Muslim prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina.

hominid Biological term used to describe the various branches of the Hominidae, the family from which modern humans descend according to evolutionary theory.

ideology A coherent or systematic way of looking at human life and culture.

imam A spiritual and political leader of a Muslim state.

imamate The region or state ruled by an imam.

indigénat Separate legal code used by France in its judicial dealings with the indigenous African population of its colonies.

infidel Term used as an epithet to describe one who is unfaithful or an unbeliever with respect to a particular religion .

infrastructure Basic physical, economic, and social facilities and institutions of a community or country .

Janissary From the Turkish for "new soldier," a member of an elite Ottoman military corps.

jebel "Mountain" in Arabic.

kabaka The word for "king" in Babito and Buganda cultures.

kemet Egyptian for "black earth."

kora Small percussion instrument played by some griots.

kraal Enclosure for cattle or a group of houses surrounding such an enclosure.

lineage A group whose individuals trace their descent from a common ancestor; usually a subgroup of a larger clan.

lingua franca Common language used by speakers of different languages.

Luso-African Word that describes the combined Portuguese and African cultures, especially the offspring of Portuguese settlers and indigenous African women. (The Latin name for the area of the Iberian Peninsula occupied by modern Portugal was Lusitania.)

madrasa Theological school for the interpretation of Islamic law.

Mahdi Arabic word for "enlightened one," or "righteous leader"; specifically, the Muslim savior who, in Islamic belief, is to arrive shortly before the end of time.

mamluk Arabic for "one who is owned"; capitalized, it is a member of an elite military unit made up of captives enslaved and used by Islamic rulers to serve in Middle Eastern and North African armies.

mansa Mande term for "king" or "emperor."

marabout A mystical Muslim spiritual leader.

massif A mountainous geological feature.

mastaba Arabic for an inscribed stone tomb.

matrilineal Relating to descent on the maternal, or mother's, side.

medina Arabic word for the old section of a city.

megaliths Archaeological term meaning "large rocks"; used to describe stelae and such features as cairns and tumuli that mark important places or events for many ancient cultures.

mestizo Adjective meaning "of mixed blood."

mfecane Zulu word meaning "the crushing." When capitalized, the word refers to the nineteenth-century Zulu conquests that caused the mass migration of peoples in southern Africa.

microliths Archaeological term meaning "small rocks"; used to describe sharpened stone blade tools of Stone Age cultures.

Monophysite Related to the Christian tradition that holds that Jesus Christ had only one (divine) nature.

Moor An Arab or Berber conqueror of al-Andalus (Muslim Spain).

mulatto The offspring of a Negroid (black) person and a Caucasoid (white) person.

mwami Head of the Tutsi political structure, believed to be of divine lineage.

negusa negast "King of kings" in Ethiopic; traditional title given to the ruler of Ethiopia.

neocolonialism Political or economic policies by which former colonial powers maintain their control of former colonies.

Nilotic Relating to peoples of the Nile, or Nile River basin, used especially to describe the languages spoken by these peoples.

Nsibidi Secret script of the Ekoi people of Nigeria.

oba Yoruba king or chieftain.

pasha A high-ranking official in the Ottoman Empire.

pashalik Territory or province of the Ottoman Empire governed by a pasha.

pass book A feature of apartheid-era South Africa, pass books were identification documents that black Africans, but not whites, were required by law to carry at all times.

pastoralists People whose livelihood and society center on raising livestock.

patriarch Male head of a family, organization, or society.

patrilineal Relating to descent through the paternal, or father's, side.

poll tax A tax of a fixed amount per person levied on adults.

polygyny The practice of having more than one wife or female mate at one time.

prazeros Portuguese settlers in Africa who held prazos.

prazos Similar to feudal estates, parcels of land in Africa that were leased to Portuguese settlers by the Portuguese king.

primogeniture A hereditary system common in Africa by which the eldest child, or more commonly, the eldest son, receives all of a family's inheritance.

proverb A short popular expression or adage. Proverbs are tools for passing on traditional wisdom orally.

pygmy Greek for "fist," a unit of measurement; used to describe the short-statured Mbuti people.

qadi Arabic for "judge."

Quran (also spelled Koran) Arabic for "recitation," and the name of the book of Muslim sacred writings.

ras A title meaning "regional ruler" in Ethiopia.

rondavel Small, round homes common in southern Africa.

salaam Arabic for "peace."

sarki Hausa word for "king."

scarification Symbolic markings made by pricking, scraping, or cutting the skin.

secret society Formal organizations united by an oath of secrecy and constituted for political or religious purposes.

shantytowns A town or part of a town consisting mostly of crudely built dwellings.

sharia Muslim law, which governs the civil and religious behavior of believers.

sharif In Islamic culture, one of noble ancestry.

sheikh (shaykh, sheik) Arabic word for patrilineal clan leaders.

sirocco Name given to a certain type of strong wind in the Sahara Desert.

souk Arabic word for "market."

stelae Large stone objects, usually phallus-shaped, whose markings generally contain information important to those who produced them.

stratified Arranged into sharply defined classes.

stratigraphy The study of sequences of sediments, soils, and rocks; used by archaeologists to determine the approximate age of a region.

sultan The king or sovereign of a Muslim state.

sultanate The lands or territory ruled by a sultan.

syncretism The combining of religious beliefs to form a new religion.

taboo (adj.) forbidden by custom, usually because of the fear of retribution by supernatural forces; (n.) a prohibition based on morality or social custom.

tafsir Arabic for "interpretation," especially as regards the Quran.

taqwa In Islam, the internal ability to determine right from wrong.

taro Another name for the cocoyam, an edible tuber common throughout Africa.

tauf Puddled mud that, when dried, serves as the foundation for some homes in sub-Saharan Africa.

teff A grass native to Africa that can be threshed to produce flour.

theocracy Government of a state by officials who are thought to be guided by God.

ulamaa Islamic learned men, the inheritors of the tradition of the prophet Muhammad.

vizier A high-ranking official in a Muslim state, esp. within the Ottoman Empire.

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Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN HISTORY
AND CULTURE

VOLUME V

INDEPENDENT AFRICA

(1960 TO PRESENT)

R. Hunt Davis, Jr., Editor

A Learning Source Book

Encyclopedia of African History and Culture,

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*For my students who have gone on to teach
about the African past and present*

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African Independence

MOROCCO 1956

TUNIS 1956

Mediterranean Sea

ALGERIA 1962

LIBYA 1951

EGYPT 1922

WESTERN SAHARA* 1976

MAURITANIA 1960

Red Sea

MALI 1960

SENEGAL 1960

GAMBIA 1965

GUINEA BISSAU 1974

NIGER 1960

CHAD 1960

SUDAN 1956

ERITREA 1993

SOMALILAND REPUBLIC declared 1991

BURKINA FASO 1960

GUINEA 1958

SIERRA LEONE 1961

IVORY COAST 1960

NIGERIA 1960

BENIN 1960

DJIBOUTI 1977

ETHIOPIA

LIBERIA

GHANA 1957

TOGO 1960

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC 1960

SOMALI REPUBLIC 1960

CAMEROON 1960

SÃO TOMÉ & PRÍNCIPE 1975

EQUATORIAL GUINEA 1968

GABON 1960

CONGO 1960

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO 1960

UGANDA 1962

KENYA 1963

RWANDA 1962

BURUNDI 1962

CABINDA(Angola)

TANZANIA 1961

ATLANTIC OCEAN

COMOROS 1975

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SWAZILAND 1968

SOUTH AFRICA 1910

LESOTHO 1966

■	Countries that have retained their Independence
	Countries gaining independence by 1945
	Countries gaining independence 1945–54
	Countries gaining independence 1955–64
	Countries gaining independence since 1964
	Countries gaining independence from an African State

* Sovereignty is disputed as of 2004.

Political Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

MOROCCO

TUNISIA

Mediterranean Sea

Canary Is. (SPAIN)

ALGERIA

LIBYA

EGYPT

WESTERN
SAHARA

Red Sea

MAURITANIA

CAPE
VERDE

MALI

NIGER

CHAD

ERITREA

SENEGAL

THE GAMBIA

REPUBLIC OF
THE SUDAN

DJIBOUTI

GUINEA-
BISSAU

GUINEA

BURKINA
FASO

NIGERIA

ETHIOPIA

SIERRA
LEONE

IVORY
COAST

CENTRAL AFRICAN
REPUBLIC

GHANA

LIBERIA

TOGO

BENIN

SOMALIA

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

SÃO TOMÉ AND
PRÍNCIPE

UGANDA

RWANDA

KENYA

GABON

REPUBLIC OF
THE CONGO

DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF
THE CONGO

BURUNDI

SEYCHELLES

Cabinda
(ANGOLA)

TANZANIA

Indian Ocean

COMOROS

Atlantic Ocean

ANGOLA

MALAWI

MADAGASCAR

MAURITIUS

ZAMBIA

MOZAMBIQUE

Réunion
(FRANCE)

NAMIBIA

ZIMBABWE

BOTSWANA

SWAZILAND

N

SOUTH
AFRICA

LESOTHO

1 North Africa
2 East Africa
3 West Africa
4 Central Africa
5 Southern Africa

1
3
2
4
5

0		800 Miles
0		800 Kms

Physical Map of Africa in 2005 CE

Atlantic Ocean

Mediterranean Sea

ATLAS MTS.

AHAGGAR
MTS.

S A H A R A   D E S E R T

*LIBYAN
DESERT*

Nile R.

ARABIAN DESERT

Red Sea

TIBESTI
MTS.

*Cape
Verde Is.*

S A H E L

CHAD
BASIN

NIGER BASIN

Niger R.

SUDAN
BASIN

Gulf of Aden

*Lake
Tana*

Blue Nile

White Nile

ETHIOPIAN
HIGHLANDS

*Horn of
Africa*

FOUTA DJALLON
HIGHLANDS

*Lake
Volta*

Benue R.

*Lake
Chad*

OGADEN
DESERT

Niger R.

*Bight of
Benin*

*Bight of
Bonny*

Congo R.

*Lake
Albert*

*Lake
Turkana*

▲ Mt. Kenya

equator

CONGO
BASIN

*Lake
Victoria*

▲ Mt. Kilimanjaro

Atlantic Ocean

*Lake
Tanganyika*

Pemba I.

Zanzibar

Indian Ocean

BIHE
PLATEAU

*Lake
Nyasa*

Zambezi R.

Mozambique Channel

NAMIB DESERT

KALAHARI
DESERT

Orange R.

GREAT
KAROO

DRAKENSBURG MTS.

Cape of Good Hope

N

■	Alpine and montane
▦	Tropical forest
▨	Savanna and steppe
▫	Desert
▥	Temperate grassland
▤	Mediterranean vegetation

0		800 Miles
0		800 Kms

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HOW TO USE THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA

This encyclopedia is organized chronologically, dividing the African past into five major eras. This division serves to make it easier to study the vastness and complexity of African history and culture. It also allows students and general readers to go directly to the volume or volumes they wish to consult.

Volume I, *Ancient Africa,* deals with Africa up to approximately 500 CE (roughly, in terms of classical European history, to the Fall of the Roman Empire and the dissolution of the Ancient World on the eve of the emergence of Islam). The volume also includes articles on the continent's key geographical features and major language families. In addition you will find articles that deal with certain basic aspects of African life that, in essential ways, remain relatively constant throughout time. For example, rites of passage, funeral customs, the payment of bride-wealth, and rituals related to spirit possession are features common to many African societies. Although these features can evolve in different cultures in radically different ways, their basic purpose remains constant. Accordingly, rather than try to cover the evolution of these cultural features in each volume, we offer a more general explanation in Volume I, with the understanding that the details of these cultural touchstones can vary widely from people to people and change over time.

On the other hand there are entries related to key cultural and social dimensions whose changes are easier to observe over time. Such entries appear in each of the volumes and include architecture, art, clothing and dress, economics, family, music, religion, warfare, and the role of women.

Volume II, *African Kingdoms,* focuses on what may be loosely termed "medieval Africa," from the sixth century to the beginning of the 16th century. This is the period that witnessed the rise and spread of Islam and, to a lesser degree, Arab expansion throughout much of the northern and eastern regions of the continent. It also saw the flowering of some of Africa's greatest indigenous kingdoms and empires. Other Africans, such as the Maasai and Kikuyu living in and around present-day Kenya, did not live in powerful states during this time yet developed their own dynamic cultures.

Volume III, *From Conquest to Colonization,* continues Africa's story from roughly 1500 to 1850. During this era Africa became increasingly involved with the Atlantic world due to European maritime exploration and subsequent interaction through trade and cultural exchanges. This period also included the rise of the transatlantic slave trade, which in turn created the African Diaspora, and the beginnings of European colonization. As a result, it marks a period when the dynamics shaping African culture and society began to shift.

Volume IV, *The Colonial Era,* covers Africa during the years 1850–1960. This historical period begins with Europe's conquest of the continent, leading to the era of colonial rule. Political control enabled Europe to extend its economic control as well, turning Africa into a vast supply depot of raw materials. Volume IV also covers the rise of nationalist movements and the great struggle Africans undertook to regain their independence.

Volume V, *Independent Africa,* deals with the continent since 1960, when Africans began regaining their independence and started to once again live in sovereign states. (This process, of course, took longer in the southern portion of the continent than in other parts.) In common with the rest of the world's people, however, Africans have faced a host of new and challenging problems, some of which are specific to Africa, while others are of a more global nature.

In addition to the aforementioned cultural entries that appear in all five volumes, there are entries for each of the present-day countries of the continent as identified on the Political Map found at the front of each volume. Readers can thus learn about the key developments in a given country within a given time period or across the entire span of African history. There are also articles on individual ethnic groups of Africa in each of the volumes. Since there are more than a thousand identifiable groups, it has been necessary to limit coverage to the major or key groups within a given period. Thus, a group that might be historically important in one period may not be

sufficiently important, or may not even have existed, in a period covered by one or more other volumes. Likewise, there are entries on the major cities of the continent for given time periods, including, in Volume V, all the present national capitals. Another key set of entries common to all volumes concerns historically important persons. In general, historians are more readily able to identify these individuals for recent periods than for earlier times. As a result the latter volumes contain more individual biographical entries. An exception here is the case of Ancient Egypt, where historical records have enabled us to learn about the roles of prominent individuals.

In preparing these volumes, every attempt has been made to make this encyclopedia as accessible and easy to use as possible. At the front of each volume, readers will find an introduction and a timeline specific to the historical era covered in the volume. There are also three full-page maps, two of which appear in all five volumes (the current political map and a physical map), and one that is specific to the volume's time period. In addition the front of each volume contains a volume-specific list of the photographs, illustrations, and maps found therein. The List of Entries at the front of each volume is the same in all volumes and enables the reader to quickly get an overview of the entries within the individual volumes, as well as for the five-volume set. Entries are arranged alphabetically, letter-by-letter within each volume.

Entry headwords use the most commonly found spelling or representation of that spelling, with other frequently used spellings in parentheses. The question of spelling, of course, is always a major issue when dealing with languages utilizing an alphabet or a script different than that used for English. Changes in orthography and the challenges of transliteration can produce several variants of a word. Where there are important variants in spelling, this encyclopedia presents as many as possible, but only within the entries themselves. For easy access to variant and alternate spelling, readers should consult the index at the end of each volume, which lists and cross-references the alternate spellings that appear in the text.

Each volume contains an index that has references to subjects in the specific volume, and the cumulative index at the end of Volume V provides easy access across the volumes. A cumulative glossary appears in each volume and provides additional assistance.

The entries serve to provide the reader with basic rather than exhaustive information regarding the subject at hand. To help those who wish to read further, each entry is linked with other entries in that volume via cross-references indicated by SMALL CAPITALS. In addition the majority of entries are followed by a **See also** section, which provides cross-references to relevant entries in the other four volumes. The reader may find it useful to begin with one of the general articles—such as the ones dealing with archaeology, dance, oral traditions, or women—or to start with an entry on a specific country or an historically important state and follow the cross-references to discover more detailed information. Readers should be aware that cross-references, both those embedded in the text and those in the **See also** section, use only entry headword spellings and not variant spellings. For those readers who wish to research a topic beyond the material provided in individual and cross-referenced entries, there is also a **Further reading** section at the end of many entries. Bibliographical references listed here guide readers to more in-depth resources in a particular area.

Finally, readers can consult the **Suggested Readings** in the back of each volume. These volume-specific bibliographies contain general studies—such as atlases, histories of the continent, and broad works on culture, society, and people—as well as specialized studies that typically cover specific topics or regions. For the most part, these two bibliographic aids contain those recently published works that are most likely to be available in libraries, especially well-stocked city and college libraries. Readers should also be aware that a growing number of sources are available online in the form of e-books and other formats. The World Wide Web is also a good place to look for current events and developments that have occurred since the publication of this encyclopedia.

LIST OF IMAGES AND MAPS IN THIS VOLUME

Photographs and Illustrations

<u>Maps</u>

INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

This volume covers the independence and postcolonial era in Africa. The year 1960 was called "the year of Africa" because of the wave of independence that swept over the continent. It would take more than three decades, however, for the entire continent to achieve independence. The process included several lengthy wars of liberation, especially against Portuguese colonial rule and the white minority government of Rhodesia. The last step did not come until 1994, when South Africa's first democratic elections ended the long era of apartheid and led Nelson Mandela to the presidency.

The political history of the independent African states has in many instances been a turbulent one. A series of both human-made and natural disasters have plagued the continent over the past four decades. These include abusive and oppressive dictatorships and the Sahelian drought of the 1970s. Yet it would be as erroneous to place too much emphasis on the negative as it would be to ignore it altogether. The continent contains dynamic societies, innovative peoples, and vibrant cultures. Increasingly Africans have become part of a more global society, contributing significantly to it and in turn being significantly affected by it in all spheres of life.

The entries in this volume seek to capture the broad range of developments that have occurred in Africa since 1960 and the key individuals who were at the heart of these developments. Extensive scholarly research on this period provides the information contained in these entries. Hence, there are entries on African studies, anthropology and Africa, archaeology, and historical scholarship on Africa. There are also articles on some of the key scholars, such as Kenneth O. Dike, Cheikh Anta Diop, Mary and Richard Leakey, and Walter Rodney. The "Further reading" sections of individual articles and the "Selected Readings" at the end of the volume provide a guide to many of the key publications resulting from this recent scholarship.

Particularly important are those entries that cover the main threads of developments within what are now the national boundaries of the present-day states of Africa. Readers of this volume can thus continue to pursue the history and culture of contemporary African nations, following up on related entries in the earlier volumes of the *Encyclopedia*. The length of the entries is determined by the size and relative importance of the individual countries. In a few cases, such as Nigeria and South Africa, the developments are so extensive and complex, and the countries so important for the continent as a whole, that they receive extended treatment. Not all of the states were in existence as of 1960, and in some cases, such as Eritrea and Western Sahara, the process of the emergence of states continued deep into the period covered by this volume. There are also entries on the capital cities for each country as well as other major contemporary African cities. Entries also exist for the heads of state at the time this encyclopedia was published. Many of the ruling political parties—and in some instances the major opposition parties—are also the subjects of entries.

As sovereign nations, the countries of Africa still maintain relationships with former colonial rulers—England, France, Portugal, Italy, and Spain. There are international relations, too, with the United States and countries throughout North and South America, the Middle East, and Asia. International organizations, both global and intra-African entities, play important roles. Africa's involvement in the global arena also means that significant global issues impinge on the continent.

Political developments, and hence political leaders, play a prominent role in this volume. Some entries are for individuals, such as Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, who were important in developing the nationalist movements that led to independence and are covered in Volume IV as well. Other leaders, such as Abdou Diouf of Senegal, emerged to prominence after 1960. Some figures, such as Nigeria's Sani Abacha and Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, are less-than-admirable individuals, and they often came to power through coups d'état, but they play significant roles that warrant entries.

A particularly important political development was the continuation of liberation struggles, especially in southern Africa. In South Africa there was the protracted

effort to rid the country of apartheid, while more than a decade of fighting was needed to remake Rhodesia into the country of Zimbabwe. A common goal of ending white rule did not necessarily mean a united nationalist movement, as the competing nationalist movements in Angola demonstrated. Indeed, these divisions undermined the liberation struggle against Portugal and led to a protracted post-independence civil war. Cuba was to become deeply engaged in Angola, as was the United States, though more covertly. Such national struggles were not confined to efforts against European or European-settler governments, however, as demonstrated by the efforts of Polisario to create a state independent of Morocco and the revolt and war against Ethiopia that led to an independent Eritrea in 1991.

Many independent African countries witnessed military takeovers of civilian governments, sometimes resulting in civil war. A particularly fierce and seemingly unending civil war has pitted the non-Arab, non-Muslim south against the Arabic-speaking Islamic north in the Republic of the Sudan. The entire Horn of Africa has been the scene of destructive warfare and unstable governments. Some civil wars result, in part at least, from ethnic conflict. Entries on many of the continent's major ethnic groups illuminate issues of ethnicity and identity that continue to shape how many of the continent's people view both themselves and those of different backgrounds. Political developments in certain countries receive extended attention, within the country entries and with separate entries.

The creative arts have flourished in Africa since independence. The importance of the African authors profiled here extends far beyond literary circles, since so much of their writing deals with everyday conditions that people face. Music also reveals much about modern African life, for songs often directly address common problems while the instrumental music catches the pulse and diversity of life on the continent. Entries on groups and individual musicians such as Salif Keita and Miriam Makeba enable the reader to go into greater depth on this critical and very prominent dimension of African culture. Much of this musical efflorescence has taken place in the context of urban life and culture. Radio and television, theater, and the cinema have interacted with literature and music. For example, the Senegalese writer Ousmane Sembène has moved into cinema, and South Africa's Abdullah Ibrahim has written musical scores for films. Another cultural dimension that has continued to grow in importance is sports, both professional and amateur. Sports has become linked with politics, and team success in international venues, such as the Olympics, and intra-African competition, such as the All-Africa Games, has served to enhance national pride. Individual African athletes, too, have become increasingly prominent internationally.

Religion is also significant to African culture, with the two so-called universal religions of Christianity and Islam gaining more and more converts, generally at the expense of those adhering to traditional religions. Religion needs to be examined in terms of belief and spirituality, but it can also play an important political role. Church leaders such as Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak were in the forefront of the anti-apartheid movement, while Omar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir heads a fundamentalist Islamic government in the Sudan. Northern Nigerian provinces that have adopted Islamic law, or *sharia*, into their legal systems on religious grounds have caused further strife between Christians and Muslims.

Education witnessed a great expansion at the elementary, secondary, and tertiary levels in the early independence eras. Large universities such as Makerere, in Uganda, gained international reputations.

A wide variety of reasons, including some of the political ones noted above and others such as government and business corruption, help account for the growing inability of many African states to meet the needs of their citizens. But there are also important economic reasons. Africa has to a large extent not witnessed significant development since independence and has remained in a situation of dependency. Neocolonialism has certainly contributed to economic failure. Agriculture has been unable to keep pace with population growth, in part because of environmental issues and problems, but also due to a general lack of economic resources across the continent. African cash crops often face increasing competition on the world market, thus dimishing the income derived from exports.

Mining has also seen a contraction, often due to decline in world demand for many of Africa's minerals and metals. Oil is one resource for which demand has continued to grow, but oil prices fluctuate widely, thereby destabilizing the African national economies that rely on petroleum exports. Industrialization has continued to lag, and infrastructure such as transportation and telecommunications is often lacking. Labor in Africa is often uncertain in terms of the returns that can be expected, whether in the informal or the formal sectors. Africans are increasingly working in the global economy, in trade and commerce, and as migrant workers. Tourism creates jobs for many Africans, but it too has boom-and-bust dimensions, though Africa's national parks and wildlife remain great tourist attractions. This in turn has helped promote conservation in Africa, as there are clear economic benefits.

At the beginning of the new century, the political map of Africa remains largely what it was in 1960. However, the dramatic cultural, social, and economic changes taking place mean that today's Africans lead lives that have changed significantly from those of the independence generation.

TIME LINE (1956–2004)

1956	Morocco, Tunisia, and Sudan achieve independence
1957	Ghana achieves independence
1958	Guinea declares independence
1959	Led by Robert Sobukwe, the Pan-Africanist Congress splits from the African National Congress in South Africa
1960	On March 21, 69 Africans are shot dead by South African police at a protest in Sharpeville
	South African ANC President Albert Lutuli becomes first person from outside Europe and North America to win the Nobel Peace Prize
	Benin, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of Congo,Dahomey, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, and Upper Volta all achieve independence
	Running the entire course barefoot, Ethiopian Abebe Bikila wins the Olympic marathon in Rome, Italy
1960–1965	Congo crisis and civil war; Joseph Mobutu assumes control following a coup

1961	Tanganyika, Sierra Leone achieve independence
	Umkhonto we Sizwe, the guerilla wing of the African National Congress, begins its armed insurgency against the South African government
	War of liberation against Portuguese rule begins in Angola
1962	Algeria, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda achieve independence
	Ethiopia claims Eritrea as a province, setting off prolonged war of liberation
1963	Kenya achieves independence
	Founding of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
	War of liberation against Portuguese rule begins in Guinea-Bissau
1964	Malawi and Zambia achieve independence
	Zanzibar joins with mainland Tanganyika to create the United Republic of Tanzania
	FRELIMO launches war of liberation in Mozambique

1965	In Southern Rhodesia, Ian Smith issues a unilateral declaration of independence from the British Commonwealth
1966	Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Ahmadu Bello assassinated in Nigeria
	Military coup overthrows Ghana's founding president, Kwame Nkrumah
	Former Basutoland gains independence as Lesotho, and Bechuanaland becomes independent as Botswana
	Flora Nwapa's *Efuru* becomes the first novel published by a Nigerian woman
1966–1979	Zimbabwean guerillas wage liberation war known as Chimurenga
1967	Omar Bongo becomes president of Gabon following the death of Leon Mba, thus initiating the continent's longest presidency
	Egyptian Air Force destroyed by Israel during the Arab-Israeli "Six-Day War"
	South African surgeon Christiaan Barnard performs first successful heart transplant surgery in Cape Town
1967–1970	Nigerian civil war rages with eastern region of Biafra attempting, unsuccessfully, to secede from the Nigerian federation
1968	Equatorial Guinea achieves independence from Spanish colonial rule
	Kingdom of Swaziland achieves full independence

1969	1969 Pope Paul VI visits Uganda, venerating the young late-nineteenth-century Buganda martyrs and consecrating 12 African bishops
	FRELIMO President Eduardo Mondlane assassinated
	Kenyan leader Tom Mboya assassinated
	Muammar Qaddafi takes power in Egypt after overthrowing King Idris
1970	1970 Homelands Citizenship Act passed by white-minority government in South Africa, creating ethnically divided Bantustans, or "tribal homelands," for the county's black African population
	Aswan High Dam is operational
	President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt dies
1971	Mobutu Sese Seko—formerly General Joseph Mobutu—changes name of the Republic of the Congo to Zaïre
	Idi Amin takes power in Uganda following a military coup d'état
	1971 Walter Rodney publishes influential book, *How the West Underdeveloped Africa*
1972–1974	Severe drought devastates Sahel from Senegal to the Horn of Africa
1973	Guinea-Bissau declares independence
	Polisario founded in Western Sahara to secure independence of the indigenous Saharawi people from Spanish colonialism

1974	Portugal's pro-colonial government overthrown in revolution
	Coup led by Mengistu Haile Mariam overthrows long-serving Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia
1975	Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe achieve independence from Portuguese colonial rule
	Comoros declares independence from France
	Following Marxist coup led by Mathieu Kérékou, the former Dahomey becomes the People's Republic of Benin
1976	Spain officially ends colonial occupation in Western Sahara
	Senegalese intellectual Cheikh Anta Diop publishes influential treatise, *The African Origin of Civilization*
	Police repression in Soweto, South Africa, sparks violent reprisals from Africans in the Johannesburg area
1977	Popular South African activist Steve Biko murdered while in police custody
	French Territory of Afars and Issas becomes independent Djibouti
1977–1978	War breaks out between Somalia and Ethiopia in disputed Ogaden territory
Late 1970s	Beginning of AIDS epidemic that kills more than 17 million Africans by the end of the century
1978	Daniel arap Moi begins his 24-year tenure as president of Kenya

1979	Junior military officer Jerry Rawlings seizes power in Ghana
	Egypt signs Camp David peace agreement with Israel
1980	Kenya becomes the first of 29 African countries to adopt World Bank structural adjustment policies in order to secure international loans
	African heads of state adopt the Lagos Plan of Action for economic development
	African majority in Rhodesia declares independence, renaming the country Zimbabwe
1981	Islamic extremists assassinate Egypt's Anwar as-Sadat for making peace with Israel; Hosni Mubarak assumes the presidency
	Libya invades and occupies mineral-rich region of northern Chad
	Jerry Rawlings stages second coup and begins his 20-year rule of Ghana
1982	The World Bank publishes its influential "Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa" (the "Berg Report")
1982–1989	Senegal and The Gambia form the short-lived Senegambia Confederation
1983	Civil war re-erupts in the Republic of the Sudan
1984	Upper Volta renamed Burkina Faso
	Archbishop Desmond Tutu awarded Nobel Peace Prize for efforts to end the racist apartheid policies in South Africa

1984	Severe famine begins in the Horn of Africa
	In Kenya, Richard Leakey's archaeological team discovers "Turkana Boy," a nearly complete fossilized *Homo habilis* skeleton
	Long-time Guinean president Ahmed Sekou Touré dies
1985	Julius K. Nyerere voluntarily steps down from the presidency in Tanzania, a position he held since Tanzanian independence in 1962
1986	United States bombs military installations in Libya
	Nigerian Wole Soyinka becomes first African to win the Nobel Prize in Literature
1987	Habib Bourguiba, Tunisia's president since independence, is deposed because of failing mental health
1988	Egyptian author Naguib Mahfouz wins the Nobel Prize for Literature
1989	Muammar Qaddafi of Libya organizes Maghrib Arab Union of Libya, Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia
1990	South West Africa wins its independence from South Africa, becoming Namibia
	South African ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, released after 26 years in prison
1990–1995	Tuareg people rebel against the government in northern Niger
1991	Soviet Union collapses, easing Cold War tensions throughout Africa and the world

1991	Nadine Gordimer of South Africa wins Nobel Prize in Literature
1992	Election results in Algeria are voided; civil war ensues
	United Nations brokers cease-fire in Mozambique, ending long civil war
1992–1993	United Nations imposes sanctions on Libya for that country's role in the bombing of a Pan-Am Airlines plane over Lockerbie, Scotland
1993	Eritrea wins independence from Ethiopia after long war of independence
	Felix Houphouët-Boigny, president of Ivory Coast since independence, dies
	South Africans Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk share Nobel Peace Prize
	Loss of helicopters and soldiers in Mogadishu street battle leads United States to withdraw forces from peace-keeping operation in Somalia
1993–2002	Jonas Savimbi heads UNITA rebels in Angolan civil war
1994	National elections in South Africa bring Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress to power
	As many as 1 million are killed in Hutu-led genocide in Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaïre (present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo)
1994–1995	Nigerian-born basketball star Hakeem Olajuwon leads the Houston Rockets to back-to-back national championships in the United States

1995	Outbreak of Ebola virus kills up to 250 people in Kikwit, Zaïre (present-day Democratic Republic of Congo)	**2000**	Mugabe government supports occupation of white farms, leading to an ongoing political crisis in Zimbabwe
	Ogoni activist Ken Saro-Wiwa executed by the Nigerian government	**2001**	Presidential elections in Zambia end 10-year presidency of Frederick Chiluba
	Truth and Reconciliation Commission established in South Africa		Rebel forces in Sierra Leone disarm as British and UN troops restore civil order
1996	Huge oil reserves found off coast of Equatorial Guinea	**2002**	Overloaded ferry capsizes in Senegal; 1,000 passengers die
1997	Laurent Kabila assumes power in Zaïre, country is renamed the Democratic Republic of the Congo		Hostilities end in Angola following the death of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi
	Kofi Annan, from Ghana, elected the United Nations Secretary General		Severe drought hits Malawi; thousands perish
	Full-scale civil war breaks out in Republic of Congo		United States and France recognize Marc Ravalomanana as legitimate leader of Madagascar after disputed 2001 election
1998	Despite provisions of the Houston Accord, elections in Western Sahara are postponed		Mwai Kibaki's election ends Daniel arap Moi's 24-year rule over Kenya
	U.S. embassies bombed in Kenya and Tanzania	**2002**	Ivory Coast engulfed in civil war
1999	Former military leader Olusegun Obasanjo elected as a civilian to lead Nigeria	**2003**	J. M. Coetzee of South Africa wins Nobel Prize in Literature
	Morocco's King Hassan II dies after 38-year reign; successor is Mohammad VI		United States assists with forcing Liberia's Charles Taylor into exile to end country's civil war
1999	African heads of state form the African Union to replace the Organization of African Unity	**2004**	Ongoing civil war in the Darfur region of the Republic of the Sudan; hundreds of thousands of African villagers flee to refugee centers in Chad
2000	Cameroon wins Olympic gold medal in soccer in Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.		President Qaddafi of Libya accepts responsibility for 1988 bombing of Pan-Am flight; economic sanctions against Libya end
	Election of John Kufuor as president marks Ghana's ongoing transition to democracy		

A

Abacha, Sani (1943–1998) *Nigerian army officer who came to power in 1993*

A career military officer, Sani Abacha was born in KANO, in the HAUSA-dominated, predominantly Muslim Northern Region of NIGERIA. Educated in Kano, Abacha entered the military at the age of 18, rising steadily in rank during the 1970s and 1980s. He first came to prominence in 1983, when he announced on Nigerian radio a COUP D'ÉTAT that toppled Nigeria's Second Republic. Abacha continued to gain political influence during the 1980s, maintaining a steady level of power through several successive military governments.

Throughout this period, however, he was outspoken in his opposition to the army's continued political role in Nigeria, advocating, in public at least, a rapid return to civilian government. Abacha apparently reversed his views on civilian rule and surprised many people when he supported the voiding of the 1993 elections by military strongman Ibrahim BABANGIDA (1941–). However, Abacha was instrumental in convincing Babangida to leave office later that year and turn power over to the quasi-civilian government of Ernest Shonekan (1936–).

Abacha was serving as minister of defense in Shonekan's government when he initiated another coup in November 1993. Under Abacha's rule Nigeria continued to struggle under the pressure of economic, political, and ethnic crises. Confronting economic woes ranging from rampant inflation to chronic fuel shortages to CORRUPTION, he seemed unable to improve conditions in Nigeria. Nor was Abacha able to do anything to alleviate Nigeria's ethnic hostilities.

Although he consistently asserted that he was determined to move Nigeria toward civilian rule, Abacha took only token steps in that direction, maintaining an iron-fisted authority over the country. Never hesitating to use whatever means he had in order to silence criticism or opposition, he even had the distinguished, Nobel Prize-winning author Wole SOYINKA (1934–) charged with treason.

In the early years of his regime, Abacha faced acute criticism from the OGONI activist, playwright Ken SARO-WIWA (1941–1995). Saro-Wiwa ultimately was arrested on charges of treason, and, despite an international outcry, was executed in 1994 along with eight other Ogoni activists.

Abacha's sudden death in 1998 was greeted in many parts of Nigeria—particularly in the YORUBA-dominated southwest and the IGBO-dominated east—with jubilation and renewed calls for a civilian government. However, his immediate successor, Maj. Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar (1943–), was another northerner and long-time member of Nigeria's military establishment.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Abdikassim Salad Hassan (1941–) *President of Somalia*

Abdikassim Salad Hassan was born to the Hawiye clan in the Galgaduud region of SOMALIA in 1941. He studied in EGYPT and later in the Soviet Union, obtaining

a master's degree from Moscow State University in 1965. He returned home to work for the ministry of agriculture, where his meteoric rise in politics began. Instrumental in transforming local agricultural methods, he went on to hold a series of other ministerial posts in the government of Mohammed Siad BARRE (c. 1919–1996), who ruled Somalia from 1969 until his fall from power in 1991. In 1989 Abdikassim became Barre's deputy prime minister and interior minister. As a government official, Abdikassim played a fundamental role in building Somalia's ties to the United States.

The disorder and chaos following Barre's ouster led to UN forces entering Somalia in 1992. Abdikassim was a prominent member of a peace committee of Somali elders. He criticized both the militancy of faction leader General Mohamed F. AIDEED (1934–1996) and the use of force by the United Nations to impose order. Abdikassim later served as a mediator between Aideed and the UN special envoy to Somalia in a failed attempt to resolve the conflict between the warring factions.

In the mid-1990s Abdikassim became a leading voice for national reconciliation and a united Somalia, opposing the secession of the northern Somali states of Somaliland and Puntland. In August 2000 Somalia's moderate leaders met in Arta, DJIBOUTI, to negotiate a cease-fire and lay the foundation for a new Somali central government. Abdikassim vocally rallied popular support for what was to be the first such government since Barre was deposed in 1991. Later that month Somalia's transitional National Assembly elected Abdikassim president of Somalia. In the years that followed, he continued to fight for a united Somalia, garnering support from the United States and staving off threats from Somali warlords.

See also: SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Abdullahi Yussuf Ahmed (unknown–   ) *Somali political leader*

Abdullahi Yussuf Ahmed was cofounder of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), which helped to oust the repressive regime of President Mohammed Siad BARRE (1910–1995) from power in SOMALIA in 1991. A former commander in chief of the army, Barre had been dictator of Somalia for more than 20 years. He came to power in 1969 in a military coup that overthrew the democratically elected government of President Abdi Rashid Ali Shermarke (r. 1967–1969).

Abdullahi Yussuf Ahmed was a minor leader in the Mejertein clan and a colonel in the military. Growing discontent with Barre's authoritarian regime led Abdullahi and other dissident Somalis to establish a number of opposition movements. Because unauthorized political activity was illegal, these movements generally operated from outside the country. Yussuf Ahmed helped to form the Somali Salvation Front, headquartered in ETHIOPIA, which attempted to overthrow President Barre by force in 1978. After the coup failed, Colonel Abdullahi helped form the Somalia Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), which claimed to command a guerilla force numbering in the thousands. Politically adept, Abdullahi forged bonds at home and abroad, notably with the leader of LIBYA, Muammar QADDAFI (1942–   ). Both Libya and Ethiopia supplied the SSDF with arms.

After a bloody rebellion that began in 1988, Siad Barre fell from power in 1991. At the time, Abdullahi was imprisoned in the Somali city of MOGADISHU. After his release, he led an independence movement in the northeastern region of Somalia called Puntland, staving off challenges in 1994 from competing SSDF leaders.

In June 1998 Abdullahi proclaimed himself president of Puntland, but his government was not formally recognized by the international community, which was determined to see a united Somalia. After a brief period of calm, he faced opposition from a faction led by JAMA ALI JAMA. Jama ultimately unseated Abdullahi shortly after he was sworn in for a second term in 2001. In May 2002, however, Abdullahi returned to power.

Abidjan Former capital city of IVORY COAST. By 1960, when Ivory Coast became independent, its coastal capital city of Abidjan was already well established. It boasted new port facilities, served as the hub of the national road system and the terminus of the Abidjan-Niger Railway, and was a leading communications center. Over the next two decades, the city's population underwent explosive growth, increasing from 180,000 at independence to more than 1.4 million in 1980. By century's end it exceeded 2.8 million people. While many of the newcomers came from within the Ivory Coast, nearly 40 percent came from elsewhere in West Africa.

Several factors account for the dramatic increase in Abidjan's population. As a commercial center, the city provides regional import-export businesses with access to port facilities for ocean-going vessels and a rail system into the interior. As an industrial center, Abidjan is a manufacturing center for electronics, textiles, metal products, and clothing. As the financial center of French-speaking West Africa, Abidjan has continued to support a large number of French expatriates (approximately 20,000), who work as civil servants or as managers in private enterprise. The significant French presence has given the city a French flavor, which in turn has been a factor in the growing importance of TOURISM to the city's economy.

Abidjan is also a center of EDUCATION and the arts. In addition to the national university (founded in 1958), the city also features a national library and institutes for agricultural and scientific research. Abidjan is home to a mu-

seum of traditional Ivory Coast ART. The city's largest traditional market is in the neighborhood called Teichville.

In 1983 YAMOUSSOUKRO, the home city of long-time President Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993), became the new administrative capital of the Ivory Coast. Abidjan, however, remained the capital in all but name, retaining most government offices and foreign embassies. The French also maintain a marine infantry brigade at Abidjan. The presence of these troops enabled the French to intervene militarily during the civil disturbances of 2002–03 and attempt to mediate between the rebel and government forces.

See also: ABIDJAN (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. V); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V).

Abiola, Mashood (1937–1998) *Nigerian opposition leader*

Mashood Abiola was born to a poor family in Abeokuta, southwestern NIGERIA. That he belonged to the YORUBA ethnic group, came from the south, and followed Islam was critical to the formation of his identity, his success, and, ultimately, his death. An exceptional student, Abiola attended Baptist Boys School in his hometown and earned a scholarship to the University of Glasgow, Scotland. Upon his return to Africa, he took a post as chief accountant of Pfizer Nigeria, a part of the multinational pharmaceutical conglomerate. Abiola went on to work for International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) Nigeria, becoming chairman of the branch in 1969.

Mashood Abiola became one of Nigeria's wealthiest businessmen during the country's OIL boom in the 1970s. His diversified holdings came to include Concord Airlines and Concord Press, a chain of newspapers admired in business circles for their sophistication. He also founded Africa Ocean Lines, Abiola Bookshop, and Abiola Farms.

Abiola's connections in the business sector allowed him to forge formidable political alliances, and, beginning in 1979, he enjoyed success as a popular political figure. In 1993 Nigeria's self-proclaimed president and military leader, General Ibrahim BABANGIDA (1941–), called for general elections, and Abiola became the presidential candidate of the center-left Social Democratic Party. Judging by Abiola's popularity, it appeared that he would triumph over his main opponent, Bashir Tofa (1947–). Before a winner was officially announced, however, Babangida annulled the results. While his reasoning was

unclear, many speculate that Babangida, a Nigerian from the HAUSA territory in the north, feared the rule of Abiola, who was a Yoruba from southern Nigeria. Abiola vocally asserted that the election was stolen from him and proclaimed himself the rightful president of Nigeria. His persistent questioning of the results eventually led to his imprisonment in 1994.

About the same time, Babangida was deposed by General Sani ABACHA (1943–1998). Despite internal dissension and international condemnation, Abacha chose to let Abiola languish in prison. During Abiola's incarceration, his senior wife Kudirat (1951–1996) tirelessly lobbied for her husband's release. In 1996, in the city of LAGOS, she was killed when unknown gunmen opened fire on her as she sat in her car.

After Abacha's death in 1998, his close colleague, Maj. Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar (1943–), assumed the presidency and continued to keep Abiola in prison. In July of that year, an American delegation visited Abiola in prison and pressed Abubakar for his release. Abiola died during the visit. Although Abiola's supporters believed that he was poisoned, the official cause of death according to the state autopsy report was a heart attack.

Abuja Capital city and federal capital territory of NIGERIA, centrally located in the Chukuku Hills. Abuja became Nigeria's first planned city and capital in December 1991. Planning began in 1976, after it was decided that the overcrowded city of LAGOS was no longer a suitable capital. The Department of Architecture at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria undertook the planning and design. The site for the new capital offered a central location, low population density, a cooler climate, and ample land for expansion. Equally important, the new capital was developed in a neutral territory, away from the heartlands of the major ethnic groups in the country, the HAUSA, YORUBA, and IGBO. This latter factor was particularly important in the aftermath of Nigeria's Civil War (1966–70), which divided the country along ethnic lines. The city plan included two basic zones, one for the numerous government-related institutions and one for residential and commercial facilities.

Abuja is connected to other major cities in the country by a network of expressways and by an international airport that also serves domestic locations. In 1988 the University of Abuja was founded. Spreading over about 3,080 square miles (8,000 sq km), Abuja was home to approximately 340,000 people in 1995. Today, more than 1 million people live there.

See also: URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Abuja Accords Agreements signed in the Nigerian city of ABUJA, part of the peace process within LIBERIA.

During the 1970s and 1980s the government of Liberia was hampered by constant instability. The situation worsened in December 1989, when Charles TAYLOR (1948–   ) led his National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) in an invasion of the country. Entering from the IVORY COAST, the NPFL sparked a full-scale civil war, as multiple warlords gathered armies in emulation of Taylor. Despite these new armed factions, the NPFL soon held most of Liberia, with President Samuel K. DOE (c. 1952–1990) controlling only the capital city of MONROVIA. In August 1990 ECOMOG, the peacekeeping force of the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY FOR WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS), entered Liberia to stabilize the situation. Doe was soon captured and killed by an offshoot of the NPFL led by Prince Yomie Johnson.

Despite Doe's death, ECOWAS brokered the Bamako Cease-fire, which was followed by the Yamoussoukro Accords I–IV. These agreements were intended to secure the peace in Liberia and allow elections to take place. They failed, however, as none of the warring factions followed the agreements.

In July 1993, following another failed NPFL siege on Monrovia, ECOWAS brokered the Cotonou Accord. This agreement formed the Liberian National Transitional Government and stated that leaders from the different warring factions would be included in a new coalition government. The political situation in Liberia remained in disarray, however, as the different factions fought over government appointments.

In 1994 Jerry RAWLINGS (1947–   ) took over chairmanship of ECOWAS. His presence infused the peace process with new energy, culminating with the signing of the Abuja Accord on August 19, 1995. This created the Council of State, a ruling political body that was to include the warlords of every faction capable of disturbing the peace process. More importantly to Taylor, the Abuja Accord secured his involvement in Liberia's new government. In an oversight the Council of State did not include the leader of the ULIMO-J faction, Roosevelt Johnson, who promptly violated the Abuja Accord. In early 1996 the Council of State brought murder charges against Johnson, but an attempt to arrest him sparked violent protests that weakened the authority of the accord.

Later in 1996 the Abuja Accord Supplement was signed. This new agreement scheduled elections for the following year and paved the way for a new Council of State. In July 1997, aided greatly by his perceived ability to bring together Liberia's disparate factions, Taylor was elected president of Liberia.

Another political arrangement also bears the name "Abuja Accord." This second Abuja Accord was an agreement between ZIMBABWE and Britain. Signed by Zimbabwe president Robert MUGABE (1924–   ) in 2001, the agreement called for Britain to provide financial reimbursement to white farmers displaced by Zimbabwe's land reforms. The Zimbabwe-Britain Abuja Accord called for the land reclamation process to be carried out under the rule of law and in a civil manner. As of late 2004, however, the process was still marked by violence and accusations of illegal land seizures by the Zimbabwe government.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V).

Accra   Capital of present-day GHANA, located on the Gulf of Guinea. Accra was the capital of Gold Coast, a former British colony, and remained the capital of Ghana after the country's independence in 1957. At that time it had a population exceeding 350,000. During the colonial era, the city had developed into a major port and trading city, but in 1962 port services were transferred to the town of Tema, 17 miles (27 km) to the east.

Accra remains the administrative, economic, educational, and cultural center of Ghana. It hosts the principal offices of major banks and trading companies, and is a central hub for rail and road TRANSPORTATION, with reliable INFRASTRUCTURE linking it to the major towns of Tema on the coast and KUMASI in the interior. Major industries in Accra include oil refining, food processing—including brewing, distilling, and fruit canning—and the production of textiles, shoes, lumber, pharmaceuticals, and plastic products. The city is also home to large open markets. Its rich and diverse nightlife, from which highlife emerged to become the dominant form of popular music in the 1960s, attracts a growing number of tourists. Accra exhibits diverse ARCHITECTURE including modern, colonial, and precolonial styles; visitors are often struck by the proximity of gleaming skyscrapers to ramshackle shantytowns.

Points of interest in the city include the national museum, a national academy of arts and sciences, and Christianborg Castle, a former slave depot built by the Danes in the 17th century. Several advanced educational, research, and technical institutions are located in Accra, and the University of Ghana is situated in the nearby town of Legon.

The Accra metropolitan area has grown rapidly, with the population surging from around 985,000 in 1988 to more than 1,780,000 in 1995. At the beginning of the 21st century there were nearly 3 million people in the greater Accra area. Such rapid POPULATION GROWTH has a common feature of URBANIZATION within Africa.

See also: ACCRA (Vols. II, III, IV); DENMARK AND AFRICA (Vol. III); GA-DANGME (Vols. II, III); GOLD COAST (Vols. III, IV); HIGHLIFE (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

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Achebe, Chinua (1930–) *Nigerian writer*

Perhaps Nigeria's most popular author, Achebe began his career as a journalist at the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. There he developed the character Okonkwo, the central figure of his first and most successful novel, *Things Fall Apart* (1958). The book follows the story of Okonkwo as he struggles against the changes colonialism has exacted on his traditional IGBO culture. The novel garnered tremendous international acclaim and has been translated into 45 languages, becoming one of the most widely read novels by an African writer and establishing Achebe as Africa's leading literary figure.

Achebe followed the success of *Things Fall Apart* with three novels that trace the history of the Igbo through colonialism and up to 1966, when a bloody military coup led to the fall of Nigeria's First Republic. These novels, *No Longer at Ease* (1961), *Man of the People* (1966), and *Arrow of God* (1967), cemented Achebe's reputation as a chronicler of Nigeria's troubled colonial past and uncertain future as an independent nation.

The same year as the publication of *Arrow of God,* ethnic and political tensions exploded into the Nigerian Civil War (1967–70). Achebe's Igbo people seceded from Nigeria, declaring the independent Republic of BIAFRA in 1967, prompting a bloody conflict that badly destabilized the country. Achebe served as the Biafran minister of information during the war, living in the new Biafran capital of Enugu until it fell late in 1967.

Afterward Achebe traveled throughout the world, attempting to draw attention to the Biafran cause and the atrocities committed against them by Nigerian troops. His experiences during the war led to the poetry collection *Christmas in Biafra and Other Poems* (1973), for which he was awarded the British Commonwealth Poetry Prize. The war, however, discouraged Achebe greatly, and more than a decade passed before he could write another novel.

After the war ended in 1970, Achebe became director of publishing companies in Enugu and IBADAN. He also taught extensively at the University of Nigeria and at a number of universities in the United States. In 1987 he published *Anthills of the Savannah,* a novel in which, contrary to his previous works, he expresses hope for Nigeria's future. Achebe has also published a number of children's books as well as essay and short story collections. His body of work has established him as one of the finest writers of the 20th century.

See also: ACHEBE, CHINUA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); THINGS FALL APART (Vol. IV).

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Action Front for Renewal and Development (Front d'action pour le rénouveau et le développement, FARD)

Prominent political party in the Republic of BENIN. The Action Front for Renewal and Development (FARD) was formed at the meeting of its first constituent assembly held in Parakou, Benin, in April 1994. Its purpose was to bring together many small opposition political parties to unseat then President Nicephore Soglo (1935–). The first electoral victory for FARD came in March 1995, when it won 14 seats in Benin's legislative elections. Its principal success, however, came in providing a vehicle for Matthieu KEREKOU (1933–) to defeat Soglo in the presidential election of 1996. Kerekou, a Marxist-Leninist, had been dictator of Benin from his successful military coup of 1972 until 1991, when he lost to Soglo. He thus became the first incumbent African strongman ousted at the polls to subsequently win an election and return to office.

Addis Ababa

Capital and largest city in ETHIOPIA, located in the geographic center of the country on a plateau near the foot of Mount Entoto. Soon after its founding by Emperor Menelik II (1844–1913) in 1887, Addis Ababa became the capital of Ethiopia. The completion of a railway to the port city of DJIBOUTI in 1917 established Addis Ababa as Ethiopia's political and economic center. Italian forces occupied the city from 1936 to 1941, causing massive social disruption but also leaving behind much improved housing and TRANSPORTATION networks.

When Allied forces drove the Italians out of Addis Ababa the during World War II (1939–45), Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) returned to power, after having previously fled from the Italian invaders. Ethiopia had been one of only two African members of the League of Nations and thus was represented at the founding of the United Nations (UN). Because of this, Addis Ababa hosted the continent's principal international organizations. In 1958 the UN Economic Commission for Africa set up its headquarters in Addis Ababa and built Africa Hall, which is noteworthy for its beautiful stained glass windows. In 1963 a meeting of African heads of state held in Addis Ababa led to the founding of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU). The OAU then set up its secretariat and administration in the city. Its successor organization, the AFRICAN UNION, founded in 2002, also established its administrative offices there.

In 1967 the city began to see a boom in population, fueled by immigration from rural areas. By 1970 the population had reached 683,500. In 1974 poor economic conditions led to uprisings among students and laborers, and a military COUP D'ETAT removed Haile Selassie from power. Addis Ababa then became the seat of power for the socialist government of MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–). Despite desperate economic circumstances arising from

Mengistu's Marxist policies, Addis Ababa's population underwent a second wave of growth during the period 1975–87. This wave was augmented by large numbers of peasants fleeing to Addis Ababa from war-torn regions in northern Ethiopia, where rebels from ERITREA battled for that country's independence from Ethiopian rule. By 1990 the city's population was 1.6 million. In 1991 Eritrean rebel forces ousted Mengistu, and Addis Ababa became the capital of a new, often troubled, democratic government.

Addis Ababa is a unique city in terms of its layout and ethnic makeup. Physically, the city is demarcated by elevation, with the old section, featuring St. George's Cathedral, the old Arada market, and Addis Ababa University, on a hill in the north of the city. The commercial area of Lower Addis Ababa lies to the south on lower ground. Addis Ketema, or the "new town," was constructed by Italians during the occupation and features the Merkato Indigino, or African market. A majority of southern Ethiopia's agricultural EXPORTS pass through the Merkato, including Addis Ababa's prime export, coffee.

Ethnically, the city is populated mostly by people of Amharan extraction, with Amharic being the prominent language. A diverse number of other peoples also call the city home. Much of the residential layout of Addis Ababa is dictated by the development of ethnic neighborhoods, or *safars*. Due to the international organizations that remain headquartered there, the city is Africa's premier diplomatic hub.

See also: ADDIS ABABA (Vol. IV); AMHARIC (Vols. I, II); COFFEE (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Ade, King Sunny (Sunday Anthony Ishola Adeniyi Adegeye) (1946–) *Nigerian musician and bandleader*

King Sunny Ade was born in 1946 in present-day Ondo State, NIGERIA. His father was a Methodist minister and his mother a member of the church choir. Against the wishes of his parents, who wanted him to become a lawyer, he left school at age 17 to pursue a career as a musician. He became a percussionist and guitarist in a local band in LAGOS, Nigeria's capital at the time. Two years later, in 1965, he formed his own group, the High Society Band, renamed the Green Spots in 1966, that went on to make 12 recordings. In 1974, King Sunny Ade founded his own record company and changed the band's name to the African Beats.

The African Beats is normally made up of between 20 and 30 musicians. Their multi-layered percussion and synchronized vocal harmonies, combined with synthesizers, electric keyboards, and electric and pedal steel guitars, represent a unique modern adaptation of the genre of MUSIC known as *juju*. King Sunny Ade has been the style's most popular performer, and he is often called the King of Juju. Originally considered poor people's music, juju is based on traditional YORUBA rhythms and incorporates the two-headed, hourglass-shaped "talking drum" once used to communicate between villages. Ade is also called the Chairman for his many business investments, which include MINING, OIL, film and video production, and public relations.

King Sunny Ade and the African Beats are popular in Nigeria, where they have 100 albums to their credit. They have released 14 albums in North America, beginning with the release of the album *Juju* in 1982. To a certain extent, the interest King Sunny Ade generated in the West during the early 1980s has waned. Nevertheless, he remains widely popular in his homeland, where he is constantly in demand, particularly for concerts commemorating important functions of state and private celebrations.

African National Congress (ANC) South African political organization that led the resistance movement against APARTHEID and became the ruling party in 1994. Founded in 1912, during the first 50 years of its existence the African National Congress (ANC) achieved only modest success at best in bettering the lives of black South Africans. In fact, by the mid-1960s, increased government repression had left the ANC struggling to remain a viable resistance organization. Because of the state's crackdown on the ANC, the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC), and other opposition groups in the early 1960s, the ANC had to operate underground in SOUTH AFRICA and in exile abroad.

Beginning in 1961 the ANC forswore its commitment to nonviolence and established a militant wing, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Spear of the Nation, also known simply as MK), which carried out acts of sabotage against the white-supremacist regime. In 1962 Nelson MANDELA (1918–), head of MK, was captured after returning from a trip abroad. The following year other key ANC leaders such as Walter SISULU (1912–2003) and Govan MBEKI (1910–2001) were seized in a raid on their secret hideout outside JOHANNESBURG. In 1964 Mandela, Sisulu, and Mbeki were sentenced to life in prison on ROBBEN ISLAND. Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993), who headed the external ANC, became president once Mandela could no longer serve in that capacity.

Over the next decades ANC headquarters-in-exile were variously based in LUSAKA, ZAMBIA and DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, as well as in London, England. ANC operations were based in the countries that bordered South Africa, often involving alliances with anticolonial resistance movements, most notably the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION in ZIMBABWE and SOUTH WEST AFRICAN

PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION in SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA). Even outside of South Africa, however, ANC operatives faced threats from an extensive network of spies employed by the South African police and intelligence services. The government's repressive measures created logistical difficulties that limited the effectiveness of ANC activities until the latter half of the 1970s.

Beginning in the mid-1970s the ANC drew upon the mounting anger of African youth, causing the organization's prestige in South Africa to grow. In part the radicalization of young blacks was fueled by the impact of the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT, spearheaded by Steve BIKO (1946–1977). In 1976 this increasing militancy among young South Africans spilled over in the uprising in SOWETO, a black residential township of Johannesburg. The event triggered an upsurge in black protest. This rendered black urban townships ungovernable during much of the 1970s and 1980s, despite ongoing attempts by both the South African police and army to impose order.

Many young black activists joined the ranks of MK in neighboring countries, where they were exposed to military training, organizational discipline, and ideological indoctrination. At about the same time, the ANC benefited from the support of the newly independent nations of MOZAMBIQUE and ANGOLA, which had won hard-fought battles for autonomy from Portugal in 1975 and 1976, respectively. After 1980 Zimbabwe (formerly RHODESIA), which had gained its independence from the white settler-led UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE government, also offered a haven to MK cadres. These countries permitted the ANC to set up bases close to the South African border, from which it could launch guerilla attacks against the state. In addition, the legalization of South African trade unions that occurred during the late 1970s gave the ANC an opportunity to forge closer ties to organized labor.

Increasingly during the 1980s, African protesters rallied around readily recognizable ANC symbols. These included people, such as its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, as well as its unique raised-fist salute and handshake, and its distinctive black, green, and gold flag. At the funerals of prominent black activists, protestors utilized these symbols and sang ANC songs to register their solidarity, transforming funerals into anti-apartheid political rallies. In 1983 the leaders of South African trade unions, civic organizations, and church groups joined together to form the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. It adopted the Freedom Charter (the political blueprint for change in South Africa authored in 1955 by the ANC and sympathetic opposition organizations) as the basis of its core principles, formed close ties with the exiled ANC, and effectively functioned as the ANC's legalized front in South Africa.

By the mid-1980s white business leaders initiated meetings with the ANC leadership in Lusaka, laying plans for a future day when the ANC would play an important role in shaping South African political life. Internationally, as world opinion hardened against apartheid practices, economic and diplomatic sanctions intensified against South Africa. The South African government increasingly came to be regarded as an illegitimate, pariah regime because of its racist laws and the violence that its enforcement agencies perpetrated against the country's majority black population. Many outside observers saw the ANC as the country's legitimate potential government that alone could speak for the oppressed masses.

Recognizing the necessity of negotiating with the ANC to secure public tranquility and appease world opinion, President P. W. BOTHA (1916–) initiated half-hearted attempts with Mandela in the mid-1980s. Years later, his successor, F. W. DE KLERK (1936–), continued these discussions in earnest. In February 1990, for example, he lifted the ban on extra-parliamentary opposition groups. This led to the rapid emergence of the ANC as the leading political party to challenge the ruling National Party. Also in 1990 the government released all political prisoners, including Mandela, who assumed the presidency of the organization the following year. In response to these steps, the ANC suspended its armed struggle against the government and rapidly evolved from a resistance group to a political party. Most of the power-sharing discussions that the government conducted with opposition groups focused on winning the approval of the ANC.

In the period leading up to the 1994 national elections in which black South Africans could freely vote for the first time, violence threatened to undermine the process. The most significant clashes erupted between supporters of the ANC and the INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY, an organization made up mostly of ZULU South Africans that was led by Mangosuthu Gatsha BUTHELEZI (1928–). To shore up its support, the ANC entered into an alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). In the elections of May 1994 the ANC won approximately 63 percent of the national vote. Except for the Western Cape and Kwa Zulu/Natal provinces, the ANC gained control of the country's seven other provincial legislatures.

Mandela served a single term as president, from 1994 to 1999. At that time Thabo MBEKI (1942–), Mandela's handpicked successor as ANC president, assumed leadership of the ANC. Under Mbeki the ANC again won the national election of 1999. However, fractures within the party weakened it. Specifically, because of the conservative fiscal policies the ANC government has pursued, its alliance with COSATU and SACP has suffered. Regardless, through 2003 the ANC remained an unchallenged force among South Africa's electorate.

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African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC)

African nationalist political organization founded by Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973). The PAIGC resistance group had its roots in the Movement for the National Independence of Portuguese Guiné, a clandestine, BISSAU-based organization made up of workers and civil servants from CAPE VERDE and GUINEA-BISSAU. When that organization failed to garner broad support it evolved into the PAIGC in 1956. Led by Cabral, a former civil servant in the Portuguese colonial agricultural service, the PAIGC became the major nationalist party in the struggle to liberate both Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde from Portuguese colonial rule.

The main objectives of PAIGC included the immediate granting of independence and the establishment of social and economic stability. PAIGC followed a Marxist-Leninist ideology that relied on fomenting revolution among the masses. However, since the majority of the PAIGC members were from Guinea-Bissau's educated, urban elite, they had difficulty attracting working-class members. Ultimately the original PAIGC program failed, and the leadership then decided to focus on organizing the peasant masses living in the countryside.

By 1962 various independent African nations as well as the communist Soviet Union strongly supported PAIGC. By 1967 the organization controlled more than half of Guinea-Bissau. During these years Portuguese resistance stiffened, but so did African resolve. In 1973 Portuguese secret police assassinated Amílcar Cabral, and the leadership of PAIGC passed to Aristides Maria PEREIRA (1923–   ). Later in 1973 Pereira declared Guinea-Bissau's independence from Portugal. The following year, despite Pereira's leading the party, Luis Cabral (1931–   ), Amílcar's half-brother, became the first president of the newly independent state.

In 1980 a new Cape Verdean constitution made provisions for the country to be united as a single state with Guinea-Bissau. Before the unification could take place, however, Cabral was ousted in a COUP D'ÉTAT led by army general João Bernardo Vieira (1939–   ), also a member of PAIGC. Vieira nullified the 1980 constitution and directed the drafting of a new one, which separated Cape Verde from Guinea-Bissau. The coup led to tensions between the Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde wings of the PAIGC, eventually splitting the party in 1981. At that time the Cape Verde PAIGC reorganized as the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde.

In 1990 a group of 350 PAIGC representatives met to discuss the plan for advancing political reform and DEMOCRATIZATION in Guinea-Bissau, and the following year the country's national assembly chose to abandon single-party rule. Following multiparty elections held in 1994, Vieira and the PAIGC remained in control. By 1999, however, civil war and dissatisfaction with Vieira's rule forced him to flee the country. In the 2000 elections Koumba YALA (c. 1953–   ), leader of the Social Renewal Party, was elected president. As an indication of how far the PAIGC leadership had fallen out of favor, in the 1999 legislative elections the PAIGC received less than one-quarter of the 102 seats in the National Assembly.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

African studies

Academic discipline encompassing the study of Africa, its peoples, and its societies. Initially African studies centered on anthropology, archaeology, history, political science, and the study of languages. More recently it has broadened to include AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION, ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES, public health, and other more technical and applied disciplines. Organized African studies programs are for the most part located outside the continent, mainly in the United States and to a lesser degree in Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Canada, and the Nordic countries.

> The historian and educator William Leo Hansberry (1894–1965) was one of the pioneering African American scholars in African studies. As a freshman at Atlanta University, he became curious about Kush and ETHIOPIA, which were mentioned in the Bible but about which he could find little additional information. Later, as a professor at Howard University he devoted his career to providing such information, conducting research on Ethiopian history and on the classical writers' views of Africa and Africans.

African studies emerged as a field of academic endeavor in the United States in the late 1950s and early 1960s. There were essentially three sources of origin. One was the long-standing interest of African Americans regarding the continent of their ancestry. One of the earliest scholarly books in this tradition was *The Negro,* by the famed black intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963), which appeared in 1915. Howard University was at the forefront of African American scholarship on Africa, and in 1953 it established a Department of African Studies that offered an M.A. degree. It later became the first American university to offer a Ph.D. in African studies. These developments reflected a heightened African American awareness about Africa as a result of intensifying nationalism and INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS on the continent and the civil rights struggle at home.

The second source of African studies was the growing general American interest in the world as a result of World War II (1939–45). One of the lessons learned from the war was that the isolationism of the inter-war period had given Americans a false sense of security. They now needed to be more aware of other parts of the world, including Africa. Foundations such as the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation began to support area studies, including study of Africa, which led the distinguished anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits (1895–1963) to found the country's first African studies research program at Northwestern University in 1949.

The movement toward independence, beginning with GHANA in 1957, further fueled academic interest in Africa. The U.S. government also showed a greater interest in Africa and, in 1958, established the position of assistant secretary of state for Africa within the Department of State. That same year Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which funded area studies in general. Over the next decade a number of universities established major African studies centers and programs, which in turn encouraged other colleges and universities to set up smaller programs on their own campuses. By 1981 there were approximately 70 such programs nationwide, and by the mid-1990s there were nearly 90 programs. Today the African Studies Association—which was founded in 1957 by a small group of 36 scholars, foundation leaders, and government officials—has a membership well in excess of 2,000.

Related to but separate from the general growth of American academic interest in Africa was the emergence of the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the former Soviet Union. The Cold War prompted President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) to establish the Peace Corps, which in turn led many returned Peace Corps volunteers to pursue graduate degrees related to the African countries in which they served.

The United States has been well served by the convergence of these three sources, which has produced a vibrant and diverse field of highly knowledgeable scholars who are in turn training students who are well informed about the continent and its peoples. Today, those teaching and conducting research about Africa at American universities and colleges include not only individuals born in the United States but also scholars from Europe and, increasingly, Africa itself. Indeed, the addition of the latter group as permanent rather than visiting faculty members is a relatively recent phenomenon. Many of these scholars received their graduate degrees in the United States, Canada, or Europe and returned to their home countries to teach. However, the political instability and economic woes of many African countries has greatly weakened their universities and has led members of their faculties to seek positions outside the continent. While this has impoverished African universities, it has enriched the field of African studies in the United States by providing more of an African perspective to teaching and research.

See also: ANTHROPOLOGY AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); ARCHAEOLOGY IN AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); DU BOIS, W. E. B. (Vol. IV); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

African Union (AU) Continental body bringing together the leadership of all African countries to work toward common goals. The African Union replaced the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) as the continent-wide constituent assembly. The purpose of the OAU was to remove the vestiges of the colonial period and to promote African unity and cooperation during the early nationalist period. At inception, in 1963, the mission of the OAU clearly reflected Africa's needs. By the 1990s, however, its mission no longer seemed suited to meeting the shifting requirements of the community of African states. Specifically, African leaders saw the need for the organization to be more focused on economic advancement and less concerned with erasing the remaining traces of the colonial era.

Growing out of an OAU summit meeting held in Sirte, LIBYA, the African Union was established by the Sirte Declaration on September 9, 1999. All 53 African heads of state played a part. Looking at present needs and future challenges, they stated their goals as promoting economic and political integration, promoting and defending African positions in the global sphere, and fostering democracy and good governance on the continent.

In the years following the Sirte Declaration, several additional AU conventions helped define its purpose. The Lome Summit, in 2000, adopted the Constitutive Act of the Union. The Lusaka Summit, in 2001, created a plan to implement the AU. And the Durban Summit, in 2002, served as the inaugural assembly of the heads of states of the African Union. Amara Essy (1944–), president of the IVORY COAST and the first chairman of the AU, was charged with heading the institutional transition. Joaquim Alberto CHISSANO (1939–), president of MOZAMBIQUE, took over Essy's role two years later.

The AU is made up of nine primary organs that distribute power among different branches and institutions. These include offices that coordinate projects regarding peace and security, the economy, cultural and social affairs, justice, and monetary and financial affairs. The AU supports three banks: the African Central Bank, African Monetary Fund, and African Investment Bank. Other AU offices deal with human resources, industry, science and technology, energy, NATURAL RESOURCES, and TOURISM.

The creation and continued role of the African Union has not been free from contention. Symbolic of the long

road that lay ahead of the AU, its early efforts to assert its authority revealed as much divisiveness—especially among the old-guard leaders—as it did cooperative and innovative progress toward the future. At the outset, the international community fully supported the idea of the AU but objected to the significant role afforded controversial Libyan president Muammar QADDAFI (1942–   ) in its creation. Also, the AU has been cautious about many of its mandates and whether they will challenge those of existing international organizations.

Further reading: Henning Melber, *The New African Initiative and the African Union* (Somerset, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2002).

Afrikaans   An official language of SOUTH AFRICA that developed from a dialect of Netherlandic (Dutch-Flemish) in the late 18th century. During the APARTHEID period (1948–90) Afrikaans was the language of white privilege. Along with English it was one of the two official languages of South Africa. The National Party government institutionalized Afrikaans as the language of government and EDUCATION. Consequently, Afrikaans is the first language of 60 percent of white South Africans. It is also the first language of more than 90 percent of those categorized as Coloured and is a second language of many black South Africans.

Because it was the tool of Afrikaner cultural imperialism, Afrikaans became a symbolic target of rebellion. In 1976, for example, schoolchildren in SOWETO demonstrated against having their subjects taught in Afrikaans.

In 1994 the Constitutional Assembly of the newly democratic South African Republic chose the following 11 languages as official languages of the nation: Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, isiSwai, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa, and isiZulu.

Although three other South African languages are more widely spoken, English was selected by the post-apartheid government as the official international language for commercial and diplomatic exchanges. Similar to some other African countries, the South African government chose an outsider language to avoid favoring one of its indigenous languages over the others. Following this policy the government removed Afrikaans as the language of public offices, courts, and the education system. It now allows Afrikaans to be visible only on signs that present it in conjunction with the country's other 10 official languages. Aware of the contempt held for the his-

tory of Afrikaans and in light of the expected changes concerning its use, many AFRIKANERS now educate their children in English.

See also: AFRIKAANS (Vols. III, IV); BOERS (Vols. III, IV); LANGUAGE USAGE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV), LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Rajend Mesthrie, ed., *Language in South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Afrikaners   White South Africans predominantly of Dutch or Huguenot Calvinist ancestry who speak the language of AFRIKAANS. With the victory of the National Party (NP) in the 1948 parliamentary elections, and the rise of D. F. Malan (1874–1959) to the position of prime minister, the South African government evolved to serve the goals of Afrikaner nationalism. The tenets of Afrikaner nationalism promoted the improvement of the financial and political position of Afrikaners and the protection of Afrikaner culture from the influence of British, English-speaking South Africans.

Many of these concerns, however, dissipated as the 20th century progressed. By the 1960s Afrikaner POVERTY was nearly nonexistent, with South Africa's white population reaping the economic benefits granted to them by the racist APARTHEID system. Powerful Afrikaners were probably members of the BROEDERBOND, an all-male secret society that worked as a proving ground for the Afrikaner political elite. Furthermore, as Afrikaners increasingly dominated South African politics—every president of SOUTH AFRICA was an Afrikaner from 1948 to 1994—the political threat from English-speakers waned. With the diminution of power of English speakers, the Afrikaner political apparatus placed an increased importance on maintaining the legislated inequalities between whites and non-whites. Ignoring a historically acrimonious relationship, the NP even reached out to English-speakers with the hope that, as fellow whites, they would forget any past hostilities in favor of maintaining their preferential status over blacks.

This courting of English speakers in large part resulted from the changing dynamic of the Afrikaner population, which failed to keep pace with the growth rate of South Africa's black populace. At the same time, an ideological split within Afrikaner society began to threaten the paradigm of apartheid. Many Afrikaners began to question the racist system, especially those who held commercial interests dependent upon the LABOR and latent purchasing power of black South Africans. In 1982 this division culminated with many members of the NP defecting to form the Conservative Party, which was dedicated to defending the apartheid system without any concessions or changes.

The two opposing factions within the Afrikaner community were dubbed the *verkramptes* and the *verligtes*. The *verkramptes* held traditional Afrikaner values and wanted apartheid to continue as it had, while the *verligtes* were less conservative and rejected the rigidity of apartheid, wishing to "modernize" it instead.

Though the defection of the NP members may have prolonged the transition of South Africa to a multiracial, representative government, the ascension of the black majority was inescapable. The transition to a representative government was completed in 1994 under the leadership of Prime Minister F. W. DE KLERK (1936–   ). That year Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ) and the previously banned AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS carried the first free, multiracial elections in the country's history. Having lost their hold on power and now in the political as well as demographic minority, the Afrikaners are attempting to find their place within post-apartheid South Africa. The political unity of a half-century earlier has disappeared, but there remains a deep sense of a shared history and common language to build on.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vol. IV); BOERS (Vols. III, IV); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); MALAN, D. F. (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (London: C. Hurst, 2003); Dan O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948–1994* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1997).

Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) Political party of ZANZIBAR that was active from 1957 to 1977. In the 1950s, as Zanzibar moved toward independence, an Arab minority controlled the government under the umbrella of the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP). In 1957 Abeid Amani KARUME (1905–1972), with the assistance of Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), the president of Tanganyika, founded the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) to organize the African majority of the country.

After gaining independence from Britain in 1963, Zanzibar held elections to determine the makeup of its National Assembly. The results solidified ZNP control of the government despite its members' minority status. In 1964 the ASP sparked a bloody revolution against the government. In the chaos that ensued, thousands died and thousands more fled the island. Once in control, the ASP named Karume president of Zanzibar.

In 1964 Zanzibar joined in political union with Tanganyika, but retained its own electoral system and continued to exercise considerable local autonomy. The union resulted in the creation of the country of TANZANIA, with Nyerere remaining president and Karume becoming vice president. Karume was assassinated in 1972. In 1977 Nyerere combined the ASP with his own TANZANIAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION to form the PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM). The CCM then was made the only legal political party of Tanzania.

See also: JUMBE, ABOUD (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V); SHIRAZI ARABS (Vol. II); SHIRAZI DYNASTY (Vol. III); TANGANYIKA (Vol. IV).

agriculture Between 1850 and 1960 Africa's agriculture underwent a tremendous transformation in terms of both its structure and its food production capabilities. Instead of producing FOOD CROPS for local consumption, African agriculture had become increasingly focused on exporting CASH CROPS to overseas markets. This fundamental change in agriculture was accompanied by growing URBANIZATION, which meant that fewer Africans were able to grow their own food. But with the emphasis on export production, African farmers had not developed agricultural production geared to feeding Africa's growing cities. POPULATION GROWTH surged after 1950, from an annual rate of approximately 1.2 percent over the previous 50 years to a dramatic 3.3 percent rate in the 1980s. This surge put additional stress on Africa's already challenged food production capabilities. As African countries launched into the new era of independence, therefore, they found themselves saddled with a colonial inheritance of agricultural systems ill prepared to meet their needs.

Beyond the deeply rooted problem of cash crop exportation, food production was further affected by the fact that the economies of many countries depended on the production of a single crop. Such mono-crop economies were highly susceptible to the fluctuations in world commodity prices. As a result many African nations were increasingly dependent on external markets and economic forces that were beyond their control.

In light of the situation, Africa's leaders at independence were not in a position to depart radically from the economic strategies of the colonial era. Therefore they continued to promote the production of cash crops in order to earn the foreign exchange needed for their efforts at modernization. In the 1960s modernization meant INDUSTRIALIZATION and urbanization. Furthermore, leaders strongly influenced by Marxist ideology and the example of the Soviet Union viewed the state—rather than the private sector—as the central engine for DEVELOPMENT. Many countries thus continued the colonial practice of marketing boards, or state-run agencies through which all farmers had to sell their crops. At the expense of agricultural development in the rural areas, these marketing boards kept producer prices low in order to divert earnings from

export sales to the modernization enterprise. The boards also enabled governments to keep food prices low for the urban areas. Lacking price incentives to increase their output, Africa's peasant farmers cut back on their production. White commercial farmers, on the other hand, faced their own challenges. After independence the numbers of white farmers declined as European settlers emigrated or had their farms expropriated. Those who remained continued to produce largely for export, as did the large industrial plantations.

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Where the government did invest in agriculture, it was usually in the form of collectivization and state farms. In TANZANIA, for example, President Julius NY-ERERE (1922–1999) implemented *UJAMAA*, an economic and social policy that envisaged collective, grassroots development through the rural population in villages. The irony was that in one of the few instances in which an African government sought to infuse resources into the rural sector, agricultural production fell sharply. An increase in management demands, inadequate INFRASTRUCTURE, and the disruption of long-standing farming practices led most farmers to retreat into subsistence production. The marketing of foodstuffs to the urban areas declined, forcing a country in which more than 75 percent of the labor force was employed in agriculture to import food to feed its coastal cities. Ultimately the Tanzanian government had to admit to the failure of *ujamaa*.

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In 1960 African agriculture was still meeting food consumption needs in most parts of the continent. Over the next few decades, however, per-capita food production declined at an average rate of about 1 percent per year. While government policies exacerbated the decline, they were not its root cause. Rather, the growing scarcity of arable land meant that farmers in certain regions were not able to bring new land into production to expand output. The affected areas included ETHIOPIA, parts of North Africa, parts of West Africa, including the densely populated HAUSA region of northern NIGERIA, and the well-watered upland areas of eastern and southern Africa. In other cases farmers brought into production land that did not yield good crops or was quickly degraded. Africa's crisis, simply put, was the inability of African farmers to produce sufficient quantities of food for the growing population.

One of the confounding aspects of Africa's agricultural decline was the fact that, up to that point, Africa's farmers had largely been able to meet their various challenges. For many centuries they had successfully adapted to produce crops and raise livestock in difficult environments. With some exceptions in areas with highly fertile soils, such as the Nile River Valley and RWANDA, the continent's soils were not conducive to high agricultural productivity. Many regions also had highly variable rainfall patterns that limited productivity. LABOR constraints, which were only becoming more severe with the migration of younger people to the cities, placed further limitations on the output of African farmers. In the face of such difficulties African farmers had long been successful in crop and livestock production through strategies such as intercropping (growing multiple crops in a single field at one time), slash-and-burn agriculture coupled with long fallow periods, and seasonal migration of herds. These techniques, however, developed a low-productivity form of agriculture that was not readily changed.

Between 1968 and 1985 a particularly severe and prolonged drought in the Sahel, the zone to the south of the Sahara Desert, led to terrible crop failures. During that period local food needs were met largely through relief supplies, but many farmers lost their livelihoods as their crops and livestock disappeared.

By the 1980s the dimensions of Africa's agricultural problems were beginning to attract attention. Unfortunately the continent's relatively low productivity was not open to the type of "fixes" that worked in other areas, including India and Southeast Asia. In these and other regions, crop shortages were addressed by rapidly increasing yields of grain crops such as wheat and rice. This approach was so successful that it ushered in the so-called Green Revolution, a time of great gains in agricultural output. Unfortunately, neither wheat nor rice is a significant crop for much of Africa. Moreover, native African grain crops such as sorghum and millet have never received the same intense agricultural research that has benefited the cultivation of grain crops in the Northern Hemisphere. Other factors that hinder a transformation of African agriculture include inadequate infrastructure and TRANSPORTATION as well as instability in the region's MARKETS. POVERTY, which is more prevalent in rural than in urban areas, further reduces efforts to improve the productivity of Africa's farmers.

The food production crisis is perhaps the single most important of all the crises facing the continent at the present time. But given the enormous ecological diversity of the continent and the great variety of agricultural systems and crops, not to mention the enormous other social, economic, and political differences that exist across the continent, there is no simple answer.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vols. I, II, III, IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DROUGHT AND DESERTIFICATION (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); FAMINE AND HUNGER (Vol. V); MONO-CROP ECONOMIES (Vol. IV); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vol. V) NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V).

Further reading: T. S. Jayne, I. J. Minde, and Gem Argwings-Kodhek, eds., *Perspectives on Agricultural Transformation: A View from Africa* (New York: Nova Science, 2002).

Ahidjo, Ahmadou (1924–1989) *President of Cameroon*

The son of a Fulani chief, Ahidjo was born in the river port city of Garoua, on the Benue River in then French-ruled northern CAMEROON. At the time, the former German colony was divided between Great Britain and France under the terms of a League of Nations mandate. Ahidjo received a secondary school education in YAOUNDÉ.

Ahidjo initially became active in politics in 1947, when he was elected first as a territorial deputy and then in 1953 to the Assembly of the French Union. Though a Muslim, Ahidjo joined the Catholic-based Démocrates party in 1956, helping the party gain support in the mainly Muslim north of the French Cameroons.

In 1957 Ahidjo became vice premier and interior minister under Premier André Marie Mbida. The following year, however, he split from Mbida to form a new party, the Cameroon Union (Union Camerounaise, UC). Mbida resigned, and Ahidjo assumed the position of premier. When the independent Cameroon Republic was established in 1960, Ahidjo was elected president.

Ahidjo and the UC began what became a long-term domination of Cameroon politics. Supporting strong connections with both France and other African nations, in 1961 Ahidjo convinced the leaders of the British Southern Cameroons to unite with the Cameroon Republic to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon. In the meantime, the UC gradually subsumed its opposition, with Ahidjo occasionally jailing political rivals. Eventually the UC became the sole political entity in Cameroon. After Ahidjo was reelected in 1965, the UC became the Cameroon National Union (Union Nationale Camerounaise, UNC).

Ahidjo won reelection in 1970, 1975, and once again in 1980. During this time, he established a new constitution, forming the United Republic of Cameroon over protests against a unitary government. In 1982, after 22 years in office, Ahidjo voluntarily resigned, and Prime Minister Paul BIYA (1933–) became president. Ahidjo remained head of the UNC, however, and differences between Ahidjo and Biya escalated. Ultimately, Ahidjo was accused of plotting a COUP D'ÉTAT against Biya, and in 1983 he was forcibly exiled to France. The Cameroon government tried him in absentia and sentenced him to death. Ahidjo remained an exile until his death of a heart attack in 1989, in DAKAR, SENEGAL.

Aideed, Mohamed F. (Farah) (1934–1996) *Somalian military leader*

Aideed was born to Fatuma Salah and Farah Hassan, a minor clan chief of the Habar Gedir, a sub-clan of the Hawiye, the largest of the Somali clans. At a young age, he traveled to Ogaden, ETHIOPIA, to study the Quran. Aideed joined the Somali Youth League and later enlisted in the colonial Italian Gendarmeria. In 1954 he was selected to receive training at the NATO Infantry School at Cesano in Rome. When Aideed completed his training, the Italian government assigned him to head the Bakool indigenous police force in the Upper Juba Division. He received more training in the Soviet Union and returned home to be a Somali nationalist leader. When SOMALIA achieved independence in 1960, the United Nations (UN) looked to Aideed to help build the new country. In the 1980s Aideed and his Somali National Alliance fought against the Somali strongman Mohammed Siad BARRE (1910–1995), ultimately driving the latter from the country to pave the way for Aideed's rise to power.

Aideed will be remembered for embarrassing UN forces and driving them from Somalia in 1993. When the United States, under the auspices of the UN, entered Somalia for what it proclaimed were humanitarian purposes, Aideed took this as a threat both to Somali sovereignty and to his own position of power. In October 1993, in a conflict that resulted in as many as 1,000 Somali casualties, Aideed's forces shot down an American army helicopter, killing 18 soldiers. They later dragged the bodies of the dead soldiers through the streets of MOGADISHU, an event broadcast on international television. After that disturbing scene, Aideed became an international pariah. In 1995 he declared himself president of Somalia, though no sovereign state recognized his authority. Aideed was killed August 2, 1996 by rival Somali warlord Ali Mahdi Muhammad.

> The shooting-down of an American UH-60 Blackhawk helicopter by Somali forces was an event that seriously damaged America's sense of military invulnerability. The phrase "Black Hawk Down" was popularized by a book detailing the incident (1999) and later by Ridley Scott's movie adaptation (2001), both of the same name.

See also: SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Aidoo, Ama Ata (1942–) *Ghanaian writer*

Ama Ata Aidoo was born in 1942 at Abeadze Kyiakor, near Dominase in the Fante-speaking region of what was then Gold Coast Colony (present-day GHANA). The daughter of a chief, Aidoo received an early education that emphasized the importance of African oral tra-

dition and ritual and the techniques of storytelling. She later attended Wesley Girls' High School in Ghana, and then the University of Ghana, Legon, where she earned an honors degree in English in 1964.

From 1964 to 1966 Aidoo was a junior research fellow at the university's Institute of AFRICAN STUDIES. She began her literary career by attending writers' workshops at the School of Drama, where she produced her first two plays. She then attended the creative writing program at Stanford University, in the United States. In addition to her writing, Aidoo taught at the University of Ghana and at other universities in Africa and in the United States, including the University of Florida.

During the 1970s Ghana's military governments and the associated political oppression of the country's academic community forced her to stop publishing. After army Lieutenant Jerry RAWLINGS (1947–) led a successful coup of young military officers and became president of Ghana, Aidoo served as minister for education in 1983–84. She ultimately resigned because of political differences and went into self-exile in ZIMBABWE, where she worked as a freelance writer. She currently lives in the United States, where she writes and lectures.

Aidoo's writing has been influenced by both her formal and informal education, the influence of PAN-AFRICANISM, and her experiences in Ghana during the nationalist push for independence. Her themes focus on colonial history and the legacy of slavery that helped shape the character of her beloved Ghana.

Aidoo's first play was first performed in 1964 and then published in 1965. Entitled *The Dilemma of a Ghost,* it focuses on the cultural conflict and sense of alienation felt by a young African woman who returns home after receiving an American education. The story illustrates the competition between Western individualism and African communal values that exposure to the colonial world has engendered. This theme reappears in her semi-autobiographical novel, *Our Sister Killjoy: Or, Reflections from a Black-Eyed Squint* (1977).

Many of Aidoo's works also deal with the role and place of women in African society. Examples include her *No Sweetness Here* (1970), a collection of 11 short stories, and her second novel *Changes: A Love Story* (1991), which received the 1993 British Commonwealth Writers Prize.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Akosombo Dam   Built in 1966 in the Akwamu Highlands of GHANA, the Akosombo Dam harnesses the Volta River to generate up to 768,000-kilowatts of hydroelectric power. In addition to generating electricity, the dam was also intended to improve WATER TRANSPORTATION and to store water for agricultural, industrial, and recreational use.

The government of the then Gold Coast Colony began planning a dam as early as 1949, when it commissioned engineers to conduct a feasibility study. In 1959 the Kaiser Company of the United States recommended that the dam be built at Akosombo Gorge and that a grid of electrical transmission lines be created to supply electricity to the southern region of the country. An aluminum smelter at Temna was later added to the plan. In 1962 Ghana's Parliament approved the master agreement with Valco (the Volta Aluminum Company), a subsidiary of Kaiser. An Italian engineering consortium received the contract to build the dam for the government's Volta River Authority. By 1966 construction was set to start.

The town of Akosombo, built to house the construction workers for the Volta dam, became a major port on VOLTA LAKE, which formed behind the new dam. Akosombo is today the starting point for ships and ferries to ports further north, such as Buipe and Yapei near Tamale. Covering an area of 3,275 square miles (8,482 sq km), Volta Lake is the largest artificial lake in the world.

Foes of President Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) felt that the dam was an overly ambitious project that benefited the Kaiser Industries Corporation more than Ghana. The Akosombo Dam and similar prestige projects were factors in the overthrow of President Nkrumah in 1966.

See also: GOLD COAST (Vols. III, IV) VOLTA RIVER (Vol. II), VOLTA BASIN (Vol. III).

Algeria   North African country along the Mediterranean Sea measuring about 919,600 square miles (2,381,800 sq km) Algeria shares borders with TUNISIA and LIBYA, to the east, with NIGER, MALI, and MAURITANIA, to the south, and with MOROCCO, to the west.

An OIL-rich country of more than 30 million people, Algeria struggles with deep economic divides that are exacerbated by its French, Islamic, and military identities. The country's population is made up mostly of Malekite Sunni Muslims, complemented by other Muslim groups as well as Chenoua, Berber-speaking Kabyles, and Tuareg speakers. Algeria is a member of the Arab League, the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC), the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, and the Arab Monetary Fund. These alliances give Algeria close ties to much of the Islamic world, and the Saudi peninsula in particular.

Algeria at Independence Algeria has long been at the center of regional trade and imperialism. In the 16th century the capital, ALGIERS, was the North African base for the ruling Ottoman Turks. In 1830 France took control of the region, formally annexing Algeria in 1842. This led to a fundamental shift in Algerian society that included a large French settler population in Algeria and a large Algerian population within France that currently numbers about 1 million.

Algeria's struggle for independence culminated in a war that began in 1954 and that resulted in more than 1 million deaths. The war, which did not end until July 5, 1962, propelled the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN) to the forefront of Algerian political life. Its leader, Ahmed BEN BELLA (1916–   ), became the president of the new country. Yet while he was a gifted nationalist leader, he proved to be a poor head of government, and his policies led to economic ruin and intra-governmental factionalism. The result was continued social upheaval, militancy among the Berber-speaking Kabyle, and an eventual COUP D'ETAT led by Colonel Houari BOUMEDIENNE (1927–1978), creator and head of the armed forces.

Military and Political Instability Boumedienne was not a gifted leader, but he did put down much of the insurgency. He also promoted centralized agrarian reforms and rapid INDUSTRIALIZATION to improve the economy. When Boumedienne died in 1978, Colonel Chadli Bendjedid (1929–   ) took over as president.

Bendjedid worked to decentralize power and privatize many of the failing public companies. In 1984 he was elected to a second five-year term. However, the resulting economic growth benefited only a small segment of the population, and following his reelection, Bendjedid faced increasing public discontent. By October 1988 intra-party class warfare plagued the nation; as the FLN leadership prospered, the masses went without jobs and opportunities for EDUCATION. Abroad, Algerian-led demonstrations in Paris caused anxiety throughout Western Europe, as memories of the violent independence struggle of the 1950s came surging to the fore.

1988–1992: The Rise of Islamic Insurgency In 1990 Algeria declared that it would be a multiparty democracy. Nascent political groups, notably those of Islamic and Kabylian origin, were organized and began expressing political will. Yet it appeared that the opening of political competition did little to open up the nexus of power within the Algerian state. The real power, it turned out, lay in the presidency and in the military, which remained in the control of the FLN.

Algeria's first multiparty elections, held on June 12, 1990, were for local government positions. The new Kabyle Movement for Culture and Democracy made significant strides against the FLN. However, it was the success of the Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique du Salud, FIS) that made the FLN, and the world, take notice. By the time the country held its first plural legislative elections, in December 1991, the new FIS had successfully built a base of support from among the majority population of Muslims disenchanted with FLN leadership. Despite the earlier arrest of FIS leaders Abassi Madani and Ali Belhaj, the party won an estimated 188 of the 231 seats in the first round of legislative elections. When it appeared that the FIS was headed for a victory in the scheduled second elections, the military stepped in to depose Bendjedid and annul the first elections. The FIS was immediately banned, and its leadership was forced into exile. In taking these steps, the military leadership undermined the process of DEMOCRATIZATION in favor of political liberalization. Its actions only increased popular dissent.

The 1990s and the Increase of Algerian Dissension In light of the annulled elections, the military leadership rapidly sought legitimization. In January 1994 it appointed a retired general, Liamine Zeroual (1941–   ), as president. The following year Zeroual was elected to the office after winning a presidential election from which all significant opposition parties were barred. Legislative elections held in 1997 were widely criticized by opponents as fraudulent.

Despite the disbanding of the FIS and the subsequent constitutional revisions that banned Algeria's Islamic parties, Islam has not left the country's political scene. The FIS continues to garner great support in the streets of Paris as well as in Algiers. Immediately following the 1992 elections the FIS was divided between the so-called *jazairists,* who pledged to respect the new government, and the *salafists,* who saw a turn to violence as the only viable alternative. The latter group quickly garnered support from Iranian-backed Hezbollah guerillas in Lebanon and began a bombing campaign. Fearing the rise of Islam, France kept silent on the issue of the 1992 coup and called for new elections. The United States, for its part, called the coup and the subsequent annulment of the elections "constitutional."

In addition to the FIS, another, more militant Islamist group has risen since 1992—the Armed Islamic Group (Groupe Islamique Armee, GIA). Although some Western countries consider the GIA to be a threat to regional stability, it is well organized and has solid support among segments of Algerian society. The GIA also enjoys support from other states in the Muslim world. Other Algerian groups that have support from local bases include the Armed Islamic Movement, the Movement for an Islamic State, and the Armed Islamic Front.

Algerian Politics Today Following the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, Islamic groups called tens of thousands of demonstrators to the streets to show support for Osama bin Laden (1957–   ) and Iraq's former president, Saddam Hussein (1937–   ). As a result

of the public display of contempt for Western power there is a tendency to consider Algerian politics today as a microcosmic clash of civilizations—the struggle of democracy against radical Islam. This would, however, be an oversimplification.

From one perspective, the challenges to pluralism of the early 1990s and the rise of a Muslim alternative might be viewed as a positive, democratic progression. From another perspective, the violence that has gripped Algeria since 1989 is regressive. The shift to pluralism forced leaders to vest power in institutions other than political parties, resulting in a more powerful military and a revival of regionalized, precolonial institutions. From a third perspective, radical Islam can be viewed not as an effort to purge secular or Christian elements from Algerian society but, rather, as an attempt at finding a viable alternative to decades of political domination by the country's elite FLN leadership.

Liamine Zeroual resigned in 1999, and elections held in April of that year brought Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA (1937–   ) to the presidency. This went a long way toward bringing international legitimacy to Algerian governance after the 1992 coup. At home, though, the elections lacked legitimacy since all of the other candidates pulled out the day before the election. The rise of Bouteflika can be seen as a further entrenchment of the *ancien regime*. For example, Bouteflika had been foreign minister in 1963, and he was involved in the 1965 coup that brought Boumedienne to power. Even so, he has a reputation of spurning the constraints placed on him by the FLN.

Serious issues continue to divide Algeria's people. As late as 2004, the country was threatened by divisions between moderate and radical Islam, elite leadership and marginalized society, military and civilian rule, inward-looking and outward-looking governance, and socialist and capitalist economic plans. Further, since 1988, POVERTY has risen to engulf nearly one-fourth of the Algerian population. Despite regular economic growth, unemployment con-tinues to rise, and public services have decayed.

See also: ALGERIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

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Algiers Capital and port city located on the northern coast of ALGERIA. In the months before Algeria finally won its independence in 1962, bombings by the European Algerians, the *pieds-noirs,* had damaged industrial and communications facilities in Algiers. In spite of

this, the new government rushed to make Algiers its base. Like CAIRO, EGYPT, Algiers is divided into two parts. The newer, French-built sector is similar to French cities in terms of urban planning and architectural style. The original Muslim quarter, in contrast, has narrower streets and numerous mosques. Since independence, Algiers's suburbs have expanded southward.

The Algerian government made use of many of the palaces built during Ottoman rule, renovating them to house museums, such as the National Museum of Antiques and the Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions. The History Museum, too, is located in a former palace. Algiers also has an observatory and Algeria's national library. The influence of European ARCHITECTURE can be seen in the opera house and Catholic churches, including the Basilica of Notre Dame and the Cathedral of Sacre Coeur, which was designed by the noted Swiss-born modernist architect Le Corbusier (1887–1965).

In 1981 Algiers introduced plans for a metro underground system that would run on three rail lines. However, in 1986, the collapse of global OIL prices caused planners to put the project on hold. By 1999 interest in the project had picked up again, and the government eventually made funding arrangements with the World Bank. The first rail line is expected to be operational in 2008.

See also: ALGIERS (Vols. III, IV).

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All-Africa Games See SPORTS AND ATHLETICS (Vol. V).

Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC) Ruling party of The GAMBIA since 1994. On July 22, 1994, the Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC) came to power when Captain Yahya A. J. J. JAMMEH (1965–   ) led a bloodless coup against President Dawda Kairaba JAWARA (1924–   ). Jawara had been The Gambia's president since the country became a republic in 1970, but his government was seen as increasingly corrupt and autocratic.

Jammeh quickly suspended the country's constitution and officially banned all political action by opposition parties. He maintained control of the Gambian military by purging the ranks of dissidents, and further tightened his grip on the country by imposing government censorship and harsh restrictions on the press.

Bowing to international pressure, Jammeh resigned from the army for the presidential elections in 1996, which he won handily. At the same time, the APRC assumed control of both the Gambian house and legislature, but many condemned the elections as fixed in light of Jammeh's harsh government restrictions.

Following Algerian independence in 1962, Algiers became increasingly urbanized, with modern, European-style architecture dominating the city. This photo shows a section of the Algerian capital in 1967. © *United Nations*

Although many of the restrictions were lifted in time for the presidential elections in 2001, the polling was boycotted by all major parties, most notably the United Democratic Party. This paved the way for Jammeh's re-election to a second five-year term. In 2002 legislative elections also were heavily boycotted by opposition parties, allowing the APRC to win 45 of the National Assembly's 53 seats. Though closely related, the APRC is distinct from the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC), which was the name of the military junta led by Jammeh at the time of the coup.

Amhara National Democratic Movement Leading Ethiopian political party, instrumental in ousting President MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–) and closely tied to the current prime minister, MELES ZENAWI (1955–).

The Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM) was founded in 1989 as the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM). Its purpose was to draw the Amhara people, long Ethiopia's dominant ethnic and political community, into the effort of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) to oust President Mengistu from power. Mengistu had taken control of ETHIOPIA in 1977 through a military coup. His Soviet-backed socialist government battled both Tigray and Eritrean separatist movements, deepening the ethnic dividing lines in the country just as it also faced a devastating famine. The rebel coalition, under the name of the ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (EPRDF), took control of the capital ADDIS ABABA in 1991, and Mengistu was exiled to ZIMBABWE. The EPRDF leader, Meles Zenawi, was elected to head the transitional government, and he later assumed the role of prime minister.

After the success of the coalition, the EPDM became a political party, changing its name to the Amhara National Democratic Movement, in January 1994. As such it became influential on the regional level, particularly among Ethiopia's northeast constituencies, as well as nationally.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV).

Amin, Idi (Idi Amin Dada) (c. 1925–2003) *Former Ugandan dictator*

Perhaps the most notorious of Africa's many brutal dictators of the postcolonial era, Amin was born in

Koboko in northwestern UGANDA. A member of the minority Kakwa ethnic group, Amin enlisted with the King's African Rifles, a British colonial army regiment, while still in his teens. He fought in Burma during World War II (1939–45) and then against the Mau Mau rebels in KENYA. Amin eventually rose to the rank of lieutenant, one of only two Ugandans to achieve that distinction before independence. Tall and athletic, Amin was also the heavyweight boxing champion of Uganda from 1951 to 1960.

Upon Uganda's independence, in 1963, President Milton OBOTE (1925–2000) overlooked Amin's record of brutality, which had greatly concerned the British colonial authorities, and eventually promoted him to general. The murder of one of Amin's rival officers and the disappearance of a large amount of military funds, however, led Obote to become suspicious of the young general. Sensing the threat, Amin launched a COUP D'ÉTAT in 1971, taking control of the government while Obote was out of the country.

Seeking to eliminate any opposition to his control, Amin immediately began his reign of terror. Supporters of Obote were murdered en masse, including nearly half of the armed forces personnel. His extermination squads created a state of fear throughout Uganda.

In 1972 Amin ordered the expulsion of all non-citizen Asians (primarily Indians) with the ostensible purpose of Africanizing the economy. Though initially applauded by Ugandans who were tired of the Asian dominance of trade, the mass expulsion had a profoundly negative impact. The Asian expulsion, coupled with Amin's increased spending on the military (from 20 percent of the national budget to 60 percent), essentially destroyed Uganda's economy.

Also in 1972, Amin abruptly converted to Islam and declared his intent to make Uganda a Muslim nation. This was in direct conflict with the previous Ugandan alliance with Western powers and Israel. Amin began support of the Palestine Liberation Movement (PLO) and garnered funds from LIBYA for the purposes of spreading Islam in Uganda. It remained in question, however, as to whether these funds were put to this use.

In 1976 PLO terrorists hijacked an Air France jet and forced it to land in Uganda's major airport in the city of ENTEBBE. Though Amin's involvement in the hijacking has not been verified, Ugandan troops aided in guarding the hostages. A daring raid by Israeli special forces ended the standoff with minimal casualties, but Amin, outraged by the result, executed 200 members of his government and military.

By 1976 Amin's rule had fully demolished any semblance of a functioning state in Uganda. Retaliating against growing internal and international pressure, he engaged in further large-scale massacres, mainly targeting certain ethnic groups, such as the Acholi and Langi. As divisions emerged within the military, Amin attempted diversionary tactics to avoid losing power. Using the pretext of an invasion from TANZANIA, Amin attacked Tanzania's northwestern province of Kagera. This proved his undoing, for the Tanzanians, supported by exiled Ugandan troops, pushed into Uganda, and, in 1979, captured the capital city of KAMPALA. Amin fled to Libya before relocating to Saudi Arabia—where he received sanctuary as a Muslim—along with a number of his wives and several of his 43 children. All told, Amin's eight-year regime resulted in the deaths of 300,000 to 500,000 Ugandans. Amin died in Saudi Arabia in August 2003, from complications related to a kidney ailment.

See also: ARMIES, COLONIAL (Vol. IV) ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. V); MAU MAU (Vol. IV); OBOTE, MILTON (Vol. IV).

Amnesty International and Africa   The world's leading HUMAN RIGHTS organization, Amnesty International has played an influential role in pushing for the transparency of African regimes. Founded in the United Kingdom in 1961, Amnesty International promotes internationally recognized human rights worldwide. The organization has campaigned in virtually every African country. Its first action in Africa occurred in 1962, when the organization fought for the release of Ghanaian "prisoners of conscience," or people who were jailed solely for expressing their political views. The same year, the organization sent a representative to SOUTH AFRICA to observe the trial of Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ), who was acquitted of treason. Later, in 1965, Amnesty International supported the cause of South Africa's political prisoners who challenged the government's policies of APARTHEID, or racial segregation.

As the South African political structure changed in the 1990s, Amnesty International was on hand to document the treatment of former political prisoners and to uncover the crimes of government-sponsored "death squads," groups that systematically murdered political opponents during the apartheid era. In NIGERIA Amnesty International has recorded the human rights transgressions of myriad military leaders, including General Sani ABACHA (1943–1998), who ruled the country in the 1990s. The organization even criticized the democratically elected government of Nigerian president Olusegun OBASANJO (c. 1937–   ), demonstrating that it is willing to speak out on human rights abuses by all governments, not only those that may be perceived by the international community as despotic. With the rise of democracy in Africa in the 1990s, Amnesty International has expanded its role to be-

come a force for the continued expansion of civil liberties and government accountability.

Amnesty International's stated mission is "to undertake research and action focused on preventing and ending grave abuses of the rights to physical and mental integrity, freedom of conscience and expression, and freedom from discrimination, within the context of our work to promote all human rights."

ANC   See AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Angola   Southwest African country, about 476,200 square miles (1,233,400 sq km) in area, bordered by the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, ZAMBIA, NAMIBIA, and the Atlantic Ocean. Also part of Angola is CABINDA, a northern province that is separate from the main part of the country. From 1960 to the present, Angola has undergone the transition from Portuguese colonial rule to independence to civil war and, finally, to a rocky road toward DEMOCRATIZATION.

In the late 1950s the Angolan people joined with the people of other African nations in calling for their liberation from colonial rule. However, Portugal, the colonial power in Angola, proved resistant to independence. Angolan liberation movements exploded onto the scene in the early 1960s, with the country's major ethnic groups represented by different parties and organizations. The militaristic NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, FNLA), a group representing the Kongo people, was led by Holden ROBERTO (1923–   ). Also taking arms against the colonial system was the Marxist POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA), led by Agostinho NETO (1922–1979), a group that represented the country's large Mbundu population.

By 1966 the FNLA leadership came to an impasse, and Jonas SAVIMBI (1934–2002) split from the group to found the NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, UNITA). Made up mostly of ethnic Ovimbundu and Chokwe soldiers, UNITA immediately became a major force in the independence struggle. The three rebel groups were united in the aim of independence from Portugal, but ethnic and ideological differences had them all facing off against each other by the end of the 1960s.

In 1974 the government of Portugal was overthrown. An administration was installed that was willing to relinquish control of its overseas possessions, and it became clear that Angolan independence was not far off. In January 1975 the three competing Angolan liberation movements, the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA, met in KENYA to discuss the future of their nation. Under the auspices of Kenyan president Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), the Angolan representatives forged a trilateral agreement that called for each of the three organizations to recognize officially the right of the others to exist. It also formalized their mutual desire for a transitional government whenever independence from Portugal finally came.

On November 11, 1975, the MPLA declared Angolan independence. However, the FNLA and UNITA parties refused to acknowledge MPLA legitimacy and held separate independence ceremonies of their own. Because there was no clear successor to the Portuguese colonial government, Portugal, too, refused to acknowledge exclusive MPLA rule. As it proceeded to act as the official Angolan government, the MPLA found that independence did not necessarily improve the domestic situation, which was still rife with internal conflicts and ethnic aggression.

MPLA forces had control of the capital, LUANDA, and were supported by personnel and military hardware from both Cuba and the former Soviet Union. The FNLA and UNITA both received assistance from various, often conflicting sources, including the United States, China, Portugal, and SOUTH AFRICA. Both groups used outside assistance to continue waging their guerrilla campaigns, now against their own countrymen in the MPLA. Soon, however, the FNLA pulled out of what was by then a full-blown civil war, and its former members joined the ranks of the MPLA and UNITA.

A striking part of the Angolan civil war was the widespread abuse of children on both sides of the conflict. Young boys of all ethnicities were abducted and trained to fight on the front lines or perform other dangerous tasks, such as clearing minefields. It was not uncommon for these abducted children to be forced to murder their own parents and burn their villages in order to eliminate the possibility of returning to their native home. Girls, too, were abducted from villages and made to cook and perform sexual favors for the rank-and-file members of the warring factions.

By the end of the 1970s the Angolan conflict had been drawn into the vortex of the Cold War, with the United States and the former Soviet Union supporting opposing sides in the conflict, often through third party

"proxy" forces, including South Africa and Cuba, respectively. In this way, both sides in the conflict greatly improved their military technology and their ability to kill the other. As a result massive casualties—more than 500,000 in all—piled up on both sides.

In 1988 the bloody Battle of Cuito Cuanavale led to the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from southern Angola. Over the next three years, hostilities abated enough for the MPLA and UNITA to agree to plan an end to the war. The Bicesse Accords, signed in 1991, paved the way for elections to be held in 1992. The closely observed and generally fair elections confirmed the MPLA as the legitimate government in Angola. Savimbi, however, deemed the elections fraudulent, re-igniting the UNITA guerrilla campaign and once again turning Angola into a bloodbath.

The Angolan military conflict was costly not only in human lives lost but also monetarily. By 1990, when the end of the Cold War had caused the foreign powers to lose interest in the Angolan conflict, the warring sides were forced to look elsewhere for financial resources. Before long the two sides found that they could fund their campaigns with Angola's rich NATURAL RESOURCES. The MPLA used OIL revenues, which account for 80 to 90 percent of Angola's state income, to build up its war chest. UNITA, for its part, turned to the diamond market. Ignoring the de Beers cartel, which controls the international diamond trade, Savimbi and UNITA raised hundreds of millions of dollars by selling unofficial "conflict diamonds" outside of the regulated business channels. In this way both sides maintained their ability to wage war until 2002. That year government troops of MPLA President José Eduardo DOS SANTOS (1942–) assassinated Savimbi, removing UNITA's only real leader and thereby terminating the organization's ability to continue fighting.

Angola is now a republic divided into 18 provinces. It has a constitution and a National Assembly. The president, appointed by the victorious party in multiparty elections, enjoys a strong position in government. Currently, the Angolan government is headed by dos Santos, an MPLA official who has held his post since Agostinho Neto died in 1979.

In 1974 a coup d'état in Portugal led the country to relinquish its African colonies. On the eve of Angolan independence in 1975, two happy soldiers, one Portuguese and one Angolan, celebrated the pending withdrawal of Portuguese troops. © *United Nations/J. P. Laffont*

Immediate challenges facing Angola include poor ED-UCATION and lacking health facilities, especially concerning HIV/AIDS, which has devastated certain regions. Also, after nearly three decades of civil war, the Angolan economy is in shambles. Numerous other war-related problems exist as well, including sporadic resurfacing of hostilities and millions of unexploded land mines and ordnance throughout the countryside. On the positive side, Angola could have one of the world's fastest growing economies if oil production reaches its potential. Further, the reintegration of former UNITA soldiers into positions in the Angolan military and government is proving successful, and former child combatants are returning to their homes in peace.

Angola has vast amounts of natural resources, including oil, diamonds, iron, phosphates, copper, and uranium. Angola's agricultural EXPORTS include bananas, sugar cane, coffee, corn, cotton, manioc, and tobacco. The country also exports livestock and fish.

See also: ANGOLA (Vols. I, II, III, V); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. I); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OVIMBUNDU (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Anjouan Island of the COMOROS archipelago. A separatist movement begun on the island in 1997 brought about a period of instability and resulted in a new Comorian constitution granting each island greater autonomy. Since Comorian independence in 1975, the people of Anjouan (also called Nzwani) and the neighboring island of Moheli (Mwali) asserted that they did not receive enough support from the central government on the main island of Grand Comoros (Ngazidja). Complaints centered around a lack of opportunity and low standard of living.

As a result of this general dissatisfaction on Anjouan, in August 1997 Abdallah Ibrahim and his Anjouanais Popular Movement began attempts to secede from the Comoros union; Moheli soon joined the movement. Their initial proposal was to return the two islands to the status of a French territory, but when France refused this arrangement, they sought outright independence.

To make the secession movement legitimate, in October 1997 Abdallah Ibrahim called for a referendum, which revealed nearly unanimous support for self-determination. The referendum also marked the beginning of Anjouan's five years of armed conflict with the Comorian central government. Four months later a second referendum in Anjouan called for a new constitution for the Comoros. Abdallah Ibrahim briefly claimed a new presidency and formed an Anjouan government, but he soon turned power over to Col. Said Abeid Abderemane. In August 1999 an Anjouan National Assembly was voted in. In August 2001 Abeid was removed from power in a COUP D'ÉTAT led by soldiers loyal to Col. Mohamed Bacar (1962–).

The following year, in a pivotal action, the people of the Comoros as a whole approved by referendum a new constitution. This innovative document codified a confederation that would allow for highly independent island governments to function within a Comorian union. The AFRICAN UNION had to step in to sponsor negotiations thereafter, but the new arrangement marked a first step toward peace and reconciliation in the Comoros.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Annan, Kofi (1938–) *Secretary-general of the United Nations*

Kofi Atta Annan was born to Fante parents in KUMASI, in what was then the British Gold Coast colony (present-day GHANA). After studying in Kumasi, he won a scholarship in 1959 to study at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, where he earned a degree in economics. While a student, Annan witnessed the American civil rights movement, which he related to the struggle for Ghana's independence. Annan then studied in Switzerland before taking a position with the World Health Organization, a division of the United Nations (UN). This served as a launching point for Annan's UN career, and he went on to various positions in cities such as CAIRO and ADDIS ABABA before being promoted to the UN headquarters in New York City. From 1990 to 1996, Annan headed successful UN activities in Iraq and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1993 he achieved promotion to under-secretary-general, and in 1996 Annan was elected secretary-general, becoming the first black African to assume the position, as well as the first to be appointed from within UN ranks.

As secretary-general, Annan has faced a number of pressing issues in relation to Africa, most immediately the refugee situations arising from CIVIL WARS in countries such as RWANDA and the Democratic Republic of the

CONGO. In 1998 Annan launched a UN mission to help establish civilian rule in NIGERIA, and in 1999 he brokered an agreement with the North African country of LIBYA regarding the surrender of the perpetrators of the 1988 airline bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland. Annan's efforts, both in Africa and in the tumultuous Middle East, earned him and the United Nations the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001.

Annan was in charge of UN peacekeeping efforts in 1994, when ethnic violence between the HUTU and TUTSI populations in Rwanda resulted in the deaths of as many as one million people. When Annan visited Rwanda as secretary-general, in 1998, many in the government boycotted his appearances out of anger for the United Nations' failure to intervene in the massacres. Annan admitted that the United Nations failed in this instance due to the absence of "political will" among its members.

Fluent in English, French, and a number of African languages, Annan has promoted the United Nations' involvement in several issues of special importance to Africa, particularly DEVELOPMENT, POVERTY, HUMAN RIGHTS, ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES, and HIV/AIDS, which Annan has called his "personal priority." In 2001 Annan was appointed to a second term as Secretary-General, a testament to his popularity in the organization.

See also: HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); REFUGEES (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Antananarivo (Tananarive) Capital city of MADAGASCAR, located in the island's central highlands. Founded in 1625 among rocky ridges that rise 4,700 feet (1,433 m) above sea level, Antananarivo served as the capital of the Merina as their monarchy grew to dominate the island in the 19th century. Antananarivo then served as the capital of Madagascar throughout the French colonial period (1896–1960), and remained so at independence in 1960.

Antananarivo remains the country's center for economic, cultural, and administrative activities. Major industries include tobacco farming, food processing, and manufacturing of leather goods and textiles. The city is home to the University of Antananarivo (founded in 1961), an astronomical observatory, the French Residency, and several Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals. Antananarivo is connected by good roads to Toamasina, the island's main east coast port, the cities of Antsirabe, Fianarantsoa, and Mahajanga, and the rice-producing region

of Lake Alaotra. In addition, an international airport is located in nearby Ivato.

Antananarivo was originally organized following feudal caste divisions, with the royal family (Atinandriana) at the highest elevation, and the seven noble castes (Andriambaventy) descending in order. Free people (Hova) lived in the commercial area below the nobles, and slaves (Andevo), lived in their quarters below them. Under the French the city remained divided into sectors by location on the hills, with the Royal Estate at the highest elevation, the banks and administrative buildings below it, and the commercial district occupying the lowest areas of the city.

Present-day Antananarivo is a city of contrasts. It has a rich history as a center of Malagasy culture, and its rolling hills and unique architectural influences make it a city of beauty and drama. Boutiques selling precious stones and fine French clothing line the streets of the Haute Ville; banks and industries abound.

At the same time, Antananarivo has a homeless population that the United Nations estimates at more than 10,000; up to 6,000 street children eke out an existence by begging. Narrow streets are continuously overwhelmed by high traffic, and air and water quality are among the worst in the world. Although the number of doctors has increased, most people are too poor to afford their services, and MEDICINE is poorly distributed. Public EDUCATION is wanting, and, in some places, shantytowns and substandard houses dominate the landscape. As URBANIZATION continues, the city's limited number of industrial and civil servant jobs will fail to provide enough work for a population that, by 1999, had already grown to more than 2 million.

See also: ANDRIANAMPOINIMERINA (Vol. III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MERINA (Vols. III, IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

anthropology and Africa Anthropology is a social-science discipline concerned with the study of humans and their societies in all their dimensions. Of particular concern to anthropology as it developed as a field of study was understanding how human societies and their cultures have evolved. Also, during the colonial era anthropological studies provided important information about African societies for colonial administrators. By 1960 anthropologists had produced a substantial body of works on Africa's peoples. But these studies were virtually

all by outsiders, mostly British, who were based in European universities and research institutes as well as in the few universities on the continent. With the passing of colonial rule and the coming of independence, the discipline underwent tremendous change.

Independence for Africa brought tremendous intellectual change as well. A whole new field of academic inquiry, AFRICAN STUDIES, opened up. HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA entered an entirely new phase, one that could properly be called the beginning of major historical writing about Africa. Anthropology in Africa also underwent a fundamental transformation. While in contrast to history there was already a major body of published studies, continuing along established paths of inquiry increasingly out of step with overall thinking about Africa. Thus while the classical earlier studies of African societies focused on small communities that were viewed as closed systems, anthropologists now had to show the interaction of local communities with the larger world. Also, American scholars began to enter the field in large numbers and Africans also began to take their place in the ranks of anthropologists.

One of the major shifts in the 1960s was to focus on the economy, leading to the sub-field of economic anthropology. For example, the British scholar Polly Hill (1914–   ) produced a pioneering study of migrant cocoa farmers in GHANA and did subsequent work on economic transformations among the HAUSA of northern NIGERIA. Given the importance of AGRICULTURE in African economies and the role of both FOOD CROPS and CASH CROPS in Africa's DEVELOPMENT, the interest in economic anthropology led some anthropologists into development anthropology. Some of the early studies in this context reflected back to colonial anthropology in that they sought to explain the workings of African societies and economies to various international and national officials engaged in implementing development projects. This approach has come under increasing criticism, however, as in James Ferguson's (1959–   ) 1990 critique from an anthropological perspective of the conceptual underpinnings of the development community.

Economic issues stretch well beyond agricultural communities and workers. One important area of focus has been on MARKETS. A recent book by Karen Tranberg Hansen, for example, examines the market for second-hand clothing in ZAMBIA. The clothing comes from Europe and the United States and makes up a multibillion-dollar business. The book's title, *Salaula,* which literally means "to rummage through a pile," captures the local view of the buying and selling of these clothes. Other studies are looking at the role of transnational African traders both within Africa and outside the continent. They are to be found in major cities such as Paris, London, and New York, and studies on them have increasingly contributed to our knowledge of a new African diaspora.

The study of African URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE has constituted another new direction for the anthropological study of Africa. Except for a few pioneering scholars such as J. Clyde Mitchell (1918–   ), who examined life on Zambia's Copperbelt, there were few anthropological studies of urban life prior to 1960. Also contributing to this is James Ferguson, who has provided an important ethnography of urban lives on the present-day Copperbelt. Another dimension of urban culture is the role of women. A 1996 study by Kathleen Sheldon (1952–   ) examined the place of women in terms of "courtyards, markets, [and] city streets." Women are also intricantly involved in the process of URBANIZATION, which has often involved migration of women from the rural areas to the cities. There women often play an important role in feeding the people of African cities. Indeed, as Jane Guyer noted in a 1987 study, women provide much of the basic LABOR in farming and as well as the effort in marketing much of the produce of the fields.

Anthropologists have also begun to study how earlier anthropological knowledge came into being. This can be through writing about the lives of other anthropologists, such as the biography of Colin Turnbull (1924–1994) written by Roy Grinker (1961–   ) in 2000. It can also take the form of an examination of a colonial African research institute, such as Lyn Schumaker's study of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in colonial Zambia. Another example is Johannes Fabian, a Dutch scholar who examined the psychological state of the 19th-century explorers and ethnographers in his book, *Out of Our Minds* (2000). Fabian argued that explorers' descriptions of their encounters with African societies—descriptions on which later scholarship relied—were clouded by drugs, illness, alcohol, fatigue, and violence.

See also: ANTHROPOLOGY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

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apartheid Legalized system of racial segregation that characterized the state of SOUTH AFRICA from 1948 to 1991. The word means, literally, "aparthood," or separateness, in AFRIKAANS. The history of strict racial segregation in South Africa dated back to the founding of the Union of South Africa, in 1910. After that time the country's all-white parliament successfully pushed legislation that limited blacks' participation in society, politics, and

business and industry. After World War II (1939–45), when most other African countries were beginning the push toward independence, South Africa began the process of completely segregating its society by race. When the conservative National Party was elected to power by an all-white electorate in 1948, legalized racial segregation, called apartheid, was institutionalized.

In the early 1950s the National Party government, led by Prime Minister Hendrik VERWOERD (1901–1966), enacted laws that prevented blacks from getting good jobs or living or working in certain areas reserved for whites. Additional laws banned interracial sexual relations and marriage, while other legislation provided a framework for the implementation of BANTU EDUCATION, a system that fostered racial segregation. Among the most controversial apartheid laws were the pass laws, which required black South Africans to carry identification papers with them at all times. Taken as a whole, the laws isolated blacks from white society and discriminated against them in all facets of social organization. Once apartheid laws were in place, the South African government used them to silence opposition with brutal and systematic efficiency. In 1960 it declared the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC), and other opposition organizations illegal, thus driving them underground. The result was a sharply segregated society in which only whites enjoyed basic HUMAN RIGHTS.

Under apartheid, blacks were forced to relocate to nominally independent BANTUSTANS, or "tribal homelands," which the government had set aside for black settlement. In general, these areas were too small or lacked sufficient NATURAL RESOURCES to sustain the populations that the government consigned to them. Moreover, they lacked a viable economic base capable of encouraging DEVELOPMENT. The ultimate aim of the Bantustan system was to give blacks the status of "foreigners" in the rest of South Africa, thereby stripping them of any civil protections as soon as they left their territories. Urban Africans consistently objected to moving onto the overcrowded, barren Bantustans. Even so, the state forcibly relocated 3.5 million Africans between 1963 and 1985.

With the beginnings of the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT in the late 1960s, South Africans exhibited a heightened race consciousness and a fierce determination to end racial discrimination. The government's repressive tactics aimed at crushing the growing opposition were, by and large, successful for the duration of the 1960s and into the early 1970s. However, they transformed South Africa into a police state in which basic civil liberties were routinely abridged or violated.

As the white-minority government stubbornly insisted on clinging to apartheid, South Africa's standing in the international community progressively eroded. In 1973 the UN General Assembly went so far as to declare apartheid "a crime against humanity." Four years later the UN Security Council authorized an arms embargo against the country.

One of the most effective means by which the South African government repressed its opposition was through "banning." An entire political or social group might be banned, making future meetings illegal and marking its members for special surveillance. An individual might be banned, as well, meaning that that person was prohibited from attending social, political, or educational gatherings and was required to remain within certain boundaries. A banned person was also prohibited from preparing any document for publication and could be arrested for communicating with other banned individuals. Although most of the people banned were black, whites who joined the Communist Party also frequently received banning orders.

The struggle against apartheid acquired a new sense of urgency on June 16, 1976, with the shooting of teenage African students who were protesting against mandatory school instruction in Afrikaans, which in their view was the language of the oppressor. In response to the shooting, a protest occurred in SOWETO, a black township southwest of JOHANNESBURG. Soon, however, riots and protests spread to other urban centers across the country, as black youth rose rebellion.

The government responded by declaring a state of emergency and violently repressing all forms of anti-government agitation. The harsh government response catapulted South Africa into the international spotlight, where it became the target of intense condemnation. As neighboring countries gained their independence, power transferred to Africans, who found South Africa's white-minority government repugnant. Several Western governments cut off trade with South Africa and otherwise imposed restrictions on investment. The South African economy, which had thrived in the 1960s, began to stall.

Responding to this crisis, in the latter half of the 1970s Prime Minister P. W. BOTHA (1916–) embarked on a series of reforms, with the goal of reinforcing apartheid by rationalizing it and easing some of its restrictions. Over the next several years Botha dismantled many features of "petty apartheid," those facets of apartheid that kept the races apart in the public sphere. As a result blacks and whites were once again allowed to marry, and many beaches, parks, and other public amenities were desegregated. The process Botha initiated also brought about the eventual legal recognition of black LABOR UNIONS.

By 1973, apartheid touched on all aspects of life in South Africa, even everyday actions like sitting on a public park bench. © *UPI*

Africans became legally entitled to occupy skilled industrial positions for the first time since the 1920s. The hated pass system, which profoundly limited the mobility of Africans, was eliminated in 1985. In an especially controversial move, Botha introduced a three-chamber parliament, one that gave representation to Coloured and Indian South Africans, but significantly, excluded the country's majority population group—black Africans.

In 1983 the multiracial UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) was established to fight this development. The UDF represented more than 500 organizations, among them trade unions, civic associations, and various philanthropic groups dedicated to ending the inequities of apartheid. Anti-apartheid demonstrations became increasingly militant and often violent. Public protests, although illegal, were frequently held, often at the funerals of slain anti-apartheid activists. These strikes, boycotts, and marches collectively demonstrated the strength and determination of the liberation movement.

For his efforts, Botha was criticized on all fronts. The country's anti-apartheid activists felt his reforms were not aggressive enough. Afrikaner hard-liners, on the other hand, opposed all concessions to the nation's black majority. Within the Afrikaner community, the relative unity it once enjoyed broke down at more than just the political level. Several key Afrikaner business leaders opened talks with the exiled leaders of the African National Congress, recognizing the inevitability of soon having to negotiate with the black majority.

Other developments also gave indication of the government's inability to stem the rising tide of opposition. In 1984 a renewed wave of anti-government protests and violence swept over the country, causing the government to declare another repressive state of emergency. International condemnation mounted in the wake of this new South African crackdown. The awarding of the 1984 Noble Peace Prize to Desmond TUTU (1931–   ), the Anglican archbishop outspoken in his opposition to South

Africa's racial policies, was intended to send an unambiguous political message. The U.S. Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, overriding the veto of President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004). It imposed restrictions on American capital investment, the importation of South African goods, and direct airline access between the two countries. Both the Reagan administration and the conservative government of Great Britain generally pursued a conciliatory diplomatic approach toward South Africa—a policy called CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT—and opted to promote progress in racial relations through positive incentives instead of public criticism. The approach, however, yielded little in the way of tangible results. International pressure mounted, resulting in further economic and diplomatic sanctions that severely undermined the already struggling South African economy.

In 1988 Botha suffered a stroke, precipitating a rapid and unprecedented sequence of events. Within months F. W. DE KLERK (1936–   ) assumed the presidency. In response to the growing crisis the apartheid state faced, de Klerk began implementing the integration of black South Africans into mainstream political life. Although he sought to preserve white privilege in his targeted reforms of apartheid, de Klerk also demonstrated a willingness to extend much more significant concessions to black South Africans. For example, he entered into negotiations with Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ), the former and future leader of the ANC who had been imprisoned since 1963, to discuss a future political arrangement that would include the black population. On December 2, 1990, de Klerk announced that Mandela and other political prisoners would be unconditionally released from prison.

Within two years de Klerk and Mandela began the process of rescinding the apartheid laws that had separated South Africans for so long. For their efforts toward a peaceful transition to a new, more inclusive South African state, de Klerk and Mandela were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994. In April of that year South Africa held the first national elections in which all South Africans of age could freely vote. When the ANC won the elections Mandela became South Africa's first black president, and his long-held dream of an apartheid-free South Africa was that much closer to becoming a reality.

See also: BAASKAAP (Vol. IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); RACISM AND RACE RELATIONS (Vol. IV).

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Arab world and Africa   The Arab world inextricably overlaps Africa in language, culture, economy, RELIGION, and geopolitical concerns. There is a long history of interaction between the Arabian peninsula and the African continent, some of it going back to ancient times. As Islam rose in the seventh century CE it spread throughout the north of the continent into modern day LIBYA, TUNISIA, ALGERIA, and MOROCCO, and the northern portions of the states running along the Sahelian belt south of the Sahara. It then continued down Africa's east coast. Religion joined trade in bringing together hitherto disparate civilizations. The result has been cultural and linguistic blending. The Arab world and Africa are thus not separate. The Arab world covers an area of 5.4 million square miles (14.2 million sq km), much of it overlapping the African continent.

The uneasy relationship between North and sub-Saharan Africa has been instrumental in guiding the relationship between the continent and the Arabian peninsula. Battleground states such as NIGERIA, the Republic of the SUDAN, and CHAD, in the north, and KENYA and TANZANIA, in the east, have seen tumultuous civil conflicts between Muslim and non-Muslim regions of the country. In each of these cases African Muslims have turned to support from other corners of the Arab world to gain a foothold within their own countries. In turn, Arab countries benefited from increases in pan-Arab nationalism associated with conflicts with and within non-Arab states.

Geopolitics also guides Arab-African relations. The Arab League was formed in 1945 in an effort to create a single Arab state. Nine of its 22 member countries are in Africa: DJIBOUTI, Algeria, Tunisia, Sudan, SOMALIA, The COMOROS, EGYPT, Morocco, and MAURITANIA. The Arab League has never garnered the power necessary to achieve its original objective, but it has been influential in creating a political interest bloc.

The most obvious arena for observing Arab solidarity was during the ARAB-ISRAELI WARS. As early as the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference (1955), nascent African countries signed a resolution condemning Israeli occupation of Arab lands. With independence in the 1960s, new African countries could join and vote in the United Nations, where they were quick to vote with the Arab bloc. Further, when the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY was formed in 1963, it immediately had a close relationship with the Arab League, since it shared many constituencies. At a critical stage in 1973 Algerian President Houari BOUMEDIENNE (1927–1978) became chairman of the non-aligned movement. The movement passed resolutions supporting Egypt, Syria, and Jordan against Israel's occupation. Leaders in the African countries of TOGO and ZAÏRE (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO) rapidly severed ties with Israel, and nearly every country on the continent followed suit. As argued by Zaïre's president at the time, MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997), there was an African dimension to the Arab-Israeli

conflict. Two decades passed before the majority of African countries once again had reestablished ties with Israel.

Nationalist goals have guided African policies towards Middle Eastern Arab countries. Israel was a long-time supporter of ETHIOPIA in its effort to block the formation of an independent state of ERITREA. The Jewish state funded insurgency movements against the governments in Algeria, Nigeria, MOZAMBIQUE, and elsewhere. As a result, governments have turned to Arab counterparts to seek assistance with training and funding.

The Arab-Israeli conflict has played out in the African Arab world in other ways. Israel was a supporter of the APARTHEID regime in SOUTH AFRICA. It maintained economic, political, and military ties long after South Africa was marginalized by the rest of the world. FRONTLINE STATES, such as BOTSWANA and Mozambique, were thus quick to lend support to the Arab cause not out of cultural or religious solidarity but out of political agreement.

France has also played a unique role in shaping the Arab world relationship with Africa. President Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) introduced the France Arab Policy in 1967, following the Six-Day War in which Israel gained territory from Jordan, Egypt, and Syria. De Gaulle saw presidential politics as being enhanced by "strongman" leadership. He used this position to encourage the rise of African strongmen such as President Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993) of IVORY COAST, who supported French efforts to nurture relations with Arab states while providing French trading opportunities. France's role as a mediator has seen a resurgence under President Jacques Chirac (1932–), who had strong ties to Arab countries dating back to his early presidential ambitions in the mid-1970s. In particular, he maintained close ties to President Muammar QADDAFI (1942–) of Libya and, more auspiciously, he strongly supported President Henri Konan Bédié (1934–), Houphouët-Boigny's protege.

A fourth way in which the Arab world and Africa have come together geopolitically and economically is in OIL production. For example, Nigeria is a member of the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC). This effectively means that oil proceeds, the backbone of the Nigerian economy, are governed by limitations placed by an international organization dominated by Arab member states. Other oil-producing countries in sub-Sarahan Africa, such as ANGOLA, Chad, and GABON, are not presently OPEC members, but the organization dominates the price of the resource, significantly influencing those countries' economies.

Qaddafi has been a tremendous individual force in linking the Arab world and Africa. He long sought influence in the Arab League and held sway over other leaders in the Arab world. Then, in 1999, he turned over to international authorities two Libyan men suspected of bombing a Pan Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland. This greatly

improved his diplomatic position in Europe, where Libyan trade rapidly increased. It also made great strides toward rebuilding Libya's relationship with the United States. However, Qaddafi's move eroded his support in the Arab world and dashed his hopes of becoming the preeminent pan-Arab leader. He then focused on pan-African leadership, becoming a pivotal force in the establishment of the AFRICAN UNION. His unique combination of Arab and African leadership has made him a lynchpin between the two worlds.

Today's global political climate, and in particular the U.S.-led war on TERRORISM, has led to a divide within the African Arab world. In particular, the United States has invested significantly in East Africa and the Horn of Africa, mandating cooperation from countries such as Somalia, Djibouti, and Kenya, all of which had strong historical ties with the Arabian peninsula. When these countries agreed to join the United States in the war on terrorism, it challenged some of the established relationships between Arab and African partners.

Compounding newly strained relations between the sub-continent and Middle Eastern Arab countries has been the precipitous drop in foreign ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. Arab aid to Africa peaked in 1976 and then fell 44 percent by 1982. In the 1990s aid from Arab countries became more institutionalized and project-oriented. The Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, headquartered in KHARTOUM, Sudan, paid out only $675 million in its fourth Five-Year Plan (2000–04), most of it in the form of technical assistance. Thus, Arab influence through development aid is minor compared to the $15.2 billion in commitments that the Western-dominated World Bank has on the continent.

See also: BANDUNG AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE (Vol. IV); DE GAULLE, CHARLES (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Arab-Israeli Wars   Series of violent confrontations that began in 1948–49 and continued in 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982. Since the early years of the 20th century relations between Arabs and Jews in Palestine were marked by tension over the establishment of a Jewish state. On May 14, 1948, with the support of Britain and the United States, the state of Israel became an independent nation. The first Arab-Israeli War (1948) was declared that same day. It ended in an armistice that established Israel's borders.

The second Arab-Israeli War (1956–57) was part of a secret plan between Britain, France, and Israel to regain

control of the SUEZ CANAL, which Egyptian president Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) had nationalized. As part of the agreement ending the war, Israel gave back its territorial gains in Sinai.

The third Arab-Israeli War (1967) is sometimes called the Six-Day War. Clashes between Israel and Syria led EGYPT to join with Jordan, Syria, and Iraq to mobilize their forces in preparation for an attack on Israel. ALGERIA, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia supported the Arab nations' plans. However, on June 5, 1967, Israeli warplanes made a preemptive strike against the Egyptian air force, destroying it before any plane could leave the ground. With air superiority guaranteed, Israeli troops repelled invading Arab ground forces in six days. As a result of the Six-Day War Israel occupied additional territory, including the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula, that had once belonged to Egypt, Syria, and Jordan.

Israel's decision to take possession of this new land led the Arab world to view Israel as imperialistic. Consequently, on October 6, 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel once again. This fourth Arab-Israeli War is sometimes called the Yom Kippur War because the initial attacks—by Egypt across the Suez Canal and by Syria across the Golan Heights—took place on the Jewish holiday of that name. Israeli forces once again made immediate advances. Israel's success on the battlefield motivated the government of the former Soviet Union to airlift military equipment and supplies to Egypt and Syria. A day later the United States (U.S.) intervened by airlifting supplies to Israel. By the time U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (1923–) negotiated a cease fire 18 days later, 8,500 Arab soldiers and 6,000 Israeli soldiers had been killed or severely wounded.

The territorial gains that Israel made as a result of the Yom Kippur War led to further condemnation of Israel as racist and imperialistic. At its 1972 meeting the pan-African ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) also joined in the chorus of voices against Israeli imperialism and condemned Portugal and SOUTH AFRICA for the same reasons. The OAU censure of Israel led CHAD, ZAÏRE (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO), and NIGER to join UGANDA in severing ties with Israel by the end of 1973. The majority of African countries soon followed suit. Ironically, in 1979, when Egypt signed the Camp David Peace Accords that formally ended the 30-year state of war between Egypt and Israel, 18 African countries severed ties with Egypt. In 1982 Egypt, no longer at war with Israel, was not involved in the Sixth Arab-Israeli War, which was fought entirely inside Lebanon. Israeli forces finally withdrew from Lebanon in 1985.

In 1982, President MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997) of Zaïre restored ties with Israel in exchange for economic support. By 1990 most of Africa had normalized relations.

However, the region is still characterized by political unrest and instability, and African sentiments remain subject to change. Because they share a common religion, many Muslim states in Africa perceive the Arab-Israeli conflict as a war against Islam. As a result, when U.S. president George W. Bush (1946–) turned to African countries to support Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003) against Iraq, he found only ERITREA and ETHIOPIA at his side.

See also: ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vol. IV); ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. V); SUEZ CANAL (Vol. V).

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archaeology Archaeology, which involves the systematic recovery and study of material culture representing past human life and activities, made vast strides as an academic discipline after 1960 in its contribution to our understanding of the African past. Until 1960 the practice of archaeology in Africa had two distinct trends. One was what might be called monumental archaeology, which was especially prominent in EGYPT and the northern part of the continent. The second trend was a focus on both human origins and early human material culture. While both of these traditions continued with important new advances, the advent of political independence led to a broadening of archaeological research and to attempts to learn more about African history and prehistory. The focus of this new trend was on the development of modern African societies, and it paid particular attention to recent millennia. Accompanying this third trend was a shift away from explaining developments in Africa primarily as a result of external influences. Instead, there was an effort to explain what happened within Africa in terms of internal, African sources.

Advances in scientific techniques facilitated these new directions in archaeological research. Particularly important in this regard was the advent of C-14, or radiocarbon, dating. By the 1950s this became an effective tool for determining the age of artifacts found at an archaeological site.

Archaeological research in the monumental vein has continued to make valuable contributions to our knowledge of the African past. For example, during the 1990s Hafed Walda, a scholar from the University of London, conducted excavations of the UNESCO World Heritage site at the Roman city of Lepcis Magna. Located in the Tripolitania area of LIBYA, the remains of this ancient city are particularly well-preserved and offer exciting opportunities for learning more about the Roman era in North Africa. Equally exciting discoveries have been made

about the kingdom of Kush, which stretched along the Nile River in the present-day Republic of the SUDAN. There, important archaeological excavations of its capital city of Meroë took place from 1965 to 1972 and again in the 1990s.

The Carbon-14 (C-14) atom, also termed *radiocarbon,* is present in all organisms and is constantly replenished while organisms are alive. When an organism dies, however, the C-14 in it begins to decay. This decay takes place at such a constant rate that scientists have determined that C-14's half-life—meaning the time it takes for half the atoms in a radioactive substance to disintegrate—is 5,730 years (plus or minus 40 years). Scientists can measure the amount of C-14 in bones, dried seeds, wood, and so forth, compare it with the original amount of C-14 that would have been present, and then determine when those things ceased to be part of living organisms. Thus, if archaeologists find a site containing cattle bones, they can determine, fairly accurately, when the cattle died.

While important advances were made in our understanding about human origins in Africa prior to 1960, the decades since then have provided even more critical knowledge. Louis Leakey (1903–1972) and his wife Mary LEAKEY (1913–1996) continued their important research in the Olduvai Gorge area of TANZANIA. Then, in the 1970s, their son, Richard LEAKEY (1944–), found hominid remains in the Lake Turkana region of northern KENYA. These dated back 2.5 million years. Our understanding of the beginnings of human origins was pushed further back in time later in the 1970s, when Donald Johanson (1943–) discovered a fossil female skeleton in northeastern ETHIOPIA. Named "Lucy," the fossil was nearly 3.2 million years old. Continuing research has pushed human origins back to nearly seven million years ago with the 2002 discovery of a skull, named *Toumai* (meaning "hope of life" in the local Goran language), in northern CHAD. It combined the features of both chimpanzees and humans.

Another focal point for the study of human origins concerns the question of when anatomically modern human beings emerged. Here the fossil evidence is rather scanty. However, the DNA evidence suggests that at some point—generally believed to have been between 150,000 and 100,000 years ago—the first anatomically human creatures emerged from one of these earlier African hominids. Early humans then moved out from Africa to the rest of the Afro-Euro-Asian landmass. An important dis-

covery in this regard was made in 2001 by archaeologists in SOUTH AFRICA. At Blombos Cave, some 200 miles (322 km) east of CAPE TOWN, they found evidence that 70,000 years ago there were human beings in the area making artifacts revealing both abstract and creative thought. The present evidence thus suggests that not only did modern humans first emerge on the African continent but also that modern human behavior appeared earlier in Africa than elsewhere.

This period also saw significant developments in the third trend in archaeology in Africa, which was the focus on human and material culture over the past 10,000 or so years. One of the most important developments in this regard was the founding, in 1959, of the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa (BIHAEA) and its journal, *Azania,* in 1966. This led to important research on such topics as the origins of the kingdoms in the lakes area of the interior, the salt trade, and the linkages between the Swahili Coast and the interior. In addition, the BIHAEA also worked with African museums to promote EDUCATION about the East African past. This in turn helped open the profession of archaeology to African researchers.

A particular focus of this research during recent years was on Iron Age sites. Initially this research was done at sites that were linked with the spread of iron and of AGRICULTURE in sub-Saharan Africa over the past two millennia. Later there was research on Iron Age sites elsewhere on the continent.

These Iron Age sites were associated with the spread of crops that had originated earlier in Africa. Aided by additional botanical evidence, archaeologists have now shown that Sudanic Africa was one of the world's three earliest centers for the development of agriculture between 9500 and 8000 BCE. Between 8000 and 5000 BCE three additional African centers of agricultural innovation emerged, two in the Horn of Africa and a third in the West African woodlands. While farmers in North Africa grew crops and raised animals that had originated in the Middle East, crops and domesticated animals dispersed throughout sub-Saharan Africa from these African centers of origin.

Archaeological discoveries are often a matter of chance. In 2000, for example, a team of paleontologists researching dinosaur fossils in the Agadez region of NIGER happened on a large Neolithic site that is at least 5,000 years old. Evidence from the site suggests that people once lived in an area that for several millennia has been desert. The area's inhabitants herded cattle, goats, and sheep and harvested wild grains but did not grow their own crops.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. I, II, III, IV); KUSH (Vol. I); LEAKEYS, THE (Vol. I); MEROË (Vol. I); ROME (Vol. I); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV); TRIPOLITANIA (Vol. I).

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architecture Throughout Africa the architecture found in European-styled cities established during the colonial era became the model for cities, towns, and villages built during the independence period. With increasing URBANIZATION Western styles of construction have come to replace traditional home-building techniques, eventually being used in even the most remote areas. Across the continent modern methods of construction have been seen as supposedly civilized and a reflection of wealth. On the other hand, traditional materials—such as mud bricks and clay stucco—have been thought to indicate substandard or "primitive" housing. As a result, the use of indigenous, or "vernacular," techniques and materials has become more rare.

In some African countries cultural guardians worry that the knowledge of traditional vernacular architecture may disappear within a few generations. In ZAMBIA, however, a group of architects is working against this trend by constructing large, beautiful buildings using only local materials. The finished products demonstrate that traditional building materials can be used to make houses as strong, comfortable, and attractive as houses built using modern, Western materials.

Challenges of Urban Architecture Even in colonial times cities were filled with indigenous architectural elements. In the post-independence period, however, increasing numbers of urban Africans have come to occupy planned cities, living and working in buildings constructed with imported materials and designed by European or European-trained architects. In the 1960s designers following in the footsteps of modern European masters like Le Corbusier (1887–1965) strove for architectural and urban standardization. This ethos competed with existing African aesthetics and environmental realities to produce a hybrid urban construction style.

The use of modern, standardized building materials in Africa began during the colonial period and continues to this day. However, the cost of acquiring foreign-made, prefabricated building materials has contributed to the African dependence on imports from industrialized countries. In general, without a healthy import-export economy, African countries do not have the financial resources to continue imitating European design and construction.

In some areas of North, East, and West Africa city planning and construction appear to be similar despite varying environments. This often can be attributed to the involvement of Islamic architects and civic planners. The cities of CAIRO, EGYPT; KANO, NIGERIA; and Fez, MOROCCO, for example, are laid out in an east–west orientation with a center city square. Radiating out from the square, usually in irregular patterns, are neighborhoods with narrow streets over which the buildings cast protective shadows. Buildings are typically uniform in height, with their monotony often broken by the towers of palaces and large civic buildings or the minarets of mosques.

In some Islamic countries, such as LIBYA, elements of indigenous architecture were generally ignored in the construction of European-style, urban high-rise buildings. However, outside influences from regions other than Europe are increasingly involved in construction in both urban and rural areas. In Wa, GHANA, Pakistani Muslims funded the construction of a new central mosque. Also, Islamic organizations from Saudi Arabia have financed the construction of mosques in CHAD, SUDAN, and NIGERIA.

Within the living quarters in these cities are compounds arranged according to the lineage of the occupants. To keep with traditional Islamic social customs, compounds often have interior courtyards that allow women to go out of doors while remaining secluded from public view.

In capital cities established by Europeans, including LAGOS, Nigeria; NAIROBI, KENYA; and CONAKRY, GUINEA, European planners did not make accommodations for local, lower-income workers. As a result, rapidly growing shantytowns on the cities' outskirts have become problematic. Housing is one of the most pressing needs in African urban areas. Cities that are already densely populated continue to receive new arrivals daily. In the rural-to-urban migration, many people come to the cities to find jobs and to enjoy urban amenities—such as electricity and running water—that are unavailable in the rural

During the era of independence, structures built using traditional architecture became increasingly rare sights, as western influences spread even to Africa's rural areas. These traditional Dogon homes in Mali were photographed in 1976. © *National Archives*

areas. However, many immigrants arrive in the city without an education or marketable skills. Consequently, they fail to find paying jobs and end up as squatters in substandard housing on the edge of town. This leaves them without access to the INFRASTRUCTURE that attracted them to the city in the first place.

For decades Egyptian architect Hassan "Bey" Fathi (1900–1989) was one of the world's most respected architects. His book, *Architecture of the Poor* (1976), was translated into 22 languages and is used as a textbook in architecture classes around the world. In 1977 the International Federation of Architects named Fathi the "World's Best Architect."

In precolonial indigenous cities the exteriors of family compounds tended to look the same. Wealth was demonstrated through access to prestige goods and by maintaining servants. However, changes during the colonial period emphasized housing construction and neighborhoods that divided people on the basis of class and lifestyle.

In South Africa a volunteer project called Architecture for Humanity has been designing mobile HIV/AIDS health clinics that can be flown into remote areas to serve African people all over the continent. The renowned Canadian-born architect Frank Gehry is an adviser for the project. Other advisers include humanitarian architects and designers from Kenya, ZIMBABWE, and South Africa.

In SOUTH AFRICA the urban areas reflect European ideas of construction with little Islamic influence. Cities like PRETORIA, capital of the Republic of South Africa, were planned around the needs of its white citizens.

Similarly architectural styles in major South African cities like CAPE TOWN, DURBAN, and JOHANNESBURG reflect European styles. In these cities the government's public works programs acted as the training ground for the first generation of white South African-born architects. These people, mostly men, built Victorian and Edwardian structures that today stand in the shadows of modern high-rises such as the IBM building in Johannesburg.

Despite the overwhelming movement toward modernization and standardization, it is possible that the face of African architecture may be changing. With progress, DEVELOPMENT, and increasing levels of education, African architects are beginning to design and construct modern buildings using materials and stylistic elements borrowed from the rich traditions of African design.

See also: ARCHITECTURE (Vols. I, II, III, IV); TOWNS AND CITIES (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

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AREMA See PILLAR AND STRUCTURE FOR THE SALVATION OF MADAGASCAR.

Armah, Ayi Kwei (1939–   ) *Ghanaian author*

Ayi Kwei Armah was born into a Fante-speaking family in Sekondi-Takoradi, the coastal capital of the western region of present-day GHANA. He was educated at the prestigious Achimota College and then went to the United States to continue his education. He earned a bachelor's degree in sociology from Harvard University, worked in ALGERIA, Ghana, and France, and then returned to the United States to get an MFA in creative writing from Columbia University.

Armah has worked throughout Africa and has also taught at universities in the United States. He is the author of six novels in addition to many essays, poems, and short stories. He currently lives in DAKAR, SENEGAL, where he continues to write and teach.

Armah's writing focuses on Africa's need to retrieve its authentic past and for Africans to reinvent themselves and create a united, pan-African community. In this he echoes the stance of Ghana's founding president, Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), who called for a United States of Africa. Armah's works, such as his first novel, *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born* (1968), which satirized the corruption of Ghana's postcolonial elite, often have a polemical tone. This has made him a controversial figure in African literature, for he openly addresses the key issues of identity and lack of economic and political progress that have plagued the continent since independence.

See also: AKAN (Vols. III, IV, V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

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art Contemporary African artists have applied new techniques and new materials in adapting to the rapidly changing structure of African society. While some artists have been studio-trained either in Europe or Africa, others are self-taught. Because Africa is such a large continent and its artists are so widely dispersed, there have been no continent-wide art movements. Thus, artists generally do not know one another or share their techniques. There are few art galleries, and even fewer art critics.

Indigenous Arts Most Africans living in rural settings produce indigenous art. These arts are divided by gender within each ethnic group. In many societies, for example, women are potters and men are blacksmiths. Depending upon the ethnic group, the women or the men may be weavers. Regions may be known for specific artistic styles. Art in North Africa, for example, is defined by an Islamic aesthetic that insists upon abstraction, geometrical decoration, and embellished Arabic script.

In East Africa personal adornment, including scarification, tattooing, and body painting, remains dominant. From ETHIOPIA to TANZANIA, for example, there is a rich tradition of using henna for body painting, including the decorative painting of a bride's hands and feet in preparation for the wedding ceremony. In northern ZAMBIA and the neighboring Democratic Republic of the CONGO, various ethnic groups practice body adornment by creating raised scars, called *cicatrices.*

Regardless of region, however, African art generally serves a function in society. Evidence of this is seen in the way many artists in western and Central Africa decorate objects used in religious rituals or items used as tools of everyday life. At many levels, African societies change to reflect new influences. So, as Christianity and Islam have spread, artistically decorated ritual objects have changed in appearance. Old art forms that expressed indigenous religious practices are abandoned in favor of new forms. As a result masks, statues, and ceremonial adornments sometimes become commodities to be sold to museums, art dealers, or professional collectors. Without an accompanying explanation of the object's function in society, museums and art patrons often do not understand the original meaning of the object. Other misunderstandings stem from incorrect classification. Many art objects in museums are identified by the "tribe" from which the object is thought to come. This

is an inappropriate system because art styles crosscut ethnic lines or differ within the boundaries of a single ethnic group.

Tourist Arts Especially after the end of colonialism, indigenous artists began producing objects for sale as souvenirs for foreign travelers. At first, these items were made for a small market of Europeans. African art students and craft shops produced replicas of popular styles for sale in urban MARKETS in and around major hotels and at airports. As demand for African art increased, indigenous producers of African textiles, woodcarvings, and metal castings moved to the urban areas and began teaching others their crafts. In this way, art provided jobs for some of the urban unemployed.

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Niké of Oshogbo, NIGERIA, created an artists' cooperative where she taught women how to tie-dye fabric using indigo, and how to create batik textiles for sale in the tourist market. She used indigenous methods and indigenous themes in the production of these textiles.

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In BENIN CITY, Nigeria, craftsmen made bronze castings using the same lost-wax process that was utilized by the city's famed sculptors for hundreds of years. Tourists bought most of these statues. Similarly, Makonde artisans in DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania, became well known for their wood carvings in the 1960s. Even today they sell their work through dealers who export it around the world. In EGYPT imitation Pharaonic items, as well as papyrus copies, can be found in the tourist markets.

Tourist art has become a big entrepreneurial business. West African producers and sellers, many from SENEGAL, peddle items in an expanding African tourist-arts market in the United States. Millions of dollars worth of art objects from KENYA, Tanzania, and Zambia are imported into the United States each year. Another important market for tourist art is the African urban middle class, which, like middle classes around the world, has a great appreciation for art.

Popular Art After independence, the changing lives of Africans was reflected in their art forms. A new school of African artists began producing pop art sculptures that portrayed new technology, such as planes and cars, but that also retained old themes, such as the Shona bird sculptures that have become the new symbol of ZIMBABWE. New technology was used by artists in CAMEROON as well, where aluminum became a medium for casting objects. In GHANA, IVORY COAST, Nigeria, and the Congo region, artists created Christian cemetery sculptures with the relatively new religious emblems of crosses and female angels.

Painting was a genre of African art as early as the 1930s. Since then pictures of rural life were sold to tourists and also became valued by urban elites and the middle class. In SOUTH AFRICA and Zimbabwe, MISSIONARIES introduced mural painting to Ndebele women, who then used the techniques they learned to decorate local ARCHITECTURE.

Academic Arts Influences of the international art community have contributed to the development of academic arts in Africa. Even during colonial times European artists set up schools, and Africans trained in Europe. Following a European model, Africans trained in local academic institutions. For example, in 1927 the Margaret Trowell School of Fine Arts was established at MAKERERE UNIVERSITY in KAMPALA, UGANDA. By 1957 Ethiopia had the Fine Arts School of Addis Ababa. One of the early teachers at that academy was Alexander "Skunder" Boghossian (1937–2003), Ethiopia's well-known painter. In his art, he blended Western philosophy and cultural movements with indigenous African cultural traditions.

Influenced by a school of Mexican mural painting, Valente Malangatana (1936–) of MOZAMBIQUE introduced a new art style for liberation movements in southern Africa. Sculptor Sobari Douglas Camp, from Calabar, Nigeria, studied in London and created popular sculptures using welded metal and battery power to create movement. Contemporary governments used the arts for prestige by giving patronage to high-profile artists such as Kofi Antubam (1922–) of Ghana, Ben Enwonwu (1921–1994) of Nigeria, and Liyolo of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In the 21st century the field of African art continues to be dynamic in its merger of indigenous themes with international styles.

See also: ART (Vols. I, II, III, IV); ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. IV); GENDER IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); NDEBELE (Vol. IV); OSHOGBO (Vol. III); SHONA (Vol. I); TEXTILES (Vol. IV).

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Arusha Declaration Statement of principles by which Tanzanian president Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) hoped to guide the economic and social DEVELOPMENT of his nation. Issued on February 5, 1967, the Arusha Declaration was more a philosophical statement than a step-by-step program. It rejected as "stupid" the previous reliance that TANZANIA had had on foreign aid. It also rejected the notion that INDUSTRIALIZATION could be immediately brought

to developing nations like Tanzania, since the economies of these nations were primarily agricultural and their people were rural. Instead, Nyerere argued, equitable and long-lasting development would come only via a community-based policy that grew out of the roots of Tanzania's own land and people.

According to this strategy, money for economic development—and eventual industrialization—would come primarily by expanding Tanzania's agricultural resources. To accomplish this the declaration urged the people to work harder and longer, to share knowledge of farming techniques, and to dedicate themselves to the notion of community. "From now on," the declaration asserted, "we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come, but their foundation is *the people* and their *hard work,* especially in *agriculture.* This is the meaning of self-reliance…"

See also: AFRICAN SOCIALISM (Vol. IV); NYERERE, JULIUS (Vol. IV); SOCIAL CAPITAL (Vol. V); *UJAMAA* (Vol. V).

Asian communities The principal Asian communities in modern Africa are from South Asia and are located in the former British colonies of East and southern Africa and the Indian Ocean islands. Because Britain ruled what is today India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan as part of its empire, it drew LABOR from the Indian sub-continent for use in African colonies. These workers built railroads in East Africa and provided the labor force for the sugar plantations of both the island of MAURITIUS and Natal. Some from then British-ruled India also emigrated to Africa as merchants.

The largest South Asian community in terms of percentage lives on the island of Mauritius, where it constitutes about 40 percent of the population. Many of the island's Creoles have Indian ancestry as well. Another 2 percent or so originate from China. About one-half of the Mauritian Asians are Hindu and about one-sixth are Muslim. Many still work in the agricultural sector, but others are part of the expanding technologically driven business community. The South African Indian community, as the South Asians are known there, makes up less than 3 percent of the country's population, but that still amounts to more than one million people. They are concentrated in KwaZulu/Natal Province, especially in DURBAN and its surrounding urban area. Indeed, they outnumber the city's white population, though they, in turn, are far outnumbered by the area's African residents.

The Asian communities of former British East Africa and central Africa, while still significant, are far smaller. Many emigrated from KENYA after its independence in 1963 so that today they account for less than 1 percent of the population there. Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh in terms of RELIGION, these people reside principally in the urban cen-

ters of Kisumu, MOMBASA, and NAIROBI. In TANZANIA the South Asian community, which expanded during the colonial period, has declined since independence. Much of the retail sector in DAR ES SALAAM and other towns, however, continues to be in the hands of Indian businesspeople.

In his 1979 novel, *A Bend in the River*, V. S. Naipaul (1932–), the Trinidadian writer, captures the experience of much of the Asian community in Africa in the years following independence. The book's narrator, Salim, is a Muslim Indian merchant who operates a store in a town located on the banks of the fictionalized Congo River. He describes the events and deteriorating conditions as political CORRUPTION takes hold of a country, freed from colonial rule, seeking a new identity in the modern world.

The transition from living under colonial rule to living under independent African governments was difficult for the Asian communities, as attested by their declining numbers due to emigration in Kenya and Tanzania. Nowhere, however, did they face such difficulties as in UGANDA. When Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003) seized power in 1971 he capitalized on the general unpopularity of Asians among the African population to gain more political support for his reign. In 1972 he expelled all the estimated 50,000 non-citizen Asians (few had become citizens at independence in 1962) and confiscated their businesses and possessions, which he redistributed to Africans. This was a popular move, but it proved disastrous to the Ugandan economy and also undermined the Amin government's international standing. As part of the efforts in the early 1990s to rebuild the economy, President Yoweri MUSEVENI (1944–) invited the former Asian residents to return to Uganda and restored much of their property. Thousands did so, resuming their vital role in the business sector.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Asmara (Asmera) Capital and largest city of ERITREA, located near the Red Sea in the Eritrean highlands. Asmara, which was originally a minor TIGRAY village, was the capital of the Italian colony of Eritrea from 1889 until 1941, after which it was the capital for British-adminis-

tered Eritrea. With the 1952 United Nations resolution that aligned Eritrea with ETHIOPIA, Asmara became a provincial capital.

Starting in 1961 Eritrea gradually became engulfed in warfare. At that time, an armed nationalist movement, the ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT, began fighting a prolonged war against the Ethiopian government in an attempt to secure the country's independence. Asmara itself did not suffer much from the direct effects of the war, though indirect effects included a disrupted economy and a deterioration of the city's INFRASTRUCTURE. It remained a provincial capital until Eritrean independence in 1993, at which time it became the new country's capital.

Due to the continued Italian presence in Asmara, a holdover from the colonial era, the city, in the words of one observer, has "a string of boutiques, coffee-shops, and restaurants reminiscent of southern Italy."

Today Asmara is a city of more than 400,000 inhabitants, with approximately equal numbers of Muslims and Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. There is also still a significant Italian population. The city is accessible by the Eritrean Railway, an international airport, and the nearby Red Sea port of Massawa, located about 40 miles (65 km) away. Major industries in Asmara include textiles, footwear, soft drinks, and leather tanning, and the city also supports a robust agricultural market. As the capital, the city is home to the national University of Asmara, which was founded in 1954 as a Roman Catholic institution.

See also: ASMARA (Vols. II, IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

ASP See AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY.

Assoumani, Azali (1959–) *President of the Union of Comoros*

Azali Assoumani was born in 1959 on Grande Comore, the principal island of the COMOROS. He rapidly moved up the military ranks, becoming army chief of staff when President Mohamed Said Djohar (1918–) came to power by military coup in 1989. In 1992 Azali was wounded in a failed rebel coup attempt, but he remained head of the Comoran military throughout the 1990s, under both President Mohamed Taki Abdoulkarim (1936–1998) and interim president Tajiddine Ben Said Massounde (1933–).

In 1997 INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS on the other large Comoran islands of ANJOUAN and Moheli took a vio-

lent turn, and Azali became the chief facilitator of the peace negotiations. When representatives from the three islands refused to approve a new peace plan in April 1999, Azali mounted a successful, bloodless coup of his own. Upon deposing Massounde, Assoumani dissolved the existing constitution and government and promised to replace his military regime with a civilian government. In 2002 each of the three islands—Grande Comore, Anjouan, and Moheli—elected its own civilian president, and Assoumani retired from the army in order to assume the overall presidency of the reunited Union of Comoros. In this role Assoumani controls the defense, finance, and security apparatus of the union.

Aswan Dam Either of two dams across the Nile River near Aswan, EGYPT. The Aswan "Low" Dam was completed in 1902. It was supplanted in the 1960s by the much larger Aswan "High" Dam. In 1898 British engineers began construction of a massive dam near the city of Aswan, Egypt, designed to control the Nile's annual flooding and help provide a stable source of water for crops. The Aswan "Low" Dam was completed in 1902 but it quickly became apparent that the dam was incapable of handling the Nile's more extreme floods. In 1952 planning began for a second dam, the Aswan "High" Dam, four miles upriver from the Low Dam.

To help finance the dam Egypt played on Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States initially agreed to help fund the project, but it then withdrew, presumably over the conflicts between Egypt and Israel. Egypt then turned to the Soviet Union, which provided funding, along with military advisers and workers.

Egypt and the Republic of the SUDAN signed the Nile Water Agreement in 1959, and construction began the following year. Even before the High Dam was completed, complications arose, however. The dam's reservoir would submerge much of Lower Nubia, the area stretching along the Nile from Aswan past the ancient town of Wadi Halfa, in the northern Sudan. With a rich history intertwined with that of Egypt, the region was home to many ancient monuments, temples, and archaeological sites of great value. In order to help save these cultural treasures, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) began an extensive rescue operation in 1960, relocating as many as twenty monuments in Egypt and another four in the Sudan. The most recognizable of these is the temple of Abu Simel, which was relocated in its entirety. Despite these efforts countless other monuments and artifacts were lost when the reservoir was created. No less traumatic was the displacement of over 90,000 Nubians who lived in the reservoir area. Those in the Sudan were moved as far as 370 miles from their previous homes.

In 1970 the dam was completed. Two miles long, the High Dam created Lake Nasser; named after Egyptian president Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), the reservoir is approximately 300 miles (483 km) long. The new dam succeeded in controlling the Nile and produced a 30 percent increase in arable land in Egypt. The dam's hydroelectric capabilities doubled Egypt's power supply.

Despite its benefits, the dam caused significant ecological problems. Downstream areas of the Nile, once fertilized by sediments left after the seasonal floods, now had to be artificially fertilized by farmers. The fertile Nile Delta began to shrink, also due to lack of sediment deposits. Even the Mediterranean shrimping industry was adversely affected by the change in the Nile's flow.

See also: ASWAN (Vol. I); ASWAN DAM (Vol. IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); EGYPTOLOGY (Vols. IV, V); KUSH (Vol. I); MEDITERRANEAN SEA (Vols. I, II); NILE DELTA (Vol. I); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); NILE VALLEY (Vol. I); SUDAN, THE (Vol. II); WATER RESOURCES (Vol. V).

atmospheric change Shifts in Africa's climate—the result of natural occurrences and, in recent years, exacerbated by INDUSTRIALIZATION, URBANIZATION, and increased levels of AGRICULTURE—have led to important changes in temperature, rainfall, and air quality. With an area of 11,700,000 square miles (30,303,000 sq km), continental Africa has a widely varying climate characterized by low rainfall in the north, high rainfall near the equator, and temperate conditions with low rainfall in the south. Over the centuries variations have been caused by everything from El Niño to long-term climatic events that have affected the entire planet. Changes in the African climate, however, have increased exponentially over the past half-century. Rainfall, for example, has generally decreased, and at least 16 African countries are expected to suffer from a scarcity of WATER RESOURCES by the year 2050. Unlike situations in the past, however, this contemporary scarcity of rain has not been caused by natural events. Rather it is the result of human actions, primarily the cutting of FORESTS and a marked increase in greenhouse gases.

Another atmospheric change has been a rise in temperature, perhaps as much as half a degree Celsius (0.9 degrees Fahrenheit) during the past century. In Africa's mountains, this has led to a melting of snow caps and a decrease in the amount of water stored in snow packs. It has also led to an increase in soil erosion and flooding, which can create environments in which diseases such as malaria and cholera spread easily.

Although several forces are involved in this temperature rise, the central cause is an increase in the amount of greenhouse gases, primarily carbon dioxide. Indeed, although the emission of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases is a problem worldwide, Africa has been hit

harder than most other parts of the world. The vast majority of these gases come from industrial and automotive emissions in Europe and North America. However, an increasing number are now coming from Africa itself, where many countries have been slow to enact clean air legislation. As a result, some of Africa's cities—including CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA; ANTANANARIVO, MADAGASCAR; NAIROBI, KENYA; ACCRA, GHANA; and LAGOS, NIGERIA—have some of the worst air quality in the world. In spite of the risks to both health and the overall climate, though, change has not come readily. Too often, clean fuels, low-emission factories and vehicles, and technological innovations are all too costly for most African nations.

How does cutting trees lead to a loss of rainfall? The answer lies in the fact that forests are an important part of the water cycle. Trees not only control soil erosion, but they also store rainwater. When forests are cut on a large scale, less water is returned to the atmosphere, so there is less water available to produce rain. In Africa, this has led to an unfortunate cycle. Hunger and POVERTY drive people to attempt to grow more crops. But as people clear forests in order to create farmland, the loss of trees leads to a decrease in the rain that is needed to grow crops.

Fortunately, however, some important steps are now being taken to monitor atmospheric change. The more substantive changes that are needed require action not only from African countries themselves, but also from those foreign nations whose activities make them the greatest contributors to atmospheric change.

See also: POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); FAMINE AND HUNGER (Vol. V).

Awolowo, Obafemi (1909–1987) *Yoruba national leader from Nigeria*

Obafemi Awolowo was born in a small town in the Protectorate of Southern NIGERIA. Politically active as a young man, he was educated locally and worked as a teacher, journalist, and trade-union organizer before going to London to study law. Living in London from 1944 to 1947, he organized a YORUBA cultural society called *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* (Society of the Descendants of Oduduwa) after the legendary founder of the Yoruba people. In 1950–51 the political arm of Egbe Omo Oduduwa became the Action Group, a political party, with Awolowo as its

president. He then became active in the politics of the Yoruba-dominated Western Region of the protectorate, serving from 1954 to 1959 as its regional prime minister. In 1959 he was elected to the Federal House of Representatives and became active in national politics.

At the time of independence in 1960, Nigeria was divided into regions dominated by competing ethnic groups: the Yoruba in the west, the IGBO in the east, and the HAUSA in the north. In 1963 Awolowo was imprisoned after a failed coup by the Action Group against Nigeria's Hausa prime minister, Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966). Awolowo was released in 1966 following a successful military coup against Balewa. The new military government banned all political parties.

In 1967 the Igbo-dominated Eastern Region attempted to secede from Nigeria and form the state of BIAFRA. This resulted in the Nigerian Civil War of 1967–70. Awolowo eventually took the federal government's side and opposed Biafran succession. From 1966 to 1971, the year after the war, Awolowo served as federal finance minister and also as vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council. In 1971 he resigned his federal government positions and returned to his private law practice.

In 1978 the ban on political parties was lifted and Awolowo, with the help of friends from the old Action Group, formed the United Party of Nigeria. He was defeated in the presidential elections of 1979 and 1982. The latter, according to his friends and supporters, was one of the worst cases of electoral tampering in Nigeria's history. In 1983, following another military coup, the United Party was banned, and Awolowo disappeared from the political scene. He lived a private but active life until his death on May 9, 1987, at the age of 78.

Obafemi Awolowo's death and funeral for once brought Nigerians together. Government officials, members of the Nigerian Bar Association, traditional rulers, and ordinary people gathered in Ikene, the town of his birth, to witness his burial. To this day, Obafemi Awolowo remains one of West Africa's most admired politicians.

See also: AWOLOWO, OBAFEMI (Vol. IV).

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Awoonor, Kofi (George Awoonor-Williams)
(1935–   ) *Ghanaian author writing in English*

Kofi Nyedevu Awoonor was born in Wheta in the former Gold Coast Colony (present-day GHANA) in 1935. Informally educated by his Ewe grandmother, who was a singer of funeral dirges, he learned from her about the oral poetry and performance arts of his people. Much of his early poetry is modeled on Ewe dirges.

Awoonor was educated at Achimota College. In 1963 he received a bachelor's degree, with honors, in English from the University of Ghana, Legon. He then worked as a research fellow at the Institute of African Studies, Legon. He completed his studies only six years after Ghana became independent (1957) and was indebted to the national cultural movement, sponsored by Ghana's president, Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), that supported artists like himself. Awoonor became so closely associated with Nkrumah that he left Ghana shortly after the 1966 coup in which Nkrumah was overthrown.

In 1967 Awoonor left for Britain to do graduate studies in English at the University of London. A year later, in 1968, he went to the United States to attend the State University of New York at Stony Brook, where, in 1972, he received a PhD. in English and comparative literature. He subsequently served as chair of the comparative literature program at Stony Brook and as a visiting professor at several American universities before returning to Ghana in 1975. Shortly after his return, he was arrested and charged with aiding a Ewe political fugitive. In 1979 his sentence was commuted to time served. His experience in prison, including the two months he spent in solitary confinement, became the basis for the collection of poems, *The House by the Sea,* which was published in 1978.

Awoonor's time abroad in the late 1960s and early 1970s was his most productive in terms of literary output. His first volume of poetry, *Rediscovery*, published under his former name, George Awoonor-Williams, appeared in 1964. His second volume of poetry, *Night of My Blood* (1971), is considered his most compelling. A subsequent collection of poems, *Until the Morning After* (1987), earned him the 1988 Commonwealth Poetry Prize for Africa. As a poet Awoonor often denounced European presumptions of superiority and criticized the imposition of European culture and values on Africa.

Beyond this, he earned a reputation as a leading Afri-can literary critic. Among his best-known critical works is his revised doctoral dissertation, which was published in 1975 under the title *The Breast of the Earth: A Critical Survey of Africa's Literature, Culture, and History*. He is also known for his 1971 novel, *This Earth, My Brother . . . .*

As Awoonor grew older his writing took second place to his political activities. In the early 1990s he served as Ghana's ambassador to the United Nations. At the end of the decade, he was an aide to President Jerry RAWLINGS (1947–   ) until Rawlings stepped down from office in 2002 after his party lost the presidential elections.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Azikiwe, Nnamdi (Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe)
(1904–1996) *First president of independent Nigeria*

Azikiwe's anticolonial activism, expressed primarily through the newspapers he headed first in the Gold Coast

(present-day GHANA) and then in his homeland of NIGE-RIA, won him great fame and popularity. In 1944 he founded the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), a pan-Nigeria political organization. In 1948 he was elected president of the IGBO Union, a position which put him in competition with rival ethnic political parties, particularly the HAUSA-Fulani NORTHERN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC), led by Alhaji Sir Ahmadu BELLO (1910–1966), and the YORUBA Action Group, led by Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987).

> When, in 1961, the Northern Cameroons joined with Nigeria and the Southern Cameroons united with the Republic of CAMEROON, the NCNC changed its name to the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens.

As Nigeria prepared for independence from Britain, a new federal legislature was formed, and, in 1960, Azikiwe became president of the Senate. The NPC, the majority party in the legislature, formed a coalition government with Azikiwe's NCNC. Under these auspices, also in 1960, Azikiwe became the governor-general of Nigeria, which was now a sovereign state.

Ethnic and political strife began to boil during the first three years of Nigeria's independence. The coalition of the NPC and NCNC was strained, with the NPC being Muslim, upper class, and regional in its interests, and the NCNC, Christian, non-aristocratic, and nationalistic. The relationship was maintained essentially because of the NPC's majority power, to which the NCNC wanted to remain close. In addition census results, which determined representation in the legislature, were hotly contested in 1962–63, with the NCNC accusing the NPC of altering the results to their benefit.

Meanwhile, in 1962, dissension within the opposition Action Group spilled over into mass riots in the Western Region. The violence entered the legislature as well, which was then dissolved under a declaration of a state of emergency. It was in the aftermath of these circumstances that Azikiwe became president of Nigeria, when the country became a republic in 1963.

The creation of a Midwestern Region in 1963 heralded a shifting of political alliances and further turmoil, as the NPC–NCNC coalition fell apart. From 1964–65, election disputes spawned more violence and general disorder, and Azikiwe and Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966) were deeply at odds.

In 1966, while Azikiwe was in London for medical treatment, Igbo army officers led by General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (1924–1966) rose up in a COUP D'ÉTAT, killing Balewa and other government leaders and forcing Azikiwe from the presidency. This was followed by another coup that same year, this time led by Hausa-Fulani officers. Ethnic clashes followed, with many Igbo living in the Northern Region massacred by the Hausa-Fulani majority. The Igbo in Azikiwe's Eastern Region responded by seceding from the nation in 1967, declaring the independent Republic of BIAFRA. Azikiwe's attempts to prevent the secession failed, and the country erupted in what came to be known as the Biafran War. Azikiwe served as an advisor for the Biafrans for a time but switched to the federal side after the Biafran cause became hopeless, an action that earned him the ire of his native Igbo. The war ended in 1970 with the defeat of the Biafrans.

In 1978 civilian rule was again established, and Azikiwe became the head of the Nigerian People's Party (NPP). He ran for the presidency in 1979 and 1983, losing each time to Alhaji Shehu Shagari (1925–   ), leader of the National Party for Nigeria (NPN). Azikiwe retired from politics in 1983, having regained the support of his native Igbo people.

See also: AZIKIWE, NNAMDI (Vol. IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); FULANI (Vols. II, III).

B

Bâ, Amadou Hampâté (1901–1991) *Islamic scholar and writer of African folklore and oral tradition*

Born into a well-to-do Peul-speaking, Fulani Muslim family in Bandiagara, MALI, Bâ received his primary education at a French colonial school in Jenne before moving on to study in the Malian capital of BAMAKO and in Gorée, SENEGAL. About the same time, Bâ became a pupil of the Sufi mystic Tierno Bokar (1875–1940). Bâ worked for a time in the French colonial service in UPPER VOLTA before joining the French Institute for Black Africa, where he began research in African history and ethnography. In 1958 he founded the Malian Institute for Research in Human Sciences. He also became an ambassador to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The Peul (Pulaar) language is widely used in West Africa. In its various dialects, it is spoken by roughly 14 million people of Fulani background from Fouta Jallon (modern GUINEA) through NIGER, Mali, NIGERIA, and CAMEROON. Fulani traders and merchants can be found in almost every major city in West Africa.

As a Muslim scholar, Bâ was an unlikely champion for the preservation of African folklore and oral traditions. Bâ strongly believed that oral traditions held a wealth of essential cultural information, once saying, "In Africa, when an old person dies, it is a library that burns down." How-ever, it was his desire and ability to bridge cultural gaps that became the foundation of his educational legacy. After his retirement, in 1970, Bâ moved to ABIDJAN, IVORY COAST, where he taught until his death in 1991.

Bâ produced a number of scholarly works during his lifetime, as well as stories and one novel, *L'Etrange destin de Wangrin* (*The fortunes of Wangrin,* 1973). It tells of an African man caught between European culture and African traditions. He also produced an autobiography, *Amkoullel, l'enfant peul* (*Amkoullel, the Fulani child,* 1991).

See also: BÂ, AMADOU HAMPÂTÉ (Vol. IV); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); JENNE (Vols. II, III); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); ORAL TRADITION (Vols. I, IV); SUFISM (Vol. IV).

Ba, Miriama (1929–1981) *Writer and educator from Senegal*

Miriama Ba was born into a prominent Muslim family in DAKAR, the capital of SENEGAL. Miriama was sent to live with her maternal grandparents at a young age after her mother's death and was raised in a traditional Muslim environment, in which the formal EDUCATION of women was not a high priority. Even so, she stayed in touch with her father, a progressive government official, who encouraged her to develop her natural intellectual brilliance. (Ba's father would become Senegal's first health minister when the country achieved independence in 1960.)

Ba won a scholarship to the École Normale, a Western-style secondary school in Dakar, where she learned the French language in which she wrote. After graduating she started teaching and married Obeye Diop, a member of the

Senegalese Parliament. Although they eventually divorced, Ba and Diop had nine children together. With a large family to look after, and with her health in a delicate state, Ba gave up teaching and began writing essays and giving lectures on subjects such as women's rights, West African education, and traditional social customs.

Ba published her first novel, *Une si longue lettre* (published in English as *So Long a Letter*), in 1980, at the age of 51. Widely lauded by critics, the short novel examines the pernicious double standards of traditional patriarchal societies. *So Long a Letter* won the first Noma Award for publishing in Africa and became a cause célèbre for West African women and feminists around the world.

The Noma Award is an annual prize that recognizes outstanding African writers. The award, first given in 1980, comes with a $10,000 prize.

Ba wrote one other novel, *Un chant éclarate* (*Scarlet song*), but died before its publication in 1981.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Babangida, Ibrahim (Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida) (1941–   ) *Nigerian military head of state*

Originally from Niger State, Babangida was born into an ethnic Gwari family, outside of the traditional Nigerian aristocracy. This, combined with an outgoing personality and a willingness to accept other points of view, made him a popular officer and helped him rise steadily in the Nigerian army. Beginning in 1976 he played a larger role in the various military regimes that governed NIGERIA, eventually serving as the army's chief of staff under General Muhammadu Buhari (1942–   ). Growing increasingly dissatisfied with Buhari's rule, Babangida helped initiate a COUP D'ÉTAT in 1985 that brought himself and the Armed Forces Ruling Council to power.

Publicly committed to transferring power to civilian rule, Babangida took steps to improve the political situation in Nigeria, including releasing political prisoners. Yet he also stifled dissent, issuing temporary bans of journals critical of his actions and even forbidding former office holders from having positions in the new government. He continued, however, to confront severe economic crises, primarily brought on by the sharp downturn in OIL prices that crippled the Nigerian economy during the 1980s and 1990s. In 1993 Babangida promised free, democratic elections. When it became appar-

ent, however, that the 1993 election was going to be won by the YORUBA financier Mashood ABIOLA (1937–1998), Babangida declared the election invalid before the final results could be announced.

Criticized both at home and abroad, Babangida's actions set off a period of unrest punctuated by strikes and protests. Eventually, Sani ABACHA (1943–1998), a career military officer and part of many Nigerian governments, pushed Babangida into resigning and turning power over to the civilian business leader Earnest Shonekan (1936–   ) and his interim national government. Following Shonekan's brief tenure as chief of state (82 days), Abacha took control of the government, restoring power to the military.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Balewa, Abubakar Tafawa (Sir; Alhaji; Malam Abubakar) (1912–1966) *First prime minister of independent Nigeria*

Balewa, a Muslim and former teacher from northern NIGERIA, began his political career in 1947, when he was elected to the Northern Region's House of Assembly in colonial Nigeria. When the British replaced the House of Assembly with a federal House of Representatives in 1951, the popular Balewa continued to represent his native Northern Region. He also held the post of minister of the Department of Works and Transport.

In the early 1950s the Nigerian federation became self-governing and pushed for even greater independence from Britain. In preparation for the coming independence, Balewa, along with Ahmadu BELLO (1910–1966), founded the conservative NORTHERN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC). His party's members were mostly HAUSA and Fulani northerners, and Balewa believed for a while that Nigeria should be partitioned into two countries, one for the Muslim majority in the north and the other for the non-Muslim southern groups, including the IGBO and YORUBA. Balewa's NPC party vied for votes with other key regional political parties, including the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons, led by eastern Nigerians Dr. Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996) and Herbert Macaulay (1864–1946), and the western-based Action Group opposition party, led by Yoruba chief Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987).

In 1957 Balewa was appointed prime minister of the Nigerian federation and Azikiwe was named governor general. The NPC then won the 1959 election, so Balewa remained prime minister at independence in 1960. That same year Queen Elizabeth II (1926–   ) knighted Balewa for his strong leadership. That Balewa accepted this honor, reminiscent of the colonial era, angered younger and more militant African nationalists. In 1963 Nigeria became a republic, although it remained within the British Commonwealth. As the prime minister of a parliamentary system,

Balewa exercised broad executive and legislative power; Azikiwe's new presidential post, on the other hand, was mostly ceremonial. Balewa, now leading a multiparty government, toned down his argument for a divided Nigeria and put his faith in the Nigerian coalition.

Balewa soon found himself leading a country in disarray, reeling from regional and ethnic disputes, unable to agree on whether to pursue Western-style capitalism or socialism, and unable or unwilling to enforce its constitutional laws. The 1964 elections were marred by violence and boycotted, and in 1965 Balewa's party was accused of rigging the election process, especially in the Igbo region. Typical of the political maneuvering that went on, Azikiwe, as president, attempted but failed to dismiss Bello as prime minister. In general Balewa's personal integrity was unquestioned, but his government was increasingly seen as corrupt, with individuals having political ties becoming rich while much of the country suffered from POVERTY and starvation. In 1966 Balewa was assassinated in a military COUP D'ÉTAT led by officers from the Igbo ethnic group of southern Nigeria. Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (1924–1966), an Igbo army commander, emerged as Nigeria's new leader and dismantled the civilian government, replacing it with a military regime. Widespread anti-Igbo violence followed in the wake of the coup, and Aguiyi-Ironsi was assassinated within months in a second coup that brought army chief of staff Yakubu GOWON (1934–   ) to power. In 1967 the eastern region seceded, declaring itself the independent state of BIAFRA, and Nigeria's civil war (1967–70) had begun.

See also: BALEWA, ABUBAKAR (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Trevor Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman: Abubakar from the Black Rock: A Narrative Chronicle of the Life and Times of Nigeria's Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1991).

Bamako Capital city of Republic of MALI, located in the southwestern part of the country, on the Niger River. Bamako was the French colonial capital from 1883 until independence in 1960, at which point it became the federal capital of Mali. The administrative, commercial, financial, manufacturing, and TRANSPORTATION center for the country, Bamako is the base of industries including textiles, ceramics, pharmaceuticals, and the generation of electricity. Motor vehicles, farm equipment, processed food, and building supplies are also produced. Cement and petroleum products from SENEGAL arrive at Bamako's river-port facilities via rail for further shipment inland. In the other direction, rice and groundnuts (peanuts) from the interior are sent upstream for transfer to the rail system at Bamako. The city has an international airport, several research institutes and colleges, a large market, and a vibrant URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE.

Some of the greatest modern African musicians come from Mali, honing their performance skills in Bamako before going on to the wider world stage. In 1970 the government sponsored the Super Rail Band, which went on to become famous and still performs today. The internationally known Afropop star Salif KEITA (1949–   ) played with the band from 1970 to 1973.

Bamako grew from a collection of villages in the early 1880s to a city of approximately 880,000 people today. About 10 percent of Mali's total population lives in the city. It experienced a particularly rapid period of growth between 1960 and 1970, when migration from the rural areas more than tripled its population during a period of DROUGHT AND DESERTIFICATION. Today, Bamako straddles both sides of the Niger River.

See also: BAMAKO (Vols. II, III, IV); NIGER RIVER (Vols. I, III); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Banda, Hastings Kamuzu (Ngwazi Hastings Kamuzu Banda) (c. 1898–1997) *President of Malawi from 1966 to 1994*

Born in the British protectorate of Nyasaland, Banda became a successful doctor in England, using his money and position to become a figure of influence within the Nyasaland African Congress, a Nyasaland nationalist organization. In 1957 Banda went to Nyasaland as the leader of a protest against British plans to assimilate Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia (these territories already linked as the Central African Federation) into a single state. Violent demonstrations, which Banda helped foment with his impassioned public speaking, led to a British backlash, and Banda was imprisoned. He was released in 1961 and named president for life of the Malawi Congress party, which was formed while he was in prison. He led the party to sweep the elections that same year. In 1962 Banda led the African side of a temporary, joint white and black government. In 1963 he became Nyasaland's first prime minister. Nyasaland became the fully independent MALAWI in 1964, and in 1966 Banda was established as the president of the Republic of Malawi.

In 1967 Banda established diplomatic relations with SOUTH AFRICA. In doing so, he was alone among the African heads of state, for the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY had a policy of boycotting South Africa because of its APARTHEID policies. Banda, however, received major economic benefits from South Africa in the form of investments and trade.

A highly authoritarian leader, Banda quickly established himself as the country's sole decision maker, purging the government of any possible opposition and imposing a policy of "guided democracy." By assuming the title of president for life of Malawi in 1971, clearly Banda intended to guide the democracy himself. Banda exerted control over all of Malawi's media, as well as the Congress party's Press Holdings company, whose profits mostly went to Banda's personal fortune. Using intimidation tactics that he enforced with the Malawi Young Pioneers, a loyalist group he founded, Banda seized money for his treasury and drove his opposition into exile. In the 1980s these exiles faced assassination and kidnapping at the hands of Malawi secret police.

However, there were also some positive sides to Banda's rule, especially in the area of AGRICULTURE. His efforts to improve the rural areas meant that, in contrast to much of the rest of the continent, Malawi did not witness uncontrolled URBANIZATION.

Banda's control over Malawi was near total. Short skirts and pants were banned from the female wardrobe, as was long hair for men. He used money from the nation's treasury to fund construction of seven presidential palaces, and relocated the national capital from Zomba to LILONGWE, in the lands of his Chewa heritage. He also sought to impose chiChewa as the national language but encountered great resistance from speakers of other languages. He even forced those who came near him to do so on their knees.

Despite his efforts, by the 1990s Banda's rule buckled under opposition both at home and abroad. In 1993 Banda underwent brain surgery in JOHANNESBURG, but managed to maintain his power until 1994, when he gave in to calls for multiparty elections. Banda and his followers were crushed in the elections, and Bakili MULUZI (1943–   ), of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, became president. Banda's treatment of his opposition while in office continued to haunt him, and he was charged with murder in 1995, though he was acquitted. He died of pneumonia in 1997 in Johannesburg, where he had been seeking medical treatment.

See also: BANDA, HASTINGS KAMUZU (Vol. IV).

Bangui Capital city of the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. A sprawling city of more than 700,000 residents, Bangui traces its roots back to its establishment as a French colonial military outpost in 1889. When the Central African Republic (CAR) achieved independence from France in 1960, Bangui, already a thriving administrative and commercial center, was named the capital. Today the city is home to CAR's government, judicial courts, banking centers, cultural archives, and major media outlets.

Between periods of relative calm, the history of Bangui has been marked by civil unrest, labor riots, ethnic clashes, and armed insurrections. In 1966 Colonel Jean-Bedel BOKASSA (1921–1996) replaced CAR's first president, David DACKO (1930–   ), and began dismantling the republic, eventually declaring himself emperor in 1977. As a result violent riots and political protests filled the streets of Bangui. By 1979 the situation was so grave that the French military intervened on Dacko's behalf, toppling Bokassa's regime and returning the country to a republic. In 1981, however, a COUP D'ÉTAT led by General André Kolingba removed Dacko from power once again.

In the 1990s the parliament of the Central African Republic ushered in reforms that sparked more violence between security forces and groups pushing for democracy. In 1993 Ange-Félix PATASSÉ (1937–   ) won the presidency in the country's first multiparty elections, but his victory was disputed by various opposition groups, throwing Bangui into upheaval once again. Early in 1997 French troops returned to the city to establish peace, and in 1999 these troops were replaced by an all-African peacekeeping force.

See also: BANGUI (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Banjul Capital city and seaport of The GAMBIA, located at the mouth of the Gambia River. Founded as a British military post in 1816, and given the name of Bathurst, the city was an important commercial center because of its strategic TRANSPORTATION location at the mouth of the highly navigable Gambia River. The principal commodity that flowed through its waterfront, beginning in the 1840s and continuing through the colonial period, was groundnuts (peanuts). From 1889 until The Gambia's independence in 1965, it was also the administrative capital of the British Protectorate and Colony. It became the national capital upon The Gambia's independence in 1965. The country became a republic in 1970, and in 1973 the city's name was changed to Banjul, which was the original name of the island on which it is located.

Banjul is the largest city in the smallest country in size on the mainland continent, with one of the smallest economies. Major improvements in Banjul's port facilities during the 1970s increased its capacity to serve as the commercial and transportation center of the country. The economy is based mostly on agricultural products, with groundnut products and palm kernel as the principal EXPORTS and rice as a major domestic crop. Recently the

TOURISM industry has been growing, which has led to the development of a substantial handicraft market.

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Groundnuts were originally introduced by the Portuguese in the 15th century. Later the British promoted cultivation of groundnuts as an economic activity after the prohibition of slavery. Investment in the groundnut industry was increased again in the 1950s in order to make the area more self-suffi-cient. Today groundnuts are a chief crop for export. Oil made from the crushed nuts is exported to Europe.

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Banjul is accessible from the mainland by both a three-mile (5 km) ferry and the Banjul-Serekunda highway. The international airport lies in Yundum, 18 miles (30 km) distant to the southwest. The main ethnic groups are the Wolof, Fulbe, and Mandinka, some of whom come from neighboring SENEGAL, which borders The Gambia to the south, north, and east. The population of Banjul was estimated at 35,000 in 2003.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FU-LANI (Vols. I, II, III, IV) FULFULDE (Vol. I); GAMBIA RIVER (Vol. II); GROUNDNUTS (Vol. III, IV); MANDINKA (Vol. II, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SENEGAMBIA REGION (Vols. III, IV); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. IV) SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, V) WOLOF (Vol. II, IV).

Bantu education SOUTH AFRICAN system of EDUCA-TION for Africans under APARTHEID. The Bantu Education system was an attempt to reinforce the white minority's political control of the country by reinforcing Africans' sense of ethnicity and identity in contrast to a national South African identity.

The 1953 Bantu Education Act was one of the legislative cornerstones of apartheid. It took the control of African schooling out of the hands of MISSIONARIES and placed it with mostly Afrikaner government officials to devise and implement an education that defined rural life along ethnic lines. The language of instruction at the elementary level was to be one of the Bantu African languages. South Africa's official languages, AFRIKAANS and English, were gradually introduced as the languages of instruction only at the junior secondary and secondary school levels. However, few African children managed to enter high school, let alone attend a tertiary institution such as FORT HARE COLLEGE. Bantu Education also reinforced the social organization of the BANTUSTANS, with their emphasis on ethnicity and their physical location in rural areas.

Politically aware Africans and their organizations, such as the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, bitterly opposed Bantu Education as inferior education, or, in the words of one outspoken critic, "education for barbarism." The SOWETO Rebellion of 1976–77 erupted over language issues linked to Bantu Education. While the number of African children attending school, especially at the elementary level, increased sharply under Bantu Education, the students were taught in overcrowded classrooms, without adequate books and supplies, and generally by poorly prepared teachers. The legacy of Bantu Education for post-apartheid South Africa is an adult African population that, by and large, lacks adequate education and thus is less able to obtain training to develop job skills.

Further reading: Peter Kallaway, ed., *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948–1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall Be Opened* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002).

Bantustans (Black Homelands) Ten mostly fragmented territories established by the racist APARTHEID government of SOUTH AFRICA to serve as "homelands" for the country's various black African peoples. The systematic policy of racial segregation and discrimination known as apartheid (AFRIKAANS for "separateness") was not officially instated in South Africa until the National Party came to power in 1948. However, segregation had been a government goal for some time, with land acts in 1913 and 1936 establishing a system of "native reserves" for black Africans well before apartheid became state policy. After many years of expanding and redefining the boundaries of reserves, in 1959 plans for black African self-government within the reserves were put into action. Each reserve was designated as a "homeland" for a specific ethnic group. In 1970 the Homelands Citizenship Act revoked South African citizenship (and any of the few appertaining rights) from all black Africans in South Africa, making them legal citizens of their appropriate homelands.

Transkei was the first official Bantustan, as the reserves came to be known, and was designated as a homeland for the XHOSA people. Nine others were also established, including Ciskei (for the Xhosa), Bophuthatswana (Tswana), Gazankulu (Tsonga-Shangaan), KwaNdebele (Ndebele), KaNgwane (Swazi), KwaZulu (ZULU), Lebowa (Pedi), Qwaqwa (Sotho), and Venda (Venda). Of these, only Ciskei and Qwaqwa were contiguous territories; the other Bantustans were largely fragmented into between two and 30 parcels of land that were often widely scattered. All told the Bantustans, which were intended to accommodate all of South Africa's black African majority, only accounted for 13 percent of the country's land. In addition to their insufficient size, the Bantustans had irregular boundaries that confused even the government

officials who had drawn them up. For example, the South African embassy to Bophuthatswana had to be relocated once it was determined it had been mistakenly built in South African territory.

Though each Bantustan was intended for a specific ethnic group, this was often not the case. The Bophuthatswana Bantustan, for example, was established as the homeland for the Tswana people. However, nearly half of the Tswana lived outside Bophuthatswana, while a full third of the Bantustan's population was made up of other African peoples.

The Bantustans were exclusively rural, and their inhabitants survived only by subsistence farming, by providing LABOR in the cities, mines, and on white-owned farms, and by utilizing financial aid provided by the South African government. Each Bantustan was somewhat self-governing, managing to some degree its own schools, health care, road maintenance, and police. With the goal of eventually rendering all black Africans in South Africa as "foreigners," the South African government declared four Bantustans to be fully "independent" states. These black states, Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977), Venda (1979), and Ciskei (1981), were never recognized by the international community. By the late 1980s the South African government gave up on the plan to make the remaining six Bantustans independent as well.With the fall of apartheid in 1994, the 10 Bantustans were dissolved, and their inhabitants were reinstated as full South African citizens.

South Africa Bantustans (Black Homelands), 1984

Independent Bantustans

Boputhatswana

Transkei

Ciskei

Venda

Non-independent Bantustans

Gazankulu

KaNgwane

KwaNdebele

KwaZulu

Lebowa

Qwaqwa

- - - - Province border

N a t a l Province name

0   200 Miles
0   200 Kms

ZIMBABWE

Thohoyandou

Venda

MOZAMBIQUE

BOTSWANA

Giyani

Pietersburg

Lebowakgoma

B o p h u t h a t s w a n a

Pretoria

Mafikeng

Johannesburg

Soweto

T r a n s v a a l

SWAZILAND

Vryheid

Ulundi

**O r a n g e
F r e e
S t a t e**

Phuthaditjhaba

Ladysmith

N a t a l

Bloemfontein

LESOTHO

Durban

SOUTH AFRICA

Transkei

Umtata

INDIAN
OCEAN

ATLANTIC
OCEAN

C a p e   P r o v i n c e

Bisho

Ciskei

East London

Cape Town

Map area

In the 1980s casino gambling, which was illegal in South Africa, became a major industry in the "independent" Bantustans, primarily Transkei and Bophuthatswana. The famous $90 million Sun City resort and casino developed in Bophuthatswana.

See also: ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. IV); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Anne Kelk Mager, *Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan: A Social History of the Ciskei, 1945–1959* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1999).

Barnard, Christiaan (1922–2001) *South African heart transplant pioneer*

Christiaan Neethling Barnard was born in the small South African town of Beaufort West and grew up in humble circumstances. Excelling in his studies, he graduated from the University of Cape Town in 1946, and then earned his MD in 1953. A grant then enabled him to study under heart surgery expert Dr. C. Walton Lillehei (1918–1999) at the University of Minnesota in 1956. Barnard returned to CAPE TOWN in 1958 and, at Groote Schuur Hospital, established what became one of the world's premier heart surgery units.

After performing a successful human kidney transplant and a number of experimental heart transplants in dogs, Barnard attempted the world's first human-to-human heart transplant in 1967. The operation itself was a success, but the patient died of pneumonia after 18 days, a result of the immunosuppressant drugs designed to prevent the patient's body from rejecting the transplanted heart. Undaunted, Barnard performed a second transplant shortly the first one. This time, the patient survived for 19 months. Though Barnard was pioneering a largely unexplored field of surgery, his success was ultimately remarkable, with his fifth and sixth patients both living for more than 10 years after their transplants.

Barnard's first patient, a 55-year-old man named Louis Washkansky (d. 1967), suffered from incurable heart disease. After the operation, which replaced Washkansky's heart with that of a young woman who had died in a car accident, Washkansky reportedly said, "I am the new Frankenstein."

Barnard continued to push the envelope in the field of heart transplant surgery, performing the first "piggyback" heart transplant, in 1974, the first animal-to-human transplant, in 1977, and the first heart and lung transplant, in 1981. His initial operations launched similar efforts worldwide, though it was not until the advent of improved immunosuppressants that heart transplants became more viable. Barnard's accomplishments also touched off extensive ethical and moral debates about the practice of organ donation.

"Piggyback" refers to a transplant operation where a second heart is implanted in a patient to assist the original failing heart or to aid it while it heals. Barnard's animal-to-human transplants were performed as piggyback operations as well.

Barnard retired from MEDICINE in 1983. He wrote a number of books over his career, including various novels and his autobiography, *One Life* (1969). Since his landmark operation in 1967, more than 100,000 heart transplant surgeries have been performed worldwide.

See also: HEALTH AND HEALING IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Barre, Mohammed Siad (1910–1995) *Somali dictator*

Born in Italian Somaliland, Barre became an orphan at age 10 and made a meager living as a shepherd. He later joined the colonial police and began a successful military career. In 1960 Italian Somaliland joined with British Somaliland and became the independent country of SOMALIA. Barre became vice commander of the Somali army and then was promoted to the rank of commander-in-chief.

In 1969 Somali president Abdi Rashid Ali Shermarke (1919–1969) was assassinated, and Barre led a military COUP D'ÉTAT to assume control of the country. Barre immediately began to install a socialist regime. He suspended the Somali constitution, outlawed political parties, and disbanded the National Assembly. In 1976 Barre founded the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP). By 1979 a new constitution established Somalia as a one-party socialist state, dominated by Barre and the SRSP and backed by the Soviet Union.

Operating under a nationalistic impulse and the notion of a "Greater Somalia," Barre began armed support of ethnic Somali rebels in the Ogaden Plain of ETHIOPIA. In 1974, after the overthrow of Ethiopian emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975), Barre's Soviet allies switched their support to Ethiopia. Playing on Cold War tensions, Barre

turned to the United States for military and financial aid and invaded the Ogaden Plain in July 1977. Despite American backing, by 1978 the Somalis were driven from Ethiopia, though guerrilla fighting in Ogaden continued until 1988.

In Somalia Barre faced increasing resistance to his regime. In 1978 a military coup failed to unseat Barre, and violent battles between rebels and Barre's forces resulted in massive casualties. In 1991, in spite of Barre's brutal reprisals, rebels led by the United Somali Congress (USC) captured the Somali capital of MOGADISHU. Barre was forced to flee to LAGOS, NIGERIA, where he remained until his death. Somalia thereafter descended into constant civil war between factions struggling to assume power.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

al-Bashir, Omar Hasan Ahmad (1945–   ) *President of the Republic of the Sudan*

Omar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir rose to prominence in the Republic of the SUDAN in the 1980s as an army colonel fighting against the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), a Christian rebel group in southern Sudan. In 1989 he led the "June 30 National Salvation Revolution," installing himself as "head of state, prime minister, defense minister and commander in chief of the army." In a fundamental reform, al-Bashir's 15-man military junta universally replaced the Sudanese government and system of laws, based on English common law, with Islamic law, or SHARIA.

Battles with the SPLA intensified throughout the 1990s, killing an estimated 2 million Christians and Muslims. In 1999 the legislature moved to decrease presidential authority and hold a multiparty election. In reaction al-Bashir dissolved parliament and declared a three-month state of emergency.

Al-Bashir's support from the Islamic Front, with which he had allied himself at the start of his presidency, began to show strains. Relations worsened in 2001 when al-Bashir had the leader of the National Islamic Front, Hassan Abd Allah al-TURABI (1932–   ), imprisoned for opposing him. However, with every threat, al-Bashir has reacted by further consolidating his power. His authoritarian tendencies have led to discontent within his government, while his support for other Islamic regimes, including LIBYA and Iran, made the Sudan an outcast among Western governments.

Al-Bashir's control of the government, however, has not led to either peace or tranquility in Sudan. For almost 19 years, civil strife raged between the northern and southern parts of the country, with al-Bashir's troops frequently being accused of human rights violations that included rape, torture, and the murder of women and children.

International pressure, which began to intensify in 2001, eventually forced al-Bashir to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, and in 2004 he granted limited autonomy to the southern part of the country and promised a full referendum on southern independence at the end of six years.

This did not mark the end of civil strife in Sudan, however, as rebels began actively revolting in the western region of DARFUR. To aid in combatting the rebels al-Bashir provided government money and support to independent militias, commonly known as *Janjaweed*. In the years since the revolt began, in 2003, reports of atrocities, ethnic cleansing, and starvation have steadily increased, and international pressure for a solution has become intensified.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. V).

Bayi, Filbert (1953–   ) *Tanzanian middle-distance runner*

Born in Karratu, TANZANIA, Bayi first appeared on the international track stage at the 1972 Olympics in Munich, Germany. His first notable victory was at the 1973 African Games, where he won the 1,500-meter race over Kip KEINO (1940–   ), the reigning Olympic gold medalist in the event.

Bayi is best remembered for his world-record performance in the 1,500-meter race at the 1974 Commonwealth Games, in New Zealand. In a contest that many track aficionados regard as the greatest 1,500-meter race ever, he broke the world record with a time of 3 minutes 32.16 seconds. In the same race, the host country's John Walker (1952–   ) also broke the world record, only to lose to Bayi by 0.3 seconds. In 1980 Bayi was the Olympic silver medalist in the 3,000-meter steeplechase.

See also: BIKILA, ABEBE (Vol. V); SPORTS AND ATHLETICS (Vol. V).

Bebey, Francis (1929–2001) *Cameroonian musician and writer*

Francis Bebey was born in DOUALA, the main port city of CAMEROON, where he received his early education. In the mid-1950s he studied at the Sorbonne University in Paris, followed by a stint at New York University, in the United States. After earning his degree in broadcasting, he worked in Paris as a radio producer and journalist, beginning in 1957. Four years later, still in Paris, Bebey began studying and documenting indigenous African MUSIC for UNESCO, the United Nations cultural and educational organization. Based on his research, Bebey published two works, *La radiodiffusion en Afrique noire* (Broadcasting in black Africa) in 1963 and, in 1969 *Musique de l'Afrique* (translated and published as *African Music: A People's Art*, in 1975). The UNESCO project occupied him until 1974.

Beyond his scholarly musical interests, Bebey was also an accomplished instrumentalist and singer. As a

teenager he had played guitar in a band in Douala, and he continued to perform throughout his life, with his last recordings made in the late 1990s.

Acclaimed as a musician, Bebey was equally well known as a novelist. In 1968 he won the Grand Prix Littérraire de l'Afrique Noire—a prestigious award for African French writers—for his novel, *Le Fils d'Agatha Moudio* (The son of Agatha Moudio), which tells the story of a young Cameroonian from a coastal fishing village who is unlucky in marriage. The book appeared in English, German, Italian, and Dutch translations. In his distinguished literary career, Bebey published several other novels, poems, and works on African music, and even wrote a screenplay. Throughout his works as both musician and writer, Bebey consistently attempted to present African cultural values and performance arts in a positive light, thus opposing racism.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Bello, Ahmadu (Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello)
(1910–1966) *Political leader from Northern Nigeria*

Bello, head of the HAUSA-Fulani NORTHERN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC), retained his position as premier of the Northern Region when NIGERIA achieved independence in 1960. With fellow NPC member Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966) as the country's prime minister, Bello and the NPC held great political sway.

Nigeria, however, faced increasing discord during the early years of its independence. Shifting political alliances and tensions among Nigeria's main ethnic groups, the Hausa-Fulani in the north, the IGBO in the east, and the YORUBA in the west, contributed to national instability. Western Nigeria, in particular, fell into chaos, as riots occurred over a split in the Action Group, the Yoruba political party led by Obafemi AWOLOWO (1909–1987). Controversy over the 1962–63 census, which many in the rest of the country felt was manipulated to favor the north politically, stoked animosity toward Igbo living in the north. This helped fuel the "Igbo-must-go" campaign, a movement to rid the northern region of the Igbo minority. Leading the movement was the Sardauna Brigade, a paramilitary group Bello formed as his private army.

Ethnic tensions in Nigeria during the first few years of independence were not limited to the three major ethnicities. In 1964 the Tiv, a large ethnic minority located in the Benue State, in north central Nigeria, conducted a series of attacks on the NPC. The Nigerian army quickly quelled the uprising.

In 1964 Bello led a political alliance between the NPC and the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), which had splintered off from the Yoruba-led Action Group. The alliance, called the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA), won that year's elections. The following year, the NNDP declared victory in a controversial regional election in Western Nigeria. Once again chaos erupted. The political and ethnic divisions boiled over in 1966, when a group of mostly Igbo army officers staged a COUP D'ÉTAT and seized control of the federal government. Bello was assassinated, as were prime minister Tafawa Balewa and a number of other high-ranking officials. Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (1924–1966) briefly assumed control of Nigeria until he, too, was killed in a coup later that year. The stage was then set for the attempted secession of BIAFRA, a crisis that led to the Nigerian civil war of 1967–70.

See also: BELLO, AHMADU (Vol. IV); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. I).

Further reading: John N. Paden, *Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership in Nigeria* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986).

Ben Bella, Ahmed (1916–) *First president of Algeria*

Prior to the independence of ALGERIA in 1962, Ahmed Ben Bella was an Algerian freedom fighter and a founding member of the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Front de Liberation Nationale, FLN), the key organization in the Algerians' armed revolt against French rule. In 1956 French authorities arrested him for revolutionary activities, and he remained in prison until 1962. Upon his release Ben Bella was appointed prime minister of Algeria. Like many North African leaders, Ben Bella ascribed to pan-Arabism, a cultural-political movement that encouraged the unity of Arab people from across North Africa and the Middle East. Accordingly, he followed a foreign policy of nonalignment during the Cold War, and his domestic policy applied a pro-Arab socialist agenda to the economy and to EDUCATION.

Ben Bella initially was supported by the Algerian army, which was led by his friend and former FLN ally, Defense Minister Houari BOUMÉDIENNE (1927–1978). However, Ben Bella's persistent meddling in the affairs of the other government ministers alienated Boumédienne, who deposed Ben Bella in 1965, placing him under house arrest.

Following his release in 1980, Ben Bella lived in Switzerland for 10 years. From there he tried to instigate a rebellion in Algeria that would return him to power. Eventually he founded the Movement for Algerian Democracy and returned to Algiers in 1990. Ben Bella made a bid for the Algerian presidency that same year, but his long absence from the local political scene made him an unpopular candidate, and he was soundly defeated.

See also: BEN BELLA, AHMED (Vol. IV); NONALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Benin, Republic of West African country located on the Gulf of Guinea, bordered by TOGO to the west, BURKINA FASO and NIGER to the north, and NIGERIA to the east. The Republic of Benin covers approximately 43,500 square miles (112,700 sq km) and has an Atlantic Ocean coastline measuring about 75 miles (121 km). The legal capital of Benin is Porto-Novo, but the de facto capital is COTONOU, located on the coast.

Benin at Independence Until 1975 today's Republic of Benin was known as DAHOMEY. It was a French colony prior to 1958, at which time it joined the French Community as an autonomous republic. Dahomey achieved independence from France two years later, with Hubert Maga (1916–2000) serving as the country's first president.

From 1960 to 1972 the country was marred by governmental instability and a succession of military coups d'état. In all, there were 12 changes in leadership during this time. All of these, however, occurred with very little violence, and none of the deposed leaders was killed. Although Dahomey had achieved independence from its colonizers, it remained very much under French control, both politically and economically. French expatriates worked within Dahomey's government as technical advisers to facilitate decision making and policy. In addition, France provided ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE for DEVELOPMENT and also covered the nation's deficit. These measures ensured firm French control over its interests in the former colony.

Marxist Revolution In the 1970s a strong Marxist movement emerged among Dahomey's students and civil service trade unionists. In light of this popular sentiment, in 1972 army major Mathieu KÉRÉKOU (1933–), touting a socialist agenda, staged a COUP D'ETAT and assumed the presidency. In 1974 Kérékou officially announced that Dahomey was a Marxist country. The following year, he changed the name of the country to the People's Republic of Benin, and he set about nationalizing segments of Benin's economy, including banks, insurance companies, AGRICULTURE, and utilities. He also made concerted efforts to rid the country of foreign—especially French—influence.

During the early 1980s the economic policies instituted by Kérékou and his ruling Revolutionary Peoples Party of Benin were reaping benefits. Within a few short years, however, the country was on the brink of economic disaster. Unemployment rose uncontrollably, state-owned banks collapsed, and government workers were paid only sporadically, leading to widespread popular discontent. Government crackdowns led to accusations of HUMAN RIGHTS abuses. Exacerbating the situation, turmoil in neighboring Nigeria caused that country to expel thousands of Benin nationals and subsequently close the border to any more immigration from Benin.

> In the 1970s Benin saw the escalation of generational conflict involving both politics and RELIGION. Younger activists wanted to replace village elders with people more inclined to support Kérékou's revolutionary government. These people felt that the older generation had been irredeemably influenced by both outdated religious practices, such as *vodun*, or voodoo, and by colonial ways of thinking. Labeling these elders "enemies of the revolution" and accusing them of sorcery, leaders of the movement came to employ torture and even execution as punishment.

By 1988 Benin was threatening to default on several of its loans, and the international community stepped in to force Kérékou into making economic reforms. Bowing to the pressure, he privatized some state industries and cut government expenditures by doing away with a number of social services. In 1989 as Benin society reeled and the communist framework was collapsing worldwide, Kérékou finally agreed that the Marxist path had failed Benin, and he began negotiations for a new democratic constitution.

Democracy and Liberalization in Benin In 1990 the People's Republic of Benin was renamed once again, this time as the Republic of Benin. The following year, Benin held its first free, multiparty elections. Nicéphore Soglo (1934–), a long-time political figure in Benin, won election to the office of president. Immediately after his election, Soglo enjoyed widespread popularity. However, in order to continue receiving monetary aid from the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND and the WORLD BANK, Soglo's government had to adopt harsh budgetary restrictions as part of free-market STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT. Further, the nation's currency was devalued, and import prices increased.

By 1996 Soglo had fallen out of favor. He was defeated in elections held that year, and Mathieu Kérékou reclaimed the presidency. Kérékou won election again in 2001. Although Benin is mired in POVERTY, its improving economy and its political stability have made it one of the rare African countries to have success with DEMOCRATIZATION.

See also: BENIN, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); MAGA, HUBERT (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Mathurin C. Houngnikpo, *Determinants of Democratization in Africa: A Comparative Study of Benin and Togo* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2001).

Benin City

Benin City Urban center located on the Benin River in southern NIGERIA; unrelated to present-day Republic of BENIN. Benin City was the center of the ancient kingdom of Edo, which was invaded and ransacked in 1897 by British troops. The British deposed and exiled the *oba* (king), but restored the office in 1914. Today the *oba* still serves in an advisory and ceremonial role for Edo State.

Benin City was known for its bronze, ivory, and wood artistry. Much of the artwork was stolen during the British invasion and auctioned off by the British to defray military costs. Therefore, fine examples of Benin's ART can be found throughout the world. An important collection has been preserved, however, in the museums of Benin City. Many of the city's artisans still practice the ancient methods, including the lost-wax process, to make their ART.

Today the city is an important trade center, linked to LAGOS and other major Nigerian cities by highways, the Benin River, and air transport. Benin City is considered the center of Nigeria's rubber industry; wood products, palm oil, and palm kernels are also important EXPORTS. The city is also home to the University of Benin, founded in 1970. The inhabitants of Benin City, most of whom are from the Edo, or Bini, ethnic group, numbered about 230,000 in 1996.

See also: BENIN CITY (Vols. III, IV); BRONZE (Vol. II); EDO (Vols. I, II); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); (Vols. III, IV) LOST-WAX PROCESS (Vol. II); PALM OIL (Vol. III, IV).

Berbers

Berbers Indigenous people of North Africa. With a current population of between 20 and 30 million, Berbers have played a major role in the histories of several North African countries. Nearly 40 percent of the population of MOROCCO is Berber, as is 30 percent of ALGERIA. Berbers also make up lesser but still significant parts of the populations of LIBYA, TUNISIA, EGYPT, NIGER, and MALI.

In recent times, like many other indigenous peoples around the world, Berbers are struggling to establish their political and social power as well as their cultural and linguistic identity. As a result of this pressure, the Moroccan government has decided to teach Tamazight, the Berber language, alongside Arabic in all schools. Mali and Niger also recognize Tamazight as an official language. The situation in Algeria, where the government is also under intense pressure from Islamic fundamentalists, has been problematic. After much pressure and even civil unrest, the Algerian government recognized Tamazight as a "national language." However, it has stopped short of acquiescing to Berber demands that Tamazight be treated as an official language equal to the Arabic language. The tension within Algeria began not long after the country's independence, in 1962. At that time, Berbers, many of them from the Kabylia region east of ALGIERS, confronted the government over cultural, linguistic, and political issues. By 1963, the situation had deteriorated to the point that Hocine Ait Ahmed (1919–), a Berber and one of the founding figures and major heroes of the Algerian independence movement, founded the Socialist Forces Front in a Berber rebellion against the Algerian government. Ahmed remained a key figure in the Berber struggle for many years.

In March 1980 the tense situation boiled over when police prevented Berber writer Mouloud Mammeri (1917–1989) from giving a lecture on ancient Berber poetry. This touched off student protests and riots throughout the Kabylia region and culminated in repressive police actions. Known as "Berber Spring," the events have become a focal point and a rallying cry for Berber discontent. A major school boycott took place in Kabylia in 1994–95. In the spring of 2001, the death of a Berber student in police custody touched off major rioting leading to up to 120 deaths. Berbers subsequently formed the activist Citizens Movement, demanding, among other things, full recognition of the Tamazight language.

One of the leading figures in the Berber cultural insurgency was Matoub Lounes (1956–1998), a singer and an activist for Berber causes. Matoub Lounes became a prominent agitator for Berber rights and an internationally recognized talent. With songs openly challenging both the Algerian government and fundamentalist Islamists, he asserted the linguistic and cultural rights of the Berbers of Kabylia. Ultimately, in 1998, Matoub Lounes was assassinated by unknown individuals in a roadside ambush.

The TUAREGS, a distinct Berber subgroup, have also faced grave difficulties. Beginning in 1990 they launched repeated uprisings in both Niger and Mali, and thousands of Tuareg refugees left those countries. Many of these refugees settled in MAURITANIA, Libya, BURKINA FASO, and even Algeria, where their presence aggravated already tense situations. Peace talks took place in Mali in 1994 and in Niger in 1995. Agreements were reached to provide the Tuaregs greater autonomy in both countries, but violence has continued to break out in the years since.

See also: ALMOHADS (Vol. II); ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); BERBERS (Vols. I, II, III, IV); COLONIAL CONQUEST (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Fadhma A. M. Amrouche and Dorothy Blair, *My Life Story: Autobiography of a Berber Woman* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1981); Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (London: Blackwell, 1997).

Beta Israel Ethiopian people of the Jewish faith. In the 1970s through the 1990s the Beta Israel began an Israeli-assisted mass exodus from ETHIOPIA. Though an ancient people, the Beta Israel ("House of Israel") were essentially a forgotten people outside of Ethiopia until the mid-1800s and were fully accepted as Jews much later in 1973. That year the Beta Israel were officially recognized by Israel as one of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, and thus authentic Jews. In 1975, one year after a military COUP D'ETAT brought Colonel MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–) to power in Ethiopia, an Israeli law was signed granting all Ethiopian Jews full citizenship in Israel and the right to immigrate to Israel under the Israeli Law of Return.

Long persecuted in predominantly Christian Ethiopia, the Beta Israel saw their situation become increasingly dire due to the political upheaval and devastating famine that wracked Ethiopia in the 1970s and 1980s. Mengistu's Marxist agrarian reform programs took a major toll on the country, and the Beta Israel, part of the landless peasantry, suffered tremendously. Beginning in the late 1970s small groups of Beta Israel emigrated on foot from Ethiopia to neighboring Republic of the SUDAN, from where they hoped to gain passage to Jerusalem. Such attempts were extremely dangerous, and by 1976 only about 250 Beta Israel had successfully made their way to Israel. With secret Israeli help, another 8,000 Ethiopian Jews were spirited out of the Sudan to Israel between 1977 and 1983. In 1984 a wave of 10,000 Beta Israel attempted to cross into the Sudan, but many perished during the journey or the subsequent stay in Sudanese refugee camps, where they lived in squalor and were forced to hide their religious affinities.

That same year the Israelis undertook Operation Moses, a large-scale airlift designed to ferry all of the Beta Israel out of Sudan. Intended to be a secret operation, word of the airlift leaked out and the operation was cut short, leaving many Beta Israel stranded. Israel continued to improve relations with the Mengistu regime, offering military aid in return for securing further Beta Israel emigration from Ethiopia. Following Operation Moses, thousands of Beta Israel flooded into ADDIS ABABA with the hope of emigrating, where they lived in compounds under terrible conditions. In 1991, with Eritrean rebels on the verge of removing Mengistu from power, Operation

Solomon airlifted more than 14,000 Beta Israel in two days time. After this action, nearly all of the Beta Israel had been relocated to Israel.

Two groups of the Beta Israel actually remained in Ethiopia following Operation Solomon. One group, located in remote Quara, was airlifted to Israel in 1999. The other group consisted of Beta Israel who, because of their partial assimilation into Christian society, were not recognized by Israel as Jews, though many had relatives who had already emigrated. Called the Falasha Mura, or fake Falasha, these Beta Israel continue to claim the right to Israeli citizenship, but as of 2003, they had yet to receive that right. Instead, they live in extreme POVERTY in Addis Ababa and the Gondar region.

The arrival of the Ethiopian Jews in Israel did not mark the end to their troubles, however. Numbering about 60,000, the Beta Israel had an extremely difficult time assimilating into Israeli culture. Coming from a background of subsistence farming, many Beta Israel lacked job skills and had difficulty finding work. Culture shock, housing problems, racial discrimination, and dissension within their own ranks all contributed to making the Beta Israel transition to their new homeland a difficult one. The Israeli military is one group into which the Beta Israel have fit successfully, with a growing number of males joining the armed forces.

See also: BETA ISRAEL (Vols. I, II, III, IV); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); RELIGION (Vols. III, IV, V).

Beti, Mongo (pseudonym of Alexandre Biyidi-Awala) (1932–2001) *Cameroonian author writing in French*

Mongo Beti was born Alexandre Biyidi-Awala, in Akométan, CAMEROON. He was educated at Catholic mission schools and then attended Leclerc Lycée in YAOUNDÉ, the capital of Cameroon. As with many budding African intellectuals of his era, he subsequently traveled to the European country that ruled his homeland, in this case, France. He studied first at the University of Aixen-Provence and then at the prestigious Sorbonne University.

Beti's work falls into two periods: before and after Cameroon's independence in 1960. In the 1950s he began to publish his first novels, which took up the themes of injustice and violence in the colonial system. His earliest work, written under the pen name Eza Boto, includes the short story, "Sans haine, sans amour" (Without hatred, without love), which appeared in *Présence*

Africaine in 1952. This was followed by the 1954 novel *Ville cruelle* (Cruel city). Then, writing as Mongo Beti, he published his best known works in 1956 and 1957: *Le Pauvre Christ de Bomba* (The poor Christ of Bomba) and *Mission terminée,* which later appeared in English, in 1964, as *Mission to Kala.*

Despite the end of French colonial rule in 1960, the living conditions for ordinary Cameroonians did not improve much, and Beti soon became an outspoken critic of Cameroon's government. He lived in self-imposed exile in France from 1966 until 1996, earning his livelihood teaching in Rouen, France.

While in France, he kept up with the politics of his home country and continued to speak out on issues. In 1972, for example, he published a pamphlet entitled "Main Basse sur le Cameroun" (Rape of Cameroon) that sharply criticized Cameroon's one-party political system and its relationship with French MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS. The French government immediately seized the pamphlet and banned it for five years, causing Beti to return to fiction as a platform for his criticism. A series of novels in the 1970s focused on the CORRUPTION of the postcolonial state and the despair it caused. After retiring from public life in 1996, Beti returned to Cameroon where he owned a book-store. His last novel, *L'Histoire du fou* (The history of a madman), which appeared in 1994, told the story of an unjustly imprisoned hero, revealing the continuing pessimism Beti felt about Cameroon's corruption and deceit.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV), LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V), *PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE* (Vol. IV).

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Biafra Southeastern region of NIGERIA that in 1967 declared itself an independent republic. Named after the Bight of Biafra, the body of water that its coastline bordered, Biafra is mainly inhabited by the IGBO ethnic group.

In 1967 Igbo leaders formally seceded from what was then the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This declaration of secession caused the immediate outbreak of the Nigerian civil war, otherwise known as the Biafran War. The causes of the civil war lay in the vastness of Nigeria, its ethnic complexity—more than 400 ethnic and tribal groups—the differences in RELIGION, particularly Islam and

Biafra, Nigeria
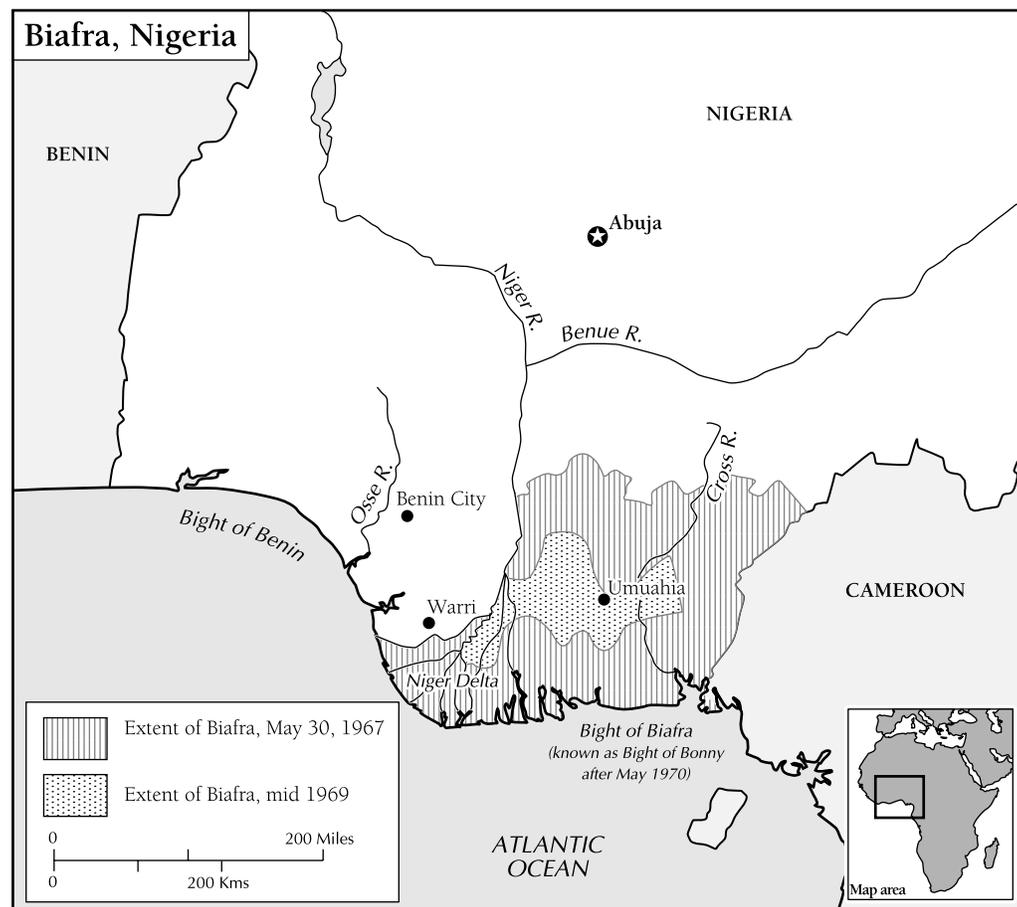
Christianity, and the historical mood of the times in relation to the Cold War.

Nigeria was Africa's most populous country at the time, as it still is today, with 130,000,000 people. During the colonial era this vast land was divided into three main regions. The north was inhabited mostly by the Muslim HAUSA-Fulani alliance, the southeast had an Igbo majority, and the southwest was mainly inhabited by the YORUBA people. Before Nigerian independence (1960), each of these three main regions was autonomous, organized and governed differently. The only thing common

to all three was British colonial rule. Suddenly, on the eve of independence Britain decided to unite the three regions as provinces within the single federal state of Nigeria. The Queen of England appointed a nominal head of state, the governor-general. However, the de facto head of government was an elected prime minister, who was the leader of the party with the majority in Parliament.

The Queen appointed Dr. Nnamdi AZIKIWE (1904–1996), an Igbo from eastern Nigeria, as governor-general. As a famous pan-Africanist, Azikiwe was intended to sym-

In Nigeria, civil war spilled over into the streets when Biafra seceded from the Nigerian union, in 1967. Federal troops, such as those shown here in 1968, finally won the war after three years of bloodshed.
© AP/Wide World Photos

bolize a united Nigeria. The prime minister was a northern Hausa-Fulani named Sir Abubakar Tafewa BALEWA (1912–1966). The majority of the officers in the Nigerian Federal Army came from the eastern, Igbo-dominated region, while the bulk of the rank and file were northerners. In January 1966 an elite group of Igbo officers—including Major Emmanuel Ifeajuna, Major David Ejoor, and Captain Nwobosi—led a COUP D'ÉTAT against the Balewa government. The violence that ensued killed a large number of government leaders, mostly from the Northern Region, including Balewa and Ahmadu BELLO (1910–1966), the prime minister of the Northern Region. Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (1924–1966), an army colonel from the Eastern Region, became the leader of the new military government. His policies led to further anger in the north, and the desire for revenge quickly brought about another coup, in July 1966, overthrowing Ironsi and his ruling council. This coup also brought unprecedented atrocities against Igbos in northern Nigeria. General Yakubu GOWON (1934–   ), a non-Muslim northerner, became the new leader of the federal military government.

Despite attempts to reunify the government, acute disagreements ensued between General Gowon and military leaders from the Eastern Region. In 1967 the federal government announced plans to divide the Eastern Region in such a way that the Igbo-dominated territories would be left landlocked and without access to Nigeria's rich OIL reserves. As a consequence Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu (1933–   ) led the Eastern Region to secede from the federation and declare the sovereign state of Biafra, with its capital at Enugu. Federal Nigerian troops advanced into the country, forcing the transfer of the Biafran capital from Enugu to Aba. Under continued pressure from the federal troops, Biafrans moved their capital twice more, to Umuahia and finally to Owerri.

The consequences of the Biafran secession brought about untold sufferings for the inhabitants of the Eastern Region. The war also led to a tremendous waste of monetary resources. As the violence and oppression increased, Biafra was determined to stay independent from the rest of Nigeria. At the same time, however, the federal government was determined to bring Biafra back into the fold.

The Nigerian civil war not only divided the people of Nigeria but also played into the hands of the major parties in the Cold War. It drew so much international attention that it was referred to as "world war in microcosm." While Britain supported the federal government led by Gowon, France sided with the Biafrans. Israel supported Biafra to show its opposition to EGYPT, which supported the federal government. SOUTH AFRICA, led by its APARTHEID government, threw its support behind Biafra to spite the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU). The former Soviet Union, for its part, supported the federal government, which drove the Chinese to the Biafran side. The United States sympathized with the Biafrans but remained for-

mally neutral. As could be expected, the global involvement prolonged the conflict and helped accelerate it into a full-fledged war. However, the odds were against Biafra, which ultimately submitted to defeat in 1970. An estimated 1 million people died from the violence and the resulting food shortages that ravaged the Eastern Region.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NIGERIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Bikila, Abebe (1932–1973) *Ethiopian marathon runner*
Born to a peasant family in ETHIOPIA, Bikila joined the army at age 17, becoming a member of the Imperial Guard and bodyguard to Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975). The Imperial Guard was well known for its members' distance running skills, and Bikila trained at a special camp under the tutelage of Swedish trainer Onni Niskanen, who recognized his rare talent.

Bikila won his first marathon, held in ADDIS ABABA, in 1960. That same year, he entered the Olympic Games, held in Rome, Italy. An unknown, Bikila won the marathon competition with a then-record time of 2:15.16. Just as remarkable as his record time was the fact that he ran the entire race barefoot. He was the first athlete from sub-Saharan Africa to win an Olympic gold medal.

Italy and Ethiopia had long been antagonists, fighting repeatedly during Italy's attempts to establish a colonial empire. The day after Bikila's stunning victory, newspapers proclaimed that the entire Italian army was needed to conquer Ethiopia, but only one Ethiopian soldier was needed to conquer Rome.

In 1964 Bikila entered the Olympic Games in Tokyo, Japan. Despite having undergone surgery for appendicitis only six weeks before, Bikila again won gold, shattering his own world record with a new time of 2:12.11 and becoming the first person to win two Olympic marathons. He participated in the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City as well, but was forced to withdraw due to a foot injury. A fellow member of the Ethiopian Imperial Guard, Degaga "Mamo" Wolde (1932–2002), won the gold that year.

In all, Bikila ran in 15 marathons in his lifetime, winning 12 of them. His remarkable success made him a national hero in Ethiopia, and Haile Selassie promoted him to captain. In 1969, however, Bikila was severely injured in a car accident that left him a paraplegic, and he died four years later. Haile Selassie established the day as a national day of mourning, and as many as 65,000 people took part in the funeral.

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Bikila's exploits have inspired a generation of Ethiopian distance runners, both male and female. In the 1996 Olympics, in Barcelona, Spain, an Ethiopian woman, Fatuma Roba (1973–), won the gold in the marathon. In 2000, at the Olympics in Sydney, Australia, Gezaghne Abera (1978–), was the men's marathon gold medalist.

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See also: BAYI, FILBERT (Vol. V); KEINO, KIP (Vol. V); SPORTS AND ATHLETICS (Vol. V).

Biko, Steve (Stephen Bantu Biko) (1946–1977)
Leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa

Along with Nelson MANDELA (1918–), Biko best personified the valiant struggle of Africans against APARTHEID in SOUTH AFRICA. For many outside of Africa, the 1987 film, *Cry Freedom,* which highlighted Biko's plight, provided a vivid glimpse into the nature of the apartheid system. While pursuing medical studies at the University of Natal in 1969, Biko helped found the SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION. The organization's membership was exclusively black, unlike the white-dominated National Union of South African Students with which Biko had become disenchanted. He sought to counter white racism with an ideology of black pride, which drew on the civil rights and black power movements in the United States. He brought together people not only in the African community, but also those among the Cape coloured and Indian populations of South Africa. In 1972 various organizations among these supporters coalesced into the Black People's Convention. Biko became the most recognizable activist within the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT.

Because of his activism, the apartheid state subjected Biko to constant harassment. In 1973 he was restricted to King William's Town, in the eastern Cape Province, and was not allowed to meet with more than one person at a time or to be quoted in the media. He was arrested in August 1977 and died in police detention the following month as a result of torture and a lack of medical attention. The minister of justice's official statement that Biko died owing to a hunger strike contrasted with the brutal circumstances of his death, which were finally revealed in 1997, during testimony offered before the TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION. His death inspired a wave of outrage both in South Africa and abroad and served to provide momentum to the anti-apartheid struggle.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV).

In 1977 the funeral procession for anti-apartheid activist Steve Biko attracted a huge throng of his supporters in Ginsberg Location, South Africa. © Press Images Inc.

Further reading: Aelred Stubbs, ed., *I write what I like / Steve Biko; a selection of his writings* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986); Donald Woods, *Biko* (New York: H. Holt, 1987).

biodiversity Variety of plant and animal species in a particular area. In Africa biodiversity helps guard against the detrimental effects of ATMOSPHERIC CHANGE, ensures the productivity of FORESTS for fuel and other needs, purifies and maintains WATER RESOURCES, and helps provide medicinal plants and food for African populations. From the sands of the Saharan desert to the cape of SOUTH AFRICA, the African continent is home to a wealth of plants and animals found nowhere else. In the Sahara, for example, scientists estimate that there are approximately 500 different plant species. Of these, 162 are believed to be found only in that region. Also in the Sahara, which people have traditionally seen as a barren wasteland, there are some 70 species of mammals, 90 species of birds, and more than a hundred species of reptiles.

South Africa's Cape Floristic Region is one of the richest plant kingdoms in the world; two-thirds of the coun-

try's plant species are found only in this one location. Africa's tropical rainforests are even richer in biodiversity. For example, the Guinean forest, which runs through West Africa, has the highest level of mammalian diversity in the world: 1,150 different species. The small island of MADAGASCAR, isolated in the Indian Ocean, is equally remarkable. It is believed to be home to some 700 species of vertebrates alone.

As important and diverse as the continent's biological life is, at the same time it suffers from a great number of threats. There are five large "biodiversity hotspots" in Africa, areas high in biodiversity but under significant threat. These include Madagascar and the Indian Ocean Islands, the Eastern Arc Mountains and Coastal Forests of TANZANIA and KENYA, the Guinean Forests of West Africa, the Cape Floristic Region, and the Succulent Karoo of western South Africa and NAMIBIA.

Hotspots are areas of unusually high biodiversity (generally more than 1,500 plant species) that are particularly threatened (meaning that they have lost up to 70 percent of their original area). Generally, hotspots can develop where an ecosystem has evolved in isolation over a long period of time. For example, Africa's remote Eastern Arc Mountains, which have an average altitude of 2,000 feet, developed over a period of 30 million years or more. Only 2,200 square miles (5,698 sq km) of its original 11,500 square-mile area still remain intact, less than 800 of which remain pristine. This is primarily the result of human activities, which degrade the region at a rate of approximately 2 percent each year.

The primary threats to biodiversity are natural habitat loss, species loss, invasion by alien species, and ignorance of indigenous knowledge. All of these are closely tied to human activities and, in particular, to the decision to exploit resources for short-term needs. For example, cutting down forests—even if it is for such seemingly beneficial activities as farming, hunting, MEDICINE production, or national and international trade—contributes to the degradation of fragile ecosystems.

The economic impact of species loss is dramatic. In Madagascar, for example, some 90 percent of the forests have been destroyed, leading to the loss of great numbers of plant and animal species. At the same time that the destruction of these forests has taken away wood needed for heating, cooking, and construction, it also has removed the homes of animals that were once hunted for food, along with the plant life that protected the soil from erosion. As a consequence the majority of Madagascar's rural population lives in POVERTY. Under such conditions, there is a direct connection between the loss of biodiversity and backsliding in the struggle for economic DEVELOPMENT. In Africa today, protection against the loss of biodiversity takes two predominant forms: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT and CONSERVATION. Sustainable development focuses on local populations meeting their needs while ensuring that NATURAL RESOURCES will remain for future generations. It requires significant scientific input to estimate what those future needs are, as well as to manage the interactions of humans and the ecosystem.

By a conservative estimate, 247 plant and animal species are known to have gone extinct in Africa, and another 3,789 are currently threatened. This, however, may represent only a small percentage of what has actually been lost. Almost 98 percent of the earth's mammal and bird species have been identified, but only a tiny fraction of the other species have been categorized. For instance, barely one million of an estimated eight million insects, and 275,000 of an estimated 1.8 million marine species, have been identified. The same is true of fungi and bacteria. Because of this, many scientists believe that the actual species loss in Africa might be significantly higher than what is currently known.

The other main form of protection, conservation, has most often come in the form of NATIONAL PARKS and other protected areas. As of 1999 there were 1,050 national parks and protected areas in Africa, and an additional 197 internationally protected areas. These amount to a total of approximately 7 percent of Africa's land and COASTAL AND MARINE ECOSYSTEMS.

Although sustainable development and conservation represent the best-known preventions to the loss of biodiversity, they are not without problems. Sustainable development has been criticized for being "too little, too late," while the creation of protected areas often leads to conflicts with people's need to survive.

What is clear is that biological diversity presents a difficult and, for now, perhaps unsolvable problem. On the one hand, maintaining biodiversity is crucial to the survival of both individual ecosystems and humankind as a whole. But, on the other hand, the costs of protecting Africa's biodiversity are often beyond what the African people can tolerate when they consider all of the human, economic, and political consequences.

See also: LAND USE (Vol. V); ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGI-CAL CHANGE (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V).

Further reading: United Nations Environment Programme, *Africa Environmental Outlook: Past, Present and Future Perspectives* (Nairobi, Kenya: UNEP, 2002); United Nations Environment Programme, *Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity—A Complementary Contribution to the Global Biodiversity Assessment* (Nairobi, Kenya: UNEP, 2000).

Bissau   Capital, principal city, and major port of GUINEA-BISSAU, located on the Atlantic coast at the entrance to the estuary of the Geba River. Once a part of the Mali Empire, Bissau was first visited by the Portuguese, in 1687, and developed into a center for the slave trade. The area did not become an official Portuguese colony, however, until 1879, when the other European powers recognized the Portuguese claim to the region. In 1941 the city became the colony's capital, which had previously been located at Bolama, on the south side of the the Geba River.

During their tenure the Portuguese regarded Bissau as a resource for slaves, palm oil, and groundnuts (peanuts), and they did not invest in the development of the area beyond the bare minimum necessary for the successful extraction of its resources. When the end of World War II (1939–45) did not see any improvement in the poor living conditions for Bissau's African residents, they began to organize politically, founding, in 1956, the AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (Partido Africano da Independência do Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC). Urban unrest led to a dock strike, in 1959, in which 50 strikers died at the hands of the Portuguese colonial authorities.

By 1963 the area saw the beginning of an armed insurrection, led by the PAIGC president Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973), against the colonial government. The ensuing guerrilla war, which lasted from 1963 to 1974, gradually stifled the commercial life of Bissau, since the city depended on the export of agricultural commodities from rural areas that increasingly fell under PAIGC control. When the war ended and Guinea-Bissau gained independence in 1974, Bissau was in a state of economic depression.

The city began to recover by the late 1980s, as major improvements to the port boosted the trade of rice as well as nuts, fish, wax, and hides. Bissau's economic development faced a sharp setback, though, in June 1988, when an army rebellion ignited fighting in the capital. Several thousand deaths and major destruction resulted. Ultimately, however, a peace accord was signed, and the country's first democratic elections took place in 1994.

Today, Bissau, with its ethnically mixed population approaching 300,000, remains the only significant urban center in the country. The economic base for the city, unfortunately, still remains largely agricultural, just as the country remains one of the world's poorest.

See also: GEBA RIVER (Vol. II); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); GROUNDNUTS (Vols. III, IV); PALM OIL (Vols. III, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV); SLAVE TRADE (Vols. III, IV).

Biya, Paul (1933–   ) *Second president of Cameroon*
Biya was born in the southern Cameroonian village of Mvomeko. As a youth he attended a Catholic mission school and later studied at Eda and Akono Junior Seminaries and the Lycee Leclerc, French Cameroon's most prestigious high school. His strong academic performance permitted Biya to enroll at the University of Paris, where he earned his law degree in 1960. Biya remained in Paris for further legal studies at the Institute of Overseas Studies, returning to Cameroon in 1962.

Upon his return Biya joined the government of President Ahmadou AHIDJO (1924–1989) and was placed in charge of the Department of Foreign Development Aid. Serving in multiple government positions, Biya formed a close relationship with President Ahidjo. In 1975 Ahidjo chose Biya as prime minister, making Biya successor to the presidency.

On November 6, 1982, Ahidjo resigned as president and Biya succeeded him. Ahidjo, however, remained as chairman of Cameroon's only legal party—the Cameroon National Party (CNP). Believing that the chairmanship of the CNP was a more powerful position than the presidency, Ahidjo probably thought that he would effectively retain control of the country. Soon after, however, Biya began to replace Ahidjo's government appointees and aides with people more loyal to him. In 1983 Ahidjo was implicated in an attempted COUP D'ÉTAT, resulting in his forced resignation from the CNP chairmanship as well as his exile from Cameroon. In 1984 there was another coup attempt against Biya. Again, the coup was put down and Ahidjo was implicated once again. This time he was sentenced to death in absentia. Biya, meanwhile, consolidated his hold on power. He had been elected chairman of the CNP in 1983, but abolished the party and formed the CAMEROON PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT.

Though President Biya met with some initial successes, including the expansion of freedom of speech and press, his presidency became burdened by a poor economy. By the late 1980s the country was mired in recession, and Biya agreed to accept loans from the International Monetary Fund and the ensuing STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT required by the organization. The changes did little to stem the decline of Cameroon's economy.

By the late 1980s the continent-wide movement for DEMOCRATIZATION reached Cameroon, forcing Biya, in 1990, to call for multiparty elections. In 1992 Cameroon

held its first multiparty presidential elections, with Biya declared the winner. The results, however, were widely disputed and massive demonstrations took place to protest the outcome. In response Biya declared a state of emergency and violently repressed the opposition. The presidential elections of 1997 were similarly tainted, as Biya refused independent oversight of the results. In response the three major opposition leaders refused to partake in the elections, which Biya won easily.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Joseph Takougang and Milton Krieger, *African State and Society in the 1990s: Cameroon's Political Crossroads* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998).

Biyidi-Awala, Alexandre See BETI, MONGO.

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) South African political and social action associated with anti-APARTHEID and pro-nationalism groups. Although the ideology of Black Consciousness has existed since the early 20th century, the founding of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) is usually attributed to Steve BIKO (1946–1977), the South African militant who had formed the SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANIZATION (SASO). The BCM, however, was not the province of a single organization, nor did it ascribe to a single doctrine. It was, rather, a rallying point for the promotion of black pride, dignity, self-awareness, and self-determination. While the black power movement in the United States and the example of Malcolm X (1925–1965) helped inspire BCM, the principal wellspring was internal to SOUTH AFRICA.

In addition to SASO, the BCM attracted and fostered the development of many other black South African anti-apartheid groups, including the Black Peoples Convention, the South African Students' Movement, and the Black Allied Workers Union. These organizations provided the opportunity for blacks to set the tone of the anti-apartheid debate. Also, with the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS outlawed by the South African government, the BCM offered a legal outlet for anti-apartheid activity.

The positive legal status of BCM organizations, however, did not last long. The South African government began to arrest the leaders of the BCM, and, in 1977, South African police murdered Biko while he was in their custody. That same year the government banned all groups associated with the BCM. The BCM did not die, but was reorganized under the name Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO). In 1980 AZAPO formed the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). With its headquarters in London, England, the BCMA provided an organizational structure for exiled members of the banned BCM groups. In 1990 the South African government lifted the ban on all nationalist organizations, including those of the BCM. In 1984 all the BCM organizations joined together under the AZAPO name. BCM declined with the collapse of the apartheid system in the early 1990s. Africans were now in the political majority and thus able to elect the government. The notion of black consciousness as a way to unify people of color against white political oppression thus lost its central rationale.

See also: BANTUSTANS (Vol. V) RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

Further reading: George M. Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Black Sash Women's organization founded in 1955 to protest the treatment of blacks under APARTHEID in SOUTH AFRICA. Officially called the Women's Defense of the Constitution League, the Black Sash was begun by progressive, white, middle-class women. To register their opposition to apartheid and repression, Black Sash members maintained peaceful vigils and participated in marches, clad in a distinctive black belt, or sash, a symbol of mourning for violations of the country's constitution. Their silent vigils were normally held in places frequented by members of the white parliament. At its height, membership exceeded 10,000, testifying to the fact that a significant portion of South Africa's white population opposed apartheid.

The original purpose of the Black Sash was to prevent the government from withdrawing voting rights from South Africa's Cape coloured population. Although it failed to achieve that goal, the organization persevered, taking on the broader task of defending Africans against various civil rights abuses, especially the oppressive "pass laws" that required Africans to carry passes at all times or face arrest and possible imprisonment.

Nelson MANDELA (1918–), the first black president of post-apartheid South Africa, once referred to the Black Sash as "the conscience of white South Africa."

The Black Sash also maintained advice offices, which assisted Africans who had legal problems or who were being unjustly treated with respect to housing and employment. In 1983 the organization took an active role in

the formation of the End Conscription Campaign, which was designed to bring an end to compulsory conscription of white men into the South African Defense Forces. Since the collapse of apartheid in the early 1990s, the organization has been dedicated to helping the poor.

See also: CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

Boesak, Allan (1945–   ) *Anti-apartheid activist in South Africa*

Allan Aubrey Boesak was born into an AFRIKAANS-speaking Cape Cape coloured family in the small town of Kakamas, Northern Cape Province, SOUTH AFRICA. His father was a schoolteacher. After his father's death in 1953, his mother moved the family to Somerset West, a distant suburb of CAPE TOWN, where she supported her children by working as a seamstress. Boesak attended the Bellville Theological Seminary, which trained clergy for the Cape coloured branch of the segregated Dutch Reformed Church. Ordained in 1968, he spent three years as a parish minister before going to Europe for further studies. In 1976 he earned a doctorate in theology from the Kampen Theological Institute, in the Netherlands.

In 1976, upon his return to South Africa, Boesak served as a parish minister in the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, which was established for South Africa's Cape coloured population. He became politically active in the campaign to end APARTHEID and soon emerged as one of the leading figures in the black opposition, mobilizing both the Christian community and the Cape coloured community against that policy. In 1982, as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), he succeeded in having the WARC adopt a proposal to declare apartheid a heresy and suspend the white South African churches from the Alliance.

In 1983 white South African voters were asked to approve a new constitution, which, among other provisions, would establish a new tricameral parliament, with separate houses for whites, Coloureds, and Indians. This constitution represented the attempt of President P. W. BOTHA (1916–   ) to give the appearance of sharing power with the country's nonwhite population without granting them any real authority. In response, Boesak helped found the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, an umbrella organization coordinating some 700 opposition groups. He accused the government of trying to subvert Coloureds and Indians into supporting the apartheid system that oppressed them. Furthermore, he encouraged a boycott of the subsequent parliamentary elections that followed the adoption of the new constitution. The boycott was successful, as only 20 percent of the Coloureds and Indians went to vote. Boesak was arrested several times for taking part in demonstrations, and the government attempted to silence him.

During the mid-1980s, as the tempo of popular protest and state repression increased, Boesak became more active and traveled widely abroad. His moral authority, however, was undermined by revelations of extramarital affairs with white women, first in 1985 and again in 1990. In South Africa's racially segregated society, these affairs brought him considerable notoriety. After news of the second scandal broke, Boesak resigned from Dutch Reformed Mission Church and from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, which he then headed. He later divorced his wife and married Elna Botha (1960–   )—no relation to P. W. Botha—a television producer.

In 1998 Boesak again became embroiled in controversy when he was found guilty of stealing a large sum of money that had been donated to his Foundation for Peace and Justice. He was imprisoned in May 2000 and sentenced to a three-year term. He was released on parole in 2001.

See also: CAPE CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE (Vol. IV).

Bokassa, Jean-Bedel (1921–1996) *President of the Central African Republic from 1966 to 1979*

Bokassa grew up an orphan, his mother having having been a suicide and his father, a murder victim. Raised by MISSIONARIES in the French colony of Oubangui-Chari (present-day CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC), he received his education at mission schools until he joined the French army in 1939. Bokassa saw action with the Free French in World War II (1939–45) and later in French Indochina, rising to the rank of captain in 1961. In 1964 Bokassa's cousin David DACKO (1930–   ), the president of the newly independent Central African Republic, asked for Bokassa to become commander in chief of the armed forces. With the country in economic shambles, Bokassa launched a COUP D'ÉTAT in 1966, overthrowing Dacko and taking the titles of president and prime minister. Three days later he abolished the constitution and claimed dictatorial control.

Bokassa's 13-year regime as head of the Central African Republic was marked by incredible brutality and excess. Under constant threat of coups (attempted in 1969 and 1974) and assassination (attempted in 1976), Bokassa moved to consolidate his power and suppress his opponents through imprisonment and murder. In 1972 he declared himself president for life and ruled as such until 1976, when Bokassa anointed himself Emperor Bokassa I and renamed the country Central African Empire. Bokassa held a ceremony designed to mimic the coronation of his hero, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), who had crowned himself emperor of France in 1804.

Under Bokassa's increasingly unstable and autocratic rule, the Central African Empire fell into further decline, as Bokassa exploited the country's mineral wealth for his personal purposes, including frequent gifts of diamonds to French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (1926–   ).

In 1979 riots in the capital city of BANGUI led to violent reprisals on citizens, and, in April of that year, Bokassa had 100 schoolchildren arrested and executed for protesting the cost of school uniforms that featured Bokassa's portrait. After that incident, the French government, which despite Bokassa's excesses had supported his regime, ceased backing the dictator. In September while Bokassa was visiting Libya, French paratroopers stormed Bangui and reinstated David Dacko as president. Bokassa was forced into exile in the IVORY COAST and later France.

Bokassa converted to Islam after a meeting with Muammar QADDAFI (1942–) of LIBYA and then changed his name to Salah Eddine Ahmed Bokassa in 1976. He quickly resumed Christianity, however, when he proclaimed himself emperor later that year. He then named his Muslim alter-ego as the imperial prime minister.

In 1980 Bokassa was sentenced to death in absentia for the crimes of treason, embezzlement, murder, and cannibalism. However, in 1986 Bokassa attempted to return to the Central African Republic and was arrested. The ensuing trial was filled with graphic claims against Bokassa, including statements that he personally participated in the beating deaths of the schoolchildren and later cannibalized the bodies. He was sentenced to death the following year, but that sentence was commuted and eventually reduced to 20 years imprisonment. Bokassa was released in 1993 and died three years later of a heart attack. Though his reign as dictator was indisputably oppressive, many in the Central African Republic still hold mixed feelings, and even some measure of admiration, for Bokassa.

Bokassa and French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing maintained a particularly cordial relationship. Bokassa took the president on hunting excursions and exported uranium for use in France's nuclear arms program. In return, the French president backed the dictator financially and militarily, even footing the bill for Bokassa's $20 million coronation ceremony. The revelation of d'Estaing's acceptance of gifts of diamonds from Bokassa led to his eventual defeat in France's 1981 presidential elections.

See also: ARMIES, COLONIAL (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); OUBANGUI-CHARI (Vol. IV).

Bongo, Omar (Albert Bernard Bongo) (1935–)
President of Gabon

Born Albert Bernard Bongo, Bongo received his education in BRAZZAVILLE, Republic of the CONGO. After serving as a conscript in the French military, he found employment in the civil service. After GABON secured its independence in 1960, he held several cabinet positions before President Leon M'Ba (1902–1967) selected him in 1967 as his vice-presidential running mate. Within a few months of winning reelection, M'Ba died, and Bongo assumed the presidency, which he has maintained since. Bongo changed his given name to Omar in 1979, following his conversion to Islam.

In 1968 Bongo moved to centralize Gabon's government, disbanding all political parties save his Parti Democratique Gabonais (PDG), and assuming a number of cabinet-level responsibilities himself. He essentially refined the government into a one-man–one-party system. Applying the same notions of singularity to the rest of the country, Bongo opposed ethnic and regional differences and encouraged intermarriage as a way of promoting Gabonese nationality. Trade unions were merged into a single entity and linked to Bongo's PDG. Bongo consolidated his power to such a degree that, in the 36 years he has been president, he has rarely faced serious challenges to his administration.

In 1993, however, Bongo came close to losing his control after winning only 50.7 percent of the vote. He was able to soothe protests by participating in talks with opposition groups and agreeing to an independent electoral commission, which he later rendered politically ineffectual. By the 1998 elections, Bongo once again had a firm grasp on the presidency, winning handily and without much popular protest.

Bongo's extravagance is such that one French publication noted that the Gabonese leader owns more real estate in Paris than any other foreign head of state.

Bongo's repeated electoral success cannot be attributed to Gabon's national well-being, however. Economic failures in the country's OIL and lumber industries have led to financial uncertainty, and the threat of an almost $4 billion national debt has become prominent. Bongo himself, however, uses his state-derived wealth fla-

grantly, having spent $300 million U.S. dollars on a presidential palace, among other luxuries. In the meantime, his country has yet to develop adequate roads, EDUCATION, or health services. Despite the failing economy and accusations of CORRUPTION, there seems to be little challenge to Bongo's continued reign as Gabon's central political figure.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

book publishing Although the spread of Islam in Africa beginning in the seventh century led to the appearance and trade of books, these were in handwritten script. The contemporary form of publishing in Africa with printing presses is associated with Christian MISSIONARIES, which, in the 19th century, introduced printing presses. Missionary publications continued to be published during the period of colonialism and even after the African countries had gained independence. During colonialism, governments established publishing houses that produced their own publications, including textbooks used in schools. Even when they wrote the materials locally they employed only their own writers, resulting in stereotypical portrayals of Africans.

Indigenous African book publishing sprang up in the 1960s, after most African countries became independent. Despite numerous challenges African book publishing developed rapidly in the following three decades. One of the major issues faced by African governments at independence was the lack of appropriate schoolbooks, including textbooks and literature, since the colonial governments had in many cases used books with no relevance for the local people. As a result most governments were compelled to set up publishing houses to meet the educational needs of their countries. The need for books written by Africans expressing their own views and experiences encouraged the establishment of independent publishing houses. Numerous books were published that were written in English, French, Portuguese, Arabic, Kiswahili, as well as in many indigenous African languages.

By the 1970s most African countries had firmly established publishing houses. In 1973 the International Conference on Publishing and Book Development in Africa was held at the University of Ife, NIGERIA. It was a landmark event that underlined the importance of book publishing in Africa. In order to recognize meritorious authors and publishers, African countries established awards including the Noma Award, which was created in 1979 as an annual prize for an outstanding book from Africa. Other prizes include the Nigerian Book Foundation Award, Ghana Publisher of the Year Award, and the Caine Prize for African Writing.

In 2002 Africa celebrated the best 100 books on Africa written in the 20th century. The top 12 on the list included *Things Fall Apart* (1958), by Chinua ACHEBE (1930–   ),

Sosu's Call (1999), by Meshack Asare (1945–   ), *So Long a Letter* (1979), by Mariama BÂ (1929–1981), *Terra Sonambula* (1992), by Mia Couto (1955–   ), *Nervous Conditions* (1988), by Tsitsi DANGAREMBGA (1959–   ), *The African Origins of Civilization: Myth or Reality* (1955), by Cheikh Anta DIOP (1923–1986), *La'Amour, La fantasia* (1985), by Assia Djebar (1936–   ), *The Cairo Trilogy* (1945), by Naguib MAHFOUZ (1911–   ), *Chaka* (1925), by Thomas Mofolo (c. 1875–1948), *Ake: The Years of Childhood* (1981), by Wole SOYINKA (1934–   ), *A Grain of Wheat* (1967), by NGUGI WA THIONG'O (1938–   ), and *Oeuvre Poétique* (1961), by Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001). Both Mahfouz, in 1988, and Soyinka, in 1986, received the Nobel Prize for Literature.

After an optimistic period of expansion in the 1970s African publishers faced a host of challenges that have led to the industry's present stagnation. These include distribution problems and insufficient marketing, worsening economic conditions, high illiteracy, poor TRANSPORTATION and communications, and lack of training and expertise. What have not been lacking, however, are authors. Publishers are responding to these challenges at the national and regional levels. At the national level this has led to the autonomy of publishing houses and the promotion of mass marketing of popular books. At regional levels publishers are seeking collective approaches. In 1992 African publishers formed the African Publishers' Network (APNET), based in HARARE, ZIMBABWE, in order to strengthen indigenous publishing in Africa and to promote intra-African trade in books. APNET aims to give a unified voice to publishers, promote joint ventures, assist in training publishing personnel, and help establish licensing agreements between publishers. In addition, the Zimbabwe International Book Fair, a non-profit organization, operates as Africa's largest and most diverse information and publishing showcase which exhibits the largest and most diverse collection of books, magazines, journals, CD-ROM and publishing and printing technology and services in sub-Saharan Africa. The ongoing political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, however, threatens the fair's future. Despite the challenges privately owned public houses are emerging and publishing a wide range of high-quality books.

See also: LITERACY (Vols. IV, V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); *THINGS FALL APART* (Vol. IV).

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Botha, P. W. (Pieter Willem Botha) (1916–   )
South African prime minister from 1978 to 1989

Often simply referred to as P. W., Botha was born into a Boer, or Afrikaner, family in Free State Province, SOUTH

AFRICA. The Bothas counted themselves among the most fiercely nationalistic Boer families in the province. His father had fought against the British in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902, the unsuccessful Afrikaner effort to preserve the independence of the two Boer Republics, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. His mother had been among those the British interned in concentration camps, where 28,000 Boer civilians, mostly women and children, died of disease and malnutrition.

Botha entered the University of the Orange Free State to study law, but in 1935 dropped out to become an organizer for the National Party (NP). In 1948 he entered Parliament in the so-called APARTHEID election that swept the National Party into power. He held a number of ministerial posts, serving, most importantly, from 1966 to 1980 as minister of defense. In 1978, upon the resignation of B. J. Vorster (1915–1983), he became the prime minister of South Africa.

In his first years in office, Botha initiated a series of "adapt or die" reformist measures that promised a more progressive approach to the country's black population. Among other measures, he legalized African LABOR UNIONS and abolished the pass law system, which had limited the mobility and residency rights of Africans within South Africa. In actuality, many of his changes were instituted only for appearance's sake. Botha's true intent was to strengthen apartheid by making it appear less repressive while maintaining its core policies.

In 1983 Botha called a whites-only referendum to endorse a new constitution. The proposed constitution allowed for limited power sharing by the Cape coloured and Indian populations of South Africa; however, it ignored the black-African majority. The constitution also transformed the structure of government, changing it from a parliamentary system with a prime minister to a presidential system with a strong executive branch. There was also to be a new tricameral parliament, with separate houses for whites, Coloureds, and Indians. White voters endorsed Botha's constitution, and it became law. Botha became South Africa's first state president. However, in the subsequent parliamentary elections under the new constitution, 80 percent of the newly enfranchised Cape coloured and Indian voters boycotted the polls and refused to vote.

The new constitution, with its limited empowerment of nonwhites, precipitated a split in Afrikaner politics, as the right wing of the National Party broke away and formed the Conservative Party. To calm the mounting internal dissent, Botha adopted what he referred to as "total strategy," which gave broad powers to the country's military and internal security agencies. South Africa increasingly became an authoritarian state, with power concentrated within Botha's inner circle of military advisors.

Botha also pursued a defiant and aggressive foreign policy. He launched periodic raids on neighboring countries that harbored members of the banned AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and refused to withdraw South Africa's forces from NAMIBIA. In 1984 black anger and discontent spilled over, triggered by the violence that erupted in SOWETO and other urban townships. In 1985 Botha responded by declaring a state of emergency. Initially acknowledged in only select areas, the state of emergency was expanded the next year to span across the entire country.

International condemnation and economic sanctions intensified, weakening South Africa's economy and isolating it diplomatically. After suffering a stroke in January 1989, Botha relinquished his position as head of the National Party and was subsequently forced out as president by F. W. DE KLERK (1936–   ).

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); ANGLO-BOER WAR (Vols. III, IV).

Botswana   Located in southern Africa with a total area of 231,800 square miles (600,400 sq km), Botswana is bordered by NAMIBIA to the west and north, ZIMBABWE to the northeast, SOUTH AFRICA to the south and east, and ZAMBIA to the north. Botswana is and arid land, with the Kalahari Desert covering much of the western portion of the country. Most of the population of 1.5 million lives in the eastern part of the country. Its capital and largest city is GABORONE. Botswana is Africa's longest and only uninterrupted liberal democracy. It also is one of the continent's most stable countries and is relatively free of CORRUPTION.

Botswana at Independence   By 1960 a new generation in Botswana organized movements to take over the leadership from the British colonial administration of what was then still known as Bechuanaland. The first mass-based political party, the Bechuanaland People's Party (BPP) was formed in December 1960. However, the party failed to attract significant support in most of the rural areas. It was also weakened by internal struggles. The Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP, later known as the Botswana Democratic Party) emerged in 1962 as a coalition of educated local notables including Sir Seretse KHAMA (1921–1980) and Ketumile MASIRE (1925–   ). In 1965 the BDP won a landslide victory in the country's first "one man, one vote" election. The country became independent in 1966 with Seretse Khama as its first president. At independence Botswana was a poor, rural country. It was not until 1967, one year after its independence, that diamonds were discovered, which has led to the country becoming one of the most prosperous in Africa.

Botswana has been described as Africa's premier democracy. The country's economic development has tended to facilitate democracy. In the four decades since independence, Botswana's economy has grown rapidly. At independence it was one of the world's poorest countries with an annual per-capita GDP of $474. By 2001 Botswana had transformed itself to a middle-income country

Exotic wildlife, such as these ostriches running in the Kalahari Desert, is Botswana's major tourist attraction. *© Corbis*

with an annual per-capita GDP of $7,800. Its currency, the Pula, is among the strongest in developing countries. As a result of Botswana's economic status Western aid has declined sharply since the 1990s, but Botswana is sufficiently developed to sustain its economic growth. The government has provided extensive social services in urban, rural, and even remote villages. These include health clinics, clean water, free public EDUCATION, and numerous types of agricultural extension, food relief in times of drought, and good roads and TRANSPORTATION systems.

The basis for Botswana's economy is the diamond MINING that accounts for one-third of its total GDP and three-fourths of its export earnings. The country also EXPORTS copper, nickel, soda ash, and beef. Subsistence AGRICULTURE and TOURISM are two other key sectors.

Upon gaining independence Botswana continued the colonial tradition of having the highly educated and politically sophisticated bureaucratic elite set the policy directions. The government has been effective in managing the DEVELOPMENT process with a minimum of corruption.

Coupled with its diamond wealth, Botswana is one of the few African countries to follow systematically a democratic political process. Most commentators attribute the country's successful democracy to a precolonial culture based on the Tswana *kgotla* institution. The *kgotla* is a community gathering for people to consider issues raised by the chief or headmen. Historically, women, young adults, and minorities could be present at the *kgotla* but did not take part in the discussions unless they were asked in matters pertaining to their group. Much later women were allowed to attend, although *kgotla* meetings were dominated by men. Chiefs set the agenda, but the *kgotla* was a place where people could debate issues and take part in making decisions for their community. After independence the state continued to seek public support for major programs. In terms of major projects affecting the nation, national forums are held and people discuss the intended project before implementation. As a result the general public has been part of the political process.

However, since independence only one party has been in power: the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). The other major parties include the Botswana National Front, the Botswana People's Party and the Botswana Independence Party. Although the BDP's domination over the other parties has decreased, the other parties have not been strong enough to gain control of the government. The first president, Khama, ruled the country from 1966

until his death in 1980. After his death, Ketumile Masire, who was known as a highly competent technocrat, was chosen as the next president. He successfully ruled the country and retired as president in 1998 after being elected to the position twice. Festus MOGAE (1939–   ) took over the presidency on April 1, 1998, and he was elected for a five-year term in 1999.

While Botswana's progression toward democracy has been good, its progress in dealing with women's rights was slow. Beginning in 1986, women's groups, including EMANG BASADI, pressured the government to change discriminatory laws, finally succeeding in the 1990s. The government provides funding to promote women's education related to health, relevant laws, and employment. The government has also been taken to task in its dealing with minority groups including the Basarwa and the Kalanga. Faced with strong criticism the government and the opposition parties are beginning to articulate minority interests and cultural diversity.

Given its political and economic status Botswana has started to play a significant role in the region's economy and political affairs. The country is an active member of the SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY whose headquarters are located in the capital city of Gaborone. It is a member of the Southern African Customs Union as well. Botswana has also played an effective role in helping countries in conflict attain peace. In the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, former Botswana president Masire has played a leading role as a United Nation's envoy, acting as a facilitator of the peace process.

On the negative side many of Botswana's people have been affected by the HIV/AIDS crisis, and infection rates are the highest in the world. (Approximately 38.5 percent of the adult population is infected.) The government has initiated antiretroviral therapy, while prevention remains the cornerstone of its national HIV/AIDS strategy. In this regard Botswana has become the first African country to provide antiretroviral (ARV) therapy to its citizens on a national scale to address the HIV/AIDS emergency.

See also: BECHUANALAND (Vol. IV); BOTSWANA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Boumedienne, Houari (Mohammed Ben Brahim Bankharouba) (1927–1978) *Algerian leader from 1965 to 1978*

Known for his commitment to giving ALGERIA control over its own economy and NATURAL RESOURCES, as well as for policies designed to improve the living standards of his nation's people, Houari Boumedienne became a leading figure in the Arab world. Throughout his career, Boumedienne remained committed to both a moderate socialism and to Islamic tenets, making him a key figure in the political movements sweeping Arab states in the 1960s and 1970s.

Born in a small town in eastern Algeria, Mohammed Ben Brahim Bankharouba, as he was named at birth, was educated in French and Islamic schools. In 1952 he fled to TUNISIA and EGYPT to avoid serving in the French military. While in Egypt, he joined the Algerian independence movement led by Ahmed BEN BELLA (1916–   ). After adopting the name Houari Boumedienne he joined the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Front de Liberation National, FLN) and received military training. A natural soldier and leader, he rose quickly in the revolutionary army, and by 1960 he was head of its general staff.

Quiet and reserved, and as loyal to his troops as they were to him, Boumedienne steered a careful course through the political intrigues of the various factions of the independence movement. By the time Algerian elections were held in September 1962, FLN troops had gained control of most of the country. With Ben Bella's victory in the elections, Boumedienne became the minister of defense in the government of the newly independent Algeria. For the next several years the two men led Algeria together, although there was constant tension between the reserved Boumedienne and the outgoing Ben Bella.

Although he favored Ben Bella's pragmatic form of socialism as the best course for Algeria, Boumedienne found himself unable to support Ben Bella's authoritarian tendencies. Nor did he share Ben Bella's vision of a secular, non-Islamist Algeria. After several attempts by Ben Bella to undermine his authority, Boumedienne seized control of the government in a bloodless COUP D'ÉTAT on June 19, 1965, appointing himself president and minister of defense and suspending the National Assembly.

Once in power, Boumedienne launched domestic programs aimed at improving the living standards for all Algerians rather than just a handful of the elite. In addition to instituting agricultural reforms and INDUSTRIALIZATION programs, he nationalized the country's OIL industry in 1971, giving him control of one of Algeria's key resources and an important source of income.

With Egypt's decline in influence among the Arab states following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, many in the Islamic world began to look to Boumedienne for leadership. It was a position he seemed willing to take, and he soon became a spokesperson for Arab—and African— causes. Firmly committed to the principle of nonalignment, he kept the former Soviet Union from playing major, direct roles in Algeria, in spite of his own moderate socialism. He urged similar policies for other newly independent and developing nations, and he eventually assumed a significant role in the Nonaligned Movement, becoming its chairperson in 1973. Equally committed to liberation from

colonial powers, he continued to support revolutionary movements in other parts of Africa, such as WESTERN SAHARA, even at the expense of maintaining friendly relations with neighbors like MOROCCO. Boumedienne died of natural causes on December 27, 1978.

See also: ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vols. IV, V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Bourguiba, Habib (Habib ben Ali Bourgiba)
(1903–2000) *First president of Tunisia*

After leading TUNISIA to independence from France in 1956, Bourguiba was elected president the following year. Once in control, he guided the nation's assembly in drafting a new constitution and made his Destour Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste Destourien, PSD) the only officially recognized Tunisian political party. Bourgiba then set about modernizing the Tunisian economy, developing its OIL industry, inviting FOREIGN INVESTMENT, and encouraging TOURISM.

Despite his early successes, by the early 1970s Bourguiba's government was hampered by numerous conflicts within the PSD, with major problems largely the result of the rift between the party's liberals and Islamic conservatives. However, in contrast to the disarray in Tunisian domestic affairs, Bourguiba's foreign policies at this time were mostly successful. Tunisia enjoyed a long period of favorable relations with France, especially since Bourguiba represented a moderating influence in the increasingly anti-Western Arab world.

Bourguiba was known to be wary of aligning Tunisia with other Arab unions, but in 1974 he acted without consultation from his advisors and signed a treaty of union with Muammar QADDAFI (1942–) in neighboring LIBYA. The proposed merger would have brought together the governments, parliaments, and armies of the two nations. Within two days, however, Bourguiba annulled the treaty, creating strained diplomatic relations between the two countries that would last for years.

Bourguiba began to show signs of mental deterioration in the 1970s, as his memory failed and his behavior became erratic. In spite of this, however, in 1975 the Constituent Assembly appointed Bourguiba president for life. In 1980

Bourguiba authorized the legal formation of opposition political parties, and within a few years Tunisia became the scene of widespread popular unrest. By the mid-1980s the Tunisian economy was depressed, and Bourguiba's weak leadership had cost him his popular support. Finally, in 1987 doctors confirmed that Bourguiba's health left him unfit to rule, and by a provision of the constitution, the president for life was replaced by his prime minister ZINE EL ABIDINE BEN ALI (1936–). In the 1990s arteriosclerosis gradually destroyed Bourguiba's health; he died at home early in 2000.

See also: BOURGUIBA, HABIB (Vol. IV), DESTOUR PARTY (Vol. IV).

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Bouteflika, Abdelaziz (1937–) *President of Algeria*

Born in Oujda, MOROCCO, near the border with ALGERIA, Bouteflika became involved in the Algerian independence movement in 1956. Following the end of colonial rule Bouteflika took a position in the government of President Ahmed BEN BELLA (1916–) and later became foreign minister. When Ben Bella was removed from office during a COUP D'ÉTAT, Bouteflika continued to serve as foreign minister under Colonel Houari BOUMEDIENNE (1927–1978).

Bouteflika nearly assumed the presidency following Boumedienne's death in 1978, but Colonel Chadli Benjedid (1929–) took power instead and, in 1980, dismissed Bouteflika. After being accused of embezzlement, Bouteflika went into exile in Switzerland.

In 1999 a cadre of Algerian military and civilian leaders asked Bouteflika to run in the presidential elections, viewing him as a "consensus candidate" who could possibly bridge the differences between the various factions in Algeria that had been at odds since independence. At the time the country was in economic shambles, with its military fighting radical Islamist groups and opposition parties. Bouteflika won a controversial election and became Algeria's first civilian president since 1965. Many in Algeria welcomed his election, even though Bouteflika actually won the presidency by default. His six opponents withdrew from the race, complaining of irregular electoral practices, leaving Bouteflika as the only remaining candidate.

Bouteflika faced the immense task of resurrecting Algeria's economy while also establishing a lasting peace in a country long under martial rule. Further complicating the situation was the military's determination to prevent Islamic fundamentalists from gaining power. The ensuing civil war has led to more than 100,000 deaths in the past dozen

years. The new president sought to create dialogues between the various opposition groups and eased ethnic tensions in the Kabylie region, where Berbers violently refused to give up their native tongue in favor of Arabic, the official state language. However, as of 2003, while announcing his plans to run for reelection, Bouteflika was still hindered by the military's influence in the government.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. III, IV, V).

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Bozizé, François   See CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

Brazzaville   Major port and capital city of the Republic of the CONGO, located in the southeast. Originating as a small African village, the town of Brazzaville was founded by explorer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza (1852–1905). Due to its strategic location on the Congo River, it became a center for administration, serving as the capital of French Equatorial Africa from 1910 to 1958, and as the center of the Free French administration during World War II (1939–45). It became the capital of the Republic of the Congo in 1960 and today functions as the administrative, communications, and economic center. Major industries include beverage processing, textiles, and construction supplies. Growth of the city took off after 1945, and the population in 1995 was estimated at more than 1 million.

Brazzaville is located on the north bank of the Congo River near Malebo Pool, which serves as a deep-water river port. Goods are shipped to and from many central African countries via the Congo-Oubangi waterway and transferred to the Congo-Ocean Railway to reach the Atlantic port city of Pointe-Noire, located just north of the Angolan city of CABINDA.

In its role as the country's administrative and commercial center, Brazzaville has been the site of a great deal of political unrest. In 1960, on the eve of independence, there were violent urban riots as various ethnic groups staked their claims for prime positions in the future government.

In 1992 civil war erupted again when Brazzaville became the scene of "ethnic cleansing," with rival factions struggling for control of the city. A fragile peace was restored in 1994, but by 1997 renewed fighting led to an exodus of several hundred thousand REFUGEES from the city. Unfortunately, the violence in Brazzaville was symptomatic of the chaos and civil strife that gripped the entire country toward the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries.

Despite the recurring violence, Brazzaville has developed into a center for learning and research. It is host to the World Health Organization and the Pan-African Union of Science and Technology headquarters. It is also home to the Poto-Poto School of African Art, and to Marien-Ngouabi University, which started out as a teacher's college in 1961 and now admits students from all over Central Africa.

See also: BRAZZAVILLE (Vol. IV); CONGO (Vol. III); CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LUMUMBA, PATRICE (Vols. IV, V); WORLD WAR II (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Brink, Andre (1935–   ) *South African novelist*

Born into an Afrikaner family in the Orange Free State, SOUTH AFRICA, Andre Philippus Brink earned both bachelor's and master's degrees in literature from the conservative AFRIKAANS-medium Potchefstroom University. In 1959 he traveled to Paris, France, where he studied at the Sorbonne and had his first experiences interacting with blacks on equal terms. This led him to develop a sharp awareness of the political and social oppression under APARTHEID in his homeland. News of the SHARPEVILLE massacre, in 1960, shocked him.

In the early 1960s Brink published his first two novels, *Lobola vir die lewe* (The price of living) (1962) and *Die Ambassadeur* (The ambassador) (1963), which were relatively nonpolitical. After witnessing the student riots in Paris in 1968, however, Brink returned to South Africa to challenge that country's policies through his writing.

Positioning himself as an internal critic of the apartheid government and Afrikaner society, Brink became a leader of a group of young Afrikaner writers and poets named the Sestigers, or the Sixty-ers, referring to the writers' rise to prominence in the 1960s. Brink and his fellow Sestigers blatantly flaunted the traditional, conservative standards of Afrikaner writing, directly addressing sexual and moral themes and criticizing apartheid. Brink himself revolutionized the Afrikaans literary style, introducing prose elements from European writers such as Albert Camus (1913–1960) and Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980).

The Sestigers were founded by the controversial South African writer, Jan Rabie (1920–2001). Their goal was to "broaden the rather too parochial limits of Afrikaner fiction." Claiming Ingrid Jonker (1933–1965), Breyten Breytenbach (1939–   ), and others as members, the Sestigers are credited with introducing modernism into Afrikaner literature.

In 1973 Brink published *Kennis van die aand* (*Looking on darkness*), which was one of the first Afrikaner books to be banned by the South African government. It told the story of an interracial relationship between a black actor and a white woman. His next novel, *'N Droë wit seisoen* (A dry white season) (1979), was also banned. He also published *Houd-den-bek* (A chain of voices), in 1982. Along with the publicity he achieved from the censorship of his books, Brink won critical claim abroad. He is a three-time nominee for the Nobel Prize in Literature, and in 1982 he was awarded the Legion of Honor by the French government. In South Africa, however, most of his fellow AFRIKANERS decried his work as perverse and amoral.

With the end of apartheid in 1994, and the election of Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ) as South Africa's first black president, Brink became one of his country's most publicly celebrated authors. He remains a controversial figure in Afrikaner literary circles, however, which is why he presently holds a chair in English literature at the English-medium University of Cape Town rather than teaching at an Afrikaans-medium university. Furthermore, he has written his more recent works, including *States of Emergency* (1988), *An Act of Terror* (1991), and, most recently, *An Act of Silence* (2002), in English rather than Afrikaans.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Rosemary Jane Jolly, *Colonization, Violence, and Narration in White South African Writing: André Brink, Breyten Breytenbach, and J. M. Coetzee* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1996).

Broederbond   South African secret society dedicated to Afrikaner nationalism. Initially founded in 1918, the Afrikaner Broederbond was for almost 70 years a secret society made up of white males seeking to gain economic, social, and political power for South Africa's AFRIKANERS. By the late 1940s, when the Reunited Nationalist Party took control of the nation, the Broederbond exerted enormous power within SOUTH AFRICA. Indeed, the majority of the nation's leaders were Broederbond members, including most members of Parliament and, it has been surmised, every prime minister and president serving from 1948 to 1994

As anti-apartheid feeling grew during the 1960s and 1970s, and as the extent of the power of the secret Broederbond was exposed, the organization gradually lost support. Still, as late as the 1990s, the Broederbond was believed to have between 10,000 and 15,000 members in more than 1,200 branches. This gave the organization enough power for the government to use it as a sounding board to test public opinion as it began to lessen the strictures of APARTHEID.

In 1993 the organization adopted a new constitution that radically transformed what was once a whites-only, males-only bastion of Afrikaner nationalism. The organization then lifted its veil of secrecy and became public, officially changing its name to the Afrikanerbond. At that time membership became open to both women and members of other races or ethnic groups. Still, new members required the approval of current members. They also had to be fluent in the Afrikaner language, AFRIKAANS, and be willing to follow the group's new constitution.

See also: BROEDERBOND (Vol. IV).

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Buganda   Historic African kingdom in UGANDA. After independence, Buganda sought to maintain the autonomy it had preserved under colonial rule. At the time of Uganda's independence, in 1962, Buganda was, to a significant degree, an autonomous kingdom. Unlike many similar precolonial African states, it had managed to retain its political and territorial identity within the framework of a larger colonial state. In recognition of Buganda's special status, its *kabaka* (king), Mutesa II (r. 1939–1969), was named the country's new president. This was a largely ceremonial post, however, for control of the government lay with Prime Minister Milton OBOTE (1924–2000). As a northerner, Obote was unsympathetic with Buganda's claims for special status. Soon after independence, Buganda's efforts to continue its autonomy clashed with Obote's intent to develop a more fully integrated national state. As early as 1962 he had used force to suppress separatist efforts elsewhere in the country. In 1964 the prime minister signed legislation that removed two counties from Buganda that it had received under the terms of the Buganda Agreement it had negotiated with Britain in 1900. Obote rightly felt that Buganda opinion had turned against him, and he sent police to put down any opposition. In this tense atmosphere, a minor incident led to the deaths of six people in Buganda, shot by Obote's police in what was later determined to be an unprovoked attack.

The 1964 police shootings in Buganda killed four adults and two children. Three of the shootings occurred at point-blank range inside the victims' houses. This was all conducted under the pretense of putting down a riot that apparently never happened.

By 1966 Obote had assumed full dictatorship over Uganda. In May of that year, Buganda's Lukiiko protested Obote's rule and demanded all Ugandan government presence be removed from Buganda. Obote countered by

assaulting the kingdom and burning down the royal palace. Mutesa barely escaped and Buganda fell. One year later, Obote abolished all kingdoms in Uganda.

Uganda was thereafter subject to the brutal regimes of General Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003) and later Obote again, until 1986, when Obote was permanently overthrown. The new president Yoweri MUSEVENI (1944–) reinstated the kingdom of Buganda, in 1993, and Mutebi II (1955–) became *kabaka*. Museveni realized that unless he, too, were to assume dictatorial powers, the central government had to accommodate itself to the historical political and cultural identities that Buganda and the other kingdoms within the country's borders represented.

See also: BUGANDA (Vols. II, III, IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I).

Bujumbura Capital city of BURUNDI. Bujumbura is the economic as well as administrative center of Burundian life. Its location on the northern shore of Lake Tanganyika makes it the country's principal port, shipping EXPORTS of cotton, tin ore, and coffee to the neighboring Democratic Republic of the CONGO and TANZANIA.

The region has long been densely populated by farmers and herders. Known as Usumbura until Burundi's independence in 1962, Bujumbura was only a village when the German colonial government created a military outpost there in 1899. After Germany lost its African colonies in the aftermath of World War I (1914–18), Bujumbura became the seat of government for Ruanda-Urundi, a Belgian mandate under the League of Nations. At that time it became home to a sizable European population.

In the 1930s the city's African population increased dramatically. The Belgian colonial government responded by setting up a court system in the city, which ultimately came to be a center for adjudication throughout the area. Combined with its administrative capacity, this assured Bujumbura's political centrality. By 1993 the city's population reached 300,000.

Since Burundi's independence Bujumbura has become the site of ongoing conflict between rival HUTU and TUTSI ethnic factions and has seen the violent overthrow of successive governing regimes. One such case occurred in 1996, when the city's Tutsi mayor staged a successful coup against the country's elected Hutu president.

See also: RUANDA-URUNDI (Vol. IV).

Burkina Faso Landlocked West African country about 105,900 square miles (274,300 sq km) in size, located south of the Sahara Desert. Burkina Faso is bordered by MALI to the west and north, by NIGER to the east, and by BENIN, TOGO, GHANA, and IVORY COAST to the south. Called UPPER VOLTA during the period of French colonial rule, the country retained that name for the first 23 years of its independence.

Upper Volta at Independence Upper Volta was granted full independence from France on August 5, 1960, under the dictatorial rule of Maurice Yaméogo (1921–1993). In the years leading up to independence Yaméogo was active in the African Democratic Assembly (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, RDA), a multi-country political organization of French West Africa. When he assumed leadership of the country, he succeeded in silencing most of his political opponents by banning the leading opposition party. Under Burkina Faso's newly drafted constitution, the powers of the president were strengthened and a unicameral legislature was created. Yaméogo moved his country in a decidedly pro-Western direction. In 1965 he was reelected with an overwhelming majority of the vote. However, by 1966 Yaméogo's economic austerity measures were sparking LABOR strikes. Amid popular unrest the military staged a COUP D'ETAT, overthrowing Yaméogo.

The army chief of staff, Colonel Sangoulé Lamizana (1916–), took control of the country as the new president. Military rule prevailed for four years. Then, in 1969, following the drafting of a new constitution, political parties were once again allowed to exist. Upper Volta's Second Republic emerged in 1970. The RDA swept the legislative elections, and Gerard Kango Ouedraogo (1925–) was elected prime minister. Four years later Ouedraogo refused to step down after losing elections, and Lamizana stepped in and established military control once again. In 1976 Lamizana appointed a primarily civilian government, which then led to the establishment of the Third Republic, in November 1977. The state drafted yet another constitution.

Continuing Political Instability and Marxist Revolution In 1978 Lamizana was reelected president, and Joseph Conombo (1917–) was elected prime minister. Within a few years, the government was once again plagued by striking trade unionists, violence, and civil unrest. The instability resulted in another military coup in 1980, this one led by Colonel Saye Zerbo (1932–). In 1982 the government changed yet again when a radical military faction toppled Zerbo. The new administration created the Council for the People's Salvation (CSP), and Seargent-Major Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo (1942–) took control as president. Army Captain Thomas Sankara (1949– 1987) served as his prime minister.

Early in 1983 Sankara shifted Upper Volta's course, taking an anti-Western stance that favored relationships with countries such as LIBYA, Cuba, and North Korea. Later that year, however, CSP conservatives imprisoned Sankara, leading Captain Blaise COMPAORÉ (1951–) to organize a coup to bring down the CSP. Compaoré reinstalled Sankara, who formed the Marxist-Leninist National Revolutionary Council to rule the country. At first, Sankara enjoyed widespread support. He preached women's equality and implemented

state-sponsored programs intended to relieve the nation's persistent food shortages. To mark the revolutionary changes, in 1984 Sankara changed the name of the country from Upper Volta to Burkina Faso.

Sankara's popularity did not last, however, and in 1987 Compaoré led yet another coup. Sankara was deposed and killed. During the two-year period that followed, Compaoré tried to right the struggling country. Eventually, though, he came to suspect that two of his former allies, the military leaders Henri Songo (d. 1989) and Jean-Baptiste Boukary Lengani (d. 1989), were planning to oust him. Compaoré had the two men executed, leaving him in full control as the president. Despite condemnation of the executions, both at home and abroad, Compaoré moved forward, setting about "correcting" the socialist development programs that Sankara had instituted.

After reorganizing the government and naming himself minister of defense and security, Compaoré easily won Burkina Faso's 1991 presidential election. Despite the autocratic nature of his leadership, the 1991 election led to greater DEMOCRATIZATION, since it galvanized opposition among key elements in the governing party, the Popular Front (PF). The election also served to bring international pressure to bear from more liberal donor countries and agencies. Compaoré's PF party soon adopted a new constitution, abandoned its Marxist-Leninist programs, and encouraged FOREIGN INVESTMENT. In 1992 the PF won the majority of the contested legislative seats. In 1998 Compaoré was reelected in a landslide victory.

Although he assumed the mantle of a democrat and introduced an era of rare political stability, Compaoré failed to improve his country's economy. In the 1990s prolonged periods of drought did much to undermine Burkina Faso's AGRICULTURE, making life difficult for the nearly 80 percent of the population living in rural areas. Burkina Faso thus remains one of the world's poorest nations. Continuing POVERTY led to growing opposition from trade unions, which long exercised considerable political and social clout.

Compaoré came under heavy criticism for supporting several unpopular African leaders, including Charles TAYLOR (1948–   ) of LIBERIA, who was deposed in 2003. Compaoré also allegedly supplied the Angolan rebel leader Jonas SAVIMBI (1934–2002) with arms and fuel in exchange for illegally mined diamonds, thereby making the peace process in ANGOLA more difficult.

See also: BURKINA FASO (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Lars Engberg-Pedersen, *Endangering Development: Politics, Projects, and Environment in Burkina Faso* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003); Pierre Englebert, *Burkina Faso: Unsteady Statehood in West Africa* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996).

Burundi Country located in the highlands of east-central Africa. Measuring approximately 10,700 square miles (27,700 sq km) in area, Burundi shares borders with RWANDA to the north, TANZANIA to the east and south, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the west. Lake Tanganyika forms the country's southwest border. Its turbulent history since independence has hindered the development of the high agricultural potential of its rich volcanic soils and has left it one of the world's poorest countries.

Burundi at Independence After the end of World War I (1914–18) Burundi was made part of the Belgian trust territory known as Ruanda-Urundi. In 1961, with Burundi prepared for independence, elections brought the moderate TUTSI Prince Louis Rwagasore (1932–1961) to power as prime minister. The Tutsi-dominated Union for National Progress (Union Pour le Progrès National, UPRONA) became the dominant political party. A hint at Burundi's tumultuous political future came a month later, however, when members of the rival Christian Democratic Party assassinated Rwagasore. In 1962 Mwami, or King, Mwambutsa IV (r. 1915–1966) stepped into the power vacuum created by Rwagasore's death and Burundi became fully independent as a monarchy.

Like that of neighboring Rwanda, the post-independence history of Burundi is very much tied to the relationship between its two major ethnic groups, the HUTU and the Tutsi. Though the struggle between the two groups was largely divided along ethnic lines, the issues at stake were more related to class differences exacerbated during colonial rule. Within their system of indirect rule, Belgian colonial authorities favored the Tutsi minority, placing them in positions of power over Burundi's Hutu majority. The fighting that erupted between the two groups at independence continued into the 21st century.

In 1965 the situation became dire when the elected Hutu prime minister, Pierre Ngendandumwe (1930–1965), was assassinated by Tutsi agents. Despite a Hutu victory in the election that followed Ngendandumwe's murder, the Tutsi king nullified the results and appointed Leopold Biha, a Tutsi, as the new prime minister. This political underhandedness prompted the Hutu to attempt a COUP D'ÉTAT to overthrow Mwambutsa. The attempt failed, leading to brutal reprisals against Hutu military personnel, police, and politicians, many of whom were killed.

Out of the events of 1965, Michel Micombero (1940–1983), a Tutsi, emerged as prime minister. In 1966, when Mwambutsa's son, Ntare V (1947–1972), was overthrown, Micombero became president of the newly proclaimed Republic of Burundi. Under Micombero the violence in Burundi reached unprecedented heights. Hutu uprisings against Micombero in 1972 were met with brutal repression. As many as 200,000 Hutu died in the ensuing rash of violence.

Priests and MISSIONARIES **of the Roman Catholic Church were viewed by the Tutsi government as supporting the Hutu. Many members of the religious community were thus driven from Burundi in 1985, as the government attempted to take control of the country's Catholic Church.**

1970s and 1980s: Ethnic and Class Violence

The extent of the anti-Hutu violence ultimately upset moderate Tutsis in the government. In 1976 Micombero was ousted in a military coup that brought the Tutsi Lieutenant Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza (1946–) to power as the head of a military council. Bagaza was officially elected to the presidency in 1984, after which he made Buganda a one-party state. In 1987, however, Bagaza was removed from office in a coup led by Major Pierre BUYOYA (1949–).

Buyoya's coup sparked revolts by the Hutu and set off a new wave of mass repression that resulted in an estimated 20,000 more deaths. Buyoya, however, made moves to reconcile the Hutu-Tutsi conflict that had ravaged the country. Ultimately a new constitution was enacted, and multiparty elections were scheduled for 1993. That year Melchior Ndadaye (1953–1993) of the FRONT FOR DEMOCRACY IN BURUNDI (FRODEBU) won the presidency, finally giving power to the Hutu majority.

Ndadaye attempted to form an ethnically balanced government, but he was assassinated in yet another coup attempt, in 1993. This time, retributions were carried out by Hutu, resulting in 150,000 Tutsi casualties. FRODEBU and the Hutu retained power, and Cyprien NTARYAMIRA (1955–1994) became president. Ntaryamira's brief presidency ended with his death in a plane crash that also killed Rwanda's President Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994), in 1994. The crash, believed to be the result of a missile attack, occurred as the two men were returning from peace talks aimed at ending the Hutu-Tutsi conflict. The two groups continued to attack each other throughout the subsequent presidency of Sylvestre Ntibantunganya (1956–). His term ended in 1996, when Pierre Buyoya again seized power.

Moderately successful peace talks were initiated in 1995 by former Tanzanian president Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) and were continued by the former president of BOTSWANA, Sir Ketumile MASIRE (1925–) following Nyerere's death. In 2000 negotiations led by former South African president Nelson MANDELA (1918–) finally produced an agreement, completed the following year as the Arusha Accords. The accords created a tense peace in Burundi, giving Buyoya an 18-month presidency, to be followed by a similar presidential term for the current Hutu vice president, Domitien Ndayizeye (1953–). Elections would follow Ndayizeye's term.

See also: BURUNDI (Vols. I, II, III, IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); RUANDA-URUNDI (Vol. IV).

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Busia, Kofi (Kofi Abrefa Busia) (1913–1978)

Ghanaian scholar and political leader

Busia, who held a doctorate from Oxford University, began his political career in 1951 as an Ashanti representative to the Gold Coast (now GHANA) Legislative Council. He became the head of the Ghana Congress Party in 1952 and became one of the leaders of the United Party in 1957, following Ghana's independence from Britain. As a member of the United Party, Busia opposed Prime Minister Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), and this opposition forced Busia into exile in 1959.

When he went into exile, Busia taught in the Netherlands and then took up an academic post at Oxford. His reputation as an outstanding intellectual dates from this period. He wrote several important books dealing with issues of African development and democracy, among them, *The Challenge of Africa*; *Purposeful Education for Africa*; and *Africa in Search of Democracy*.

After Nkrumah was overthrown in a COUP D'ÉTAT in 1966, Busia returned to Ghana. There he faced political opposition from Komla Gbedemah (1912–) and the ruling National Liberation Council (NLC). His Ashanti heritage, however, earned Busia the support of the sizeable Ashanti vote, and in 1969 he was elected prime minister as the candidate for the Progress Party (PP), which he had helped form in 1968.

Busia's short term as prime minister was marked most notably by the Alien Compliance Order of 1971, an ill-fated attempt to improve Ghana's economy by forcing as many as a half million immigrant workers, mostly Nigerians, from the country.

Despite its unpopularity, the Alien Compliance Act was sustained through future Ghanaian administrations. Similar policies also appeared in NIGERIA **to a more terrible degree, where in the early 1980s hundreds of Ghanaians living in Nigeria were burned alive by those wishing to cleanse Nigeria of "aliens."**

What many viewed as Busia's political ineptness, coupled with the declining economy, led to another coup d'état. This one overthrew Busia's government while

Busia was in England for medical treatment. Lieutenant Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong (1931–1979) assumed control of the country, and Busia remained in exile in England. He died there in 1978.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); BUSIA, KOFI (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Kofi Busia, *The Challenge of Africa* (New York: Praeger, 1962); *Purposeful Education for Africa* (The Hague: Mouton, 1964); and *Africa in Search of Democracy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).

Buthelezi, Mangosuthu Gatsha (1928–) *Zulu leader*

Buthelezi was born in Mahlabatini, a village in what is now KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA. Of ZULU nobility, he claimed that he descended from such notable Zulu kings as Shaka (1787–1828), Cetshwayo (1826–1884), and Dingane (1795–1840). Buthelezi was raised in a traditional Zulu manner, tending cattle as a herdboy in his youth. He was educated at Adams College and FORT HARE COLLEGE, although he was expelled from the latter for his political activities. While at Fort Hare College Buthelezi joined the Youth League of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) and became acquainted with future African leaders such as Robert Mangaliso SOBUKWE (1924–1978) and Robert MUGABE (1924–).

Buthelezi spent a couple of years working as a clerk in the Department of Bantu Administration and in a law firm in DURBAN. Then in 1953 he returned to Mahlabatini to become chief of the Buthelezi clan. By 1970 he had risen to chief executive officer of the KwaZulu Territorial Authority, and two years later, he was chief executive councilor of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. By the mid-1970s Buthelezi cemented his position as the preeminent Zulu political figure by becoming chief minister of KwaZulu and founding Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe (Freedom of the Nation), later renamed the INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP).

Both a cultural and a liberation organization, the IFP drew its support predominately from Zulus, particularly in rural areas. As his personal power base grew, Buthelezi's ties with the ANC became strained, and in the mid-1970s he broke from the organization. Because of the complexity of Zulu history, Buthelezi steered an independent course with respect to both the mainstream anti-APARTHEID movement and the white-minority government. In 1982 he successfully defeated the attempt to transfer the Ingwavuma region from KwaZulu Natal to SWAZILAND. The following year he also energetically opposed the government's new constitutional arrangement, which supposedly introduced power sharing with South Africa's Cape coloured and Asian populations.

Unlike most anti-apartheid leaders, Buthelezi opposed the sanctions that were imposed on South Africa by the in-ternational community during the 1970s and 1980s. His stance in part allowed many white South Africans to regard him as a moderate, and he therefore had backing in white business circles. Clashes between IFP and ANC supporters frequently turned violent during the 1980s, resulting in considerable loss of life and a significant fragmenting of the black opposition movement. Violence intensified in the years leading up to the first fully democratic elections held in South Africa during 1994.

Nationally, under Buthelezi's leadership, the IFP finished third, with approximately 10 percent of the general vote. Locally, however, the party won political control of KwaZulu/Natal. Buthelezi became minister of home affairs in the new ANC government under President Nelson MANDELA (1918–), and he maintained that position under Mandela's successor, Thabo MBEKI (1942–).

See also: CAPE CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE (Vol. IV); CETSHWAYO (Vol. IV); NATAL (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); SHAKA (Vol. IV).

Buyoya, Pierre (1949–) *Two-time president of Burundi*

Born into a modest family of TUTSI ethnic origin, Pierre Buyoya went to school in his home town of Rutovu, BURUNDI, before completing his university degree in social and military science in Belgium. Upon his return to Burundi in 1975, he commenced his military career as a squadron commander, receiving further military training first in France in 1976, and then in Germany from 1980 to 1982. His military rank rose steadily until 1984, when he became Burundi's state commander in charge of military instruction and operations. During this period he also became a member of the central committee of the Union for National Progress party (UPRONA).

Dissatisfied with the direction of Burundi's government, Buyoya styled himself as a reformer and launched a COUP D'ÉTAT on September 3, 1987, overthrowing President Jean Baptiste Bagaza (1946–), who himself had come to power through a coup. Buyoya acted on behalf of the Tutsi-led Military Committee for National Redemption (MCNR), the 30-member military junta that appointed him president a week later. In 1991 the UPRONA central committee replaced the MCNR and reelected Buyoya.

As the desire for democracy increased in Africa during the 1990s, international pressure led Buyoya to hold multiparty elections in June 1993. A HUTU, Melchior Ndadaye (1953–1993), defeated Buyoya, a Tutsi, in what was widely viewed as an ethnically charged election. Ndadaye was assassinated four months later and a succession of Hutu leaders followed. In June 1996 Buyoya launched another coup, this time ousting Sylvestre Ntibantunganya (1956–), to retake the presidency.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I).

C

Cabinda Angolan province north of the Congo River and separated from the main country by a narrow strip of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. The Cabinda area was under the domain of the Kongo kingdom before it became a Portuguese protectorate, in 1885. At that time, it was separated from what would become the main part of ANGOLA when the Congo Free State (today's Democratic Republic of the Congo) acquired the land bordering the Congo River. Later, in 1956, Portugal joined Cabinda with Angola.

With the outbreak of the national war for liberation in 1961, Cabindan INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS sprang up. In 1963 various movements joined together to fight as the Front of Liberation of the State of Cabinda. In the early 1970s the Spinoza government of Portugal appeared to support independence for Cabinda. This support, however, was an effort to keep the region from becoming part of Angola, which was on the verge of declaring independence from Portugal and would most likely block access to Cabinda's rich NATURAL RESOURCES, which included gold, diamonds, timber, and OIL. However, when the Spinoza government fell in 1974, Angolan forces took the opportunity to occupy Cabinda. By the end of the following year Angola had gained its independence and claimed Cabinda as a province.

Cabinda, which covers about 2,800 square miles (7,252 sq km), has a dense tropical forest cover that produces timber, cacao, coffee, and palm products. However, the exploitation of the province's oil reserves has produced an economic dependence on petroleum products. In fact, oil earnings were essential to financing the fight for Angolan independence and subsequently became a source of contention in the civil war that beset the country shortly after independence. Cabinda's economic significance to Angola stems from the fact that oil accounts for the majority of the country's income coming from foreign sources.

> **It has been difficult to calculate Cabinda's population due to its long-term political instability, but estimates have ranged anywhere from 100,000 to 200,000 in the late 1990s. There are perhaps as many as 400,000 more Cabindans who have fled the country because of colonial and Angolan occupations, and many others live in refugee camps.**

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); KONGO KINGDOM (Vols. II, III); MBUNDU (Vols. II, III); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); PROTECTORATE (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Robin Cohen (ed.), *African Islands and Enclaves* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1983).

Cabral, Amílcar (Amílcar Lopes Cabral) (1924–1973) *Political leader in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands*

Amílcar Lopes Cabral was a founding member of the AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC), a nationalist movement in the Portuguese colonies of GUINEA-BISSAU and the CAPE VERDE

ISLANDS. Initially, he led peaceful protests against Portuguese colonial rule but, when this proved ineffective, Cabral and the PAIGC began a guerrilla war campaign in 1962. By 1969 the PAIGC had won control of more than two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau. The organization's success was based on the military training members received in other countries, as well as Cabral's extensive connections among the rural population, which he had established during his tenure with the Department of Agriculture and Forestry Services. Cabral's knowledge of peasant needs and desires proved essential in mobilizing support for the PAIGC. In addition to liberation efforts, Cabral's organization developed schools and medical facilities, as well as judicial systems and commercial enterprises, all in preparation for independence.

Despite Portugal's superior military, by 1972 Cabral and the PAIGC had essentially defeated the colonialists. In 1973, however, Cabral was assassinated by Portuguese secret police while in CONAKRY, GUINEA. The PAIGC survived the loss of its leader and, in 1973, declared Guinea-Bissau's independence (though Portugal did not acknowledge defeat until the following year). After independence, Cabral's half-brother, Luis Cabral (1931–), became Guinea-Bissau's first president. Cape Verde became independent in 1975.

Amílcar Cabral is also well known for his writings on colonialism, which include *Revolution in Guinea* (1969), *Return to the Sources* (1973), and *Unity and Struggle* (1980).

See also: CABRAL, AMÍLCAR LOPES (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Patrick Chabal, *Amílcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Cahora Bassa Dam (Cabora Bassa)

The largest dam in southern Africa, located on the Zambezi River in northern MOZAMBIQUE. Begun in the late 1960s the Cahora Bassa Dam project was a joint effort between SOUTH AFRICA and Portugal, which, at the time, still administered Mozambique as a colony. After construction was completed in late 1974, the basin area was flooded, creating a huge reservoir. By the middle of 1975 the level of the reservoir had come to within 40 feet (12 m) of the top of the 558-foot (170-m) concrete dam structure. About the same time, a civil war began in Mozambique—one of the last African countries to achieve independence—and the full potential of the dam's electric generators went unrealized.

Finally, in 1992 peace agreements were signed, and the Portuguese hydroelectric company that controls the dam began repairing the lines and structures that had been destroyed by sabotage during the war. By 1997 the dam was able to produce power at full capacity, and it now produces far more electricity, in excess of 3,000 megawatts, than any other dam in Africa.

> **Although Portugal owns 80 percent of the Cahora Bassa Dam and Mozambique owns 20 percent, nearly all of the electricity it produces goes to South Africa.**

The remote location of Cahora Bassa combined with Mozambican civil war left the reservoir's fish population largely untouched. There was some small-scale fishing, however, and daily catches supplied MARKETS in local lakeside towns, including Songo, which came into existence along with the dam. Since 1992 larger South African commercial fishing companies have begun taking a larger catch from the reservoir, and several fisheries are now operational. Especially plentiful in Cahora Bassa's waters are the sardine-like kapenta and the fierce, razor-toothed tigerfish, which can grow to more than 22 pounds (10 kg). Recently a recreational sportfishing lodge that caters to tourists, mostly South Africans, has begun to operate on the reservoir, and more DEVELOPMENT is planned. It remains to be seen what will be the long-term effects of the increased use of Cahora Bassa's resources.

See also: INFRASTRUCTURE (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ZAMBEZI RIVER (Vol. I).

Cairo

Capital of EGYPT and largest city in Africa. After the coup in 1952 that brought Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) to power, Cairo grew so fast that urban planners could not keep up with the city's staggering increase in both physical size and population density. The city sprawled across onto the west bank of the Nile, and new middle-class suburbs sprung up where once only the Giza pyramids had stood. The city also expanded northward.

The city's expansion resulted in high levels of overcrowding, with several families often sharing one living unit. Low-income housing was in short supply, and, since it was easier and cheaper to build up than to find land available to construct a new building, government officials turned a blind eye to the construction of additional floors above existing apartment buildings. Unfortunately, many deaths resulted when these modified buildings collapsed inadequate structural support.

The Nasser government tried to reduce overcrowding by finding foreign money to create new commercial and residential space in the city. Following a foreign policy of non-alignment that Nasser called Positive Neutralism, Egypt was willing to accept aid from the Western nations

Cairo, Egypt—Africa's largest city—straddles the Nile River. Since the 1960s new construction has boomed, and, as this recent photo shows, Cairo is today a thoroughly modern metropolis. *© Corbis*

or the Soviet Union, as long as Egypt could benefit. For example, in 1955 the 614-foot (187-m) Cairo Tower, complete with a revolving restaurant, was built with alleged bribe money from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency that Nasser, taunting the United States, rechanneled for a public purpose. The massive ASWAN DAM, completed in 1970, was also built with foreign help—this time British and Soviet. This dam helped regulate the flow of the Nile River, on which Cairo is located.

In the 1960s the face of the city changed under the direction of Nasser's Ministry of Construction. A state office tower (headquarters of the Arab League), a Hilton hotel, and a building housing Nasser's Arab Socialist Union were built on the site of the demolished British barracks. The land around the British Embassy, from which British consuls once ran Egypt's affairs, became part of a highway that alleviated traffic congestion. Bridges were built, and the Salah Salem highway was built from Old Cairo to the Cairo airport. In 1970 the Opera House burned down and was replaced with a parking garage.

Upon Nasser's unexpected death in 1970, the government of Anwar as-SADAT (1918–1981) returned construc-

tion to the private sector. Construction boomed, and the return to capitalism created a surge in land speculation, sharply driving up property prices in Cairo. New chains of hotels rose along the Nile. Old villas were torn down and replaced by high-rise apartment buildings, and new shops and international department stores opened their doors. Western forms of advertising appeared everywhere. Cairo became an important center of the entertainment industry, and MUSIC and CINEMA thrived.

However, as the city grew, public services were unable to cope with the additional population. Sewage seeped onto the streets, buses were overloaded, apartments often had no water pressure, and electricians made extra money by unofficially connecting apartments to electric service. Telephone service was sporadic at best. Schools operated on double and triple sessions, and the average class size reached 80 students. Underpaid teachers supplemented their salaries by giving private lessons outside of regular school hours. Government hospitals lacked necessary supplies and equipment.

After Sadat's assassination in 1981, Hosni MUBARAK (1928–   ), the new president, had to deal with the prob-

lems that rapid growth had brought to the city. By 1986 the population had reached 8.6 million, and by the end of the decade Cairo had become a megacity (defined as a city with at least 10 million inhabitants), complete with smog and skyscrapers that extended out to the perimeter of the Great Pyramids and the Sphinx. Cairo suffered from overcrowding, collapsing INFRASTRUCTURE, a widening POVERTY gap, unemployment, and health-endangering pollution. Despite a French-built subway system, a million cars clogged the streets.

Mubarak opened the economy by accepting massive transfusions of foreign aid that he applied to Cairo's infrastructure. Under his direction, 45 bridges and roads with viaducts and overpasses were completed between 1982 and 1988. While fewer than half of Cairo's households had running water in 1980, 75 percent were connected to city WATER by 1990. Owners of high-rise buildings were made to install pumps to get the water to their tenants. The percentage of households connected to the official electric grid rose from 33 to 84 percent. However, in 1990 at least a hundred neighborhoods had yet to be connected to the sewer system.

Other changes were made to improve the quality of life. Tree-planting campaigns helped to reverse effects of desertification, and new residential projects were built. Japan built a grand opera house to replace the old one that had burned in 1970, and mainland China contributed the world-class Cairo International Conference Center.

Urban DEVELOPMENT in Egypt was not driven mainly by INDUSTRIALIZATION. Instead, regular agrarian problems caused exoduses from the countryside. Consequently, unemployment has remained very high in Cairo. The government is a major employer, with twice as many jobs existing in the civil sector as in the industrial sector. About one-quarter of Cairenes are officially classified as poor.

See also: CAIRO (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Further reading: André Raymond, *Cairo* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000); Max Rodenbeck, *Cairo: The City Victorious* (New York: Vintage Departures, 1998).

Camara Laye (1928–1980) *Guinean novelist and government minister*

Hailing from the Upper Guinea region of present-day GUINEA, Camara Laye attended a technical school and an arts conservatory in Paris, France. He worked as an auto mechanic in a suburb of Paris before taking up writing in the 1950s, and by the time he and his wife returned to Africa in 1956, he had already solidified his status as a major African writer. His reputation was based on *L'enfant noir* (The dark child, 1953), which drew from warm memories of his Guinea childhood, and *Le regard du roi* (The radiance of the king, 1954), an evocative allegory of the colonial relationship between Europe and Africa.

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Camara Laye's family was Camara (sometimes spelled Kamara), a Malinke clan that traces its lineage to the 13th century. The author preferred to invert his family and given names, writing all his novels as Camara Laye.

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Camara Laye first went to DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN) and then onto GHANA, where he taught French. In 1958, when Guinea became independent, Laye was appointed the nation's ambassador to Ghana. He later held other government positions; however, as Guinea's political situation became progressively unstable under president Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984), Laye became a vocal critic of Touré's policies. In 1965 he was forced to leave Guinea for SENEGAL.

Although he continued writing, Laye had a difficult life in exile. Residing with his family in DAKAR, Senegal's capital, he compiled research for a collection of Malinke myths and folktales at the Institut Fondamental du Afrique Noire (IFAN). In 1966 he published *Dramouss* (published two years later in English as *A Dream of Africa*), a continuation of the autobiography he began in *L'enfant noir* that was at the same time a severe critique of Guinea's leadership.

In 1970 Laye's wife, Marie, was arrested when she returned to Guinea to visit her ailing father, and since Laye was left to raise their children without their mother, he took a second wife. (Marie would later divorce Laye after she was released in 1977.) In 1971 Laye began writing *Le Maître de la parole* (The guardian of the word), which would prove to be his final major work. Borrowing heavily from the research that Laye did at IFAN, the book, published in 1978, is a rendering of the great epic of Sundiata, the founder of the ancient Mali Empire.

During the last years of his life, Laye suffered from a kidney ailment that required him to travel to Paris, a trip he could afford only through the contributions of admirers, most prominent of whom was Félix HOUPHÖUET-BOIGNY (1905–1993), the first president of IVORY COAST. Camara Laye died in 1980 in Dakar.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Adele King, *Rereading Camara Laye* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

Cameroon Southern West African country measuring about 183,600 square miles (475,500 sq km) in size. Cameroon is bordered by NIGERIA to the north and west, CHAD to the northeast, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to

the east, the Republic of the CONGO to the southeast, and GABON to the south. It also has a western coast, measuring about 240 miles (386 km), on the Gulf of Guinea. YAOUNDÉ is the capital.

Cameroon at Independence Following World War I (1914–18) the German colony of Kamerun was divided into the French Cameroons and the British Cameroons. This remained the case until 1960, when the French Cameroons won its independence. Ahmadou AHIDJO (1924–1989), head of the Cameroon Union (Union Camerounaise, UC) political party, was elected president. Ahidjo immediately began pushing to reunite the British and French Cameroons. However, in 1961 a referendum in the British Cameroons led the northern part of the territory to join with NIGERIA. The southern region elected to join the French Cameroons, and in 1961 the Federal Republic of Cameroon was formed, with the former British and French territories each represented by a prime minister and Ahidjo as president.

Ahidjo and the UC gradually increased their control over Cameroon. In 1972 the country adopted a new constitution forming a union instead of a federation, creating the United Republic of Cameroon. This move resulted in a one-party state dominated entirely by Ahidjo and the UC, which was known as the Cameroon National Union (Union National Camerounaise, UNC) from 1965 to 1985, when it became known as the CAMEROON PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT. Under Ahidjo's heavy hand, civil rights in Cameroon suffered greatly. Ahidjo did initiate agricultural plans, including the 1973 Green Revolution that, along with the discovery of large OIL reserves, helped transform Cameroon's economy into one of the most most stable in Africa. However, along with this relative prosperity came pervasive CORRUPTION in both government and business.

At the end of the 1990s Cameroon was named "the most corrupt country in the world," as determined by Transparency International, a top NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION dedicated to combating government corruption worldwide.

Ahidjo continued his political dominance until 1982, when, in a surprise move, he resigned from the presidency and turned his full attention to leading the UNC. Ahidjo felt the UNC presidency was a more influential position than the national presidency, but his successor, Prime Minister Paul BIYA (1933–   ), soon proved Ahidjo wrong.

Biya began to remove Ahidjo loyalists from government positions, limiting the former president's power. He also moved toward DEMOCRATIZATION, allowing the press

greater freedom of speech and opening elections for the National Assembly and the UNC.

This changed in 1983 when Biya accused Ahidjo of taking part in a failed COUP D'ÉTAT. Ahidjo was forced to resign from the UNC and flee to France. The following year an armed uprising by the country's Republican Guard in Yaoundé threatened to overthrow Biya. One thousand people died before the insurrection was put down. Once again Ahidjo was accused of masterminding the coup attempt, and this time he was sentenced to death in absentia. Ahidjo remained in France until his death in 1989.

Cameroon under Biya In response to the coup attempts Biya continued his presidency, becoming more and more like his autocratic predecessor. Quick to put down any threat to his power, he won the 1994 and 1998 presidential elections by being the only candidate, a result of his suppression of the opposition. In 1990 Biya allowed for multiparty elections but then stopped short when he felt threatened by burgeoning opposition influence. In July 1991 an extraordinary, nationwide strike named Operation Ghost Town essentially shut down all of Cameroon for nearly five months, all for the purpose of forcing multiparty elections. In November the strike ended with an agreement to release all political prisoners and to allow registered opposition parties. In 1992 Biya won the open elections. The results were widely disputed and violent protests erupted, forcing Biya once again to abandon the multiparty system and declare a state of emergency in order to restore peace. HUMAN RIGHTS groups protested the brutal quelling of the protests, which resulted in many arrests, deaths, and claims of torture.

Beyond internal strife Biya faced a growing economic crisis, especially with the decline of the oil industry in the 1980s. Loans from the International Monetary Fund and attempts at STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT failed to produce significant results. Though still relatively strong by post-independence standards, Cameroon's economy has remained too dependent on international MARKETS to support sustained growth.

In 1986 an unusual ecological disaster occurred at Lake Nyos, in northwestern Cameroon. Naturally forming carbon dioxide at the bottom of the lake suddenly burst through the water's surface in a process called a *limnic eruption*. This dispersed a toxic cloud of carbon dioxide that suffocated virtually every human and animal in a 16-mile (25-km) radius. Nearly 2,000 people died. A similar event had occurred two years earlier at nearby Lake Monoun, killing 37 people. Today degassing projects on both lakes are in effect to prevent another catastrophe.

Tension developed in the early 1990s between Cameroon and neighboring Nigeria over the rights to the oil-rich Bakassa Peninsula. By 1996 the hostilities had escalated into a military conflict. In 2002 the International Court of Justice ruled that the territory belonged to Cameroon, but Nigeria has since contested the decision and refused to remove its troops from the peninsula.

At the start of a new century Cameroon is still led by the largely authoritarian Biya and faces rampant corruption and rising crime rates. Plans for an oil pipeline from Cameroon to Chad promise a solid boost for the economy, though environmental groups have strongly denounced the project as ecologically disastrous.

See also: CAMEROON (Vols. I, II, III, IV); DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V).

Further reading: Joseph Takougang and Milton Krieger, *African State and Society in the 1990s: Cameroon's Political Crossroads* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998).

Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais, RDPC)

Ruling party of CAMEROON since 1960, formerly known as the Cameroon Union (1958–65) and the Cameroon National Union (1965–85). In 1958 Ahmadou AHIDJO (1924–1989) founded the Union Camerounaise (UC), a political party that promoted Cameroon's independence from France. The UC's support mostly came from the Beti ethnic group, Muslims who lived in the northern region. As the country moved closer to independence the UC secured a majority within the country's new legislative assembly and gained the upper hand on its rival, the Cameroon Peoples Union (Union des Populations du Cameroun, UPC). The latter group received most of its support from the Bamileke people of southern Cameroon. In 1960, when Cameroon became an independent republic, the UC assumed control of the government, and Ahidjo became president. Soon after, some southern Bamileke rose up in protest, but the UC put down the insurgency with the help of French military support.

In 1965 Ahidjo was reelected president, and a year later he orchestrated the merger of most of Cameroon's political organizations into one party—the Cameroon National Union (Union Nationale Camerounaise, UNC). A few opposition parties remained, but they were generally dismantled by 1971. In 1972 Cameroon abolished its federal system and established a unitary state, eliminating regional control of governance. Ahidjo remained president through the 1970s, preserving his power by intimidating the opposition and censoring the media. In 1982, however, citing health concerns, Ahidjo suddenly resigned from the presidency. The country's prime minister, Paul BIYA (1933–   ), then became Cameroon's president. Ahidjo remained chairman of the UNC, believing that

this position actually afforded him more power than the presidency. He was mistaken, however, and Biya gradually usurped Ahidjo's authority, becoming UNC's chairman in 1983. Biya, in direct opposition to Ahidjo, believed that the state was more important than the party.

In 1985, after a couple of Ahidjo-orchestrated COUP D'ÉTAT attempts, Biya changed the name of the UNC to the Cameroon People's Democratic Union (Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais, RDPC). Abandoning his initial movement toward liberalization, Biya gradually strengthened his control of the government by eliminating the position of prime minister, violently oppressing the opposition, and surrounding himself with allies who shared his Beti ethnic background.

As the 1980s came to a close Cameroon's political and economic situation worsened. By the early 1990s the push for eliminating the single-party state increased, and Biya was eventually forced to allow the return of a multiparty system. The new system did not end the RDPC's political dominance, however. Biya won reelection in 1992 and 1997, and the party retained its control of the National Assembly. After the 1997 elections Biya attempted to make the RDPC more inclusive, forming a coalition with other political parties and appointing people from different regions and ethnic groups to important government positions.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Cape Town

Modern port city and location of the first European settlement in SOUTH AFRICA, it is also the country's present-day legislative capital. Founded by the Dutch in 1652, Cape Town became part of the British Cape Colony 150 years later. In the late 19th century, with the economic boom associated with the Mineral Revolution, Cape Town became an important transshipment center for goods and people destined for the MINING centers of Kimberley and JOHANNESBURG. Its port is still an important contributor to the economy. Over the past century, however, the industrial sector also has developed significantly, and, today, it includes OIL refining, shipbuilding, diamond cutting, food processing, printing, and cement, fertilizer, and chemical manufacturing. In addition, the post-APARTHEID political climate has encouraged world travelers to visit the city to enjoy Cape Town's vibrant nightlife, arts, spectacular scenery, and outdoor activities.

The population, currently estimated at about 2,733,000 (and at 4 million for the greater metropolitan area), is diverse. The largest single group is Cape Coloured people, who for the most part speak AFRIKAANS. There is also a large segment of the population that is of British and Afrikaner ancestry, a majority of whom also speak Afrikaans. In all

more than 60 percent of the Western Cape Province population, of which Cape Town is the provincial capital, speak Afrikaans as their first language. English is second, and third is XHOSA, which reflects the rapidly growing African population of Cape Town. There is also a sizeable population originating from India, some of whom, along with a minority of the Cape Coloured people, are Muslims.

> **The presence of two of the world's top-rated hotels, the Cape Grace Hotel and the Table Bay Hotel, testify to the post-apartheid significance of Cape Town as an international TOURISM destination as well as its role as an international conference venue.**

Between 1948 and the early 1990s the system of apartheid led to a highly segregated urban geography, which in turn created tension and violence among the different population groups. Cape Town's apartheid government instituted a city plan that reserved the comfortable suburbs for whites only and reassigned Africans and, to a somewhat lesser degree, Coloured people and Asians, to rigidly segregated townships far from both the city center and the comfortable white suburbs. This system of discrimination resulted in housing shortages and increased POVERTY for Africans, Cape Coloured people, and Asians alike. As in other parts of South Africa, in Cape Town only whites were exempted from the requirement to carry pass cards labeling each person's race, a practice that promoted almost daily harassment and discrimination at the hands of the mostly Afrikaner police. During the mid- and late 20th century the city was the site of frequent anti-apartheid protests, which often ended in violence and a resulting crackdown on the limited freedoms of black residents.

Although organized protest groups, boycotts, and marches were common in Cape Town, the social divisions that apartheid promoted made it difficult to unite the oppressed groups across racial lines, decreasing the

With a metropolitan population exceeding 4 million, Cape Town is the largest city in western South Africa. As this recent photo shows, its ports bustle with commercial activity. *© Corbis*

chances of forcing changes in the system. Yet, despite the government's efforts to sharply limit the city's African population, the system largely failed to do so. This was mainly due to the growing industrial and commercial sectors, where the need for laborers was so great that employers often were willing to overlook the official race restrictions. As a result the number of Africans in Cape Town continued to grow, increasing from 70,000 in 1960 to 160,000 in 1974. (These are figures for "legal" residents; there was a high influx of "illegal" residents as well, making the actual percentage of African residents much higher.)

The beginning of the end of apartheid in Cape Town was marked by the successful and peaceful march of more than 30,000 people in September 1989. Today the political climate has changed dramatically, and Cape Town is known for its more tolerant social atmosphere. However, there are still housing shortages, which leave poor residents living in shantytowns scattered around the periphery of the city. In addition, crime continues to be a problem, as the decades of active resistance to discriminatory laws have left some residents with little respect for the law.

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vols. IV, V); ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); CAPE COLONY (Vols. III, IV); CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE (Vol. IV); CAPE TOWN (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vol. IV, V).

Further readings: Zimitri Erasmus, ed., *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: International Academic Publishers, 2001).

Cape Verde, Republic of Small, impoverished island nation off the coast of West Africa. Cape Verde is an archipelago of 10 islands and five islets located 360 miles (579 km) off the coast of West Africa. With few NATURAL RESOURCES, the islands have historically relied on their strategic position in the Atlantic Ocean to become a trading depot for goods traveling between Africa, Europe, and the Americas. The islands were a colonial possession of Portugal from 1462 until 1975.

Although anticolonial resistance had begun as early as the late 19th century, a sustained, armed insurrection did not emerge until the early 1960s. At that time, Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973) and the AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC) spearheaded the nationalist movement.

Finally, on July 5, 1975, after more than 500 years of colonial control, Cape Verde became independent. The country adopted a republican form of government, with PAIGC leader Aristides Maria PEREIRA (1923–) as president. For a few years the PAIGC continued as a united

political party, but actions related to a 1980 Guinea-Bissau coup led the Cape Verde branch of the organization to split and form the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde, PAICV).

The PAIGC sought to achieve independence jointly for Cape Verde and GUINEA-BISSAU, another West African Portuguese colony that had been historically linked to the islands. However, the two nations declared independence separately.

Its POVERTY notwithstanding, Cape Verde has been a success story of African DEMOCRATIZATION. After devolving into a one-party state under Pereira during the 1980s Cape Verde held its first multiparty elections in 1991. Antonio Macarenhas Monteiro (1944–) led the opposition party, the Movement for Democracy, to electoral victory then, and again in the 1995 elections. However, in 2001 the PAICV returned to power, with Pereira's former prime minister, Pedro PIRES (1934–), becoming the new president.

Economically the country has foundered, due primarily to the long period of Portuguese colonial neglect and lack of DEVELOPMENT. Only 10 percent of Cape Verde's land is arable, and the islands have struggled throughout their history to provide adequate food for their inhabitants. Cape Verde claims the dubious distinction of receiving the highest amount of international aid per capita of any country. Its poverty explains in large part why so many Cape Verdeans live outside the country. In 2000 Cape Verde's population was estimated at 448,000, but there are more than 500,000 people of Cape Verdean origin living in the United States alone, mainly in the New England area. Other significant Cape Verdean communities are found in Portugal and SENEGAL.

Because of its centuries-old role as an Atlantic Ocean trading center, Cape Verde bears the cultural imprint of not only Portugal and West Africa, but of many other regions of the globe. Its MUSIC, which in recent years has become increasingly popular internationally, reflects these cultural crosscurrents. Portuguese is the official language, but Crioulo, a Creole based on Portuguese, is commonly spoken. Roman Catholicism is the dominant RELIGION, although traditional African religions are not uncommon. The majority of Cape Verdeans are of mixed African and European descent.

See also: CAPE VERDE, REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, III, IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Casablanca group (Casablanca bloc) From 1960 to 1963, a collection of independent African countries united by a desire for the establishment of a continental "United States of Africa." With many African states gaining independence, especially in the early 1960s, several attempts were made to establish pan-African organizations that could operate on a continental scale. One such group met in CASABLANCA, MOROCCO, in December 1960, under the auspices of Morocco's King Mohammed V (1909–1961). Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), the president of GHANA, and Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), the president of EGYPT, were the de facto leaders of the conference. Other participants included leaders from GUINEA, MALI, Morocco, ALGERIA, and LIBYA, as well as Ghana and Egypt.

The Casablanca group or bloc, as these countries came to be called, advocated an immediate union of the African continent. They felt that broad economic, social, military, and cultural cooperation would be the most effective way to combat the lingering negative effects of Western colonialism.

Before long the group was able to define itself in opposition to the MONROVIA GROUP, a bloc of countries that met the following year in the capital of LIBERIA. At first the Monrovia group, led by Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966) and William TUBMAN (1895–1971), included Liberia, NIGERIA, TOGO, and CAMEROON. In time, however, the group came to include 24 countries. Leaders from the Monrovia group desired the gradual establishment of regional alliances before trying to unite the entire continent in a single federation. The more radical and "progressive" Casablanca group thought of the Monrovia group as "lackeys of imperialism."

The divisions that separated the Casablanca and Monrovia blocs became more acute when the former Belgian Congo (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO) descended into chaos following its independence in 1961. Ongoing border disputes across the continent also divided the groups along ideological lines.

During the early 1960s each bloc tried to convince newly independent African states to join its alliance. Ultimately, on May 25, 1963, the leaders of what were then Africa's 32 independent states met in ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA. (Under HAILE SELASSIE [1892–1975], Ethiopia was loosely aligned with the Monrovia group.) At the summit the leaders adopted a pan-African unity charter, which was subsequently ratified by the governments of the participating states. Thus, the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) was established. Following the founding of the OAU the alignment of countries in the Casablanca group and the Monrovia group was no longer necessary, and the two groups were dissolved.

See also: PAN-AFRICANISM (Vols. IV, V).

cash crops Crops grown specifically to be sold on the market; in contrast, farmers grow FOOD CROPS primarily for domestic household consumption. Farmers use the income from cash crops to purchase goods and services, pay taxes and fees, purchase fertilizer, seeds, farm implements, and so forth. The market is thus a necessary mechanism. For Africa, the market lies primarily outside the continent.

Cash crop production increased tremendously in Africa under colonial rule, as colonial administrators promoted TRADE AND COMMERCE in agricultural commodities and minerals in order to stimulate economic activity. The climate and soils of Africa were well suited for growing tropical and sub-tropical crops such as cocoa, coffee, cotton, groundnuts (peanuts), palm oil, rubber, and tea. Because of the increasing demand for these products in Europe and North America, colonial administrations encouraged and promoted their production primarily for export. Individual colonies usually specialized in growing only one or two crops and thus developed mono-crop economies.

As a consequence of colonial practices, African countries, upon becoming independent, inherited export-oriented economies. Needing the income generated from export earnings for their economic DEVELOPMENT, the newly independent governments continued to promote cash crops over food crops when planning agricultural policies. Furthermore, the international community encouraged this trend in terms of the advice and ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE they offered African countries. The WORLD BANK played a particularly important role in this regard. In 1981, for example, its influential and controversial *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action* (commonly known as the Berg Report after its author Eliot Berg), emphasized continuing export-oriented AGRICULTURE over seeking food self-sufficiency. This emphasis also served to highlight the fact that cash-crop production takes land away from the production of food crops. This became an even more important issue in the face of Africa's rapid POPULATION GROWTH.

The IVORY COAST provides a useful case study for the limitations of an economy based on cash-crop agriculture. Under the leadership of President Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993), who was himself a coffee planter, the country had one of the world's highest rates of economic growth in the 1970s and 1980s. This expansion was largely the result of an aggressive expansion of the commercial agriculture sector. During this period Ivory

Coast displaced neighboring GHANA as the world's leading cocoa producer. It also became the world's third-leading coffee producer, behind Brazil and Colombia. Nearly 70 percent of the population was engaged in agriculture, with 2.5 million people engaged in coffee production alone.

Despite being perceived as a major "success story," the Ivory Coast economy was being determined by forces that were largely beyond its control. The consumption of its two major EXPORTS, cocoa and coffee, depended largely on the tastes of Western consumers. Also, with growing demand, new producers entered the coffee market, and others expanded their production. This world-wide expansion in coffee production in turn enabled the four multinationals (Nestlé, Kraft, Sara Lee, and Proctor & Gamble) that control the coffee market to cut producer prices, which plunged to their lowest point in 30 years. Ivorian cocoa production fared better than coffee, with the country's more than 900,000 cocoa farmers producing more than 40 percent of the world's total. However they, too, faced fluctuating prices. In 1977 the price of cocoa exceeded $3,000 per ton. In the early 1990s the figure sank to one-third that amount. By 2003 the price had re-covered and settled at greater than $1,500 per ton.

Coffee, which was first domesticated as a crop in ETHIOPIA, is that country's principal export crop. Although Ethiopia exported only about 2.6 percent of the world total, between 1988 and 1999 coffee accounted on average for 56.7 percent of its total exports. A sharp plunge in world coffee prices since 1997 created an enormous crisis for the one million Ethiopia coffee growers as well as for the country's overall economy. When producer coffee prices were high, many farmers planted coffee on land formerly dedicated to food production. Now they no longer earn enough from the sale of their coffee to cover their production costs, let alone meet their other in-come needs, including money to purchase food.

Falling coffee and cocoa prices, combined with pop-ulation growth, led to a general economic decline in Ivory Coast. The per-capita gross national product (the value of goods and services provided by an individual on an annual basis) declined from US $727 in 1996, to $669 in 2003. This drop-off led to a decline in demand for agri-cultural LABOR, much of which was supplied by low-wage workers from Ivory Coast's neighbor, BURKINA FASO. A major cause of the country's current political crisis is the large-scale unemployment and bitter competition for jobs in the agricultural sector that have resulted from the

steady decline in cash-crop prices. There has also been an ecological dimension to cash-crop agriculture. The steady expansion of land under production for cocoa and coffee, along with the export of tropical hardwoods, has resulted in the destruction of large areas of tropical rainforest.

Cotton was the preeminent cash crop of the colonial era, with colonial governments in every part of the conti-nent encouraging and, in some instances, compelling its production. This is why 23 of the world's 68 cotton-pro-ducing countries are in Africa. In contrast to cocoa and coffee, African cotton production is not as significant on a global scale. In 2003, for example, African countries produced a mere 6 percent of the world total. However, that year African cotton made up nearly 20 percent of the world total of cotton export sales. This disparity between production numbers and export earnings reflects the comparative lack of INDUSTRIALIZATION in Africa. While all the major producers export some of their cotton, they also turn much of their raw cotton into domestically pro-duced, finished textiles.

EGYPT was long the continent's leading cotton grower, producing in the range of 551,150 tons (500,000 metric tons) during the 1960s. Its cotton production was of the high-value, long staple variety. The area planted in cot-ton, however, began to decline after the mid-1960s. As a result, by the end of the century, land dedicated to cot-ton cultivation was only about 40 percent of what it was during the earlier era. Yields, on the other hand, in-creased, so that the total production was about 60 per-cent of the 1960s level. Egypt today produces about 40 percent of the world's long staple cotton. Cotton thus re-mains an important cash crop for the estimated one-third of the Egyptian population engaged in agriculture. However, in contrast to most African countries, local textile manufacturers utilize some of the cotton to pro-duce domestic cotton goods.

Cotton producers in Mali and other West African countries can produce cotton at about half the cost per bale as North American producers. However, the United States, the European Union, and China have paid steadily increasing subsidies to their cot-ton growers, who in turn have expanded their pro-duction. This led to a glut on the world market and a sharp decline in prices. African cotton growers sell their product for less than it costs to produce it.

In recent years MALI has surpassed Egypt as Africa's leading cotton producer, and in 2003, it ranked ninth in the world in overall production. While cotton was an im-portant colonial crop for Mali, production has grown

tremendously over the past two decades, up some 300 percent from previous levels. Today more than 200,000 farm households, which constitute about 30 percent of the country's population, are engaged in producing cotton, virtually all of which is exported. Cotton is Mali's principal export, making Mali—one of the world's poorest countries—highly vulnerable to changes in the world cotton markets. From the mid-1980s through the late 1990s, cotton prices were steadily climbing. They plunged in 2000–01, however, falling to a 30-year low. Mali's farm families found their incomes halved, and the government export earnings similarly dropped.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. IV); COCOA (Vol. IV); COFFEE (Vols. II, IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COTTON (Vols. I, II, III, IV); GROUNDNUTS (Vol. IV); MONO-CROP ECONOMIES (Vol. IV); PALM OIL (Vols. III, IV).

CCM   See REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF TANZANIA.

Central African Customs and Economic Union (Union Douaniere et Economique de L'Afrique Centrale, UDEAC)   Regional economic community among the central African states that was created by the Brazzaville Treaty in 1964. Its founding members included CAMEROON, GABON, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (CAR), the Republic of the CONGO, CHAD, and EQUATORIAL GUINEA. UDEAC was founded with the purpose of fostering the economic integration of former French Equatorial Africa plus the former Spanish colony of Equatorial Guinea. The goal was to create a broad market and to coordinate sectors such as TOURISM, TRANSPORTATION, TELECOMMUNICATIONS, and DEVELOPMENT among member states. As an economic union, the organization also sought common policy in areas such as AGRICULTURE, industry, and investment. The central currency for UDEAC has always been the CFA Franc, which facilitates the free transfer of capital.

Governed by a Head of States Council, UDEAC joined another, broader economic community in 1983. This organization, called the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), added ANGOLA, BURUNDI, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, RWANDA and SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE to the original six UDEAC members. The leaders hoped that a more inclusive body would lead to greater regional INDUSTRIALIZATION as well as reducing their dependence on France. The ECCAS began operations in 1985 but it has remained largely inactive since the early 1990s. At the beginning of 21st century, ongoing CIVIL WARS in the two Congos, Rwanda, and Burundi—along with the associated economic disruption and increase in the amount of REFUGEES—dashed the region's hopes for economic progress.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Patrick Manning, *Francophone sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1995,* 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Central African Republic (CAR)   Country in the heart of Africa measuring about 240,300 square miles (622,400 sq km). It is bordered by (clockwise from north to west) CHAD, the Republic of the SUDAN, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, the Republic of the CONGO, and CAMEROON. The capital is BANGUI. Independence brought great political turmoil and oppressive autocratic rule to the Central African Republic.

The Central African Republic at Independence In 1958 the former French colony of Oubangui-Chari won autonomy within the French Community, becoming the Central African Republic (CAR). The country was headed by Barthélémy Boganda (1910–1959), a leading nationalist and founder of the Socialist Evolution Movement of Black Africa (Mouvement d'Evolution Sociale en Afrique Noire, MESAN). Boganda served as the country's prime minister until the ratification of a national constitution in 1959, at which point he became president. Boganda's presidency was cut short, however, when he died in a plane crash that same year. In 1960 the CAR became fully independent, with Boganda's cousin, David DACKO (1930–), as president.

In 1962 MESAN became the only legal political party in the CAR as Dacko tried to secure his power. He won the next presidential elections two years later by default, as he had no opponents. Dacko's second term as president began with the collapse of the economy. As financial disaster loomed, opposition to Dacko grew, and in 1966 the military's commander-in-chief, Jean-Bedel BOKASSA (1921-1996), overthrew Dacko in a COUP D'ÉTAT. Moving quickly and decisively, Bokassa abolished both the constitution and the National Assembly and assumed complete control. This began a 13-year reign of terror during which Bokassa used excessive violence and brutality to maintain power. In 1976 he declared himself Emperor Bokassa I and changed the country's name to the Central African Empire.

Unstable and egotistical to the extreme, Bokassa drove the CAR into economic devastation, as he sold the country's mineral rights for his own personal enrichment. In addition to his own iron-fisted repression of any and all opposition to his rule, Bokassa was further supported by France, which wanted to maintain interests in the country's diamond and uranium mines. By 1979, however, Bokassa's regime became untenable, and in September of that year French forces captured the capital while Bokassa was in LIBYA. David Dacko was reinstated as president.

In 1981, after continuous strikes and outbreaks of violence, General André Kolingba (1935–) overthrew Dacko. The authoritarian military government that followed lasted until 1985, when Kolingba installed a new civilian government. The unrest and violence continued, and in 1991 Kolingba instituted a series of new constitutions that led to gradual DEMOCRATIZATION. Multiparty elections held in 1993 brought Ange-Felix PATASSÉ (1937–) to the presidency.

By this time years of economic neglect had nearly bankrupted the nation. Patassé faced great unrest as government workers and military personnel demanded their salaries, which had gone unpaid for months. In 1996-97 a series of military-led coup attempts in Bangui were quelled by French troops. The destruction and looting that occurred during these uprisings further damaged the CAR's economy.

> **Following the attempted coups in 1996–97, special police forces in Bangui formed the Squad for the Repression of Banditry. Anyone unfortunate enough to be arrested by the squad often faced torture and a quick execution, sometimes without trial.**

In 1997 Patassé gathered opposition groups to sign the Bangui Accords in an attempt at reconciliation. The accords had little effect, however, as violence continued. Late that year French troops were replaced by United Nations' peacekeepers, who remained in the CAR until 2000.

In 2003 General François Bozizé (1946–) assumed the presidency of the troubled country, ousting Patassé in a coup while the president was at a meeting in Niger. The years of political turmoil and instability have led the government into ever deeper debt. Furthermore, political CORRUPTION has imposed an even greater burden on the economy, as high government officials have lined their own pockets from the illegal exploitation of NATURAL RESOURCES rather than developing them for the national good.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Chad   Country of north-central Africa, bordered by LIBYA to the north, the Republic of the SUDAN to the east, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC and CAMEROON to the south, and NIGERIA and NIGER to the west. Approximately 496,000 square miles (1,284,600 sq km) in size, Chad straddles the Sahel, with its north a desert and its south a tropical region. Its capital is NDJAMENA.

Chad at Independence   In 1959 Chad appeared to be headed toward independence under Gabriel Lissette (1919–2001), leader of the Chadian Progressive Party (Parti Progressiste Tchadien, PPT). However, regional tensions undermined Lissette's coalition government, made up of both northern Muslims and southern black African Christians. During the instability LABOR UNION leader François-Ngarta TOMBALBAYE (1918–1975) stepped in to assume control of the PPT. Just prior to Chad's independence in 1960, Tombalbaye solidified his power by revoking Lissette's citizenship while he was abroad and denying him reentry into the country. Under Tombalbaye the PPT became a southern party, and in 1960 it became independent Chad's dominant political entity. Tombalbaye became the country's first president.

Immediately establishing an autocracy, Tombalbaye initiated a regime that exacerbated Chad's ethnic and regional tensions and eventually led the country into civil war. In 1962 he banned all political parties save the PPT and imprisoned real and perceived political opponents. A campaign of Africanization replaced a majority of French government officials with untrained and inexperienced African counterparts, and CORRUPTION began to pervade the government. High taxes led to increasingly hostile protests.

Unconcerned with Chad's northern population, Tombalbaye gradually alienated a large portion of the country. Muslim riots that erupted in N'Djamena in 1963 were brutally repressed. In 1965 anti-tax riots broke out and rapidly spread. Rebel groups began to form in northern Chad, among the more prominent being the National Liberation Front of Chad (Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad, FROLINAT), founded in 1966. The country descended into a civil war that threatened to overwhelm Tombalbaye's government forces. This division between a Muslim north and non-Muslim south fit into a pattern of CIVIL WARS such as those that also occurred in Nigeria and the Sudan. The president was forced to call in French troops to secure a peace.

The French pressured Tombalbaye into reforming his government. Tombalbaye took a number of conciliatory measures, releasing hundreds of political prisoners and including more Muslim and northern representatives in the government.

However, in 1971 Tombalbaye used a supposed Libyan-sponsored coup attempt to revert to his authoritarian ways. Over the next four years Tombalbaye managed to alienate both the south and the military, and his government fell apart. In 1975 a military uprising killed Tombalbaye and put the government in the hands of Colonel Felix Malloum (1932–).

Ongoing Conflict Malloum headed a Supreme Military Council (Conseil Supérieur Militaire, CSM), which did little to improve the beleaguered country. Faced with the burgeoning power of a number of liberation armies, including FROLINAT and the Armed Forces of the North

(Forces Armeés du Nord, FAN), led by Hissène HABRÉ (1942–   ), the CSM attempted to negotiate an alliance, installing Habré as prime minister under President Malloum in 1978. The alliance collapsed a year later, however, and Habré's rival, Goukouni Oueddei (1944–   ), led his Libyan-supported rebel troops to seize N'Djamena and overthrow Malloum.

A series of conferences attempted to resolve the political confusion and rampant violence to little avail. Finally, in 1979, the Lagos Accord was signed, establishing a transitional government. Goukouni became president, and Habré became minister of defense. The agreement quickly disintegrated in the face of Goukouni's and Habré's rivalry, however, and the resulting conflict drew in Libyan troops and forced Habré into exile in the Sudan.

In 1981 Chad and Libya moved toward possible unification, though this was met with great opposition. Conflict between the two countries eventually nullified this possibility, and Libyan troops left Chad at the end of 1981. This opened the door for Habré and FAN to launch a new incursion into Chad. By 1982 FAN had captured the capital and ousted Goukouni.

Under Habré war continued to be the status quo for Chad. Highly autocratic and faced with armed resistance to his government, Habré was exacting in his repression of all who opposed him. Ultimately, after eight years of conflict during which about 40,000 Chadians were killed, Habré was driven from power by the Patriotic Salvation Movement, led by one of Habré's former military leaders, Idriss DÉBY (1952–   ). In 1991 Déby became president.

Chad under Déby With Déby as president, Chad finally made some moves toward DEMOCRATIZATION. Multiple political parties were allowed in 1991, and in 1996 Déby won the country's first elections. Déby also made efforts to include opposition members in the government.

However, Chad still faces both political and economic crises. The country remains highly militarized, with an oversized army whose oppressive power and ethnic skew towards Déby's Zaghawa people is indicative of Chad's overall problems with violence and ethnic and regional strife. The north and the south remain polarized, and rebel groups still pose threats to stability despite Déby's attempts at negotiation. Meanwhile, Chad's economy has been thoroughly devastated by years of warfare. The country remains among the most impoverished in Africa. The promise of a lucrative, WORLD BANK-funded OIL pipeline from southern Chad to Cameroon, initiated in 2000, offers hope for a massive boost to Chad's economy. Despite assurances from the government, however, only time will tell if the money is used for DEVELOPMENT of INFRASTRUCTURE and not the continued prosecution of warfare. Déby's use of $4 million from the initial oil profits to buy advanced weaponry was not a promising sign.

See also: CHAD (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

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Chama Cha Mapinduzi See PARTY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY

Chikamoneka, Julia (Mary Nsofwa Mulenga Lombwe, Mama Julia Chikamoneka, Mama UNIP) (1904–1986) *Zambian anticolonial activist*

Mary Nsofwa Mulenga Lombwe was born in Kasama, in the northern part of Northern Rhodesia (present-day ZAMBIA). She was the daughter of Mutale Mpungwa and Mulenga Lombe, the son of Chief Chitimukulu-Ponde of the Bemba ethnic group. In 1936 she was baptized in the Catholic Church and given the name Julia. She later took on the name Chikamoneka (meaning "victory will be seen") for her fearless attitude in Northern Rhodesia's independence struggle.

After working as a housemaid for high-ranking white people, in 1951 she decided to go into business for herself, starting a restaurant in Kabwata, LUSAKA. It was at this time that she got into politics, attending rallies, planning protest marches, and organizing boycotts of shops that discriminated based on race. Chikamoneka had no formal education, but that did not prevent her from being a leader in the independence struggle. She was known for her effective fundraising in addition to leading protest marches. She also provided food and shelter for soldiers fighting the Zambian independence war and risked arrest by opening her house for political meetings.

During the independence process in the early 1960s the colonial government and the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP), Northern Rhodesia's leading nationalist group, could not reach a settlement regarding a new constitution. Britain sent colonial secretary Ian Macleod to Lusaka to discuss the impasse. When Macleod arrived at the airport, he was shocked and embarrassed to be surrounded by women led by Chikamoneka, with bared breasts and loin cloths around their waists, weeping and demanding immediate independence. Traditionally, this was the strongest way of expressing anger. The white press, however, uncomprehendingly referred to her as the "mad African girl."

Throughout the early 1960s Chikamoneka and other leaders of the independence movement organized marches to disrupt functions held by the colonialists and urged them to grant independence to Africans. Ultimately, at the end of this period known as Cha-Cha-Cha, the colonialists gave in to the people's demands.

Affectionately called "Mama UNIP" for her contributions to the party that led Zambia to independence, Chikamoneka inspired all women to join in the struggle. Her contribution was publicly acknowledged, in 1969, when President Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–) bestowed her with the Order of Distinguished Service. When she died in 1986 she was accorded a state funeral and buried with full military honors.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV, V); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Chiluba, Frederick (Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba) (1943–) *Zambia's president from 1991 to 2001*

Chiluba went to school at Kawambwa Secondary School in northern ZAMBIA but was suspended for student activities. He later completed his education via correspondence. He worked as a personnel clerk and accounts assistant at Atlas Copco, an industrial corporation working in the Copperbelt region. There he joined the National Union of Building, Engineering, and General Workers. He gradually rose through the ranks of the organization, eventually becoming chairman. Chiluba gained even greater recognition in the 1970s, when, as leader of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, he effectively negotiated for large increases in salaries for the general workers in Zambia.

In the early 1990s Chiluba was one of the founding members of the MOVEMENT FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY (MMD), an opposition group that accused President Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–) of CORRUPTION and ineffectiveness. Kaunda and his ruling party, the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP), had controlled Zambia since independence in 1964. In the 1991 elections Chiluba led the MMD to victory over UNIP. As the chairperson of the organization, Chiluba then replaced Kaunda as Zambia's president. In 1996 he was reelected to a second five-year term. In 2001 Chiluba attempted to change the constitution so that he could run for a third term but failed and stepped down. Chiluba was replaced by his former vice president, Levy MWANAWASA (1948–).

During his second term, Chiluba promised to revamp the economy and encourage foreign investments. He privatized a number of state-owned companies, leaving many people unemployed. At the end of the Chiluba presidency, Zambia was among the world's poorest countries. His administration was charged with corruption, abuse of office, and embezzling public funds. Chiluba became the first African statesman to be taken to court after leaving office. The Zambian Parliament voted to lift his immunity, and he is presently being tried for misappropriating and embezzling millions of dollars in public funds.

It is not clear where Chiluba was born. He claimed he was born in Zambia on April 30, 1943, to parents Jacob Titus Chiluba Nkonde and Diana Kaimba. However, his birthplace and parentage were subjects of controversy when Chiluba ran for the second term of office in 1996. Some publications and candidates claimed he was born in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. If proven true, that claim would have disqualified Chiluba from standing for Zambia's presidency.

See also: COPPERBELT (Vol. IV).

Chimurenga   Shona word meaning *fight* or *struggle.* It came to signify a struggle for political and social rights and was applied by Africans trying to liberate themselves from British colonial rule in Southern Rhodesia (today's ZIMBABWE). The first Chimurenga, or Chimurenga Chekutanga, was fought on and off during 1896–97 by Shona and Ndebele forces rebelling against the colonial British South Africa Company, administered by Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902). The British won convincingly, executing a number of rebel leaders, including the Shona prophetess, Mbuya Nehanda (d. 1898).

Nearly 100 years later, the second Chimurenga, or Chimurenga Chechipiri, erupted in 1966. It was largely a guerrilla war, led by the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (ZANU) and the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION (ZAPU). The rebels, aided by other independent African nations as well as China and the Soviet Union, won independence in 1979, forming the state of Zimbabwe in 1980.

Today Chimurenga lives on as a musical genre. Thomas Mapfumo (1945–) coined the term *Chimurenga music* as a way of describing his politically motivated, revolutionary MUSIC that combined traditional mbira music with electric guitars, drums, and horns. Influenced by artists as diverse as Miriam MAKEBA (1932–), Hugh MASEKELA (1931–), Frank Sinatra (1915–1998), and Elvis Presley (1935–1977), Mapfumo was exceedingly popular in Southern Rhodesia during the second

Chimurenga. His popularity and outspoken lyrics led to imprisonment in 1977 by the white-settler government of RHODESIA. Known as the "Lion of Zimbabwe," Mapfumo continues to tour with his band, Blacks Unlimited, producing music with contemporary sociopolitical messages.

See also: BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); RHODES, CECIL JOHN (Vol. IV); SHONA (Vol. I); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vol. III); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

China and Africa Long positioning itself as an alternative to either Soviet or United States influences, China has built a reputation in Africa as a beneficent donor even while it has used these relationships to buoy its own international standing. From the 17th to the 19th centuries European countries brought Chinese laborers to Africa believing that they were better workers. They were subject to treacherous conditions that reverberated in Sino-British and Sino-French relations. As countries gained their independence, China was eager to help shape their polities, conspiring with revolutionaries in ZAÏRE (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO), KENYA, and BURUNDI.

China's foray into postcolonial Africa was born out of the Bandung Conference. Held in Indonesia in 1955, this conference was the first Asian-African summit of its kind, leading to the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and African countries. The next year EGYPT was the first African country to establish diplomatic relations with China; the number increased steadily until today some 45 African countries have such ties. In the midst of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, China resolved to recognize new African countries as being independent of Soviet or Western influence. This often meant that China established ties with any fledgling government, regardless of its regime type.

At the same time China saw itself as having suffered from European expansionism and thus suggested that it was offering an alternative path to DEVELOPMENT. The LABOR-intensive models it adopted in the 1960s were viewed by many African leaders as taking place in a climate free of significant aid conditionalities or political commitments. China shifted from revolutionary support to supporting the PAN-AFRICANISM of Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972) and even the new government of MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997), in Zaïre. In offering ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE for little in return, China was also promoting one of its largest geopolitical goals: to have the large group of emerging countries—all with votes in the United Nations—recognize China as holding sovereign control over its "renegade province" of Taiwan.

China invested significantly in such countries as GUINEA, SIERRA LEONE, The GAMBIA, and MADAGASCAR. Its greatest African partner was TANZANIA. Tanzanian president Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) sought the social equity of socialism but wished to eschew a Cold War alignment with the Soviet Union. He invited Chinese labor to work on INFRASTRUCTURE development and, through his UJAMAA policies, grew a communal farming model based on the Chinese collective farming model. China thus focused its aid on turnkey projects. It would send workers by the thousands to build projects in their entirety before giving them over to the Tanzanians. In this way China gained a reputation for letting countries do what they want. Unfortunately, *ujamaa* policies failed and the collective village model in Tanzania collapsed. The myriad projects built by Chinese workers rapidly fell into decay. The poorest of society, whom Nyerere hoped to protect from an emerging class of African capitalists, were instead oppressed by economic stagnation.

By 1978 Chinese foreign policy began to change, espousing economic modernization programs. It continued to provide an alternative to the Cold War-entrenched Soviet Union and United States, in fact increasing its levels of investment in reaction to its failures. By the early 1980s there were some 150,000 Chinese technicians in Africa working on more than 500 projects.

The pervasive belief was that there was a choice between the communism of the East and the capitalism of the West. It was in fact just the opposite. China's largesse in Africa had as much to do with its differences with the Soviet Union as with its differences with the United States. In the mid-1980s there was a Sino-Soviet rapprochement and relations improved. The Cold War began to thaw and China was inwardly focused on its own reforms. These reforms, promulgated by Deng Xiaoping (1905–1997), were based on maximizing markets. Africa was not seen as a priority market region compared to Western economic monoliths. As a result, Chinese aid declined. But with the geopolitical shifts of 1989 China saw a critical moment in which it must garner sympathy and support. The Chinese crackdown in Tiananmen Square, on June 4, 1989, certainly had an impact. Global accusations of HUMAN RIGHTS abuse rapidly made China a pariah. It began courting favor through increased foreign aid. Whereas in 1988 Chinese aid commitments were $60.4 million to 13 African countries, by 1992 it leapt to $345 million in 44 African countries.

The increase in aid in the 1990s also reflected China's shifting needs for influence in the world sphere. Under Chinese tutelage, many African leaders came to link increasing Western aid conditions requiring human rights to be respected to an effort to undermine China's growth into a new superpower. As such, they increasingly challenged U.S. notions with barely cloaked accusations that the United States sought to undermine African attempts

at development through the regulatory process. China continued to project an image as the one benefactor with few demands, while seeking to expand its influence outside of East Asia.

For their part, African leaders accepted this image of Chinese beneficence. Strong-armed leaders such as Daniel arap MOI (1924–   ) of KENYA and Robert MUGABE (1924–   ) of ZIMBABWE feared the threat to their position from pressures to democratize. There was concurrent rising resentment in Africa toward what many in the post-Cold War climate saw as neocolonial influence in domestic affairs. Further, new Chinese aid was carefully tied to its post-reform trade policies. China thus opened trade ties with African countries. By 1995 African trade only accounted for 1.4 percent of Beijing's total trade. But trade rose 431 percent between 1989 and 1997, to the great benefit of African economies.

Today China continues to expand its market-oriented approach to African aid. As if to contrast the conditions of trade in the U.S. African Growth and Opportunity Act, it has granted duty-free market access to many commodities coming from African countries without mandates. Instead of focusing on the turnkey projects of the past, aid is focused on training and human resources development to expand trade.

To date SOUTH AFRICA has been the greatest benefactor of China's foreign aid shift. Between 50,000 and 100,000 Chinese live in South Africa. There are also large industrial corporations providing FOREIGN INVESTMENT. As these Sino-African relations expand other countries in sub-Saharan Africa hope to benefit from the increased financial interaction.

See also: BANDUNG AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE (Vol. IV); CHINA AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Chissano, Joaquím Alberto (1939–   ) *President of Mozambique*

The son of a Methodist minister, Joachim Alberto Chissano was born in the southern Gaza province of MOZAMBIQUE. Despite a childhood in relative POVERTY, he finished primary and secondary school and furthered his education in MEDICINE in Portugal. Chissano eventually dropped his medical studies, went to France, and returned to Mozambique to become a leader in the country's struggle for liberation.

The fact that Chissano received any education was in itself quite remarkable in Mozambique under Portuguese colonial rule. As of the mid-1950s, for example, official statistics showed only some 26,000 African students enrolled in primary schools for the colony as a whole.

Chissano was instrumental in the armed resistance against Portuguese rule. He was one of the founding members of the MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT (Frente de Libertação de Mozambique, FRELIMO), becoming a member of the organization's central executive committee in 1963. Chissano headed educational training for the party and later became its secretary under Eduardo MONDLANE (1920–1969), FRELIMO's first leader.

When Mozambique's liberation war ended in 1974 Chissano became the prime minister in the transitional government. In 1975 he became the country's first foreign minister under President Samora MACHEL (1933–1986). In November of 1986, following the untimely death of Machel, Chissano was elected president of Mozambique. Working slowly toward democracy Chissano continued Machel's policies of openness toward the West. His government put an official end to Mozambique's Marxist-Leninist political programs and adopted a more moderate form of socialism. In light of a worldwide wave of DEMOCRATIZATION in 1990, Chissano's government introduced a multiparty democracy.

Chissano is described as a quiet and spiritual man, and he is especially known for his abilities in behind-the-scenes negotiations. His leadership skills were instrumental in ending the civil war between his FRELIMO forces and the rebel MOZAMBICAN NATIONAL RESISTANCE (Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana, RENAMO), which sought control of Mozambique. To bring about peace he sought the support of the Church and the government of neighboring MALAWI, which had been supporting the RENAMO rebels, eventually bringing all parties to the table for negotiations. Chissano's leadership—along with the help of the United Nations—brought an end to the civil war (1992–94) and paved the way for elections in 1994. Numerous cease-fire violations delayed the process, but the country remained largely at peace under Chissano's leadership.

Due to his country's importance in southern Africa, Chissano became a major figure in regional organizations such as the SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Chona, Mathias (Mathias Mainza Chona)

(1930–2001) *Zambia's first prime minister*

The son of a local chief, Mathias Chona was born at Nampeyo, Monze, in the southern region of Northern Rhodesia (modern-day ZAMBIA). As a youth, he attended a Catholic mission school before going to LUSAKA for secondary school. He then studied law at Gray's Inn, London, where he was called to the bar in 1958, becoming the first Zambian to qualify as a lawyer.

Upon his return home he became active in Northern Rhodesia's struggle for independence. In 1959 Chona joined Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–   ) and others in leaving the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress, which was led by Harry Mwaanga NKUMBULA (1916–1983), to form the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC). However, the British colonial government banned the ZANC later that year and imprisoned Kaunda. Chona maintained the organization and ideology of the ZANC by forming the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP), but he made it clear that the party's presidency was Kaunda's upon his release from jail. Chona was briefly UNIP's deputy president, but for the most part he served as its national secretary both before and after the country's independence. Chona later held other government positions, including minister of justice and ambassador to the United States.

Chona became Zambia's vice president in 1972 and chaired the commission that drew up the constitutional amendment bill that made Zambia a one-party state. Using his position as vice president, he later steered the passage of the act through the National Assembly.

In the legislative debate leading up to enactment of the One-Party State Act, Chona summed up the justification for the legislation. According to him, it was a very simple bill, but a historic one. "The bill is designed to introduce national unity in the country," Chona said, "so that all our people are assured of a peaceful and happy future."

Although he always appeared jovial and entertaining, with an engaging manner of speech, Chona was a shrewd politician. He continued to assume important political positions, becoming the country's first prime minister in 1973. His last government posts were as ambassador to France and later China. In 1991, however, when Zambia reverted to multiparty politics and the MOVEMENT FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY assumed power, Chona was forced to resign his ambassadorship. He remained loyal to UNIP and to his political ideals up until his death, frequently appearing in court to argue constitutional issues.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NORTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

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Christianity, influence of   During the 20th century Catholic and Protestant MISSIONARIES brought their specific forms of Christianity to the peoples of Africa, changing the religious lives of many indigenous Africans. At the same time the religions they spread were, in turn, changed by Africans to reflect indigenous beliefs.

The World Church   Many of independent Africa's new political leaders received their education from mission schools. Because of these affiliations many missionaries were secure in their leadership positions under the new governments. Autonomy was largely the result of exterior funding. As fledgling governments struggled with the challenges of single-party states, authoritarian leaders, and civil rights abuses, the church remained steadfast, providing social services in the areas of education and healthcare. The Church preached the values of democratic ideals, such as freedom of speech and the rights to free association and assembly. In southern Africa it supported liberation theology.

The influence of Christianity has manifested itself in both positive and negative ways throughout Africa. In TANZANIA, for example, Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) developed an African socialism that had some success blending typically Christian values and indigenous communalism. In GHANA, Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) was hailed as the "deliverer," a word equated with God in the local Methodist church.

In NIGERIA, however, an increasingly polarized population of Christians and Muslims descended into catastrophic conflict regarding the adoption of a state RELIGION. In UGANDA, Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003), a Kwaku Muslim, persecuted that country's Christian population. Since 1955 the Muslim-dominated northern region of the Republic of the SUDAN has been embroiled in a civil war against the southern regions, which are approximately 27 percent Christian. (Practitioners of African traditional religions, also persecuted by the northerners, make up 70 percent of the southern population.) In 1983 the Muslim-dominated government officially made the Sudan a Muslim state, thereby intensifying the war.

White Catholic and Protestant missionaries brought Christianity to Africa, preaching their own understanding of the gospel and its place in the particular African culture to which they were assigned. In ETHIOPIA, where the state religion is the ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH, Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries eventually gained a

toe-hold and proliferated. It was difficult for the missionaries to separate their own cultural orientations from their instruction and even harder for them to understand the African culture in which they lived. Because many missionaries believed theirs was a "civilizing" mission, they generally did not promote independence, and the changes brought about by independence made many churches rethink their capital and human investments in Africa. Large numbers of white missionaries were recalled, with Africans stepping into their places. In 1968 the Roman Catholic Vatican Council II approved the translation of the liturgy into vernacular languages. By promoting African male leadership in both preaching and teaching positions, the Church accelerated the development of African clergy. In 1970 the Church appointed its second black bishop from west-central Africa. (The first had been Henrique from the Kongo kingdom, in the 16th century.)

At the same time, however, the Church diminished much of its ritual character, which contained the elements

Following his ordination in 1962, the Reverend Raphael S. Ndingi, the first Catholic priest from the Kamba ethnic group of Kenya, blessed his mother. His father observed the ceremony.
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that spoke most directly to African worshipers. Some issues that were culturally foreign, such as monogamy and the celibacy of the clergy, also presented challenges to the African Church. Further, in light of the obvious wealth of the European Church, clergy questioned the validity of the scriptural demand for poverty. Other problem issues included the rejection of women as officiants, especially since it was most often they who filled the pews.

In IVORY COAST, where a mere one-tenth of the population was Catholic, Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993) built Basilique de Notre Dame de la Paix, a cathedral with a seating capacity of 300,000. Opened in 1990 by Pope John Paul II, the cathedral was modeled on St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.

Some countries nationalized their mission schools after independence, and both the Catholic and Protestant churches lost important links in their ability to indoctrinate new indigenous leadership. In recent decades world churches are in decline in Africa, having lost financial support and much of their personnel.

African Independent Churches   As national independence spread, it brought with it the development of fully African Christian churches, tended to by African administrators and clergy and attended by black members. African Independent Churches, also known as African Initiated Churches (AICs), included both Ethiopian Independent churches and Zionist Independent Churches. These churches were led by charismatic leaders who claimed to have direct communication with God and who saw themselves as Christian reformers. Taking into consideration indigenous beliefs and values, they emphasized the parishioner's direct communication with God through prayers, dreams, and possession by the Holy Spirit. Generally they also allowed women to play a more active role in church leadership. However, some independent governments have not been tolerant of the AICs. In ZAMBIA, for example, The Lumpa Church, founded in 1955 by Alice LENSHINA (1924–1978), came into conflict with the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY led by Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–   ). Many of the Lumpa members went into self-imposed exile. Alice and her husband died in detention, and her church was burned.

Where prophetic movements such as Lenshina's emerged, Africans saw religion as a way to combat the injustices visited upon them by white settlers and colonial governments. Elements of a prophetic movement could be identified in the speeches and sermons of Bishop Desmond TUTU (1931–   ), a Nobel laureate and one of the most prominent anti-APARTHEID crusaders in SOUTH AFRICA.

Membership in Pentecostal churches has risen since the 1970s. Many evangelical AIC groups converted Christians and others to the Gospel of Prosperity, which teaches that God gives material rewards to, and promises economic miracles for, those who give to the church.

See also: CHRISTIANITY (Vols. I, II); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV, V).

Further reading: James L. Cox and Gerrie ter Haar, eds., *Uniquely African?: African Christian Identity from Cultural and Historical Perspectives* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2003); Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1995); Isaac Phiri, *Proclaiming Political Pluralism: Churches and Political Transitions in Africa* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001); Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

cinema   In the years since independence, African filmmakers have focused on establishing a cinematic tradition that leaves behind Eurocentric approaches to film. In their efforts, they have produced films recognized by international audiences. However, in broad terms, Africa has yet to develop a viable film industry to rival those on other continents.

Worldwide analysis of African films tends to perpetuate the "outsider" perspective of African cinema. By focusing too much on either content or the educational value, critics fail to acknowledge that African films are infused with culturally relevant aesthetic elements. This Eurocentric or neocolonialist attitude is evident in the way critics lump together films by the language spoken in them—English, French, Portuguese, or Arabic—regardless of the nation of origin or cultural tradition from which the film comes.

Cinema in West Africa   After independence, GHANA and NIGERIA attempted to incorporate film into their cultural policy. In 1957 President Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) of Ghana nationalized his country's film production and distribution. However, because previous colonial policy reserved the most important filmmaking positions for whites, Ghana's film industry had to import foreign directors to make its educational and dramatic feature films. In 1969 the Ghanaian government appointed Sam Aryeetey (1927–   ) director of the Ghana Film Corporation. A 1949 graduate of the Accra Film Training School, Aryeetey sought foreign distribution for Ghanaian films. Although this brought broader awareness of Ghana's film industry, it also limited it by turning over some control to outsiders.

At independence Nigeria was one of the few African countries with both a television industry and established movie theaters. Segun Olusola, the director of the Nigerian television network, produced teleplays by European and African authors. Together with Lebanese business partners, Olusola founded Fedfilms Limited to produce Nigerian films. The Nigerian filmmaker Francis Oladele founded Calpenny Limited, a production company financed by investors from the United States. Regarded as Nigeria's preeminent filmmaker, Oladele has produced movie adaptations of works by Wole SOYINKA (1934–   ) and Chinua ACHEBE (1930–   ). Nigeria's most prolific director is Ola Balogun (1945–   ), who has produced at least one film per year since 1977.

While film production in Nigeria is done largely by Nigerians, film distribution remains in the hands of foreigners. This, along with poor funding and state censorship, has hurt the development of Nigerian cinema. Also, the popularity and availability of television retards the growth of the industry by reducing receipts at the box office.

Cinema in Southern Africa   In APARTHEID-era South Africa, AFRIKANERS continued producing films subsidized by the Afrikaner-dominated government. These films often attempted to legitimize white minority rule in SOUTH AFRICA and neighboring RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE). Although some anti-apartheid films were produced in South Africa, most outsider productions were banned from the country. Films made by whites for a black audience tended to be patronizing and exploitative. However, even these films maintained a degree of cultural authenticity to hold the attention of viewers.

In 1976 Gibson Kente (1932–   ) wrote *How Long (must we suffer)*, a protest play that became the first black-financed and black-directed feature film to criticize apartheid. Apartheid censors misunderstood the multilingual script of a later film, *Mapantsula* (1988), and allowed the production of that anti-apartheid film. In the 1980s anti-apartheid films were also produced in neighboring countries. *A Dry White Season* (1989), for example, was produced in Zimbabwe. Two of the more successful anti-apartheid films are *Sarafina* (1993), by Anant Singh, a South African of Indian descent, and the remake of Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* (1995).

Today, South Africa's business structure, including filmmaking and distribution, is fully integrated into the global economy. With the collapse of apartheid and the strict film censorship that was part of that system, South African audiences now eagerly consume foreign films, especially those from the United States. Indeed, the country

is among the top 10 international markets for Hollywood films. South Africa also acts as the central distribution point for films—and other products—throughout southern Africa.

Filmmaking in the Congo In post-independence Democratic Republic of the CONGO (known from 1971 to 1997 as ZAÏRE), there was a conspicuous absence of Congolese film directors. Despite having a film and photo bureau, the Zaïrian government did not create a national cinema. Instead, it was left to a private group, Saint-Paul Audiovisual Editions (EPA), to replace the Catholic MISSIONARIES who had produced educational films during the colonial period. Since 1975 the EPA has financed and distributed religious programming produced and directed by Congolese. The government of MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997) authorized a National Film Center to tax foreign films and use the money to promote Zaïre's national cinema.

Cinema in the Former French Colonies After independence, the French Minister of Coopération provided both financial and technical support for the film industry in post-independence nations. As a result, Coopération became the biggest film producer of African cinema. In 1962 France created the Consortium Audiovisuel International (CAI) to help the newly independent African states develop communications. Film was then used as a tool for educating illiterate citizens. Each year between 1961 and 1975, more than 400 newsreels and documentaries were made, with partial production taking place in the African capitals and post-production in Paris.

In 1963 Coopération established the Bureau du Cinema to provide funding to help independent African filmmakers. For some films, the Coopération took on the role as film producer, providing the director with financial and technical support. For others, it waited for the African producer to make the film and then paid for the cost of production in return for the rights to film distribution.

In 1979 the French government of Valéry Giscard d'Estang (1926–) stopped funding African films because some African heads of state were concerned that the political nature of the films being produced could lead to unrest. In 1980 François Mitterrand (1916–1996) inaugurated a new policy of sending aid to an inter-African organization, Organization Commune Africaine et Mauritienne (OCAM). By promoting the inter-African organization, France de-emphasized aid to independent directors. Instead, it made more funds and equipment available to OCAM-sponsored film schools, such as the Institute Africain d'Education Cinematographique in OUAGADOUGOU, the capital of BURKINA FASO.

In addition to promoting African films in educational and film festival venues, Coopération began distributing them to commercial cinemas and airing them on French television. Now 80 percent of all African films are produced and directed by Africans in the former French colonies.

Africa's best known filmmakers include OUSMANE SEMBÈNE (1923–) and Safi FAYE (1943–), from SENEGAL; Oumarou Ganda (1932–1981), from NIGER; Dikongue Pipa (1940–), from CAMEROON; Med Hondo (1936–), from MAURITANIA; and Souleymane Cissé (1940–), from MALI. They have won awards at African film festivals in Ouagadougou and Carthage, as well as at the prestigious European festivals at Cannes, Paris, Rome, and Moscow.

Cinema in North Africa In post-independence North Africa, the film industry has become a powerful cultural force for the Arabic-speaking world. During the colonial era people in the MAGHRIB region of North Africa—ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and MOROCCO—watched foreign films censored by the French authorities. Since independence, however, the region has developed its own strong film industry that produces a wide range of films in both Arabic and French. Such films have garnered international praise, but they still face stiff competition from foreign films in their home markets.

Algeria's film industry developed during its war of independence from France. Within a few years of independence in 1962, the country's film industry was a modernized, state-owned monopoly, although it has since been privatized. Since the 1990s political turmoil and civil unrest has caused the Algerian film industry to collapse due to lack of stability and lack of funding. Also, the marketing of Arabic-language Algerian films to the Middle East has become problematic. Since the Algerian form of vernacular Arabic is sometimes considered slang, conservative Arabic-speaking countries do not want to promote what they see as an impure form of the language.

Since 1976 the Egyptian film industry, which advertises itself as the "Hollywood of the Middle East," has sponsored the influential Cairo International Film festival.

In the present day African film is suffering from the gradual loss of both foreign and domestic funding for production. There were few African-owned and operated film processing laboratories, editing facilities, and film distribution companies. Consequently, artists in ANGOLA, KENYA, NAMIBIA, and many other African countries have no opportunity to express themselves through film.

See also: CINEMA (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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civil society Groups of citizens voluntarily organized into large social constituencies. An effective civil society at once challenges the state while deepening its ability to serve the needs and desires of its people.

Civil society marks the border at which the state and societal spheres meet. The concept of "the state," although commonly used interchangeably with "the government," is actually a political community defined by its population and territorial boundaries. The state alone retains the legitimate right to use force. Society, on the other hand, is the sum of the interactions and associations of people who live within a particular state. Where a government is a democracy, leaders of the state are supposed to be accountable to the people. One mechanism for establishing that accountability is through elections. Yet elections alone don't make a democracy. Additional mechanisms are needed to allow the people to communicate their needs and desires to their leadership, and to hold them accountable. This is where civil society becomes important.

In a functioning, democratic civil society, church groups, LABOR UNIONS, student associations, and the like bring people together into a collective voice. Where this voice is loud, leaders must listen and respond or face electoral difficulties and social upheaval. In fact, new leaders often come from the ranks of powerful civil society groups.

Political scholars and historians disagree on what, exactly, defines civil society and its relationship with the state. An analysis of the differences shows that there are two broad schools of thought. The first one sees civil society as a bulwark against the state. According to this liberal view, a society of individuals uses the organs of civil society to protect itself from the excesses of a state and to ensure that state leaders do not become dictators. The second school of thought sees the role of civil society as inextricably intertwined with the state. This latter view holds that the respective functions of civil society and the state overlap, compete with, and complement each other.

Some scholars argue that the history of colonialism in Africa proves that the second concept of civil society is more valid. With the histories of Europe and Africa so deeply intertwined, they argue, the institutions must also be intertwined. However, the first view is probably more prevalent today. A civil society that becomes *too* intertwined with the state will be unable to build the trust necessary to protect democracy. It is easier to encourage fledgling democracies with an active, independent civil society. Thus, all people who desire democracy at both the national and international level have a stake in investing in a strong civil society.

Only with an independent civil society in place is it possible to protect against the excessive power mongering that has characterized the regimes of such leaders as MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997) of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO (what was then called ZAÏRE), Charles TAYLOR (1948–   ) of LIBERIA, and Jean-Bédel BOKASSA (1921–1996) of the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. With their authority unchecked, these men dominated all facets of the state. In UGANDA, on the other hand, a relatively strong civil society is often credited with protecting the Ugandan people against the potential profiteering of President Yoweri MUSEVENI (1944–   ). Museveni made Uganda a one-party state, but most of the country's civil society organizations are NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS that receive foreign funding. Therefore, although they are not very strong voices in government, their ability to be heard has increasingly forced Museveni to open up roles for them in the policy process. In this way they play important roles in such activities as overseeing the transparency of elections as well as in the planning of economic policy to overcome POVERTY in rural areas.

In addition to helping democracy protect against excessive state power, civil society also helps develop a middle class that can exercise political influence while providing a proving ground for new leaders. While widespread poverty in many African countries limits the voluntarism necessary for civic associations to flourish, large African organizations do require effective leaders with administrative skills and an ability to function in political spheres. Perhaps the greatest example of this in Africa is Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ), the former president of SOUTH AFRICA. Mandela was elected to the National Executive Committee of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) in 1950. At that time the ANC was a young civic organization struggling against the severe racist laws of the nation's APARTHEID government. Mandela soon became deputy president of the ANC and used his authority to fight for legal rights and fairer LABOR policies for blacks. He also voiced the objections of South Africa's non-white citizens regarding relocations in the western provinces as well as the government's unfair BANTU EDUCATION schemes. Mandela also helped write the Freedom Charter.

In 1961 at the All-in African Conference in Pietermaritzburg, he gave a speech in favor of democracy that the nation—and the world—still hasn't forgotten. Arrested soon thereafter, Mandela was imprisoned until

1990. In 1991 he became ANC president and, later, president of the new South Africa and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Mandela is now an icon for democratic change the world over.

Unfortunately, civil society is not always so positive. Some critics argue that it is a "neocolonial" perpetuation of Western ideals poorly situated in an African context. Others point out that associations often take on tasks they are ill-prepared to perform, creating crises of governance. In the worst cases, these critics argue, the goals of a civic association might be inconsistent with those of a democratic polity. A terrorist organization, for instance, could claim to be part of civil society.

In some cases, the associations that make up civil society have proven to be poor proving grounds for leaders. For example, Frederick CHILUBA (1943–) of ZAMBIA rose to the presidency in 1991, pushing the former president, Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–), from office. As Chiluba rose through the ranks of the labor unions, both Zambians and the West hailed him as one of Africa's great new democrats. As a labor leader he regularly cited scripture, winning him a hero's status among the Zambian church groups in civil society.

A prodigal son of Zambia's new leadership class, Chiluba challenged Kaunda's state and, for a time, seemed to be the exception for those concerned that Africa lacked strong ties between political parties and civic organizations. Yet, when he rose to the presidency, he soon became enamored with centralized policies. He created a de jure one-party state and perpetuated the inefficient political norms that had brought about the end of his predecessor. Chiluba was criticized by HUMAN RIGHTS organizations as CORRUPTION in Zambia rose to new levels. By the end of the 1990s he had lost the support of key civil society groups, such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace. After being thrown out of office following the 2001 elections, Chiluba was brought up on no less than 150 different criminal charges.

Civil society remains an elusive concept with controversial applications. Yet, the other option is a state left unchecked by its citizenry, free to assert power in excess as has been done in so many African autocracies. Democracy by election can bring about a measure of accountability, but an active, engaged civil society is still necessary to ensure rule by the people.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V), POLITICAL PARTIES (Vol. V), POLITICAL SYSTEMS (Vol. V).

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Civil Wars, 1974–2004
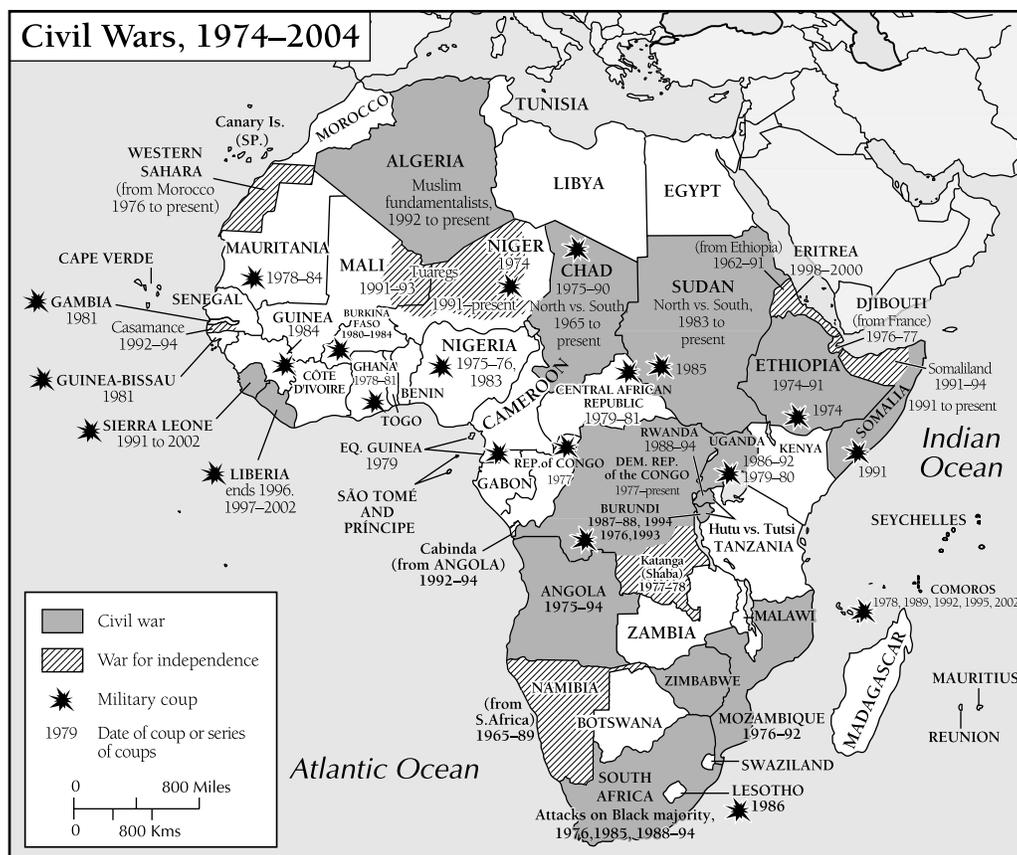
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civil wars   Conflicts that take place within the borders of a state or community. Civil wars are reasons for great concern in Africa, since recent ones have increased in complexity and grown in scope, frequency, and level of violence. In Africa civil wars often involve several countries and hold multiple root causes. At the beginning of the post-independence period a great number of African countries were embroiled in open conflict. By the mid-1960s combatants in ANGOLA and the Congo region, for example, were fighting regional wars as part of a greater struggle for independence from colonial rule. These local conflicts became more complex when the United States, the former Soviet Union, and their allies began assuming support roles in order to protect their own Cold War interests. Civil war in MOZAMBIQUE—which, like Angola, was a Portuguese colony—was largely a result of threats to the regional strategic interests of SOUTH AFRICA, which at the time was seeking to defend APARTHEID both domestically and internationally.

By the end of the 1990s the Cold War was over and South Africa's government had made the transition to majority rule, but civil strife still raged throughout Africa. Eventually, local conflicts merged into three large regional conflagrations that involved a quarter of the continent's countries. One zone of conflict included the Horn of Africa, ETHIOPIA, ERITREA, and the Republic of the SUDAN. A second zone involved the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, the Republic of the CONGO, ZIMBABWE, and Angola. And a third zone included the West African countries of SENEGAL, SIERRA LEONE, GUINEA, and LIBERIA.

One of the factors that separates African nations from countries in other parts of the world is the crisis of the so-called soft state. Where states are weak, it is possible for groups or individuals to challenge the supremacy of its leadership through military engagement. Greed and CORRUPTION are often cited as reasons for individuals to launch such a challenge.

The control of a region's mines, oilfields, FORESTS, or other valuable NATURAL RESOURCES can be another cause of civil wars. Countries such as Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are rich in dia-

Liberation movements sometimes fought against each other as well as against the colonial armies in Portuguese territories. In 1972, these FRELIMO soldiers underwent weapons training during the civil war in Mozambique. *© United Nations/N. Basom*

monds and other minerals. Since these natural resources are considered part of a state's wealth, the control of the state brings with it the ability to profit from the resources.

A number of 20th-century African leaders have been accused of starting civil wars for their own personal enrichment. These include Jonas SAVIMBI of Angola, Foday SANKOH of Sierra Leone, Charles TAYLOR of Liberia, Laurent KABILA of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Paul KAGAME of RWANDA, and Alfonso Dhlakama of Mozambique.

Generally, the cause most often cited as the reason for the increase in civil wars in Africa is religious, eth-

nic, or racial identity. For example, the war begun in the Republic of the Sudan in the 1950s had its roots in religious and territorial conflicts dating to the 19th century. At that time Mahdist forces imposed Islam on the population in the mostly Christian and animist southern parts of the country. An estimated 2 million people have died in Sudan's civil war, which continues today amid charges of "ethnic cleansing" and even genocide. From the 1960s into the 1990s CHAD, too, went through similar conflicts. The civil war begun in ALGERIA in 1992 is often attributed to the rise of extremist Muslims who disagree with the country's historically secular mode of governance.

While identity is a key part to each of these conflicts, looking at civil war solely as a clash of identities obscures the larger issues. For example, the 1994 civil war in Rwanda certainly was the result of a longstanding ethnic conflict between HUTU and TUTSI groups. However, it also involved political and economic disagreements that are not directly associated with ethnic differences.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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coastal and marine ecosystems Biological communities in areas where land and sea meet. In Africa these important environmental zones and their resources are threatened on a number of fronts. Coastal ecosystems are found in all coastal areas where land and sea come together. Rich in BIODIVERSITY, these areas make up only 8 percent of the world's surface. Yet 26 percent of the earth's biodiversity is contained in their tide pools, floodplains, marshes, tide-flats, beaches, dunes, and coral reefs.

In all, nearly 25,000 miles (40,234 km) of Africa's coast falls into the category of coastal and marine ecosystems. In countries such as GUINEA-BISSAU, the coastal system is the most complex of all of its environments, supporting hundreds of plant and animal species found nowhere else in the world. Similarly, the coastal regions of SÃO TOMÉ AND PRINCIPÉ are home to 26 unique bird species.

Coastal and marine ecosystems are as important to Africa's economies as they are to the continent's ecology, however. Fishing is particularly critical in this regard. In MAURITIUS, for example, fishing accounts for 36,000 jobs and 10 percent of the gross domestic product. It also ac-

counts for one of the country's fastest-growing export economies, with large amounts of fish currently being sent to the European Union.

Mangrove trees are a key element of Africa's coastal ecosystems. With roots that stick out from the mud and water in order to take in oxygen, these trees are unusually well adapted to survival in both salt and fresh water. Home to many plants and animals, they also play an important role in local AGRICULTURE by helping to stabilize riverbanks and coastlines.

International TOURISM is another area in which coastal systems contribute to national economies. Approximately 10,000 tourists visit the SEYCHELLES islands each year to enjoy the beautiful beaches and snorkel along their spectacular coral reefs. This makes tourism the largest sector of the Seychelles economy, employing one-third of the country's 80,000 people. With both fishing and tourism becoming increasingly important each year, coastal systems have come to play a major role even in larger economies, such as those of GHANA, SOUTH AFRICA, IVORY COAST, and TANZANIA.

These valuable coastal areas are under dramatic threat, however. The coast of Guinea-Bissau, for example, like that of so many other countries, has been significantly degraded by pollution from URBANIZATION and industry. ATMOSPHERIC CHANGE plays a part in this as well, for as climates change, sea levels rise and more and more pressure on is put on the coastal zones. As a result erosion increases, populations are displaced, and freshwater resources are contaminated. In addition, WATER temperatures increase, changing the nature of the habitat and making it no longer suitable for many species, both plant and animal.

Other threats come from economic and social forces. In the Seychelles, for instance, the commercial FISHING industry has been expanding so rapidly that many areas are being over-fished. This reduces not only the number of fish and fish species but also decreases the number of birds that eat the fish. But attempts to limit the catch have led to illegal fishing, which, on islands such as Cousine and Aride, has become the major threat to the economy.

Other nations share this ecological crisis. Both COMOROS and MADAGASCAR have quadrupled their fish catch in the past 20 years; Mauritius and NAMIBIA have tripled theirs; MOROCCO has doubled its fish catch over that same period. Even in East Africa, where fishing is not nearly as productive as in other parts of the continent, fishing re-

mains the single greatest threat to coral reefs and the coastal ecosystem.

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In the Seychelles the threat to sea birds is particularly deadly. Not only is their population endangered by the decrease in the number of fish for them to eat, but there has been an increase in demand for sea bird eggs. This has led to extensive poaching of these eggs, which, in turn, has resulted in a dramatic decrease in the number of sea bird hatchlings born each year.

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For thousands of years Africa's coastal and marine areas have supported some of the most remarkable and diverse ecosystems on the planet. They also have provided the people of Africa with economic survival. But precisely how or even if those environments—and their economic and social benefits—will be preserved for future generations is still unknown.

See also: ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V).

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Coetzee, J. M. (John Maxwell Coetzee) (1940–)
South African novelist

Born to Afrikaner parents in CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, Coetzee attended an English school and thus spoke English as his first language, as opposed to AFRIKAANS. He continued his education at the University of Cape Town before traveling to the United States, earning master's and doctorate degrees at the University of Texas. He taught at the State University of New York at Buffalo until 1971, when he returned to South Africa. In 1972 Coetzee accepted a professorship at the University of Cape Town, which he has maintained throughout his career.

In 1974 Coetzee published his first work, a pair of novellas under the joint title of *Dusklands*. The novellas, *The Vietnam Project* and *The Narrative of Jacobus Coetzee,* compare the American experience in wartime Vietnam with that of Boer settlers in southern Africa. It was proclaimed South Africa's first modern fictional work and established the nature and effects of oppressive regimes as one of Coetzee's main themes.

Dusklands was followed, in 1977, by *In the Heart of the Country*, and by Coetzee's breakout novel, the allegorical *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980). The novel, which won South Africa's most prestigious literary prize, the CNA Award, focuses on the imperialistic mentality

that caused so much damage to Africa since the scramble for colonies began near the end of the 19th century. Coetzee's subsequent novel, *The Life and Times of Michael K.* (1983), continued to build on his international reputation, earning him the Booker Prize, Britain's highest literary award.

Foe (1986), *Age of Iron* (1990), and *Disgrace* (1999), for which Coetzee won an unprecedented second Booker Prize, continued to examine with varying degrees of directness the ravages of APARTHEID on the author's native country. By the turn of the century Coetzee had developed an impressive body of essays, criticism, and translations. The essay collection *White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa* (1988) examined the dilemma of white writers in South Africa, who write from a position of being not European, but not fully African either.

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One of the major concerns addressed in Coetzee's writing is the attempt to determine what right, if any, white writers have to speak for the oppressed black African population. Other white South African writers, such as Nadine GORDIMER (1923–), have expressed similar apprehension.

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Coetzee also accumulated awards ranging from the Jerusalem Prize to the Prix Femina Étranger. In 2003 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, becoming Africa's fourth Nobel laureate, joining Nigerian Wole SOYINKA (1934–), Egyptian Naguib MAHFOUZ (1911–), and Gordimer.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Cold War and Africa
The Cold War was a period of international tension and rivalry between the United States (U.S.) and the Soviet Union (USSR) lasting from the end of World War II (1939–45) through the early 1990s. Prior to the late 1950s, when Africa was the site of emerging INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS, the Cold War's effect on African countries was limited. From 1960 onward, however, the Cold War took on a greater significance. This included superpower support for certain independence movements as well as the expansion of regional conflicts into protracted wars influenced by international politics.

One of the earliest consequences of the Cold War for Africa was its effect on the DECOLONIZATION. Egypt's nationalization of the SUEZ CANAL in 1956, and the subsequent Suez War between EGYPT and an English-French-Israeli alliance, was played out under the threat of Soviet involvement, to which the United States was staunchly

opposed. As a result, the United States intervened on the side of Egypt, strengthening that country's sovereignty and weakening English and French influence over Africa. With the power of the two colonial powers lessened, the stage was set for other African countries to gain their independence.

The events of the Suez War illustrate how the existence of the USSR as an alternative to Western colonial and capitalist ambitions affected 1960s Africa. In an effort to lessen the ability of the USSR to gain allies among the newly independent African nations, the United States likely supported African independence movements more than it might have otherwise. Concerned about the advance of communism, however, the United States was careful to support only individuals who were perceived to be anti-Communist and pro-Western, such as Kenya's Tom MBOYA (1930–1969). Meanwhile, the USSR also offered aid to African independence movements in the form of financial and military support. The competing interests of the two superpowers created an environment in which nascent African nations could gain a foothold in international politics that otherwise may not have existed.

On the negative side, the Cold War contributed to the formation of authoritarian regimes within Africa, most maintaining their hold on power with the help of foreign support. A good example of this is reflected by the CONGO CRISIS, in which the military dictator MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997) arose to power after the assassination of the pro-Marxist and anticolonial Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961) in 1961. Furthermore, these African authoritarian regimes often appropriated foreign aid marked for social improvements to finance their own activities.

The environment of the Cold War also exacerbated regional conflicts into large-scale military conflicts, many of which were actually proxy wars between the United States and USSR. Most of these conflicts resulted in a stalemate, with neither side able to achieve a clear and decisive victory. This was certainly the case in the civil war that erupted in ANGOLA following the country's independence in 1975. The government, formed by the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA) had the backing of the Soviet Union, which supported Cuban troops and technicians to assist the government. Meanwhile, MPLA's rivals, the Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, FNLA), received backing from the United States, which in turn covertly supported the presence of military forces from SOUTH AFRICA to assist UNITA's troops. Once the Cold War ended, the external actors withdrew from Angola, which in turn led to internal talks and some measure of reconciliation.

The Cold War also affected southern Africa. Internal warfare took place in MOZAMBIQUE along lines similar to those in Angola. In South Africa the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS received considerable Soviet backing for its efforts to overthrow the APARTHEID government. In another example, independence for NAMIBIA was delayed due to Cold War maneuverings by the superpowers and related actions by the South African government.

The Horn of Africa was yet another major theater of the Cold War. The United States strongly supported ETHIOPIA while HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) was emperor. During this time, the United States maintained satellite-tracking facilities and other military installations within the country. Meanwhile, the USSR backed the government of neighboring SOMALIA, which was at odds with Ethiopia over control of the Ogaden region. The superpower constructed naval port facilities at the Somalian city of Berbera, on the Gulf of Aden, which allowed access to the Red Sea. When, in 1974, the Ethiopian revolution overthrew Haile Selassie, the USSR soon moved in to establish ties with the country's new Marxist-oriented government. With Ethiopia now in the Soviet camp, Somalia switched its allegiance to the United States. This move was propelled by the 1977–78 war over the Ogaden, in which the intervention of Cuban troops and other Soviet-bloc personnel on the side of Ethiopia proved decisive. Ultimately, the United States and Somalia signed a 10-year pact that gave the United States access to military facilities at Berbera.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, DEMOCRATIZATION gained momentum in Africa, and African leaders often lost the support they received from siding with one of the superpowers. This created a power vacuum in many African states. As authoritarian regimes lost the support that allowed them to maintain their hold on power, formerly suppressed political groups now had the opportunity to gain strength and rise to positions of influence.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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communism and socialism   Political, economic, and social paradigms that refute the value of corporate ownership of the means of production. The implied equity, along with promises from the communist Soviet Union and China, made them popular ideals for many new African states in the 1960s.

Karl Marx (1818–1883) was a German political journalist who worked for the Communist League in Paris and Brussels. With his colleague Friedrich Engels

(1820–1895), Marx wrote the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. In this famous work the authors acknowledged that capitalism produced remarkable industrial advances, but they also saw that its social costs were dear. New production, they argued, led to a few people becoming rich and powerful and the majority becoming poorer and more dependent on the few rich. Marx found it unjust that the workers bore the weight of market crises through decreasing wages and layoffs. What Marx envisioned instead was a world in which the workers, not the capitalists, ultimately would own the means of production. Cooperatively, workers would build the products and make the profits. In this way, Marx and Engels argued, the public good would replace the narrow benefits of private ownership, and specialization would be replaced with a communal work ethic.

As Marx explained in the *Communist Manifesto* and elaborated in *Das Kapital* (Capital, 1867), this great society could not be achieved all at once. First, the capitalist repression had to lead to such strong class divisions as to cause workers to unite in revolutionary fervor. Then, once the bourgeoisie was ousted from the factories and positions of power, the state would need to take control of the means of production. This, they argued, was the ideal of socialism. Once maximum efficiency was achieved, the need for the state would fall away, and the citizenry would work in collaboration for the communal good. This was the ideal of communism.

African Socialism   In the 1950s and 1960s African nationalist leaders made a conceptual link between colonial governments and the capitalist oppressors Marx described. To many leaders, there was a natural connection between Marx's workers and the African people, who also had been oppressed. They saw African societies as historically egalitarian, not capitalist. A doctrine that would focus on sharing common economic resources would thus be consistent with the precolonial social structure.

Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001), the first president of SENEGAL, was one of the most eloquent supporters of African socialism. He argued that African societies and African culture emphasized communal values and orientation and that, as a result, a communal independent Africa could develop rapidly. Thus, he was advocating a socialism that emerged and evolved out of African experience and perceptions.

The most significant attempt at instituting African socialism occurred in TANZANIA, where President Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) instituted the collective farming policy known as UJAMAA. In this famed doctrine Nyerere wrote, "All land now belongs to the nation . . . communal ownership of land is traditional in our country—it was the concept of freehold which had been foreign to [Africans]. In tribal tradition an individual or family secured rights in land for as long as they were using it."

Leaders as diverse as Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) of GUINEA, Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–   ) of ZAMBIA, Modibo KEITA (1915–1977) of MALI, Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961) of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, King Idris (1890–1983) of LIBYA, Felix Moumié (d. 1960) of CAMEROON, and Ahmed BEN BELLA (1916–   ) of ALGERIA all sought African socialist paths focused loosely on Marxist principles.

Similar to African nationalism, African socialism challenged the status quo but failed to provide viable alternatives. Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), first president of GHANA and a key leader of PAN-AFRICANISM, was often considered an African socialist, and he did emphasize collective action and equity. However, he also stated that "[t]o suppose that there are tribal, national, or racial socialisms is to abandon objectivity in favor of chauvinism." Nkrumah, like many others, questioned that there was a necessary link between African ways of life and socialism and even if there was an African way at all. As nationalism lost its luster, so did African socialism. In the 1970s and 1980s the concept developed into more of a tool for dictators to seize state power than an ideology. To a great degree, African socialism died in the 1990s with the rise of African democracy, even if the collective ideal is still often discussed.

Among the key works on the concept of African socialism are Nkrumah's *Neo-Colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism,* Nyerere's *Socialism and Rural Development,* and Senghor's *On African Socialism.*

As various African countries achieved independence in the early 1960s they had to choose a path of economic DEVELOPMENT. In general, they could choose between socialism, emphasizing equity of resource distribution among the citizenry, or capitalism, emphasizing individual rewards for individual work. For years Africans had suffered economic exploitation at the hands of colonial regimes and their associated corporations. French colonial administrations sometimes even ceded administrative power to concessionaire companies, as they did in what is now the Republic of the Congo. Socialism was thus very attractive in many countries, but how socialism was manifested varied markedly.

Some regimes (in ETHIOPIA, ANGOLA, for example) took on the revolutionary traits associated with communism. Others (in Tanzania, Zambia, SOMALIA, Ghana, MALI, Senegal, Guinea and ultimately MADAGASCAR and ZIMBABWE) believed that capitalism should not be abolished but rather its businesses should be reappropriated

to the control of the state for the good of all citizens. These countries formed the nexus of African socialism, which grew "scientific" socialist or communitarian principles. There are two common threads in African socialist thinking. The first is that socialism is more consistent with longstanding communal structures prevalent in African societies. The second is that capitalism is not a good choice for poor countries, since it necessarily leads to unequal development and social discord. In a capitalist system, private companies generate capital to the benefit of the elite social classes, but in socialism, the state is responsible for distributing profits equally to all workers based on their efforts, not on their function. As Marx famously remarked, socialism is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." With the Cold War fueling Soviet and American foreign aid, African countries that chose a socialist path generally did so with the backing of the Soviet Union, China, or both. Indeed, at the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference in 1955, the premier of communist China, Zhou Enlai (1898–1976), was influential in promoting nonalignment, thereby encouraging African socialism. The somewhat unique case of Tanzania even saw the creation of *ujamaa* villages, loosely based on a Chinese communal farming model. Nevertheless, few African socialist states actually managed to attain even Tanzania's modest degree of non-alignment, tending instead to become Soviet tributary states.

In theory, African socialism is consistent with democracy. Whereas socialism should provide economic justice, democracy should provide political justice. In practice, however, most African socialist leaders used social equity as a tool for maintaining their own oppressive, autocratic rule.

African socialism thrived from the 1960s to the 1980s, yet it ultimately succumbed to its two major flaws: it was poor at creating work incentives, and it never represented the more "African" way that its leaders professed. As a result, the early 1980s saw catastrophic economic failures throughout African socialist states, often followed by political and social disarray. The fall of the Soviet Union and the scaling back of Chinese aid led to a near extinction of African socialist paradigms by the 1990s.

African Communism African socialism has yet to reflect Marx's ideal, but African communism has never even been attempted in earnest, despite the specious invocation of its name. Much like the Soviet, Chinese, Cuban, and North Korean models, communism in Africa became synonymous with a process by which revolutionary fervor led to the emergence of a strong-armed leader from ranks of the movement. In some cases, as in Angola, communism took root as part of a nationalist movement toward independence. Political parties, such as the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA of Holden ROBERTO (1923–   ) and the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA of Agostinho NETO (1922–1979),

sought links with Congolese, Mozambican, and Zambian revolutionary forces to liberate the African people from European tyranny. A push for Ethiopian communism began on September 12, 1974, when Colonel MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–   ) deposed Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) in the name of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. Using persuasive communist rhetoric, Mengistu called himself the chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and the chairman of the Commission to Organize the Party of the Working People, and claimed that he would hold the reigns of power in the name of the people. In the end, this proved to be a ploy that he used as a tool of social stratification, and an attempt to forge national alliances. The Ethiopian revolution never produced the fundamental change in rule that the French and even Russian revolutions did. When, in 1978, Ethiopia moved towards villagization, the government claimed, as Marx did, that humans are social animals. Their natural tendency is toward village settlements, the first step toward a non-exploitative agrarian society. It also claimed, following Russian communist leader Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), that revolutionary restructuring required strong political control at first. Mengistu worked for that strong local control, but didn't release his iron fist until it was forced open by myriad rebel armies, including the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front, ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT, and the ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT. Mengistu fled to Zimbabwe in 1991 and Ethiopia's communist experiment was over.

In the end African communism became more of a tool for fighting international proxy wars than for achieving social justice. Cuba, for example, sent troops to Angola in 1976 and Ethiopia in 1977 on behalf of the Soviet Union. While this may have helped prop up the Mengistu regime and the MPLA in Angola, it did little to feed the masses, stimulate class equity, or bring about the economic development African populations yearned for.

See also: CHINA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NONALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Comoros (Comoro Islands) Island nation off the coast of East Africa. Comoros is an Indian Ocean archipelago of four islands and several islets located between MADAGASCAR and northern MOZAMBIQUE. Collectively, the four islands of Maore (called Mayotte by the French), Mwali (Mohéli), Njazidja (Grande Comore),

and Nzwani (ANJOUAN) cover only 838 square miles (2,170 sq km). MORONI, on the island of Njazidja, serves as the nation's capital. Comoros had an estimated population of 614,000 in 2002, although an additional 150,000 Comorans live abroad, with approximately 60,000 of the latter residing in France. Comorans speak three main languages, Shikomoro (a Kiswahili dialect), Malagasy (the principal language of Madagascar), and French. The overwhelming majority of Comorans—an estimated 98 percent—are Sunni Muslims.

Approximately 80 percent of the population is engaged in AGRICULTURE, even though the islands' land is generally of poor quality. The Comoros are the world's second leading exporter of vanilla; other export items include bananas, cloves, and copra, which is dried coconut meat suitable for extracting coconut oil. International trade, however, has been inhibited, until recently, by a lack of a deepwater port. As a result Comoros is an extremely poor nation and relies heavily on foreign aid.

Comoros is the world's foremost producer of *ylang-ylang*—a flower that yields an essential oil similar in aroma to jasmine—which is used in the production of perfumes.

French possessions since 1886, the Comoro islands were given internal autonomy in 1961 and full independence in 1975. At independence they became the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros, but in 2002, along with the introduction of a new constitution, their official name changed to Union of the Comoros. At independence the island of Maore (Mayotte) remained under French control and, despite diplomatic initiatives to align it politically with the other Comoran islands, it still is a French possession. France maintains a naval facility and foreign legion post on the island.

Since 1975 political stability in Comoros has been nonexistent, with as many as 19 coups being attempted, many successful. The islands also have suffered an ongoing series of secessionist movements. In 1997 Mwali and Nzwani declared their independence, further destabilizing the country's fragile political unity.

See also: COMOROS (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); KISWAHILI (Vols. III, IV).

Compaore, Blaise (1951–   ) *President of Burkina Faso*

Compaore was born to an elite military family near OUAGADOUGOU, the capital of UPPER VOLTA (now BURKINA FASO). After military training in France, CAMEROON, and MOROCCO, he rose to the rank of captain and returned to

Upper Volta. In 1983 Compaore led a COUP D'ÉTAT to bring charismatic socialist Thomas Sankara (1949–1987) to power. Despite his relatively young age of 33, Compaore was named Sankara's minister of state and was later named minister of justice, as well.

Sankara's rule did not stabilize the country's volatile political scene, however, and in 1987 Compaore led another successful coup in which Sankara was deposed and killed. Despite condemnation of the coup both at home and abroad, Compaore named himself president and set about "correcting" the socialist DEVELOPMENT programs that Sankara had instituted. With its increasingly autocratic nature, however, Compaore's leadership ultimately proved unpopular with key elements in his party, the Popular Front (PF). As a result, in 1989, following a trip overseas, Compaore learned of a supposed plot to overthrow him. In reaction he summarily executed two former party allies, Henri Songo (d. 1989) and Jean-Baptiste Boukary Lengani (d. 1989).

After reorganizing the government and assuming the post of minister of defense and security, Compaore easily won Burkina Faso's 1991 presidential election. His PF party soon adopted a new constitution, abandoned its Marxist-Leninist programs, and encouraged FOREIGN INVESTMENT. In 1992 the PF won the majority of the contested legislative seats, and in 1998 Compaore was reelected in a landslide victory.

Compaore's wife, Chantal, is the daughter of former president of the IVORY COAST, Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993).

Although it does not seem to have affected his popularity, Compaore has failed to improve the economy of Burkina Faso, which remains one of the most impoverished nations in the world. Compaore himself has come under heavy criticism for supposedly ordering the torture and arrest of political opponents. He also has been implicated in supporting several unpopular regimes throughout Africa, including that of recently deposed Charles TAYLOR (1948–   ), in LIBERIA. Further, Compaore has been identified as one of the African leaders who supplied Angolan rebel leader Jonas SAVIMBI (1934–2002) with arms and fuel in exchange for illegally mined diamonds, thereby making the peace process in ANGOLA more difficult.

Conakry (Konakry)   Capital and principal port city

of the Republic of GUINEA, on the West African coast. The area of present-day Conakry was part of the western Mali

Empire from the 13th through the 15th centuries. The French first settled the city of Conakry, located on the offshore island of Tombo, in 1887. From 1891 to 1893, the city served as the capital of a French protectorate, and then, from 1893 to 1958, it was the capital of French Guinea, a dependency in French West Africa. When Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) led French Guinea to independence in 1958, Conakry was made the capital of the new republic.

After independence Guinea struggled to sustain itself under Touré's socialist economic policies. The economic, administrative, and communications center of the nation, Conakry was home to an estimated 1,100,000 people in 1996. While its INFRASTRUCTURE and amenities have improved since Touré's time, this prosperity is relative. The main EXPORTS of the port are bauxite and iron ore, which are shipped to the port by rail. Fruit, coffee, and fish are among the other leading exports. In addition, there are industrial plants nearby that process textiles, tobacco, matches, furniture, bricks, and MINING explosives. The city is host to several educational institutions, including the University of Conakry. It is also the site of Guinea's only international airport.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Congo Crisis Period of political and military instability that immediately followed Congolese independence, in 1960. Commentators also refer to the ethnic violence and civil war that developed in the late 1990s as a second Congo Crisis.

Ill-prepared by its Belgian colonial rulers, the Congo plunged into a crisis within days of celebrating its independence from Belgium on June 30, 1960. By July 5 the Congolese army mutinied over a lack of pay. During the same time Prime Minister Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961) gave an incendiary, anticolonialist Independence Day speech that resulted in riots, looting, and attacks on Belgian civilians.

The Belgian government promptly dispatched paratroopers, insisting that the troops were to protect Belgian citizens and their property. Many Congolese, however, feared that Belgium was attempting to reassert its authority in the country.

The Secession of Katanga In the midst of this crisis, mineral-rich KATANGA province, under Moïse TSHOMBE (1919–1969), seceded from the new country. Katanga's declaration of independence, on July 11, immediately received the tacit endorsement of the Belgian government. More importantly, Belgium quickly dispatched military and technical assistance, leading Lumumba to charge that Belgium was behind the entire secessionist movement

and that it was seeking to re-establish control of the valuable MINING interests in Katanga.

On July 12 both Lumumba and Congo's president Joseph KASAVUBU (c. 1913–1969) appealed to the United Nations (UN) for help. The UN peacekeeping forces eventually arrived, but their initial mandate did not authorize them to interfere in the Congo's internal affairs. Thus, although they could attempt to halt actual bloodshed, they lacked authority to help put down the Katangan rebellion. Realizing that his own army was unable to deal with the Katangan forces—strengthened as they were with the arrival of Belgian officers, advisors, and materiél—Lumumba urged the United Nations to join the fight. Kasavubu, however, was firmly opposed.

When the United Nations failed to negotiate a settlement, Lumumba appealed to the former Soviet Union for technical and logistical assistance to end Katanga's rebellion. (While trying to negotiate a peace agreement, Dag Hammarskjöld (1905–1961), the UN secretary-general, was killed in a plane crash in the Congo.) Lumumba's request not only angered the United States and its allies, but also drew the Congo Crisis into the East-West divisions of the Cold War.

All of this also served to reignite the tensions between Lumumba and the Congo's president, Joseph Kasavubu. Their relations broke down almost completely in September, with Kasavubu suspending Lumumba's authority and Lumumba, in turn, dismissing Kasavubu.

Although both had been leaders in the Congolese independence movement, Lumumba and Kasavubu had long been opponents. The more radical Lumumba, who in some ways considered himself a staunch anticolonialist and a Marxist, favored a strong, centralized Congo government. Kasavubu, on the other hand, had risen to power as the leader of the Bakongo Tribal Association, and he favored a loose, "federal" government that would grant the majority of power to the Congo's individual ethnic groups and regions. Lumumba also charged that his rival favored a more accommodating relationship with Belgium.

Continued Instability In the face of the dissolution of central authority and the continued rebellion of Tshombe's Katanga, the Congo began to break into regional fragments and was nearing complete collapse by the end of the summer. On September 14, 1960, Lumumba's army chief of staff, Joseph Mobutu (1930–1997), who would later become MOBUTU SESE SEKO, seized power in the name of the military. While Kasavubu sup-

The Congo quickly descended into crisis following independence in 1960. Here, a man protesting the government of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba is hauled away by armed policeman in Leopoldville (present-day Kinshasa). © *AP/Wide World Photos*

ported Mobutu, Lumumba refused to acquiesce to Mobutu. He managed to escape from Leopoldville, and continued to attempt a return to power. Lumumba's struggle ended in February 1961, when Mobutu's soldiers in Katanga captured and murdered him. In August 1961, when Mobutu returned power to a civilian administration, Kasavubu became president of the new Congolese government. Two years later a combination of Congolese troops and UN peacekeepers forced Tshombe to admit defeat and go into exile, ending Katanga's secession.

Although Katanga's surrender and the return of a civilian government marked an easing of the crisis, it by no means ended it. Dissatisfaction with Kasavubu and his prime minister, Cyrille Adoula (1921–1978), grew steadily. When Adoula dissolved the legislature, in 1963, ethnic rebellions broke out all around the country.

Kasavubu dismissed Adoula in July 1964, and brought his one-time enemy, Tshombe, back from exile to become prime minister. Employing European mercenaries and ruthless measures, Tshombe was able to put down most of the rebellions and then declared his intentions of running for the presidency. Kasavubu immediately dismissed Tshombe, triggering a new governmental crisis that was resolved only after Mobutu once again seized control, in November 1965, in a military coup that ultimately kept him in power for 32 years.

A Second Congo Crisis A second major crisis developed in the 1990s, as ethnic hostilities spread into the Congo from neighboring RWANDA and UGANDA. There, conflict between HUTU and TUTSI ethnic groups had led to increasing levels of violence, eventually leading more than a million Hutu to seek refuge in ZAÏRE, as the Congo

was then called. By 1996 the Hutu had accumulated so much power in the eastern part of the country that local Tutsi were threatened with expulsion from their own homeland. They rebelled, forming alliances with Rwanda's Tutsi government and its main ally, UGANDA. Amid widespread violence, Congolese rebel leader Laurent KABILA (c. 1939–2001), who was a long-time Mobutu opponent, established a Tutsi-based military force. Eventually Kabila and his allies were able to defeat Mobutu's troops and oust the long-time dictator. Ethnic violence and civil war continued, however, even after the assassination of Laurent Kabila and the coming to power of his son, Joseph KABILA (1971–   ). Today various peacekeeping forces maintain a fragile truce in the area.

When it gained independence in 1960, the Congo was officially named the Republic of the Congo. In August 1964, when Moïse Tshombe was prime minister, it became the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In 1971, as part of his Africanization policy, Mobutu changed the name of the country once again, this time to Zaïre. The name was changed back to the Democratic Republic of the Congo after Mobutu was ousted in 1997.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Congo, Democratic Republic of the (Congo-Kinshasa; formerly Zaïre)   Largest country in Africa, measuring approximately 905,400 square miles (2,345,000 sq km). The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is located in southern central Africa, south of the Congo River, and has a short Atlantic Ocean coastline. The DRC borders the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to the north, the Republic of the SUDAN to the northeast, UGANDA, RWANDA, BURUNDI, and the Republic of TANZANIA to the east, ZAMBIA and ANGOLA to the south, and the Republic of the CONGO to the west. The DRC is home to approximately 57 million people, who together speak more than 200 languages. The country

has been plagued since independence with conflicting interests vying for political power and access to its great mineral wealth.

Crisis in the Congo At independence on June 30, 1960, the former Belgian Congo immediately became one of the world's most politically fractious countries. The creation of the country came about not through a unified nationalist movement, as was the case in SENEGAL or KENYA, but through a convergence of highly polarized political organizations. These included the Alliance of the Kongo People (ABAKO) and the Confederation of Katanga Associations, which had pushed for independence beginning in 1956. The socialist Congolese National Movement (Mouvement National Congolais, MNC), formed in 1958, had split into both a moderate faction and a more radical faction led by Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961).

Municipal elections held in 1957 brought ABAKO and its leader, Joseph KASAVUBU (c. 1913–1969), to the national fore. However, legislative elections in 1960 led to a victory for Lumumba's MNC. The departing Belgian authorities attempted to maintain order by appointing Lumumba prime minister and naming Kasavubu president. However, this approach failed, and violence erupted within days of independence, leading to what became known as the CONGO CRISIS. The Belgians remained in the country in an effort to restore order, but the severity of the crisis eventually required the intervention of the United Nations (UN) Security Council, which authorized the deployment of 20,000 peacekeeping troops.

Soon the Belgian army was gone and UN troops were on the ground. Meanwhile, another nationalist leader, Joseph Mobutu (1930–1997), who would later be known as MOBUTU SESE SEKO, attempted to overthrow Lumumba by military COUP D'ÉTAT. Although the attempt failed, Mobutu increased his power base and immediately assumed a more significant role in the political crisis. He quickly became head of the military and created a powerful alliance with Kasavubu.

Complicating the power-play were underlying ideological differences. Kasavubu and Mobutu were self-serving but had Western leanings. Lumumba, on the other hand, had a socialist vision, and he turned to the communist Soviet Union for support. Both the UN and France appeared eager to protect Lumumba and the power-sharing arrangement. Yet by September 1960 Lumumba was forced to seek protection in KATANGA, where the UN presence was strongest. Despite UN protection, Mobutu's agents captured Lumumba and assassinated him on or around January 17, 1961. Although the details are not clear, it is likely that the assassination was accomplished with the aid of agents from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Following four more years of instability, in November 1965 Mobutu ousted his former ally, Kasavubu, and set up a pro-capitalist dictatorship. The treachery in-

volved in the Congo's founding set the stage for the challenges that have confronted it ever since.

Mobutu Sese Seko and the Cold War   The country Mobutu controlled was critical because of its central location on the African sub-continent. Therefore, as a political ally, Mobutu was instrumental to U.S. Cold War interests throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The United States and other pro-capitalist countries sent massive amounts of aid in order to keep him in power. In return he allowed the United States to use military bases in his country to launch its own (ultimately unsuccessful) CIA paramilitary attacks in ANGOLA. At the time Angola was the site of a proxy war between the Soviet-backed POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA and the U.S.-backed NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA.

In 1965 Mobutu's coup was generally welcomed by a Congolese population tired of conflict. However, when he dissolved the legislature and centralized his power, the people began to see his true colors. His economic policies failed, CORRUPTION became rampant, prices skyrocketed, and popular dissatisfaction was met with state-sanctioned violence. Even as Mobutu's legitimacy dissipated, however, he managed to further his own power and generate the wealth necessary to buy the loyalty of the military and a close group of advisors. Ethnic uprisings were dealt with harshly; the Katanga secessionist movement was suppressed with military threats.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Mobutu launched an "African authenticity" campaign, changing place names that recalled the country's colonial past. The capital, Leopoldville, for example, became KINSHASA; Elizabethville was renamed LUBUMBASHI; Stanleyville became KISANGANI. In 1971 the country itself was renamed ZAÏRE by Mobutu's decree. Mobutu also forced people to abandon their Christian names in favor of more African-sounding names.

Mobutu began amassing incredible personal wealth during this period. The country, in general, is rich in diamonds, copper, and zinc. In particular, the soil in Katanga Province—renamed Shaba Province—is especially rich in valuable minerals. Mobutu secured the mines in the name of the Zairian people and then sold MINING rights to DeBeers and other large international companies. Rather than use the proceeds for the DEVELOPMENT of the country, he used it to enlarge his personal bank account as well as the accounts of those who remained close to him. Meanwhile, Zaïre remained a country with one of the lowest quality-of-life ratings in the world.

By 1975 the political situation in Shaba province and neighboring Angola had become critical. Soviet forces airlifted Cuban soldiers to Angola from ETHIOPIA, and secessionist Katangan rebels were amassing along the Angolan border, poised to overthrow Mobutu. With Cuban assistance the Katanga rebels attacked Mobutu's forces, only to be repelled by a contingent of 1,500 specialized troops from MOROCCO who had been airlifted in by France. Similarly aligned international action helped Mobutu survive another attack in 1977–79. U.S. and French intervention, like UN intervention in 1960, most likely had as much to do with the fear of Soviet influence as with a genuine concern for Zaïre. It is unlikely that Mobutu could have remained in power for as long as he did without the significant military assistance he received from the United States. As recently as 1990, President George H. W. Bush (1924–   ) negotiated favorable terms of trade to support Mobutu Yet with the demise of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s the United States began changing its global spending policies, particularly in Africa. When the United States began promoting DEMOCRATIZATION in an effort to bring about economic prosperity and peace, Mobutu lost his most important ally.

Crisis in Rwanda and the Fall of Mobutu   In 1994 conflict erupted between HUTU and TUTSI in Rwanda, ultimately exacerbating the ethnic and regional tensions in Mobutu's Zaïre. In the wake of the Rwandan genocide in 1994, waves of ethnic Hutu flooded Zaïre. Mobutu, in a bid to shore up his own power, effectively gave them sanctuary. The U.S., for its part, had since given up on Mobutu and was now interested in fostering the rise of any leadership that could stabilize the region. France supported both Mobutu's flagging regime and Rwanda's ousted Hutu regime on the grounds that the Hutu are Rwanda's majority ethnic group.

By mid-1996 the Rwandan state, led by President Paul KAGAME (1957–), an ethnic Tutsi, supported an uprising of Banyamulenge, ethnic Tutsi of Rwandan origin who were living in the Congo. Also supporting the Tutsi agenda were Uganda president, Yoweri MUSEVENI (1944–), an ethnic Bahima closely related to the Tutsi, and Burundi president Pierre BUYOYA (1949–), also an ethnic Tutsi. Thus, an alliance was formed between Banyamulenge, Tutsi in Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi, and former Lumumbaists, who still opposed Mobutu for his part in Lumumba's murder back in 1961. In the Congo this anti-Mobutu Tutsi alliance backed rising rebel leader Laurent KABILA (c. 1939–2001), who also sought Mobutu's ouster.

In March 1997 Kabila and his forces took control of Zaïre's eastern city of Kisangani. His troops then steadily worked their way westward, eventually threatening the capital at Kinshasa. After a series of U.S.- and UN-brokered peace talks failed, in May, Kabila finally removed

the ailing Mobutu from power. Suffering from prostate cancer, Mobutu died in exile on September 7, 1997.

To symbolize the passing of the Mobutu regime, Kabila quickly renamed the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo. After Mobutu's demise, who Laurent Kabila was and how he assumed power seemed of less concern to the people of the DRC and the international community than the fact that he represented the possibility of a new beginning. Ultimately, however, Kabila proved in many ways to be as unsavory a character as Mobutu.

Kabila took control of the country's diamond mines, leaving agreements in place to keep MULTINATIONAL COR-PORATIONS appeased. Since wealthy corporations in ZIM-BABWE, NAMIBIA, and Angola all had diamond interests in the Congo, as soon as Kabila took control the governments of these countries, too, turned to support him. Because of his ethnic connections and the international community's desire for regional peace, Kabila received support and praise from Uganda, Rwanda, the United States, Zimbabwe, NAMIBIA, and Angola. Also, when Denis SASSOU-NGUESSO (1943–   ) took control of the Republic of the CONGO in 1997, Kabila had yet another regional supporter. Coincidentally, Sassou-Nguesso had substantial diamond interests in the DRC. These backers were necessary for Kabila to defend himself from the growing number of Congolese rebel groups that sought his removal.

Regional Civil War   Over the next year relations between Kabila and his Rwandan, Ugandan, and Republic of the Congo backers became strained. In July 1998 Kabila ordered all foreign armies out of the country. Rwanda and Uganda refused, and the DRC slipped into civil war. Rwanda began backing the Rally for Congolese Democracy, a rebel faction, and Uganda began backing the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC), another rebel faction. Together these groups established control of one-third of the country. The conflict escalated as troops from Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, and CHAD all continued to support Kabila against the foreign-backed rebel organizations.

In July 1999 the various warring factions reached a peace agreement in LUSAKA, Zambia. Provisions of the agreement, called the Lusaka Accords, included a cease-fire, the withdrawal of foreign troops, a dialogue among the different Congolese factions, a transitional government, and the deployment of a UN peacekeeping force until there could be elections.

The Lusaka Accords were already failing when in June 2000 Rwandan and Ugandan troops launched into a bloody battle. The location of the conflict, Kisangani, suggests that the conflict revolved around control of diamond mines. More than a thousand Congolese civilians died in the crossfire. The Red Cross estimates that at least 2 million people have died either directly or indirectly from the civil war in the DCR.

Death of Laurent Kabila and the Rise of his Son
On January 17, 2001, Laurent Kabila was assassinated by one of his bodyguards. In the aftermath of his sudden demise, the military government quickly installed Laurent's 29-year-old son, Major General Joseph KABILA (1971–   ). The plan worked, insofar as it kept the country together. In an effort to win support for his regime abroad, Joseph Kabila went on state visits to countries as varied as LIBYA and the United States, where his advocacy of the Lusaka Accords won him favor. At home, however, gaining popular support in the toxic political climate he inherited proved more difficult. He nonetheless moved forward to consolidate power and start the inter-Congolese dialogue described in the Lusaka Accords. He also encouraged a small deployment UN peacekeepers.

In December 2002 SOUTH AFRICA brokered new negotiations, leading to a tenuous peace. Foreign troops officially began to leave the country, culminating with the exit of Ugandan troops in 2003. However, the exploitation of Congolese mineral wealth did not abate, nor did Kabila's use of that wealth to maintain his power base. It was agreed that Kabila would remain head of state until new elections could be held within 30 months. The planned interim government would include four vice presidents named from the government, the two primary rebel groups, and the political opposition. Since all the major political players signed the agreement, most international observers viewed this agreement as a landmark moment in Congolese history. Yet the complexity of the groups' inter-relationships is indisputably the hallmark of postcolonial history in Africa's largest country.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (Vols. I, II, III, IV), CONGO FREE STATE (Vol. IV); CUBA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); LEOPOLD II (Vol. IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNION MINIÈRE (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V), UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Congo, Republic of the (Congo-Brazzaville)
Country located in west-central Africa, north of the Congo River, and measuring approximately 131,900 square miles (341,600 sq km). The Republic of the Congo

has a short Atlantic Ocean coastline and borders GABON, CAMEROON, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and the Angolan enclave of CABINDA. Most of the inland comprises tropical rain forest drained by tributaries of the Congo River. Congo's capital is BRAZZAVILLE.

Congo at Independence Formerly a part of the colony of French Equatorial Africa, the Republic of the Congo gained its independence in 1960. At that time Congo's National Assembly elected the first president, a Roman Catholic priest named Fulbert Youlou (1917–1972). After three years, however, LABOR UNIONS and the other political parties combined to oust him. The Congolese military took charge of the country briefly and installed a civilian provisional government headed by Alphonese Massamba-Debat (c. 1921–1977). Although Massamba-Debat was elected president for a five-year term under the new 1963 constitution, he was ousted by another military COUP D'ÉTAT in 1968, led by Capitan Marien Ngouabi (1938–1977). Ngouabi assumed the presidency and proclaimed the People's Republic of the Congo, a one-party state. Ngouabi held the country together until 1977, when he was assassinated. A Marxist military figure, Colonel Denis SASSOU-NGUESSO (1943–   ), became president in 1979.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union the Congo gradually shifted its economic and political views so that, by 1992, it had become a multiparty democracy. In 1992 Sassou-Nguesso was defeated at the polls, and Pascal Lissouba (1931–   ), a university professor, was elected president. The contest between the two political rivals escalated into a violent conflict. By 1997 the democratic process had dissolved, the INFRASTRUCTURE in the southern part of the country was severely damaged, and the capital city of Brazzaville was all but destroyed. Ultimately, Sassou-Nguesso was able to declare himself president. His government decided upon the new constitution and the elections, but it met with fierce opposition. The dispute was briefly settled in 1999 through agreements with the representatives of the rebel groups, mediated by the president of Gabon, Omar BONGO (1935–   ). Fighting broke out again between the military and rebel groups in March of 2002, but the military quickly put down this latest flare-up. A cease-fire was signed in March of 2003.

Sassou-Nguesso was elected president in 2002 and began a seven-year term. Since that time civil war at home and in the neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo has exacerbated Congo's political and economic instability.

See also: CONGO (Vol. III); CONGO, REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. I. II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Congolese National Movement (Mouvement National Congolais, MNC) See CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. IV, V); LUMUMBA, PATRICE (Vols. IV, V).

conservation Sustainable use of NATURAL RESOURCES and the protection of WILDLIFE, plant species, soil, habitats, and WATER RESOURCES. African conservation is inevitably linked with the fates of the continent's unique wildlife populations. Indeed, to a great extent, it is the charismatic nature of Africa's "big five"—lions, leopards, rhinos, buffaloes, and elephants—that has drawn global attention to conservation issues on the continent. Ironically, much of this attention comes from outsiders, the very ones who, during the colonial period, severely diminished the populations of many of these animals through sport hunting.

In many parts of Africa conservation of wildlife and natural areas has been promoted primarily by designating large tracts of land as preserves or NATIONAL PARKS. Countries such as SOUTH AFRICA, BOTSWANA, NAMIBIA, KENYA, TANZANIA, and ZIMBABWE are notable in this regard, all of them having devoted many natural areas to conservation.

One of the main reasons that this has proved successful in these countries is that they have been able to capitalize on conservation by developing TOURISM. This has led to a substantial income from ecotourists who come to Africa to view wildlife in its natural environments. As a result, many African countries are actively seeking to increase their protected lands. South Africa, for example, which already has 21 national parks, has recently announced a goal of increasing the area of its protected lands from 5 to 8 percent and of protected marine coastline from 17 percent to 30 percent.

Governments are not the only parties actively involved in conservation efforts. Private individuals also have made a mark on conservation, especially in South Africa. Thousands of acres of former ranchland have been converted to private game parks with high-end lodges and resorts for ecotourists. These have transformed the big-game hunting industry at the same time that it has preserved large tracts of land from DEVELOPMENT.

International bodies are another factor. Especially effective in this are several conventions, as well as the establishment of endangered and threatened species lists. A worldwide ivory ban, for example, was implemented by the Convention on Trade and Endangered Species in

1990. This has decreased the market for internationally traded ivory, which previously had led to the slaughter of countless elephants. In another area the Producers Group for West and Central Africa, formed in 2002 by the World Wildlife Federation, has promoted sustainable use of timber resources. This effort, which has the support of many logging companies, has had some success in limiting illegal logging activities. Elsewhere the World Summit on Sustainable Development had a hand in setting goals for water conservation and sustainable use, while increasing the number of people with access to safe water.

MADAGASCAR received pledges of financial support from several international bodies, including the World Bank and the U.S. Agency for International Development, for its National Environmental Action Plan. This plan is intended to increase the amount of land under protection in an area that is renowned for its large number of endemic plant and animal species.

Wildlife conservation in southern Africa sometimes results in unusual roadside signs. This one in a national park in South Africa warns drivers of the possibility of "elephant crossing." © *Corel*

In addition to wildlife conservation, soil conservation is of vital importance in Africa, particularly because so many people in Africa depend, either partially or completely, on subsistence AGRICULTURE. Numerous international agencies and governmental bodies are currently conducting research in Africa on soil erosion and conservation. One result of this research has been strategies for protecting against both soil erosion and nutrient leaching. Among the most prominent strategies is agroforestry, which encourages farmers to intersperse trees and bushes with FOOD CROPS. This stabilizes the soil and replenishes it with nitrogen, making farmers' fields more productive.

Scientific research has also been useful in exploring the possibility of breeding and reintroducing endangered or threatened animals into the wild in order to increase their populations. South Africa has a research center that has begun to reintroduce wild dogs that have been raised in captivity. In addition, this research center raises cheetahs for use in zoos so that fewer cheetahs will be taken from the wild. Centers like these also provide educational services, something that has proved to be of great importance, especially with regard to wildlife conservation. When farmers and ranchers know the importance of preserving local wildlife they are more likely to call for endangered animals to be picked up rather than killing them on sight.

Despite the gains that have been made in many areas of natural resource conservation, there is still much work to be done with regard to conservation in Africa. Increasing populations have put added pressure on wildlife and habitats, as well as on water and soil resources. Land scarcity has resulted in squatters cutting down FORESTS for cultivation. Population increases have led rural people to cut down trees for use as cooking firewood. National and international agencies have started to address these issues, developing conservation strategies that are realistic for rural Africans. For example, fuel-efficient cook stoves have been introduced to reduce the amount of wood needed by each household. In addition, the planting of eucalyptus trees has been encouraged because these trees grow quickly and can be cut repeatedly for use as firewood.

Another area in need of continuous monitoring in Africa is poaching. Persistent POVERTY has resulted in the need for people to make a living however they can. Killing animals for meat—as well as for body parts that are in high demand on the international market—are commonplace for some Africans. Many governments have established anti-poaching squads whose job is to protect the wildlife from this danger.

Interfacing conservation efforts with the local population has become an essential part of protecting natural resources. Educational extension programs have emerged all over Africa to provide information on specific animal species and to enlist the help of local people in protecting

these animals. Strategies have been developed, for example, for keeping elephants out of maize fields as well as keeping cheetahs and lions away from cattle and other livestock. In this way, these programs are making strides toward the protection of important wildlife species.

See also: ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); WORLD BANK AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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constructive engagement   Controversial international diplomatic policy. A government that opts for constructive engagement eschews radical change in favor of maintaining the status quo and encouraging incremental change. The policy was a subject of debate in the 1980s, as countries—including Great Britain and the United States—chose a path of constructive engagement in diplomatic relations with the APARTHEID government of SOUTH AFRICA. Though the term is usually associated with the policy toward South Africa, debate continues today about this approach as Western countries maintain trading and diplomatic relations with other African states run by undemocratic or repressive governments. The heart of the debate is whether governments pursuing such a policy are genuinely supportive of DEMOCRATIZATION or whether it is an excuse for conducting "business as usual."

Early in the 1980s the United States began its constructive engagement policy under President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004). Rejecting more direct action against South Africa, Reagan and his administration claimed that the processes of free market capitalism would naturally create an environment in which South Africa's racist apartheid policies could no longer survive. Reagan's administration encouraged American companies operating in South Africa to serve as models for fair hiring and racial equality in the workplace. Reagan himself also made regular statements calling for democratic change in the country.

Those who supported constructive engagement conceded that certain features of the South African government were contrary to American values of democracy and equality. However, they also stated that non-confrontational diplomacy was the best way to effect peaceful, lasting change in South Africa. Critics of constructive engagement argued that a path of quiet diplomacy with the white-minority government was a tacit endorsement of apartheid.

One of the key testing grounds of the policy was in the area of arms sales. Throughout the 1970s, the South African government had been locked in armed struggles against insurgents at home. The country also supplied weapons and military expertise to its allies in such war-torn countries as MOZAMBIQUE, SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA), southern ANGOLA, and ZIMBABWE. Because of this, the United States had refrained from large-scale arms sales to South Africa. Indeed, in 1979 the United States had approved the sale of only $25,000 worth of military equipment to South Africa. Significant changes followed the constructive engagement policy, however. From 1981 to 1984 the U.S. government led by Ronald Reagan approved the sale of more than $28 billion dollars worth of military equipment to the country. Claiming that constructive engagement valued business profits over democracy and HUMAN RIGHTS, opponents labeled the American policy "morally suspect" and called for immediate trade sanctions and disinvestment from South Africa.

Ultimately, in 1986 the U.S. Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which approved limited sanctions on the sale of American arms and goods to South Africa. The sanctions, along with growing anti-apartheid sentiment worldwide, helped to finally bring about change in South Africa. In 1994, less than a decade after the end of American constructive engagement, South Africa held its first free and democratic elections.

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Conté, Lansana (1934–   ) *President of Guinea*
Born in Dubreka, GUINEA, Conté had an underprivileged upbringing and little formal education. A colonel in the military, he served as a bodyguard and close confidante of dictator Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) until Touré unexpectedly died during heart surgery in the United States. Conté and the military stepped in, suspending the national constitution, banning Touré's ruling political party, and establishing the Military Committee for National Recovery (Comité militaire de redressement national, CMRN) to guide the creation of a new government. Conté assumed the presidency.

The CMRN was greeted with enthusiasm by Guineans, who were relieved to be rid of Touré's oppressive leadership, and, initially, the CMRN took action to remove the lasting effects of Touré's rule. However, a split between Conté and his prime minister, Colonel Diarra Traoré (1936–1985), eventually led to an attempted COUP D'ÉTAT by Traoré in 1985. The attempted coup resulted in

violent reprisals against Traoré's Maninka-speaking people by Guineans who recalled the torments they suffered under Sékou Touré, also a Maninka speaker. Conté, a member of the smaller Susu population, approved of the reprisals, setting the stage for increased ethnic tensions, though the tensions were among those who spoke one or another of the Mande languages.

After the failed coup, Conté reorganized the government, establishing a Council of Ministers and giving civilians a majority presence in the government for the first time. However, he came under fire for attempting to strengthen his personal power by appointing a disproportionate number of his fellow Susu to government positions. In 1990 a new constitution was established, and in 1993 Conté was officially elected president as a member of the Party for Unity and Progress (PUP). He was re-elected in both 1998 and 2001. Conté and the PUP then amended the constitution to allow Conté to run again, drawing criticism and raising fears of another authoritarian regime.

In spite of the positive economic reforms and general movement toward continued DEMOCRATIZATION that he oversaw, Conté has yet to fully exploit the financial potential of his mineral-rich country. Unrest among the Maninka-speaking population, who claim unfair treatment under Conté's largely Susu government, has been increasing. Conté also faces problems arising from Guinea's huge numbers of incoming REFUGEES fleeing CIVIL WARS in neighboring LIBERIA and SIERRA LEONE. He has been accused of aiding Liberian rebels in their attempts to overthrow the government of Charles TAYLOR (1948–   ), since ousting him, it was hoped, would end the refugee crisis.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); SUSU (Vols. II, III).

corruption Illegal acts by officials that come at the expense of their constituency or the state. Most commonly, corruption takes the form of bribes, which necessarily undermine the fidelity of leadership. Corruption threatens democracy, stability, and economic DEVELOPMENT. Rooting out corruption is of particular concern in Africa. According to Transparency International, a leading non-government organization, eight of the world's most corrupt countries are African.

The African states of NIGERIA, ANGOLA, IVORY COAST, CAMEROON, UGANDA, KENYA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO have all suffered from rampant misdeeds of leadership. With regard to corruption, there is often a close relationship between large, rich businesses trying to cut through bureaucratic red tape and the officials who are in place to apply laws to preserve the public good. Industries that work with a country's NATURAL RESOURCES, particularly OIL, tend to generate high levels of corruption. The profit margins are high and state officials often centralize control of the resources in the name of the people.

In extreme cases, corruption transcends the national level and becomes a part of daily life. Even the most basic of official tasks—getting a driver's license or national identity card, going to the post office, purchasing property, even voting—can require an extra cash payment to the local bureaucrat in charge. As a consequence of corruption, people become disenfranchised, trust in leaders diminishes, and democratic rule is threatened. State employees, from ministers to clerks, find that their salaries often go unpaid for long periods of time. Corrupt officials say they are collecting "fees for services" not "bribes." Many international businesses cannot function in such a climate and invest elsewhere.

There is debate about the origin and nature of what Western observers call *corruption* in Africa. To some, it is a feature of traditional life that has not disappeared over time. To others, corruption was inherited from unethical European colonial regimes along with the poor state of economic affairs. Still others point to exploitative trading practices and corporate mismanagement to show that corruption in developed countries is even more deeply seated than in Africa.

Regardless of where corruption originates and the form it takes, legislative controls and an independent judiciary are the greatest protections against it. The former promotes transparency while the latter offers disincentives from running afoul of the law. An active and independent CIVIL SOCIETY also helps by monitoring public expenditures on private goods and private payments for public services.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V), COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV).

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Cotonou Largest city and principal port of the Republic of BENIN (formerly DAHOMEY), located between the Gulf of Guinea and Lake Nodoué. Cotonou fell under the rule of the kingdom of Dahomey in the 18th century. In 1851, the French were allowed to establish a trading post there, and 32 years later they occupied the city to prevent British domination of the area. They then used Cotonou as a base to expand their control in the region. The country gained independence in 1960. Although Porto Novo is the official national capital, many government offices are in Cotonou, and most international diplomats remain based there.

With a port facility that was improved to allow for sea-faring vessels in 1965, the city is the TRANSPORTATION hub of Benin. It also has a terminal for the Benin-Niger Railway, and an international airport. Various CASH CROPS and commodities such as groundnuts (peanuts), palm products, coffee, cacao, and cotton, along with petroleum products, bauxite, and iron, all make their way through the city. Export goods are shipped out of the city's port or transported to the interior by rail and then by road until they reach the navigable portion of the Niger River, which is located to the northeast. There is also a small manufacturing sector in Cotonou that produces motor vehicles and bicycles, textiles, cement, beer, and timber products.

While the city's main importance is as a transportation and communications center, Cotonou also houses the National University of Benin (founded in 1970) and several research institutes for AGRICULTURE, geology, and textiles. In 2000 Cotonou was the site of the signing of the Cotonou Agreement, which specified trade relations between the African, Caribbean, and Pacific states and the European Union. In 2003 the city's population was estimated at 734,600.

coup d'état   Sudden change in government, usually referring to the violent overthrow of an existing government by a small group. Literally meaning *a stroke of state* in French, the coup d'état has been a regular feature of African politics since the beginning of the independence period. Why they have become so common in Africa is a subject of debate, but the political, economic, and social conditions, as well as the often negative repercussions, are clear.

Usually carried out by factions within a country's military, coups have proven to be among the most common, and destructive, forms of regime transition in Africa. Between 1960 and 2004 there were 75 coups in Africa and close to 300 coup attempts. The COMOROS alone has been the site of 19 coups or coup attempts, more than any other country in Africa. Coups have superceded elections, revolution, and heredity as the primary means of governmental change. The causes of coups are manifold, but they are generally functions of both weak social organization and individual military ambition.

Throughout Africa, rivalries, often based on ethnic differences, lead to significant social, political, and economic disruption. These disuprtions often a lead to a coup d'état. Furthermore, coups d'états are more common than revolutions when military leaders make up a nation's elite class. Examples of coup engineers who came from a military elite include Major-General Ibrahim BABANGIDA (1941–) in NIGERIA, General Francois Bozize (1952–) in the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, and Denis SASSOU-NGUESSO (1943–) in the Republic of the CONGO. In contrast, the military in the Comoros is weak, and elites have hired

mercenaries, most notably Robert DENARD (1929–), to stage coups.

Commonly, once a military leader assumes power in a coup, the military itself becomes the surrogate for social or political institutions that may have been weak during the rule of corrupt or ineffective civilian leaders. Coup leaders of this ilk include Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003), in UGANDA, MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997), in former ZAÏRE, and MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–), in ETHIOPIA. In their cases, after the coup, coercion by the military became very common.

What follows a coup d'état is commonly problematic, for it is all too rare that military leaders also have political expertise. When General Robert GUÉÏ (1941–2002) took over the IVORY COAST in 2000, for instance, the economy came to a grinding halt. The regime of Mobutu Sese Seko was so corrupt that the word *kleptocracy,* meaning *rule by thieves*, was coined to describe it. A coup d'état is an opportunistic action, so if a post-coup leader does not make certain changes to the system, he can expect that it is just a matter of time before another coup is attempted. Coups in contemporary Africa are likely to diminish not because the opportunities are fewer but because alternate ways for elites to gain power, including electoral democracy, are becoming more viable.

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Cuba and Africa   When Fidel Castro (1926–) came to power in Cuba in 1959, his nation's diplomatic relations with the African continent consisted of only one diplomat in EGYPT. Beginning in the early 1960s, though, the interaction between Castro's Cuba and nations throughout Africa increased rapidly.

Although it is located a mere 90 miles (145 km) off the coast of Florida, the island nation of Cuba under Castro was politically aligned with the communist Soviet Union. After World War II (1939–45), communist regimes challenged democratic nations around the world, and Africa, with many of its newly independent countries in search of foreign support, became a hotly contested region in the political and ideological battles known as the Cold War.

Soon after Castro came to power, Cuba became involved in ALGERIA, supporting the socialist NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT as it fought for independence from French colonialism. Cuba's support for African INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS included not only overt and covert military operations, but also humanitarian aid. Non-military aid ranged from medical missions supplying desperately needed doctors to the training of teachers in the fight against illiteracy.

In 1965 Cuba's famed military leader Che Guevara (1928–1967) traveled with a contingent of Cuban officers to the Congo (now the Democratic Republic of the CONGO). There, they spent six months trying to train fighters for the "Simba Rebellion," a movement begun by members loyal to assassinated Congolese prime minister Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961). The movement sought to overthrow President Moïse TSHOMBE (1919–1969), whom the rebels considered a puppet for Western MINING interests. Within six months, however, Guevara became disillusioned by the lack of commitment exhibited by both the rebel soldiers and their leaders, which included future Congolese president Laurent KABILA (c. 1939–2001). Sensing that the rebellion was doomed to failure, Guevara fled east across the border to TANZANIA, then returned to Cuba.

With Cuba's involvement in the Congo, Castro soon became familiar with the battles that were being waged against the Portuguese colonial government in nearby ANGOLA. By 1966 Cuban soldiers were training and fighting side-by-side with the forces of the pro-communist POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA). The conflict in Angola pitted the MPLA against the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, FNLA) and the NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, UNITA), both of which were anti-communist.

Cuban aid in Angola continued through the 1970s and even increased in November 1975, when the MPLA declared Angolan independence from Portugal. Despite independence, Angola remained unstable, and the volatility of the political situation eventually drew the Soviet Union and the United States—enemy superpowers—into the fray. The Soviet Union began supporting the MPLA-Cuban faction with military advisors and weapons. The United States, for its part, helped the FNLA and UNITA, covertly funneling support through SOUTH AFRICA, which also sided with the two anti-communist factions.

Throughout the 1970s both the United States and the Soviet Union took an increasing interest in the outcome of the independence struggles in Angola. As each nation sent its cutting-edge military weaponry to be used in the conflict, the fighting became increasingly deadly. Because of this, some observers referred to Angola as a "Cold War killing field."

Cuban military action in Angola culminated in the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale (1988), a bloody conflict in the southeastern part of the country that led to the eventual withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola into the northern part of neighboring NAMIBIA.

As civil war raged in Angola, Cuba also became involved in the Ogaden War (1976–78) between ETHIOPIA and SOMALIA, in northeast Africa. Originally, Cuba (and the Soviet Union) supported the Somali government. However, when Somalia persisted in rejecting diplomatic means to ending the war, Cuba became more sympathetic with the Ethiopian side. By 1978 as many as 15,000 Cuban soldiers—some of whom had previously fought in Angola—were fighting alongside Ethiopian troops, quickly turning the tide in favor of Ethiopia. When Ethiopia and Somalia finally signed a peace agreement in 1988, the last of the Cuban troops, numbering about 3,000, withdrew from the region.

Since 1990, when Namibia, Angola's neighbor to the south, finally achieved independence, Cuba's involvement in Africa has been limited mostly to humanitarian aid, such as medical missions in South Africa.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Gleijeses, Piero, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Cummings-John, Constance (Constance Horton Cummings-John) (1918–2000) *Sierra Leonean educator and politician*

Cummings-John was born into the Krio (Creole) elite of FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE. Active politically from age 20, she held municipal office for much of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. As one of the country's leading educators, in 1952 she founded both a school for girls and the Sierra Leone Women's Movement (SLWM). Her administrative career culminated in 1966 with her election as mayor of Freetown, a first for an African woman.

When Sierra Leone gained its independence from Britain in 1961, Cummings-John was perhaps the leading female political figure in the SIERRA LEONE PEOPLE'S PARTY (SLPP). In 1962, however, a split within the SLPP cost her election to parliament. She then focused her efforts on her school, the Sierra Leone Women's Movement, and Freetown's municipal government.

While Cummings-John was in England in 1967, a military COUP D'ÉTAT led to the abolition of Freetown's city council. She remained abroad until 1976, at which time she returned to Sierra Leone to work for the women's movement. The political situation again deteri-

orated under the increasingly despotic government of President Siaka Stevens (1905– 1988), so Cummings-John returned to London, where she remained. In her 1995 autobiography, *Memoirs of a Krio Leader,* she re-

flected back on her career with pride in her accomplishments on behalf of EDUCATION and women.

See also: CUMMINGS-JOHN, CONSTANCE (Vol. IV).

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Dacko, David (1930–) *Two-time president of the Central African Republic*

Born in Bouchia in what was then the French colony of Oubangui-Chari, Dacko had familial ties to the leading figures in the colony's movement toward independence. He was the cousin of Barthélémy Boganda (d. 1959), the leader of the Movement for Social Development in Black Africa (Mouvement pour l'Evolution Sociale de l'Afrique Noire, MESAN) and the first president of the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (CAR) under its 1959 constitution. He was also the cousin of Jean-Bedel BOKASSA (1921–1996), who would later overthrow Dacko in a COUP D'ÉTAT.

In 1959 Boganda died in a plane crash, and, in 1960, the CAR became fully independent from the French Union with Dacko as president. Dacko revised the constitution, making himself the center of power and making MESAN the only legal political party. A new constitution was adopted in 1964 but did not last long, as Dacko was overthrown the following year by Bokassa, who was then the commander-in-chief of the military. Bokassa's brutal 13-year dictatorship came to an end when French paratroopers stormed the CAR's capital city of BANGUI in 1979, reinstating Dacko as president. In 1981 Dacko and his new party, the Central African Democratic Union, won the presidential elections. Later that year, however, Dacko was overthrown again, this time by General André Kolingba (1936–).

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); OUBANGUI-CHARI (Vol. IV).

Dahomey Former name of the Republic of BENIN during French colonial rule and for the first 15 years of independence. In 1975 Dahomey was renamed in honor of the great Edo kingdom of Benin, which once flourished in the region of present-day NIGERIA, to the east of the Republic of Benin.

See also: BENIN, KINGDOM OF (Vols. II, III, IV); DAHOMEY (Vols. III, IV).

Dakar Port city and capital of modern SENEGAL located on the Cap-Vert Peninsula, the westernmost point of the African continent. Strategically located between Europe and southern Africa—and also a logical launching point for ships sailing from Africa to the Americas—Dakar has a long history as an important commercial port. Because of this Dakar was constantly undergoing improvements to its INFRASTRUCTURE. By the time of Senegal's independence in 1960, the city was connected by rail, air, and road to most major cities in West Africa. Its status as a leading commercial port continues today, with trade items including groundnuts (peanuts), peanut oil, petroleum, and phosphates. More recently, tuna fishing has become important. Major industries in the city include the production of sugar, peanut oil, flour, beverages, textiles, soap, and fish.

International TOURISM has also become important. There are excellent African ART and anthropology museums in Dakar proper, and thousands of tourists also visit the Slave Museum on nearby Gorée Island, which was one of the most heavily trafficked West African ports during the time of the transatlantic slave trade.

See also: DAKAR (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GORÉE ISLAND (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. IV); WOLOF (Vols. II, IV).

Dangarembga, Tsitsi (1959–   ) *Zimbabwean author, filmmaker, and playwright*

Tsitsi Dangarembga was born in Mutoko, ZIMBABWE. She attended primary and secondary school in Zimbabwe before going on to study MEDICINE at Cambridge University, in England. Before completing her degree in 1980, she returned home. She then attended the University of Zimbabwe, where she received a degree in psychology. While at the university she wrote plays and participated in the production of two of them. In 1983 she became an active member of a theater group known as Zambuko, which performed some of her plays.

Dangarembga is best known for her first novel, *Nervous Conditions* (1988), which dealt with the life of a young African woman living in colonial RHODESIA during the 1960s. It was the first novel to be published in English by a black Zimbabwean woman. Now translated into a number of languages, the novel won the 1989 Commonwealth Writers Prize in the Africa section. Later, in 1992, Dangarembga wrote the story for *Neria*, which was adapted into the highest-grossing film in Zimbabwean history. Produced by Zimbabwe's Media for Development Trust, *Neria* deals with a woman's fight for her rights and property.

> **The well-known Zimbabwean musician Oliver Mtukudzi (1952–   ) recorded the soundtrack for *Neria* and also played the role of Neria's brother in the film. Mtukudzi won the 1992 Best Soundtrack award from M-Net, a popular South African satellite network.**

In 1996 Dangarembga directed *Everyone's Child,* which deals with the issue of HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA. The film, which is the first feature to be directed by a black Zimbabwean woman, has garnered praise at film festivals worldwide.

See also: CINEMA (Vols. IV, V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Dar es Salaam (Dar al-Salam) Port, acting capital, and largest city of TANZANIA. The city's name means "haven of peace" in Arabic. After the German East Africa Company set up a trading center at the port's location in 1888, Dar es Salaam became the capital of German East Africa (1891–1916). The city later served as the capital of Tanganyika (1961–1964) and the capital of TANZANIA, the nation created when Tanganyika and ZANZIBAR united in 1964. In 1974 the government of Tanzania decided to relocate its capital to DODOMA because of its more central location. Relocation planning began in earnest in the early 1980s, and it was supposed to be completed by 1990. The executive branch of the government, however, remains in Dar es Salaam, though the National Assembly now meets in Dodoma.

Improvements to the INFRASTRUCTURE, completed by the British in the years after 1916, put Dar es Salaam on its path to becoming a major trade and commercial center. The railroad, which the Germans started building in 1905, linked the port with the interior. Further improvements have been made to the rail system since independence in 1961, which have enhanced Dar es Salaam's capacity as a port. As a result Dar es Salaam is now connected to Lake Tanganyika, Lake VICTORIA, ZAMBIA, and to a tributary of the Congo River, which allows shipments to travel to and from many places in eastern Africa. Equally important was the construction of the Tanzam Railway, built with the assistance of the Chinese People's Republic between 1970 and 1976. Its completion allowed Zambia to ship its copper through Tanzania, bypassing port facilities in SOUTH AFRICA with its much-hated system of APARTHEID.

In addition to copper, the major EXPORTS include coffee, sisal, cotton, and other CASH CROPS. Major industries that have developed in the city to take advantage of its commercial and TRANSPORTATION facilities are food products, textiles, clothing, shoes, OIL, cigarettes, and metal products.

> **Dar es Salaam is home to one of the most important discoveries of modern archaeology. On July 17, 1959, archaeologist Mary LEAKEY (1913–1996) found an *Australopithecus boisei* cranium in the Olduvai Gorge, in the Serengeti Plains of northern TANZANIA. Named for its massive teeth, "Nutcracker Man," which dates from 2.3 to 1.4 million years ago, is now housed in Dar es Salaam's National Museum.**

In 1964 Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), who had been premier of independent Tanganyika, became the first president of Tanzania. He moved the country in the direction of African socialism, which in Tanzania was known as UJAMAA. During this period the focus of government policy was on the rural areas—where the vast majority of Tanzanians lived—which caused the urban infrastructure to suffer from neglect. At the same time, the government's emphasis on greater social equity led to a major downturn in the economy, putting great pressure on Dar es Salaam. As the economy began to recover in the 1990s, the city underwent a period of growth. As a result roads were improved and the service industry was expanded.

Today Dar es Salaam features many modern buildings that contribute to the mix of Swahili, German, Asian, and British ARCHITECTURE in the urban landscape. There is a major medical institution as well as several other educational facilities, including the University of Dar es Salaam (founded in 1961), a national museum, and nearby botanical gardens. By 2000 the population of Dar es Salaam was hovering near 2 million.

See also: DAR ES SALAAM (Vols. III, IV); GERMAN EAST AFRICA (Vol. IV); OLDUVAI GORGE (Vol. I); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV); TANGANYIKA (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Darfur Region in western Republic of the SUDAN. Bordered by the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC and CHAD, Darfur is mostly dry plateaus, with mountains rising in the central region. It covers about 75,900 square miles (196,555 sq km) and is home to almost 6,000,000 people, who are largely divided between African agriculturalists and nomadic Arab pastoralists.

In the spring of 2003 a revolt broke out in western Sudan in the wake of a final resolution to the civil war in the southern Sudan. That conflict, during the 1990s, had cost almost 2 million lives, and its temporary resolution required the peace-making efforts of many nations. The rebellion in Darfur was spearheaded by the Sudanese Liberation Army, a mostly Christian group. Their grievances were in part the result of the way in which the central government, focused for so long on the war in the south, had ignored the problems of the drought-stricken western part of the country. But it was also an outgrowth of many Darfurians' resentment of the way in which the central Sudanese government consistently favored the Muslim Arab population when it came to carrying out public works projects and dispensing jobs. Demanding a new style of government that would be more inclusive of the Sudan's various religious and ethnic groups, the rebels carried out a series of daring raids that humiliated the government in KHARTOUM.

After a brief period of trying to ignore the rebellion, the government finally decided to take steps to put it down. Not trusting its own army, which contained a high percentage of soldiers from Darfur, the government turned to Arab tribal leaders to deal with the revolt. Using their own forces, called *janjaweed* by the Sudanese, these tribal leaders began, with government assistance, a campaign that rapidly turned into bandit-style raids, terror, and murder. Amid charges of "ethnic cleansing" and even genocide, thousands of Darfurians left their homes, often driven out by violent raids by the *janjaweed*. The displaced people ultimately made their way into hastily arranged refugee camps in Chad and other parts of Sudan. By the summer of 2004, between 50,000 and 80,000 people had died, and more than a million people were left homeless.

Although it took many months for the world to take notice, the depths of the humanitarian crisis eventually became clear. Thousands of Darfurians had been the victims of rape, pillage, and murder, and thousands more were homeless, weakened by disease, and on the verge of starvation. With the Sudanese government continuing to deny responsibility for the situation, international pressure mounted as the possibility of many more deaths became increasingly probable.

See also: ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. V); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); DARFUR (Vols. II, III, IV); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. V); REFUGEES (Vol. V).

debt, foreign Money owed as a result of loans from the governments of foreign countries or from private lending institutions based in foreign countries. Escalating 25-fold since independence, foreign debt levels in Africa are now well beyond the ability of many countries to repay them. According to the World Bank, as of 1998 25 of the 30 countries categorized as "severely indebted, low-income countries" were in sub-Saharan Africa. A major problem is that the value of goods and services produced by poor African countries rarely balances out the amount of debt they carry. For instance, in 1998 the Democratic Republic of the CONGO owed more than $15 billion to foreign investors. This figure was 40 percent greater than the value of goods and services produced by the country in the same year. High debt keeps nations from sustaining a healthy economy and makes economic DEVELOPMENT nearly impossible.

The southern African country of ZAMBIA is one of the world's poorest, as measured by the 2002 United Nations Human Development Index. Out of a total of 173 nations, Zambia ranked 153. Its per-capita foreign debt is approximately $1,000, while its per-capita income is $870.

Although rooted in colonialism, Africa's recent economic woes started at independence, in the 1960s. Most new African countries had limited capital and suffered from disadvantageous trade agreements, fragile political institutions, and limited industry. In order to develop everything from AGRICULTURE to industry to INFRASTRUCTURE, they needed capital—which could only come from foreign lenders. Originally their loans were borrowed from developed countries under reasonable terms. However, the general economic situation quickly grew worse, and various competing views emerged on to explain how de-

velopment economics led to the economic deterioration. One view, held by the World Bank, claimed that weak political institutions and rapidly growing populations led to economic instability. African states saw their EXPORTS deteriorate throughout the 1960s and 1970s. And without surging exports, a balance-of-payment crisis emerged and economies stagnated.

Another view argued that private markets were the *problem,* not the solution. Africa's poor infrastructure and unstable socio-political organization led to a dependence on wealthy countries. Thus, when there have been significant global economic disturbances—for instance, the OIL crises of 1973–74 and 1978–79 or the occasional collapse of commodity markets, such as coffee—vulnerable African economies were hit disproportionately hard.

Yet another view saw lending to African countries as an extension of neocolonialist policies, similar to the imperialist policies of the past. As the global system broke down into crisis, dependent African countries were forced to borrow more even as they produced less. Under this model, wealthy lender countries could thrive only if poor countries such as those in Africa were kept poor. In other words, willful *underdevelopment* was related to the expansion of wealth in rich countries. Whether or not this was the case, the debt grew worse, and, by 1971, sub-Saharan African countries owed $8.8 billion. By 1980 this figure had risen to $60.8 billion.

As the economic situation became worse, international lending policies began to change. Multilateral donors, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, insisted that poor countries enter into STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs. These were based on the principal that if poor countries could build economic infrastructures and create a more sensible monetary policy, they could attract investment from businesses in the world's private markets. This, in turn, would increase production of exports. However, in order for structural adjustment to work, it was necessary to balance capital accounts, deflate currencies, and change economic conditions. Of course these changes required investment in the institutions needed to carry them out, so new loan programs were added to structural adjustment programs. As these programs were put in place throughout the continent, debt levels surged once again, to $107 billion, in 1985, and $235 billion, in 1995.

The creditors' rationale was that structural adjustment lending was an investment that would lead to economic growth. If and when that growth happened, the debt would become a comparatively small part of the economy, making debt service manageable. Unfortunately, economies remained stagnant. Domestic investment capital shrank through the 1980s and much of the 1990s, with many countries suffering from a declining quality of life for the average citizen. Where there was growth, the impact was commonly felt by only a small, well-placed part of the population, thereby aggravating already significant divides be-

tween the rich and the poor. Without an industrial engine of growth or an augmented tax base, debt burdens increased beyond any capacity to manage them.

In the early 1990s attempts were made to relieve some countries of their debt burdens. Some donors sought to swap debt for assurances that the African countries would fully pay off existing debt. Countries with fragile ecosystems of great global importance, such as KENYA and MADAGASCAR, instituted programs that allowed them to swap debt for the preservation of NATURAL RESOURCES. Under these programs, international CONSERVATION agencies bought up debt in return for government promises of environmental protection. All of these efforts were minor in scale, however.

By 1996 the World Bank recognized that debts had reached staggering proportions and that existing debt-rescheduling mechanisms were insufficient. It therefore embarked on an ambitious debt reduction program called the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC). The HIPC was launched as a comprehensive effort to reduce debt in the world's poorest countries to manageable levels. To qualify, a country had to be eligible for assistance from World Bank and the International Monetary Fund's Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility. The World Bank did a "debt sustainability analysis" and then compared existing debt to current export levels. With a few exceptions, if debt was 150 percent of exports or lower, then it was considered sustainable, and the country did not qualify. Those countries that had higher debt levels could apply for a reduction. In order to do so the applicant country had to meet certain demands. In 1999 this program expanded dramatically, and, by 2002, 36 African countries had qualified for HIPC.

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Some critics have argued that the African debt was created through the erroneous policies of lenders. It should therefore be cancelled universally by these same lenders without any conditions or requirements. The Jubilee 2000, a global movement of CIVIL SOCIETY organizations set up in 1997 to campaign for debt relief, most broadly elaborates upon this idea. Rather than ensuring recipient-country transparency in fiscal policies, the movement's leaders argue that debt forgiveness should be accompanied by more transparent and innovative practices by lending agencies in order to avoid a repeat of the grave social and economic consequences felt under lending programs to date.

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Some countries, including UGANDA and BURKINA FASO, benefited greatly from the HIPC. Nonetheless, critics have assailed the program for failing to make a difference in the

African countries that qualified for debt reduction. Other critics contend that the program essentially created the same conditions as the failed structural adjustment programs of the 1980s, thereby increasing the debt burden rather than helping to alleviate it.

See also: ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V); FOREIGN INVESTMENT (Vol. V); INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. V).

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Déby, Idriss (1952–) *Military president of Chad*

A member of the Zaghawa people, Déby was born in the village of Fada in French Equatorial Africa, in the region that, in 1960, became independent CHAD. Déby entered the army, and, in 1982, he participated in a COUP D'ÉTAT that placed Hissène HABRÉ (1942–) in power and Déby at the head of the army. Déby gained popularity by repelling invading Libyan forces. Envious of Déby's successes, Habré sent him to France for military training and then named Déby's cousin, Hassan Djamous, to command the army.

> **Déby's skills in desert warfare earned him the nickname "cowboy of the desert" from French troops who were stationed in Chad.**

Déby returned to find Chadians chafing under Habré's regime. Named as co-conspirators in an attempted coup, Déby and Djamous escaped to the Republic of the SUDAN, where they rallied an army of mostly Zaghawa and Sudanese soldiers, forming the Patriotic Salvation Movement (Mouvement Patriotique du Salut, MPS). Receiving aid from France and LIBYA, in 1990 the MPS invaded Chad and conquered the capital of N´DJAMENA. Habré fled with a large portion of the country's treasury.

When he assumed the presidency, Déby moved toward DEMOCRATIZATION. He allowed for the establishment of political parties in 1991 and formed a commission on HUMAN RIGHTS to investigate violations perpetrated by Habré's administration. In 1996 a constitution was established, and, that same year, Déby and the MPS won Chad's first elections. He won a second term in 2001.

Déby has accumulated both praise and criticism as president. Though he has made efforts to incorporate opposition members into his government and has negotiated with rebel groups, Habré loyalists still raid the Lake Chad region, and the nation is showing a political polarization between the north and south of the country. Despite reforms enacted in 1991, Chad's military remains oversized, oppressive, and ethnically imbalanced, favoring Déby's Zaghawa over other groups.

> **The World Bank demanded that Chad use its oil profits only for non-military development purposes. However, Déby used $4 million from the initial payments to purchase weaponry, reasoning, "It is patently obvious that without security, there can be no development programs."**

Déby's main problem, however, is the Chadian economy, which has been one of the worst in Africa. In 2000 Déby signed a deal with the World Bank to fund an OIL pipeline from southern Chad to CAMEROON. The pipeline, which would exploit Chad's newly discovered oil supply and bring billions of dollars in revenue to the impoverished nation, is generally seen as the key to Chad's DEVELOPMENT and Déby's ultimate legacy.

See also: WORLD BANK AND AFRICA (Vol. V); ZAGHAWA (Vol. III).

de Klerk, F. W. (Frederik Willem) (1936–) *South African president from 1989 to 1994*

Very little in de Klerk's political career prior to 1989 gave indication that he would boldly initiate a significant reform of APARTHEID that ultimately culminated in its abolition. He and his politically prominent Afrikaner family were widely perceived as staunch supporters of the apartheid regime. Following a career in law, de Klerk formally entered politics, in 1972, as a member of Parliament for the ruling National Party. Six years later he became a cabinet minister holding several portfolios. De Klerk also served as the leader of the Transvaal wing of the National Party. After P. W. BOTHA (1916–) suffered a heart attack, de Klerk replaced him as head of the National Party in February 1989. Later that year he became president of SOUTH AFRICA.

In an unanticipated move, de Klerk began meaningful negotiations with imprisoned and exiled members of the anti-apartheid movement, most notably Nelson MANDELA (1918–). Then, on February 2, 1989, he opened Parliament by announcing the unbanning of black opposition political groups—such as the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS, and the South African Communist Party—and the release of

Although he hailed from a prominent conservative Afrikaner family, F. W. de Klerk (seen here, center, in 1994) helped reform South Africa's government so that the country's black majority could participate more fully in the political process. © *AP/Wide World Photos*

many political prisoners. He undertook this radical course of action despite opposition within his own party and with the understanding that these actions would eventually result in the end of both National Party political dominance and white-minority rule. Although negotiations with the ANC and other political parties toward a new power-sharing arrangement progressed fitfully over the next four years, these meetings succeeded in establishing a provisional constitution. They also laid the groundwork for South Africa's first fully democratic elections.

The National Party emerged from the historic 1994 elections as the second-largest party within the new Government of National Unity (GNU), and de Klerk occupied the position of second deputy president. To register his discontent with the ruling ANC government, however, in 1996 de Klerk withdrew his party from the GNU to assume the position of the official opposition. De Klerk stepped down as party leader the following year and quit political life.

In 1993 de Klerk and Mandela were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their extraordinary efforts to end more than 45 years of apartheid rule in a remarkably peaceful fashion.

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de Menezes, Fradique (1942–   ) *President of São Tomé and Príncipe*

De Menezes was born to a São Toméan mother and Portuguese father and grew up as a Portuguese citizen in a Portuguese colony. After receiving his education in Portugal, with further study in Belgium, de Menezes entered business in SÃO TOMÉ AND PRINCIPÉ and soon rose to prominence exporting cocoa and importing cement. In addition to making him wealthy, his business dealings made him a prominent figure in his own country as well as throughout the west-central African region, and his status helped him become his country's minister of foreign affairs (1986–87) and an ambassador in Europe.

In 2001 de Menezes ran for president as the candidate of the Party for Democratic Convergence-Group Reflection

(PDC-GR). In spite of his relative inexperience, he won the election. He achieved his victory in part because the incumbent party had instituted strict economic reforms. But his popularity was also due to his campaign promise to see that the potential wealth from recently discovered offshore OIL deposits would be fairly distributed among a populace that had been, up to that point, relatively poor.

Until 2002 the majority Liberation Movement of São Tomé and Príncipe-Social Democratic Party controlled the country's parliament, sharing power with the PDC-GR and other minority parties. In the 2002 parliamentary election, however, no party won a majority, and de Menezes committed himself to governing by consultation.

In July 2003 de Menezes was in NIGERIA when a small group from São Tomé's army took advantage of his absence to stage a bloodless COUP D'ÉTAT. The action, most likely motivated by the wealth that will flow into government coffers from oil, threw the political future of São Tomé and Príncipe into question.

democratization Process of making a political system democratic. At the end of the 20th century, most countries south of the Sahara Desert embarked on a political path to bring about popular rule with free MARKETS and economic growth. Democratization was sometimes an integral part of the reform efforts.

Democracy means "rule by the people." In ancient Greece, where democracy has its roots, the community, not the government or state, had the authority.

Democracy as an ideal of governance has enjoyed unparalleled success. The challenge has been how to make it work in societies with large, diverse populations and complex bureaucracies. Since it was impractical to expect that all citizens could participate in governing decisions at all times, the original Greek model of direct democracy was untenable under certain conditions. In response to this problem, the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE) spoke of the systemization of politics. From this grew the idea of a "representative" democracy, in which leaders are elected by the people to represent their view within a governing body. In the 2,300 years that have followed, statesmen have tried to figure out democratic systems that are direct enough to ensure that the voice of the people is heard but is sufficiently representative that the system continues to function.

In the 18th century, European and American democracies grew organically out of crumbling monarchal systems. Along with this form of democracy came the basic liberal notions of personal freedom and equality. Compromises between direct and representative democracy resulted in hybrids like the common parliament. Under such a democratic system representatives are elected, but constitutional and other important changes must be put to the people in the form of a popular vote, or referendum.

As these views were popularized in the 20th century, the challenge became figuring out how to institutionalize and translate democratic ideals. In the process, the modern concept of democracy came to include government transparency, accountability of leadership, the viability of a CIVIL SOCIETY, and the DEVELOPMENT of an economic middle class that could support democratic values.

At independence African countries had a choice between dictatorship and democracy, although the choice was not all that straightforward. The economic freedoms associated with democracy, it was thought, would lead to a widening of the gap between rich and poor, which, in Africa, was already large. Other critics of unbridled economic freedom warned about the domination of some groups in society over others and the inability of the postcolonial state to bring about development. As a result many African countries opted for "developmental dictatorships" or other systems that significantly limited popular participation in the political process.

Some countries that chose the other, democratic path at independence saw political instability that led to democratic failure. Most notably, the first republic in NIGERIA struggled from 1960 until 1966, at which point a military COUP D'ÉTAT ended the democratic experiment. In fact, there is only one African case of a continued success with democracy: BOTSWANA. When Botswana gained its independence from Great Britain on September 30, 1966, it was a single-party, authoritarian state. However, since it held its first multiparty elections in 1969, it has seen only a broadening and deepening of its democratic institutions. Botswana's success with democracy is generally attributed to two things. First, the Bechuanaland Democratic Party, which was born of an elite nationalist movement headed by Sir Seretse KHAMA (1921–1980), was forced early on to employ democratic practices in building ruling coalitions. This helped mend existing social and economic rifts while simultaneously minimizing government graft and CORRUPTION. Second, the various ethnic groups of Bechuanaland gained power early and created a society that tended toward decentralized leadership. By 1989 there were only five functioning democracies in Africa—Botswana, SENEGAL, MAURITIUS, The GAMBIA, and ZIMBABWE. However, not one of these is an example of a democracy that survived from the early 1960s.

African Democracy and the End of the Cold War
With the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1990–91,

autocratic African leaders such as MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–   ) of ETHIOPIA could no longer look to communist countries to prop up their regimes. And as the influence of communism subsided, the United States, too, began to withdraw its support from some of the African leaders it had backed during the height of the Cold War. Congolese strongman MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997) is one such example. As the 1990s unfolded, the United States came to offer support for democratic transitions rather than for democracy-minded dictators. Within a two-year period, 40 of the 47 countries in sub-Saharan Africa launched into ambitious democratic reform programs. There were immediate concerns about whether democracy could work in Africa. However, it soon became clear that there was significant awareness of, and support for, political reform that could give African countries a democratic indigenous political base.

The challenge that emerged was that a popular African political base did not always keep with the type of democracy that the West wanted. For example, in the late 1980s ALGERIA began to move away from a one-party authoritarian state based on socialist principles toward a more politically pluralistic society. This led, in 1989, to elections in which other parties were allowed to compete with the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (*Front de Libération Nationale,* FLN), which had been the sole legal political party until that point. The sitting FLN president, Chadli Bendjedid (1929–   ), won reelection, and the stage was set for elections for the National Assembly. In those elections, held in 1991, the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front won the first stage of a two-part election, at which point the army stepped in and suspended further voting. This step ushered in an era of violence that produced an estimated 100,000 deaths by the end of the decade. The present government of Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA (1937–   ), who was elected president with 74 percent of the vote in 1999, has stated its continuing commitment to further opening up the country's political processes and has scheduled new presidential elections for April 2004. The Islamic Salvation Front, however, remains outlawed and ineligible to participate in the electoral process.

Thus, such variables as the type of constitution, the relationship between different interest groups, and the challenges of development have combined to present powerful obstacles to democracy. As a result the United States and other donors have begun backing more simplified versions of democracy that focus on democratic procedures rather than democratic values. In other words, the United States might recognize a country as sufficiently democratic if it simply held free and fair elections in which multiple parties competed. In the case of UGANDA, even the idea of no parties was found acceptable. The hope is that a "procedural" democracy would be a good first step. Further, the elections themselves might serve as a deterrent to conflict, since it has been observed that

democracies rarely go to war with one another. According to the model of a procedural democracy, the freedom of the citizenry, the equality of the society, and the establishment of a civil society remain important but secondary.

Following the original round of elections, the champions of democratization in Africa quickly became focused on follow-up elections. The thinking was that if a country could repeat democratic elections, then it was deepening its democratic roots. Unfortunately, while most countries did in fact hold second elections, the quality of those elections was often questionable. Elected leaders found that, by manipulating the system, they could legitimize their rule at the ballot box and achieve solid control of the country while simultaneously evading real tests of legitimacy and escaping accountability to the people.

At the beginning of the new millennium countries such as Mauritius, Botswana, MALI, and GHANA stood as exceptions to the assertion that African democracy was thin in rewards for the people. In other countries, however, economic inequality has led to instability, and a lack of individual freedoms has detracted from economic growth. When economic development trumps all other factors in a democratic decision-making process, its failure invariably undermines the efficacy of rule by the people.

See also: POLITICAL SYSTEMS (Vol. V).

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Denard, Robert (1929–   ) *French mercenary*

Born in France in 1929, the young Denard served with the French navy in Indochina and with the French colonial police in MOROCCO. In 1961 he went to sub-Saharan Africa as a mercenary, seeing service in KATANGA during its war of secession at the onset of the CONGO CRISIS. After this he was "employed" in a number of African conflicts and coups, eventually gaining renown as one of the soldiers of fortune known as *les affreux* (the terrible ones) in the Congo of the mid- to late 1960s.

Denard reached the pinnacle of his notoriety in 1978, when he led a force of approximately 50 other mercenaries in an invasion of the COMOROS. Arresting President Alih Solih (1937–1978), Denard and his forces seized power and installed Ahmed Abdallah (1918–1989) as president. Solih died during the COUP D'ÉTAT, shot while supposedly attempting to escape from the mercenaries.

Following the coup Denard remained in Comoros, becoming head of the presidential security detail and assigning various posts to other mercenaries. He thwarted several attempted coups, until, in 1989, yet another coup toppled and killed Abdallah.

Fearing that Abdallah's ouster would lead to further instability in Comoros, French authorities sent a military force to restore order. Denard was then forced into exile in SOUTH AFRICA, where he remained until 1993. At that time he returned to France—in spite of the fact that the French authorities still wanted to seize him for his involvement in a coup in the West African nation of BENIN nearly 20 years earlier. Successfully arguing that his activities there were, in effect, sponsored by various agencies of the French government, Denard was given a suspended sentence and set free.

In 1995 Denard led yet another coup in the Comoros, though the action was reversed by French troops.

See also: ARMIES, COLONIAL (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Samantha Weinberg, *Last of the Pirates: The Search for Bob Denard* (New York: Pantheon, 1995).

development Improvement of the material well-being of a population along with the growth of political, social, and INFRASTRUCTURE capacity offered at the state level. Development is at once a reaction to POVERTY and the promotion of a belief that those countries lacking the basic structures, services, and quality of life of wealthy countries can and should move toward attaining those goals. Economic advancement and the material well-being of people is the central tenet of the concept of development. Implied is an improvement in political and social institutions to deliver such change. Development is a perpetual process in the sense that a country is not "developed" unless it intends to stagnate at its current level.

Socialist vs. Capitalist Development In the 1940s development was a marginal concept in colonial Africa, where the goal was economic stability. In the decades that followed, however, the thinking about development shifted, and governments began to consider ways in which new countries could achieve the goals of development: attaining electricity, running WATER, INFRASTRUCTURE, markets, and the like.

Modernization comes from the idea of "modernity" based on rational, scientific principles rather than RELIGION or mythology. In the 1960s emerging independent African nations were given a choice between achieving modernity through an economic model based on socialism, with an emphasis on equity in resource distribution, or on capitalism, with an emphasis on individual rewards for individual work. Some regimes, including those in TANZANIA, SOMALIA, GHANA, MALI, SENEGAL, ZAMBIA, and eventually MADAGASCAR and ZIMBABWE, chose the socialist path. Taking into consideration the longstanding communal structures already in place in African society, the leadership in these countries tried to adapt their economic realities to socialist theories. Eventually, however, African socialism proved largely unsuccessful. By the early 1980s those countries that had chosen African socialism were experiencing catastrophic economic collapses. In 1991 the fall of the former Soviet Union, which supported some of the socialist regimes, further contributed to the downfall of the African socialist experiment.

Elsewhere in Africa new nations chose to follow a model loosely based on Western Europe and North America. This model emphasized the development of a market economy and the establishment of democracy. It implies that the modernized countries—the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, in particular—have formed an economic model to which all other countries could aspire. According to this thinking, increased investment in developing countries will lead to increased incomes and, therefore, a tax base to draw from to finance infrastructure and institutions. Ideally, following this model, lifestyles and cultures can be transformed from the traditional to the modern.

Frameworks for assessing the path to modernization emerged in the 1960s. Notably, *evolutionary* and *functionalist* conceptions tried to make sense of development goals. Both theories required a certain amount of social change as well as economic and institutional change. Evolutionary theories, on one hand, considered that the fate of human evolution is predetermined, and humankind must move inexorably from a traditional lifestyle to a modern lifestyle. In so doing, humans will give up personal, emotional social structures in favor of neutral social structures guided by a rational drive to create more efficient product markets.

Functionalist theories, on the other hand, thought of human society as a biological organism, with different social institutions corresponding to different parts that make up a healthy organism. Each institution performs specific functions, including adaptation to the environment, goal attainment, integration, and latency (maintaining social and cultural values across generations). Society would then reduce the role of the family in such issues as reproduction, emotional support, and EDUCATION to allow the state to control these parts of life. In this way once society made the necessary investments in "human capital," economic development could take off.

Dependency Unfortunately for the developing countries of Africa, there never was "take-off." Neither developing countries nor their citizenry saw significant changes in either the quality of life or economic improvement in the 1960s and 1970s. In the backlash that followed, first in Latin America and then in Africa, leaders and scholars

began considering that the investment that comes from modernization keeps poor countries dependent on the graces and production of wealthy countries. The scathing *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1974), written by West Indian Africanist and scholar Walter RODNEY (1942–1980), is perhaps the most widely-read of such critiques.

Proponents of this "underdevelopment" view often come from a Marxist tradition, where class is the primary framework for explaining social relations. They argue that the relationship of the small core of wealthy, "developed" countries to the large periphery of poor countries is similar to the relationship of the small core of wealthy people to the large periphery of poor people found in most countries. In their model those who form the small, wealthy core in a poor country have more in common with the wealthy in a rich country than they have with others in their own country. For this reason, they argue, FOREIGN INVESTMENT is the wrong approach for Africa, since it benefits the wealthy few but does nothing for the poor majority.

ZAMBIA provides an interesting case study in this. The Zambian economy is dependent on copper MINING for the majority of its export earnings. In the 1960s Zambia was one of the world's largest sources of copper. Modernization, it was thought, would come rapidly through extracting this resource, selling it on the international market, and building domestic revenue. However, starting in the early 1970s the market began to change. OIL price increases damaged economies worldwide and copper prices began to collapse. As a result the economy contracted an average of 5 percent annually between 1974 and 1990. Dependency theorists would argue that if there were more of a focus on development as a state enterprise for the good of all, then regional trading would stimulate local markets, making the nation less dependent on developing a marginal commodity. As it was, the foreign investment in copper benefited only a small handful of investors in Zambia, creating low-paying, unskilled jobs, and detracting from domestic growth potential.

There were other reactions to the failures of modernization. Some countries continued down a capitalist path but with modifications. Following a liberal economic model, they encouraged investment, international business, and export-led growth. Yet at the same time they protected nascent domestic industries and pushed to substitute imported goods with domestic goods, creating new domestic markets. High tariffs and complex import procedures thus became commonplace in an effort to encourage the purchase of domestic goods.

For instance, in 1986 President Daniel arap MOI (1924–   ) of KENYA decided that his country should build its own make of car. Critics argued that Kenya did not have a large enough market to make car production profitable, but the project continued. While he lowered

tariffs in general, arap Moi kept import tariffs on foreign cars high to give the Nyayo Pioneer Car a chance to enter into production. The selective import tariff contradicted the economic liberalization called for by modernization, and, ultimately, the Nyayo project failed.

Structural Adjustment By 1982 the problems related to severing foreign investment and implementing import substitution were compounded by the already high debt that was owed to wealthy countries. It was proving impossible for African economies to grow autonomously apart from a rapidly growing world economic system. Most importantly, many argued, the reforms were breaking the fundamental rules of economics that maintained that markets, not states, are the primary engines for economic growth and change.

> The Bretton Woods Institutions are the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). They were set up in July 1944, when 43 countries met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. The institutions were designed to help rebuild the postwar economy and to promote international economic cooperation.

In the 1970s, shifts in the missions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund rapidly made them the world's largest and arguably most influential multilateral donors. In this context, a major break in development thinking came with the World Bank's publication of *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa—An Agenda for Action* (1982). The Berg Report, as it came to be known after its author Elliot Berg, highlighted the major problems plaguing the African economies: underdeveloped human resources, political fragility, climate and geography, rapid POPULATION GROWTH, the persistence of constraints such as malaria, and high transport costs. The best way to address these shortcomings, it was proposed, was through a comprehensive program of STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT.

The goals of structural adjustment included the basic tenets of modernization but brought in new safeguards and refinements. Specifically, they included removing restrictions to foreign investments, making exports more competitive, privatizing all state enterprises, deregulating sectors of the economy to enhance competition, and reducing LABOR protections.

Few countries in Africa signed on at first. However, with debt mounting and economies stalled, the Bretton Woods Institutions became increasingly unwilling to lend money outside of structural adjustment loans. African leaders saw few other options, and by the end of the decade nearly all of sub-Saharan Africa had entered into a

Structural Adjustment Program or Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility.

Structural Adjustment Programs increased the debt burden dramatically in most African countries, in many cases to more than 100 percent of total earnings. Yet few countries benefited. According to a study by the United Nations Children's Fund, one of many on the subject, economic growth actually slowed down under structural adjustment in the majority of the countries they looked at. In 11 of those countries exports increased, but not to a level that compensated for the economic loss to increased imports. In 13 countries, exports simply decreased.

Critics have argued that the World Bank misdiagnosed the problem as a lack of African integration into the world economy and its inability to attract investment. The real problem, they countered, was African nations' inability to recover from the economic impacts of the global oil crises of the 1970s and 1980s and the heavy debt burden that resulted. For its part, the World Bank and its supporters have argued that poor leadership, government CORRUPTION, and inept implementation of economic changes caused the failure of structural adjustment programs. Indeed, there is ample evidence that corruption in Africa has caused tremendous setbacks. According to Transparency International, a leading organization measuring government corruption, five of the 10 most corrupt countries in the world are in Africa, with NIGERIA frequently being identified as the most corrupt.

Poverty Reduction The 1990s brought about a change once again in the approach African countries took to development. Recognizing that development is about more than adjustment and fiscal management, the World Bank began promoting the empowerment of people—especially women and children—and the establishment of protective laws. To this end it set up a development framework focusing on good governance and a greater focus on education and healthcare. It also continued to extol the virtues of the regulatory and institutional fundamentals necessary for a market economy to flourish. Development efforts now pay more attention to public services and infrastructure objectives to ensure environmental and human sustainability. These new norms were codified in Poverty Reduction Facilities throughout the continent.

Development in Africa Today The World Bank's poverty reduction goals are consistent with other global development goals, including SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT and URBANIZATION. As defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development, sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." This can take many institutional forms and does not necessarily negate any of the ideas and approaches espoused by the World Bank. It does, however, bring environmental concerns to the forefront of the development agenda. That is because this view pre-sumes that environmental degradation and resource exploitation will necessarily undermine development efforts. If, for instance, a subsistence farmer in MADAGASCAR degrades the land under rice cultivation to such a degree that it is no longer usable for agricultural purposes, then it increases land pressures elsewhere while it drags down development potential.

Urbanization also plays a role in the trend toward sustainable development. Both theories and empirical evidence suggest that urban countries more readily take advantage of markets and services that drive development. BOTSWANA, for example, with more than 60 percent of its population being urban, has grown more rapidly than other African countries.

The greatest efforts to shift the approach to development at the dawn of a new century are summed up by the UN Millennium Development Goals. Supported by 150 countries, including the United States, these goals aim to develop human potential and not settling for mere economic development. They include: eradicating extreme poverty and hunger in the world, achieving universal education by 2015, improving gender equality and women's empowerment, reducing child mortality rates, improving maternal health care, halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and malaria, ensuring environmental integrity through sustainable development, and establishing a global partnership for development.

Unfortunately it appears that, with the exception of Kenya and, perhaps, a small handful of others, sub-Saharan African countries will not achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Major differences between rich and poor African countries quickly showed the program to be more of an opportunity for attractive rhetoric than for determined action.

In the rapidly shrinking modern world the failures of the past and the grim forecasts for future development in Africa are of concern to countries around the globe. Economic growth and poverty are inextricably linked. Where there is high poverty, there are structural impediments to development. In reverse, structural barriers such as poor economic governance, limits on health care and education, and limited market access increase poverty and hamper the potential for countries to meet the development goals. Many scholars argue that the greatest obstacle to economic development is not poverty but the absence of real individual rights throughout much of the continent. Their argument holds that where people living in poverty have basic civil and political rights, they have more opportunities for creating social and economic opportunities consistent with the Millennium Declaration.

Critics of the Millennium Declaration argue that its greater emphasis on community, or the creation of social capital, and on popular participation simply represents an effort to reduce wealthy countries' responsibility to con-

tribute economically to the reduction of poverty and the augmentation of development infrastructure. These critics cite the low contribution of Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries to overseas development aid. The United Nations has argued that with an average contribution of .7 of one percent of Gross National Product given in foreign aid to development, the world's poorest countries will have the investment necessary to move forward. Few OECD countries meet this threshold, with the United States ranking on the bottom of the list at .11 of one percent of Gross National Product given to foreign development aid. Instead, the United States argues, the principle of the Millennium Declaration focusing on trade instead of aid should be emphasized.

If the new turn in development cannot deliver as promised, then there is no doubt that another approach will be attempted. Yet the cost of failure will be high. With each passing year the infant mortality rate in AN-GOLA will rise above its current level of 139 deaths for every 1,000 births. The number of children under five who die in NIGER will rise above its current rate of 284 for every 1,000 children. The number of countries in Africa suffering from extreme failures in water resources will increase beyond the 27 now on the list. Most importantly, the opportunities individuals have to increase their economic well-being will continue to evaporate.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL-ISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); DEBT, FOREIGN (Vol. V); EUROPE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Dike, Kenneth O. (Kenneth Onwuke Dike) (1917–1983) *Nigerian historian and author*

A widely respected historian and academic administrator, Dike was a leader in many fields. As an educator, he taught at Nigeria's University College, in IBADAN, and served as its vice chancellor when it became the University of Ibadan. He also founded Nigeria's National Archives, serving as its director from 1951 to 1964, and was one of the key spokespersons for the secessionist republic of BIAFRA during its brief period of independence (1967–70).

It is as a Nigerian historian of NIGERIA, however, that Dike is best remembered. For many years the study of African history belonged to non-Africans, primarily to scholars in Europe and North America. Dike, however, helped revolutionize the study of Africa's past. He was educated in Nigeria as well as at Achimota College, in GHANA, and at Fourah Bay College, in SIERRA LEONE, before going on to earn his BS and PhD degrees in Great Britain. He then returned to Africa to teach and continue his research. Writing of African history from an African point of view, he helped transform HISTORICAL SCHOLAR-SHIP ON AFRICA. In works like *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830–1860* and *A Hundred Years of British Rule in Nigeria*, both of which appeared in the 1950s, he revealed, from the African point of view, the process by which indigenous states were transformed into colonial territories.

By the 1960s, as a noted scholar and university administrator, Dike had accumulated both status and power. But as ethnic tensions mounted between the IGBO-dominated eastern part of Nigeria and the YORUBA-dominated west, Dike—an Igbo man—found his position in a Western Nigerian environment to be untenable. No longer able to hold onto his posts at Ibadan or as director of the national archives, he returned to eastern Nigeria in 1967. There he helped establish a university at Port Harcourt and later became a roving ambassador, working to win support for the Biafran independence cause.

After the defeat of Biafra in 1970, Dike went into exile, teaching at Harvard University, in the United States, where he eventually became the first Mellon Professor of African History. He returned to Nigeria in 1978, becoming president of Anambra State University, not far from his birthplace in northeastern Nigeria. He died in 1983, at the age of 65.

See also: ACHIMOTA COLLEGE (Vol. IV); FOURAH BAY COLLEGE (Vol. IV); IBADAN, UNIVERSITY OF (Vol. V).

Further reading: E. J. Alagoa, ed., *Dike Remembered: African Reflections on History, Dike Memorial Lectures 1985–1995* (Port Harcourt, Nigeria: University of Port Harcourt Press for Historical Society of Nigeria, 1998).

Diop, Cheikh Anta (1923–1986) *Senegalese historian, physicist, and writer*

Born to a prominent Muslim family in Diourbel, SENEGAL, Diop was a precocious student, earning degrees in philosophy and mathematics by the time he was 23 years old. He continued his studies in France, at the University of Paris and the Sorbonne, taking classes in philosophy, chemistry, nuclear physics, and linguistics. He also became a political activist, founding two African student groups. Diop earned a doctor of letters degree in 1960, with a controversial dissertation that, in contrast to

the prevailing view, offered evidence showing that ancient Egyptian civilization was black, rather than Caucasoid.

In 1960 Diop returned to Senegal to direct the radio-carbon lab at the Fundamental Institute of Black Africa (IFAN), a leading West African research center located in DAKAR. The lab's radiocarbon dating of various archaeological artifacts from the African continent further solidified many of Diop's claims about the nature of the ancient African past. Diop also continued his political activism, founding an opposition party, the Bloc des Masses Senegalaises, in 1961. The government of Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001) arrested and then freed Diop without charging him. Considering Diop's party a threat to national order, Senghor declared the group illegal, and ordered it to disband. In 1963 Diop founded another opposition party, the National Front of Senegal, which Senghor's government also dissolved.

In 1976 Diop founded yet another political party, the National Democratic Rally, which was once again declared illegal by Senghor. Four years later Senghor retired from politics, and his successor, Abdou DIOUF (1935–   ), allowed opposition parties. Disillusioned by what he saw as a fraudulent democratic process, however, Diop refused to re-establish his party.

It was as an intellectual and writer, therefore, and not as a politician, that Diop achieved prominence. Throughout the 1960s Diop continued to extol African civilization, writing numerous academic papers and books that insisted on the importance of an image of African greatness in world history. When the first Black Arts Festival took place in Dakar under Senghor's sponsorship in 1966, Diop was honored, along with W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963), as one of the 20th century's most influential black writers.

In 1967 Diop published one of his most popular works, *Antériorité des civilisations nègres: mythe ou vérité historique* (published in English, in 1974, as *The African Origins of Civilization: Myth or Reality),* in which he made available to the general public the argument developed in his doctoral dissertation.

In light of Diop's thorough knowledge of African civilization, in 1970 the United Nations' cultural organization, UNESCO, asked him to help write their authoritative *General History of Africa.* In the decade that followed, he served as an expert spokesman on various international committees in Africa and around the world.

In 1981 Diop published the influential *Civilisation ou Barbarie* (translated in 1991 as *Civilization or Barbarism*),

culminating a lifetime of wide-ranging research. Following his death in 1986, the University of Senegal established University Cheikh Anta Diop to honor the man who had done so much to promote African culture and civilization.

See also: ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vol. V); DIOP, CHEIKH ANTA (Vol. IV); DUBOIS, W.E.B. (Vol. IV); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); *NÉGRITUDE* (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES (Vol. V); SCIENCE (Vol. V).

Diori, Hamani (1916–1989) *First president of Niger*

Hamani Diori was born outside NIAMEY, the capital of present-day NIGER, which at the time was part of French West Africa (L'Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF). He graduated from the prestigious École William Ponty (William Ponty School) in DAKAR, SENEGAL, before returning to Niger in 1936 to become a teacher. After World War II (1939–45) he became involved in nationalist politics and was closely associated with Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993) from the IVORY COAST, who sought an autonomous AOF within the French community rather than independence for the nations. However, that vision was not fulfilled, and by 1960 all eight colonies of the AOF had become independent nations.

Diori was Niger's leading political figure and became its first president at independence in 1960. During the early years of his government, Diori faced considerable political instability and survived an assassination attempt. But by the late 1960s he had shored up his political base and had also emerged on the continental stage as one of Africa's leading statesmen.

A strong national rival of Diori's was Djibo Bakary (1922–1998), who had served as prime minister of the pre-independence government. After Diori won the 1958 election and banned Bakary's Sawaba political party, Bakary went into exile.

Niger's economic problems, however, were beyond his government's ability to solve, for it was among Africa's poorest countries. The Sahelian drought of the early 1970s resulted in widespread FAMINE AND HUNGER and led to renewed political unrest. The army staged a successful COUP D'ÉTAT in 1974, and the new military leadership imprisoned Diori until 1980. He was then kept under house arrest until 1987.

See also: ÉCOLE WILLIAM PONTY (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Diouf, Abdou (1935–) *President of Senegal from 1981 to 2000*

Senegal's second president, Abdou Diouf was born in Louga, near DAKAR. He was raised and educated by his grandmother and aunt, in the former colonial capital of St. Louis. After attending Quranic and secular schools, he went to law school, first in Dakar and then in France. After returning to newly independent SENEGAL, in 1960 he began a career as a public administrator. At the age of 26 he became a regional governor and steadily climbed through a series of government positions until, in 1970, Senegal's long-time president, Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001), named him prime minister. Diouf served as prime minister for more than a decade, gradually assuming more and more of the duties of the aging president. In 1981 he was chosen by the retiring Senghor to succeed him as president.

A firm believer in self-determination, Diouf liberalized many of Senegal's laws, lifting restrictions on political parties and even repealing some travel and other restrictions on the country's citizens. He also attempted to maintain peaceful relations with neighboring countries.

In the mid-1980s, however, Diouf was confronted with a severe national crisis, brought on, in part, by an extended drought. As a result falling farm production and rising unemployment led to dismal economic conditions. Faced with increasing demands for governmental reform, he was frequently charged with allowing election irregularities that kept Senegal's leading political party, the Senegalese Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste, PS), in power. In 1990, in an attempt to retain control of the government for himself and his party, Diouf began a program of shrinking the civil service and broadening the base of his cabinet. The latter was accomplished by restoring the post of prime minister—a position he had eliminated in 1983 in order to strengthen his own position as head of state. He also appointed his leading critic, Abdoulaye WADE (1926–), to the post of minister of state. Diouf managed to be reelected several more times, but Wade finally defeated him in the elections of 2000. Many saw this event, which brought the 40-year dominance of the PS to an end, as a landmark victory for DEMOCRATIZATION in Africa.

disease in modern Africa From the 1960s to the present, disease and the treatment of disease in Africa have undergone radical changes. At the beginning of this period many African nations achieved independence from colonial rule, a shift that had a substantial impact on health care. Also, more recently, the international community has expanded its efforts to alleviate disease and human suffering in Africa. Perhaps most significant, however, has been the introduction and rapid spread of the HIV/AIDS virus, which has caused an increase in the spread of other diseases while also devastating public health care and slowing economic progress throughout the continent.

Impact of Decolonization on Health Care Beginning in the 1950s Africa's population began increasing rapidly. As the population grew, population density increased, resulting in overcrowding in both urban and rural settings. This overcrowding caused widespread sanitation problems and malnutrition that have increased the spread of communicable diseases in Africa.

The 1960s and 1970s were a time of great celebration as African nations fought for and gained their independence. However, as fledgling nations, the systems of production and commerce, governance, TRANSPORTATION and INFRASTRUCTURE, and social services had to be reorganized and managed with a new focus. As part of the decolonization process, African governments had to take over management of many Western-style hospitals and biomedical facilities that had come into existence under the colonial governments (though not generally to the advantage of the broader population). For many countries this adjustment period meant a decline in services that resulted in an increased burden of disease on the population.

By the 1970s and 1980s many international aid agencies and organizations began to focus their attention on alleviating human suffering in the developing world. Consequently, African countries received substantial financial and logistical support from the World Health Organization (WHO), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Red Cross, and the United Nations (UN), among others. These international bodies have set up programs such as the Measles Initiative, the Southern Africa Youth Initiative, and the Integrated Management of Childhood Illnesses. These initiatives, along with the UN declaration of the 1980s as the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade, greatly contributed to decreasing the spread of some diseases on the continent.

Current Challenges The diseases that have become the biggest public health problems today include malaria and diarrheal diseases, including cholera, dysentery, and typhoid. Respiratory infections, including tuberculosis, pneumonia, and bronchitis are also very common. The HIV/AIDS virus, which attacks victims' immune systems, will be a health care issue for decades to come, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.

A *vector* is an organism, usually a parasite or insect, that transmits a disease-causing agent, also known as a *pathogen.*

In Africa malaria is spread by the Anopheles mosquito and is endemic, or constantly present, in many places on the continent. People who live in endemic zones

build up a resistance to the disease after repeated exposure to the parasite. However, this means that malaria is a major cause of death for children under five years old, who have not yet built up this immunity.

The continuing spread of malaria, a longtime African public health problem, is made worse by people living in an ideal habitat for the Anopheles mosquito vector or by alterations in the landscape that create this habitat. As populations expand and land becomes scarce, humans increasingly come to inhabit these mosquito habitats. Moreover, irrigation schemes for AGRICULTURE actually create habitat for the mosquito vector, thereby contributing to the spread of the disease.

Numerous diarrheal diseases are contracted by drinking, cooking with, or washing in unsanitary WATER. Many people in Africa, in both rural and urban settings, do not have access to clean water. In undeveloped rural areas, people commonly use open, communal water sources that are easily contaminated when rain causes flooding. In urban areas, overpopulation has led to extensive slums and shantytowns that often do not have clean water or proper waste disposal. When water sources become contaminated, many people suffer from diarrhea, which, along with the dehydration that accompanies it, is a major cause of death for children in Africa. Diarrhea can ravage adult populations as well.

Respiratory infections are also a major cause of death in both children and adults in Africa. These infections spread easily in overpopulated areas. Tuberculosis, in particular, has spread to epidemic proportions since the early 1900s.

HIV/AIDS The Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) that causes AIDS was first recognized in Africa in the 1980s. Since then prevalence rates have reached unprecedented levels across southern Africa, especially in ZIMBABWE, BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, and SWAZILAND. The Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) has determined that Africa is the world region suffering the worst from this disease. In Africa, HIV/AIDS is spread predominantly through sexual contact, so it has been associated with other sexually transmitted diseases, such as gonorrhea and syphilis; it also has been identified as a complicating factor in the spread of non-sexually transmitted diseases, such as tuberculosis. The economic and social burdens of this disease are unprecedented, and many countries are now trying to manage health EDUCATION strategies to address them. Despite some positive trends, it is estimated that the worst effects of HIV/AIDS are still yet to come for the continent as a whole.

Common Diseases in Contemporary Africa There are numerous other diseases that negatively affect the health of African people and their livelihoods. Leishmaniasis is a disease that produces lesions and sores on the bodies and faces of humans. Since it is spread by sand flies that feed on the cave-dwelling hyrax, it is prevalent in areas where people seek shelter near caves. Intestinal worms of several different kinds infect children and adults and have serious consequences for nutrient uptake. Lassa fever is spread to humans by the multimammate rat, which lives in the thatched roofs of West African huts. Schistosomiasis was discovered in EGYPT in 1851, and is transmitted to humans from drinking or bathing water that has been inhabited by a snail that is infected with parasites called schistosomes. Similar to malaria, schistosomiasis is linked to the creation of vector habitats through agricultural irrigation.

Yellow fever, spread by the Aedes mosquito, which breeds in water containers, was once a rare disease but has become more common with URBANIZATION and the destruction of forest. Today, yellow fever epidemics regularly occur in the Republic of the SUDAN and ETHIOPIA, even though a vaccine is common and highly effective. Measles is still a major cause of morbidity and mortality for children in rural areas of Africa; however, an effective measles vaccine has reduced its threat to those who have access to health care. While rheumatic heart disease and lung cancer were not previously widespread public health concerns, they are becoming more common today. Cervical cancer and Burkitt's tumor, a form of lymphoma, have long been problems and remain widespread forms of cancer in Africa.

Winning the Battle Against Disease In the last several decades, health care in Africa has not been dominated entirely by expanding disease, and some very important advances have been made for disease eradication and control. For example, in the 1980s, river blindness (onchocerciasis) was brought under control using a two-pronged attack: distributing effective drugs to the masses and reducing the number of black flies, which is the vector species, by dumping insecticides into rivers where the black fly breeds. Although this practice has its own public health concerns, river blindness was eliminated in KENYA and Uganda and greatly reduced near KINSHASA, which is located on the Congo River, in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Meningitis has been brought under control through the use of antibiotics, although outbreaks still occur in impoverished areas where population densities are high. Another success story is the eradication of yaws—a disease that was found in humid coastal regions in West Africa. The eradication was largely attributed to the WHO- and UN-implemented campaign of the 1950s that distributed penicillin to infected people with yaws-related lesions and bone inflammation.

Beyond the direct focus on the treatment and control of diseases, there have been gains in the prevention of some of the more common diseases, as well. Despite the lack of clean water in rural areas and slums, public health campaigns to improve water quality for many citizens have made great strides. Governmental agencies and NON-

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS have worked together in this effort, as well as in the construction of latrines, which has reduced the prevalence of diarrheal diseases in some areas. Through ongoing modernization, attempts are being made to build better relationships between Africa's extensive network of traditional health care practitioners and biomedical practitioners in order to provide health care to more people.

See also: DISEASE IN ANCIENT AFRICA (Vol. I); DISEASE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN MEDIEVAL AFRICA (Vol. II); DISEASE IN PRECOLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. III); HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Djibouti Northeastern African country bordered by ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA, ERITREA, and the Gulf of Aden. Despite its small size (approximately 9,000 square miles [23,300 sq km]) and lack of NATURAL RESOURCES, the Republic of Djibouti is an important part of the Horn of Africa. Its capital, DJIBOUTI (CITY), functions as the main commercial transit center for Ethiopia because of its deepwater port facilities and modern INFRASTRUCTURE. In 2000 the country's population stood at approximately 454,000, two-thirds of whom resided in the city of Djibouti. The country claims sub-Saharan Africa's most urbanized population, with four-fifths of its inhabitants living in urban areas. Djibouti's population is made up primarily of Afar and Issa peoples, although others of Somali, Yemeni, and French origins are found there as well. The country has two official languages, French and Arabic, but Issa is the most widely spoken. As much as 94 percent of the population is Muslim.

Djibouti's Long Road to Independence From 1888 to 1977 Djibouti was either a colony or formal territory of France. In a 1967 referendum, a majority of the inhabitants of French Somaliland—as the country was

In 1967 the people of Djibouti (then called French Somaliland) voted on a referendum for independence from France. With the vote date approaching, writing on this wall exhorted the people to vote "no" on continued French control. © AP/Wide World Photos

known from 1888 to 1967—opted to remain a French territory, with most Afars choosing continued French status and most Issas in favor of severing ties with France. Also in 1967 the country's name was changed to the FRENCH TERRITORY OF THE AFARS AND ISSAS. Since that time a series of events occurring within and beyond Djibouti's borders have hindered its stability and prosperity.

The closure of the SUEZ CANAL from 1967 to 1975 devastated the territory's economy, since it relied heavily on its role as a trans-shipment center for the region's goods to the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea via the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. The civil war raging in neighboring Ethiopia during the late 1970s led to further economic decline, largely because of sabotage of the railroad from Djibouti to ADDIS ABABA. The REFUGEES who migrated from Ethiopia and Somalia during the 1980s and 1990s also eroded the ability of the Djibouti state to provide services for its inhabitants.

The territory gained its independence on June 27, 1977, assuming its new name, Djibouti. Hassan GOULED APTIDON (1916–   ), an Issa, became Djibouti's first president. In 1981 Gouled Aptidon transformed Djibouti into a one-party state, thereby consolidating control under the rule of his own political party, Popular Rally for Progress (Rassemblement Populaire pour le progrès, RPP). An Afar rebellion erupted in 1991, partly as a result of events occurring in Ethiopia and Somalia and partly because of the favoritism that the Issa-controlled government showed its Issa population. In 1999 Gouled Aptidon was succeeded as president by Ismail Omar GUELLEH (1947–   ), and a complete cease-fire between the government and Afar rebel groups was finally reached in 2000.

See also: AFAR (Vols. I, II, III); DJIBOUTI (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH SOMAILILAND (Vol. IV); RED SEA TRADE (Vol. II).

Djibouti (city)   Strategic port city in the Horn of Africa. Djibouti is the capital and only city of substantial size in the Republic of DJIBOUTI. It has a modern, deepwater harbor situated on the Gulf of Tadjoura, an inlet of the Gulf of Aden. Djibouti's economic importance derives from its strategic position between the Indian Ocean and the SUEZ CANAL. More precisely, it benefits from its role as a regional transit trade center, especially in linking ADDIS ABABA, the capital of ETHIOPIA, to the sea. The city is at the head of a railroad line to Addis Ababa and also hosts a French naval base.

Petroleum products, hides, and salt are traded through Djibouti but, other than trade, Djibouti's only industry of significance is the extraction of salt from the sea. At the beginning of the 21st century, more than 400,000 people lived in the capital.

See also: ADEN, GULF OF (Vol. II); DJIBOUTI (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); TRANSPORTATION (Vol. V).

Dodoma   City in central TANZANIA, located 300 miles (483 km) west of the Indian Ocean coast. In 1974 it was chosen to be the new federal capital of Tanzania, the nation created when the former Tanganyika was united with the island of ZANZIBAR. Today Dodoma is home to an estimated 190,000 people.

Dodoma was founded in 1907, during the German colonial period, as the administration was constructing the railroad from DAR ES SALAAM to Lake Tanganyika. The town served as the district and provincial headquarters of colonial Tanganyika under the British from 1914 until 1918, and then served the same purposes for independent Tanganyika. In 1974 the decision was made to move the capital from Dar es Salaam to more centrally located Dodoma. Although the surrounding area was dry and sparsely populated, the road and railroad connections to other parts of the country made Dodoma a good choice for the new capital.

Through the 1960s Dodoma was a small town, but once the National Assembly was relocated there in 1974, it began to grow rapidly. It has not yet become a true national capital city, however, because funds have not been available to complete many of the proposed administrative buildings. As a result many of Tanzania's government bodies have remained in Dar es Salaam. Today Dodoma serves as a marketplace for regional agricultural products, which include groundnuts (peanuts), coffee, tea, tobacco, maize, beans, rice, sorghum, and cattle. The limited industrial sector focuses on food processing and furniture making.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMAN EAST AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); TANGANYIKA (Vol. IV); TANGANYIKA, LAKE (Vols. I, II); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Doe, Samuel (Samuel K. Doe) (c. 1952–1990)
Liberian military dictator

Born outside of Liberia's long-ruling Americo-Liberian elite, Doe dropped out of high school, joining the army in 1969. He steadily rose through the noncommissioned ranks, eventually becoming a master sergeant in 1979. During the 1980s opposition to the administration of President William TOLBERT (1913–1980) and his True Whig party grew, culminating in widespread rioting in the wake of Tolbert's decision to radically raise the price of rice, a Liberian food staple. On April 12, 1980, Doe led a group of soldiers from the Liberian national guard in executing a violent COUP D'ÉTAT. In the coup, Tolbert was assassinated, and a "People's Redemption Council" dominated by military figures seized power.

For the next 10 years Doe ruled LIBERIA with an iron fist, despite promises to return the country to civilian rule. By 1989, with his regime assailed on all sides by charges of brutality and CORRUPTION and unable to deal

with increasing political and economic chaos, Doe faced rebellion from an armed force of the Patriotic Front of Liberia, led by Charles TAYLOR (1948–). Doe eventually was confronted by several rebel groups, all vying against his forces and each other. In the resulting battles and ethnic conflicts that these groups carried on over the next two years, tens of thousands of Liberians were killed, and nearly three-quarters of a million people fled the country. Eventually, in July 1990, Doe was captured and killed by a rebel force led by Prince Yomie Johnson (c. 1959–). Doe's death, however, did not lead to the restoration of peace or order in the country, which has been plagued with violence and instability through the beginning of the 21st century.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V).

dos Santos, José Eduardo (1942–) *President of Angola since 1979*

José Eduardo dos Santos was born on August 28, 1942, to a poor family in LUANDA, the capital of ANGOLA. In 1961 he joined the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola MPLA) in his desire to work toward Angola's independence from Portugal. Chosen by the MPLA to study in the Soviet Union, dos Santos was trained as an engineer with a focus on the OIL industry, which was developing into an important aspect of the Angolan national economy.

After returning to Angola, in 1970 dos Santos served successfully with the MPLA's military front in CABINDA, the country's oil rich northern province. When the MPLA declared independence from Portugal in 1975, dos Santos was made Angola's first prime minister. The new MPLA government was not universally recognized as Angola's legitimate government, however, and the country became mired in a civil war. Over the next two decades, MPLA forces fought against insurgents from the NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, UNITA) and, to a lesser extent, the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA.

In 1978 dos Santos was named minister of planning. The following year Angola's first president, Agostinho NETO (1922–1979), died, and dos Santos took control of the MPLA government. Once in control, he began gearing Angola's existing Marxist-Leninist political stance to one that was friendlier and more palatable to the non-communist West, whose support he would need in order to establish legitimacy. This pragmatic course of action led to closer relations with the United States, which finally recognized the MPLA government.

In the early 1990s the dos Santos government abandoned its Marxist-Leninist philosophy and ordered the withdrawal of Cuban troops, which had been operating in the country since the 1970s. This, however, did not stop UNITA's rebels, led by Jonas SAVIMBI (1934–2002), from continuing their insurrectionist campaign.

In 1991 dos Santos forged a peace agreement with UNITA. However, the following year, the MPLA defeated UNITA in national elections, and UNITA returned to waging its guerrilla war. Because of the nation's instability, elections planned for 1997 were postponed. When Savimbi died in 2002, UNITA finally ceased its armed rebellion, leaving dos Santos as Angola's president.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CUBA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Douala Principal port of CAMEROON, located at the mouth of the Wouri River on the Gulf of Guinea. Germany, which took control of the region in 1884, officially named the city Douala in 1907. It served as the colonial capital from 1901 until 1916. France gained control after World War I (1914–18), and Douala again served as the capital from 1940 until 1946.

Germany and France both developed the local INFRASTRUCTURE to facilitate the export of raw materials. Douala has a deepwater port, which is only 15 miles (24 km) from the sea, and railroads into the interior. These and the country's international airport have made Douala a major commercial center. The main manufactured goods are beer, textiles, palm oil, soap, processed foods, building materials, aluminum products, plastic products, glass, paper, and timber products. In addition, there are ship repair and railway manufacturing facilities. The deepwater port is responsible for most of the country's export and import trade, exporting mostly cocoa and coffee. In addition, a large portion of the trade traffic for CHAD passes through the port at Douala.

Aside from being the nation's main port and one of its principal commercial centers, Douala is the site of several EDUCATION and research institutes. It also has a museum and a handicraft center for Cameroonian ART. Although the climate is humid and hot, visitors are attracted to Douala by the vibrant nightlife and bustling city streets. The population was estimated at 1,500,000 in 2003.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vols. IV, V); DOUALA (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Dow, Unity (1959–) *Botswana's first female high court judge*

Born in Mochudi, in southern BOTSWANA, Unity Dow grew up in a village environment. After studying law, she became an activist and helped found the Metlhaetsile

Women's Information Center, an advocacy group that ran a legal-aid clinic for women. She also was a founder of the Women and Law in Southern Africa Research Project.

Unity Dow's novel, *Juggling Truths*, examines the impact of AIDS on the people of Botswana. She says, "I really could not have written a contemporary novel on Botswana without devoting a major part of it to AIDS. I can't imagine a five-minute conversation about anything not somehow veering towards AIDS. If I invite guests to dinner, I can expect at least one to cancel at short notice because of a funeral or illness to attend to."

In 1990 Dow challenged the constitutionality of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act of 1984, which denied women the possibility of passing their Botswana citizenship to their children if the father was not a citizen of Botswana. Dow had a vested interest in the challenge, since she herself was in such a situation. In 1992, after a long, protracted court case, the Botswana courts found in favor of Dow, saying that the law violated the provisions of the Botswana constitution. The case is celebrated in Botswana as a landmark for women's rights. In January 1998 Dow was appointed high court judge. She is also the author of three novels: *Far and Beyon'* (2000), *The Screaming of the Innocent* (2002), and *Juggling Truths* (2003).

See also: EMANG BASADI (Vol. V); HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

drought and desertification   The United Nations defines desertification as "land degradation in arid, semiarid, or dry sub-humid areas resulting from climatic conditions and human activities." Drought, on the other hand, is solely a natural climatic process that is defined by below-average rainfall for long periods of time. The two processes, however, are often related.

Numerous environmental changes are associated with desertification. Ecological diversity, a sign of a healthy environment, is lost when plant species cannot survive, a typical occurrence as conditions degrade. More importantly, human livelihoods are made more difficult in regions where surface WATER and ground water are depleted and where soil nutrients are eroded. This is critical as

Drought in Africa

Desert
Periodic crop failures
Crop failures rare

0   800 Miles
0   800 Kms
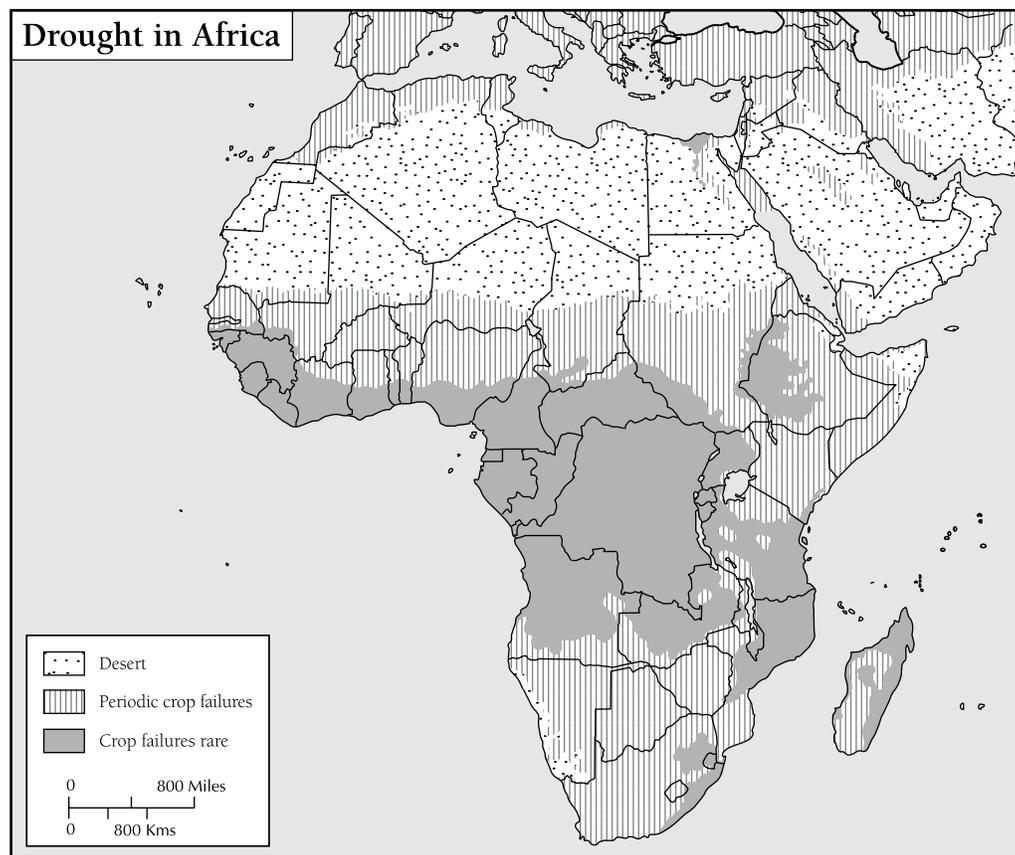
During the 1980s drought and famine were harsh realities for many Africans. These people from the Karal Region of Chad, photographed in 1984, traveled with all of their belongings in search of water. © *United Nations/J. Isaac*

Africa's urban population grows, which requires increased agricultural production in surrounding rural areas. In recent decades land degradation has been a major factor in the widespread FAMINE AND HUNGER that have swept Africa, and it has also caused massive population movements across the continent.

The human activities that are most commonly cited as contributing to desertification include overgrazing of livestock, overcultivation, high water use, and deforestation. These activities are more prevalent in areas of widespread POVERTY, as people attempt to make a living by whatever means possible, regardless of long-term environmental impact. Economic conditions, therefore, play a role in the overuse of NATURAL RESOURCES.

Human activities, however, provide only a partial explanation for desertification. Although the mechanisms involved are still being studied, climatic variations that lead to extended periods of below-average rainfall levels have also been considered causes of desertification. In the past, areas such as the Sahel, in sub-Saharan northern Africa, recovered more easily after periods of drought.

However, increasing populations have led to more intensive use of land and water resources, increasing the likelihood of degradation and desertification. Many people associate the expansion of the southern edge of the Sahara desert to the droughts of 1968–73 and 1983–85 in the Sahel. Although some observers point out that fluctuations in the border of the Sahara desert are part of a natural cycle, the rapid rate of recent desertification has alarmed the international community.

In 1996 the United Nations implemented the Convention to Combat Desertification, which 178 countries had ratified by 2002. Today many African nations have national action programs designed to address the problems of land degradation and desertification.

See also: ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND AFRICA (Vol. V); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); SAHARA DESERT (Vol. I, II); SAHEL (Vol. I); SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V).

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Durban Major port city on the Indian Ocean, located in eastern SOUTH AFRICA in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Durban is the world's second-fastest growing city, trailing only Mexico City. Its current population is estimated at 2,400,000.

Soon after the discovery of gold in the 1880s, Durban, which was the closest South African port to the booming Witwatersrand region, developed into one of sub-Saharan Africa's major port cities. Since then, it has continued to provide port services for Witwatersrand industries. Dealing in raw materials, industrial equipment, and capital goods, the main EXPORTS passing through it are minerals, coal, and grains. Sugar, too, has become a major economic activity, and Durban is presently considered the headquarters of South Africa's sugar industry.

During the 1930s and 1940s Durban further developed as a major industrial city, with INDUSTRIALIZATION progressing even more rapidly since the 1960s. Major industries now include OIL refining, machinery manufacturing, and railroad repairing, as well as soap, paint, and fertilizer production.

As Durban's economic growth attracted migrants from the surrounding rural areas, shantytowns developed around the city. In the 1960s the South African government responded by creating planned communities, known as townships, in areas surrounding the city. Under the APARTHEID system, most Africans were forced to live in these outlying townships. The Indian and Muslim communities also were forced out of more centrally located parts of the city, leaving the choicest neighborhoods to whites. Highly segregated by South Africa's apartheid laws

until the 1990s, Durban still struggles to integrate its three major ethnic groups—ZULUS, British settlers, and Indians, both Muslim and Hindu.

During the early 1970s Durban was the scene of important episodes in the struggle against apartheid. For example, between 1973 and 1976, Durban's African industrial workers organized a series of industry-paralyzing strikes. Ultimately, the workers gained the right to organize LABOR UNIONS that could bargain with employers on their behalf. In the 1980s the struggle became more political in nature, as pro-apartheid forces successfully drove wedges between the two major pro-African, anti-apartheid political groups, the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and the INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY. The strife and resulting violence intensified in late 1993 and early 1994, as the nation's first universal elections approached. Following the elections, however, the two parties were able reach a political truce.

Today Durban is a modern city with a tall skyline and a booming economy. Known as a vacation spot for both South Africans and foreign tourists, its major attractions are its plentiful parks, beaches, nightclubs, theaters, and resorts, and its proximity to exotic game reserves. In addition to the successful business, industrial, and TRANSPORTATION sectors, Durban also has several educational facilities including the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

See also: DURBAN (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); WITWATERSRAND (Vol. IV).

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E

East African Community (EAC) Regional intergovernmental organization to promote political, economic, and social cooperation among its three member states of KENYA, UGANDA, and TANZANIA, which share English and Swahili as major languages. Its headquarters are in Arusha, Tanzania.

The origins of the EAC lie with the East African Common Services Organization (EACSO), which the British government established in the 1950s to promote greater economic cooperation among its colonies in Kenya, Tanganyika (now Tanzania), and Uganda. This effort paralleled Britain's development of the Central African Federation in the same period. Among the common services were the railway system, the postal system, East African Airways, TELECOMMUNICATIONS systems, and a common currency. The EACSO also permitted the free movement of people, goods, and services across national borders.

The member states transformed the EACSO into the EAC in 1967 to more effectively promote the management of their common resources and to encourage closer economic and political integration. However, political and ideological differences arose among the three respective states leaders, Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), and Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003). By 1977 the differences caused the collapse of the EAC and ultimately the division of its assets and liabilities under the East African Mediation Agreement of 1984.

The underlying rationale of regional economic and political unity among the three states remained a sound one, however, and worldwide regional organizations were gaining in importance. By the 1990s a new generation of national leaders were in place in the three countries, and they initiated steps toward reviving the EAC. In 1993 they set up a Permanent Tripartite Commission to establish a regional common market and currency zone. Then, on November 30, 1999, the heads of the three states signed the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. A secretariat served as the EAC's executive organ, and an East African Legislative Assembly and East African Court of Justice were established.

With its three member states all bordering Lake VICTORIA, in 2001 the EAC established the Lake Victoria Development Program. Its goal is to promote the SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT of the lake and its adjacent land areas through a coordinated, regional approach to the CONSERVATION of its NATURAL RESOURCES and careful management of economic DEVELOPMENT activities in the area.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Ebola Viral hemorrhagic fever that infects human and non-human primates. Ebola is named after the river in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO where it was first recognized in 1976. From the time of its discovery until the beginning of 2000 sporadic outbreaks resulted in a total of 1,500 victims and 1,000 deaths. Since 2001 there have been five additional outbreaks in Congo and GABON.

Ebola is considered an extreme biohazard because there is no known cure or vaccine. It is highly contagious and the natural host is unknown. In addition, its fatality rate ranges from 50 percent to 90 percent, depending on the subspecies of the virus. Because so little is known about it, the only prevention strategies are early detection and the quarantining of infected people. In Africa, the virus commonly infects the caretakers of those who become ill. It also affects health-care workers who do not identify it early enough and fail to use protective barrier methods, such as masks and latex gloves.

Ebola is transmitted through contact with bodily fluids or organs. Symptoms, which appear within days, include the sudden onset of fever, body aches, headaches, and sore throat. Because these symptoms are common to many ailments, early detection is difficult. Vomiting and diarrhea follow, and rashes, red eyes, hiccups, and internal and external bleeding are observed in some victims.

There are very few laboratories in the world that can test blood for the Ebola virus. Therefore, detection is still a major concern in early identification of outbreaks. When an outbreak is reported, many national and international bodies respond by providing staff, doctors, and scientists. Research is ongoing to develop an understanding of Ebola's history and ecology.

See also: DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HEALTH AND HEALING IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

ecology and ecological change The African environment is ever-changing. As human beings and other life forms interact with the world around them, the land, sea, and air all change with them. The great diversity of Africa's ecosystems makes ecological shift all the more dynamic—and potentially perilous.

Ecology is the study of the interrelationships between plants and animals and their biological and physical environment. This broad concept includes atmospheric composition, soil composition, WATER, and all living things. Thus ecological change looks at the relationships between plants and animals in the face of ATMOSPHERIC CHANGE, land development, and water quality and quantity variations. Ecology is different from environment in that it looks at the interactions between humans and the entire ecosystem. In this sense, ecology is more a human construct to conceptualize nature than it is nature itself.

Africa is an ecologically diverse continent. In fact, five of the world's 25 biological "hotspots"—places where high levels of BIODIVERSITY are matched by significant threats from human interaction—are located in Africa. As a result of its diversity, African ecology is complex.

Ecologists study the interactions of species in areas that have their own unique characteristics, such as the grasslands of ZIMBABWE and the tropical rain FORESTS of GUINEA, CAMEROON, and the Republic of the CONGO. They think about where a particular rice variety might grow best or where it will cause irreparable damage to the ecosystem. They identify ways to improve NATIONAL PARKS and protected areas, which makes ecologists crucial in responsible land use planning. They consider, for example, how MAASAI livestock herders in TANZANIA impact the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. They examine how an increase in a particular bird species in SOUTH AFRICA might impact farming and vice versa, or they look at the impact of drought on flora and fauna, including the effects on human populations, in ERITREA.

Colonialism in Africa brought important historic considerations of ecological change. Beyond the apparent impact of colonial land policy on ecology, other factors—including declines in nutrition, constraints on animal husbandry, fluctuating cultural patterns, and increased POVERTY—combined to cause ecological imbalances that were beyond the concerns of colonial officials. Some of these ecological changes persist today and may well continue to challenge human development.

Awareness of the importance of ecological change in Africa has increased in recent years. While environmental CONSERVATION efforts once focused primarily on large mammals, today the interest is just as intense in protecting forests, rivers, grasslands, and deserts. The broader interactions between life forms and their environments have become a central component of both conservation and DEVELOPMENT policymaking.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV), PASTORALISM (Vol. IV).

Further reading: William Beinart William and Peter Coates, *Environment and History* (New York: Routledge, 1995); David Anderson and Richard Grove, eds. *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

economic assistance Sometimes referred to as DEVELOPMENT assistance or foreign aid. During the 1960s, as many African nations gained independence, the former colonial powers and other developed countries such as the United States began to offer economic aid. Communist countries, such as the former Soviet Union and China, also offered economic assistance. Often this type of aid was a way to maintain or gain influence over political affairs during the Cold War era. At other times this aid was the result of former colonizers recognizing the debilitating role they had played in the severe lack of development in many of the newly independent countries. As a result, they wanted to promote development and improve living conditions for people in Africa. Also, economic aid to Africa was—and still is—seen as a way to forge ties that will eventually lead to economic gain for donor countries. For example, many donor countries see

great potential in developing Africa as a market for their consumer products.

The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), which the U.S. Congress passed in 2000, is an example of economic assistance that does not rely on the distribution of money. According to the AGOA web site, "The Act offers tangible incentives for African countries to continue their efforts to open their economies and build free markets." The apparel provisions of the Act are an example of the incentives it provides. Eligible countries can export—free of import duties and quotas—unlimited amounts of manufactured apparel, as long as it is made of fabric, yarn, and thread produced in the United States. Critics believe, however, that programs like AGOA undercut the potential for manufacturing on the continent, making it more difficult to cultivate indigenous industrial production and maintaining Africa's dependence on imported goods.

Today, Africa receives money from many countries in the world. France, the United States, Germany, Japan, England, and the Netherlands are major providers of economic assistance. In 1994 alone France provided $3.1 billion in economic aid to countries south of the Sahara. This was three times the amount offered by the United States, which was the second-highest contributor of foreign aid to Africa. In addition to governmental funds, economic assistance is provided by NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

Economic assistance comes in many forms including loans that are often earmarked for specific activities and projects, food aid for famine victims, and donations that support development agencies and organizations in Africa. There are numerous development programs, such as U.S. Agency for International Development's Initiative to End Hunger in Africa, the African Education Initiative, and the Mother and Child HIV Prevention Initiative. Other examples of economic aid programs include the granting of preferential trade partnerships through instruments such as the LOMÉ CONVENTION, the construction of INFRASTRUCTURE to promote the marketing of goods and services, and EDUCATION programs designed to train public workers, including teachers and health-care workers.

Much of the economic aid that is given to African nations comes with conditions. For example, since the 1980s the WORLD BANK and the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND have required the implementation of belt-tightening STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs as a condition for receiving development loans. Also, advancing the DEMOCRATIZATION of political systems is often a stipulation for economic aid.

Over the past 50 years Africa has received hundreds of billions of dollars in aid. There have been many success stories, such as the family-planning programs that have reduced fertility rates in KENYA and the eradication of river blindness in West Africa. However, despite these and other successes, many critiques of the system of economic assistance say that development in Africa has not improved substantially. The causes of Africa's slow economic development are hotly debated. Some argue that donors have not enforced the conditions of democracy and transparency, which has led to CORRUPTION and the misuse of donor funds. Others argue that economic assistance programs have been donor-led, which creates resentment and resistance among Africans and results in the failure of many projects. Recently there has been a push to promote African-led development projects.

See also: CHINA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); EUROPE AND AFRICA (Vol. V); FAMINE AND HUNGER (Vol. V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

Regional community of West African countries seeking economic integration, political and social cooperation, self-reliance, and stability. The Economic Community of West African States, also known as ECOWAS, was established in 1975 to promote regional trade and economic DEVELOPMENT. Its members include the Republic of BENIN, BURKINA FASO, The Republic of CAPE VERDE, The GAMBIA, GHANA, GUINEA, GUINEA-BISSAU, IVORY COAST, LIBERIA, MALI, MAURITANIA, NIGER, NIGERIA, SENEGAL, SIERRA LEONE, and TOGO. Since it accounts for approximately half of West Africa's population and economic activity, Nigeria is the member with the most influence within ECOWAS.

The governing structure of ECOWAS includes several central bodies headed by The Conference of Heads of State, which meets annually and is made up of the presidents—or heads of state—of each of the member nations. The chairperson of ECOWAS is chosen from this commission, and the position is rotated among state leaders. It is, however, the Council of Ministers that actually runs the economic community. The council, which meets semi-annually, is made up of two representatives from each member country.

Within ECOWAS, there are also specialized commissions, each with its own specific agenda. These commissions work together toward eliminating trade barriers and encouraging travel rights among the community's citizens. For example, the Social Programs Commission recognizes the importance of social and cultural activities in promoting regionalism and supports organizations such as the West African Football Union and the West African Women's Association.

ECOWAS has made notable contributions to regional security and stability. It established the ECOWAS Monitoring Group, or ECOMOG, a body that focuses on peacekeeping and peace enforcement. ECOMOG peacekeeping forces are military units and technical experts from member states. In recent years ECOMOG troops have intervened in Ivory Coast, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, and Sierra Leone.

In July 2003 Human Rights Watch (HRW) expressed concern about the mixed history of ECOWAS peacekeeping operations. HRW recognized that ECOMOG has had notable success, but also expressed concerns regarding accusations of serious HUMAN RIGHTS abuses and an overall lack of accountability. These concerns came to the fore in 1999 when ECOMOG troops confronted an armed offensive by the REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT (RUF) in Sierra Leone. Four years later, when ECOMOG troops were sent to Liberia to stabilize the country after Charles TAYLOR (1948–) was forced to depart, HRW carefully watched ECOMOG activities to ensure that peacekeepers adhered to the human rights provisions of international law.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); RAWLINGS, JERRY (Vol. V).

Further reading: Adekeye Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).

economy   The African economy changed greatly under colonial rule. This transformation has accelerated over the decades since independence. Increasingly, the key features of the African economy have moved away from its historical subsistence basis centered on AGRICULTURE to an economy that is linked to the GLOBAL ECONOMY. More and more, the African FAMILY is unable to meet its economic needs by producing its own FOOD and using the surplus of its food production to obtain tools, cooking oil, salt, and other items in the local market. Instead, rural families must engage in producing CASH CROPS for consumption in distant locations or engage in some form of wage LABOR to generate the cash needed to purchase necessities that often include food. Families in the urban areas are almost wholly dependent on earning a cash income to meet their needs.

The African economy is still mainly producing raw materials for export in order to import manufactured goods. Across the continent, the MINING industry produces MINERALS AND METALS for export to go along with the cash crops and other commodities such as lumber. Since the 1960s, OIL has joined the list of export commodities. INDUSTRIALIZATION remains relatively limited except in a few countries such as SOUTH AFRICA and EGYPT. Likewise, a modern INFRASTRUCTURE, whether in terms of TRANSPORTATION, the electricity grid, or TELECOMMUNICATIONS also remains limited outside of a few more favored countries. There are some areas of the economy that are prospering. The continent's WILDLIFE and natural beauty have led to a steady growth in TOURISM from the West and also from countries such as Japan, as has the heritage dimension of African history, particularly for African-Americans. In addition to generating employment in the hotel and transport sectors, tourism has generated a growing market for African ART and crafts from tourists wishing to bring home remembrances of their trips.

At present, much of Africa is in dire economic straits. In some countries, this is the result of political upheavals that have led to numerous CIVIL WARS, while in other countries DROUGHT AND DESERTIFICATION and other ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES have had severe economic consequences. Mostly, though, the current economic problems have their origins in the disruption of the indigenous economy that began with the transatlantic slave trade and continued during the period of colonial rule. In recent decades various attempts at ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE by the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, the WORLD BANK, the United States and other western development agencies, and from CHINA and the SOVIET UNION sought to mitigate the continent's economic underdevelopment. By and large, however, solutions to the weaknesses of the African economy have eluded the development experts. The problems are deeply structural in nature and thus extremely difficult, both politically and technically, to address.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ECONOMY (Vols. I, II, III, IV); TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE (Vol. III).

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ECOWAS   See ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES.

education   In Africa, since the outmoded educational systems of the colonial era were overhauled in the 1960s,

students have faced numerous challenges in preparing themselves for a rapidly changing world. In 1961 the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization convened in ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA, to discuss the two most pressing issues facing African education: expansion of enrollment in public schools at all levels and the development of an educational system to meet the needs of African society. The following year another conference discussed the same issues in regards to higher education.

In the 1960s many African nations employed a European university model to cultivate an elite cadre of leaders for government, business, and various professions. Outside of these elite, university students, however, school enrollment remained very low. The convention at Addis Ababa proposed to increase the enrollment of elementary students to 100 percent with compulsory and free primary education. It also proposed to raise the enrollment of secondary students to 30 percent and elevate higher education enrollment to 20 percent. Despite claiming to invest between 25–35 percent of government expenditures on education, a majority of African states proved unable to reach the stated goals. This failure was blamed on an overall lack of economic resources, a dearth of qualified teachers, and, in many cases, on governmental instability and discontinuity.

By 1980 only about one-fourth of Africa's states had come close to achieving the goal of compulsory and free primary education. It is estimated that, on average, only about two-thirds of the school-age population was enrolled at the primary level. In recent decades African governments have continued to fund programs to improve enrollment levels—especially the enrollment of women in secondary and higher education—and to increase LITERACY at all levels.

Since independence, public schools have been the point for disseminating a country's official language, often the language of the former colonial power. However, because independence governments have been unable to fund adequately their education programs, the processes of language acquisition and literacy have been slow and uneven at best. At times the choice of a language of instruction in schools became a highly politicized issue. For example, in 1976 the APARTHEID government of SOUTH

In the 1960s the United Nations helped devise a plan to develop primary education in Africa. Here, in 1971, a trainee is working with young students at the UN-funded Primary Teacher Training Center in Bangui, Central African Republic. © *United Nations*

AFRICA insisted that AFRIKAANS be used for teaching key subjects to African high school students. In addition to being viewed as the language associated with the repressive government, Afrikaans was not familiar enough to many teachers and students to be readily used in their classrooms. The government's decision prompted student demonstrations that led to the SOWETO rebellion.

One of the greatest challenges facing African states in their quest to raise student enrollment is the under-representation of females. This is especially crucial regarding secondary education in Muslim communities, where girls are encouraged to marry early. It has been shown that investing in the education of females has a high social return. An educated woman who becomes a mother is more likely to have literate children and will be more likely to have the resources to pay for uniforms, books, and school fees. In addition, a literate woman has a better chance of contributing to a household income, thus reducing POVERTY.

Although education has remained the most powerful factor of upward social mobility, African teaching curriculums generally remain inadequate to satisfy the needs of present-day Africans. An education that provides the tools for obtaining a white-collar job is only a part of the picture. Not everyone can work for the government, so nations need vocational education to develop a more complete work force. Because most workers in African nations are farmers, it is also important to consider agricultural courses at all levels of education. Qualified workers in research and in regional agribusiness could help African nations to become more self-sufficient in food production.

Today the concerns of African educators also include developing the skills and knowledge needed for an individual to participate in a strong, civil, democratic society. However, this lofty goal is too often derailed by the lack of textbooks, educational materials, and facilities, as well as the lack of qualified and committed teachers.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); EDUCATION (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V).

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Egypt   African country about 386,700 square miles (1,001,600 sq km) in size, centered on the Nile River Valley in the northeastern part of the African continent. It shares borders with the modern-day states of LIBYA and the Republic of the SUDAN.

In 1923 Egypt became nominally independent from Britain. However, its former colonial ruler continued to exercise considerable control and maintained a military force in Egypt. The 1952 military coup that brought Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) to power also brought full independence. This independence was complete in 1956, when international pressure forced Britain to cede full control of the SUEZ CANAL to Egypt.

The United Arab Republic   In 1958, under Nasser, Egypt's name was changed to the United Arab Republic, abbreviated as UAR, when it united with neighboring Syria in an attempt to create a unified pan-Arab socialist state in the Middle East. Nasser had hoped that the unification of Egypt and Syria would attract other Arabic-speaking states to join this federation, with Nasser as the leader. Domestic issues however, kept Iraq from joining, and a COUP D'ÉTAT in Syria in 1961 led to the disintegration of the union after only three years. Although Nasser kept the UAR name for Egypt alone as a symbol of his initiative, the name was dropped after Nasser's death.

Popular enthusiasm for Arab unity reached its peak in 1963. Under Nasser Egypt became a great leader in the Arab world. During the 1960s, as a sign of Egypt's prominence, half of the liberation organizations in developing Arab countries, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, or PLO, had set up offices in CAIRO.

Arab Socialism   On the home front Nasser announced a social revolution. In addition to nationalizing heavy industry, in 1962 he nationalized the press, the CINEMA, THEATER, and BOOK PUBLISHING. Various national ministries oversaw industries as well as the public expression of ideas. Nasser even nationalized Cairo's al-Azhar University, an important center of Islamic thought. This act infuriated many Muslims, especially members of the Muslim Brotherhood. They resented and feared the growing secularization of the government, which was increasingly guided, they feared, by socialist principles rather than Islamic law.

Strong popular support, however, encouraged Nasser to maintain his socialist course. Under his policy of African Socialism, the state was to became the engine that would make Egypt prosperous. The other Arab states generally followed Nasser's example. As a result, by 1970 most Arabs lived under a form of socialism or totalitarian rule.

Conflict with Israel   The existence of the state of Israel, established in 1948, continued to cause unrest in the region. Already having been involved in two ARAB-ISRAELI WARS, one in 1948 and a second war in 1956, Israel was again under threat of attack from its Arab neighbors. In 1967 a third Arab-Israeli War commenced. Pressuring Israel, Nasser closed the Suez Canal to Israeli ships and expelled the UN peacekeeping force from the Gaza Strip. Egypt's navy blockaded the Gulf of Aqaba so that ships

could not reach Israel's Red Sea port of Eliat. Israel retaliated, destroying Egypt's idle air force on the first day of fighting. Israel then launched a surprise ground attack that lasted several days.

As a result of this conflict, which came to be known as the Six-Day War, Egypt lost the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula, where the country's richest OIL fields were located. Egyptians refused to accept Nasser's resignation, however, and he remained popular. Nevertheless, at this time, many Egyptians emigrated to the United States and other countries, critically draining Egypt of some of its best and brightest citizens.

Egypt under Sadat Upon Nasser's death in 1970, Vice President Anwar as-SADAT (1918–1981) became Egypt's next leader. Like Nasser before him, he had been an original member of the Free Officers Movement that deposed King Faruk (1920–1965) and made Egypt a republic. In 1971 Sadat consolidated his power through a governmental purge known as the "corrective revolution," thus removing any future competition from among Nasser's followers. Although Sadat outwardly ascribed to Nasser's socialist principles, he began immediately making changes. Sadat dismantled Nasser's internal security apparatus and gave amnesty to political prisoners. He also lifted censorship of the press, reduced governmental secularism, invited Egyptians and foreign capitalists to invest in local enterprises, and changed the country's name to the Arab Republic of Egypt.

In foreign policy, Sadat was unsure of his approach to Israel. On one hand, he was afraid that any mediation with Israel would risk isolating Egypt from the rest of the Arab world, and he did not want to antagonize the oil-exporting nations, which could devastate Egypt's economy. On the other hand, Sadat wanted the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip returned to Egyptian control.

In 1972 Sadat actively solicited armaments from the Soviet Union, but when he could not get the weapons he wanted, Sadat expelled most of Egypt's Soviet advisers and technicians. Although the United States had tried to mediate an Arab-Israeli settlement, Sadat resisted diplomacy. In 1973 Egypt joined other Arab nations in a surprise attack on Israel known as the Yom Kippur War.

The war began with a massive Egyptian air and artillery assault on Israel east of the Suez Canal. Thousands of Egyptian soldiers had moved across the canal but their advance stalled on the other side. When the Israelis recovered from the surprise attack, they defeated the Egyptians on the eastern bank of the canal, trapping Egypt's Third Army behind enemy lines.

U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger's (1923–) so-called shuttle diplomacy concluded a separation of forces agreement in 1974. Israel's troops withdrew to the east side of the canal, and in 1975 Sadat reopened the Suez Canal, allowing passage to ships with Israeli cargoes. Under the terms of the Sinai Accords of 1974 and 1975, Israel re-

turned the Sinai oil fields, and Egypt renounced war as a means of resolving the Middle East conflict.

In 1977 at the invitation of Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (1913–1992), Sadat went before Israel's legislative body, the Knesset, to argue for peace. Continuing to assert itself as the leader of the Arab world, Egypt offered peace if Israel would recognize a Palestinian state and withdraw from all the territory it had occupied in the 1967 war. While Israel was willing to make peace with Egypt, Sadat wanted a comprehensive settlement that returned lands to Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinians. Unfortunately, the other Arab states ignored Sadat's call for a general peace conference. Sadat, however, saw that peace with Israel was the first step to economic recovery.

The 1978 summit meeting at Camp David, organized by American president Jimmy Carter (1924–), led to the 1979 Israeli-Egyptian Peace Accord. In 1982 under the provisions of this accord, Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. The United States expanded economic and military aid to Egypt, but the Egyptian economy remained stagnant. Sadat's popularity declined in the Arab world and at home. In 1981 Islamic extremists assassinated Sadat for making peace with Israel.

Egypt under Mubarak Vice President Hosni MUBARAK (1929–), Sadat's hand-picked successor, was elected president in 1981. His most pressing concern was economic reform, and he instituted an open-door economic policy that encouraged the world community to invest in Egypt. However, economic growth remained slow, and rapid POPULATION GROWTH continued to limit economic gains. In the 1990s alone, for example, the population of Egypt increased by 10 million, reaching 68 million in 2000.

Mubarak also loosened the restraints on political liberties, allowing freedom of the press and the formation of new political parties. In 1984 five parties, including the formerly outlawed Muslim Brotherhood, participated in the national elections. Using milder measures to curb Muslim militants, however, has not dissuaded the Muslim fundamentalist opposition groups. In 1995, on a visit to Ethiopia, Mubarak survived an assassination attempt at the hands of a religious extremist. Mubarak's government has accused the Muslim opposition groups of sponsoring the terrorist attacks on tourists like the 1996 incident in Cairo, which left 18 dead.

In his foreign policy, Mubarak tried to remain neutral during the last years of the Cold War (1947–91) between the United States and the Soviet Union. He tried also to improve relations with the other Arab states, including by acting as advisor to the Palestinians at peace conferences. In 1990 Mubarak supported the UN sanctions against the regime of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein (1937–) resulting from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. In 1991, with other members of the Arab League, Egypt fought in the

Gulf War on the side of the coalition forces allied against Iraq, sending the third-largest contingent of troops after the United States and Britain. Egypt also played a leading role in the 1991 Madrid peace conference that tried to try to stabilize the region. As a reward for its participation in the Gulf War, the United States forgave $7 billion in military debt owed by Egypt.

Although Mubarak was reelected repeatedly, he faced strong opposition for economic and demographic reasons. In 2000, of 173 countries, Egypt ranked 115 in terms of its gross national product. At the beginning of the 21st century Egypt experienced a 20 percent rate of unemployment, a situation caused by a high annual rate of population growth (almost 2 percent) and a weak economy with a high annual rate of inflation. These elements continued to keep Egypt relatively poor among the world's nations. Amid heightened political tensions in the Middle East, Mubarak's ties with Israel and, increasingly, with the United States reinforced domestic economic-based tensions.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. V); EGYPT (Vols. II, III, IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Egyptology   Study of Ancient EGYPT of the Pharaonic era (3000 BCE–30 CE), utilizing disciplines such as archaeology, art history, and history. Egyptology, as a field of study, had its beginning with the French invasion of Egypt in 1798 and the massive array of antiquities that subsequently reached Europe. The methods used by the earliest Egyptologists were generally haphazard and unsystematic. Digging was uncontrolled, and archaeologists were more interested in amassing than cataloging artifacts. By the late 1800s, however, Egyptology became an academic discipline, employing scientific methods to collect, record, and analyze data gathered at excavations. Today departments of Egyptology at major universities around the world incorporate the insights of archaeology, ART, art history, history, ancient languages, and other disciplines to increase understanding of ancient Egyptian life and culture and the relationship of Egypt to other parts of Africa.

Ancient Egyptian civilization fascinates archaeologists to this day. In 1990 Egyptologists excavated the burial sites of the laborers who built the pyramids at Giza, shown here in a recent photo. © *Corbis*

Modern Egyptologists also use the tools of 21st century science to expand their knowledge of sites and artifacts. Researchers use satellite data and infrared imaging devices to locate ancient sites lost deep in the sand. They also employ sophisticated carbon-dating techniques to accurately determine the age of artifacts already unearthed. Performing chemical analyses of DNA fragments taken from preserved teeth, bones, and hard tissue, other researchers are attempting to establish an exact chronology of Egyptian rulers. Still other researchers have used computers to analyze and translate hieroglyphic texts. As scientific inquiry becomes more precise, new archaeological cross-specializations, such as zoo-archaeology and botanical-archaeology, have emerged to offer insights into ancient Egyptian life. With these additional capabilities, Egyptologists can re-examine the work of earlier generations of researchers to substantiate or revise their conclusions.

Much of the cultural heritage of Egypt is in foreign hands, on display at major museums in Britain, France, and the United States. However, an extensive collection of some 120,000 objects is housed in the Egyptian Museum in CAIRO, Egypt. In addition, local museums have been opened at Luxor, Aswan, Alexandria, and other sites in the country. Strict controls have now been placed on removing artifacts from Egypt, and all antiquities unearthed at archaeological sites now belong to the nation.

In the second half of the 20th century major finds were made, particularly in Alexandria and at Bawit, in the Bahariya Oasis south of Cairo. In 1987 archaeologists excavated the tomb of the sons of Ramesses II (r. c. 1279–1212 BCE) and, in 1990, the tombs of the pyramid builders at Giza. In 1994 the French archaeologist Jean-Yves Empereur (1952–) found at an underwater site the remains of what may be the Tower of Pharos, a great lighthouse built on the island of Pharos, at Alexandria, during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285 BCE. Another significant discovery was made in 1996, when Egyptian-born archaeologist Zahi Hawass (1947–), undersecretary of state for the Giza Monuments, unearthed a cemetery in Bawit—now called Valley of the Golden Mummies—containing approximately 10,000 Greco-Roman mummies.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); EGYPTOLOGY (Vol. IV); RAMESSES II (Vol. I).

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Ekwensi, Cyprian (Cyprian Odiatu Duaka Ekwensi) (1921–) *Nigerian author*

The IGBO writer Ekwensi, a man of many professions ranging from forestry to teaching to pharmacy, published his first book, a collection of short stories and Igbo folk-

tales, in 1947. Though his earliest long fiction contained some elements of URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE, it was *People of the City* (1954) that truly established Ekwensi's subject and style. Unlike the authors Chinua ACHEBE (1930–) and Onuora Nzekwu (1928–), both famous Nigerian writers whose work Ekwensi's preceded, Ekwensi shifted his focus away from the colonial past. Instead, he focused on Nigeria's present, in which newly won independence from Britain and rampant URBANIZATION had produced a highly unstable environment. His less formal, journalistic writing style and themes appealed to a largely urban-based readership over the succeeding decades and made him a highly popular author within NIGERIA.

In 1961 Ekwensi published *Jagua Nana,* his most celebrated and perhaps most controversial novel. The story of a prostitute in LAGOS, the novel addresses themes of materialism and political CORRUPTION, among others. Upon its publication *Jagua Nana* became the focus of harsh criticism from conservative factions and women's organizations on the grounds of the book being "obscene" and "pornographic." Critics also labeled Ekwensi's work as "amateurish" and the stuff of pulp fiction. Nevertheless, Ekwensi's supporters were as numerous as his detractors, and his realistic portrayal of urban conditions in Nigeria could not be easily dismissed.

> Serving as an indicator of the effects of urbanization and growing materialism in Nigeria, the titular character of *Jagua Nana* derives her name (pronounced Jag-wa) from the English luxury car Jaguar.

Outside of his writing, Ekwensi was very active in the media industry, working at the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation from 1957 to 1961. He served as the chair of the Bureau of External Publicity, as well as director of the independent BIAFRA radio station during the Nigerian civil war (1967–70), traveling to the United States and Europe to raise money for the rebel cause. He has also directed a number of publishing companies and served as consultant for various newspapers and print media.

Ekwensi's other works include *Burning Grass* (1962), *Beautiful Feathers* (1963), and *Iska* (1981). He has also authored a number of children's books, for which he is well known and liked in Nigeria. However, it is Ekwensi's urban novels that have garnered the greatest acclaim and produced the largest impact, earning him the title of "Father of the Nigerian Novel."

See also: EKWENSI, CYPRIAN (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Emang Basadi Women's group formed in Botswana to fight against the country's discriminatory laws. Emang Basadi means "Stand Up Women" in Tswana, a principal language spoken in BOTSWANA. The organization was created in 1986 as a protest movement to demand women's rights. The group's founders, which included lawyers, businesswomen, and university women, were inspired by the 1985 United Nations International Conference on Women held in NAIROBI, KENYA.

At the time of the organization's creation, 25 statutes in Botswana discriminated against women. The most controversial of these was the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, which denied the right of citizenship to children born to Botswana women and foreign men. Emang Basadi led legal awareness and political campaigns to advocate the removal of this and all other discriminatory laws. It also led political campaigns to encourage more participation of women in leadership positions.

In 1994, and again in 1999, Emang Basadi published strategic documents called the Manifestos of Botswana Women, which summarized the major issues concerning women and listed their demands for change. They deliberately produced the manifestos in election years so that the political parties could address the women's demands in their campaigns. As a result of the women's strategies, many of the offending laws were changed by the year 2000. Emang Basadi continued to lobby the government on women's issues and provide counsel and training for women's empowerment.

See also: LAW IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Emecheta, Buchi (Florence Onye Buchi Emecheta) (1944–   ) *Igbo novelist from Nigeria*

Over the course of 11 novels and other works, Buchi Emecheta established a literary career that garnered her international acclaim. Writing in English, as opposed to her native IGBO, in order to reach a wider audience, Emecheta addresses the obstacles faced by women in modern Africa, as well as the changes levied upon African traditions through the influence of Western culture.

Born in the village of Yaba on the outskirts of LAGOS, NIGERIA, Emecheta was raised by a foster family after her parents died while she was still very young. She attended the Methodist Girls High School in Lagos until age 16. She married in 1960 and two years later, after bearing two children, Emecheta moved to London to be with her husband while he studied there. Within a few years Emecheta had borne five children in all. During this time Emecheta began to write, selling segments of her diary to the British publication *The New Statesman*. Her abusive husband attempted to suppress Emecheta's writing aspirations, and even burned an early manuscript of her first novel. This led to divorce in 1969, after which time Emecheta was forced to support her children through her writing.

In the Ditch, the book version of Emecheta's publications in *The New Statesman*, was published in 1972. In 1974 Emecheta earned a degree in sociology from the University of London. That same year her first novel, *Second Class Citizen*, appeared. A largely autobiographical story, the novel follows a young Nigerian woman named Adah who moves to London and struggles to balance education, writing, and motherhood while living in an alien, and not always accommodating culture.

Her second novel, *The Bride Price* (1976), continued Emecheta's examination of African womanhood, critiquing the Igbo traditions that she perceived as detrimental to women. *The Slave Girl* (1977) and *The Joys of Motherhood* (1979), widely considered Emecheta's best novel, also featured African women facing antagonistic societal constraints.

Emecheta's focus was not limited to issues concerning only African women, however. Her novel *Destination Biafra* (1982) expanded her studies of the African female experience beyond tradition and family into politics and nationalism, following a young woman who becomes involved in the upheaval of the Nigerian civil war in BIAFRA (1967–70). *The Rape of Shavi* (1983) strayed even further from her initial focus, presenting the tale of an imaginary African country that falls victim to Western colonialism.

Emecheta stressed that her novels contain universal subjects that apply not only in Africa but to the general conflict between traditional and modern cultures, and to the overall situation of women in a largely patriarchal world. Her novels won her an appreciative international audience and gained her teaching positions at the University of Calabar, in Nigeria, at Yale University, in the United States, and at the University of London. She also wrote for television, published a number of children's books, and produced an autobiography, *Head above Water*, published in 1986.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

England and Africa Starting in the 1950s England relinquished its formal control of its colonial holdings and established new relations based on economic and educational links with its former colonies. Beginning with GHANA (formerly the Gold Coast) in 1957, most of England's former African colonies achieved independence in the decade that followed. With the process of decolonization well underway, England's diplomatic efforts were focused on facilitating the smooth and peaceful transfer of power to local national elites. For the most part this transition proved orderly and amicable, particularly in West Africa, where indigenous leaders had been granted a

measure of self-rule in anticipation of independence. The greatest complications arose in southern and central Africa, where England ruled colonies with large white-settler populations. The brutally suppressed Mau Mau movement of the 1950s in KENYA offered an ominous indication that considerable strife would be involved in the transition to democratic majority rule in RHODESIA (today known as ZIMBABWE) and SOUTH AFRICA, two other countries with large white-settler communities.

England gave clear signals that it would be unwilling to tolerate white-dominated governments in Africa that withheld political rights from their African populations. In February 1960 the British prime minister, Harold Macmillan (1894–1986), spoke before the South African Parliament in CAPE TOWN, warning that "the winds of change," as represented by the emergence of triumphant African nationalist movements, were sweeping across the African continent. Defiantly, South Africa transformed itself into a republic the following year and subsequently left the British Commonwealth rather than subject itself to ongoing criticism from Commonwealth members for its legally entrenched system of racial discrimination known as APARTHEID. In Rhodesia, too, England's Labour government called on the white settler community to make meaningful moves toward extending political rights to the country's African majority. In 1965 this led Rhodesian prime minister Ian SMITH (1919–   ) and his party, the Rhodesia Front, to break off ties with England and issue a UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. Despite applying diplomatic pressure and economic sanctions, England was unable to force Smith to back down. Ultimately Rhodesia negotiated a settlement only in 1978, after a long civil war with the country's insurgent forces led by Robert MUGABE (1924–   ) and Joshua NKOMO (1917–1999).

Despite misgivings concerning many political developments in Africa in the years following independence, England has rarely intervened directly in the internal affairs of its former colonies. The British government maintained its distance even during the destructive civil war that enveloped NIGERIA from 1967 to 1970, as well as during the brutal reign of Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003) in UGANDA during the 1970s. In those instances in which England became involved—such as deploying troops to squash army mutinies in TANZANIA and Uganda in 1964, or attempting to restore order to SIERRA LEONE—its goals were limited and its actions were ostensibly prompted by humanitarian concerns.

By 1968, with the independence of SWAZILAND, England had divested itself of all its African holdings. In most instances England retained close ties to those countries it had once colonized, linked to them by organizations and programs promoting trade and diplomatic relations, cultural and educational exchange, and affiliations related to churches and professional societies.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); GOLD COAST (Vols. III, IV); MAU MAU MOVEMENT (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Entebbe City in south-central UGANDA on the shores of Lake VICTORIA. Entebbe was the British administrative center of UGANDA from 1894 until 1953. It was passed up as the federal capital of Uganda upon independence in 1962 in favor of the city of KAMPALA, which is located 21 miles (34 km) to the north. Entebbe's elevation—3,760 feet (1,146 m) above sea level—gives it a pleasant climate, and the city has become popular as a residential community for many of Uganda's civil servants, including the president. As of 2000 the estimated population was about 50,000.

On June 27, 1976, armed terrorists from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine forced an Air France plane to land at the airport at Entebbe. Once on the tarmac, they released the crew and the non-Jewish passengers, demanded the release of Palestinian prisoners in Israel, and threatened to begin executing the remaining passengers if their demands weren't met.

During the week that followed, Israeli soldiers planned a daring raid on the plane involving dozens of heavily armed Israeli commandos. In the end, all eight terrorists were killed in the rescue. The operation's commander and two hostages also died in the gunfight that ensued.

Industry in the city is not extensive, although it is well connected to KENYA and TANZANIA because of its position on a peninsula in Lake Victoria. It also has the main international airport for Uganda and several tourist hotels. Aside from servicing the tourists who visit the nearby game sanctuary and Lake Victoria, Entebbe's people make their livings by farming, fishing, and producing consumer goods.

See also: TOURISM (Vol. V).

environmental issues Africa's geographical and geological complexity makes for diverse environmental challenges. However, many countries share environmental concerns, since the type of ecosystem determines the particular environmental issues faced by a region.

Water Use Issues People living in Africa's arid areas have regularly dealt with WATER shortages. In northern

Africa, for instance, much of the available water is used for irrigating agricultural fields. Therefore, patterns of personal water consumption conform to fit availability. In the years since independence, however, the URBANIZATION of the region and rapid POPULATION GROWTH have combined to put unrealistic demands on water supplies. To meet the needs of urban dwellers, piped water and sewage treatment have become more common. One of the past solutions for the water crisis was the construction of the ASWAN DAM on the upper Egyptian Nile. However, damming rivers solves one problem while introducing a different set of environmental problems, such as upstream flooding and silt build-up in reservoirs. In addition, dams prevent crucial silt from reaching deltas downstream where they used to replenish nutrients that make for productive AGRICULTURE. Changing the flow of silt to deltas also alters ecosystems and affects fisheries.

Water sources are also being compromised by commercial agriculture, which uses chemical fertilizers and pesticides that run off into drinking water sources. Environmentalists and public officials in countries like SOUTH AFRICA are calling for the protection of water catchment areas in order to alleviate water shortage and pollution issues.

Deforestation   One of the ways that water sources are naturally protected from pollutants is through a buffer of FORESTS or wetlands, which serve to filter pollutants before they reach the open water. However, since the end of the colonial era, many smaller wetlands in Africa have been filled in for settlement or destroyed for rice-planting schemes. This type of land use inhibits the environment's natural protective function and also decreases its ability to slow runoff and prevent soil erosion.

Much of Africa's denser forest environments have suffered as population pressure has led to increased deforestation. In rural areas, people must cut down trees to use as fuel for cooking. In areas where land is scarce, farmers clear forests in order to cultivate crops. Also, lumber companies, both foreign and domestic, continuously harvest trees, sometimes illegally. Many African nations recognized the importance of ecological BIODIVERSITY and the protective effects of forests and wetlands. They have, therefore, established laws that prohibit deforestation. However, enforcement continues to be a problem for these nations. Without strategies to deal with the needs of an increasing population, deforestation will remain a serious obstacle. Countries such as TANZANIA have only "national guidelines for environmental protection," which do not provide a means to punish those who cut protected forests. Recent efforts, however, have sought to convert these guidelines into laws that will allow for prosecution of offenders.

Declining Soil Fertility   Agricultural production depends on plentiful nutrients in the soil. Africa has a wide range of different soils. Some are very old and have low fertility because of the leaching of nutrients over time. Other soils, such as those produced by volcanic activity, are relatively new and are very fertile. As people repeatedly use land to grow crops, soil fertility declines. When this occurs, crop output also declines, and humans must then add nutrients if they hope to maintain or increase production. However, most African farmers do not have the resources to purchase commercially produced fertilizers to replenish the soil nutrients. Historically, farmers rotated their crops in order to allow fields to lie fallow, or rest in an overgrown state, in order to replenish nutrients. But population pressure and land scarcity result in continuous farming, which does not allow the soil to recover between plantings. African governments and international aid organizations have responded to this problem by researching and implementing strategies that can help struggling farmers. One such strategy, agroforestry, has been employed successfully to increase soil nutrients in some tropical areas. However, it does not work for all areas.

***Agroforestry* is the practice of growing crops and trees together. In theory, the organic matter produced by trees replenishes nutrients in earth that has been used repeatedly to grow crops. When it is effective, agroforestry helps restore soil fertility and improves agricultural productivity.**

Desertification   Another issue that has recently been cause for concern is desertification, or the conversion of non-desert land into deserts. There is much debate regarding desertification, which is a natural, unavoidable long-term ecological process. Some models, however, point to human activity as a contributing factor in the process. Human land-use practices, such as increased water use and increased livestock grazing, are identified as causes for increased desertification. Other possible causes include increased greenhouse gases, long-term climatic change, and short-term climatic variability. Regarding desertification, the area of most concern to climatologists and environmentalists is the Sahel, which is the band of dry grassland on the southern edge of the Sahara.

Shrinking Wildlife Habitat   One pressing environmental problem that is generally associated with increasing populations and continued widespread POVERTY in Africa is the loss of habitat for WILDLIFE. When people encroach on protected forests and grasslands in search of a better livelihood, habitat for Africa's spectacular array of wildlife is diminished. Many protected areas were created for the purpose of preserving this valuable natural re-

source. As habitats shrink, Africa is in danger of losing its biodiversity. In some countries, national and international bodies are working to implement policies that encourage protection of wildlife habitat by the general population as well as the government. These strategies might include employing rural people in wildlife preserves, thereby giving them a way to make a living other than using the protected areas to farm or graze livestock. It is increasingly common for environmental protection policies to include a component that addresses the needs of the local population.

For example, farmers on the fringes of wildlife preserves in KENYA and MOZAMBIQUE have lost crops to elephants. These gigantic animals like to eat mature maize and can destroy most of a farmer's field in a single night. As a consequence, farmers commonly kill these beasts, seeing them as little more than mammoth pests. However, animal rights groups and government agencies are working with farmers on alternative solutions to prevent elephants from destroying crops.

In some countries, such as Kenya and BOTSWANA, NATIONAL PARKS have employed rural peoples to guard against poachers. Poaching, or the illegal taking of game, has been common in Africa since colonial times, when certain wild animals—or their parts—became highly prized for both medicinal and aesthetic reasons. For instance, elephants and rhinos are often killed solely for their tusks and horns, and their carcasses are left to rot wherever the animal was killed. The ivory ban, established in 1990, is an example of the international community responding to the plummeting elephant populations. However, even though laws may prohibit poaching, the money that can be earned by trading in African skins or animal parts can be a powerful enticement to conduct illegal activity.

Since Africa's wildlife attracts millions of tourist dollars every year, governments and citizens alike recognize the importance of protecting wildlife populations from poaching. In some countries, such as SOUTH AFRICA, elephant populations have rebounded and elephant overpopulation is now a problem.

Africa's increasing human population has brought with it overharvesting of resources, such as fish stocks in coastal areas. In SENEGAL, for example, overfishing has drastically depleted fish populations. In response, Senegal's government has recently made commitments to establish its first marine preserve to protect its COASTAL AND MARINE ECOSYSTEMS and allow for sustainable harvesting of fish and other marine products.

Because some African nations lack the resources to address their myriad environmental issues, international environmental and animal rights bodies are becoming involved. These agencies, including the World Wildlife Federation, the International Tree Foundation, and the United Nations Environmental Protection Agency, are contributing to the research and policy-making that are ongoing to address effectively the human and environmental concerns of each region.

See also: CONSERVATION (Vol. V); DROUGHT AND DESERTIFICATION (Vol. V); ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); NILE RIVER (Vols. I, III); SAHARA (Vols. I, II); SAHEL (Vol. I); SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); TOURISM (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further readings: Michael Darkoh and Apollo Rwomire, eds., *Human Impact on Environment and Sustainable Development in Africa* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003); Paul Richards, *African Environment, Problems and Perspectives* (London: International African Institute, 1975); United Nations Environment Programme Staff, *Environmental Problems of the East African Region* (Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Publications, 2003).

Equatorial Guinea Country located in west-central Africa. It is made up of Río Muni, a rectangular continental region, the large island of Bioko, and four smaller islands named Elobey Grande, Elobey Chico, Corisco, and Annobón. All told, the country measures about 10,800 square miles (28,000 sq km). Río Muni is bordered by CAMEROON, to the northeast, and GABON, to the southeast. Equatorial Guinea is the sole country in Africa with Spanish as an official language.

Equatorial Guinea at Independence In 1963 Spain granted its colony of Spanish Guinea limited self-rule and changed its name to Equatorial Guinea. Five years later the fully independent Republic of Equatorial Guinea was established, with nationalist leader Francisco Macías Nguema (1922–1979) winning the presidential elections. At the time the country was in relatively good shape, with high levels of LITERACY and health care. It also had one of Africa's highest per-capita incomes, due mostly to cocoa plantations on Fernando Po (now Bioko) island that were farmed primarily by migrant workers from NIGERIA.

Under Nguema things changed quickly. In 1970 he began what would become one of Africa's most brutal dictatorial regimes by merging all political parties into the United National Party, with himself as the head. In 1972 Nguema declared himself president for life. The following year Río Muni and Fernando Po, which were then partially autonomous, were joined fully under Nguema's central government.

Seeking to consolidate and secure his power, Nguema ceased virtually all government activities other than security. The country collapsed as all of its basic services, from electricity to water to TRANSPORTATION, were abandoned. Schools closed in 1975, and, in an attempt to eliminate all Spanish influence in the country, Nguema banned the Catholic Church and shut down all churches in 1978. He also launched an Africanization campaign to fully eradicate

colonial influence. Santa Isabel, the country's capital, was renamed MALABO. A clear indication of his megalomania, Nguema renamed the island of Fernando Po after himself. All Equatoguineans were also instructed to change their Spanish names to African ones. Nguema changed his own name frequently. By the end of his presidency he was known as Masie Nguema Biyogo Ñegue Ndong.

Nguema maintained his power through sheer brutality. It is estimated that his regime killed between 25,000 and 80,000 Equatoguineans. In 1976 the country's huge population of Nigerian migrant workers, numbering some 60,000, left in a mass exodus, crippling Equatorial Guinea's economy. These same workers had faced violent repression when they protested poor wages.

Finally, in 1979, Nguema was overthrown and executed as a result of a military COUP D'ÉTAT led by his cousin, Lieutenant Colonel Teodoro OBIANG (1942–). When Obiang assumed the presidency, he was confronted by a decidedly bleak situation. The country was in complete ruins, the government bankrupt, and two-thirds of the population had either been killed or had fled into exile.

Obiang acted to heal the country, lifting the ban on RELIGION, reaching out to the numerous REFUGEES in Cameroon and Gabon, and releasing many prisoners. Foreign ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE was used to begin rebuilding the nation's shattered INFRASTRUCTURE. In a symbolic move to rid the remnants of Nguema's regime, Masie Nguema Biyogo island was renamed Bioko.

Equatorial Guinea's national capital, Malabo, is on Bioko island, which lies off the coast of Cameroon. Río Muni's administrative capital is Bata.

However, despite creating a new, more democratic constitution (1982) and allowing for multiparty elections (1992), Obiang has remained only somewhat less autocratic than his predecessor. Obiang and his Democratic Party for Equatorial Guinea (Partido Democrático de Guinea Ecuatorial, PDGE) easily won elections in 1993 and 1996. These victories, however, came amid accusations of political repression against opposition parties. Legislative elections in 1999 and 2000 saw the PDGE gain political dominance.

In the late 1990s the discovery of large deposits of OIL of its coast led to an economic boom in Equatorial Guinea. However, little of this substantial income has been toward rebuilding the country. Instead, much of the money obtained from the oil industry has gone into Obiang's personal accounts. With 100,000 Equatoguineans still in exile at the turn of the century, and with only minor improve-

ments in government, Equatorial Guinea faces a slow process of economic and political rehabilitation.

See also: CORRUPTION (Vol. V); EQUATORIAL GUINEA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. IV).

Eritrea Country located in northeastern Africa that achieved independence in 1993 following a long war with ETHIOPIA. A country of some 46,800 square miles (121,200 sq km), Eritrea is bordered by the Red Sea, to the east, Ethiopia, to the south, and the Republic of the SUDAN, to the west. The country's dry coastal plain rises gradually to less arid highlands in the interior.

An area whose history goes back to the first millennium BCE, Eritrea has been controlled by Aksum, EGYPT, the Ottoman Empire, Britain, Italy, and, after World War II (1939–45), by Ethiopia. By 1960, however, Eritrean nationalists had begun an armed independence effort, led initially by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). Using this rebellion as a justification, Ethiopia announced a complete annexation of the territory, going beyond the federated system intended by the United Nations when it gave Ethiopia jurisdiction over the region in 1952.

Eritrean resistance grew during the 1960s, becoming more effective as the Ethiopian emperor, HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975), began to lose control over the day-to-day affairs of his own country. The ELF was soon joined in the field by a second military force, the ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT (EPLF), and, by the mid-1970s, the two movements had almost 20,000 troops in action. By that time, too, they had made sufficient progress that they were beginning to gain control of many rural areas of the country, where they began to establish their own schools, hospitals, and factories.

In 1980 the EPLF split with the ELF, eventually becoming the single fighting force against Ethiopia. By this time, Haile Selassie had fallen, replaced by the brutal regime of MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–), which, assisted by massive infusions of aid from the Soviet Union, was able to keep up the war against the Eritrean rebels for many years. By 1990, however, the EPLF had control of almost 90 percent of the country and had effectively won. Under the supervision of the United Nations, a referendum was held in April 1993, and independence was overwhelmingly approved.

A transitional National Assembly was formed following the April 1993 referendum. It was composed entirely of members of the EPLF (which changed its name to the People's Front for Democracy and Justice, or PFDJ, in February 1994). The PFDJ led the writing of a new constitution and the transitional assembly elected ISAIAS AFEWERKI (c. 1945–) the new president. Independence was declared on May 24, 1993.

The challenges facing Isaias Afewerki and the PFDJ have been tremendous. The president is chief of state,

Eritrea-Ethiopia Border Dispute, 1998–2000

Territory claimed by Ethiopia
but awarded to Eritrea.

Territory claimed by Eritrea
but awarded to Ethiopia.

0   80 Miles

0   80 Kms

REPUBLIC
OF THE
SUDAN

ERITREA

Asmara

Red Sea

Tsorona

Badme

Zalambessa

ETHIOPIA

Assab

Bure

DJIBOUTI

Map area
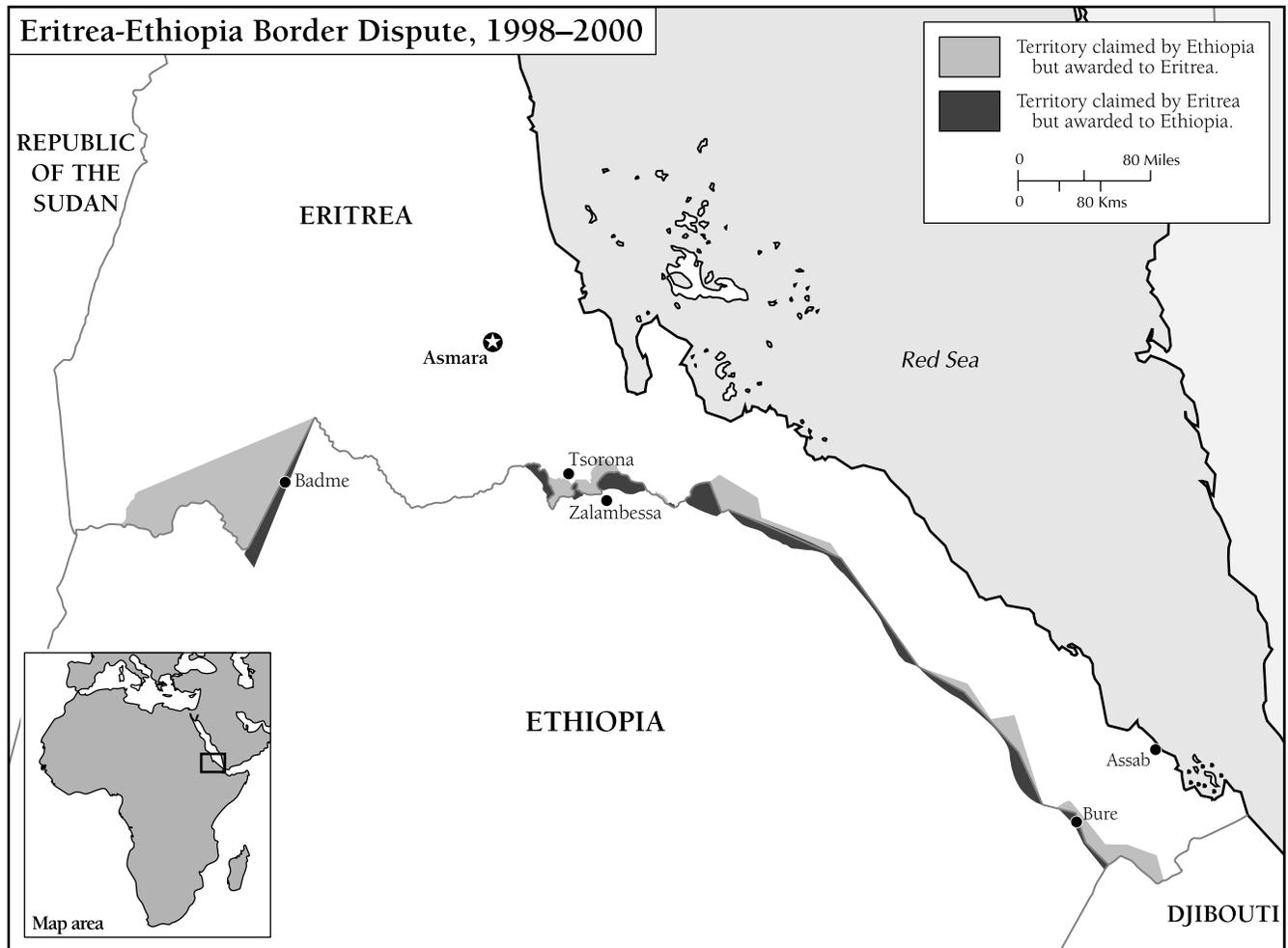
head of government, head of the state council, and head of the National Assembly, thereby limiting political opposition and ensuring that Isaias's transitional government will continue to govern well into its second decade. It confronts both secular and religious opposition including the ELF and the Eritrean Liberation Front-Revolutionary Council, among others. Also opposing the PFDJ is the allegedly Sudan-backed Eritrean Islamic Jihad, an extremist Islamic organization that has claimed responsibility for numerous bombings of civilian populations on the Eritrean-Sudanese and Eritrean-Ethiopian borders.

Eritrea is a desperately poor country in which 80 percent of the 3.5 million people rely on subsistence AGRICULTURE; it ranks 157 out of 173 countries on the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index. Unemployment and illiteracy plague an economic situation aggravated by ongoing conflict with Ethiopia. From 1998 to 2000, Ethiopia and Eritrea engaged in one of the continent's fiercest border wars, crashing the economy. Even with the cessation of violence, the damage to the economy caused by limited trade with Ethiopia—in partic-

ular, the loss of rents formerly collected from Ethiopian businesses using the Eritrean port—continues to limit economic growth.

See also: ERITREA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Lionel Cliffe and Basil Davidson, *The Long Struggle of Eritrea for Independence and Constructive Peace* (New Jersey: Red Sea Press, 1988).

Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF)
Leading group in the struggle for an independent ERITREA. After independence in 1993, it changed its name to the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) and became the state party.

Eritrea, which had been an Italian colony, came under British control in 1941 when Italy was defeated in World War II (1939–45). In 1952 the United Nations Security Council made Eritrea a semiautonomous state within ETHIOPIA. However, in 1962, Ethiopian emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) unilaterally dissolved Er-

itrea's special status in favor of a united Ethiopia. The Eritrean reaction was dramatic, and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), formed in 1958, began what would become a 30-year armed struggle to create an independent Eritrea. In 1970 a more militarily inclined faction of the ELF broke away and formed the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), eventually supplanting the ELF in the fight for Eritrean independence.

The EPLF maintained its war even during the momentous political shifts in the 1970s that saw the overthrow of Haile Selassie and the establishment of the Marxist government of MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–) in 1974. As Mengistu's regime began to weaken in the mid-1980s, the EPLF captured strategic Eritrean towns. It also joined with the Tigray People's Liberation Front and other Ethiopian opposition elements to oust Mengistu in 1991. That same year the EPLF captured AS-MARA, the Eritrean capital, and established itself as the provisional government of Eritrea. The new Ethiopian government then supported Eritrea's independence vote in 1993. The EPLF became the ruling party, and its leader, ISAIAS AFEWERKI (1945–), became president. In February 1994 the EPLF changed its name to the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ). The PFDJ became Eritrea's only legal party. Since Eritrea's independence it has governed in an increasingly authoritarian manner, with no elections to challenge its dominance.

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Ethiopia Land-locked country, about 435,100 square miles (1,126,900 sq km) in size, located in the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia borders the modern states of DJIBOUTI, ERITREA, KENYA, SOMALIA, and the Republic of the SUDAN. One of Africa's oldest and most influential states, Ethiopia continues to try to rectify the ethnic conflicts of its past while facing the economic and leadership challenges of its future.

Haile Selassie in the Independence Era The history of the modern Ethiopian nation-state began in 1941, when Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) returned from exile in England. He immediately began attempts to expand Ethiopia to include Eritrea, its northern neighbor with a long Red Sea coast, and Italian Somaliland (part of present-day Somalia). The movement to "reunite" with Eritrea took the form of the Society for the Love and Land of Eritrea (later to be known as the Unionist Party). Its members believed that the Italians had stolen Eritrea from Ethiopia.

Haile Selassie garnered an international reputation as an anticolonialist and nationalist leader. The United Nations (UN), at first a supporter of independent Eritrean and Somali states, began to question the will of the majority in these locations. It set up a UN Commission of Inquiry for Eritrea, ultimately refusing to advocate either independence or a broad Ethiopian Union. By the time the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) was established in May 1963, Haile Selassie was viewed as one of the most important elements of pan-African policy. As a result of his and Ethiopia's prestige, the OAU set up its headquarters in Ethiopia's capital, ADDIS ABABA.

While Haile Selassie was seen as a great reformer throughout the continent and overseas, at home, criticism was already mounting against him as early as the 1950s. During the 1960s the Ethiopian state itself showed significant progress in modernizing. Increasingly, however, wealthy Christian nobles lived privileged existences on the backs of the impoverished peasantry. Urban INDUSTRIALIZATION increased and FOREIGN INVESTMENT flowed into the country, but urban wages were exceedingly low. Among the military ranks, junior officers were critical of corrupt seniors, who reappropriated portions of the state military budget for their personal gain. Also at the root of the tensions was the fact that the principal beneficiaries of the new state were primarily Coptic Christians of Amharic ethnicity. This stirred great resentment in the Eritrean, Somali, Tigrayan, and OROMO populations.

The turning point in Haile Selassie's rule came with the great famine of 1972. By 1974 some 200,000 people had died in the northern provinces. In the TIGRAY region, where anti-government sentiments ran high, Haile Selassie mishandled the relief efforts so badly that he was accused of allowing the famine to continue in the hopes that it would weaken the resistance against him.

Mengistu Haile Mariam and Ethiopian Marxism Haile Selassie was overthrown in 1974 by a COUP D'ÉTAT led by junior military officers of the Dergue (meaning *committee* in Amharic). Originally, Ethiopians saw the officers as Marxist leaders heading a populist movement. Before long, however, Dergue leaders quickly went from revolutionaries to oppressors. The new president, Colonel MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–), launched a bloody campaign of political intimidation and consolidated power in the hands of a small, loyal group of followers.

The Dergue coup plunged Ethiopia into civil war. The peasantry, for its part, was unhappy that the status quo put in place by Haile Selassie was not satisfactorily uprooted. Mengistu did work to diminish the dominance of the Coptic Amharan people in the countryside. Yet his efforts to foment a revolution from above failed to appease the masses below. In a well-known move, he executed 57 Amharan officials of the deposed monarchy and began a full-scale attack on separatists. Tigrayan, Eritrean, and Somali nationalist movements became more fervent. By 1977 it appeared likely that Mengistu might be overthrown. His military rule had proved unable to garner widespread legitimacy and his government failed to maintain stability or bring about DEVELOPMENT.

However, Mengistu's positioning in the Cold War was strong. The former Soviet Union began supporting his quasi-Marxist rule, making Ethiopia one of the Soviet Union's most important allies in Africa. Some 17,000 Cuban troops were sent to Ethiopia at Soviet expense to help support the Mengistu regime. The Ethiopian army grew to 300,000 and military expenditures increased to half of the total national budget—a percentage it held throughout the 1980s.

Unable to appease the myriad demands of the disparate Ethiopian peoples, Mengistu chose to rule by oppression. He attempted to maintain a greater Ethiopia through military victories over the ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT (EPLF), the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and other ethnically and regionally based nationalist movements. He created collective associations called *kebeles*, nationalizing lands and companies, and organizing workers under state rule. In 1984 he announced that Ethiopia was a one-party state led by the Workers Union. This, however, proved to be a ruse for his own aggrandizement.

The famines of the mid-1980s threatened Mengistu in much the same way that the famine of 1972 brought down Haile Selassie. A large international movement to mitigate the impact of the famine through aid was largely blocked by a regime intent on controlling every aspect of Ethiopian society. Mengistu's position would have been entirely untenable if not for massive Soviet aid. As the Soviet Union headed toward its own collapse in the late 1980s, Mengistu found himself with little support in a sharply divided state filled with factions eager to see him overthrown. In 1989, Mengistu's forces achieved one last, great victory against Eritrean, Tigray, Oromo, and Somali rebels before the final removal of Soviet aid and Cuban troops. In 1991 the TPLF, with the help of the ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (EPRDF), successfully took control of Addis Ababa. Mengistu fled to sanctuary in ZIMBABWE.

The Rise of Meles Zenawi and the New Ethiopian State Following Mengistu's downfall in May 1991, EPRDF leader MELES ZENAWI (1955–) seized power to lead the transitional government. Despite significant political infighting, Meles pushed through an ethnically based

In 1974 Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam led a Marxist revolution in Ethiopia. In 1980 these soldiers marched in Addis Ababa to show support for Mengistu on the sixth anniversary of the coup that brought him to power. (Note the Ethiopic script on the placard.) © *AP/Wide World Photos*

federal constitution, in December 1994. Under this constitution, the president has a mostly ceremonial role, and executive powers are vested primarily in the office of the prime minister. By 1995 Meles' EPRDF rebel movement had been reconstituted as a political party, and it won a majority of seats in the elections that year. Five years later, in a controversial vote, Meles and his EPRDF dominated national and regional elections to secure him a second term. He was still in power at the end of 2003.

Meles has attempted to create a new Ethiopian state with greater accountability between the state and society. He has rooted out some CORRUPTION and has tried to develop policies that would allow a free market to drive economic prosperity. Stability, rather than the deepening of DEMOCRATIZATION, has been the refrain.

Nationalist movements based on ethnicity have continued to pose the most important political challenges throughout Meles' time in office. The OLF came to blows with its former rebel partner, the EPRDF, in 1991, and it subsequently boycotted the June 1992 local government elections. In December 1993 the OLF joined with the Council of Alternative Forces for Peace and Democracy, which then boycotted the 1995 national election. Similarly, the Ogadeni National Liberation Front (ONLF) of Somali Ethiopians also has fought with the EPRDF, though it has participated, with moderate success, in local elections.

The Politics of Ethnicity Ethnic-based and regional conflict has been a blow to the federal system that Meles has backed. The arrangement of 12 ethnic states and two independent cities set up under the new constitution was intended to give enough autonomy to quell secessionist tendencies. However, this approach to governance in a large, divided, multiethnic, multi-religion society has led to unequal growth among states. Centrally located states continue to receive a disproportionately large share of the national wealth. Nevertheless, this model of the Ethiopian national state has remained viable for more than a decade.

By 2001, however, it appeared Ethiopia might again be threatened by a secessionist Tigray state led by the TPLF. In response, Meles purged the TPLF leadership from his government. Parallel trends continue in Oromo areas with increasing violence and unrest. Further complicating the situation is a concern with the promotion of international TERRORISM in the region.

Ethiopia and Eritrea In 1993, with the assistance of the United Nations, Eritrea gained independence under the leadership of President ISAIAS AFEWERKI (c. 1945–). Fearing that Tigray and Oromo would quickly follow suit, Meles attempted to bring Eritrea back into the Ethiopian fold. From May 1998 to December 2000 Ethiopia and Eritrea fought one of Africa's most devastating wars. The immediate reason for the clash was the placement of the border between the two states, but the origins of the con-

flict predate World War II (1939–45). Between 1941 and 1952 Eritrea was administered by Britain under a UN agreement. At that time, with British support, Eritrea was considered an autonomous unit within Ethiopia. However, in 1962 Haile Selassie ignored protests and annexed Eritrea, making it an integral part of the Ethiopian state and sparking a long period of hostility.

When Eritrea voted for independence in 1993, it left landlocked Ethiopia dependent on access to Eritrean Red Sea ports. In return, the Eritrean economy needed Ethiopia's markets. Each side played its advantage over the other, furthering existing tensions.

In December 2000 the peace treaty signed by the two states led to the creation of an independent Ethiopia-Eritrea Boundary Commission (EEBC). However, the EEBC proved to be controversial, with the Ethiopian government accusing it of favoring Eritrea. Continuing attempts at demarcating the Ethiopian-Eritrean border made governing Ethiopia more complex.

The Ethiopian Economy Further challenging Meles, and any possible successor, is a lack of economic growth. Ethiopia remains one of the world's poorest countries. In addition to its size and difficult terrain, the nation's ethnic diversity challenges economic growth. Moreover, with an overwhelming majority of its nearly 60 million people living in rural areas, the country is highly dependent on rainfall for the sufficient production of FOOD CROPS to feed its population. As a result the naturally caused fa-mine that brought down Haile Selassie and threatened Mengistu Haile Mariam also threatens Meles's government. Depending on rainfall and climatic conditions, the production of coffee, Ethiopia's most important commodity, can fluctuate up to 100 percent from year to year. Compounding the problem, consumer prices inflate to unmanageably high levels in times of scarcity. In all, this makes Ethiopian economic change far more volatile than that in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole.

Ethiopia has worked with the International Monetary Fund to try to stabilize fiscal policy and economic patterns. However, it continues to suffer from high levels of debt, an undeveloped industrial sector, and insufficient INFRASTRUCTURE.

See also: ADOWA, BATTLE OF (Vol. IV); AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV); COFFEE (Vols. II, IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); CUBA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); ETHIOPIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR (Vol. IV); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Ethiopian Orthodox Church

Long-time state church of ETHIOPIA, theologically and organizationally distinct from Western Christian churches. Because of tumultuous events in its recent history, although it is currently enjoying a revival of independence, the worldwide Ethiopian Orthodox Church is undergoing a crisis over just who is its legitimate leader.

Movement toward Independence Although it is of Coptic origin, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is distinctive because of ancient roots that purportedly connect the Queen of Sheba with King Solomon of Israel. Historically, however, the Ethiopian church was long dominated by Egyptian Copts, a situation opposed by the Ethiopian church, which resented outside hegemony and sought to appoint Ethiopian-born clerics.

In 1929 four Ethiopian-born bishops were ordained to assist the Coptic-appointed patriarch of Ethiopia, as the head of the church was known. The movement toward Ethiopian control was furthered by the Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975). As head of the Ethiopian church and state, Haile Selassie negotiated an agreement with the Egyptian Coptic leadership for the local election of an indigenous patriarch. This leadership of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church went into effect, in 1951, with the election of Baslios to the position of patriarch. The Egyptian Copts eventually confirmed this election in 1959.

After Baslios's death in 1971, Tewophilos was installed as head of the church, becoming the first patriarch to be installed within Ethiopia. Under his supervision, the St. Paul Theological College was opened in ADDIS ABABA in 1974.

According to the canon law of the Ethiopian church, the appointment to the position of patriarch is for life.

Aftermath of Revolution In 1974, when Haile Selassie was overthrown by a Marxist-oriented revolution, Colonel MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–) assumed control of Ethiopia. This opened a new chapter in the history of the Ethiopian church as the Marxists separated church and state and nationalized church land. As part of this, the Mengistu government sought to diminish and even destroy the church by attacking its leadership. They imprisoned Patriarch Tewophilos in 1977 and appointed a hermit monk, Abba Melaku, as the new patri-

arch. Because this violated religious canon law, the Coptic Orthodox Church of EGYPT severed its relationship with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

In spite of this, Abba Melaku was installed as patriarch, taking the name Tekle Haimanot, a name with regal associations in Ethiopian history. In 1979 the government executed Tewophilos. Over the next few years, Patriarch Tekle Haimanot proved to be not as easy to manipulate as the new government had thought. However, he did maintain a general silence against governmental injustices, probably because he was afraid to provoke a violent backlash against the church.

Upon Tekle Haimanot's death in 1988, a new patriarch, Merkorios, was installed. However, another governmental change occurred in 1991, and the Mengistu government fell from power. Freed from the control of the Marxist regime, the church removed Merkorios on the grounds that he had been elected under direction of the Communists. In 1992 Merkorios resigned, and a new election was held. Paulos, who had been ordained a bishop by Tewophilos in 1975 and who had been imprisoned by the Marxists and exiled in the United States, was selected as the new patriarch of Ethiopia. Merkorios left Ethiopia and went to KENYA where he challenged the new election as invalid.

The 1990s witnessed a revival of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, with the establishment of six clergy training centers throughout Ethiopia. This period also saw the revival of parish Sunday school programs and the founding of church social programs for REFUGEES, famine relief, and orphans.

See also: COPTIC (Vol. I); COPTS (Vol. I); COPTIC CHRISTIANITY (Vol. II); COPTIC CHURCH (Vol. IV); ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (Vol. IV).

Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)

Ruling party in ETHIOPIA founded in the late 1980s. The current president of Ethiopia, MELES ZENAWI (1955–), is the founder and chairman of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The party grew out of a largely TIGRAY-based movement and emerged as an umbrella organization that fought to liberate ETHIOPIA from the repressive Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), also known as the Dergue, which administered the country under the rule of MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–). One of the organization's central objectives was to broaden its base of support; consequently, the EPRDF partnered with the largely Amhara Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM). Rebels from the EPRDF eventually ousted Mengistu's Marxist dictatorship, in 1991, and came to power as a democratic regime.

Once in power the EPRDF created a radical constitution that gave each ethnic group the right to self-determi-

nation, including its right to secede from Ethiopia. Critics viewed Ethiopia's transformation into a multiethnic federation of 14 self-governing regions as a threat to national unity. The most fervent critics came from among the Amhara, who had dominated Ethiopia's politics and government throughout the modern era.

As an umbrella group the EPRDF also created other organizations, such as the Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (OPDO), after the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) refused to join EPRDF. This led the country's president, NEGASSO GIDADA (1943–   ), who was an OROMO, to break with the EPRDF, though he refused to relinquish the presidency. The EPRDF also faced resistance from other ethnically and regionally based parties such as the Ogadeni National Liberation Front (ONLF). Other groups, such as the Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA), also opposed the EPRDF because of the EPRDF's regional linguistic education policy, which, they argued, threatened the status of Amharic as the national language. Despite these divisions, and in spite of controversial elections in 1994–95, the EPRDF remains the dominant political group and maintains popular support.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

ethnic conflict in Africa   People who share a common group identity may clash with others because of long-rooted animosities, differences in a neighboring country, fear of state instability, or because of manipulation carried out by elite groups of leaders. The trend toward ethnic violence, however, has been escalating in recent years, especially in Africa.

An ethnic group is one in which people share a common inherited culture, racial similarity, RELIGION, and belief in common history and ancestry. While the forging of ethnic identities is a primary building block in virtually any society, the creation of "sameness" often leads to a sentiment of difference. Neighbors who share a common citizenship, religion, or even work pattern identify with their cultural heritage rather than these other factors. The result can be ethnic conflict.

There are a number of reasons why ethnic conflict may arise. Some people point to ancient hatred between peoples that rises under certain political circumstances. Conflicts between Kosovars and Serbs in Yugoslavia, like that between TUTSI and HUTU in RWANDA and BURUNDI, have often been described as such. In recent years, however, this view of deep primordial differences has been challenged.

Another reason why ethnic conflict may arise is that a state presses the allegiance of a group within its neighbor's borders in an effort to propel its own interests. In reverse, ethnic manifestation in one country can lead to ethnic insurgence in a neighboring country. For example, ethnic Diola insurgency in the Casamance region of SENEGAL spread violence to GUINEA-BISSAU and The GAMBIA, just as the rise of Somali identity in SOMALIA bled into neighboring ETHIOPIA.

A third reason for the rise of ethnic conflict is the fear of state collapse. Where central authority begins to crumble, inter-group competition increases. This competition is often on ethnic lines, galvanizing differences between ethnic identities. Also, ruling elites and regimes that have used ethnic identities as a tool for their own advantage can begin to fail or fragment. Other times the state is not threatened but elites continue to manipulate ethnic identities. Where this is the case we sometimes see African states that can successfully manage ethnic differences. Low-level conflict becomes a regularized pattern of state-society relations. Other times states are unable to handle this exchange, and it leads to intervention from outside states or organizations such as the AFRICAN UNION or the United Nations. Situations like this have arisen in ANGOLA, SOUTH AFRICA, and the Republic of the SUDAN. While in these cases ethno-political conflict continues, it is managed with external state support.

In West Africa, NIGERIA stood as a case in which DEMOCRATIZATION heightened political competition and exacerbated regional, ethnic, and religious conflict. In 1999 violence was the direct result. The federal system was intended to manage these cleavages, but the pervasiveness of ethnic favoritism in Nigeria's federal system allowed certain elites to win more power and economic benefits than others.

See also: ETHNIC GROUPS (Vol. IV); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); STATE, ROLE OF (Vol. V).

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Europe and Africa   At independence the relationships between African countries and their European counterparts were paradoxical. On one hand, years of colonial rule followed by nationalism and INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS had strained both institutional and interpersonal ties. On the other hand, African countries tended to maintain their former colonial powers as their largest trading partners. For much of the 1960s African countries suffered from continued power imbalances, which exacerbated postcolonial tensions and undermined DEVELOPMENT.

The LOMÉ CONVENTION, signed in 1975, was an attempt to rectify this problem. At its core it was intended to address the African development debacle. It offered

European trade concessions to new and struggling economies as well as financial, industrial, and technological assistance. Unfortunately, the Lomé Convention failed to achieve its goals. Three subsequent Lomé Convention charters increased the number of member states in the agreement. However, these also resulted in deteriorating terms of trade and a decline in development indicators.

Europe-Africa relations substantively changed toward the end of the 20th century. In 1957, Europe had begun a long process of economic unification and cooperation with the founding of the European Economic Community. This largely economic governing body grew into today's European Union (EU), which continued to accept new member states into the 21st century. Similarly, Africa embarked on an ambitious plan to create a pan-African parliament and increase regional solidarity through trade and institutional development. Ultimately, in July 2002 African states joined to create the AFRICAN UNION (AU), which replaced the outdated ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.

In anticipation of the pending launch of the AU, African and European leaders met in CAIRO, EGYPT, in April 2000. All heads of state present at the summit subscribed to the Cairo Declaration and the Cairo Plan of Action. The result was the NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD), which became the functional economic overlap between the European Union and the new African Union. It was a first step in rectifying earlier trade imbalances and normalizing European-African relations.

NEPAD replaced the Lomé Conventions. Through the partnership of the European and African Unions, NEPAD seeks to reduce POVERTY, promote SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, and reverse the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process.

The timing of NEPAD also reflected a greater global dynamic. Both Europe and the United States have exerted influence over the African continent, and both have fought for supremacy in setting global trade terms. Recently Europe began navigating a middle course between African economic efforts to protect nascent industries and American-style liberal market reform. Already the largest donors to Africa, the EU member states even increased funding. In all, they provide more than $9.5 billion to Africa annually, with more than $3 billion coming from the European Commission's Overseas Development Aid program.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); EUROPE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV) NEO-COLONIALISM, AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V).

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Evora, Cesaria (1941–   ) *Cape Verdean singer*

At age 16, Evora began performing in local bars of her hometown, Mindelo, on the Cape Verdean Island of Saõ Vicente. In 1975, after 18 years, she gave up her singing career, but then resumed it in earnest in 1985.

She launched her international career in France, where she went to record and perform in the late 1980s. With the release of her fourth album, *Miss Perfumado* (1992), Evora established her credentials as a legitimate star. Her rich, expressive voice and the haunting, melancholy nature of her deeply personal songs caught the attention of many listeners in Europe. By the mid-1990s her reputation had spread to the United States and other parts of the world.

Evora's songs are normally in the *morna* genre: mournful songs that usually chronicle lost love, nostalgia, and separation. Some of her music, however, takes the form of *coladeras*, which are faster-paced and less melancholy. Evora is often referred to as the Queen of Morna, and just as often the Barefoot Diva (owing to her habit of performing on stage without shoes or socks). She normally sings in Cape Verdean Creole, derived from Portuguese and West African languages.

Evora has recorded several albums, some of which have been nominated for Grammy awards. Despite her fame, wealth, and often hectic worldwide touring schedule, Evora still resides in Cape Verde. In recognition of her role as an informal cultural ambassador for her homeland, the Cape Verdean government has issued her a diplomatic passport.

exports Products traded on foreign markets. With historically weak domestic markets, most African countries embarked on a DEVELOPMENT strategy that relies on on export-led growth. At independence most African states traded predominantly with the European countries that had colonized them. This trade, which invariably worked to the advantage of European markets, tended to be export-driven and focused on a single crop or minerals. Exports included such items as coffee, tea, cocoa, cotton, groundnuts (peanuts), lumber, sorghum, sugar, livestock, and palm products. Countries with mineral wealth, such as ZAMBIA, Botswana, SOUTH AFRICA, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and GHANA, were mined predominantly by European industries to the benefit of a small number of European and African entrepreneurs. Some countries, such as ZIMBABWE, Ghana, BOTSWANA, and MAURITIUS, developed textiles or other industries to export basic commodity goods. However, ownership was usually foreign, and the opportunities to benefit from the industries were generally realized by only a select few.

Since that time, African product markets have diversified, and industries have grown throughout the continent. Still, there has been little basic change in the export

focus. Most countries continue to have the strongest trade ties with the European powers that once colonized them. Raw goods and limited basic industrial items still account for the majority of African exports. More recently, the high demand for OIL in the West has dwarfed the demand for other extractable resources.

By 1973 the narrow export markets of most non-oil-producing African countries led to significant deficits. Oil-producing countries fared slightly better, but not enough to make up for their economic shortfalls. For example, although NIGERIA, ANGOLA, GABON, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, and CAMEROON all profited from the export of oil, none succeeded in converting the resulting export funds into significant Development initiatives. Indeed, in some cases, such as Angola and Nigeria, oil riches have proven to be a curse, since proceeds supported the warlords, insurgent groups, and narrow government coalitions that waged decades-long conflicts.

Throughout the 1970s most African countries, whether following a capitalist or socialist model of development, worked to diversify their industrial bases. Governments in countries from KENYA to IVORY COAST imposed high import tariffs in order to protect nascent industries and control foreign exchange rates. The results were disastrous. Exports dropped precipitously, as capital accounts and foreign exchange holdings fell along with them.

In the early 1980s many African countries turned to the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND and the WORLD BANK for support. These organizations determined that the main cause of rising deficits and shortages of foreign exchange was the slow growth of exports. To support its assessment the World Bank noted that, in the 1970s, export growth declined in 24 of the 29 countries it examined. TANZANIA, Ghana, and others were cited for a bias against agricultural exports. The solution, African finance ministers were told, was to identify the product for which the country held a comparative advantage and then export that product to the fullest extent.

A decade later the World Bank measured the impact of the new approach only to find that not one of the countries measured performed adequately. RWANDA, for example, focused on exporting coffee. Although its coffee export proceeds rose by more than 70 percent, by the late 1980s the overall performance of the country's economy remained poor. Some historians argued that, when global coffee prices collapsed in 1989, Rwanda's overdependence on coffee exports led to instability that contributed to the Rwandan genocide in 1994.

Despite the failures the World Bank and other donors continued to believe that export-led growth was the key to linking Africa to the global economy. However, they began asking countries to diversify their export bases—in other words, to find multiple products in which the country has a comparative advantage. Commonly, these were extrac-tive goods, such as MINERALS AND METALS, which feed markets first developed during the colonial era. The key difference was that the benefactors in Africa were a nascent business class, not the colonial government.

Formed in 1995, the World Trade Organization began efforts to secure free and fair trade between all countries. With this organization, African countries gained a new forum for improving terms of trade and for expanding their export markets. At the dawn of the 21st century, African states are still working toward export-led growth. However, with the exception of Mauritius and a few other countries, exports of African countries are still raw goods that cannot generate earnings to compete with technology, manufactured goods, and services produced by advanced industrialized countries.

See also: EXPORTS (Vol. IV).

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Eyadema, Gnassingbe (Étienne Eyadema)
(1935–2005) *President of Togo from 1967 to 2005*

Étienne Eyadema was born to peasant parents living in Pya, in northern TOGO. He was a member of the Kabye people, a Togolese minority. With a limited formal education, at age 16 he quit school to join the French colonial army. Fighting for the French in Indochina and ALGERIA, he rose to the rank of sergeant. When the French colonial army was demobilized, the soldiers demanded to be integrated into the Togolese army. However, when their demands went unmet, Eyadema helped organize a military COUP D'ÉTAT to topple the government of President Sylvanus Olympio (1902–1963).

After the coup Eyadema installed Nicolas Grunitzkey (1913–1969), Togo's former prime minister, to head the government. Within four years, however, Eyadema, by then a self-promoted army general, deposed Grunitzkey and assumed the leadership of the country. Once in power he established the Togolese People's Rally and made Togo a one-party state.

In 1974 Eyadema began rejecting foreign influence and expelling foreign corporations from the country. He even cast off his French name, Étienne, and assumed a more Togolese name, Gnassingbe. Eyadema ruled with an iron fist. At times he threatened to suspend the constitution and dissolve the National Assembly in order to ensure that the political situation in Togo conformed to his will. To maintain his authority, Eyadema was known to imprison, torture, and even execute members of the political opposition. During his tenure thousands of Togolese citizens fled the country to escape his oppression. Although Togo held free elections, Eyadema reportedly

used his military might to intimidate opposition candidates and voters, thereby ensuring poor voter turnout. He was also accused of fixing results in elections he feared losing. During the last decade of his presidency, his government faced fierce riots and massive popular dissent, with domestic groups and Togolese diaspora from around the world calling for multiparty elections and new leadership. In February 2005 Eyadema died in his home village of Pya, while in transit for emergency medical treatment in Paris. Following an emergency parliamentary session, Eyadema's son, Faure Eyadema, was chosen to succeed his father as Togo's president.

See also: ARMIES, COLONIAL (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); OLYMPIO, SYLVANUS (Vol. IV).

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family Many of the values and structures of modern African families, which vary considerably from region to region and culture to culture, have continued to be rooted in the traditions and values of the precolonial past. The sense of family remains strong, as does the value placed on children and respect for age and seniority. Yet, as in so many other parts of the world, the family in Africa is under great pressure. Some of this pressure comes from economic forces, such as wages and migrant LABOR, that had their origin in the colonial era. Also, while the colonial era witnessed growing URBANIZATION, urban development exploded once African countries became independent. In countries such as EGYPT and CAMEROON, for example, nearly all of the population growth in recent decades has been in the cities. The urban area of CAIRO, for instance, has a population of nearly 16 million, making it the largest in Africa and the tenth-largest urban area in the world.

URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE forced Africans to adapt their family structures to a new setting from the rural life had had been the norm for the vast majority of Africans until the 20th century. Not only did new social forces come into play, but new economic forces arose too, as families were increasingly dependent on sources of income external to the family for their existence. Even in the rural areas, the dependence on cash income instead of subsistence AGRICULTURE became increasingly important. Some rural people worked for wages on plantations, such as those growing tea in MALAWI. Individual African farmers also increasingly engaged in growing CASH CROPS, whether it be cut flowers in KENYA, cotton in MALI, or coffee in RWANDA. In both rural or urban areas, African families are thus increasingly dependent on the vagaries of the global MARKET for their economic needs. Such dependence has introduced a comparatively new phenomenon, that of POVERTY, into Africa, which in turn has had negative repercussions for the family, affecting the availability of such necessities as EDUCATION and health care.

See also: FAMILY (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Further reading: Mario Azevedo, "The African Family," in Mario Azevedo, ed., *Africana Studies: A Survey of Africa and the African Diaspora* (3rd ed.; Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2004).

famine and hunger Although technological advances in AGRICULTURE have helped lessen the problem of mass starvation in most of the world, food crises remain frequent in much of Africa. Famine is generally defined as starvation so intense that it causes the loss of human life. The causes of famine are many. The most common is a food shortage resulting from drought, climatic or ATMOSPHERIC CHANGE, or changes in the condition or use of the land. However, these natural conditions are often combined with other factors. Indeed, famine can sometimes occur when there is no food shortage at all. Changes in prices and market conditions, political decisions, civil war, disease, and shifts in agricultural policies all can lead to a reduction in the amount of food available for a population.

Famine is not a new phenomenon. The Bible refers to Abraham's journey to EGYPT as a response to famine (Genesis 12:10). The Irish Potato Famine (1845–49), which is thought to have been responsible for the deaths of more than a million people, set off one of the largest mass migrations in European history. More recently, Josef

Stalin (1879–1953) starved 7 million or more Ukrainians in 1932–33, in an effort to force a policy of collective AGRICULTURE. In the late 1970s the policies of Cambodia's Khmer Rouge government led to an estimated 1 million deaths from starvation. The Ethiopian famine of 1988–89 was perhaps the worst ever seen in Africa.

In recent years what was once a global crisis has become a particularly African one. The primary reason is that the so-called Green Revolution, which had dramatic effects elsewhere in the world but has not been fully felt in Africa. Indeed, Africa has been relatively isolated from those gains, primarily through a combination of POVERTY, a lack of agricultural technologies, political strife, and crises in DEVELOPMENT and social policy.

The Green Revolution, in which agriculture was transformed from a purely "farming" concern to a scientific one, ended agriculture's reliance on nature alone. The Green Revolution took its first leap forward with Fritz Haber (1868–1934), the winner of the first Nobel Prize in chemistry (1918), who demonstrated the synthesis of ammonia. This ultimately led to the creation of chemical fertilizers. Combined with modern irrigation techniques, the availability of these fertilizers helped farmers grow crops on lands that were once considered marginal or even barren. Agricultural productivity skyrocketed, making it possible, for the time being at least, to contradict the famed prediction of economist Thomas Malthus (1766–1834) that the starvation of the human species was imminent.

As the Green Revolution progressed, strategies also were developed for mitigating the natural disasters that once were the primary causes of famine. As a result the human population has grown from approximately 950 million, in Malthus's time, to more than 6 billion today.

Nature, of course, is one of the primary causes of hunger in Africa. One area that consistently faces drought from turns of nature is the Sahel, which encompasses large parts of SENEGAL, MAURITANIA, MALI, BURKINA FASO, NIGER, and CHAD. All too often, the 50 million people who live in this area deal with weather conditions that can produce dramatic shortages of food. Droughts in 1973–74 and 1984, for example, were particularly costly in terms of both economics and human life. The cause of this lies in the fact that approximately 80 percent of the region's need for cereal foods must be met by local production. Unfortunately the local growing conditions are poor, with low rainfall, inferior soil, and underdeveloped markets. As a result the populations are vulnerable to the shock of drought or other natural factors.

Food production in the Sahel actually increased by 70 percent between 1961 and 1996. But this increase in food production did not keep pace with the increase in population. As a result, in spite of the gains in total food production, net food production *per person* actually declined 30 percent during this period.

Famine, especially today, does not start and stop suddenly with rain or other natural causes. Rather, it is closely tied to economic and political processes. In the most famine-prone areas of Africa—the Horn of Africa and other parts of East Africa, the Sahel, and Southern Africa (ZIMBABWE, ZAMBIA, and MALAWI in particular)—volatile market conditions that ultimately lead to hunger are a regular way of life. Indeed, in the Horn of Africa, famine seems to be merely a period in which the normal food insecurity becomes more intense.

In this sense, famine in Africa is closely tied to poverty. Not only is there insufficient rain and poor soil conditions, there also is a lack of money to properly irrigate or fertilize farmlands. Farmers do not invest in materials that could increase productivity because they are too costly and because market conditions are too risky. Instead, farmers try to meet their food needs by bringing new, often marginal land into cultivation. This response reduces the farmers' market risk, but it increases their vulnerability to natural occurrences. It also can have devastating ecological effects and can lead to great environmental problems.

Further, markets respond to purchasing power. Where poverty is great or inflation is high, markets can be full of food while the population starves. When this happens, producers either have to find other markets—usually abroad—or watch the market collapse. This can happen both locally and on a regional scale. For instance, in 1994 the common currency of the African Financial Community, a group of 16 African countries with financial cooperation arrangements, was devalued, leading to price increases for food staples and the inability of many people, particularly in Mali, to feed themselves.

Politics also are a frequent element of famine in Africa. Political causes of famine in Africa date back to the colonial era. In one of the most extreme cases, millions died because Belgium's King Leopold II (1835–1909) treated the farmlands of the Congo Free State as his own private resource. Elsewhere, in 1896 the British

colonial authority in RHODESIA (now Zimbabwe) destroyed the crops of ethnic Ndebele people in order to starve them to the point that they would be unable to rebel.

At the global level, market failures cause other problems with the availability of food. One of the most striking of these is the situation in highly developed agricultural countries in which there is such a surplus of food commodities that crops must be destroyed.

The end of colonialism, unfortunately, did not bring an end to politically caused starvation. The severe 1984 famine in Ethiopia, for example, was initially caused by drought. The situation was worsened, however, by the civil war involving TIGRAY and ERITREA. To compound matters, the Ethiopian ruler, MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–   ), blacked out news of the famine, which delayed foreign assistance. Then, he and his Dergue military committee used the famine as an excuse to forcibly relocate hundreds of thousands of people from the north of the country to the south. Although the relocations were called an attempt at agricultural collectivism, in reality they were the removal of potential combatants from regions opposed to the Mengistu regime. Finally, when record amounts of foreign aid did manage to get to Ethiopia—largely as a result of Live Aid support from musicians in the United States and Europe—Mengistu withheld the aid from his people in order to further his political strength. This multitude of factors caused an estimated 800,000 deaths. Unfortunately the situation in Ethiopia represents an extreme, but not unfamiliar, example.

It has been difficult to take steps to avoid the political causes of famine. Consequently, many other countries—including ANGOLA, LIBERIA, SIERRA LEONE, SOMALIA, the Republic of the SUDAN, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO—have experienced similar periods of famine exacerbated by politics and conflict. One positive note, however, is that it increasingly has become possible to confront some of the causes of famine that arise from nature or policy decisions.

Monitoring the problem of famine has become the first step. One leader in this is the Famine Early Warning System (FEWS), which is part of the U.S. Agency for International Development. Created to supply information to decision makers, the agency's primary goal is to reduce vulnerability to famine by creating more effective response networks. To accomplish this, it tracks famines and their causes, assessing an area's vulnerability to famine each season, monitoring rainfall, providing alerts and warnings,

and assisting with emergency planning. In this way, FEWS accumulates information that can help determine what can be done to reduce the impact of a famine.

Equally important in the battle against famine have been organizations that provide information about weather and climate, such as the Drought Monitoring Centers for eastern and southern Africa. Organizations like these monitor droughts and their impact on agriculture; they also provide recommendations for how to avoid or reduce the severity of droughts.

Monitoring and policy-making efforts like these can play an important role in understanding the problem of hunger and famine. However, they are not a cure in and of themselves. Instead, long-term changes in the situation would seem to lie in understanding that food security—which is the ultimate protection against hunger and famine—lies in integrated rural development.

See also: ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); LAND USE (Vol. V); SAHEL (Vol. I).

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Faye, Safi (1943–   ) *Filmmaker from Senegal*
Born in Fad Jal, a Senegalese village south of DAKAR, Faye studied at the École Normal in the Dakar suburb of Rufisque, where she obtained her teaching certificate. In 1966 Faye met Jean Rouch (1917–   ), the famous French ethnographic filmmaker and one of the originators of cinema verité, at the World Black and African Festival of Arts and Cultures. Rouch introduced Faye to the world of filmmaking, casting her in his film *Petit à Petit.*

Following Rauch's advice, Faye went to France to study filmmaking and ethnology. She earned her degree from the University of Paris in 1977 and received her doctorate in ethnology two years later. She later studied at the Louis Lumière Film School, also in Paris.

In 1973 Faye made her first film, *Revanche* (*Revenge*), in collaboration with other students in Paris. Faye's most acclaimed work is the ethnographic film *Kaddu Beykat,* which garnered her numerous awards, including the Georges Sadoul Prize, a French movie award given for the best film by a new director.

Faye's distinction as an ethnographic filmmaker is tied to her position as a member of the society that she has documented. Able to engage her surroundings in a familiar way, instead of as an observer, Faye understands her subject matter in a way that outsiders may not. Among the many examples of Faye's uncommon perspec-

tive is the documentary *Selbé: One Among Others* (1982), which offered a vivid look at the struggles of daily life for rural Senegalese women.

See also: CINEMA (Vols. IV, V); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

Fela (Fela Anikulapo-Kuti) (1938–1997) *Nigerian singer, composer, and musician*

More than merely a popular singer, Fela was also a political activist who was critical of politics in NIGERIA and of Western big business practices in Africa. Born into a prominent family, Fela went abroad, in 1959, to study music in London, where he formed a band called Koola Lobitos. He returned to Nigeria, in 1963, and established himself as a major force in the nightclub scene of LAGOS, Nigeria's capital. In 1969 Fela took his band on a 10-month tour of the United States, where he was exposed to the pro-African ideology of the Black Panthers and Malcolm X (1925–1965). He subsequently became an impassioned advocate of PAN-AFRICANISM. By this time he had developed a musical style that he termed Afro-Beat, which fused elements of American jazz with West African rhythms. Fela's subsequent bands, Africa 70 and Egypt 80, featured large numbers of back-up singers, dancers, and musicians, and were notable for their high-energy, driving rhythms.

Upon his return to Nigeria, Fela opened a popular Lagos nightclub, the Shrine, and became something of a national celebrity. Commercial success outside Nigeria, however, was hindered by the nature of his MUSIC and lyrics, which were delivered in a mixture of pidgin English, his native YORUBA language, and other Nigerian languages. His songs were often long (sometimes exceeding an hour) and Fela was opposed to performing songs live once he had recorded them. Over the course of his career, he became an accomplished musician on the saxophone, trumpet, and keyboards.

Fela's forays into politics were almost as notable as his musical accomplishments. In public speeches and in the lyrics of his provocative songs, he frequently denounced government CORRUPTION and incompetence, as well as military rule. His overtly political messages made him the target of repeated arrest, harassment, and imprisonment, especially when Nigeria was under military rule. In 1974 he erected an electric fence around his compound in Lagos and declared it an independent state, the Kalakuta Republic. Eventually the police invaded the compound, attacked the occupants of Fela's home, and burned it to the ground. His mother, a noted activist for women's rights in Nigeria, was thrown from a second-story window and later died of her injuries. Fela responded by forming his own political party, Movement of the People. Representing his party, he unsuccessfully stood as a presidential candidate in 1979 and again in

1983. In 1984 he was found guilty of "false currency" charges and served 20 months of a 10-year sentence.

Fela's unique politics and personality appealed to millions of politically disaffected, unemployed, and oppressed Nigerians. He flouted convention in his personal life, as well. In 1978 he married 27 women in a collective ceremony. His advocacy of sexual promiscuity, polygyny, and marijuana use drew much attention. Fela died of AIDS-related complications in 1997, and his public funeral attracted more than 100,000 mourners. His son, Femi Kuti (1962–   ), also a saxophonist and bandleader, has achieved commercial success in recent years.

See also: HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Michael E. Veal, *Fela: The Life and Times of an African Musical Icon* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000).

fishing, commercial Africa's commercial fishing sector encompasses a wide span of businesses, from multinational joint ventures that send out numerous vessels to small-scale operations using canoes and selling solely to markets within a local community. Commercial fishing in Africa reached its economic peak in the mid-1960s, soon after most African countries achieved independence from European colonizers. However, the industry began declining shortly thereafter, primarily due to the decrease and even disappearance of certain types of marine resources. Since then, governments have placed restrictions on both local and national fishing operations, but overfishing still remains the greatest challenge to Africa's commercial fishing industry.

Strong fishing industries are found in many parts of the continent, particularly in southern Africa. In SOUTH AFRICA, for example, the fishing industry employs more than 22,000 people, and the Department of Environment Affairs licenses more than 4,500 commercial fishing vessels. Along the coastline, from MOZAMBIQUE to NAMIBIA, these boats bring in anchovies, pilchard, herring, and lobsters; deep-sea vessels bring in hake, barracuda, mackerel, monkfish, sole, and squid.

The island nation of MADAGASCAR, located in the Indian Ocean, also has a strong fishing industry working over a vast area. With numerous rivers and lakes as well as an extensive coastline, the country has a wide range of fish, including prawn, crayfish, tuna, squid, and octopus. The combination of both a saltwater and freshwater catch makes fishing Madagascar's second-largest export industry.

In West Africa, NIGERIA has a strong fishing sector, with Atlantic Ocean coastal waters in the south, Lake Chad in the northeast, and rivers in the northwest. Crabs, croakers, moonfish, sharks, and thread fin make up the bulk of the Nigerian industry. The island nation of CAPE VERDE, off the coast of West Africa, also has a major export fishing industry.

Small-scale fisheries, also referred to as artisanal fisheries, are difficult to clearly define, as their role changes throughout the African countries. Usually, they are worked by individuals or extended family households instead of corporate fleets, and their fishing does not reach far from shore. However, pure subsistence fisheries are probably rare, as the artisinal fish catch is generally sold or exchanged for goods. Some of these smaller, localized fishing industries can be found in the villages surrounding Lake Tanganyika, in the Great Rift Valley of east Africa.

See also: COASTAL AND MARINE ECOSYSTEMS (Vol. V); FISHING (Vol. I); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vol. V).

FLN See NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

Foccart, **Jacques** (1913–1997) *French administrator*

From 1958 to 1974 Foccart served as the France's secretary-general for African affairs. Even while French colonial rule in Africa was on the decline, Foccart was instrumental in shaping the relationship between FRANCE AND AFRICA for the independence era. Born into a wealthy French family from Mayenne, France, Jacques Foccart was raised in Guadeloupe, French West Indies. By 1935 he had set up a successful import-export business. Early in World War II (1939–45), Foccart joined the French resistance, proving to be a masterful tactician with a secretive nature. He became a close ally of General Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970), leader of the anti-Nazi Free French forces. Later, in 1958, Foccart played a key role in de Gaulle's return to the French government during the crisis over Algerian independence.

As de Gaulle's secretary-general for African affairs, Foccart set up the CFA franc, a common currency for French-speaking, African countries. Using his many political connections, Foccart also promoted French business interests in Africa. Behind the scenes he was a "king-maker," using his influence to orchestrate the rise to power of African leaders who would be sympathetic with the French. Among these were Omar BONGO (1935–), of GABON; Jean-Bedel BOKASSA (1921–1996), of the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC; and David DACKO (1930–), whom Foccart chose to replace Bokassa.

As a rule, Foccart acted with France's best interest in mind, sometimes to the detriment of Africans. To protect French businesses in ZAÏRE (present-day Republic of the CONGO), he backed MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997), who came to be known as one of Africa's most vicious and despotic dictators. After Foccart left his post in 1974, he maintained an office in the Elysée Palace in Paris, helping to orchestrate France's Africa policy until his death in 1997.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV).

Foley, Maurice (Anthony Maurice Foley) (1925–2002) *Leading figure in Africa-Europe postcolonial relations*

Born in Durham, England to working-class Irish parents, Foley was a leader first in the Electrical Trades Union and then the Transport and General Workers' unions. Elected to Parliament as a Labor Party representative in 1963, he quickly moved into senior posts. He served in different positions within the Department of Economic Affairs, the Home Office, and the Navy Office. He became the Foreign Office minister for Africa in 1969, at a time when Britain was rapidly granting independence to its African colonies.

Foley was pro-European at a time when many in Britain preferred to remain isolated from European affairs. As a result of his pro-European stance he worked to unite British, German, and French interests in postcolonial Africa. This became the foundation of European DEVELOPMENT policy, which was finally written into the Maastricht Treaty, also known as the Treaty on European Union. In 1973 Foley became the European Commission's deputy director-general for development.

Foley retired in 1987. For his outstanding service, Queen Elizabeth II (1926–) made him a Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); EUROPE AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

food The modern era has seen an acceleration of the changes that began taking place in the patterns of African food consumption during the colonial era. Certainly, long-standing food preferences continue to hold sway, but there are also major changes taking place.

Some of the ongoing food-pattern changes have been related to crops that Africans have consumed for a number of centuries. In particular, cassava, a food that was part of the American food complex that entered Africa after 1500, has steadily grown in importance as a food staple. It is a root crop, heavy in carbohydrates, but its leaves are also edible, providing those who eat them with protein, vitamins, and minerals. It is easy to grow and is suitable for virtually every climate zone. Originally considered a famine food, it is now widely marketed in urban areas.

In addition, with transportation and communication becoming increasingly easier and more economical, food preferences from one particular region are spreading elsewhere on the continent. For example, due to the geographical position and early agricultural history of ETHIOPIA, the country possesses a unique cuisine. At its center is *injera,* a large, circular, spongy flatbread made from flour that comes from *teff.* Rather than using utensils, Ethiopians use the bread to scoop up cooked meats and vegetables that are served with it. Ethiopian restau-

rants are increasingly popular in African cities such as NAIROBI, DAR ES SALAAM, and JOHANNESBURG, and they have become an increasingly familiar sight outside Africa. London, which in the late 1990s had six Ethiopian restaurants, now has more than 20. In the United States, Washington, D.C., with a regional population of perhaps 50,000 Ethiopians, has the largest concentration of such restaurants outside Ethiopia itself.

Foodstuffs from outside the continent have continued to grow in importance over recent decades. Sometimes this has been in the nature of efforts to relieve FAMINE AND HUNGER in times of natural disasters and CIVIL WARS. The United States has contributed large quantities of grain, especially corn and wheat, for such efforts. The importation of food from abroad for commercial purposes has also steadily increased. For example, much of the rice that is at the center of the Gambian diet comes from Taiwan. Shops throughout the continent also stock items such as Coca-Cola and other soft drinks, along with imported canned meat, fish, tomatoes, and the like. While these goods are found in limited quantities in rural areas, modern supermarkets in the large cities are fully stocked with these items, catering to both expatriate westerners and the local African elite. As the pace of URBANIZATION and globalization increases, Africa's food preferences and consumption patterns continue to evolve.

See also: AGRICULTURE (Vol. V); CASH CROPS (Vol. V); FOOD (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FOOD CROPS (Vol. V); FISHING, COMMERCIAL (Vol. V).

food crops Crops that farmers grow principally for their own consumption. In contrast, CASH CROPS are grown for the market. Some major crops, such as palm oil and groundnuts, are grown as both food and cash crops.

Many of modern Africa's food crops, such as millet, sorghum, and yams, originated on the continent thousands of years ago. Some, such as bananas, cassava, and maize (corn), have been present in Africa for many centuries, brought there by trade. Others, such as wheat in sub-Saharan Africa, were introduced along with a number of cash crops during the colonial era. As a result, at independence African countries inherited an AGRICULTURE that was substantially different from what it was a century earlier. This was due in large part to the colonial emphasis on cash crop production for export. Consequently both land and LABOR were diverted away from growing food for local consumption. This shift in agricultural production accompanied rapid POPULATION GROWTH, beginning about 1960. By the end of the century the population was growing at nearly 3 percent annually in much of the continent. Paralleling this population growth was a much slower growth in agricultural production, so that the food crops grown by Africans now fail to meet the continent's consumption needs. The pressure caused by Africa's rapid, if uneven, process of URBANIZATION further compounded the situation. While in most of the continent rural people have grown enough food to feed themselves, they have not been growing sufficient additional food along with their cash crops to feed Africa's growing cities. Hence, African populations have increasingly come to rely on imported foods.

A pressing issue that took precedence in the 1980s was whether or not Africa could feed itself. In part, the question emerged because of the FAMINE AND HUNGER that resulted from natural disasters like the droughts of 1968–73 and 1983–85 in the Sahel. The production of food crops was also negatively affected by the CIVIL WARS and other political upheavals that gripped countries such as the Republic of the SUDAN and ANGOLA. As the gap between food production and food needs widened, it seemed that a continent that was still primarily rural should be able to meet its own food needs. However, some people, Africans among them, asked whether or not the continent *should* seek to feed itself. Instead, in agreement with a 1981 report put out by the WORLD BANK, they suggested that Africa should expand its export agricultural production and then meet any food deficits through imports. The choice, then, seemed to be either cash crops or food crops.

An alternative has emerged in the food crop/cash crop debate, one that suggests that rather than being in opposition, the two forms of agriculture can be complementary. Through the 19th century African farmers had sufficient land to allow some of it to lie fallow for a long period of time, giving the soil an opportunity to replenish its nutrients. Increasing pressures on farmlands over the course of the 20th century, however, have meant shorter fallow periods and subsequent soil depletion. Fertilizers can restore and preserve soil fertility, but they cost money, which food crops do not generate. Cash crops, too, require fertilizers. However, especially when prices are good, cash crops themselves provide the income to purchase fertilizer. When cash crops are combined with food crops in the use of fertilizer, food crop production also rises. The problem with this approach, though, is that it does not work if international commodity prices plunge, as they have recently for both coffee and cotton.

The 1970 Nobel Peace Prize winner Norman Borlaug (1914–) commented that "You can double, triple and quadruple yield—so the potential is there. But you can't eat potential. You've got to have reality—grain, food to eat to relieve human misery."

Given the market limitations of the combined cash crop/food crop option, another approach is for the emphasis to shift to those food crops that originated on the continent thousands of years ago. These are much more suited to African climatic conditions than are the crops that accompanied colonial rule. Thus, they pose fewer ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES. Research focusing on improving the yields of such crops—and also finding new uses for them—may be the best way for Africans to achieve food security, which in turn could provide a more reliable base for DEVELOPMENT than now exists in many countries.

See also: BANANA (Vol. II); CASSAVA (Vol. II); FOOD CROPS (Vol. IV); GROUNDNUTS (Vol. IV); MILLET (Vol. I); PALM OIL (Vols. III, IV); SAHEL (Vol. I); SORGHUM (Vol. I); YAMS (Vol. I).

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foreign investment   For countries lacking capital to promote their own DEVELOPMENT, it is critical to attract foreign investment to bring jobs and money. Over the past two decades African countries have struggled to attract sufficient foreign investment.

Investment is that part of current output that is used to produce future output. For private companies this generally means that a percentage of earnings is spent on building INFRASTRUCTURE, conducting research and development, or shoring up the capital base necessary for future success. For governments, the goals are similar, but they also include social development as well as economic development.

A problem in many African countries—UGANDA, for instance—is that there are relatively few domestic, private businesses and a large percentage of the population lives in POVERTY. Because of this, governments cannot generate the tax revenue necessary for investment. However, countries with a LABOR glut and low salaries can provide prime opportunities for investment by foreign corporations. When they build factories in such countries, foreign companies produce their products more cheaply, making them more competitive for trade in the international marketplace. In return, the host countries see an increase in jobs created. When jobs are created, the competition for jobs decreases, driving wages higher to benefit workers. Higher wages mean higher tax revenue for the state. Other benefits for

the state include moneys generated by taxes and export tariffs paid by the foreign corporations. These mechanisms build government revenue and increase the potential for governments to invest in social improvements. Often, a private company and the government forge an agreement that requires the company to provide direct infrastructure investments. In exchange, the company is given favorable terms of operation, including reduced taxes.

Foreign investment is widely viewed as a shortcut to development, and governments go to great lengths to attract outside companies. There were some notable successes during the 1990s. NIGERIA, for example, received an average of more than $1.5 billion per year in foreign investment. SOUTH AFRICA ($755 million), ANGOLA ($254 million), and Uganda ($112 million) also attracted large amounts of foreign investment. Other countries experiencing some foreign investment success include BOTSWANA, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, GHANA, MOZAMBIQUE, and NAMIBIA. In addition, some of these countries have been able to diversify the type of investment to include manufacturing, services, and technology in addition to natural resource extraction. In the 1990s the rate of investor return in Africa averaged 29 percent, higher than any other region in the world.

Unfortunately, the majority of African countries have not had much success in attracting foreign investment. With the exception of South Africa, most foreign capital in Africa is still concentrated in the exploitation of NATURAL RESOURCES, particularly OIL. The dominant view of global economists is that Africa has to be made more attractive to potential foreign investors. To this end, wealthy countries can help by reducing the debt burden, increasing technical assistance, making it easier for African products to be marketed in their countries, and disseminating information on African investment opportunities.

See also: EXPORTS (Vol. V); MINING (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. V).

Further reading: Nicolas van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis 1979–1999* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2001); George B. N. Ayittey, *Africa in Chaos* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

forests   Forests cover 22 percent of Africa's land area. They are diverse in forest cover type, rich in flora and fauna species, and rapidly being depleted. Forests cover 650 million acres of the African continent. They are highly diverse, from the lowland evergreen rain forests of the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC and the Congo to the montane forests of UGANDA and ANGOLA to the dry, deciduous forests of ZIMBABWE, BOTSWANA, and MOZAMBIQUE— 14 forest types in all.

African peoples have long relied on the resources of forested areas for survival. This way of life is threatened,

however, because the resources in all forest types are vulnerable. Fuel is the most common use of forest wood, and it accounts for more than 60 percent of total energy use within the continent. Other uses for wood include building, fencing, irrigation, craft materials, and the production of medicines. In addition to local consumption, forests are depleted through commercial logging and the creation of agricultural land. Both activities are closely tied to the challenges of DEVELOPMENT and POVERTY.

Governments have worked with the private sector to increase Africa's benefits from the global trade in African timber. This sort of resource harvesting is a quick fix for heavily cash-strapped national economies, but it is also one of the greatest contributors to ecological change.

The needs of Africa's burgeoning populations have put a critical strain on forest resources. The current average rate of land cover decrease—0.8 percent per year—means that Africa's forests could disappear in little more than a century. This threat has led to a broad global movement to establish NATIONAL PARKS and protected areas, which can both ensure the survival of key pockets of forest and produce much-needed revenue from TOURISM. Economists point out that the long-term economic value of forests—as estimated by the ecological benefits they provide—is commonly greater when forests are left standing. However, to a hungry population needing to fill short-term needs for survival, this argument is often unconvincing.

The ecological benefits of Africa's forests are numerous. Humid forests alone support an estimated 1.5 million species. These species support local economies, but, where they are found nowhere else, they also provide needed BIODIVERSITY. Diverse flora and fauna serve critical functions, such as producing oxygen, filtering out carbon dioxide, regenerating soils, producing organic matter, and absorbing and storing rainwater. . In central Africa, for instance, some scientists believe that as much as 75 percent of all rainwater comes from evapotransporation—the evaporation of water from vegetation and the underlying soil. The clearing of forests is thus closely associated with ATMOSPHERIC CHANGE.

The preservation of African forests helps mitigate the impacts of climate change just as their felling exacerbates them. And since scientists know little about what ecosystems high in biodiversity provide, they can't say what the effects of destroying them will be on future generations.

See also: ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); FAMINE AND HUNGER (Vol. V); DROUGHT AND DESERTIFICATION (Vol. V); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V).

Further reading: Tamara Giles-Vernick, *Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Central African Rainforest* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2002); William Weber, et al., eds., *African Rainforest Ecology and Conservation: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001).

Fort Hare College Leading institution of higher EDUCATION in SOUTH AFRICA and rallying ground for the anti-APARTHEID political opposition. Established in 1916 as a missionary teaching college, Fort Hare evolved into an institution at which black South Africans could acquire a comprehensive liberal arts education. In 1959, however, Fort Hare came under the administrative control of the Department of Native Affairs, and its academic integrity was severely undermined. The curriculum was altered to conform to the requirements of BANTU EDUCATION and, consistent with the government's apartheid policy of divide and conquer, only XHOSA-speaking Africans could register as students. Faculty and students who expressed anti-government sentiments were expelled, as the government sought to suppress its political opponents.

Despite these repressive measures, protests continued. In fact, in the late 1960s Fort Hare became a hotbed of anti-government political activity. The BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT took root at the college, primarily through the auspices of the SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION (SASO), and the college became central to the development of a number of Africa's most influential black politicians, doctors, writers, and artists. Counted among Fort Hare's alumni are Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993), Robert SOBUKWE (1924–1978), Robert MUGABE (1924–   ), Stanlake SAMKANGE (1922–1988), and Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ), South Africa's first African president.

In recognition of its role in educating many future political leaders, Fort Hare houses the papers of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and those of other opposition groups who fought against apartheid.

Since the collapse of apartheid and the white-minority government in 1994, however, Fort Hare has been beset by serious problems. Many students have refused to pay tuition and have accumulated student debts, jeopardizing the school's financial viability. In addition, African students today can attend any of South Africa's universities, many of which were once reserved almost exclu-

sively for white students. Most of these universities still command superior resources and now attract the best African students, who previously had little choice other than to attend Fort Hare. Fort Hare also suffers from its remote rural setting, which lacks the appeal of the major urban areas where many of the former whites-only universities are located.

See also: FORT HARE COLLEGE (Vol. IV).

France and Africa Most of France's former African colonies had been granted independence by 1960. However, during the post-independence era, France has institutionalized its political, economic, and cultural dominance over its former African dependencies.

The French Community and African Independence In 1958 all but one of France's sub-Saharan African former colonies, now territories, voted for membership in the proposed French Community. (Only GUINEA voted "no" to this union and thus remained outside the Franco-African Community until about 1978.) The spokesperson for the Franco-African Community was Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993) of the IVORY COAST.

In 1956 France had passed the *Loi Cadre* (Overseas Reform Act), which provided the basic administrative hierarchy for the new governments. And although increased independence changed the administrative relationship between France and its colonies, France continued to control the African states economically, through financial aid. Most of the newly constituted African nations had a small, well-educated elite, some of whom had political experience, but the next level of administration lacked sufficient numbers of experienced workers; those who were available were poorly trained for the task at hand. Consequently, even after independence, former French colonial civil servants stayed on as advisers. In 1960, when members of the French Union formally became independent, only SENEGAL, Ivory Coast, and Guinea could claim to be prepared for the occasion.

Although independent in many respects, some of the 12 member states of the French Community still relied on France to stimulate their economies. As a result, France's buying power allowed it to maintain a monopoly on African EXPORTS. In addition, the landlocked, impoverished countries of NIGER, UPPER VOLTA (now BURKINA FASO), French Soudan (now MALI), CHAD, and Oubangui-Chari (now the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC) were left few options but to buy French imports. The revenue derived from markets in these countries helped to stabilize France's economy after the World War II (1939–45).

Two dominant groups emerged within the African states of the French Community: those who favored federation and those who did not. In 1958 Senegal and French Soudan formed the Mali Federation within the

Community and looked to work closely with France's President Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970). The following year, de Gaulle agreed that the two African states could become independent and retain their status as partners in the French Community. De Gaulle's decision was greatly influenced by his fear that rejecting French Soudan would antagonize its new government into supporting ALGERIA in that country's bloody war for independence from France.

Further, de Gaulle did not want the other members of the French Community to follow Guinea's lead and push for independence outside of the community. For its part, the Mali Federation insisted that it wanted to remain within the community and was therefore able to avoid the punitive measures that France took against Guinea.

By 1959 France was spending more on ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE to Africa, per capita, than any other industrialized country. To ensure that France would remain the dominant power in the region, de Gaulle negotiated defense agreements and bilateral treaties that included all types of economic and technical assistance. These agreements also guaranteed France access to strategic raw materials.

De Gaulle's policy of maintaining close interpersonal relationships with African heads of state helped France maintain its privileged position. In 1960 de Gaulle chose Jacques FOCCART (1913–1997) to be the first secretary-general of the French Community. Foccart would later carry out de Gaulle's African policies from 1969 to 1981 under French presidents Georges Pompidou (1911– 1974) and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (1926–   ). Because of his position and longevity, Jacques Foccart was second only to de Gaulle in influencing France's relationship with French-speaking Africa. In 1978 d'Estaing brought Guinea back into the French economic sphere at the "unity summit," which was held in MONROVIA, LIBERIA. Other than the change regarding Guinea, however, during this time only minor adjustments were made to the Gaul-list policy.

In 1981 François Mitterrand (1916–1996) became France's new president, representing the Socialist Party. Believing that France's relationship with Africa was a form of neocolonialism, Mitterrand tried to reduce the personal privilege of the African presidents while increasing financial spending on poor nations worldwide. However, the weight of colonial history—and the economic recession of 1981—eventually forced Mitterrand to abandon his policy changes. In 1986 Mitterrand's prime minister, Jacques Chirac (1932–   ), appointed Jacques Foccart to be his adviser on African affairs. With Foccart's guidance, the Ministry of Coóperation produced a new African policy guide that reflected a continuation of the Gaullist approach to Africa.

In 1990 Mitterrand declared that France's domestic economic decline precluded his country from bailing out

Africa on its own and called for a worldwide effort to help the continent. He called for the establishment of a special international fund to help the African countries and committed French funds to help the world's 35 poorest nations, including 22 in sub-Saharan Africa. Also, France promised a new debt-forgiveness program for countries that had shown progress toward democracy and reduced the interest rate on French loans to four African countries (CAMEROON, Congo, GABON, and Ivory Coast).

The result of French neocolonialism has been that the French-speaking African states have failed to replace or to eliminate colonial institutions, thereby keeping those states politically, economically, and, to a certain extent, culturally dependent on France.

See also: DE GAULLE, CHARLES (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

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Freetown Capital, principal port, and largest city of SIERRA LEONE, located on Africa's Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. Freetown was founded by British abolitionists, in 1878, as a haven for freed and recaptive slaves from throughout western Africa. Hence, the city developed a population that included both indigenous peoples and Krios, the descendants of North American slaves who speak an English-based language. When Sierra Leone became independent in 1961—with Freetown as the capital—the city's population of about 130,000 was still very much dominated by the Krio element.

Once it became a national capital rather than a colonial administrative center, however, Freetown started to diversify. Substantial numbers of Mende and Temne peoples from the interior migrated there, and, by 1975, the population reached approximately 300,000 people. By 2000, that number had climbed to nearly 1 million.

Freetown is the home of many educational institutions, including sub-Saharan Africa's oldest university, Fourah Bay College. In addition, it is the site of the Anglican Saint George's Cathedral (1852), a botanical garden that dates from the 19th century, and Sierra Leone's National Museum, which is housed in the old railway station. The colonial-era ARCHITECTURE of central Freetown gives it an appearance reminiscent of English-speaking Caribbean islands.

Major EXPORTS from Freetown's port include agricultural commodities, such as palm oil and kernels, sugar, cacao, tobacco, coffee, and ginger, and the output of the bauxite and iron mines in the country's interior. Manufacturing and industrial exports include processed foods, paint, and shoes.

The diamond-MINING industry of Sierra Leone, which began with a discovery of the gems in the 1930s, peaked by 1970. Even so, illicit diamond trading helped fuel the political instability that wreaked havoc on Sierra Leone throughout the 1990s. In 1997 troops associated with REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT (RUF) staged a COUP D'ÉTAT and seized control of the capital. Then, between 1998 and 2000, intense fighting between the RUF and peacekeeping forces of the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY FOR WEST AFRICAN STATES devastated the city and left thousands of its residents dead or injured. In 2002 combined British troops and UN peacekeeping forces finally brought a tentative peace to Freetown.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MENDE (Vol. III); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V); PALM OIL (Vols. III, IV); RECAPTIVES (Vol. IV); SLAVE TRADE (Vols. III, IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Sorious Samara, *Cry Freetown* [videorecording] (London: Insight New Television, 2000).

FRELIMO See MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT.

French Territory of the Afars and Issas Former name of the northeast African country of DJIBOUTI.

See also: FRENCH SOMALILAND (Vol. IV); SOMALIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU) HUTU-backed ruling party of BURUNDI during the country's brief democratic period, from 1993 to 1996. Under mounting international pressure, President Pierre BUYOYA (1949–), an ethnic TUTSI, held Burundi's first multiparty elections in May 1993. Melchior Ndadaye (1953–1999) of the Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU) won the presidency with 65 percent of the vote to Buyoya's 32 percent. The following month, FRODEBU won 71 percent of the vote for positions in the legislature.

Although Buyoya's government had prohibited political parties before the 1993 elections, FRODEBU emerged as a cohesive organization with a national campaign and strong leadership. As expected, Burundi's Hutu majority

almost unanimously supported the party. Surprisingly, however, the party also fared well in some non-Hutu regions where the Tutsi-dominated Buyoya regime had instigated ethnic violence.

President Ndadaye was assassinated only months after the 1993 elections, but FRODEBU demonstrated the strength of its legislative leadership, appointing Cyprien NTARYAMIRA (1955–1994) to succeed him. The party showed its resiliency again, in April of 1994, when Sylvestre Ntibantunganya (1956–   ) became president after Ntaryamira was killed in a plane crash. In 1996

Ntibantunganya was ousted in a military COUP D'ÉTAT led by the former president, Buyoya, but FRODEBU remains an influential political entity in Burundi.

Frontline States Alliance of southern African countries that joined forces to help black South Africans fight APARTHEID in their country. In the 1980s the governments of six southern African countries—ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, and ZIMBABWE—began coordinating efforts to combat the apartheid regime of

Independence Movements in Southern Africa, 1974–1994

Cabinda
ANGOLA

ZAIRE

TANZANIA

Luanda

After 12 years of war, Portugal yields to MPLA, backed by Cuba, 1975; UNITA rebels backed by S. Africa, U.S., 1975–94; MPLA wins election, 1992.

ANGOLA

MALAWI

ZAMBIA

White minority RF declares independence of Rhodesia from U.K., 1965; Blacks rebel, 1965–79; ZANU wins election, independence of Zimbabwe, 1980.

1974–89

Lusaka
1986

Harare
(Salisbury)

1965–89

1986

ZIMBABWE
(RHODESIA)

After 13 years of war, Portugal yields to FRELIMO, 1975; S. Africa, Rhodesia support RENAMO rebels, 1976–92; FRELIMO wins election, 1994.

Windhoek

Walvis Bay
(SOUTH AFRICA)
To Namibia, 1994

BOTSWANA

Venda

1981–82

NAMIBIA
(SOUTH WEST
AFRICA)

Gaborone
1986

Bophuthatswana

Pretoria

Maputo
(Lourenço Marques)

SWAPO fights guerrilla war against South Africa, 1965–89; SWAPO wins election, 1989; independence of Namibia, 1990.

Soweto
1976

SWAZILAND

Transvaal

Orange
Free State

Natal
Kwazulu

Maseru
1982

LESOTHO

INDIAN
OCEAN

ATLANTIC
OCEAN

SOUTH AFRICA

Transkei

Cape Province

Ciskei

Cape Town

1980

Uitenhage
1985

Soweto uprising, 1976; NP government declares State of Emergency, 1986; Pro-government IFP fights ANC in Natal, 1988–94; ANC leader Nelson Mandela freed after 28 years, 1990; ANC wins election, 1994.

	White minority-ruled, 1974
✸	Major South African attacks
	1974 colonial names in parentheses.

ANC	African National Congress**
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique**
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
MPLA	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola**
NP	South African National Party (white minority)*
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
RF	Rhodesian Front (white minority)*
SWAPO	South West African People's Organization**
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union**

*Minority government, 1974   **Majority government, 1994

SOUTH AFRICA. Known collectively as the Frontline States, these countries played different roles in supporting the right to vote for blacks in South Africa. For example, Angola, Tanzania, and Zambia provided military bases for the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS of South Africa. All the countries received South African REFUGEES. Tanzanians and Zimbabweans also helped defend Mozambique, the most vulnerable of South Africa's neighbors. Zimbabwe and also MALAWI accepted hundreds of thousands of Mozambican refugees.

In retaliation against the Frontline States, the South African government occasionally sent armed strike teams to destroy what it thought were bases for guerrillas planning to infiltrate its borders. As a result of their stand to assist black South Africans, the Frontline States suffered great structural, economic, and human losses. Combined, the countries lost an estimated $90 billion and more than 2 million people from the attacks.

In 1990 NAMIBIA joined the Frontline States after achieving its independence. The Frontline States, plus LESOTHO, SWAZILAND, and Malawi made up the SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC). This alliance, originally set up in 1980, collaborated on plans to increase economic independence in the region. In August 1994, following the fall of its apartheid government, South Africa became the eleventh member of SADC. With its original purpose of freedom from white-minority rule achieved, the Frontline States joined with other SADC members in a new Association of Southern African States. This group now complements SADC's economic programs with a new focus on conflict prevention and conflict management.

See also: UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (Vol. V).

Fugard, Athol (Harold Athol Lannigan Fugard)
(1932–   ) *South African dramatist*

Born in Middleburg, SOUTH AFRICA, Fugard was the son of an English father and an Afrikaner mother. Though his father was racist in his views, Fugard's mother encouraged her son to cultivate an open mind. An accomplished student, Fugard attended Port Elizabeth Technical College and later the University of Cape Town before dropping out, convinced that the institutions were limiting his freedom of thought.

In 1953 Fugard traveled extensively throughout eastern Africa. Upon his return home, Fugard worked for the South African Broadcasting Corporation and then clerked at the Fordsburg Native Commissioner Court, where cases involving pass laws were tried. The contrast of Fugard's experiences while traveling and then while working for the APARTHEID government opened his eyes to the rampant racial discrimination that was present in South Africa.

After marrying an actress, Fugard became involved in the THEATER, and turned his interest in writing to the production of plays. He studied drama with his wife in England until 1960, when he received news of the SHARPEVILLE massacre, the notorious incident during which South African police fired into a crowd of Africans demonstrating against the pass laws. Fugard then returned to South Africa, where he began work on his groundbreaking play, *The Blood Knot.*

The Blood Knot, first performed in JOHANNESBURG in 1961, portrayed the story of two brothers of mixed parentage, one of whom has skin light enough to pass as white. Fugard himself played the role of the light-skinned brother. *The Blood Knot*'s racially integrated cast and its performance in front of a mixed-race audience, caused an instant uproar in South Africa and established Fugard as a central, if controversial, figure in the fight against apartheid. The South African government subsequently banned *The Blood Knot*, and Fugard's passport was revoked, restricting him to South Africa under the threat of permanent exile. Fugard was undaunted, writing and producing plays until his passport was returned four years later.

To perform his plays, Fugard organized the Serpent Players, a theater group made up of both black and white actors. Acting, directing, and often writing plays in cooperation with his actors, Fugard continued to produce theater that overtly challenged apartheid policies. *Boesman and Lena* (1969), *Orestes* (1971), and the plays of *The Statements Trilogy* (1972) won Fugard notice in Britain and in the United States as well. The autobiographical *"Master Harold" . . . and the Boys* (1982) earned Fugard a significant American audience, who encountered the theme of apartheid in a dramatic production for the first time through Fugard's play.

Fugard and the Serpent Players, who derived their name from the former snake pit of a local zoo where they first performed, were consistently harassed by South African police. For the plays *Sizwe is Dead* and *The Island,* both part of the Statements Trilogy, the actors memorized their scripts and then destroyed them, preventing the government from seizing any hard evidence of their activities.

Fugard's play *"Master Harold" . . . and the Boys* was revived as a Broadway production in 2003. It starred Danny Glover (1947–   ), who also was an actor in the play's previous Broadway run, 21 years earlier.

Though Fugard's anti-apartheid stance was clear, he often found himself in a crossfire of criticism between Africans who would not support a privileged white as a spokesman for their issues, and the radical white liberals who felt Fugard was not aggressive enough in his efforts. Fugard himself denied any intentional political motiva-

tions behind his work, claiming that any subject related to South Africa naturally included such elements.

After the fall of apartheid, in 1994, Fugard came to be recognized not only for his struggle against the racist South African government, but also for innovations that had an impact on theater worldwide. He has been recognized with many awards in England and the United States.

His other works include *A Lesson from Aloes* (1978), *The Road to Mecca* (1984), *My Children! My Africa!* (1990), and *Valley Song* (1996). He has also authored one novel, *Tsotsi* (1980).

See also: AFRIKANERS (Vols. IV, V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

G

Gabon   Country covering about 103,300 square miles (267,500 sq km) located on the west-central coast of Africa, with a narrow coastal plain giving way to a high and forested, interior plateau with wooded grasslands in the east and south.

More than 80 percent of Gabon's relatively small population of less than 1.5 million live in the capital city of LIBREVILLE and other urban areas. The country has vast OIL and other mineral resources and has a comparatively high per-capita income by African standards, though the income is very unevenly distributed and many Gabonese remain poor. Thanks to its low population density and wealth, Gabon has been able to maintain much of its tropical FORESTS with their rich BIODIVERSITY.

Gabon at Independence   As a former French colony, Gabon was part of French Equatorial Africa. The country gained its independence from France in 1960, with Leon M'ba (1902–1967) as its first president. The French, however, retained a considerable political and cultural influence, and a significant number of French have continued to live in Gabon since independence. In fact, M'ba's presidency rested on the French presence. Upon assuming the presidency M'ba acted in an authoritarian manner, which provoked a military COUP D'ÉTAT in 1964, but French troops quickly intervened, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Gabonese army, and restored M'ba to office. When he died, in 1967, a trusted lieutenant, Omar BONGO (1935–   ), became president. The next year he declared Gabon a one-party state with the Gabonese Democratic Party as the sole legal party. This kept Bongo in power into the early 21st century.

Under Bongo, Gabon's economy shifted away from its reliance on such CASH CROPS as cocoa, coffee, and palm oil and the export of forest products. The key event was the discovery of significant offshore OIL reserves in the early 1970s. In 1975 Gabon became the fourth African member state of the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES, although it withdrew from membership in 1994 over a dispute about the amount of oil it could market. The resulting oil-boom economy led to growing URBANIZATION, so that today it is essentially an urban country. Oil production reached its peak in 1997. Unfortunately Gabon did not make good use of its oil bonanza by planning for the day when it disappeared. The country now faces a major FOREIGN DEBT problem and is under significant pressure from the International Monetary Fund as a result.

In 1974 Gabon began construction of the Transgabonais Railway, which now stretches from Libreville and its Atlantic Ocean port of Owendo 400 miles (660 km) to Franceville deep in the interior. This important addition to the country's TRANSPORTATION system has been one of modern Africa's most significant construction projects. It has greatly facilitated the export of manganese and forest products.

The decline of the oil economy had heightened Gabon's economic disparities and has led to renewed political unrest. In 1990 there were two failed coup attempts, reflecting growing discontent on the part of

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LABOR and students. Serious rioting broke out in the country's second city, Port-Gentil, and France again intervened militarily to support the government. Bongo claimed a disputed victory in the 1993 presidential elections and had a landslide victory in the subsequent 1998 election. The PDG, which is no longer the sole legal political party, continued its control of Parliament. Bongo also effectively co-opted many of his political opponents, and he continued to count on support from France.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); GABON (Vols. I, II, III, IV) INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Michael C. Reed and James F. Barnes, eds. *Culture, Ecology, and Politics in Gabon's Rainforest* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 2003).

Gaborone (Gaberones) Capital of BOTSWANA, located in the less arid southeastern portion of the country. In the 1890s the British South Africa Company founded Gaborone as a white settlement along the Cape-Zimbabwe railway. It was named after King Gaborone Matlapin of the Tlokwa people. It remained a small town until 1965, when the capital of Botswana, then known as Bechuanaland, was moved there from Mafeking, which was actually located in SOUTH AFRICA. The country became independent one year later, but Gaborone grew slowly at first, not obtaining official city status until 1986.

Today the city is the center of national government. It is also the headquarters for the SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY. Due to its capital status and a strong national economy propelled by diamonds, the city has a prosperous appearance. In addition, there is a small industrial sector, which focuses on metal and wood products and brewing beer. Gaborone is home to the University of Botswana, a museum, and an ART gallery. With about 159,300 people, the city is home to about 10 percent of Botswana's total population.

See also: BECHUANALAND (Vol. IV); BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Gambia, The Long, narrow West African country of some 4,360 square miles (11,290 sq km) in size that, except for its western coastline along the Pacific Ocean, is surrounded by SENEGAL. The Gambia's borders extend about 6 miles (9.7 km) on either side of the Gambia River and reach about 200 miles (322 km) inland from the river's mouth.

Like many other African nations, The Gambia's independence movement gained momentum during the mid-20th century. Sir Dauda Kairaba JAWARA (1924–) emerged as a leader of the Progressive People's Party and, in 1962, became the country's first prime minister.

Although The Gambia was granted independence from the United Kingdom on February 18, 1965, it remained within the British Commonwealth until 1970. That year Gambians used a referendum to decide that the country should become a fully independent republic.

Both during the colonial era and after independence, The Gambia's economy relied almost exclusively on the export of groundnuts (peanuts), which are still found there in abundance.

In July 1981, while Jawara was in England, the Senegalese military helped put down an attempted COUP D'É-TAT within The Gambia. Senegal's intervention brought the two countries closer, and, in February 1982, The Gambia and Senegal united to form the SENEGAMBIA CONFEDERATION. However, after a prolonged military presence by the Senegalese, Gambians ultimately called for their withdrawal. After failing to achieve its original goal of strengthening the economic and military positions of its two members, in 1989 the Senegambia Confederation dissolved.

President Jawara served as president of The Gambia for more than two decades. During that time, the country became one of Africa's most successful liberal democracies as well as an important advocate of HUMAN RIGHTS. Still, Jawara's rule was unstable, and, in 1994, The Gambia's military leadership, the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC), led a coup against Jawara, forcing him to leave the country. Yahya A.J.J. JAMMEH (1965–), chairman of the AFPRC, became head of state. Soon after, he dissolved the old regime, suspended the constitution, and prohibited all political parties and their activities. In August 1996 the country adopted a new, pro-military constitution, causing many industrialized nations from the West to stop supporting Jammeh's government. As a result The Gambia turned to the governments of NIGERIA, LIBYA, Iran, EGYPT, and Cuba for assistance. Meanwhile opposition to the Jammeh regime gradually increased. It came to a head in April 2000 when a student-led protest in BANJUL ended in 14 deaths and many injuries.

In 2001 Jammeh was elected to a second term, leading opposition parties to boycott legislative elections held in 2002. Continuing political unrest caused the devaluation of The Gambia's currency, exacerbating the country's steadily declining economy.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GAMBIA, THE (Vols. I, II, III, IV); SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); SENEGAMBIA REGION (Vol. IV); TOURISM (Vol. V).

Further reading: Andy Gravette, *The Gambia* (Derbyshire, Eng.: Landmark Publishing Ltd., 1999).

Gbagbo, Laurent (1945–   ) *President of Ivory Coast*

Born in his mother's village of Gagnoa, IVORY COAST, Laurent Gbagbo excelled as a student and graduated with a degree in history from the University of Abidjan in 1969. In 1970 he became a professor at the Lycée Classique d'Abidjan, where he joined a secret organization seeking to oust President Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993). Active in trade union politics, Gbagbo was arrested, in 1971, for "subversive teaching" and remained in prison for two years.

After his release he earned a doctorate in history from the University of Paris, and, in 1979, he began teaching at the University of Abidjan. The following year he became the director of the Institute of African History, Art, and Archaeology at the university. In 1982 he joined with several colleagues to create the IVORIAN PEOPLE'S FRONT (Front Populaire Ivoirienne, FPI). This political activity made him a target of the government and caused him to flee to Paris, where he remained until 1988.

In 1990 multiparty elections were allowed, and Gbagbo ran against Houphouët-Boigny, losing what was widely viewed as a rigged vote. From 1990 to 1995 Gbagbo was the FPI's opposition leader in Parliament. In 1992, however, he spent six months in jail for leading demonstrations protesting the army's handling of student riots. In 1995, because of electoral irregularities, he and his party boycotted the national election. Henri Konan Bédié (1934–   ), Houphouët-Boigny's hand picked-successor, became president.

In 1999 a military COUP D'ÉTAT led by General Robert GUÉÏ (1941–2002) overthrew President Bédié. Gbagbo and the FPI joined other opposition parties to form Guéï's transitional government. Soon, however, all but the FPI dropped out. Subsequently, Gbagbo ousted General Guéï and, in October 2000, was elected president.

gender in modern Africa   Men and women in Africa today still have clearly defined realms of influence, although opportunities for women have increased since colonial times. Women today are usually involved in many activities including subsistence farming, ART and craft production, small business, child rearing, and social groups. In addition women in urban areas are more frequently occupying wage LABOR positions. Men today are also often involved in several activities, such as wage labor, cash-crop production, and livestock rearing. It is not uncommon for a rural household to have one or more male members working in town at a wage labor job, a pattern that began with colonialism and has only increased with the rising population density and land scarcity that characterize some areas.

Generally men have more say than women over household finances; however, women who earn their own money can often decide how it will be spent. The phe-nomenon of urban wage labor has created households in which women are acting decision-makers in the rural areas while men live and work in town. Often there is an exchange of resources between the couples; men may return home to assist in land clearing for cultivation, women may send food to the city with men, and men may send cash home in the form of remittances. While rural and poor women and men usually have separate incomes, women tend to be more dependent on their male partner's salary in the urban middle-class setting. This is a new phenomenon for women in Africa, and could cause new strains on relationships.

One of the major reasons behind the improvements in women's access to opportunities is the Western-based gender movement and the many scholars and scientists who have made gender analysis an important topic. One of the results of this movement is the ratification by a number of African nations of an international convention prohibiting discrimination based on gender. However, while some court cases settled across the continent have made important strides against male dominance in land tenure or other rights, they are few and many more will have to be heard and settled before equality is widespread.

Another result of the gender movement is that various agencies and organizations are responding by including gender analysis in studies and extension programs. Because it is generally true that women are responsible for most of subsistence AGRICULTURE, agricultural agencies realized that to implement changes in production women had to become more of a focus of agricultural policy and extension projects. Agricultural divisions of African governments and NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZA-TIONS have made an effort to target women in their efforts to spread new technologies and improve agricultural production. That said, many women are still underrepresented and have less access to land rights, credit, and other resources than men do.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GENDER IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

Ghana   Present-day country of West Africa covering approximately 92,100 square miles (238,500 sq km) and bordered by BURKINA FASO to the north, TOGO to the east, the Atlantic Ocean to the south, and IVORY COAST to the west. The national capital is ACCRA. Once the center of PAN-AFRICANISM, Ghana fell under autocratic rule and then suffered from political instability brought on by a series of coups.

Ghana at Independence   Ghana officially won its independence in 1957, with Convention People's Party (CCP) leader Kwame NKRUMAH (1909-1972) as prime minister of a parliamentary government. A leader of the pan-Africanist movement, Nkrumah hosted the first pan-

By March of 1966, Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, had been run out of office amid charges of corruption. Here, the people of Accra, Ghana's capital, demonstrate to show their support for the National Liberation Council, which replaced Nkrumah. © *Washington Star*

African convention on African soil in Ghana in 1956 with hope of making his country a continental leader. Nkrumah focused on INDUSTRIALIZATION and the DEVELOPMENT of INFRASTRUCTURE and an educated workforce as the means for distancing Ghana from colonialism and allowing it to take a lead role in Africa.

Unfortunately Nkrumah carried out his plans in a highly authoritarian way. Insisting on total control to make his vision a reality, Nkrumah forced through legislation allowing the deportation and detention of opposition party members. In 1960 Ghana became a constitutional republic with Nkrumah as president, and four years later Nkrumah banned all political parties except the CCP and named himself president for life.

Ghana's economy is based largely on EXPORTS, such as cocoa and GOLD, that have historically volatile market prices. Because of this, the country's economy is greatly affected by downturns in those markets. In the early 1960s the fall of cocoa prices led Nkrumah to implement austerity measures and raise taxes, moves that were met with much popular protest. Nkrumah imprisoned hundreds in response, but by 1966 he was no longer able to hold on to power. That year, while the president was abroad, the military National Liberation Council (NLC) seized power, banning the CCP.

The NLC promised a return to civilian government, and in 1970 Edward Akufo-Addo (1906–1979) became president, with Kofi BUSIA (1913–1978) as prime minister. Like a number of future Ghanian governments, Busia's administration was unable to solve the problems with the economy. In 1972 another military coup, led by Colonel I. K. Acheampong (1931–1979), took place.

By 1975 the Supreme Military Council headed by Acheampong was in control of Ghana and already in the throes of economic mismanagement and CORRUPTION. He attempted to implement a no-party political

system, an idea met with strong opposition in the form of strikes and protests in 1977-78. In 1978 Acheampong was replaced by Lieutenant General Frederick Akuffo (1937–1979). Akuffo also fell victim to a poor economy and corrupt government. In 1979 the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council again seized power, and Lieutenant Jerry RAWLINGS (1947–   ) took charge of the country.

Ghana under Rawlings Rawlings allowed for elections to create a civilian government the next month, resulting in Hilla Limann (1934-1998) assuming the presidency. Rawlings kept a close eye on the new government, however, and when it became apparent that Limann could not improve Ghana's situation, he overthrew Limann and took control again.

This time Rawlings remained in power longer, suspending the constitution and ridding himself of Parliament and all political parties. Ruling as head of the Provisional National Defense Council, Rawlings set out on an anticorruption campaign and made plans to decentralize power from Accra to regional governments. Eventually, however, Rawlings gave in to calls for DEMOCRATIZATION. In 1992 a new constitution was established and multiparty elections were allowed. In 1993 Rawlings won election and became president. He was reelected in 1996.

In 2001 the Rawlings era ended with the election of John Agyekum KUFUOR (1938–   ) to the presidency. The turn of the century brought no relief for Ghana's economic problems, however, as unstable cocoa and gold prices continued to cause significant problems.

See also: AKOSOMBO DAM (Vol. V); COUP D'ÉTAT (Vol. V); GHANA (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

global economy, Africa and the   Regional and local markets continue to be a central force in African societies, even though most African countries cannot compete globally in the buying and selling of goods. Markets are created when one person wants to buy a product and another person wants to sell the product. The buyer creates a demand for the product and the seller has a supply. While there are any number of tools for the bartering of goods, usually the exchange is made through purchase using a commonly agreed upon currency. All told, the total value of world goods and services is estimated at about $37 trillion (2000), with a $6.3 trillion global market for exported goods. At $3.5 trillion (2000), TOURISM is the world's largest market sector, followed closely by OIL.

The fact that the world's two largest industries are tourism and oil underscores Africa's difficulties in entering global markets. Regarding tourism, the lack of offerings—and, in some cases, security—has meant that the continent captures a mere 4.4 percent of the global market. Together, SOUTH AFRICA, MOROCCO, and TUNISIA account for more than half of Africa's share. Widespread POVERTY

means that the priorities for African consumers are oriented more toward securing basic goods than toward tourism and the consumption of oil. It is therefore the goal of most African countries to lure FOREIGN INVESTMENT by offering goods and services of interest not to local markets but to global markets. Yet Africa attracts only $6.8 billion (2001), or 3 percent, of the world's investment. In return, African export models have developed only marginally from the colonial model of extracting NATURAL RESOURCES. To some, this is an advantage. The WORLD BANK, for instance, maintains that "extractive" industries—oil, gas and MINING—represent major opportunities for developing countries. While there are opportunities for investment in agro-processing, textiles, and a handful of other industries, the greatest share of export earnings in Africa is from oil in countries such as LIBYA, NIGERIA, and ANGOLA. Thus, extractive markets are seen as having the greatest potential to both engage the global marketplace and create jobs at home. Some critics, however, say that the low prices of raw commodities as compared to manufacturing, technologies, and services, ensures that African markets will continue to stagnate, limiting the growth of African economies.

There are numerous reasons cited for Africa's inability to engage the global market. Some people, Africans among them, have referred to the way in which markets are peripheral to African livelihoods in comparison to Western livelihoods. Others refer to a lack of industrial growth, inadequate resources for investment, a dearth of intellectual capital, high poverty, low levels of EDUCATION, state intervention in the market, CORRUPTION, regional instability, and insufficient market experience to name a few. Still others note the comparative size of African economies. The average African economy is $2 to $3 billion per year. This is a very small market when one considers that markets in the United States move more than $10 trillion annually and the world's five largest companies alone are worth a combined $1.9 trillion.

Market analysts in developing countries commonly point to tremendous efforts by wealthy countries to block African trade to protect their own markets. For instance, the wealthy member states of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development provide $300 billion in subsidies for their own agriculture. Since this is nearly as much as Africa's $319 billion net worth, it is clear that African governments cannot afford to prop up their agricultural producers with similar levels of subsidies. Their products, therefore, must sell for more money. Higher prices, of course, make products less enticing for buyers. Add to this imbalanced tariff structures between wealthy and poor countries and it is easy to see why some economists argue that Africa's markets suffer from "planned underdevelopment."

As a result of this failure to successfully engage the global market, some observers say that the situation in

Africa is hopeless. While it is true that African markets do not compete well globally, such positions fail to note the dynamism in African markets at the regional, state, and sub-state level. Looking from within, it becomes clear that markets are central to African livelihoods. English economic anthropologist Dr. Polly Hill (1914–), for instance, has shown how the distribution of specific commodities, market strategies, social relations, and cultural concepts must be considered when analyzing the "success" of a particular market. Under her model the African economic sphere is seen as a complex layering of markets and market types built over a long history of market exchanges. In Hill's example, small-scale farmers in GHANA actually created the market for cocoa, now the country's largest export. The government's role in her model was creating a marketing board to ensure that prices would not fluctuate dramatically.

Since the 1990s Africa's trading networks have undergone a transformation. In contrast to Dr. Hill's Ghanaian cocoa example, states are now playing less of a role. Stock markets have flourished in BOTSWANA, IVORY COAST, Ghana, KENYA, MAURITIUS, Nigeria, South Africa, and ZIMBABWE. Economic liberalization has not generated the high export earnings many have sought, but it has resulted in the emergence of new trading networks. Moreover, there is evidence that this sort of trade is helping to transform African societies in ways that may well help them overcome their lack of market history, which is often cited as a barrier to global trade.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V).

Further reading: Robert H. Bates, *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: the Political Basis of Agricultural Policies* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1981); Brenda Chalfin, *Shea Butter Republic: State Power, Global Markets, and the Making of an Indigenous Commodity* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Polly Hill, *Development Economics on Trial: the Anthropological Case for a Prosecution* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Todd Moss, *Adventure Capitalism: Globalization and the Political Economy of Stock Markets in Africa* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

gold The modern gold-MINING industry in Africa dates to the 1880s, when British companies began extracting rich ore deposits found on the Witwatersrand of SOUTH AFRICA. The industry continued to grow through the decades that followed, and today South Africa is the world's largest producer of gold. It contains an estimated 40 percent of world gold reserves, with substantial deposits located outside the original core area of the Witwatersrand.

Large-scale transnational corporations using mechanized extraction methods dominate the gold mining industry. They are still expanding their investments in Africa, hoping to locate some of the continent's numerous undiscovered reserves. South Africa has four recent gold mine investments worth more than $1.6 billion. In 2000, two companies, Gold Fields of Ghana and Anglogold, announced plans to increase mining activities at Geita Gold Mine in TANZANIA, which is the richest gold mine in East Africa.

By 2001 falling gold prices and the high cost of mining deep below the earth's surface led to South Africa's lowest production since 1956. However, world economic uncertainties since then have led to a rebound in prices. In 2004 the price of gold fluctuated around $400 an ounce.

The Samira Hill Gold Project, in NIGER, should be completed by 2004. While this mining project is not nearly as large as those of the major producers on the international market, the income that it is expected to generate might substantially transform the economy of Niger. With improved geological knowledge and continued worldwide demand, gold and gold mining will continue to play a substantial role in the economies of African countries.

See also: ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION (Vol. IV); GOLD (Vols. I, II, IV); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V); WITWATERSRAND (Vol. IV).

Gordimer, Nadine (1923–) *South African novelist*
By the late 1950s, with her short stories and her novels—including *The Lying Days* (1953) and *A World of Strangers* (1958)—Nadine Gordimer had already launched a career that would place her at the forefront of the literary anti-APARTHEID movement both in SOUTH AFRICA and throughout the world.

The year 1960, however, marked the first time apartheid directly affected Gordimer's life, with the arrest of her close friend, the Afrikaner trade union leader Bettie du Toit (c. 1911–2002). That same year the SHARPEVILLE massacre convinced Nelson MANDELA (1918–) and the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) that nonviolent protests against apartheid were ineffective. Mandela's subsequent underground activities against the apartheid government led to his arrest and trials, in 1962 and 1964, the latter ending in his imprisonment on ROBBEN ISLAND. Gordimer spent a great deal of time observing the trials and became friends with Mandela's lead counsel, Bram Fischer (1908–1975), and his family, who would become the basis for her novel *Burger's Daughter* (1979).

Gordimer became deeply involved with the ANC, defying South African law to become a member. Her writing career, in the meantime, blossomed, in spite of the censorship of the South African government, which banned a number of her books, including *The Late Bourgeois World* (1966) and *Burger's Daughter.* In 1970 she published what is widely considered her best novel, *A Guest of Honour,* and, in 1974, *The Conservationist,* which won the Booker Prize, the highest literary award in the British Commonwealth.

As apartheid grew more oppressive through the 1970s and into the 1980s, Gordimer continued her political activism. Her position as a member of the white minority afforded her freedoms her African counterparts, many of whom were imprisoned or forced into exile, did not have. On a number of occasions Gordimer housed fugitive ANC members at her residence, and she visited frequently with African leader Steve BIKO (1946–1977), who was murdered by South African police in 1977. She spoke out against apartheid both publicly and through her writing, which earned her a worldwide audience and did much to expose the terrible realities of African life under the racist regime. In spite of her unabashed position, Gordimer managed to avoid the prison sentences levied on some of her fellow white, anti-apartheid writers, such as Breyton Breytonbach (1939–) and Jeremy Cronin (1949–).

Gordimer anticipated the end of apartheid in her novels of the 1970s and 1980s, including *July's People* (1981), which drew from the SOWETO uprising of 1976 and considered the future of whites in South Africa. In 1987 she helped found the Congress of South African Writers to promote the literary dimension of the struggle against apartheid, which had grown increasingly repressive as the state sought to quell the rising tide of revolt against it. Her testimony at the 1987 treason trial of leaders of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT helped save the defendants' lives. Gordimer's commitment and efforts were such that, when Nelson Mandela was finally released from prison, in 1990, she was among the first he requested to see. In 1991 Gordimer was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature, becoming only the third person from Africa to receive the honor, after Egypt's Naguib MAHFOUZ (1911–) and Nigeria's Wole SOYINKA (1934–).

Apartheid officially ended in 1994, with Mandela and the ANC assuming control of the government through decisive electoral victories. Since then, Gordimer has continued to write about post-apartheid South Africa, publishing *The House Gun* (1998) and *The Pickup* (2001). She also continues to downplay her role in the struggle against apartheid and as an international voice for the African population in South Africa, agreeing with African critics of her work that her position as a privileged white places her in a far different situation from those she championed. Nevertheless, Gordimer's literary efforts and political activism undoubtedly played an important role in the downfall of one of the most oppressive governments of the modern era.

See also: GORDIMER, NADINE (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Gouled Aptidon, Hassan (1916–) *First president of independent Republic of Djibouti*

Born in Zeila, SOMALIA, Hassan Gouled Aptidon was a long-time figure in the political scene of the Republic of DJIBOUTI. From 1952 to 1958 he served as a representative in Paris for French Somaliland, as Djibouti was called during the colonial era. Then, from 1959 to 1962, he served as French Somaliland's deputy in the French National Assembly.

Belonging to Djibouti's majority Issa ethnic group, Gouled defended Issa interests when, in 1967, France allowed French Somaliland to become semi-autonomous as the FRENCH TERRITORY OF THE AFARS AND ISSAS. Ten years later Gouled led the country to independence as the Republic of Djibouti.

In 1979 Gouled formed the PEOPLE'S RALLY FOR PROGRESS (Rassemblement Populaire Pour le Progres, RPP), which claimed to represent both Issas and Afars. Before long, however, it became clear that the Issa contingent dominated the RPP government. Two years later Gouled declared a one-party state, much to the chagrin of the Afar community, which had enjoyed considerable power when the country was under French control. The popular unrest among the disenfranchised Afars—fueled by simultaneous ethnic conflicts in neighboring ETHIOPIA, ERITREA, and SOMALIA—erupted in civil war in 1991. With the war raging, Gouled bowed to international pressure and allowed multiparty elections in 1992. However, Gouled barred the Afar candidates of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD), the party of the rebels waging the civil war.

As a result Gouled's RPP swept the elections and fighting continued. In 1994 Gouled struck a power-sharing agreement that brought the main, unarmed faction of FRUD into a coalition government, but still the fighting continued. In 1999 an aging Gouled decided to step down. His nephew, Ismail Omar GUELLEH (1947–), representing a coalition of parties that included the RPP, won election to become the second president of Djibouti. Guelleh's government and the Afar rebels signed a cease-fire agreement in 2000.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

government, systems of   The end of colonial rule and the emergence of independent African states reintroduced greater diversity in the continent's systems of government. In a few instances, such as with SWAZILAND and

its monarchy, older forms of African government resurfaced. Also, African communities at the local level recovered some of their former autonomy. However, there remained a central uniformity in that virtually all of Africa's leaders subscribed to the concept of the modern nation state. They viewed the role of the STATE as the focal point of power. While the government of individual countries could take democratic, military, or authoritarian forms, there was an underlying agreement as to the centrality of the state itself.

States have not fared equally well throughout the continent over recent decades, however. This has given rise to a new diversity in African systems of government at the outset of the 21st century. Some states, such as SOUTH AFRICA and ALGERIA, have emerged out from the shadow of highly authoritarian systems to become functioning democracies with strong central institutions. Others, such as NIGERIA, have survived CIVIL WARS—and the centrifugal forces that accompany them—to remain intact, although the central institutions of these governments often have found their authority circumscribed. In other cases, such as LIBERIA, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and SOMALIA, the states authority has virtually collapsed in the face of civil wars and other problems. This has led to a revival of older forms of government at the local and even regional level, as people draw on indigenous political systems to provide the governmental structures they need. The revival of older systems of government has also occurred in states that, while remaining intact, lack sufficient governmental resources to assert fully the authority of central institutions over the entire country.

See also: GOVERNMENT, SYSTEMS OF (Vols. I, II, III, IV); POLITICAL SYSTEMS (Vol. V).

Gowon, Yakubu (1934–) *Military head of state in Nigeria*

An ethnic Tiv from Nigeria's Middle Belt, Yakubu Gowon joined the army in 1954. After attending various training programs at home and abroad, he served with UN peacekeeping forces in the Congo during the 1960s. Only a lieutenant colonel at the time, Gowon was named army chief of staff when a group of young IGBO officers overthrew Nigeria's civilian government in a January 1966 COUP D' ÉTAT. A counter-coup by rival northern officers took power, however, in July. Gowon, as a member of none of the major Nigerian ethnic groups, seemed a viable choice for leadership, and he was made head of state and supreme military commander.

Although Gowon made major efforts to restore Igbo confidence in the central government, the Igbo eventually declared independence for Eastern Nigeria in May 1967, establishing the independent nation of BIAFRA. In the bloody civil war that followed, Gowon's federal government—supported by both Britain and the former Soviet Union—eventually defeated the new Biafran state, which had France as its only substantial ally. By 1969 the federal army had effectively won the war, in which anywhere from 1 to 2 million Biafrans lost their lives, primarily due to starvation. The United States remained officially neutral during the Biafran Civil War, although private American humanitarian organizations sent aid to the beleaguered Biafran people.

Throughout the history of independent NIGERIA, rivalries and outright violence between the major ethnic groups have been commonplace. The traditionally Muslim HAUSA are the dominant ethnic group in the northern part of the country; in the southwest, the YORUBA are dominant; in the southeast and delta region, the Igbo are the major ethnic group. There are, however, dozens of minority groups, all of whom vie for political and economic power, making Nigerian politics very complex.

Following the end of the civil war, Gowon attempted to restore unity to the nation. Despite numerous reforms, Regaining Igbo confidence in the government was difficult. Unable to restore stability to either the military or the nation as a whole, Gowon was overthrown by yet another coup in July 1975. Settling in England, he eventually earned a PhD in political science from the University of Warwick, in 1984.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); TIV (Vol. IV).

Further reading: John D. Clarke, *Yakubu Gowon: Faith in a United Nigeria* (London: Frank Cass, 1987).

Guéï, Robert (1941–2002) *Former president of Ivory Coast*

Born in Kabacouma, IVORY COAST, Robert Guéï came to power in 1999 by a military COUP D'ÉTAT. An army general, he was educated at a military academy in OUAGADOUGOU, UPPER VOLTA (today's BURKINA FASO) and, later, at France's military academy, Saint Cyr. In 1965 he returned to the Ivory Coast as a second lieutenant and, during the presidency of Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993), quickly rose through the ranks of the army.

From 1971 to 1975 Guéï worked as military training officer, ultimately becoming commander of Ivory Coast's military academy. In 1978 he returned to France for further study. Promoted to colonel on his return, he was, from 1980 to 1985, commander of military firefighters. In addition to other postings, Guéï briefly served in Korhogo

as commander of the Fourth Military Region before becoming a brigadier general and head of the armed forces in 1990.

A popular military leader, Guéï was a Houphouët-Boigny loyalist. In 1995, under Ivory Coast's new president, Henri Konan Bédié (1934–), Guéï was relieved from command of the military. Remaining in government service, he became minister of civil service and then minister of sports. Guéï considered Bédié's government corrupt and xenophobic, and on December 24, 1999 he led a military coup to unseat the president.

While Guéï purported to support a democratic transition, he did not accept the victory of Laurent GBAGBO (1945–) in the October 2000 elections until he was forced to by popular protest. Guéï died in October 2002 during a rebellion against President Gbagbo.

Guelleh, Ismail Omar (1947–) *President of Djibouti*

Born in 1947 in pre-independence Djibouti, Guelleh was a member of a politically active family. Beginning in 1977, when his uncle, nationalist leader Hassan GOULED APTIDON (1916–), became Djibouti's first president, Guelleh served as chief of cabinet and chief of internal and external security. While Aptidon was in office, Guelleh was instrumental in navigating Djibouti's relations with Somalia's president, Mohammed Siad BARRE (1910–1995), and maintaining strong ties with France.

In 1999, at the age of 83, Gouled Aptidon decided to step down. Elections for his replacement were held in April of that year. To strengthen his position, Guelleh formed a four-party alliance called the Union for the Presidential Majority (UMP), which included Guelleh's party, the PEOPLE'S RALLY FOR PROGRESS, and the unarmed faction of the former rebel group Front for Reestablishment of Unity and Democracy (FRUD). The UMP provided enough support for Guelleh, and he beat his only challenger, Moussa Ahmed Idriss, to become the country's second president.

However, the legitimacy of Guelleh's electoral victory was widely challenged. Idriss, who was also publisher of the newspaper *Le Temps,* was arrested in September 1999 because the government did not approve of a story his paper had reported. Meanwhile, the FRUD's armed, radical wing, which never reconciled with the government, continued its insurgence. In 2001, however, this faction of FRUD also came to terms with Guelleh's government, and signed a peace agreement to end the hostilities that had plagued Djibouti for almost a decade.

Guinea West African country on the Atlantic coast, some 95,000 square miles (246,100 sq km) in size, that

takes its name from the term used to describe the coast of West Africa south of the WESTERN SAHARA. It borders on GUINEA-BISSAU, SENEGAL, and MALI to the north, Mali and the IVORY COAST to the east, and LIBERIA and SIERRA LEONE to the south. Its capital is CONAKRY.

When Guinea achieved its independence from France in 1958 it was a highly centralized one party-state led by President Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) and his Democratic Party of Guinea (Parti Démocratique de Guinée, PDG). Touré's approach to both domestic and foreign policies was similar to that of other African presidents who had led their nations along the road of independence. Domestically, he adopted African Socialism as his policy, while internationally, wishing to avoid being drawn into the Cold War, he assumed a stance of "positive neutralism." In both spheres he was following the lead of the acknowledged leader of the third world at the time, Gamal Abdel-NASSER (1918–1970) of EGYPT.

After independence France withdrew the financial aid to Guinea that had made the territory the second richest of the eight territories comprising the colonial federation of French West Africa. While Guinea had achieved its political independence, it was not completely independent because its economy had been too intricately integrated into that of France which had purchased 65 to 75 percent of Guinea's EXPORTS, provided 70 percent of Guinea's imports, and given $75 million in DEVELOPMENT aid. Although Guinea had substantial mineral wealth, it remained poor because it did not have the means to develop its potential.

Because of France's retaliatory actions, Guinea was isolated from its major trading partner, and its economy grew too slowly. Guinea received financial support from its newly independent African neighbors such as GHANA, which gave Guinea a loan of $28 million. Guinea's neighbors, however, lacked large economic reserves, too, and they did not offer trading opportunities since they also had commodity export economies. Although Sékou Touré rejected capitalism, he did accept no-strings-attached loans and gifts from the United States and western European nations. However, Guinea was locked out of substantial trade with the Western capitalist nations and overly impressed by Soviet and Chinese Communist claims of rapid economic development. Thus, Guinea began trading with the Communist bloc nations and suffered from this trade relationship because the Communist bloc nations paid Guinea using a barter system in which they traded factory-made products such as buses or tanks in return for Guinea's raw materials that they then sold on the world market for dollars. However, by 1978 Sékou Touré reestablished trade relations with the capitalist West.

In the social arena the reforms of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s emerged in 1968 as Sékou Touré's Socialist Cultural Revolution. As a part of this cultural revolution, Touré instituted the Maternal Language Program. This

program turned its back on the colonial language as the only language of EDUCATION. Touré believed that students would learn all subject matter more quickly and easily in their maternal languages. Students learned school subjects in one of the country's eight major indigenous languages with one course per year in the French language through the elementary level. When students passed the ordinary examination that allowed them to go on to high school, they would then learn school subjects in French.

There were many attempts to overthrow Sékou Touré, as Guineans objected to socialism and because political opposition was not allowed. Touré's opponents went into self-imposed exile, were imprisoned with an uncertain future in the infamous Camp Boiro, or were killed. Touré broke off diplomatic relations with France amid accusations of a French-backed COUP D'ÉTAT, and the Portuguese-supported invasion of Guinean exiles in 1970 caused Touré to purge the political, administrative elites. By the mid 1980s Sékou Touré's regime had become so repressive that mutual fear and mistrust kept various anti-Touré factions from working together. In 1984 Sékou Touré died during emergency heart surgery in the United States.

At first the PDG appeared to be strong, appointing Prime Minister Lansana Béavogui (1923–1984) interim president until they could select a new leader. However, when Touré's brother Ismael (1926–1985) returned to Guinea to challenge the leadership, the army seized power. On April 13, 1984, the army deposed and arrested the Maninka-speaking members of government and established a military council. The power behind the takeover was Colonel Diarra Traoré (1936–1985) who became prime minister while Colonel Lansana CONTÉ (1934–   ) became president. The Military Committee of National Recovery suspended the constitution and the single-party system, freed political prisoners, encouraged exiles to return to Guinea, and established the Second Republic. In 1985 Traoré attempted an unsuccessful coup d'état against the Susu-speaking Lansana Conté that prompted a further purge of suspected Sékou Touré supporters and an attack on the Maninka-speaking population.

In 1990 Conté ordered a new constitution, paving the way for civilian government, and in 1993 Guinea participated in its first multiparty elections. Although there were several political parties, the only candidate to successfully compete against Conté and his Party of Unity and Progress was another Maninka speaker, Alpha Condé, who represented the Guinean Democratic Party. According to the international observers, the election was fair with Conté designated as the first civilian president of the Second Republic. In 1996 Guinea's armed forces mutinied over low pay and poor conditions resulting in the destruction of the presidential palace in Conakry.

From 1989 through 2003 the CIVIL WARS in Liberia and Sierra Leone have driven REFUGEES into Guinea, many of whom now live with their extended families. By the end of 2000 Guinea was home to about half a million refugees, increasing the strain on the economy and generating ethnic tension. In the summer of 2000 rebels from Liberia and Sierra Leone attacked Guinea at their shared borders, trying to destabilize Guinea to gain access to its diamonds.

The Second Republic has been faced with many challenges in the areas of economic development and the establishment of a viable form of governance. Persistent ethnic tensions and the social unrest caused by the economic reforms under the STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT demanded by the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, such as the devaluation of the Guinean currency, have hurt the economy. However, President Conte's government has enjoyed Western backing as a bulwark against instability in the region.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. V); CHINA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); GUINEA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Guinea-Bissau Country in coastal West Africa with an area of 14,100 square miles (36,500 sq km) and bordered by SENEGAL to the north and GUINEA to both the south and east. One of the world's poorest countries, Guinea-Bissau has an economy based almost exclusively on AGRICULTURE, exporting CASH CROPS such as groundnuts (peanuts), cashews, palm kernels, timber, and other commodities. Since the 1960s the political history of Guinea-Bissau has been closely intertwined with that of the Republic of CAPE VERDE.

Ethnically, the people of Guinea-Bissau are closely related to the Fula and Mandinka peoples in neighboring Senegal and Guinea. In the interior, the Maninka language and Islam are unifying forces. Christianity and traditional religions are widely practiced along the coast and in the southern regions.

Portugal Forestalls Guinea-Bissau's Independence The origins of Guinea-Bissau's ills lay in the harsh imposition of colonial rule in Portuguese Guinea, as the country was called from 1879 to 1973. In 1952 Portugal changed the status of its colonies to "overseas provinces"

in an attempt to derail the various independence movements that began calling for African self-government after World War II (1939–45).

In Guinea-Bissau, the opposition was quick to mobilize. By 1956 Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973) and other political leaders had formed the AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (Partido Africano da Indepêndencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC). With Marxist-Leninist leanings and plans for an inclusive government, Cabral's PAIGC was especially popular in Guinea-Bissau's rural areas.

Unlike most other European nations with African colonies, Portugal violently suppressed INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS from their inception. As a result, in 1961 PAIGC rebels began launching counterattacks from their headquarters in CONAKRY, the capital of Guinea. Following a series of small-scale raids on Portuguese government installations, in 1963, open warfare erupted. Portugal eventually sent more than 35,000 troops to Guinea-Bissau in its attempts to defeat the PAIGC guerrillas, whom they outnumbered by more than three-to-one. Despite Portugal's superior numbers, however, by 1968 the PAIGC controlled most of the country outside of the coastal urban centers.

In 1972 the PAIGC established a national people's assembly based on elections held in the liberated parts of the country, and the war for independence seemed to be coming to an end. Before the hostilities ended, however, Portuguese agents infiltrated the PAIGC ranks in Conakry and assassinated Cabral. Secretary General Aristides Maria PEREIRA (1923–), a Cape Verdean and cofounder of the PAIGC, assumed leadership of the party. On September 24, 1973, the PAIGC declared the end of Portuguese Guinea and the beginning of the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The following year Luis Cabral (1931–), half-brother of Amílcar Cabral and also a cofounder of the PAIGC, became the first president of the newly independent republic.

Despite its name, the PAIGC was not very active in Cape Verde until 1973, when Guinea-Bissau declared independence. Two years later Cape Verde declared independence with Aristides Pereira as president.

Guinea-Bissau Since Independence Many countries around the world immediately accepted the PAIGC as the legitimate government of Guinea-Bissau. Portugal, however, did not officially recognize the new nation-state until 1974, after a COUP D'ÉTAT established a new Portuguese government in Lisbon.

From the start Luis Cabral's one-party government was beset by political and economic problems. Cabral tended to govern in an authoritarian manner, which caused widespread dissatisfaction. One of the most divisive issues that threatened the PAIGC was the political domination of Guinea-Bissau by Cape Verdeans such as the Cabrals. As a consequence, in 1980, João Bernardo Vieira (1939–), an army general, led a successful coup to overthrow Luis Cabral while the latter was in Cape Verde for meetings to discuss the unification of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau. Following the coup, the Cape Verdean leadership of the PAIGC abandoned plans to unify with Guinea-Bissau. Instead, they split, creating the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde. Vieira would hold power in Guinea-Bissau for more than a quarter century.

In 1984 Vieira was officially elected president in closely watched elections. Over the next few years of his term, he led the country away from its Marxist path, privatizing whole sectors of the Guinea-Bissau economy. Before long, however, Vieira was accused of CORRUPTION, and his government had to fend off repeated attempts to overthrow it in the 1980s and 1990s. Despite his waning popularity, in 1994 Vieira won the country's first multiparty elections, which came about through political reforms that began in 1990.

Vieira's election did little to mend the political rifts in Guinea-Bissau. The infighting came to a head in 1998, when civil war erupted following Vieira's dismissal of army general Asumane Mane. By the middle of 1999 Mane's army had forced Vieira into exile in Portugal, and the PAIGC's Malam Balai Sanhá was then chosen to preside over an interim government. Although peace was restored after only a few years of fighting, an estimated 2,000 civilians were killed and hundreds of thousands more were displaced during the war.

Guinea-Bissau has plans to develop its hitherto untapped offshore OIL deposits in the coming years. It is hoped that the exploitation of this natural resource will give the people of Guinea-Bissau a reprieve from the grinding POVERTY that has hindered their DEVELOPMENT.

In 2000 the interim government handed over power to Koumba YALA (c. 1953–) of the Social Renewal Party. However, yet another coup took place in mid-September 2003, resulting in Yala's exit. Control of the country then passed into the hands of General Verissimo Correia Seabre (1947–), who promised to restore civilian democratic rule and promptly named Henrique

Pereira Rosa (c. 1946–   ), a business leader, as interim president. Presidential elections were set for March, 2005. Unlike Yala and most of Guinea-Bissau's armed forces, Rosa does not belong to the Balanta ethnic group.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); GUINEA-BISSAU (Vols. I, II, III, IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); PORTUGUESE GUINEA (Vol. IV).

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H

Habré, Hissène (Habre Hissein) (1942–)
President of Chad from 1982 to 1990

Born to a family of herders in Northern CHAD, Habré was educated in local schools before going on to study and earn a law degree in Paris, France. Upon his return home in 1971, he initially worked in the foreign affairs ministry, but he became increasingly active as a leader of the National Liberation Front of Chad (Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad, FROLINAT). This movement, which had its origins among the Muslim herders and peasants of the north, launched a rebellion against the government of President Felix Malloum (1932–), who represented the interests of the mostly Christian south. Malloum himself had assumed the presidency in 1975 after leading a successful coup against President François-Ngarta TOMBALBAYE (1918–1975). Habré gained international recognition for the rebellion he was leading when he kidnapped French archeologist Françoise Claustre in 1975. France refused to comply with ransom demands, and Claustre was not released until January 1977.

By February 1978 FROLINAT controlled nearly 80 percent of the country. Six months later, Habré was named prime minister in a vain bid to restore national unity. FROLINAT splintered, with new rebel leader Goukouni Oueddei (1944–), who ousted President Malloum, receiving support from president Muammar QADDAFI (1942–), of LIBYA. In January 1981 Qaddafi and Ouaddei proposed a merger of the two countries. Fear of the expansion of Libyan influence led to covert U.S. support for Habré. His forces took the capital, NDJA-MENA, in June 1982. The United States continued to give Habré significant military aid throughout his rule.

Habré was ousted by his own commander-in-chief, Idriss DÉBY (1952–), in December 1990. A 1992 truth commission estimated that 40,000 Chadians died during Habré's ruthless eight-year rule. This legacy led to him being nicknamed as "the African Pinochet" because of the similarities with the reign of the Chilean dictator, Augusto Pinochet (1915–). Upon his ouster, Habré fled to SENEGAL. Chad waived its legal protections and Habré was tried in absentia by a Belgian court. He was convicted of crimes against humanity in 2000, and President Abdoulaye WADE (1926–) of Senegal agreed to hold him in house arrest until he could be extradited. Since then the case has been mired in disputes over which country and court does not have jurisdiction over the case.

Habyarimana, Juvenal (1937–1994) *President of Rwanda from 1973 to 1994*

Habyarimana was born into an aristocratic HUTU family in Gaziza, northern RWANDA. He completed his secondary education and began studies in MEDICINE in ZAÏRE (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO) before returning to the Rwandan capital of KIGALI, where he attended the military academy. Upon completion of his course of studies he rose through the ranks to become army chief of staff, in 1963. Two years later, he became minister for Rwanda's armed forces and police, and he subsequently established close ties with President Gregoire KAYIBANDA (1924–1976), a fellow Hutu.

Citing increased ethnic strife, in July 1973 Major General Habyarimana launched a successful COUP D'ÉTAT, taking over the presidency. Given his power-base in the

Hutu elite, Habyarimana's rule led to many years of economic growth. But it was also marked by regular TUTSI insurgency from bases in UGANDA. In 1975 Habyarimana created the governing National Revolutionary Movement for Development party, winning the single-party popular elections three times. He also gained significant French support.

In 1992 Habyarimana held Rwanda's first multiparty elections, and he won a fourth term. Yet, within the year, the fall of the economy—associated with declines in international coffee prices—brought simmering ethnic tensions to the fore. Under the leadership of Paul KAGAME (1957–), the Tutsi RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) took over much of northern Rwanda. Habyarimana was forced into peace talks. In April 1994 the plane carrying both him and Cyprien NTARYAMIRA (1956–1994), president of BURUNDI, crashed, probably shot down by RPF agents. The deaths of the two presidents sparked a brutal three-month genocide directed against Rwanda's Tutsi population. When the Tutsi recovered, they invaded Rwanda, driving several hundred thousand Hutu into refugee camps in the eastern Democratic Republic of the CONGO and elsewhere.

Haile Selassie, Emperor (Tafari Makonnen)
(1892–1975) *Ethiopian emperor from 1930 to 1974*

Hailing from the dominant Amhara ethnic group of ETHIOPIA, Haile Selassie was a long-time symbol of independence and African rule. Admired early on in his political career for abolishing slavery in Ethiopia, he also created a national constitution, improved the country's educational system, and led the resistance against the 1935 Italian invasion of his homeland. However, Haile Selassie failed to modernize throughout the 1960s and 1970s and became more authoritarian as a leader, moving away from the European style of governance that he once wanted to emulate.

Called Ras (Prince) Tafari Makonnen prior to becoming emperor, Haile Selassie inspired RASTAFARIANISM, a political-religious movement named in his honor. Founded in Jamaica in the 1950s, Rastafarianism held that Selassie was a living god. However, as a member of the Christian ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH, Haile Selassie never made such claims for himself and, in fact, he generally dismissed the movement as frivolous.

On the strength of his proud Ethiopian nationalism, Selassie became a world leader and an international statesman. He was one of the original founders of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU), which was chartered in 1963. As a leader of PAN-AFRICANISM, he believed that Africans should unite to deal with their common problems. His leadership in forming the group resulted in the OAU headquarters being stationed in Ethiopia's capital, ADDIS ABABA.

As emperor, Haile Selassie traveled extensively and was well received abroad. Beginning in the early 1960s, however, he faced a number of domestic crises. The most pressing of these problems involved territorial disputes in both ERITREA, Ethiopia's neighbor to the north, and the Ogaden region of southeast Ethiopia.

In the years prior to World War II (1939–45) Eritrea was an Italian colony. In 1952, in the wake of Italy's defeat and the loss of its overseas territories, Haile Selassie successfully lobbied the United Nations to designate Eritrea an autonomous, federated province of his country. Such an arrangement was strategically important to Ethiopia, for it guaranteed access to crucial Red Sea ports. However, many Eritreans rejected the plan, since they were separated from Ethiopians not only by history but also by their Islamic faith. Ethiopia's outright annexation of Eritrea, in 1962, marked the beginning of a protracted war for independence.

In the Cold War environment of the times, Eritrean rebels garnered support from communist countries, including the former Soviet Union and China, and also from co-religionists in Islamic states. The conflict lasted more than three decades, ending only with Eritrean independence in 1993.

Meanwhile, in southeastern Ethiopia, the emperor was facing a different kind of territorial dispute. Known as Ogaden, the vast region had long been considered by Ethiopia to be an integral part of its territory. In the early 1960s, however, with backing from the Soviet Union, SOMALIA was making claims to the territory. The United States, for its part, supported Ethiopia, and armed conflict erupted in 1964. Haile Selassie's subsequent efforts proved unsuccessful in negotiating a settlement of the contested areas.

In the early 1970s, aging and deteriorating mentally, the emperor was unable to lead Ethiopia through challenging times. The violent disputes in Eritrea and Ogaden continued, and new domestic problems, including inflation, increasing government corruption, and a disastrous famine required strong and able leadership. Ultimately, in September 1974 a military coup d'état forced Haile Selassie from power. Colonel MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–) took over, placing Haile Selassie under house arrest. Within a year, in August 1975, the former emperor died under mysterious circumstances. In 1991, when the regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam was overthrown, Haile Selassie's body was finally found. Apparently, it had been buried directly under Mengistu's desk in the imperial palace grounds.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); HAILE SELASSIE (Vol. IV); ERITREA (Vol. IV); FAMINE AND HUNGER (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Hani, Chris (Martin Thembisile Hani) (1942–1993) *Prominent South African anti-apartheid activist*

At the time of his assassination in 1993, Chris Hani was one of the foremost contenders for the leadership of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) in the wake of the dismantling of APARTHEID. In 1957 Hani committed himself to the liberation struggle when he joined the ANC Youth League. In 1962 he was arrested for anti-government activities. The following year, while out on bail, he fled SOUTH AFRICA and took up residence in LESOTHO, an independent country completely surrounded by South Africa.

For most of the next three decades, Hani lived in exile, assuming various positions of authority within UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, the military wing of the ANC known commonly as MK. He went to the Soviet Union for training and, on his return in 1967, he was active in MK operations in ZIMBABWE, Lesotho, ANGOLA, and ZAMBIA. His military and political activities won him recognition, and in 1987 he became the MK chief of staff. In 1990 Hani became a member of the Politburo (leadership committee) of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

After the ANC, MK, and SACP were legalized in 1991, Hani returned to South Africa, flouting social custom by taking up residence in a neighborhood traditionally inhabited by white South Africans. At this time, Hani was one of the most prominent young ANC leader to emerge among the new generation of anti-apartheid activists. On April 10, 1993, he was assassinated outside his home by a Polish immigrant. Afterwards, a mass outpouring of anger among Africans led to violent uprisings throughout South Africa. If it had not been for the call for calm from Nelson MANDELA (1918–), the president of the ANC and South Africa's future president, the peaceful transition to democracy might have been derailed.

harambee Kiswahili word translated as "let's work together." In KENYA the leaders of farming cooperatives, school groups, and even the government have invoked *harambee* to pull people together in order to achieve a common goal.

Indentured workers from India brought the word *harambee* into Kiswahili during the building of colonial rail systems in East Africa. Foremen for construction teams chanted the word to inspire dedication and good will as they completed their difficult task.

> **Indicative of the importance of the *harambee* ethic, the Kenyan national soccer team is named the Harambee Stars.**

Harare Capital of ZIMBABWE, located in the northeastern part of the country. Founded in 1890 with the name of Salisbury, Harare was very much a colonial city through the mid-19th century, serving as the capital of both the British colony of Southern Rhodesia and the breakaway state of RHODESIA, led by Ian SMITH (1919–). With its rigid residential segregation and socially and culturally dominant white population, Salisbury reflected the region's political structure. In fact, as late as 1960, whites made up approximately 30 percent of the city's population.

As part of the short-lived Central African Federation (1953–63), the city added an industrial sector to its commercial, government, and service sectors. After Smith's UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE in 1965, the industrial sector continued to grow despite the international sanctions imposed on Smith's racist government.

In 1980, after independence, the city's name was changed to Harare, which was the name of one of the main segregated African residential areas. By this time the city, with its population of some 630,000, was much more African in makeup, with whites making up only 15 percent of its residents. Today the city is the commercial, governmental, and industrial center for the country. It is the site of the University of Zimbabwe, as well as the National Gallery of Zimbabwe, which houses some of the internationally acclaimed Chapungu stone sculptures.

Harare's economy has faltered in recent years in connection with the political crisis that gripped the country as a result of the efforts of President Robert MUGABE (1924–) to hold onto the reins of power. As foreign exchange has dwindled and the value of the Zimbabwean dollar has plummeted, many of the city's factories have been forced to lay off workers or close completely. The city's shops also have fewer goods, and OIL shortages hamper the TRANSPORTATION system. TOURISM, which recently seemed to be a promising sector of the economy, has also dwindled. The city has lost much of its prosperous appearance, and the future for Harare's approximately 1 million residents is now uncertain.

Chapungu stone sculpture originated with the Shona ethnic group, who have lived in the region of present-day Zimbabwe for centuries. Shona farmers carve stones into forms that they perceive as representing the spirits of the stones. They use hammers, chisels, and files to sculpt the basic shape, and then they use a series of progressively finer sheets of sandpaper to smooth it. Finally a wax coating is applied and polished to protect the hard stone. Frank McEwen, the curator of the National Museum of Harare, has been able to bring international exposure to the sculptures, which were already well known locally. Today the Shona artists are considered among the best stone sculptors in the world, and their work has been displayed in numerous countries.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SHONA (Vol. I); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vols. III, IV); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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Hassan II, King (1929–1999) *King of Morocco*

Born Prince Moulay Hassan, the son of Mohammed V (1927–1961) received a Quranic education and then attended universities in RABAT, MOROCCO, and Bordeaux, France, where he received a master's degree in public law. In 1954 Prince Hassan was exiled to the island nation of MADAGASCAR, along with his father and the rest of the

Shown here in the 1990s, the King Hassan II Mosque in Casablanca is the largest Islamic monument outside of Mecca. It can accommodate up to 25,000 worshipers inside, with room for another 80,000 outside. © *Corbis*

Moroccan royal family. Late in 1955 they returned from exile. As both crown prince and chief of staff, Hassan advised his father and acted as a partner in the transition from French colonial state to independence. At independence, in 1957, Hassan became Morocco's prime minister. When he ascended the throne, in 1961, he was both king and prime minister.

Very much a product of the colonial period, Hassan II was an autocrat, similar to his father when Morocco was a French protectorate. Hassan II used his position as "Commander of the Faithful" to control Morocco's Muslim majority, and he also utilized his secular power to control the rural and urban elite as well as the army. Despite ruling with an iron fist, Hassan II struggled to implement his father's plan for a constitutional monarchy. In his attempts to do so, Hassan II used his police force to stifle opposition in Parliament and the community, and he intimidated voters to shape the outcome of elections. This repression of his opponents brought about public protests and several failed attempts to overthrow his government.

In the 1970s, to redeem his reputation at home, Hassan II attempted to "liberate" neighboring WESTERN SAHARA from Spanish colonial rule. Ultimately, he assembled an estimated 350,000 unarmed Moroccan civilians to march south and occupy parts of the region. This massive demonstration of Moroccan solidarity, called the Green March, resulted in the return of parts of the region to Moroccan control. However, it also conflicted with the aims of the indigenous SAHARAWI people, whose armed rebels, called the POLISARIO Front, embarked on a campaign to establish a truly independent Western Sahara. Hassan II spent the 1980s and early 1990s trying to regain the trust of the Moroccan people, finally implementing a new constitution in 1996.

In foreign policy, Hassan II promoted Arab nationalism. As a member of the Arab League, Morocco supported the cause of the Arab states against Israel. At the same time, Hassan II used the relatively large Moroccan Jewish community to help broker a settlement of the crisis in the Middle East. While Hassan II never sat at the table during negotiations, his low-key mediation helped deliver a 1979 treaty between Israel and EGYPT.

When Hassan II died in 1999, his son, Mohammed Ben al-Hassan, ascended the throne as King MOHAMMED VI (1963–).

See also: MOHAMMED V (Vol. IV); POLITICAL SYSTEMS (Vol. V).

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Hausa Ethnic group populating the region known as Hausaland, located in present-day NIGERIA. The nation of Nigeria that became independent in 1960 was ostensibly a federal republic with three major regions: the Hausa-Fulani-dominated north, a Western Region that was predominantly IGBO in makeup, and the YORUBA-dominated Eastern Region.

In the months following independence the Hausa increasingly allied themselves with the Muslim north, and this allowed the north to dominate the federal government during Nigeria's First Republic. Unrest and protests followed, mostly instigated by Igbo and Yoruba but attended by individuals from Nigeria's hundreds of other ethnic groups, as well. By January 1966 Igbo army officers, led by Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (1924–1966), instigated a COUP D'ÉTAT, setting off even more violent ethnic dissension. Anti-Igbo sentiment increased in the north, and in July General Yakubu GOWON (1934–), a northern Hausa, led yet another military coup. In short order, Gowon assassinated Aguiyi-Ironisi and swept the Igbo from power. In the months that followed, northern troops attacked Igbo soldiers with whom they were stationed, mobs attacked Igbo speakers living in northern cities, and, in the end, tens of thousands of Igbos were killed. All of this eventually culminated in the rise of Igbo nationalism and, in 1966, the proclamation of an Ibgo state, which was named BIAFRA. During a bloody civil war the Hausa- and Muslim-dominated central government fought to put down the rebel state. The repression of Biafra ultimately succeeded but at a cost of hundreds of thousands—perhaps even millions—of lives. In addition to cost in lives, Nigeria was left with a heightened legacy of ethnic animosity that has continued to this day.

During the 1990s democracy eventually was restored after a series of brutal military regimes. Still, to many Nigerians, control of the government never truly left the hands of the northern Hausa and Muslims. This sense has been exacerbated during the 21st century by Muslim attempts to make the Islamic law of SHARIA the official legal system of various Nigerian states. As a result, conflict between Muslims, Christians, and practitioners of traditional African religions—as well as between members of the Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba ethnic groups—remains intense.

See also: BALEWA, ABUBAKAR TAFAWA (Vols. IV, V); BELLO, AHMADU (Vols. IV, V); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); HAUSA (I, II, IV), HAUSA STATES (II, III); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); NORTHERN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (Vol. V).

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Head, Bessie (1937–1986) *South African writer*

Bessie Head's childhood was a traumatic one. Her parents were a wealthy white Scottish woman and a black stableman who worked on her mother's estate. Such liaisons were illegal under South Africa's Immorality Act, and Head's mother was subsequently committed to a mental institution, where Head was born in 1937. The child was then cared for by a Coloured, or mixed-race, family in Pietermaritzburg, under conditions of extreme POVERTY. In 1951 she was placed in the care of St. Monica's mission school, where she had been enrolled a year earlier.

In 1956 Head graduated and briefly worked as a teacher before moving to CAPE TOWN, where she worked as a journalist for the *Golden City Post* and later for *Drum* magazine. In Cape Town, Head joined the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS and became involved in the political struggle against APARTHEID. South African authorities imprisoned her briefly, leading Head to a failed suicide attempt. In 1961 she married political activist Harold Head and relocated to District Six, the Coloured-only ghetto in Cape Town. In 1964 personal troubles drove Head to leave her husband and move with her son to Bechuanaland (present-day BOTSWANA), where she settled in the small town of Serowe. There, Head lived in abject poverty and began the writing career that would carry her to prominence.

When Botswana became independent in 1966, Head was able to live off of refugee funds from the United Nations and the advance money for her first novel. She moved to Francistown, and in 1969 *When Rain Clouds Gather* was published to strong critical reviews. About the same time, Head began to display symptoms of mental illness that would plague her throughout her life.

Head's second novel, *Maru* (1971), centered on the Tswana people of Botswana, but it was the mostly autobiographical *A Question of Power* (1973) that is considered her best. The story of a young South African Coloured woman who moves to Botswana and suffers a nervous breakdown, the novel gives a harrowing account of a life that mirrors Head's own.

Head gradually gained international recognition for her work. Granted citizenship in Botswana in 1979, she traveled to writers' workshops around the world. However, Head was afflicted with alcoholism, and her mental health steadily deteriorated. She died in 1986 from hepatitis. Several of Head's works were published posthumously, including *The Cardinals* (1993), a novella she wrote while still in South Africa.

See also: BECHUANALAND (Vol. IV); *DRUM* (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

health and healing in modern Africa

In contemporary Africa there are several different categories of healing systems that are used to fight illness. These include the traditional healing systems, western biomedical care, RELIGION-based healing systems, and self-care. Within these categories there exist numerous ideologies on health and illness. At the same time, these different systems can often influence each other, making it difficult to distinguish boundaries. There are also high rates of pluralism in treating illnesses, meaning that many people in Africa use treatments from more than one healing system to treat a particular condition.

Traditional Healing Indigenous MEDICINE is diverse and dynamic. It includes healing systems that are not considered Western biomedicine. These healing systems have been a part of life in Africa for centuries and have continually evolved as environmental and social forces have changed over the years. Although there are many different types of traditional healing, most hold to the general theme of equating physical health with the maintenance of an equilibrium throughout all areas of a patient's life.

During the colonial period traditional healing was labeled as pagan and unscientific by colonial authorities, and its practitioners were often persecuted. This caused many traditional healers to practice in secret, and with the introduction of Western biomedicine the use of traditional healing declined. This decline continued even after many nations achieved independence. The decrease in the use of traditional healing was sharpest between the 1960s and 1980s, when many newly independent African states attempted to model themselves after western European countries. Extending this emulation into the field of health care, these nations turned against traditional healing and, instead, fought to follow the precepts of Western medicine.

Toward the end of the 20th century, however, there was a national and international movement, led by the World Health Organization, to gain official legitimacy for traditional healing. The governments of many African nations set up programs within their health-care facilities to provide collaboration and training for traditional healers. There was a new recognition of the knowledge held by these healers, accompanied by a fear that it may have been lost if it were not embraced by official medical institutions. In addition, the resurgence of traditional healing was seen as a way to provide affordable health care in an economic environment characterized by social-service cutbacks. As a result, by the end of the 20th century more than half of all Africans used some type of traditional healing.

Western Medicine In addition to the many traditional healing systems available, an extensive network of Western health-care facilities and programs are present throughout Africa. Western health care originally was introduced in Africa during the colonial period in an attempt to protect the health of European colonists and the indigenous LABOR force. Today Western biomedical facilities provide the foundation for government-provided health care throughout Africa. Recent attempts to improve health conditions for rural populations have fo-

cused on decentralizing control of health care away from the urban areas. In addition, there has been a push to incorporate preventative health care, rather than simply to cure ailments, which was the prevalent practice during the colonial period.

The economic downturn facing many African governments in the 1980s resulted in the implementation of strict STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs. These programs reduced spending on many social services, including health care. This has left existing health-care facilities with insufficient funds to serve the needs of the growing population, resulting in under-staffing, over-crowding, and medication shortages. Private hospitals have ameliorated these deficiencies, but the majority of Africans cannot afford to go to a private hospital. Many international NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS have attempted to fill the resulting gaps in health care by implementing research and outreach programs such as the Global Malaria Control Strategy and the Expanded Program on Immunization.

Although recent decades have witnessed the emergence of new and severe diseases, most notably HIV/AIDS, the spread of Western biomedical care has improved certain aspects of health in Africa. For example, average life expectancy has increased from 43 years, in 1960, to 51 years, in 1994. These positive results, however, are not equally dispersed in all locations and countries.

Religion-based Health Care The third general category of healing systems centers on religious individuals and institutions directly involved in healing. Their practices often overlap with the tenets of traditional healing systems, incorporating the intervention of God or deities for the purpose of healing physical ailments. The Independent African Churches, which are multiplying rapidly in urban areas, are known for their assistance with healing. Some churches have specific chambers designated for healing. Also, it is the duty of some church officials to visit the sick and perform healing rituals. Although orthodox Christians and Muslims generally do not endorse the melding of traditional and western medical practices, the mixing of secular and religion-based health care does occur often in less orthodox churches and mosques throughout the continent.

Self-Healing One of the most widespread healing systems is that of self-healing. Due to limited income and frequent illness, many poorer households rely on self-diagnosis and self-medication when someone is sick. Africans frequently use herbs, roots, or over-the-counter medication to treat illnesses at home. Popular drugs have been mass-produced and are available at both registered pharmacies and informal street vendors. Due to the widespread availability of these drugs and long lines at government health-care facilities, purchasing drugs for self-healing is often the fastest treatment available. One of the problems with this approach is that improper or in-

complete self-medication can give rise to drug-resistant strains of disease.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HEALTH AND HEALING IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA (Vol. V); MEDICINE MEN (Vol. I); RELIGION (Vol. V).

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Herero Ethnic group of NAMIBIA, western BOTSWANA, and southern ANGOLA. The greater Herero group is made up of various sub-groups, including the Himba, Tijimba, and Mbanderu peoples. In the 1950s the Herero paramount chief, Hosea Kutako (1870–1970), sent Mburumba Kerina to petition the United Nations for support in achieving self-rule. Although Namibian independence was granted only in 1990, the early diplomatic efforts of the Herero brought attention to the repression and HUMAN RIGHTS abuses perpetrated by the South African authorities in SOUTH WEST AFRICA (as Namibia was known at the time).

See also: HERERO (Vols. II, III, IV).

historical scholarship on Africa Writing about African history emerged as an important field of scholarship in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The achievement of independence by a majority of African countries during this period was the principal motivating force for establishing African history as a major research and teaching area within the discipline of history.

Africa had few universities prior to independence. Beginning in the 1960s, however, each country developed its own national university or, in the case of populous countries such as NIGERIA, several universities. Each of these universities had a department of history that was staffed by professionally trained African scholars who focused to a large extent on the national pasts of their respective countries. This led to publications such as *Milestones in Nigerian History* (1962), by J. F. Ade Ajayi (1929–), *Kenya before 1900* (1976), by Bethwell A. Ogot (1929–), and *A History of the Maghreb* (1971), by Jamil M. Abun-Nasr. The first generation of these historians was trained at universities in the European countries that were former colonial powers or in the United States. Over the first decades of independence, however, African universities trained more and more of the continent's historians.

The imperatives of African independence also demanded that history departments at universities in the former colonial countries and North America also teach African history. A milestone in this development was the founding of the *Journal of African History* (JAH) by two English historians, Roland Oliver (1923–) and John D. Fage (1921–). The JAH rapidly became the field's leading journal. The development of AFRICAN STUDIES in the United States led to the establishment of African history at its universities. The University of Wisconsin-Madison, under the leadership of Philip D. Curtin (1922–) and Jan Vansina (1929–), was at the forefront of this effort and trained many of the senior historians of Africa now at American universities.

John Fage's career exemplified that of many of the first generation of Western and especially British scholars of Africa. As a member of the Royal Air Force, he was in both the African and Asian theaters of World War II (1939–45). In 1949 he went to GHANA, at the time still the British colony of the Gold Coast, to help develop the history department at its new university. His tenure in Ghana led to the publication of *Ghana: An Historical Interpretation* (1959). He then was a visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin before returning to England, where he ultimately became the head of the Centre of West African Studies and professor of African history at the University of Birmingham. In 1962 he co-authored with Roland Oliver the first modern general history of the continent, *A Short History of Africa,* which subsequently appeared in six editions, the last coming in 1988.

The study of the African past has gone through a number of distinct phases over the past half-century or so. The first was to establish that Africa had a history, a fact that had been undermined by decades of colonial rule and countless assertions of African inferiority. The noted Cambridge University historian of Europe, Hugh Trevor-Roper (1914–2003), captured this sentiment when he wrote, in 1963, that the African past consists of nothing more than "the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe." The focus of this first phase of historical scholarship, then, was to counter this negative image and to assert that Africa indeed possessed a historical past worthy of study. The emphasis was primarily on trade and states during the precolonial era, leading to books such as *Kingdoms of the Savanna* (1966), by Vansina, and *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830–1860,* by Kenneth DIKE (1917–1983). The title

of *Africans and Their History* (1972), by Joseph E. Harris (1929–), captures the heart of this approach. Much of our present knowledge of the early African states and empires and trade routes dates from this period.

The second phase of historical scholarship on Africa emerged from the disillusionment with the results of African independence. Scholars of Africa had been optimistic that Ghana's pioneering Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) was right with his dictum of "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all else will come." But by the 1970s many perceptive observers saw that rather than DEVELOPMENT African countries faced NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT. Nor was this limited to Africa, for scholars from Latin American, the Middle East, and parts of Asia also were concerned with the continued global dominance of the Western world. The Egyptian economist Samir Amin (1931–), who in 1971 published *L'Afrique de l'Ouest Bloquee: L'Economie Politique de la Colonisation, 1880–1970* (translated and published in 1973 as *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa*), was one such key figure. The leading historian of Africa to take this approach was the French Guyana-born historian Walter RODNEY (1942–1980), who taught at the University of Dar es Salaam in TANZANIA. In 1972 he published *How Europe Under-developed Africa,* which became perhaps the most influential study of African history for an entire generation of students educated at African universities. Numerous studies along these lines subsequently appeared from scholars based both within and outside the continent.

Historical studies centered around concepts of neocolonialism, underdevelopment, and dependency helped explain Africa's growing POVERTY by revealing how Africa had been victimized by forces beyond its control. This view, however, denied Africans a role as communities or individuals in making their own history. This proved to be unsatisfactory to many scholars both inside and outside the continent. Thus, in the 1984 edition of *Topics in West African History,* which originally appeared in 1964, the Ghanaian historian A. Adu Boahen reiterated that the history of Africa, "like that of most regions or countries of the world, is the result of internal and external factors." Furthermore, "the internal or local factors [which consist of the people and their resources] . . . are usually more fundamental and far more important."

Most of the studies that sought to place Africans as central actors in shaping the continent's history have focused on the 19th and, especially, 20th centuries. The availability of historical documentation provided sufficient information for examining the lives and actions of individual Africans and their communities in a way not possible in earlier centuries. The scope of studies also broadened well beyond the earlier political and economic history. Studies such as Frederick Cooper's (1947–) investigation of colonial MOMBASA (*On the African Waterfront,* 1987) contributed to better historical understanding of urban

African LABOR, while Elias Mandala's study of colonial MALAWI, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy* (1990), provided insight into rural labor in the agricultural sector. Anne Kelk Mager examined the social history of the Ciskei BANTUSTAN in *Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan* (1999), while Jean Allman's *The Quills of the Porcupine* (1993) delved into the social conflicts underlying and fueling the politics leading to Ghana's independence.

During the 1980s another approach to the study of the African past, known as Afrocentrism, emerged among a group of African American scholars. Molefi Asante (1942–), a specialist in intercultural communication and a professor at Temple University, first popularized the term Afrocentrism and the related terms Afrocology and Afrocentricity in his 1987 book *The Afrocentric Idea.* Part of the inspiration for the concept of Afrocentrism stems from PAN-AFRICANISM and the scholarship of individuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963). One of his lasting legacies was the *Encyclopaedia Africana: Dictionary of African Biography* project. Initiated in Ghana in 1962, after Asante became a citizen of that country, the project will ultimately have 20 volumes (only three have appeared to date).

A more direct intellectual precursor of Afrocentrism was Cheikh Anta DIOP (1923–1986), the Senegalese scholar. Diop's *Antériorité des civilisations nègres: mythe ou vérité historique,* which was published in 1967, appeared in 1974 in English as *The African Origins of Civilization: Myth or Reality.* Its carefully argued thesis that ancient Egyptian civilization was black rather than Caucasoid thus became accessible to the African American community in general. The prestige and historical significance of ancient EGYPT was such that Diop's argument had wide appeal to those who sought to counter white racism and its views of black inferiority. This has given a major boost to their argument that people of African descent should take pride in their ancestral African civilizations as a starting point for articulating their own Afrocentric history and their own Afrocentric system of values.

By the turn of the century historical scholarship on Africa was continuing to explore new avenues for understanding the African past in ways that were appropriate for the African present. Just as the emergence of social history a couple of decades earlier had opened up new vistas beyond those provided by the conceptual approach of the development of underdevelopment, so in recent years a cultural approach has enabled historians to ask new questions about the past. For example, Emmanuel Akyeampong explored the changing social role of alcohol in Ghana over two centuries in his *Drink, Power, and Cultural Change* (1996). Laura Fair examined in *Pastimes and Politics* (2001) how the emancipated slave population of ZANZIBAR utilized musical performance, soccer, manners

of dress, Islamic ritual, and ethnicity to fashion a new identity that was in keeping with their new social status. Likewise, Heather Sharkey's 2003 study, *Living with Colonialism,* examines culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in terms of such topics as colonial EDUCATION, privilege, and national identity and life under the colonial regime.

See also: DUBOIS, W.E.B. (Vol. IV); HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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HIV/AIDS and Africa   Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) was first recognized in Africa in the 1980s. Although the disease is making a mark on every country worldwide, Africa bears more than its share of the burden. Today, the alarming scope of the pandemic in Africa is attracting the attention of both national and international bodies.

> **The Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) reported that of the estimated 5 million people worldwide who contracted the HIV virus in 2002, 3.5 million live in sub-Saharan Africa. For the same year, nearly 90 percent of the HIV/AIDS-related deaths worldwide occurred in sub-Saharan Africa.**

Recent Developments in Combating HIV/AIDS In recent years most African nations have initiated research and EDUCATION programs to decrease the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS among their populations. In 2003 UNAIDS reported that 19 nations have national HIV/AIDS councils, and 40 countries have developed strategic HIV/AIDS plans. In some countries, including UGANDA, KENYA, and SOUTH AFRICA, most DEVELOPMENT programs include an HIV/AIDS component. One such program is the Southern Africa Youth Initiative, which makes education, support networks, and health care available to adolescent girls in an attempt to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS. In BOTSWANA, the government has promised to provide antiretrovirals—medicines to combat the HIV virus—to all its citizens who need them.

HIV/AIDS Deaths in Africa, 2003

Estimated Deaths
per 10,000 People

	fewer than 5
	5–9
	10–19
	20–29
	30–39
	40–99
	more than 100
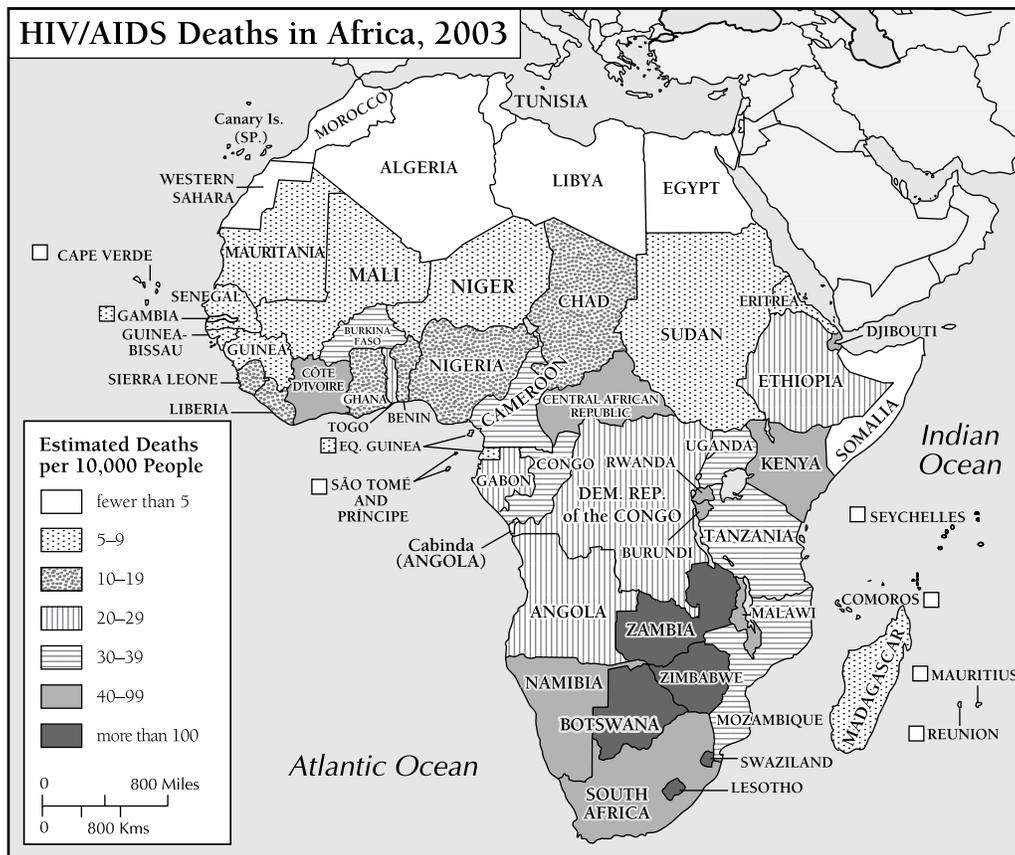
Despite the alarming HIV/AIDS infection rates and projections for increases in the future, positive trends have been reported in some areas in Africa. For example in 1998, after the implementation of an aggressive public health campaign, Uganda became the first African country to report a decrease in HIV rates. The decline has been steady among pregnant women 15 to 19 years old, and condom use by single women in the same age group reportedly has doubled since 1995. In South Africa the reported HIV/AIDS rates for pregnant women under 20 dropped from an alarming 21 percent, in 1998, to 15 percent, in 2001. Declines were also reported for young women in the city center of ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA. Although it is expected that the worst is yet to come for Africa, particularly for parts of West Africa, where rates are still low relative to eastern and southern Africa, these positive trends indicate that well-planned public health campaigns may prove successful in decreasing the rates of infection.

Poverty and the Spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa

There are numerous factors, many of which differ from those of developed nations, contributing to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa. Transmission has been characterized differently in Africa than in other regions, since the majority of infections occur through heterosexual contact. The rest are attributed to exposure to the virus through contaminated blood transfusions and to mother-to-child transmission during pregnancy or breast-feeding.

In general, HIV/AIDS in Africa infects an equal number of men and women, although a higher percentage of young women (ages 15 to 24) are infected than men in the same age group. This pattern has been attributed to discrimination against women and girls regarding access to education, financial resources, health care, and employment. Limited access to these resources puts women and girls in a position that often necessitates relations with men who have adequate financial resources. These men, because of their age, are more likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS.

A major contributing factor to the spread of HIV/AIDS is that widespread POVERTY throughout Africa has led to an increase in migration. People traveling in search of employment often end up in cities, causing overpopulation that overburdens the INFRASTRUCTURE and causes unemployment. As a result, migrants often live in shantytowns or slum areas that usually do not have clean running water, waste disposal, or electricity. These living conditions promote the spread of disease, in general. Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), in particular, are common in these areas, since many women and girls are forced by their circumstances to sell sex. The sex-for-money cycle is related to HIV/AIDS as well as other sexually transmitted diseases,

such as gonorrhea, syphilis, and chancroid. The genital ulceration caused by some sexually transmitted diseases facilitates the transmission of HIV/AIDS. Limited use of health-care facilities for the treatment of STDs—due to both the lack of access as well as to the social stigma associated with STDs—also plays a role.

Many African governments responded to the economic crisis of the 1980s and to the STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs imposed by the WORLD BANK and the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND with cuts in social programs, including health care. This has led to overcrowding at the few available facilities and has necessitated the introduction of user fees, which are prohibitive for the poor.

Other Factors An additional factor associated with the spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa is military conflict, which has resulted in the looting and destruction of health-care facilities in many war-torn areas, further limiting access to treatment and health education. Conflicts have also contributed to widespread poverty through the destruction of farmland and infrastructure.

Certain culture-specific practices may also contribute to Africa's high HIV/AIDS transmission rates. Scientists have reported an association between uncircumcised men and the spread of STDs, including HIV/AIDS. Also, researchers are exploring links between sexual practices and the spread of HIV/AIDS. For example, intercourse is sometimes performed after applying drying agents to the female genitals, increasing the chances of tearing and, therefore, transmission of HIV/AIDS.

The Impact of HIV/AIDS-related Mortality Extensive research projects are examining the destructive impact of HIV/AIDS on African society. The disease has led to the loss of adults in the prime of life, plunging families into economic hardship. Too often, when a household loses a source of income, children and teens must quit school in order to work. This results in a lack of education, which has been associated with increased poverty and the further spread of HIV/AIDS. In this way the loss of a family member can create a vicious cycle of poverty and exposure to HIV/AIDS.

Hardship increases dramatically when both parents die, a situation that occurs often due to the nature of HIV/AIDS. Orphans then become the heads of households, join other households, or attempt to survive on the streets, and these options do not bode well for an improved quality of life. Even before death occurs, HIV/AIDS is an economic burden on a family or a village because of medical bills and the loss of productivity due to a reduction in the LABOR force. Because of its far-reaching implications, HIV/AIDS in Africa will continue to be an area of research for decades to come.

See also: DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HEALTH AND HEALING IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Houphouët-Boigny, Felix (1905–1993) *First president of independent Ivory Coast*

Houphouët-Boigny began his political career, in 1945, as leader of a farmers' union called the African Agricultural Union. The following year, he was elected a deputy of the French National Assembly. Later that same year, he helped found the African Democratic Assembly (Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine, RDA), an inclusive political party that served the whole of French West Africa. After IVORY COAST achieved independence in 1960, Houphouët-Boigny became president, and his political party, the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire, PDCI) dominated the country's legislature.

During the initial years of Houphouët-Boigny's administration, Ivory Coast prospered under a highly centralized, one-party government. Houphouët-Boigny strategically denied the development of a multiparty political system, believing it would create an unhealthy divisiveness in a country trying to establish itself. Economically, Houphouët-Boigny cooperated extensively with other states in Africa, supporting the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU), as well as with France, deeming that independence had little significance if Ivory Coast could not develop its economy. Despite criticism leveled at Houphouët-Boigny's cooperation policy by the likes of Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) of GHANA and Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) of GUINEA, Ivory Coast's economy, called the "Ivorian miracle," developed remarkably well into the late 1970s. The country became the world's top cocoa producer and third in terms of coffee production. Houphouët-Boigny used his financial gains freely. He built an entirely new national capital in his home city of YAMOUSSOUKRO, which was completed in 1983.

Debt and a collapsing cocoa market soon undercut Ivory Coast's booming economy, however, and political opposition began to emerge against Houphouët-Boigny's government. He had many of his opponents arrested or exiled, but was forced by an international outcry to proclaim a short-lived amnesty in 1988. Declining economic conditions and the threat of a pay cut led to protests by government workers in 1990. In response Houphouët-Boigny called for more arrests, but ultimately he was forced to allow for presidential elections. He won the presidency again, though the elections were widely thought to be rigged.

Conditions in Ivory Coast continued to worsen for the remainder of Houphouët-Boigny's presidency. He died of prostate cancer, in 1993, and was buried in a basilica in Yamoussoukro. This extravagant building, constructed of imported materials entirely along the lines of a European church, cost some $200 million in state funds. It came to represent the excesses of what had become a highly idiosyncratic rule.

See also: AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY (Vol. IV); HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY, FÉLIX (Vol. IV).

human rights   In Africa the guarantee of human rights is a prominent feature of the legal protections in most states. However, the common occurrence of armed conflicts and CIVIL WARS and the despotic nature of certain regimes have resulted in frequent human rights violations. The phrase "universal human rights" typically refers to the rights described by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The Declaration states that people's civil, legal, political, economic, social, and cultural rights are guaranteed against discrimination based on race, ethnic group, color, sex, RELIGION, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth, or other status.

In light of the widespread human rights abuses visited on the people of Africa during the colonial era, independent African states were conscious of making provisions to ensure the human rights of their citizens. To that end, numerous articles of the charter of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) stipulate that freedom, equality, justice, and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples. From its inception the OAU called for all African member states to have due regard for the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The OAU charter stipulates that member states shall eliminate discrimination against women, but this can present challenges, especially with regard to cultures that traditionally extend different rights to men and women. In NIGERIA, for example, northern Muslims have been calling for the greater implementation of Islamic law, or *SHARIA*, which treats women differently from men. Nigerians living in the more secular southern regions appeal to the OAU charter, which can result in drastically different interpretations of what are the inalienable "human rights" to be guaranteed to an individual.

According to the OAU charter, no one may be arbitrarily arrested or detained or otherwise deprived of the right to life and the integrity of his or her person.

Shown here in a photograph from 1972, Felix Houphouët-Boigny was the president of Ivory Coast for 33 years. © AP/Wide World Photos

Slavery, torture, and cruel or unusual punishment are thus naturally prohibited. The charter also covers worker rights, legal rights, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom of association, movement, and residence within the borders of a state. It also protects against gender inequality and preserves the rights of children and the elderly. The OAU attempted to enforce these aspects of its charter through the African Commission on Human and People's Rights.

The often unstable political, economic, and ethnic circumstances left in the wake of colonialism produced environments in which human rights are constantly under threat. As newly independent African countries attempted to establish stable economies and resolve differences between vying political parties and ethnic groups, many nations fell under the power of autocratic rulers who suppressed many basic human rights in an effort to maintain their power. In countries such as GHANA, KENYA, and MALAWI nationalist leaders evolved into dictators of one-party states with control over the national media and no allowances for political opposition. In EQUATORIAL GUINEA, UGANDA, and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, brutal dictatorships ruled through violent oppression and abolished any semblance of human rights. The government of SOUTH AFRICA represented perhaps the most blatant and long-term disregard for human rights with the establishment of its racist APARTHEID regime, which lasted until 1994.

Another aspect of the independence era that has made the preservation of human rights difficult has been the frequent outbreak of violence and civil war. These conflicts, typically fueled by either political disagreement or ethnic motivations, interfere with the rights of citizens caught in the crossfire of the warring sides. Atrocities committed during civil wars in Nigeria, MOZAMBIQUE, the Republic of the CONGO, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO were in gross violation of human rights, as were genocidal campaigns conducted in BURUNDI and RWANDA. Devastating conflicts such as these also forced millions to become REFUGEES. The OAU charter made provisions for protecting refugees.

The constant threat to human rights in many African nations has led to the involvement of a number of NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS that work to protect human rights and bring violations of those rights to the attention of the international community. Groups such as Amnesty International, which first became involved in Africa in 1962, the U.S.-based Human Rights Watch, and the UN Human Rights Committee are among those which champion human rights in Africa. Though the situation may be bleak in a number of African nations, others—BOTSWANA stands out as a prime example—have strong human rights records and represent the hope that human rights violations will soon be the exception, not the norm, in Africa.

See also: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Hutu   Majority ethnic group of both RWANDA and BURUNDI. The second half of the 20th century has been a period of devastating conflict between the Hutu and their rivals, the TUTSI. The Hutu, who make up approximately 85 percent of the population in both Rwanda and Burundi, have for many years been subject to the rule of minority Tutsi monarchs. Belgian favoritism toward the lighter-skinned Tutsi during the period of colonial rule only exacerbated tensions.

Following independence for both Rwanda and Burundi in 1962 the struggle between the two groups often erupted in violent confrontations. In the mid-1990s the violence in Rwanda turned genocidal following the death of the country's Hutu president, Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994). He was killed when his plane was brought down by what many Hutu claimed was a Tutsi-launched missile. The crash also took the life of Burundi's Hutu president, Cyprien NTARYAMIRA (1956–1994). Hutu anger over the deaths of the two presidents erupted into bloodshed, with civilian Hutu death squads—known as the Interahamwe—systematically killing between 800,000 and 1 million people, mostly Tutsi.

> For all of their differences, the Hutu share many aspects of Tutsi culture, and vice versa. Centuries ago the Tutsi adopted the Hutu language, a Bantu tongue. The Hutu, in turn, took on the Tutsi kinship system. The Hutu also largely share the same Christian and animist religious beliefs as the Tutsi.

Later in 1994 the Tutsi-dominated RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT, led by Paul KAGAME (1957–), invaded from neighboring UGANDA and took control of Rwanda. A large portion of the Hutu population fled west, into the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, where they were given refuge by Congolese president Robert MUGABE (1924–). Kagame set up a joint Hutu-Tutsi government, but in time it became clear that the Tutsi had once again become the dominant political force in Rwanda.

In Burundi conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi existed from independence, with the government suffering through a series of coups. In 1972 Hutu uprisings against the Tutsi government led by Michel Micombero (1940–1983) resulted in government reprisals in which as many as 150,000 Hutu lost their lives. In 1988 an estimated

20,000 Hutu were killed in a similar genocidal wave of violence after Tutsi Pierre BUYOYA (1949–) came to power following a COUP D'ÉTAT.

After the assassination of Hutu president Melchior Ndadaye (1953–1993) in 1993, the Hutu launched reprisals against the Tutsi, killing an estimated 150,000. The plane crash in 1994 that killed Ntaryamira did not produce the same horrific reaction in Burundi as it did in Rwanda, although fighting continued. Peace talks initiated in 1995 began to ease the crisis.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); HUTU (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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I

Ibadan Capital of Oyo State in NIGERIA, located in the southwestern YORUBA-speaking portion of the country. In the early 20th century Ibadan became a major colonial commercial center under British administration. The city and surrounding area have a long history of producing agricultural products for the market, and many of its residents still cultivate their land in a part-time basis.

Ibadan's markets flourish, with vendors on every street corner. Numerous stalls and shops sell items as varied as beads, indigenous cloth, cotton, timber, rubber, palm oil, furniture, soap, and leather goods. Dugbe, a huge traditional marketplace, is located at Ibadan's TRANSPORTATION hub. Ibadan also has its own highly popular amusement park, Transwonderland, which is Nigeria's answer to Disneyland.

Industry in the city is limited, but there are many hotels as well as businesses specializing in printing, photography, and car repair. In 2000 the city's population was estimated at more than 1.5 million.

See also: IBADAN (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Ibadan, University of Government-supported university located in NIGERIA. It was founded in the second half of the 19th century as the Yaba Higher College and, in association with London University, it awarded higher education degrees to students pursuing professional training. In 1948 the school changed its name to the University College, Ibadan. It was Nigeria's first university and one of the earliest universities in sub-Saharan Africa. In the 1948–49 academic year, the University College supported three schools: Arts, Sciences, and MEDICINE.

From its inception, the university adapted its classes to suit local needs. In 1962 it moved out from under the aegis of London University and became autonomous. The school's first chancellor was Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966), independent Nigeria's first prime minister. From 1960 to 1967 Dr. Kenneth O. DIKE (1917–1983) was the university's principal and vice chancellor. He led the efforts to establish a postgraduate school at Ibadan. In the 1970s the university expanded, opening new campuses at Jos and Ilorin. Although it is government-supported, the University of Ibadan has also received funds from many non-governmental contributors.

Today the University of Ibadan supports academic programs in medicine, arts, science, agriculture and forestry, the social sciences, EDUCATION, veterinary medicine, technology, law, public health, and dentistry. It also has the largest library in Nigeria.

See also: ILORIN (Vol. IV).

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Ibrahim, Abdullah (Adolphe "Dollar" Brand) (1934–) *South African jazz pianist and composer*

Born Adolphe Brand in CAPE TOWN in 1934, Abdullah Ibrahim converted to Islam and changed his name in the late 1960s. Ibrahim grew up in an environment in which he regularly heard traditional African songs, religious MUSIC, and American jazz. Jazz soon became his vocation, and it led to his nickname, "Dollar," for the dollars he used

to purchase the current jazz recordings from the sailors on American ships that put in at Cape Town's busy docks. Going by the name "Dollar" Brand, Ibrahim, along with two other future jazz greats, Hugh MASEKELA (1931–   ) and Kippie Moeketsi (1925–1983), formed the Jazz Epistles in 1959. The group quickly rose to prominence in the lively JOHANNESBURG jazz scene.

Although greatly influenced by his close collaboration with American jazz musicians, Ibrahim's compositions and performance remain firmly rooted in the South African popular music tradition. As he once said, he writes his music "as songs, as if meant to be sung."

In 1963, having recently married the jazz vocalist Sathima Bea Benjamin (1936–   ), Ibrahim began a tour of Europe with his trio, during which he met legendary American musician and composer Duke Ellington (1899–1974). Recognizing the South African's talent and skill, Ellington became Ibrahim's mentor and sponsored an American tour for the young musician. Over the next decade Ibrahim worked closely with Ellington, Thelonious Monk (1918–1982), and other American jazz musicians and continued to tour with his band. He returned to South Africa and, in 1976, recorded the all-time South African jazz hit, "Manenberg." The oppressiveness of APARTHEID led him to leave South Africa again, however, and he did not return until 1990. After that time he lived and worked in his home country as well as continuing to record and tour internationally. He also devoted extensive time to the music education of young people.

Ibrahim became a composer of feature-length film scores. His CINEMA credits include the scores for *Chocolat* (1988) and *S'en Fout La Mort* (No Fear, No Die, 1992), both by the French director Claire Denis (1948–   ). Ibrahim also composed the score for *Tilai*, which was directed by the BURKINA FASO filmmaker Idrissa Ouedraogo (c. 1954–   ) and which won the 1990 Grand Prix Award at the Cannes Film Festival.

Igbo (Ibo) People living chiefly in southeastern NIGERIA who speak Igbo, a language of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family. Independence, which came in 1960, did little to smooth the path for the country that British colonial powers had pieced together from hundreds of ethnic and religious groups and called Nigeria. The country's First Republic, led by the British-installed prime minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966), was ostensibly a federal republic. It included three large regions, a Northern Region dominated by the HAUSA-Fulani, who were primarily Muslims, a Western Region dominated by the YORUBA, and an Eastern Region that was primarily Igbo in makeup. Beyond this, there were more than 400 other ethnic groups, as well as major religious divisions between Muslims, Christians, and followers of traditional African religions. Control, however, was firmly in the hands of northerners, primarily Muslim Hausa, despite the fact that a large part of Nigeria's civil service and military personnel were either Igbo or Yoruba.

Wrangling among the three dominant ethnic groups intensified in the months following independence, with sharp conflicts between ethnic-based political groups and intense disagreements over boundaries between the nation's regions. The question of whether to establish another region, one in the middle of the country, became a topic of passionate debate. By 1966 a series of coups resulted, with power ultimately falling into the hands of General Yakubu GOWON (1934–   ), a Hausa from the Northern Region. Bloody ethnic violence ensued, with tens of thousands of Igbos killed and thousands more forced to leave their homes in the north. Igbo nationalism grew, and, eventually, the governor of the Eastern Region, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu (1933–   ), began calling for secession and the establishment of an Igbo state. Rejecting attempts from Gowon's government to forge a compromise, in May 1967 Ojukwu declared an Igbo-led independent state of BIAFRA. A devastating civil war ensued as the central government, which was dominated by northerners, sought to put down the breakaway Igbo state. By the time hostilities ceased as many as 100,000 Biafran soldiers and between 500,000 and 2 million civilians had perished.

The conclusion of the civil war brought an end to armed conflict but not to Nigeria's difficulties. Although the central government seemed to make attempts to peacefully reintegrate ethnic Igbo back into the nation, such efforts were not completely successful. In the 21st century the conflict between Muslims and practitioners of either Christianity or traditional religions has become particularly bitter, with the question of the establishment of the Islamic law of SHARIA being a principal issue.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); IGBO (Vols. I, II, III, IV), ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V).

IMF See INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND.

independence movements African independence movements of the 1960s were rooted in the African nationalism and independence movements of the colonial era. For most countries the DECOLONIZATION process proceeded without interruption, so that by the end of the 1960s, only eight countries remained under European colonial rule.

Aside from SOUTH AFRICA, which gained independence with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, EGYPT, which regained its independence in 1922, and ETHIOPIA, which was independent except for a short-lived Italian occupation from 1936 until 1941; the 1950s witnessed the first successes of the independence movements. Except for ALGERIA, where the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT was conducting a bloody war to end French rule, the remaining North African countries were independent by 1956. The next year, GHANA became independent, followed by GUINEA in 1958. The "Year of African Independence" was 1960, when 17 countries, including 13 members of the French Union, achieved their independence. Over the remainder of the decade independence movements succeeded in ending colonial rule in most of the remaining colonies—including Algeria in 1962.

It was only in the southern portion of the continent and in Portuguese West Africa that political independence movements faltered. Portugal was determined to hang onto its colonial empire in the face of liberation struggles that began in the early 1960s. In 1973 the AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE finally gained independence for GUINEA-BISSAU and CAPE VERDE, and two years later Portugal capitulated in ANGOLA and MOZAMBIQUE. The loss of its protected eastern border with Mozambique ultimately undercut the efforts of the government of RHODESIA to maintain white-minority rule. By 1979 the guerrilla forces spearheading the independence movement were proving too successful, and Rhodesia's government agreed to end its "rebellion" against the British crown. The next year, the country became independent with the name ZIMBABWE.

On February 3, 1960, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan (1894–1986) addressed South Africa's Parliament. In discussing the progress of African nationalism and INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS to the north, he stated that "the wind of change" was blowing throughout the continent, heralding the end of colonial rule. His government was not going to stand in its path. Macmillan's comments created great resentment and apprehension among white South Africans. In 1961 South African voters opted to become a republic and the country withdrew from the British Commonwealth.

With Zimbabwe's independence, South Africa was now isolated. As long as the Cold War continued, however, it had sufficient support among conservative Western governments, particularly those of the United States and England, to continue its efforts to retain control over SOUTH WEST AFRICA (soon to become independent NAMIBIA) and persevere its own APARTHEID system. South Africa had been independent since 1910 and had its own colony in South West Africa, so, technically, organizations such as the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS were not seeking independence from colonial rule. Rather, their goal was to end what amounted to domestic colonial rule. By the late 1980s a series of internal and external forces led first to Namibia's independence, in 1990, and then the 1994 election that brought Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ) to the presidency.

Mandela's election signaled the final victory of African nationalism and independence movements over the forces of European colonialism. In the meantime, however, a new type of independence movement had emerged on the continent. In some instances, political competition within independent African countries led to domestic independence movements. These were organized along both ethnic and regional lines. The two most prominent examples were those of ERITREA and the WESTERN SAHARA. In 1973 the ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT emerged to lead the struggle, which had begun in 1961, for Eritrea's independence from Ethiopia. Twenty years later it succeeded. The independence movement for an independent Western Sahara emerged from Spain's withdrawal, in 1976, from its colony of Río de Oro and its agreement that it be partitioned between MAURITANIA and MOROCCO. The SAHARAWI population of the area supported the POLISARIO independence movement seeking an independent country. Polisario guerrillas forced Mauritania to renounce its claims in 1978, but Morocco then claimed the entire area. While the Polisario governing structure has been accorded some international recognition, Western Sahara has yet to receive full international recognition as an independent country.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); FRENCH UNION (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV).

industrialization Development of manufacturing industries and associated INFRASTRUCTURE. Initially Africa's industries revolved around the urban centers that developed as a result of the MINING industry. In these cities light industries were started to meet the demands of the growing populations, which needed processed foods and manufactured products such as housewares and furni-

ture. Toward the middle of the 20th century industries such as textile production, OIL refining, cement manufacturing, and chemical and coal production had emerged in some African countries.

After 1950 worldwide industrialization accelerated rapidly. In most African countries, however, industrialization lagged. This was partly due to colonial economic policies that created trade imbalances. Even today many African countries import more than they export, which has led to economic stagnation. In addition, DEVELOPMENT has been hampered by the lack of good roads, railroads, and electrical power grids.

Despite the overall lack of industrialization across Africa, SOUTH AFRICA, having been liberated from the shackles of APARTHEID, has managed to develop even further an already exceptionally strong industrial sector. With a gross national product of more than $427 billion, South Africa is the largest economy in Africa and the twenty-second largest economy in the world. South Africa accounts for nearly half of industrial output for the entire continent.

After independence, Africa's industrialization required an increase in the production of construction materials. In 1960 the Nigerian Cement Company, Ltd. provided the country with about 20 percent of the country's needs. © Eastern Nigeria Information Service

Services make up the biggest sector in the South African economy, but the diversified industrial sector is also vast, including mining (the world leader in platinum, GOLD, and chromium production), automobile assembly, metalworking, machinery, textiles, iron and steel, chemicals, fertilizer, and foodstuffs.

South Africa, with manufacturing and sales of 366,900 units (in 2000), has the world's 18th-largest automotive market. It accounts for less than 1 percent of the world market, however. Sales of domestically produced cars amounted to 296,000, with an additional 78,500 exported (21 percent of the total), while imports accounted for 70,400 units. The automotive industry, which contributes about 7 percent of the national GDP, employs about 250,000 people.

EGYPT, with the continent's second-largest domestic product at $289 billion, and ALGERIA, with the continent's third-largest gross domestic product at $173.8 billion, also have accelerated industrial development. Egypt's industrial sector, which accounts for 34 percent of the country's gross domestic product and 22 percent of its employment, is dominated by textiles, food processing, chemicals, hydrocarbons (it has growing natural gas exports), construction, cement, and metals. Algeria's industrial sector, which contributes 60 percent of the gross domestic product and employs 11 percent of the LABOR force, rests on the hydrocarbon sector (petroleum, natural gas, and petrochemicals). Indeed, hydrocarbons account for 30 percent of the gross domestic product (half of the industrial sector's total) and 95 percent of the country's EXPORTS. In addition, there are light industries, electrical manufacturing, and food processing.

Countries such as EQUATORIAL GUINEA and NIGER, on the other hand, have been very slow to develop industries. An oppressive, corrupt, and tyrannical government in Equatorial Guinea undermined that county's moderately successful cash-crop-agricultural sector, which was inherited at independence in 1968. For a number of years, sawmills and fishing were Equatorial Guinea's major industries, but recent discoveries of significant oil and natural gas reserves have already begun to expand the country's $1.27 billion gross domestic product. Niger's economy, with a gross domestic product of $8.7 billion, centers largely on subsistence AGRICULTURE, which employs 90 percent of the labor force while contributing 39 percent of the gross domestic product. Uranium mining is declining in importance due to falling world demand. Other industries in Niger include brick

making, textiles, food processing, chemicals, and slaughterhouses. Altogether industry and commerce account for a paltry 6 percent of total employment.

The situation in NIGERIA is a good example of the difficulties many African countries face in the industrialization process. Significant industrialization began to take place there only during the mid-20th century, just prior to independence. Early INDUSTRIALIZATION efforts required Nigeria to import machinery, equipment, and semi-processed raw materials. As a result domestically produced raw materials were neglected, and trade deficits began to grow. Despite some advances in Nigeria's port towns and in a few northern urban centers, the situation never turned around. By the mid-1990s less than 10 percent of Nigeria's gross domestic product came from the manufacturing sector. Oil production and the extraction of MINERALS AND METALS accounted for less than 15 percent of the gross domestic product. Agriculture, on the other hand, still contributed nearly 40 percent of the gross domestic product. With three times the population of South Africa, Nigeria has an overall gross domestic product that is approximately one-third that of South Africa.

Since the 1990s the industrialization of Africa has become a high priority for the international community. For example, the United Nations named November 20 African Industrialization Day, with the aim of "promoting greater international commitment to the development of industry across the continent."

See also: DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vol. IV); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V); MINING (Vol. IV); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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infrastructure   The collective aspects of a country's service systems, including WATER and sanitation, electricity, TRANSPORTATION, TELECOMMUNICATIONS, and so forth. The lack of sufficient infrastructure in Africa is considered one of the greatest roadblocks to DEVELOPMENT.

The demands of infrastructure DEVELOPMENT are interconnected. For example, improvements to water sys-

tems may increase agricultural output, but if there are no adequate roads, produce cannot make it to market. Communication between producers, buyers, and distributors in fledgling industries is thwarted by a lack of telephones. The lack of electricity limits the development of technologies that save time and increase efficiency. Continent-wide there are only 14 telephone lines per 1000 people, compared to 41 lines per 1000 people in East Asia and the Pacific, and 102 lines per 1000 people in Latin America. Less than 50 percent of the continent's people have access to safe drinking water, compared to 84 percent in East Asia and 73 percent in Latin America. Roads are scarce, and the ones that do exist are generally in poor condition. Perhaps the most distressing aspect of this lack of infrastructure is the fact that sub-Saharan Africa is the only region of the world where these problems are steadily getting worse.

The severity of the infrastructure problem in Africa has made it difficult to assess. The United Nations Global Urban Indicators Program shows that the top infrastructure priority is the water supply, followed by electricity, sewage, sanitation, and telecommunications. Despite identifying and prioritizing the challenges, however, few advances have been made to rectifying shortages, mostly because of the tremendous cost. For instance, South Africa estimates that, between 2002 and 2012, it will need $14.5 billion in infrastructure investment. But many South African municipalities lack institutional and financial capacity and don't have the economic strength to borrow funds. With a total national gross domestic product of approximately $104 billion, it seems that even sub-Saharan Africa's richest, most economically diverse, and most globally connected country faces an insurmountable challenge.

Africa's underdeveloped infrastructure suffers from uneven distribution among countries. Take, for example, the availability of telephones. In SOUTH AFRICA more than 5 million telephone lines result in a ratio of about 1 per every 8 people. The ratio in EGYPT is about 1 to 22. In MALAWI, on the other hand, the ratio is closer to 1 to 289, and in NIGER, the ratio is about 1 to 550. In recent years improvements in cell phone technology have augmented the existing systems. However, this growth, too, occurs disproportionately in those countries with the strongest existing telephone systems.

With limited resources, African countries have begun to shift their view of infrastructure development. Whereas this was once considered a government mandate, today it is thought that communities and the pri-

vate sector also share equal responsibility. The WORLD BANK has been instrumental in helping countries find private companies to work with public water companies. For instance, JIRAMA, the state water and electricity company of MADAGASCAR, is responsible for providing services to municipal users throughout the country. In 2002 JIRAMA began looking to establish public-private partnerships that would allow for greater private investment in its services. The World Bank helped design the plan and vet potential suitors. Through this process the Malagasy government, like the governments of South Africa, KENYA, and UGANDA, has placed more responsibility on municipal-level governance.

While the processes of privatization and decentralization are common themes throughout the continent, they face the challenge of public perception. They do bring increased funding, but many people hold a negative perception of the private sector, and they find it objectionable to have private corporations responsible for public services.

Other international organizations besides the World Bank have worked to find a private solution to this public problem. A group called the Private Infrastructure Development Group, made up of British, Swedish, Dutch, and Swiss development agencies, has invested more than $300 million in private corporate funds to assist in African infrastructure development. Similarly, the International Finance Corporation set up a $500 million fund to pool private interest and equity.

While it remains to be seen whether or not private funding will lead to improved access to water, electricity, transportation, and sewage, it has already shown signs of success in telecommunications. In BOTSWANA, for example, the private consumer-driven telecom sector is one of the most successful in Africa. There are only 82 telephones per 1000 people, but there are 170 cellular phones per 1000 people. Also, there are 11 Internet service providers and 21 Internet users per 1000 people. These figures are higher than those of any other sub-Saharan country outside of South Africa. Other countries developing telecommunications systems with help from private international companies include GHANA, NIGERIA, ANGOLA, and ZIMBABWE.

See also: ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V); STATE, ROLE OF (Vol. V).

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Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)   Political party in SOUTH AFRICA that claims a large following among the ZULU. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was created in 1990 by Mangosuthu Gatsha BUTHELEZI (1928–), the

prominent Zulu politician. Buthelezi had founded the IFP's precursor, Inkatha, in 1975. That organization drew upon a Zulu cultural movement—also named Inkatha—that was established by Buthelezi's grandfather in 1924. From 1975 to 1990 Buthelezi's original Inkatha organization functioned as both a cultural and a political organization, dedicated to mobilizing the Zulu populations residing in KwaZulu-Natal Province and the greater JOHANNESBURG area.

In general, both Inkatha and the IFP operated as vehicles for Buthelezi's political goals. Inkatha membership has always been overwhelmingly made up of Zulu, although technically it is open to South Africans of other ethnic backgrounds. In the struggle to end APARTHEID, Inkatha often stood apart from other important opposition groups on account of its exclusionist appeal to Zulu ethnic pride. It was also different in that its leaders were more willing to discuss power-sharing agreements with and failed to support economic sanctions against South Africa's white-minority government.

The IFP's breach with the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT and the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) significantly widened during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Violence between ANC supporters and IFP members often translated into conflict between Zulus and Africans of other ethnicities, or sometimes between rural Zulu migrant workers and more permanently urbanized non-Zulus. This resulted in thousands of deaths and threatened a peaceful transition to a non-racial, democratic rule.

Revelations came to light in the early 1990s that the apartheid state had provided financial assistance and training to the IFP in order to strengthen it, and, in the process, destabilize the black opposition front. Even so, President F. W. DE KLERK (1936–) and Nelson MANDELA (1918–) offered important concessions to the IFP in order to encourage its participation in the process that culminated in a transfer of power and South Africa's first free election, in 1994. The IFP was registered just a week before the elections and went on to win approximately 10 percent of the general vote, in addition to winning control of the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government. After 1994 the IFP continued to play an important role in South African politics, although it has been limited by its inability to attract non-Zulu supporters.

See also: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. IV, V).

International Monetary Fund (IMF)   The International Monetary Fund is a private lending corporation, located in Washington, D.C., that is charged with promoting economic growth through economic liberalization. Created in 1945 to "help promote the health of the world economy," the International Monetary Fund, known informally as the IMF, has been a major lender to

African countries. The concern of the 45 initiating states was to avoid the sort of global depression that had taken place during the 1930s. Today the 184 member countries of the IMF empower it to "promote international monetary cooperation, exchange stability, and orderly exchange arrangements; to foster economic growth and high levels of employment; and to provide temporary financial assistance to countries to help ease balance of payments adjustment."

At its inception the IMF, along with its sister organization, the WORLD BANK, were specialized units within the United Nations. However, the highly disparate voting systems have made them functionally separate institutions. Except the UN Security Council, the United Nations maintains a "one country, one vote" system. In contrast, the IMF and the World Bank have a weighted voting system in which the more money a country puts in, the heavier the vote. This amounts to a system that means essentially "one dollar, one vote." The contribution to the IMF and World Bank is directly proportionate to the gross domestic product (GDP) of the country, that is the total value of goods and services produced in a year. Thus while the system generally used by the United Nations empowers poor countries by awarding them equal status, the IMF and World Bank systems empower wealthy countries.

Of the $45 billion in IMF lending in 2003, only $1.1 billion (2.6 percent) went to Africa. With a continental GDP of $319 billion, this figure alone is not of great influence. However, the IMF serves as an approving agency to certify that a country is on a viable economic path. Without IMF approval a country will not receive its share of the World Bank's $334 billion (2003) in lending. More important, many MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS follow the IMF guidelines, and thus FOREIGN INVESTMENT is contingent on government compliance. The IMF therefore has tremendous influence over the economies of African countries. Some scholars even argue that since Western countries control the IMF, Western countries effectively dominate economic policymaking in African countries. This is particularly true of the United States, which holds approximately 20 percent of the vote in the IMF. Under IMF voting rules, certain special decisions require approval by a "supermajority" of 85 percent. As a result, the United States can effectively veto a number of decisions.

The most apparent national economic policy shifts in Africa that came as a result of IMF (and World Bank) action have been STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs (SAPs). These were formed during the early 1980s in response to World Bank calls for improved national macro-policies. Ultimately, SAPs became a series of conditional demands placed on loans by the IMF and the World Bank. The demands were for structural changes in national economies, changes that would encourage the removal of government controls on economic structures. They also encouraged the reduction of government spending on social services, and

the expansion of the private sector. Along with these changes came currency devaluation, public-sector job reduction, more open MARKETS, greater financial disclosure, and reduced import tariffs. There also was a focus on building EXPORTS.

Although structural adjustment programs were tremendously unpopular in African countries, they were almost universally adopted. While perhaps mandated for the best of reasons, SAPs have largely resulted in increased POVERTY without economic expansion. Over the past decade there have been significant reforms in policies governing lending by the IMF. However, the basic liberal economic tenets remain in place, largely unpopular in much of Africa, and under great controversy.

See also: DEBT, FOREIGN (Vol. V); DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V); HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA (Vol. V).

international organizations   See AFRICAN UNION (Vol. V); CASABLANCA GROUP (Vol. V); CENTRAL AFRICAN CUSTOMS AND ECONOMIC UNION (Vol. V); EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (Vol. V); ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (Vol. V); FRONTLINE STATES (Vol. V); INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (Vol. V); LOME CONVENTION (Vol. V); MONROVIA GROUP (Vol. V); NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); NONALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V); ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (Vol. V); ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (Vol. V); SENEGAMBIA CONFEDERATION (Vol. V); SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Internet and Africa   See TELECOMMUNICATIONS.

Isaias Afewerki (1945–   ) *President of Eritrea*

The second of seven children, Isaias Afewerki was born in 1945, when ERITREA was semi-independent and under the oversight of the United Nations. In 1952, however, ETHIOPIA annexed Eritrea. Eritrean resistance eventually turned into armed rebellion when, in 1962, Ethiopian Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) tried to integrate Eritrea into Ethiopia.

After almost a decade of conflict, a new, more radical rebel group, the ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT (EPLF), split off from the long-standing Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). Isaias joined the EPLF in the early 1970s, and, after training in military tactics for a time in communist China, he returned to Eritrea as an EPLF division commander. Battling the Ethiopians and, at the same time, competing against the rival ELP, Isaias steadily rose in the EPLF hierarchy. When the ELF and EPLF merged into a single force, in 1977, he became the

de facto rebel leader. Isaias eventually was elected secretary general of the EPLF, in 1987.

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The Eritrean rebellion began when Ethiopia was still ruled by its long-term emperor, Haile Selassie. In 1974, however, Haile Selassie was overthrown by MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM **(1937–   ), who set up a Marxist government. Despite the change in leadership and ideology Ethiopia continued its attempts to hold on to Eritrea by military force.**

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Eritrea finally gained its independence from Ethiopia in April 1993. The EPLF leadership transformed into the National Assembly of the new transitional government, with Isaias as the nation's president. Since then, he has consolidated his power and ensured his continuation in office by assuming the roles of chief of state, head of government, head of the state council, and head of the National Assembly. His strong leadership style has been seen as both a boon and a burden as Eritrea warred, once again, with Ethiopia (1998–2000) and continued to battle both severe POVERTY and mounting economic crises.

Adding to Isaias's difficulties is his attempt to build ties with Israel. In the forefront of African leaders seeking to accomplish this, he has received personal medical attention in Israel while also allowing Israel to establish a military and intelligence base in Eritrea. This has led to increasing diplomatic tension with the states of the Persian Gulf and the Palestinian Authority as well as with the domestic Eritrean Islamic Jihad.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Islam, influence of   The history of Islam in Africa since independence is a continuation of the spread of Islam to all corners of the continent. In the 21st century Islamic communities are now found in virtually all of Africa, from the Muslim-dominated north—in countries such as EGYPT, LIBYA, MOROCCO, and ALGERIA—to nations in central and southern Africa, where there are significant Muslim communities everywhere from MALAWI, ZIMBABWE, and BOTSWANA to SOUTH AFRICA, TANZANIA, and ZAMBIA.

In Africa Muslims are particularly noticeable in business and trade, and Muslim traders and businesspeople have become influential in shaping the modern African economy. Today Muslims run many businesses, especially in West Africa, where African Muslim businesspeople have a dominant role in the retail trade in European manufactured goods. Muslims also have an important role in both local and interstate TRANSPORTATION in West Africa, especially in SENEGAL, GUINEA, SIERRA LEONE, LIBERIA, The GAMBIA, and MALI. In western and central Africa, Muslims are particularly active in the diamond trade.

This economic power has led to political influence, especially in countries such as Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Liberia, where Muslim businesspeople make large-scale contributions to political causes. These efforts have given Muslims significant roles in politics, leading to the rise of Ahmad Tejan KABBAH (1932–   ), in Sierra Leone, and Lansana CONTÉ (1934–   ), in Guinea.

Apart from North Africa, where there is a clear Muslim majority, independence came to most African countries under the leadership of non-Muslims. Indeed, the new independent nations of Africa were modeled primarily on the western European concept of the state. Since, in Western views, most African Muslims were less educated than other citizens, this left them less intimately involved with politics and national affairs. In addition, during the colonial era most of the African colonial bureaucrats received a Christian mission-school EDUCATION. This reinforced the relative political estrangement of Muslims from political leadership during the end of the colonial era and the dawn of independence. Only a handful of Muslim political leaders succeeded in gaining independence for their countries, most notably Sir Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966), a Muslim from the north who led Nigeria to independence in 1960, and Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984), who led French Guinea to independence, in 1958. In The Gambia, Sir Dawda Kairaba JAWARA (1924–   ), also a Muslim, led the country to independence, and Ahmadou AHIDJO (1924–1989) led Cameroon to independence, in 1960.

In general religion did not prove central to the political agendas of newly independent African countries. Instead, economic DEVELOPMENT and political stability were of paramount importance. This was true in countries with Muslim leaders as well as those led by non-Muslims.

Regardless of whether the leaders of African nations are Muslim or not, relations between Muslim Arab leaders and African leaders have, on the whole, been cordial. Beyond this African Muslim leaders have enjoyed particularly good relations with Arab countries and heads of state, and African nations with Muslim leaders have particularly benefited from ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE coming from Arab countries. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in particular have helped build central mosques and schools in many African capitals. African countries also have had medical facilities renovated, such as Donka Hospital in CONAKRY, Guinea. Similar aid has been given in the economic sphere. Indeed the Islamic Bank was established in the 1960s to help finance development projects in African Muslim states. In addition, many Muslim African

Since independence, Islam has continued to gain converts throughout Africa. Prayer lines, like this one shown outside a mosque at Jenne, Mali, in the 1960s, became an increasingly common sight throughout West Africa. © *AP/Wide World Photos*

states have become members of the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) over the last decade.

Over the past 20 years the number of Muslim heads of state in Africa has increased. This has been a cause for concern among many non-Muslim citizens of these states, especially in light of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in various parts of the world. To these non-Muslims, the potential for religious radicalism—such as has been seen recently in Nigeria and other areas—is real and dangerous.

For the most part, however, these fears have not been realized, and civil conflict has not been the result of conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims. Indeed today, as in the past, most of the civil unrest in Africa is the result of economic, political, and social problems rather than religious ones.

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Ivorian People's Front (Front Populaire Ivorien, FPI)

Party of IVORY COAST president Laurent GBAGBO (1945–) and the ruling political party in that country since 2001. Gbagbo and his associates founded the Ivorian People's Front in 1982 as a clandestine political organization. The group pushed to reform the one-party government of former president Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993), who had led Ivory Coast since independence in 1960. In 1988 the FPI was reorganized as a legitimate political party.

In 1990 popular sentiment forced Houphouët-Boigny to allow other political parties. In April of that year, the democratic-socialist FPI gained official recognition as a political party. It called for multiparty elections and the replacement of the aging president. Nonetheless, Houphouët-Boigny was elected to his seventh consecutive five-year term.

Houphouët-Boigny died in 1993, whereupon his hand-picked successor, Henri Konan Bédié (1934–), became Ivory Coast's second president. He immediately restricted the activities of the FPI. Bédié was reelected to a second term in 1995, although the election was boycotted by all the major parties, including the FPI.

In 1999 General Robert GUÉÏ (1941–2002) led a successful military COUP D'ETAT against Bédié's government. The FPI and other key political parties refused to join Guéï's transitional government, and clashes with government forces ensued.

When Gbagbo won the presidential election of October 2000, the Guéï government suspended the elections. However, after a period of popular protests Guéï fled the country, and Gbagbo was declared the winner. Subsequently, in the January 2001 legislative elections, the FPI won a majority of seats. Although the party secured its hold on power, ongoing popular rebellion left that hold increasingly tenuous.

Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire)

West African country approximately 124,500 square miles (322,400 sq km) in size that is bordered to the north by MALI and BURKINA FASO, to the east by GHANA, to the south by the Gulf of Guinea, and to the west by LIBERIA and GUINEA. In 1983 the capital, which had been ABIDJAN, was moved to YAMOUSSOUKRO.

Ivory Coast at Independence The Ivory Coast gained its independence from France on August 7, 1960, under the direction of Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993). As the leader of the victorious Democratic Party of

the Ivory Coast, Houphouët-Boigny became president, a position he held until his death more than 30 years later. His years in office were marked by regimented, political stability and reasonable prosperity based on the cultivation of CASH CROPS.

> **Ivory Coast began offshore OIL drilling in the early 1980s, but this yielded very few profits. The government also pushed to mine diamonds, GOLD, and iron in order to steer the nation away from economic dependence on the exportation of cocoa and coffee. This, too, met with little success.**

In 1981 Ivory Coast adopted STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT reforms recommended by the WORLD BANK and the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. Over the ensuing decades the country came to be considered a structural adjustment success story, yielding budget surpluses and real economic growth.

Ivory Coast after Houphouët-Boigny Upon Houphouët-Boigny's death, Henri Konan Bédié (1934–) assumed the presidency, then won the presidential election held in 1995. He adopted a policy of "regulated openness" in which opposition was allowed, but Bédié's power was never seriously threatened.

In 1998 Bédié increased the powers of the presidency. He also initiated new requirements for Ivorian citizenship that stipulated only Ivorians born in Ivory Coast of parents born in Ivory Coast proper could be citizens. This definition limited the number of people who could claim citizenship and aspire to political leadership. This new law also eliminated many Ivorians and their children from leadership, since as many as 40 percent of the country's people were born outside of Ivory Coast. Alassane Dramane Ouattara (1942–), an economist and former prime minister under Houphouët-Boigny, was one popular figure whose political future was affected by the new law. Despite his claims to the contrary, Ouattara was declared unable to run for office because, his opponents claimed, his mother was born in Burkina Faso.

In 1999 Ouattara assumed the leadership of the political party, Rally of the Republic. Fearful of the strengthening opposition, Bédié arrested thousands of its leaders. Later in 1999, Ivory Coast witnessed its first COUP D'ÉTAT, as General Robert GUÉÏ (1941–2002) overthrew President Bédié. General Guéï suspended the constitution and called for a constitutional convention to be held in July 2000. New elections were to follow later that year. Once again, however, Ouattara was denied a run for office, this time by the Supreme Court. Many Ivorians protested Ouattara's exclusion from elections, and riots erupted as

the opposition showed their displeasure with the newly elected president, Laurent GBAGBO (1945–   ). In protest, the opposition boycotted the ensuing parliamentary elections. As a result Gbagbo's Ivorian Popular Front gained control of Ivory Coast's legislature.

Ethnic Tensions and Civil War At the beginning of the 21st century riots remained a common occurrence within Ivory Coast. The violence gradually took on a religious spin. Believing that Ouattara had been excluded from the elections because he was a Muslim from the north, Ouattara supporters began targeting Christian buildings. Hoping to alleviate the roiling ethnic tensions, Gbagbo and Ouattara issued joint broadcasts on national television and radio appealing for calm.

In 2002 Muslims within the military struck out against Christians in the central area of Baouké. By the end of 2002 Ivory Coast was fully enveloped in civil war, with rebels controlling the north and the government the south. Guéï died in the violence. Beyond the loss of life

and political instability it caused, the war also accelerated the economic downturn that undermined the country's once-strong economy. Finally, in January 2003, the warring sides reached a peace accord.

Though the conflict was officially over, fighting likely would have continued without the presence of French military forces. In early 2004 peace within Ivory Coast remained tenuous, as the country prepared for the presidential election scheduled in 2005.

See also: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. I); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); IVORY COAST (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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J

Jama Ali Jama (dates unknown) *Rebel leader from Puntland state, in Somalia*

A military leader turned political figure, Jama Ali Jama spent 13 years in solitary confinement as a result of his vocal criticism of Mohammed Siad BARRE (1910–1995), the former president of SOMALIA. When he was released, in 1990, Jama became a self-styled dissident and worked to oust Barre. In the aftermath of Barre's fall in 1991, Somalia's centralized government crumbled. Jama rose as a spokesperson for the independence-minded Somalis living in the country's northeastern region, the area which would become the Puntland state. Simultaneously, other factions were seeking to establish independence for the neighboring area of Somaliland, which prior to the creation of Somalia in 1960 had been a British colonial protectorate.

In 1998, when clan leaders formed an independent Puntland government, Jama's rival, ABDULLAHI YUSSUF AHMED, emerged as president. Jama's influence grew with the support of the militant Al-Ittihad Al-Islami, and, later, his breakaway group, the Total Liberation Tigers. When Yussuf's mandate was up, in 2001, the clan elders elected Jama president—a ruling that Yussuf rejected, claiming to have another three years to rule. In November 2001 clan leaders met and refuted Yussuf's claim, swearing-in Jama.

Jama's rise to power touched off more than a year of heavy fighting between Jama's "government forces" and Yussuf's rebels. Jama accused Yussuf of sabotaging independence efforts by establishing strong ties with ETHIOPIA. Yussuf, in turn, accused Jama of having ties to radical Islamic organizations, including Al-Ittihad Al-Islam, which the U.S. government placed on its terrorist list. Despite receiving arms shipments from both LIBYA and the Somali government, Jama was deposed in 2002. The crisis of independence in Puntland state is ongoing.

Jammeh, Yahya A. J. J. (1965–) *President of The Gambia*

Born in Kanilai Village, The GAMBIA, Jammeh finished high school and, in 1984, joined the Gambia National Gendarmerie, the nation's police force. He transferred to the National Army and, in 1989, was commissioned an officer. In 1993 he was stationed in the United States and was trained as a military police officer at Fort McClellen in Alabama. The following year he returned to The Gambia.

On July 22, 1994, the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC) carried out a bloodless COUP D'ÉTAT, seizing power from The Gambia's five-term president, Dawda Kairaba JAWARA (1924–). Shortly thereafter, the AFPRC named its chairman, Captain Jammeh, president of The Gambia.

Jammeh, 29 years old in 1994, was little known in The Gambia or abroad. His leadership was immediately put to the test when a bloody coup attempt four months later nearly unseated him. In the months that followed, military leaders, civil servants, journalists, and even cabinet members were arrested and imprisoned until Jammeh consolidated his power. Internationally, the United States, Britain, and other major Western powers refused to recognize Jammeh's government.

In 1996 Jammeh resigned from the military and conducted multiparty elections. He claimed victory, although the opposition leader, Ousainou Darboe (c. 1950–) of the United Democratic Party, was widely thought to have

received more votes. The years that followed were marked with accusations of CORRUPTION and heavy-handed rule, culminating, in 2000, with the slaying of 14 protesters, mostly students.

In October 2001 Jammeh won reelection, having banned all Dawda-era politicians from running. He has publicly supported rule by SHARIA (Islamic law) in The Gambia, and it is believed by some that his political thinking is strongly influenced by Libya's president Muammar QADDAFI (1942–   ).

Jawara, Dauda Kairaba (Sir David Jawara)
(1924–   ) *Leading political figure in The Gambia from 1962 to 1994*

Born in Barjaly, on Macarthy Island, Jawara attended a Methodist boys' school before studying to become a veterinarian. After earning a veterinary degree in Scotland, he returned to Gambia and took a government post as a veterinary officer. In 1959 he joined the People's Progressive Party (PPP), a multiethnic nationalist movement, and was elected to Parliament. In 1960 he was appointed Gam-

bia's minister of EDUCATION, serving in that capacity until 1961. The following year the PPP won elections, and Jawara became the colony's prime minister. The Gambia achieved its independence from Britain in 1965, although it remained a member state of the British Commonwealth. With independence Jawara became the leader of the smallest independent African state. In 1965 Jawara, who had converted to Christianity in 1955, converted back to Islam.

In 1970 Gambia formally adopted a new constitution and became a fully independent republic, now named *The* Gambia. Jawara served as its first president. He proved to be popular, leading the PPP to victory four times between 1972 and 1987. However, throughout his presidency he struggled to diversify the Gambian economy, which continued to rely too heavily on the export of groundnuts (peanuts). In the 1980s, as unemployment rose and the economy continued to falter, he had to quell political dissent.

Jawara's greatest threat came in 1981 when Islamic radicals led by Kukoi Samba Sanyang attempted a COUP D'ÉTAT. Jawara was able to survive the coup with the sup-

Seen here in an undated photo, Sir Dauda Jawara (left, standing) traveled throughout the countryside to appeal to local leaders during an electoral campaign in The Gambia. © *United Nations*

port of troops sent by President Abdou DIOUF (1935–   ) of SENEGAL. The following year the two presidents forged the SENEGAMBIA CONFEDERATION, which aimed for mutual protection and economic cooperation between the two nations. By 1989, however, the confederation had become a political nuisance and it was dissolved.

In 1994 Jawara was deposed in a bloodless military coup led by a young lieutenant, Yahya A. J. J. JAMMEH (1965–   ). Although Jammeh exiled him to Senegal after the coup in 2002, Jawara was allowed to return to The GAMBIA as a private citizen.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SENEGAMBIA REGION (Vol. IV).

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Joachim, Paulin (1931–   ) *Poet from Benin*
Born in Cotonou, DAHOMEY (modern-day Republic of BENIN), Joachim studied in Dahomey and GABON and later attended law school in Lyon, France. His EDUCATION was put on hold for a time because of financial difficulties, but he ultimately was able to earn a degree in journalism in Paris. During his hiatus from school Joachim found employment as secretary to the surrealist French poet Phillipe Soupault (1897–1990), who would become Joachim's mentor.

Joachim's education led him, in 1960, to positions as political editor of *France Noir,* editor-in-chief of *Bingo*, and, in 1971, as manager of *Décennie 2,* an illustrated journal that focused on Africa. Before he turned 40, Joachim published two volumes of poetry, *Un nègre raconte* (1954) and *Anti-grâce* (1967). However, it was his essays and poems in the journal PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE that gained him the greatest attention in French-speaking African and African-diaspora literary circles.

While Soupault left a clear impression, Joachim's work was also influenced by other African literary figures such as Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001) and particularly David Diop (1927–1960), to whom Joachim wrote a poetic homage. However, Joachim diverged from the rebellious tone of his contemporaries and tapped instead into the emotional core of poetry, using the human soul as his subject and a romantic sensibility as his vehicle of exploration.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE (Vol. IV).

Johannesburg Major city and the financial and commercial center of SOUTH AFRICA. The city of Johannesburg—called "Jo'burg" by many locals and known as *eGoli*

(the place of gold) among Africans for its history of GOLD mining—quickly emerged as one of the continent's principal cities. While today only two out of the 14 original gold mines are still in production, the city's role as a major financial and industrial center has continued to provide a strong economic base for its population. Johannesburg boasts its own stock exchange, and many leading businesses and organizations have their principal or regional headquarters there.

As a result of its importance, Johannesburg includes of the country's principal international airport, an extensive and well-maintained road network that includes a freeway system, highways and rail connections to areas throughout the country, and modern shops, restaurants, galleries, and museums. It is also home to the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa's leading university, and to several other educational institutions and research institutes.

Johannesburg's history has been marred by racial segregation from its origins during the mining era of the late 19th century. Racial strife intensified during the APARTHEID era (1948–94), leaving Johannesburg a city of contrasts, with sprawling shantytowns and abject POVERTY alongside towering skyscrapers and the bustle of international business. The city's northern suburbs have long been enclaves of white privilege and wealth, and, with the end of apartheid, many of the core city's white residents and businesses moved to this area. While segregation is no longer legally enforced, Johannesburg is still a city significantly divided along racial lines. For example, the 1,240,000 people living in SOWETO, a conglomerate of townships from the apartheid era, are almost all black Africans. Despite the relative wealth of both the city and Gauteng Province, in which it is located, poverty and crime constitute significant social issues.

Gauteng Province—which contains both Johannesburg, the provincial capital, and PRETORIA, the national administrative capital—is both the smallest and the richest of South Africa's nine provinces. Nearly all of its population is urban, and it accounts for almost 40 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP). Given the size of the South African economy, this means that Gauteng Province generates 20 percent of the GDP for the continent as a whole.

With a steady influx of South Africans to Johannesburg, it is difficult to determine accurately its population. The official count for the entire metropolitan area, which includes Soweto, is approximately 4.9 million, but some

observers think this figure is low. The Johannesburg area ranks behind CAIRO and LAGOS as Africa's third-largest urban agglomeration, and its growth trajectory is likely to place it among the world's 10 largest cities by 2010. Covering an area of 965 square miles (2,500 sq km), Johannesburg is the world's largest inland city. With its wealth, geographic area, and population, it is one of the world's most significant urban centers.

See also: JOHANNESBURG (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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Jonathan, Leabua (1914–1987) *First prime minister of Lesotho*

Founder of the Basutoland National Party, Jonathan worked to secure the independence of Basutoland, then a crown colony of Britain, while also keeping the small country out of the Union of South Africa. Seeing the obvious importance of SOUTH AFRICA to his country and its economy (Basutoland lay entirely within South African borders), Jonathan also tried to normalize relations with the South Africans despite their government's policy of APARTHEID. In 1962 he helped write a new constitution for Basutoland, and in 1965 Basutoland held the first elections under the new constitution. Though Jonathan was not elected, the BNP claimed the majority. Through political sleight-of-hand, Jonathan once again secured a legislative seat and stepped into the positions of prime minister and minister of external affairs. When Basutoland became the independent Kingdom of LESOTHO, in 1966, Jonathan assumed the role of the country's first prime minister.

Jonathan's term as prime minister was shaky at best. In 1970, facing a possible electoral loss, Jonathan immediately acted to protect his power, suspending the constitution and declaring a national state of emergency. He had opposition members arrested and sent the king, Mshweshwe II (1938–1996), into exile. Riots broke out, resulting in more than 150 deaths. Order was restored when Jonathan assembled a national coalition to write a new constitution, a process that Jonathan made sure involved little input from the opposition.

The outcry against Jonathan rose again when, in 1982, he permitted the opening of embassies by the Communist states of the Soviet Union, China, and North Korea. Moreover, in 1986 Jonathan's policy of maintaining good relations with both South Africa and its opposition collapsed. The South African government accused Lesotho of harboring rebel guerrillas of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) and imposed an economic embargo. Two weeks later Jonathan's government was ousted in a COUP D'ETAT. Jonathan died a year later, while under house arrest.

See also: BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. III, IV, V); JONATHAN, CHIEF JOSEPH LEABUA (Vol. IV); UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Jugnauth, Anerood (Sir) (1930–) *Political leader in Mauritius*

Born to a family of modest means, Jugnauth was educated at the Palma Church of England School before studying at Lincoln's Inn in England and becoming a barrister, or lawyer. After returning to MAURITIUS, Jugnauth began his career as a teacher, in 1948, but became a civil servant a year later. Jugnauth was a Hindu in a country where ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY played a large role in politics, with Hindus having an advantage. He entered Parliament in 1963, when Mauritius was still a British colony. From 1967 to 1969, the period during which Mauritius attained self-government, Jugnauth was a district magistrate. He later held positions in the national cabinet, including minister of labor and minister of state development for Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam (1900–1985), and was named senior crown counsel in 1971.

Following civil unrest, Jugnauth resigned from his office and joined the Militant Movement of Mauritius (MMM). Heading the MMM, Jugnauth became Mauritius's prime minister, in 1982, but the following year he broke with the MMM to head the Militant Socialist Movement (MSM). Joining with two other parties, Jugnauth created the Alliance Party, which won a majority of parliamentary seats in the 1983 elections, allowing him to remain prime minister.

Jugnauth presided over Mauritius's economic expansion in the early 1990s, and he was instrumental in the country's becoming a fully independent republic in 1992. His party lost the 1995 elections to one-time MMM members Navin Ramgoolam (1947–), a Hindu, and Paul Berenger (1945–), a Creole. In 2000, however, the MSM swept back into power. Jugnauth returned as prime minister, although in 2003 he relinquished the prime ministership and became president. Jugnauth, a married father of two, was knighted in 1988.

Jumbe, Shiekh Aboud (Abou Jumbe) (1920–) *Former president of Zanzibar*

During the early 1960s Aboud Jumbe was active within the AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY (ASP), the ruling party in his native ZANZIBAR. In 1965 Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) of Tanganyika led the drive to unite Zanzibar, nearby Pemba Island, and mainland Tanganyika to form TANZANIA. Under the unification agreement, Zanzibar retained most of its autonomy and President Abeid Amani KARUME (1905–1972), the ASP leader, continued to run the island's government. In April 1972, however, Karume was assassinated, and Jumbe assumed leadership of the ASP,

thereby becoming Zanzibar's new president. As the Zanzibari president, he also became vice president of Tanzania, under Nyerere. Jumbe encouraged close relations with the mainland.

In 1977 Jumbe approved of the merger of the ASP with Tanganyika's ruling party, the Tanganyika Africa National Union (TANU), to create the new PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM). Led by Nyerere, the CCM came under criticism from its Zanzibari members for favoring mainland Tanzania over Zanzibar. Jumbe continued to support Nyerere, however, thinking that his loyalty would result in his being chosen Nyerere's successor as president of the United Republic of Tanzania.

However, when Nyerere began favoring a mainlander for the position, Jumbe changed his position regarding the union government, taking a stance that encouraged Zanzibari nationalism. The union stayed together, but Jumbe distanced his government from Nyerere's by paving the way for the first post-revolution Constitution of Zanzibar, which became law in 1979. Five years later

Zanzibar adopted yet another constitution, this one with provisions for the creation of both a bill of rights and a house of representatives. As these changes took effect, however, anti-union sentiment in Zanzibar led to Jumbe's resignation and to a reshuffling of the government. Ali Hassan MWINYI (1925–) became Zanzibar's next president and, the following year, he succeeded Nyerere as president of the Tanzanian union.

Jumbe remained in the spotlight as a writer and defender of Zanzibar's sovereignty. A devout Muslim, he decried the marginalization of Tanzania's Muslims in a series of controversial articles printed in *Mwananchi,* a weekly newspaper. He also published *The Partnership* (1994), a book in which he accused mainland Christians of dominating Zanzibar's underprivileged Muslims. In his writing, which provoked strong reaction from local churches, Jumbe called for research to investigate the nature and scale of discrimination based on religion in Tanzania.

See also: TANGANYIKA (Vol. IV).

K

Kabbah, Ahmad Tejan (1932–) *President of Sierra Leone*

Born in Pendembu, in the Eastern Province of SIERRA LEONE, Kabbah attended secondary school in his home country before traveling to Wales, U.K., where he earned a Bachelor's degree in economics. Upon his return to Sierra Leone Kabbah served as a district commissioner under the British colonial government. He continued to work in government following independence in 1961.

Because of his experience as a public servant he was appointed permanent secretary of several ministries, including Trade and Industry, and Social Welfare and EDUCATION. After earning his law degree in 1969 he maintained a private law practice for a few years before going on to work for the United Nations (UN) Development Program. Initially serving at the UN headquarters in New York City, he later served as a UN representative for the African countries of LESOTHO, TANZANIA, and UGANDA before retiring in 1992.

In 1992, following the military COUP D'ETAT that brought Valentine STRASSER (1966–) to power, Kabbah was asked to chair an advisory council responsible for bringing political stability to Sierra Leone. In this position he helped draft a new constitution that brought about a multiparty system. Pushed by his supporters to represent the SIERRA LEONE PEOPLE'S PARTY, Kabbah ended up winning the 1996 presidential election, taking office in March. He quickly appointed a broad-based coalition government that brought hope of stability to Sierra Leone. By the end of the year he also traveled to ABIDJAN, the capital of IVORY COAST, to sign a peace accord with Foday SANKOH (1937–2003), the leader of the rebellious REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT. This agreement brought an end to years of civil strife.

The peace was short-lived. In May 1997 a coup d'état led by Johnny Paul Koroma (1960–) forced Kabbah into exile in neighboring GUINEA. Within a year, however, with the help of military intervention from the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES, Kabbah was restored to power. In July 1999 Kabbah and Sankoh signed another accord, the Lomé Peace Agreement. Despite ongoing hostilities, the Lomé agreement allowed for a dialogue that eventually brought a formal conclusion to the worst of the conflict. Kabbah officially declared the war over on January 18, 2002, at a ceremony that marked the successful disarmament and demobilization of ex-combatants under the auspices of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone.

Kabila, Joseph (1971–) *President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo*

The son of the late Congolese dictator Laurent KABILA (c. 1939–2001), Joseph Kabila became president of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO upon his father's assassination, in January 2001. Joseph was born in TANZANIA during his father's days of self-imposed exile from eastern Congo.

Trained by his father as a military tactician, Joseph led his father's forces as they laid siege to KINSHASA and, in 1997, overthrew President MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997). Mobutu died in exile shortly after being forced out of office.

When Joseph Kabila took over the presidency, few thought that he could fill the power vacuum left by his father. He proved them wrong, maintaining the support of Robert MUGABE (1924–), the president of ZIMBABWE,

and winning the support of the United States and French governments. While his detractors consider his methods heavy-handed and doubt his commitment to democracy, Kabila has been instrumental in working with President Thabo MBEKI (1942–   ) of SOUTH AFRICA, President Benjamin MKAPA (1938–   ) of Tanzania, President Paul KAGAME (1957–   ) of RWANDA, and President Yoweri MUSEVENI (1944–   ) of UGANDA to forge a viable peace process for the region. This objective, however, remains somewhat elusive.

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Joseph Kabila grew up speaking Kiswahili and English. While Kiswahili is a language common in eastern Congo, upon his return to the Congo, in the late 1990s, he had to study Lingala, the common national language, and French, the nation's official language.

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See also: KISWAHILI (Vol. IV), LINGALA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: a People's History* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2002).

Kabila, Laurent (Laurent Désiré Kabila) (c. 1939–2001) *Military president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo*

Laurent Kabila was born in northern KATANGA and educated at mission schools in what is now the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. He went on to university studies in France and DAR ES SALAAM prior to returning to the Congo before independence. In 1960 he allied himself politically with Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961), and, declaring himself a Marxist, became a member of the North Katangan assembly.

Early independence was a time of crisis for the Congo, and after the 1961 COUP D'ÉTAT, led by Joseph Mobutu (soon to be MOBUTU SESE SEKO [1930–1997]), Kabila organized a rebel force that fought for the secession of Katanga province from the fledgling country. By the mid-1960s, however, he had been forced to acknowledge defeat and took what remained of his rebel force into the forest.

Little is known of Kabila's activities during the next two decades. However, during this time, his People's Revolutionary Party seized control of a part of the Congo, and, as a result, he was extensively involved in regional coffee, GOLD, and ivory trades.

Kabila resurfaced in 1988, emerging as a pro-TUTSI leader during the HUTU-Tutsi conflict in RWANDA and UGANDA. Eventually he organized a Tutsi rebel force that operated within and outside ZAÏRE, as the Democratic Republic of the Congo was then called. By 1997 Kabila's forces posed a serious challenge to Mobutu's army on the battlefields, and, ultimately, Kabila forced Mobutu to flee the country. Kabila then seized the government, installing himself as head of state in May 1997.

Given the widespread antipathy to Mobutu's rule, there was great hope—both within the Congo and in the international community—for the Kabila regime. Those hopes, however, were quickly dashed. After restoring the country's pre-Mobutu name of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kabila immediately abolished the post of prime minister and concentrated power in the presidency that he claimed for himself. He banned political parties and excluded opposition leaders from his new government. Then, despite promises of a new constitution and the quick re-institution of democracy, he proceeded to rule by decree, harshly putting down protests and using his Rwandan and Ugandan allies to keep himself in power.

During his brief regime, Kabila announced several economic policy changes that pointed toward a more open and democratic direction for the country. For example, his attempt at creating a free-market economy led to the dismissal of many Mobutu cronies who had taken control of key commercial enterprises. The attempt also encouraged foreign investment. Unfortunately, however, little actual benefit was received and few inroads were made in the other problems facing the nation. As a result Kabila's government was forced to rely, unsuccessfully, on foreign aid and currency devaluation as a way to combat inflation. Ultimately the lack of viable money caused problems ranging from chronic fuel shortages to an inability to meet government or private payrolls.

As the 1990s drew to a close discontent with Kabila's regime became intermingled with ethnic conflict and the continuing Rwanda-Uganda conflict. Ultimately, as Kabila turned on his various allies, hostilities broke out between Kabila's Congolese government and these two other powers; various Congolese ethnic and rebel groups also became involved. Despite a short-lived peace accord in July 1999, hostilities continued off and on even after Kabila was assassinated, apparently by one of his own guards, on January 16, 2001. Ten days later his son Joseph (1971–   ), who previously had been the leader of Kabila's military forces, assumed the presidency.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); KABILA, JOSEPH (Vol. V).

Further reading: Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: a People's History* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2002); Crawford Young and Thomas Turner, *The Rise and Fall of the Zairian State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

Kagame, Paul (1957–   ) *President of Rwanda*

Born in the Gitarama Prefecture of Rwanda, Kagame's wealthy family, along with many other ethnic TUTSI, fled to UGANDA in 1960. There he fought for the Ugandan National Liberation Army in the attempt to overthrow the country's dictator, Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003), in 1979. A year later Kagame fought alongside Yoweri MUSEVENI (1944–   ) to overthrow the government of Milton OBOTE (1924–2000), who had been elected president after Amin fled the country for Saudi Arabia. When Museveni became president of Uganda in 1986, he made Kagame his Chief of Military Intelligence.

Kagame attended a staff and command course at Fort Leavenworth Military School in Kansas, United States, returning to Africa to take over the leadership of the rebel Tutsi RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF). Drawing its members from the Tutsi exile community in Uganda, the RPF began launching incursions into Rwanda, in 1990, attempting to unseat the ethnic HUTU government. Thousands of civilians were allegedly massacred in these incursions. By February 1994 Kagame's troops were within 30 miles of Rwanda's capital, KIGALI.

In 1994 the plane of Rwanda's Hutu president, Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994), was shot down as he returned from peace talks. Kagame's RPF was one of several groups accused of plotting the assassination. The Hutu-led genocide that ensued left nearly 800,000 Rwandans, mostly Tutsi, dead. In spite of this, the RPF captured Kigali in July 1994. The RPF asked Faustin Twagiramungu (1945–   ), a Hutu, to form a new government. Kagame became vice president and minister of defense, running the country with Prime Minister Twagiramungu and, later, President Pasteur Bizimungu (1950–   ). In March 2000 Bizimungu resigned, and Kagame became president.

Kagame earned a reputation as a stern disciplinarian, gaining the admiration of many Rwandans and Ugandans alike for his low-key but strong leadership. In 1989 he married Jeannette Nyiramongi, a school administrator, with whom he fathered four children.

Kampala   Capital of UGANDA, located in the southern part of the country on Lake VICTORIA, near the site of the previous BUGANDA capital of Mengo. The city site dates from the mid-19th century, when it was the center of the Buganda state. In 1890 the British built a fort atop Old Kampala Hill, and Kampala was then the capital of the British Uganda Protectorate until the capital was moved to nearby ENTEBBE, in 1905. Under colonial rule the city continued to grow and remained the principal urban center in the country. At independence, in 1962, Kampala became the national capital.

Today, the city—home to an estimated 1,244,000 people—is spread out over several hills, with the main city center located on Nakasero Hill. At the higher elevations are the international embassies, government offices, and upscale homes and services. The wide, tree-lined streets and numerous parks in this sector give Kampala its reputation as one of the greenest cities in Africa. At lower elevations one finds smaller shops, inexpensive restaurants, and crowded markets and streets. The wide variety of foods and consumer items available in the city markets is indicative of Kampala's diverse ethnic population.

In addition to being a government and commercial center, Kampala is also a manufacturing center, producing metal goods, furniture, textiles, cigarettes, cement, and heavy equipment. There are also factories for milling, tanning hides, and processing foods. Kampala's coffee, cotton, tea, tobacco, and sugar are exported to the other countries in East Africa through Port Bell, located 6 miles (10 km) to the southeast, on Lake Victoria.

In the last decade, under the leadership of Yoweri MUSEVENI (1944–   ), the city has been recovering from the damage, both physical and social, that it sustained during the years of civil unrest following the overthrow of Ugandan dictator Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003), in 1979. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Kampala underwent a period of reconstruction of infrastructure, including the building of new roads and the lighting of city streets.

Cultural and educational attractions are numerous in Kampala and include Uganda's National Theater, a museum, which houses an excellent collection of musical instruments, MAKERERE UNIVERSITY (founded in 1922), Uganda Technical College (1954), and several impressive Christian, Hindu, and Muslim places of worship. The city also offers nightclubs and casinos for visitors and residents looking to enjoy the lively nightlife.

See also: BRITISH EAST AFRICA (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); KAMPALA (Vol. IV);); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Kankan   Mande town in present-day GUINEA, located along the banks of the Milo River, a tributary of the Niger River. Kankan is the capital of the Upper Guinea region. With an airport and a network of paved roads, it is a regional and international center for trade. Although it is the country's second-largest city by population, Kankan resembles an extended village with Islamic architectural influence. Most of the population is Maninka-speaking and Muslim.

See also: KANKAN (Vol. IV); MANDE (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Kano (Kano City)   Major HAUSA city in northwestern NIGERIA, located on the Jakara River. Kano's importance dates to 1095 CE, when it served as the capital of the Hausa city-state of the same name. By the early 1800s Kano had become part of the Sokoto Caliphate and had

developed into the region's major commercial center. This continued after the British conquest of northern NIGERIA, in 1903, when subsequent improvements to the infrastructure—including rail links to LAGOS—expanded the city's ties to other places in western and central Africa.

Kano today is a commercial and industrial center with more than 600,000 people. Its major industries include dyeing and the production of leather, pottery, metal goods, textiles, building supplies, processed foods, automobiles, and printed materials. It engages in extensive trade in agricultural products such as peanuts (groundnuts) and livestock. The city also hosts numerous educational institutions including the Bayero University (founded in 1977), the Kano State Institute for Higher Education (1934), and many teaching and research schools.

A city wall, built in the 15th century, which was typical for Hausa cities of the time, still surrounds the historic sector. The imposing wall stretches more than 12 miles (20 km) and is 40 feet (12 m) wide at the base and 30 to 50 feet high.

Kano is divided into several different sectors, one of which is the industrial sector and another the historic sector, which includes the Emir's Palace. In addition, the city has the largest mosque in Nigeria, which was built in 1951. There is also the Sabon Gari, the area for outsiders to reside. With the urban growth of Kano, southern non-Muslim and non-Hausa-Fulani Nigerians have moved into Kano. This has led to outbursts of rioting along regional, ethnic, and religious lines reflecting the wider tensions and divisions in Nigeria. The first serious riots occurred in 1953, triggered by north-south political rivalries. The death toll, officially put at 36, was minor in comparison to later violence in 1966, 1981, 1999, and 2001. The 2001 outbreak was supposedly in protest against the American invasion of Afghanistan and saw Muslims and Christians battling each other, leaving as many as 200 people dead.

See also: FULANI (Vols. I, II, II); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); KANO (Vols. II, III, IV); TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE ROUTES (Vol. II); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Kano, Aminu (Alhaji Aminu Kano, Mallam Aminu Kano) (1926–1983) *Nigerian political leader and activist*

Born into the Muslim HAUSA-Fulani aristocracy, Kano turned his back on his roots to become a champion of northern Nigeria's poor, uneducated masses. A scholar and teacher before entering the political fray, Aminu Kano led various progressive, left-leaning parties throughout his career. These included the Northern Elements Progressive Union, the United Progressive Grand Alliance, and the People's Redemption Party.

Widely respected for his humility, austere lifestyle, and a sharply honed sense of justice, Kano fought tirelessly for the empowerment of the *Talakawas,* as the poor masses are called in Kano State, Northern Nigeria. His supporters faced violent retribution from the northern elites for calling attention to government CORRUPTION and for demanding their civil and HUMAN RIGHTS. Kano was one of the few northern Nigerians to openly support women's rights.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); POVERTY (Vol. V).

Kanté, Souleymane (1922–1987) *Guinean creator of the indigenous N'ko alphabet*

During the 1950s Souleymane Kanté perfected the N'ko alphabet, which was his personal invention for writing his Maninka language, and other Mande languages, in an indigenous script. In 1959 President Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) of GUINEA awarded Kanté a substantial cash prize for his intellectual achievement and invited him to return from the IVORY COAST, where he had been living. At the time Touré was busy instituting his Maternal Language Education policy, which promoted education in eight of Guinea's 20 indigenous languages. Touré did not, however, accept Kanté's N'ko alphabet as the national alphabet, but rather intended to adapt the Roman alphabet for writing these languages. Kanté had sought to adapt the Roman alphabet to writing Maninka before deciding it was inadequate for his purpose.

Called upon by educators in KANKAN, Kanté assisted with the standardization of Maninka, despite his disapproval of Touré's National Language Program and its dependence upon a foreign alphabet and constructions. Kanté soon began his own LITERACY program in which he and others working with him taught informally in the marketplace and people's homes. His policy was for each person who became literate in N'ko to teach his or her family members plus seven other people. Many in the N'ko teaching force donated time and resources to Kanté's literacy campaign. While much of N'ko education took place in homes, more formal schools were gradually established.

As Ahmed Sékou Touré became dictatorial in his rule, he came to see Souleymane Kanté's literacy campaign as a threat to his own national literacy program. During the 1960s Touré tried to isolate Kanté's work by accepting him in the National Language Program. In 1973 Touré nominated Kanté to the National Islamic Council, but Kanté

declined the appointment, claiming to bo too busy with N'ko translations and transcriptions.

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Kante's N'ko program provided literacy to those without access to the public school system. Adults and children used the alphabet for correspondence and record keeping, and were also able to read the increasingly available translations of religious, historical, and scientific texts.

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Fearing arrest or worse, Kanté went into self-imposed exile, living in various neighboring countries with large Mande-speaking populations. Wherever he stayed, he continued preparing materials to share with other readers of the N'ko alphabet. He also compiled indigenous knowledge of the Mande healing arts that was being lost as students focused on modern MEDICINE.

After Sékou Touré's death, in 1984, Kanté returned to Guinea. In 1986 Kanté established a NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION for the promotion of literacy in N'ko. Called ICRA-N'KO, the organization was officially sanctioned by the government in 1991. ICRA-N'KO continues to promote his pioneering literacy efforts with great effect in Guinea and the nine other West African countries that are using N'ko for communication in their own indigenous languages. Until his death, in 1987, Kanté lived in CONAKRY teaching his alphabet.

See also: EDUCATION (Vols. IV, V); KANTÉ, SOULEYMANE (Vol. IV); MANDE (Vol. II, III, IV); MANDINKA (Vols. II, IV).

Further reading: Dianne White Oyler, *The History of the N'ko Alphabet and its Role in Mande Transnational Identity: Words as Weapons* (Cherry Hill, N.J.: Africana Homestead Legacy Press, 2003).

KANU See KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION.

Karume, Abeid Amani (1905–1972) *First president of Zanzibar*

Karume was born to a woman captive in the then German colony of Ruanda-Urundi. During his youth the two moved to ZANZIBAR. Karume occasionally attended school before becoming a seaman in his late teens. He later ran a motorboat taxi service, carrying passengers to shore from ships harbored at ZANZIBAR CITY.

Karume gained his first political leadership position in the early 1950s, becoming president of the Zanzibar African Association, a labor union of black migrant workers. In 1957 the Zanzibar African Association joined the Shirazi Association to form the AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY (ASP); Karume was named the party's president.

As Zanzibar moved towards independence from Great Britain, the ASP was in a bitter struggle for command of the country's government with the Arab-dominated Zanzibar National Party (ZNP), which supported the rule of the Busaidi Sultanate. The ZNP initially gained the upper hand, ascending to power upon Zanzibar's independence in 1963. Within a year, however, a COUP D'ETAT overthrew the sultan and brought the ASP to power. The revolution unleashed a wave of violence that targeted those of Arab and Indian ancestry, who were perceived as members of an oppressive, ruling elite. Thousands died and thousands more fled. Karume became president of the People's Republic of Zanzibar.

Soon after Karume assumed leadership he struck a deal with the president of Tanganyika, Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), who was Karume's long-time political ally and co-founder of the ASP. The agreement called for the two countries to unite and form a new country—TANZANIA. Under the agreement, Nyerere became president, with Karume as vice president. In addition, Zanzibar retained a large amount of independence from the mainland.

Over the next decade the political situation in Zanzibar deteriorated, with the government arbitrarily arresting opposition members and refusing to hold elections. In April 1972 members of Zanzibar's military assassinated Karume. Sheikh Aboud JUMBE (1920–) then became the head of Zanzibar's government and vice president of Tanzania.

See also: BUSAIDI (Vol. IV); REVOLUTIONARY STATE PARTY (Vol. V); ZANZIBAR (Vols. II, III, IV); ZANZIBAR CITY (Vol. IV).

Kasavubu, Joseph (c. 1913–1969) *First president of the Republic of the Congo*

A one-time seminary student, Joseph Kasavubu was a teacher until 1942, when he became a bookkeeper. He entered local politics while in his thirties, eventually becoming president of the Bakongo Tribal Association (ABAKO), in 1954. Even though actual political parties were banned at this time by the Belgian colonial authorities, Kasavubu developed the ethnically based ABAKO into an effective organization. When political activity was legalized, in 1956, ABAKO was able to win the first city elections held in Léopoldville (present-day KINSHASA).

By 1959, as the ABAKO leader, Kasavubu was playing a substantial role in the process of decolonization as Belgium hastily attempted to set up an independent Congo. ABAKO, with its emphasis only on the concerns of the Kongo people, or Bakongo, alienated many people throughout the Congo. Still, when it came time for national elections, in 1960, the other major figure in the drive for independence, Patrice LUMUMBA

During the Congo Crisis in the first half of the 1960s, President Joseph Kasavubu (walking, on the left) maintained a tenuous hold on his power. Here he is seen reviewing Congolese troops. © *AP/Wide World Photos*

(1925–1961), chose to endorse Kasavubu as a compromise candidate for president. (Lumumba preferred to become prime minister, which he saw as a more powerful position.)

During the early, tumultuous days of Congolese independence, Kasavubu, as president, and Lumumba, as prime minister, managed to cooperate through civil unrest, army mutinies, and the secession of mineral-rich KATANGA Province. But, on September 5, 1960, Kasavubu utilized a clause in the Congo constitution and dismissed Lumumba from his post. This set off an escalation in the CONGO CRISIS that, in September 1960, led to a COUP D'ETAT by Joseph Mobutu, who was later known as MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997). Compromising with and even endorsing Mobutu and his regime, Kasavubu held onto tokens of power until the military leader eventually returned power to a civilian government, in 1961.

For the next few years, Kasavubu maintained his tenuous hold on power, supporting the government of Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula (1921–1978) until dismissing Adoula in favor of the one-time Katangan leader Moïse TSHOMBE (1919–1969), in 1964. Then, when Tshombe declared his candidacy for the presidency in the next election, Kasavubu attempted to dismiss Tshombe just as he had "fired" Lumumba and Adoula. Tshombe balked,

however, and the Congolese legislature refused to ratify Kasavubu's handpicked candidate, Evariste Kimba (1926–1966). In the resulting crisis, Mobutu once again seized power, dismissing Kasavubu in November 1965, and installing himself as chief of state. Never breaking completely with the Congo's new military ruler, Kasavubu helped to legitimize the regime until he retired to a farm, where he eventually died, in March 1969.

Among the many questions raised about Kasavubu's actions is one concerning his exact involvement in the death of Patrice Lumumba. Although the precise details may never be known, it is suspected that he played at least some part in handing the one-time prime minister over to authorities in secessionist Katanga, where Lumumba apparently was beaten to death.

See also: KONGO (Vols. II, III, IV); BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); DECOLONIZATION (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol IV).

Katanga (Shaba) Province in southeastern Democratic Republic of the CONGO (DRC). Covering approximately 200,000 square miles (518,000 sq km), Katanga is endowed with vast mineral resources, making it a key player in the political crises that have plagued the DRC since independence. Today about 7.5 million people live in Katanga, with about 3 million residing in LUBUMBASHI, the provincial capital.

In 1960 the Belgian government gave independence to the former Belgian Congo and quickly exited the country. Immediately the lack of coherent leadership led to uncontrollable violence. In light of the instability, Moïse TSHOMBE (1919–1969), Katanga's provincial governor, declared Katanga an independent republic.

Independence for Katanga was viable largely because Belgium had developed the INFRASTRUCTURE of the region in its efforts to facilitate mineral extraction and TRANSPORTATION. However, the Congolese government led by Joseph KASAVUBU (c. 1913–1969) and Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961) refused to recognize an independent Katanga. At Lumumba's request, UN peacekeeping forces arrived to help the central government maintain control over Katanga. Belgium, for its part, supported the idea of an independent Katanga and sent troops to help the Kantangan rebels. The region's main copper MINING operations belonged to Union Miniere de Haut Katanga, a Belgian corporation.

By 1963 Tshombe was forced to concede that the Katangan secession had failed, and he fled the country. However, at Kasavubu's invitation, Tshombe returned to Katanga. His return sparked a new round of political infighting, and in the chaos that followed, MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997) seized control of the DRC in a military COUP D'ETAT. Again Tshombe was forced into exile.

In 1966 Mobutu nationalized the Congolese mining operations and changed the Union Miniere de Haut Katanga into Générale des Carrières et des Mines (Gécamines). Unfortunately for the Congolese people, however, Mobutu diverted huge amounts of Gécamines profits into his own personal accounts.

In 1971, as part of his African "authentication" program, Mobutu changed the name of the Congo to ZAÏRE. About the same time, Katanga was renamed Shaba. In 1997, however, Laurent KABILA (c. 1939–2001), a Katanga native, overthrew Mobutu and restored the province's original name.

By the 1980s Mobutu's mismanagement of Gécamines left the company unable to afford proper maintenance, and the machinery fell into disrepair. Although Gécamines still operated, mining profits represented a fraction of what they had been under Belgian colonial rule. When Mobutu was overthrown in 1997, his successor, Laurent Kabila, also squandered the province's riches, using mining profits to buy military hardware and to pay mercenaries during his costly war against Ugandan and Rwandan rebels. Despite Katanga's massive amounts of valuable MINERALS AND METALS, unending crisis in the DRC has left the majority of Katangans in abject POVERTY.

See also: CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V); COPPER (Vols. I, II, IV); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); UNION MINIERE DU HAUT KATANGA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Kaunda, Kenneth (Kenneth David Kaunda) (1924–) *First president of Zambia*

Active in the anticolonial movement within Northern Rhodesia in 1950s, Kaunda was imprisoned in 1959 for his involvement in a meeting of the banned Zambia African National Congress. Released in 1960, Kaunda was soon elected president of the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP). He continued to press Britain for Northern Rhodesia's independence, leading a country-wide protest campaign that eventually led to the dissolution of the beleaguered British colonial alliance, the Central African Federation. In the 1962 parliamentary elections UNIP and the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress (NRANC), which was led by Harry NKUMBULA (1916–), won two-thirds of the votes and formed a coalition government. The 1964 election saw UNIP winning 55 parliamentary seats. The ANC won 10 seats. UNIP's majority of seats ended the necessity of a coalition government, and the party took control of the country upon independence, with Kaunda becoming Zambia's prime minister.

Kaunda's rallying slogan was the national motto "One Zambia, One Nation," which he emphasized throughout his rule. He wrote and advocated the philosophy of "Humanism," which he explained as similar to the person-centered, classless society that had existed before colonialism. In 1967 he declared Humanism a national ideology. However, very few other Zambian leaders understood or believed in the ideology, making it difficult to implement. Kaunda later attempted to introduce socialist ideals into the EDUCATION curriculum, but the move was dropped after many religious leaders labeled the ideology as antireligious.

Early in his presidency Kaunda fostered a mixed economy in which both the government and private sectors were involved in major industries. Government control over industry became more pronounced in 1969, however, after Kaunda initiated a number of economic reforms.

During his tenure Kaunda attempted to ease the tensions between Zambia's ethnic groups by having people of different ethnic backgrounds hold key government positions. However, Kaunda still faced political opposition in his early presidency. Just after independence the Lumpa Church, led by Alice LENSHINA (1924–1978), challenged the state rule, leading to violent confrontation that resulted in 700 deaths and the imprisonment of Lenshina.

In 1968 Simon Kapwepwe (1922–1980) formed the United Progressive Party (UPP) and alleged that people from his ethnic group, the Bemba, were not being treated fairly. Kaunda banned the UPP on charges of subversion. Meanwhile the activities of NRANC, which had a strong following in the southern and western provinces of the country, threatened to divide the country along ethnic lines. Fearing a civil war Kaunda declared Zambia a one-party state in 1972 and made it illegal for other political parties to exist. In 1978, after rejoining UNIP, Nkumbula and Kapwepwe attempted to run for president of the party. Their efforts failed, however, and they were later barred from running when the party changed the requirements for its presidential candidates.

Within Africa Kaunda played a key role in supporting different liberation movements, especially those in ZIMBABWE, MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, NAMIBIA, and SOUTH AFRICA. He worked hard to help other countries gain their independence, acting for a time as president of the Pan-African Freedom movement for East, Central and Southern Africa. Under his leadership Zambia welcomed REFUGEES from countries in turmoil. Kaunda also hosted numerous regional and international conferences related to Africa's liberation. He was recognized internationally as a leading African statesman. He served as chair of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) in 1970–71 and 1987–88. He also played key roles in the mitigation of territorial disputes between KENYA and SOMALIA. His trademark was a white handkerchief, which he always wore on one hand as a symbol for peace.

While his positive reputation on the international scene grew, Kaunda's popularity at home began to wane. In the 1970s the country's economy suffered, largely due to the drop in world copper prices. In addition, LABOR UNIONS and other business groups began to criticize UNIP for the handling of the economy.

In 1984 Zambia suffered a severe drought, resulting in a food shortage. At the same time the government announced a price increase of 70 percent on basic foodstuffs as part of an INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF) adjustment program. This led to strikes in various parts of the country in 1985. In 1990 Kaunda was compelled to introduce more harsh economic changes, leading to more protests and an attempted COUP D'ETAT. In addition to domestic instability the international community began pressuring Kaunda's government to introduce a multi-party political system. Kaunda eventually acquiesced, reintroducing multiparty politics and amending the constitution in the same year.

Kaunda wrote several books, including *Black Government,* (with C. M. Morris, 1960), the autobiographical *Zambia Shall Be Free* (1962), and *Humanism in Africa and a Guide to Its Implementation* (1967).

In 1991 the newly formed MOVEMENT FOR MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY, led by Frederick CHILUBA (1943–   ), campaigned for a change in political leadership and privatization of major industries. Chiluba stood for election against Kaunda and won. Kaunda conceded defeat and allowed for the peaceful transition of power. Kaunda, who had ruled the country for 27 years, attempted to return to politics and run for the presidency in 1996. However, Chiluba, whose popularity quickly waned, feared that the charismatic Kaunda might regain the presidency. Chiluba blocked Kaunda by amending the constitution.

Kaunda, who in 1996 lost a son to HIV/AIDS, retired from politics and campaigned nationally and internationally to fight the disease. He continued to enjoy popularity at home and abroad. He received several awards while in office but what is remarkable are the several awards he received after his tenure. In 2002 Kaunda became the first Balfour African President-in-Residence at Boston University's African Presidential Archives and Research Center. In the same year, the South African president, Thabo MBEKI (1942–   ), recognized Kaunda's contribution in the fight against APARTHEID by bestowing on him a national award. In 2003, in a rare occurrence of a current African president honoring a former president, Zambia's president, Levy MWANAWASA (1948–   ), presented Kaunda with the Grand Order of the Eagle of Zambia for his selfless contribution to humanity in general and Zambia in particular.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (Vol. IV); KAUNDA, KENNETH (Vol. IV).

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Kawawa, Rashidi Mfaume (1929–   ) *Tanzanian independence activist*

Kawawa, the eldest of eight children, was born in the Songea district of Tanganyika, the colonial name of mainland TANZANIA. He attended primary school in DAR ES SALAAM and later the Tabora Government Secondary

School. Soon after graduation, Kawawa joined the Public Works Department as an accountant. He later became a social worker, organizing and implementing a government adult LITERACY program.

In the early 1950s Kawawa was involved in LABOR organization and helped found the Tanganyika Federation of Labor. Although Tanganyika's independence movement had emerged, Kawawa's government job limited his political involvement. In 1956, however, he resigned from his position to dedicate his time to political organizing. He joined the Tanganyika African National Union (later TANZANIAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION [TANU]), becoming a central committee member, in 1957, and its vice president, in 1960. During this time he formed a close relationship with Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), who became prime minister of the newly independent Tanganyika, in 1961.

A year later Nyerere briefly resigned his position as prime minister and appointed Kawawa to replace him and take on the task of reforming the government. Kawawa used his position and his extensive experience in organizing to consolidate TANU's power. He rewarded party militants and removed opponents from positions of influence. Kawawa later introduced a republican constitution. Soon after, Nyerere returned from his hiatus to win the presidency and named Kawawa his vice president.

In 1964 Tanganyika joined the neighboring island-nation of ZANZIBAR to form the country of Tanzania. Under this new union, Kawawa became the country's second vice-president. He remained a close aid to Nyerere and was an important proponent of the president's UJA-MAA programs, which formed the Tanzanian variant of African socialism. Kawawa resigned from government service in 1985, the same year as Nyerere.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LABOR UNIONS (Vols. IV, V); TANGANYIKA (Vol. IV).

Kayibanda, Gregoire (1924–1976) *First president of Rwanda*

Kayibanda was born in then Belgian-ruled southern Ruandi-Urundi (now RWANDA and BURUNDI) and was educated in Roman Catholic school. He became a teacher and then, in the 1950s, a journalist. Entering the political realm, Kayibanda wrote the "Hutu Manifesto," which outlined demands for the transfer of political power in Rwanda to the HUTU majority. That same year Kayibanda founded the Hutu Social Movement.

In 1959, with encouragement and guidance from the Catholic Church, Kayibanda founded the Party for Hutu Emancipation (Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation du Peuple Hutu, PARMEHUTU), a political organization that was openly anti-TUTSI. Later in 1959 PARMEHUTU led a small peasant revolt that evolved into a full-fledged revolution. The party dominated communal elections in
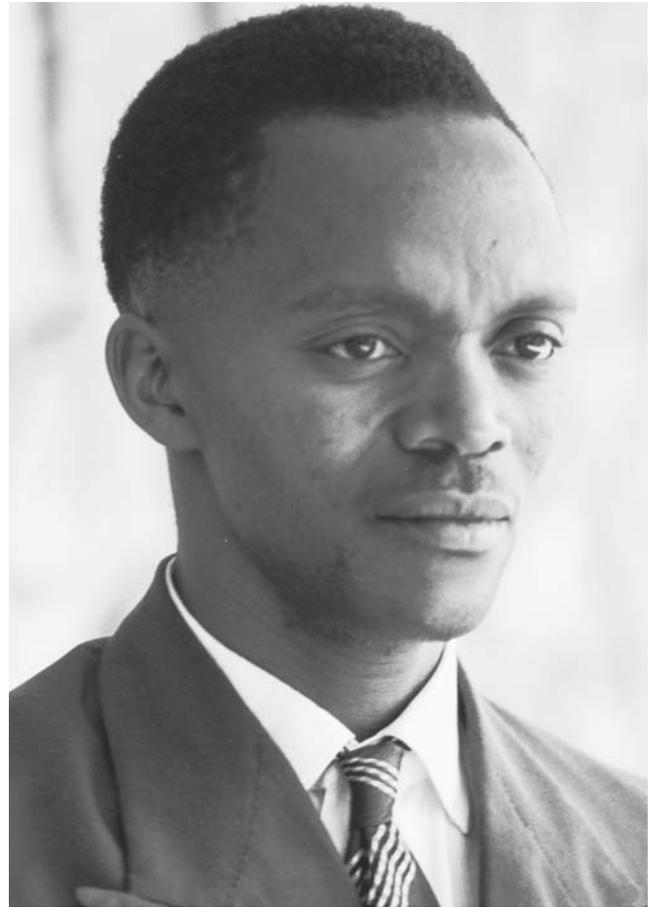
A teacher and journalist before entering politics, Gregoire Kayibanda became the first elected president of Rwanda in 1962, the year this photo was taken. © United Nations

1960. That same year Kayibanda became prime minister of the newly formed provisional government.

In 1962 Rwanda was declared a republic, and Kayibanda became its president. His rule was unstable, however, and under the constant threat of revolt. In 1963 Tutsis from neighboring Burundi led an uprising against Kayibanda's government, reaching the gates of Rwanda's capital, KIGALI. The insurgence was put down, however, leading the government to kill more than 20,000 Tutsi. In an attempt to consolidate his power, Kayibanda created a one-party state in 1965, declaring his PARMEHUTU the only legal party. Despite his authoritative rule, Kayibanda's hold on power was tenuous. In 1973 a bloodless, military COUP D'ETAT led by General Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994) overthrew Kayibanda. Habyarimana jailed Kayibanda, who, after being denied needed medical attention, died while under house arrest.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); RUANDI-URUNDI (Vol. IV).

Keino, Kipchoge (Kip Keino, Hezekiah Keino)
(1940–   ) *Kenyan distance runner*

A member of the Kenyan police force at age 18, Keino won his first race, the Kenyan three-mile championship, in 1962. That same year he set Kenya's three-mile record, finishing in 13:46.8. In 1965 Keino set a world record of 7:39.6 in the 3,000-meter race.

Keino ran extensively in the mountains of western KENYA, and was a pioneer in high-altitude training for athletes. Acclimated to running at elevations more than 9,000 feet (2,743 m) above sea level, Keino was well prepared for the thin air of Mexico City, where he competed in the 1968 Olympic Games. Despite a painful gallbladder infection, Keino won the silver medal in the 5,000-meter race and the gold medal at the 1,500-meter distance. In the 1972 Munich Olympics, Keino again dominated in the middle-distance races, winning silver in the 1,500-meter race and gold in the 3,000-meter steeplechase.

At the 1968 Olympics, doctors recommended Keino withdraw from competition because of a severe gallbladder infection. Keino ran the 10,000-meter race anyway, leading most of the way before collapsing in pain near the end. He then competed in the 5,000-meter race and won silver. Intending to withdraw from the 1,500-meter race, Keino changed his mind at the last minute, but was caught in traffic trying to get to the stadium. He jogged more than a mile to the track, then proceeded to win the gold, beating American Jim Ryun (1947–   ), who until that point had not lost a race of 1,500 meters or more since 1965.

In 1974 Keino retired and founded a home for abandoned children in Eldoret, Kenya. An inspiration for future Kenyan athletes, who have become a dominant force in the middle- and long-distance events, Keino was awarded with the Order of the Burning Spear, Kenya's highest civilian honor.

See also: SPORTS AND ATHLETICS (Vol. V).

Keita, Modibo (1915–1977) *First president of the Mali Republic*

Born in BAMAKO, MALI, Keita was educated in SENEGAL and served as a teacher upon his return to Mali in 1936. In the mid-1940s he became politically active, joining the African Democratic Assembly (Rassemblement Democratique Africain, RDA), a political party that was closely associated with the French Communist Party. In 1947 Keita was elected secretary general of the RDA branch in the French Soudan (the colonial name of the state that later became Mali). Over the next decade Keita served in various political positions both at home and in France, where he represented French Soudan in the National Assembly.

In 1958 French Soudan became a self-governing republic within the French Community and was renamed the Sudanese Republic. In 1959 the Sudanese Republic joined with Senegal, UPPER VOLTA (present-day BURKINA FASO), and DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN) to form the Mali Federation, with Keita as its president. The federation was short-lived, however. In 1960, following Senegal's withdrawal and the dissolution of the Mali Federation, Keita emerged as the president of the newly formed, independent Mali Republic.

Throughout his presidency Keita played the dangerous game of Cold War politics by maintaining relations with France as well as the Communist Soviet Union and China. In fact, in 1963 the Soviet Union recognized Keita's efforts at cultivating socialist ideology in Mali by awarding him the Lenin Peace Prize.

Before long Keita's nation began failing economically and faced the growing financial burdens of his socialist policies. Ultimately, in 1968 Keita was removed in a military COUP D'ETAT led by Moussa Traoré (1936–   ). Fearing reprisals Traoré placed Keita in military detention, where he remained until his death in 1977.

See also: AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY (Vol. IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH SOUDAN (Vol. IV); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); FRENCH UNION (Vol. IV).

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Keita, Salif (1949–   ) *Singer and songwriter from Mali*

Born in Djaliba, MALI, Salif Keita is one of the best-known contemporary African singers. However, he did not achieve his musical success without a struggle. In traditional Malian society singers belong to a low social caste, so when his father learned that Keita sang for tips in the markets of BAMAKO, Mali's capital, he refused to speak to his son for six years. In Bamako, however, Salif rose to prominence as a featured vocalist, first with the government-sponsored group, Rail Band (1970–73) and then with a dance band called Les Ambassadeurs (1973–80). Because of political violence in Mali, Keita moved to ABIDJAN in IVORY COAST in the mid-1970s, and his band was renamed Les Ambassadeurs Internationales.

In 1984 Keita began a solo career in Paris, where he found himself surrounded by other artists and writers from throughout the former French colonial world.

Known as the Golden Voice of Mali, Keita achieved widespread popular and critical success for his albums and emotionally charged live performances. He was the first African to be nominated for a Grammy Award (for the album *Amen*).

Salif Keita was born into a family that claimed direct descent from Sundiata Keita (d. 1225), the 13th-century founder of the great Mali Empire. Like the physically challenged Sundiata, the future pop star also had to overcome great odds in order to succeed. Because he was born an albino, Salif faced harassment and hostility in his rural hometown, Djaliba, where albinos are traditionally seen as omens of bad luck. Fortunately for Salif, his remarkable singing talents won over most of his listeners, bringing him fame and prosperity.

Critics note that Keita's MUSIC is a unique blend of traditional West African styles and instruments, rock 'n' roll and jazz styles from the West, Latin rhythms from Cuba, and Islamic musical forms from North Africa and the Middle East.

See also: SUNDIATA (Vol. II); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Kenya East African country approximately 224,900 square miles (582,491 sq km) in size, bordered by ETHIOPIA and the Republic of the SUDAN to the north, SOMALIA and the Indian Ocean to the east, TANZANIA to the south, and UGANDA to the west. The capital is NAIROBI, in the fertile central highlands.

Kenya at Independence The road to Kenya's independence involved the violent upheaval of the Mau Mau crisis of the 1950s, which left at least 13,000 Africans dead, 80,000 detained, and more than 1 million people forcibly relocated. While British security forces ultimately were able to suppress Mau Mau, the British government decided that the only viable long-term solution was to grant independence to the colony. The development of political parties that this decision in part produced led to the formation of the KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (KANU) and the Kenyan African Democratic Union (KADU). KANU, a political coalition between Kenya's two most influential ethnic groups, the KIKUYU and the LUO, became dominant at independence in 1963. The party was led by Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), whom the British had imprisoned for his alleged involvement with Mau Mau. He became the leading figure of the independence movement and a national hero. The prime min-

ister at independence, Kenyatta became the nation's first president when Kenya became a republic in 1964.

When KADU was assimilated into KANU, Kenyatta became the leader of a de facto single-party state. Following a capitalist program, he established a stable economy, but ethnic tensions ultimately disrupted his program. Espousing the ideal of HARAMBEE, or "coming together," Kenyatta, a member of the Kikuyu majority, established policies that seemed to favor his own people over Kenya's minority ethnic groups. One such policy was Kenyatta's program of "Kenyanization," which focused on buying back land from willing European settlers and redistributing it to Kenyans. The majority of the redistributed land ended up in Kikuyu hands, creating a Kikuyu hegemony in both politics and economics. Such policies created conflict between Kenyatta and powerful members of the Luo community, including Vice President Oginga ODINGA (1912–1994). Odinga believed Kenyatta's economic plans overlooked the nation's poor, and in 1966 he split from KANU to form the Kenya People's Union (KPU). Through KANU's legislative manipulation, however, the KPU was rendered politically ineffective.

While there is no majority ethnic group in Kenya, the Kikuyu, with about 22 percent of the total population, form the largest group. The Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin, and Kamba are also large, each having between 11 and 14 percent of the population. The remaining 28 percent is made up of some 64 other African ethnic groups as well as smaller European and Asian communities.

The repression of the KPU and the 1969 assassination of economic minister and KANU co-founder, Tom MBOYA (1930–1969), a Luo, led many among the Luo to suspect a Kikuyu conspiracy. That same year the KPU was officially banned, and Odinga and a number of KPU officials were imprisoned. In 1971 Kenyatta granted extensive tracts of land to a number of wealthy Kikuyu, and the Luo became fully convinced that ethnic favoritism was at play in the government. An attempted COUP D'ETAT that same year signaled growing popular discontent in Kenya. Although Kenyatta made moves to placate the opposition, KANU remained firmly in control of the nation's political arena. Kenyatta gradually became more and more autocratic as criticism of his government grew.

In 1978, after serving three terms in office, President Kenyatta died and was replaced by Daniel arap MOI (1924–), a member of the Kalenjin ethnic group. Democracy in Kenya deteriorated under Moi, who maneuvered to keep threats to his power out of the government.

Using censorship and imprisonment, Moi centralized all power in the presidency and officially declared KANU the sole legal political party of Kenya. He displayed open favoritism to his Kalenjin people, raising the ire of the Kikuyu and Luo. As a result, in 1982 a group of Luo military officers attempted to unseat the president, but they were quickly defeated. One year later Moi was reelected.

Opposition to Moi gradually increased, particularly among university students. In the face of increasing hostility and a declining economy, Moi continued to strengthen his control. In 1988 he was reelected in a hotly disputed contest, and riots erupted. Moi responded by amending the constitution to further increase his essentially dictatorial powers.

Ultimately, however, the opposition became too powerful for Moi to control. In 1990 Oginga Odinga resurfaced to found the Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD), a new party that gained widespread support. Further destabilizing Moi's regime, many sources of international ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE withdrew their support in protest against Moi's authoritarianism. Ultimately, in 1992 Moi allowed multiparty elections. Amid ethnic clashes that left thousands dead—events that Moi's government blamed on the polarizing effect of the multiparty system—Moi was reelected again. His victory was aided by dissent within FORD, which was unable to challenge Moi and KANU. Moi won the presidency once again, in 1997, setting off widespread protests and rioting.

In 1990 Kenya's Luo foreign minister, Dr. Robert Ouko (d. 1990), spoke out against government CORRUPTION and declared his intent to expose corrupt officials. His subsequent assassination led many foreign nations to cease providing economic assistance to Kenya.

Moi's final term in office was marked by continued civil unrest and ethnic strife, underscored by a bombing that destroyed the United States Embassy in Nairobi in 1998. In 2002 Moi was forced to step down by constitutional term limits, and he could only stand by as the opposition, led by Mwai KIBAKI (1931–   ), finally ended KANU's stranglehold on Kenyan politics. The new government presented Kenya with hope for a stable, democratic future. This, it is hoped, will lead to a renewal of economic growth. Nairobi is already the major industrial and commercial hub for East Africa, and a more settled political climate will serve to enhance its position.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); KENYA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); MAU MAU (Vol. IV).

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Kenyan National African Union (KANU)

Political party founded by Tom MBOYA (1930–1969) and Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978) that controlled Kenya's government for almost 40 years. Founded in 1960 in the midst of Kenya's advance toward independence, KANU initially was a union of the KIKUYU and LUO peoples' political interests, which were rooted in the desire for a strong, centralized government. That same year a coalition of smaller African groups formed the Kenyan African Democratic Union (KADU), a rival political party that promoted a federal form of government to offset the Kikuyu's numeric strength. In 1962 the two parties formed a coalition government. It dissolved, however, after the elections of 1963, which KANU carried convincingly. In 1964 Kenya became a republic, with Kenyatta, a Kikuyu, as president, and Oginga ODINGA (1912–1994), a Luo, as vice president.

In 1960 an attempted military COUP D'ETAT had been put down, but only with British intervention. In light of the failed insurgency, Kenyatta had convinced many of KADU's leaders, including Ronald Ngala (1923–1972) and Daniel arap MOI (1924–   ), to join KANU for the sake of stabilizing the country's government. This newfound unity did not last long, however, as Odinga had a falling out with Kenyatta. Resigning from the vice presidency, Odinga formed the Kenya People's Union (KPU), in 1966. In 1969 KANU's co-founder, Tom Mboya was assassinated. Because Mboya was a Luo, many Luo came to believe that Kenyatta was leading an anti-Luo movement. Later in 1969 this belief was bolstered when the government banned the KPU and arrested Odinga and other KPU leaders.

Despite the suggested favoritism towards the Kikuyu, in 1967 Kenyatta chose Moi—a member of the Kalenjin ethnic minority—to be his vice president. In the mid-1970s Kenyatta's health began to fail, and many Kikuyu, wanting to ensure a Kikuyu successor, planned to undermine Moi's claim to the presidency. This plan was thwarted, however, by Charles Njonjo and Mwai KIBAKI (1931–   ), two Kikuyu with great influence within KANU. Njonjo, Kenya's attorney general, and Kibaki, the minister of finance, backed Moi's vice-presidential claim to the presidency upon Kenyatta's death, in August 1978. Later that year, Moi was elected head of KANU, affirming his hold on power.

Initially Moi's presidency cultivated a vibrant, free society, and Moi appointed people from many different eth-

nic groups to government positions. Coming from the Kalenjin minority, however, made Moi's position tenuous, and he gradually began to increase the number of Kalenjin appointed to the government. Meanwhile, KANU gained political strength. In 1982 the KANU-controlled National Assembly amended the constitution to make Kenya a one-party state. Later that year the army put down a coup attempt led by Luo air force officers. After this attempted coup, Moi consolidated his power by removing many Kikuyu and Luo officers from the military, replacing them with Kalenjin or other minority groups. During this time KANU, with the help of its youth wing, greatly expanded its membership base and further entrenched the party into Kenyan society. KANU gained a reputation for brutal repression of democratic activities, with its paramilitary police force, the General Services Unit, enforcing the ban on opposition parties.

In 1983 Moi further consolidated his power, turning on a former KANU ally. Wanting to further rid the party of Kikuyu influence, he orchestrated the fall of Njonjo, who was branded a traitor and forced to resign from his cabinet position as well as from the National Assembly. Despite this internal disharmony, KANU remained the sole political power in Kenya through the rest of the 1980s. Calls for democratic reforms, however, increased in the early 1990s, and the National Assembly repealed the ban on opposition parties. Despite the renewed political competition, KANU carried the elections of 1992 and 1998, as Moi retained the presidency through the end of the century. The party, however, began to feel the strain of member defections to other parties. In the 2002 elections one of these defectors and Moi's former ally, Mwai Kibaki, defeated the KANU presidential candidate, Uhuru Kenyatta (1960–   ). Kibaki's party, the National Rainbow Coalition, also carried the parliamentary elections, ending KANU's nearly 40-year rule.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); MAU MAU MOVEMENT (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Angelique Haugerud, *The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Kenyatta, Jomo (Johnstone Kamau, Kamau Ngengi, Kamau wa Ngengi) (c. 1891–1978) *First prime minister and later president of Kenya*

Born Kamau wa Ngengi in Kikuyuland, KENYA, Jomo Kenyatta began his political career in the 1920s. He rose quickly through the ranks of Kenya's activists, until 1931, when he went to Europe to live and study. He returned to Kenya in 1946. By then he had become a symbol of both the independence movement and Africans' resentment over the white takeover of land in Kenya.

An imposing figure fond of appearing in traditional dress—complete with feathered or animal-skin headwear—Kenyatta often was addressed as "Savior" and "Great Elder," a sign not only of Kenyans' affection but also of the role which the people saw for him in the country's political life.

Jailed in the wake of the violence brought on by the Mau Mau movement, Kenyatta, in spite of his denials of any involvement with the Mau Mau, spent from 1953 to 1959 in prison, and then endured another two years under house arrest. With the British decision to grant Kenya its independence, however, Kenyatta moved once again into the forefront of Kenyan politics, having become president of the KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (KANU) while still under house arrest. Released, he was elected to the Kenyan legislature in 1962, ultimately serving in the multiracial transition government that guided the country during the immediate pre-independence years. With the victory of KANU in the 1963 legislative elections, Kenyatta became prime minister and then, upon independence in 1964, he became president.

After taking office, the historically radical Kenyatta took pains to adopt a moderate, or gradualist, approach on many issues. Rather than push for immediate redistribution of white-owned land to Africans, for example, he reassured Europeans that they would have a role in post-independence Kenya. Similarly, although he willingly accepted foreign assistance from the former Soviet Union and other Communist-bloc countries, he rejected the program known as African socialism favored by many other leaders of the time. Instead, he fostered a capitalistic system that, he believed, would increase economic opportunity for his developing country.

His policies, however, ultimately may have done more for the KIKUYU people—and, in particular, his own family and close associates—than they did for the mass of Kenyans, and charges of CORRUPTION began to surface quite early in his administration. At the same time, he became increasingly autocratic in his rule, favoring centralization of authority and the abolition of all political parties save KANU. Ultimately this led to defections by many of his former allies and, in response, to his government's repressive tactics against any possible opposition.

Throughout the 1970s Kenyatta was the undisputed primary politician not only in Kenya but in all of East Africa. His power, however, began to erode as the charges of corruption mounted and his government began using increasingly harsh methods to silence criticism and eliminate opposition. Still, his economic policies and his ability to halt the flight of whites from the country, helped

Once seen as the savior of the Kenyan people, Jomo Kenyatta was soon accused of corruption and criticized for his excesses. Here he is pictured in 1975 with his fourth wife, Mama Ngina.
© *New York Times*

turn Kenya into the showcase of 1970s Africa. Kenyatta's death, in 1978, marked the passing of an era, as Kenya entered a new and more-troubled phase.

See also: BRITISH EAST AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); KENYATTA, JOMO (Vol. IV); MAU MAU MOVEMENT (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Kerekou, Mathieu (Mathieu Ahmed Kérékou)
(1933–) *Two-time president of the Republic of Benin*

Kerekou was born into a military family in Koufra, Natitingou, DAHOMEY (present-day Republic of BENIN). He was educated in schools for children of soldiers in MALI and SENEGAL and then attended officer's school in

France, which was the colonial power in Dahomey. He served in the French army until 1961, after which he joined the national army's fight for an independent Dahomey. In the early 1960s Kerekou served as a military aide to Dahomey's first president, Hubert Maga (1916–2000). Over the next 10 years Kerekou watched the tumultuous political scene, serving as military attaché. He also furthered his EDUCATION in France and began forging his own political ambitions.

In 1972, following a violent military COUP D'ÉTAT that he organized, Kerekou came to power and assumed the positions of president, prime minister, and minister of defense. Using anti-imperialist rhetoric he steered his nation according to a Marxist-Leninist ideology, and in 1975 he renamed his country the People's Republic of Benin. After nationalizing banks, schools, OIL distribution, and insurance, Kerekou had to survive several attempted coups by pro-capitalist forces. One such coup attempt was led by Dahomean exiles aided by French mercenaries. Although the centralization of the government led to some positive changes in industry and AGRICULTURE, a bleak economic outlook in the 1980s caused more coup attempts.

In 1980 Kerekou converted to Islam and changed his name to Ahmed. However, it was rumored that he subsequently became a "born-again" Christian. Later in the 1980s Kerekou shifted his economic policy from Marxism to socialism, but the financial burdens of the nation were overwhelming. Responding to the demands of the people, Kerekou began moving toward a more representative government in the late 1980s. In 1990 he called for a conference to rewrite Benin's constitution. In free elections held the following year, Nicephore Soglo (1934–   ), a former president, defeated Kerekou, who stepped down peacefully and retired from politics. In 1995, however, Kerekou came out of retirement and won the presidential election. He won again in 2001, although the results of that election were disputed. Since returning to office Kerekou has managed to bring some stability to the economy, and many people now regard Benin as a rare example of a successful African democracy.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); MAGA, HUBERT (Vol. IV).

Khama, Sir Seretse (1921–1980) *First president of Botswana*

From the age of four, Seretse Khama was recognized as the *kgosi,* or king, of the Bangwato people of the British protectorate of Bechuanaland, in central southern Africa. He was sent abroad, to England, where he studied law and married a white Englishwoman named Ruth Williams. Upon his return to Bechuanaland, the popular Khama was considered a potential threat to the British colonial administration and, in 1951, was sent into exile in London. By

1956, however, the international community had begun calling for the dismantling of the racist APARTHEID political system in southern Africa, and Khama, suffering from diabetes, was welcomed back to Bechuanaland.

In 1965, once again healthy and inspired by the optimistic outlook of African nationalist politics, Khama led his Bechuanaland Democratic Party to victory over pan-Africanist and socialist rivals in the country's first universal franchise elections, becoming prime minister. Then, in September of 1966, he was elected the first president of the new Republic of BOTSWANA. Botswana celebrates Sir Seretse Khama Day as a public holiday on July 1, Khama's birthday.

When Khama became president, the Republic of Botswana was widely regarded as one of the poorest countries in Africa, plagued by colonial mismanagement and continually indebted to Britain. But, under Khama's liberal-democratic leadership, Botswana quickly developed a thriving economy based on the export of its agricultural and MINING resources, especially to SOUTH AFRICA. Khama centralized his own power, controlled the influence of local traditional chiefs, and successfully devised a citizen-led administration that was neither too bureaucratized nor reliant on military backing.

During Khama's presidency (1966–80), the Republic of Botswana was the fastest-growing economy in the world. The general prosperity of the country was reflected in improvements to the country's INFRASTRUC-TURE, and also in the development of its educational and health systems in both urban and rural areas.

Throughout the 1970s Khama's poor health drained his energy but, nevertheless, he managed to uphold his reputation as a strong, intelligent leader with great personal integrity. Toward the end of his life Khama was an active negotiator in the independence movements of ZIMBABWE and NAMIBIA as he worked to realize his vision of a southern Africa that was peaceful, democratic, and prosperous. Khama died in July, 1980, and Ketumile MASIRE (1925–   ) succeeded him as Botswana's president.

See also: BECHUANALAND (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); KHAMA, SIR SERETSE (Vol. IV).

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Khartoum   Capital city of the Republic of the SUDAN, located near the confluence of the White and Blue Nile rivers in north central Sudan. Once a colonial government and trading center, in 1956 Khartoum became the capital of the independent Republic of the Sudan. The city is connected by bridges to the cities of Khartoum North, an industrial center, and Omdurman, an Islamic center. Shipping on the White and Blue Nile Rivers, as well as Sudan's rail and road networks, bring goods from

other parts of the country, making Khartoum the nation's chief TRANSPORTATION hub. The city's major industries include food processing, textiles, printed materials, gums, and glass manufacturing. A pipeline, completed in 1977, brings OIL from the country's main Red Sea port.

Khartoum hosts the University of Khartoum (founded in 1902), Nilayn University (1955), and the Sudan University of Science and Technology (1950), as well as other technical educational institutions.

With its history as a crossroads for traders and having a continuous influx of immigrants from all over Africa, Khartoum has maintained a diverse atmosphere. Most of its 930,000 inhabitants (1993 estimate) speak Arabic. During the 1990s an ongoing war in southern Sudan brought shortages and hardship to the city, and Sudan remains one of the continent's poorest and least politically stable countries.

See also: ARABIC (Vols. I, II); BLUE NILE (Vol. I); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM (Vol. II); ISLAM, CENTERS OF LEARNING (Vol. II); KHARTOUM (Vols. I, III, IV); WHITE NILE (Vol. I).

Kibaki, Mwai (Emilio Mwai Kibaki) (1931–)
President of Kenya

Kibaki, the youngest of eight children, was born in the village of Gatuyaini in the Central Province of KENYA. There he attended primary and high school and learned carpentry as well as AGRICULTURE. Later Kibaki went to MAKERERE UNIVERSITY, in neighboring UGANDA, earning a degree in economics in 1955. That same year he gained a postgraduate scholarship to study in England, eventually choosing to attend the London School of Economics, where he earned his master's degree in public finance. In 1958 Kibaki returned to Makerere University to teach economics.

In 1960 Kibaki helped found the KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (KANU). Later that year he resigned from his teaching position and returned to Kenya to take a job as an executive with KANU. Three years later Kibaki, running on the KANU ticket, was elected a member of Parliament. That same year Kenya's president Jomo KENYATTA (c.1891–1978) appointed him parliamentary secretary to the minister of finance. Kibaki became minister of finance in 1969.

Upon Kenyatta's death Daniel arap MOI (1924–) ascended to the country's presidency and appointed Kibaki his vice president. In 1983 Kibaki moved from the ministry of finance to become the minister of home affairs. In 1988 he fell out of favor with arap Moi and was replaced as vice president. Kibaki then became the minister of health.

Kibaki remained active in KANU, but left the party when Kenya restored the multiparty political system in 1991. He formed the Democratic Party, which later became the National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK). Making successive bids for Kenya's presidency, Kibaki finished third in the 1992 elections and then second in 1997. In an effort to change his fortunes, Kibaki united the NAK with the Liberal Democratic Party and formed the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). The maneuver paid off, as the NARC thoroughly defeated KANU in the 2002 elections. Kibaki, who garnered 63 percent of the vote, became president.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V).

Kigali   Capital of RWANDA, located in the highlands in the center of the country, on the Ruganwa River, just south of the equator. Kigali was part of German East Africa from 1899 until 1916. After World War I (1914–18) it came under Belgian control, from 1919 until 1962, as part of the Ruanda-Urundi territory. In 1962 the Ruanda-Urundi territory was divided into the countries of Rwanda and BURUNDI, and Kigali was made the capital of independent Rwanda.

Kigali has an international airport and a technical college. Major industries include textiles, radio, paint and varnish manufacturing, tanning, and cassiterite (tin) MINING. It also trades coffee and cattle. However, the economy has been severely damaged by the civil war that started, in 1994, with the assassination of President Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994). Instability and genocidal killings between the country's HUTU and TUTSI ethnic groups have made it impossible to estimate the current population of the city, although it had perhaps 250,000 inhabitants in the early 1990s.

Two of the major political groups, the Hutu Coalition of the Defense of the Republic and the RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF), a Tutsi organization, fought for control of Kigali and left the city nearly depopulated. A tenuous peace that was restored by the turn of the century is giving Rwandans hopes for recovery.

See also: BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMAN EAST AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); KIGALI (Vol. II); RUANDA-URUNDI (Vol. IV); WORLD WAR I (Vol. IV).

Kikuyu (Gikuyu)   Largest ethnic group in KENYA. At the forefront of the struggle for independence, the Kikuyu were politically and economically dominant in the postcolonial years. A largely agricultural people whose homeland centers on Mount Kenya, the Kikuyu emerged from British colonial rule as Kenya's most influ-

ential ethnic group. Together with the LUO ethnic group, the Kikuyu established the KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (KANU), in 1960, to lead the country to independence. Upon Kenya's full autonomy, in 1963, KANU became the nation's chief political entity. Kikuyu nationalist leader Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), became Kenya's first president.

Conditions during Kenyatta's administration favored the Kikuyu, causing much tension between the group and its primary rivals, the Luo. Kenyatta's Africanization plan, which bought back parcels of land from departing European settlers, primarily benefited the Kikuyu, who gradually established economic superiority. Politically,

the Kikuyu became even more influential as high-ranking Luo members of the government were either maneuvered out of power or assassinated. The Kikuyu also constituted a majority of the population of Kenya's capital city of NAIROBI and thus had access to the economic and social opportunities provided by its rapid commercial and industrial growth after independence.

However, when Kenyatta died in 1978 Daniel arap MOI (1924–   ), a member of the Kalenjin people, rose to the presidency, and the Kikuyu found themselves in opposition to the government instead of in control of it. The autocratic Moi consolidated his power by replacing many Kikuyu officials with Kalenjin counterparts. Despite upset-

In 1964, when this photo was taken, the Kikuyu were the most influential ethnic group in Kenya. Dressed in traditional garb, these Kikuyu women appeared at a rally in Nairobi to support President Jomo Kenyatta, also a Kikuyu.
© AP Wirephoto

ting many in the Kikuyu majority Moi stayed in power until 2002. In elections held that year Kikuyu-dominated KANU was defeated for the first time by opposition parties. However, Mwai KIBAKI (1931–   ), the leader of the opposition, was also a Kikuyu. Thus the Kikuyu once again returned to political prominence in Kenya.

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The Kikuyu are also known as the Gikuyu, after the name of their traditional founder. According to Kikuyu lore, Gikuyu was led to the top of Mount Kenya (known to the Kikuyu as Kirinyaga) by the divine spirit, Ngai. There he was given a wife and had nine daughters who founded the nine Kikuyu clans.

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See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); KIKUYU (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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Kinshasa (formerly Leopoldville) Capital and principal city of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Kinshasa originated, in 1881, as a European colonial trading station. Named Leopoldville in honor of King Leopold II (1835–1909) of Belgium, it occupied a strategic geographical location as the terminus for navigation on the Congo River. The city served as the capital of the Belgian Congo from 1923 onward and then at independence, in 1960, became the capital of the new republic. Shortly after MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997) overthrew the government of President Joseph KASAVUBU (c. 1913–1969), he further erased the colonial legacy by renaming the city *Kinshasa*.

As the administrative, commercial, and communications center of the country, and the home of the major educational, cultural, and medical facilities, continued growth of the city was to be expected. However, the process of URBANIZATION far outstripped expectations. Already a sizeable city of 400,000, in 1960, Kinshasa became a mega-city over the decades following independence. A 1984 census placed its population at 2,664,000, while the most recent estimates show that it now has more than 5 million inhabitants. This would make it second only to LAGOS, NIGERIA in size among the cities of contemporary sub-Saharan Africa.

As its population grew, so did its physical size. In 1960 it occupied about 21 square miles (55 sq km). However, in 1984, the last year for which there are reliable statistics, the city had grown to cover 82 square miles (212 sq km), and by century's end it was even larger. By then, approximately 10 percent of the country's population lived in the capital.

Much of Kinshasa's POPULATION GROWTH was fueled by the warfare and violence that has frequently wracked the country since independence, beginning with the civil war of 1960–65. Indeed, for many thousands of Congolese, the city, despite the overcrowding, crime, and dearth of jobs, seemed safer than the countryside. As the city grew, unemployment and underemployment did as well, since the modern economic sector is modest in comparison to the city's size. Today, many of its people survive by participating in the informal economy. In the 1990s the violence that pervaded so much of the Congo swept into the city, and President Mobutu had to call on Belgian and French troops to put down urban unrest. More recently, in 1997, the insurgent forces of Laurent KABILA (c. 1939–2001) fought their way to the city's edge before Mobutu fled into exile.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEOPOLDVILLE (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vol. V).

Kisangani (formerly Stanleyville) Major port city of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO (DRC), located on the Congo River. Founded in 1882 by Anglo-American explorer and adventurer Sir Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904), Kisangani is strategically located at the bottom of Boyoma (formerly Stanley) Falls, which is the terminus of the navigable stretch of the Congo River from KINSHASA, 770 miles (1,239 km) to the southwest. The city offers a port to offload shipments and a rail link around the falls to the port of Ubundu. Aside from its role as a transshipment location, the city has a small manufacturing sector in brewing, printing, furniture, metal products, clothing, and food processing.

Kisangani was a city of strategic importance during conflicts in the DRC. In the 1950s the city was a stronghold of Congolese prime minister Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961), the charismatic former postal clerk whose leadership of the opposition to the Belgian colonial government eventually lead to national independence in 1960. Not long after gaining independence, however, Lumumba retreated back to Kisangani as opposition to his government rose. After Lumumba was seized by his political opponents and executed in 1961, Antoine Gizenga (1925–   ) chose Kisangani as the seat of government for his separatist Republic of Congo state. The central government in Léopoldville (now KINSHASA), however, ended his attempted rebellion in 1967, forcing the city and surrounding region back into the greater Congolese state.

In 2000 the city was the site of fighting among the Uganda Patriotic Defense Forces, the RWANDA PATRIOTIC ARMY FRONT, and the Congolese Rally for Democracy
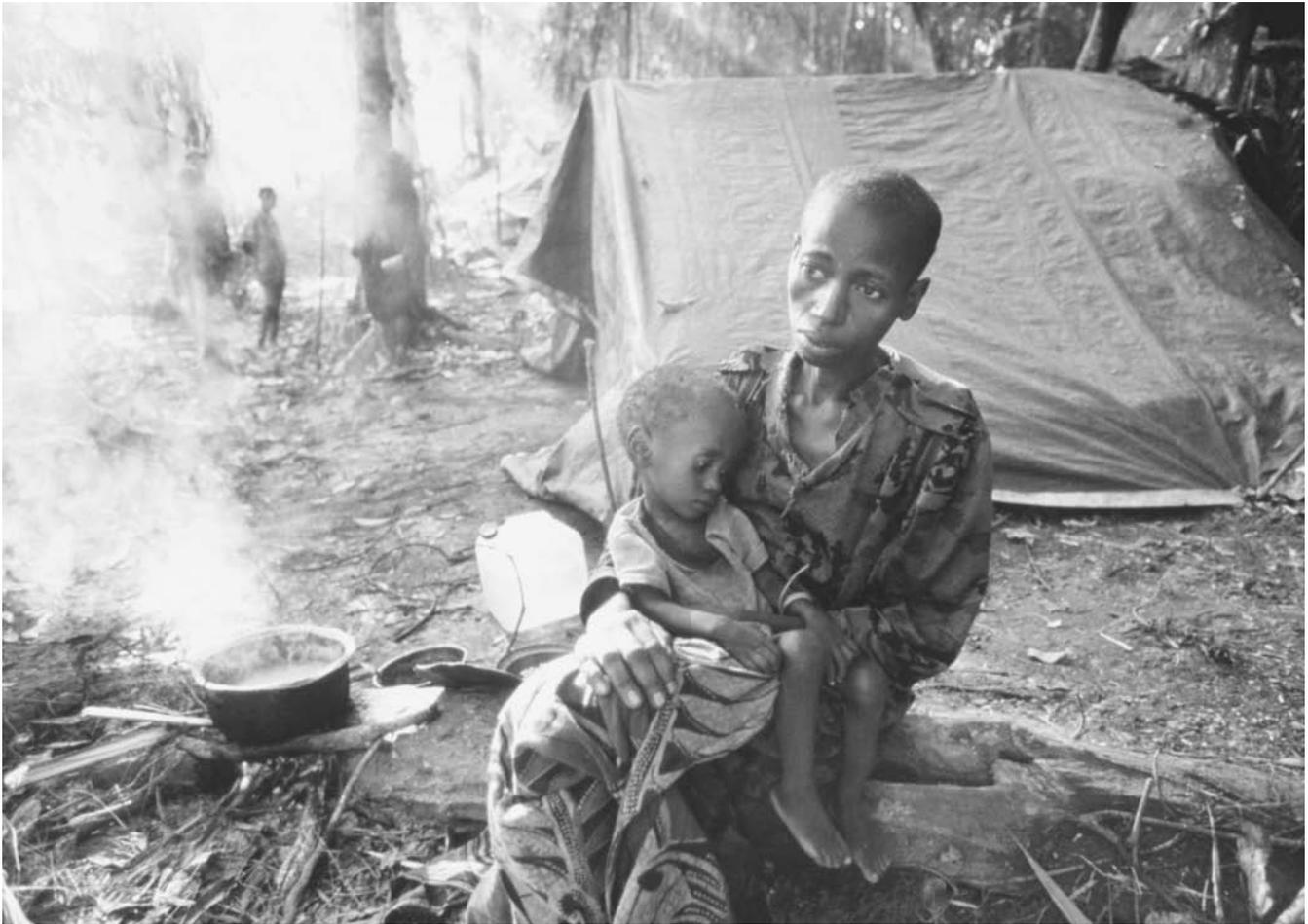
During the crisis in Rwanda in the 1990s, many refugees fled west into neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo. Along with 80,000 others, this woman and her child lived in extremely difficult conditions in a camp in Kisangani. © *United Nations*

(RCD). By 2003 the RCD had gained control of the city. At the beginning of the 21st century, the city was home to an estimated 846,000 inhabitants.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); CONGO RIVER (Vol. I); STANLEY, HENRY MORTON (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Konaré, Alpha Oumar (1946–   ) *President of Mali from 1992 to 2002*

Born in Kayes, MALI, Konaré received his EDUCATION at the École Normale Superieure in BAMAKO. He then went on to earn a doctorate in archaeology from University of Varsovie, in Poland, completing his studies in 1975. Back home in Mali he was an active member of several international organizations, including the United Nations Economic, Social, and Cultural Organization. In 1978 Konaré was appointed Mali's minister of youth, sports, arts, and culture. He served only two years in this position, however, before resigning in protest of the corrupt regime of Moussa TRAORÉ (1936–   ).

In 1986 Konaré helped create the National Democratic and Popular Front, which participated in covert opposition activities against Traoré's military dictatorship. To further his political agenda, several years later, he also began publishing *Les Echos,* an independent weekly newspaper. In 1991 military leader Amadou Toumani TOURÉ (1948–   ) led the effort to depose Traoré and then called for a new multiparty political system in Mali. Konaré co-founded the Alliance for Democracy in Mali and then led the party to victory in the 1992 elections, winning nearly 70 percent of the vote. As Mali's president Konaré promoted the DEMOCRATIZATION process and proved to be a popular leader. He was reelected in 1997 but the new Malian constitution barred Konaré from seeking a third term. In 2002 the office passed to the duly elected Amadou Toumani Touré.

See also: POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V).

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Kourouma, Ahmadou (1927–   ) *Novelist from Ivory Coast*

Born in IVORY COAST in 1927, Ahmadou Kourouma attended secondary school in BAMAKO, MALI. After being expelled for leading a student strike he joined the Tirailleurs Senegalais, the colonial army of French West Africa, in 1945. While stationed in Ivory Coast, he refused to participate in suppressing a mutiny. As a result the army transferred him to French Indo-China (1951–54), where a bitter war was raging. He became a broadcaster for the French military radio network. After leaving the army he studied accounting in Lyon, France, graduating in 1959. He then returned to the Ivory Coast and worked as a banker and accountant. In the early 1960s his outspoken criticism of the country's president, Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993), forced him to go into exile in ALGERIA. He did not return until after Houhphouët-Boigny's death. Kourouma spent the 1970s working in CAMEROON as the head of the African Insurance School in YAOUNDÉ. In the 1980s he became the head of the Reinsurance Company of the Franc Zone.

Kourouma's career as a novelist began in the 1960s when he began to write about the post-independence political events of West Africa. He had a difficult time finding a publisher for his first novel, *Les Soleils des independences* (Suns of independence), in part because of the way he wrote, in an Africanized French. This, along with his openly critical analysis of Ivory Coast's neo-colonial politics and society, caused French publishers in 1964 to reject his manuscript. It was only in 1968 that he found a publisher in Montreal, Canada. The book won international critical acclaim and sold 100,000 copies, leading to its publication in France in 1970. His other novels include *Monnè, outrages et défis* (1990), *En attendat le vote des bêtes sauvages* (Waiting on the vote of the savages, 1998), which was based on his observation of tyranny in TOGO, and *Allah n'est pas obligé* (*God is Not Obliged*; 2000). Although not numerous, Kourouma's works have established him as one of contemporary Africa's most significant writers.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Kufuor, John Agyekum (1938–   ) *President of Ghana since 2001*

A member of the Ashanti royal family, Kufuor was born in KUMASI, the traditional Ashanti capital in present-day GHANA (called *Gold Coast Colony* at the time). There he attended Prempeh College before studying law at Lincoln's Inn, in London. In 1961 Kufuor was admitted to the bar and then attended the University of Oxford, earning a master's degree in economics, philosophy, and political science.

In 1967, after returning to Ghana, Kufuor became chief legal officer and town clerk for his hometown of Kumasi. Elected in 1969 to serve as a member of parliament, he was also appointed deputy foreign minister by Kofi BUSIA (1913–1978) that same year. Busia's government was overthrown, however, in 1972, and Kufuor left government to try his hand in the business world. Kufuor returned to politics in 1979, helping to draft a new constitution. Following this he was once again elected to Ghana's parliament. In 1981 a military officer named Jerry RAWLINGS (1947–   ) led a COUP D'ETAT, again changing Ghana's government. This time Kufuor remained in public service, becoming Rawlings's secretary for local government in January 1982. Kufuor, however, never found a common ground with Rawlings and his authoritative regime and resigned from his position seven months later.

For the next decade Kufuor worked mostly in the private sector. In the early 1990s, as Ghana moved towards a more democratic political system, Kufuor helped found the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in opposition to Rawlings's government. In 1996 Kufuor was the NPP's presidential candidate but lost to Rawlings. He ran again in 2000, this time winning the presidency with a platform that called for economic reform and an improved educational system.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); GHANA (Vols. III, IV); GOLD COAST COLONY (Vol. IV).

Kumasi (Coomassie)

Large market city and capital of the former Ashanti Empire, located in the dense forests of central GHANA. Kumasi, as the Ashanti capital city, grew into a major commercial center in the 17th century. Later, toward the end of the 19th century, it became part of the British Gold Coast colony. Good TRANSPORTATION facilities built by the British linked Kumasi to coastal ports, and the city's economic activities centered around the production and exportation of cocoa.

Today, Kumasi is one of the largest urban centers in Ghana, with a population that was estimated at 630,000, in 2002. It boasts one of the largest markets in all of western Africa. Principal traditional products sold at the market include woven *kente* cloth, wood carvings, and bronze castings. The city is still a center for cocoa production and has a substantial food processing industry, as well.

Kumasi's old British fort, built in 1897, is now the home of the Ghana Regiment Museum. The city also hosts the University of Science and Technology, founded in 1951, and has several other educational and research institutes, as well as numerous parks and an airport.

The Ashanti political and cultural legacy continues to this day. In 1999 Barima Kwaku Dua (1950–   ), a popular member of the Ashanti royal line, became the sixteenth *asantehene*, or Ashanti king. He took the title Otumfuo Osei Tutu II.

See also: ASHANTI (Vol. II); ASHANTI EMPIRE (Vols. III, IV); COCOA (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GOLD COAST (Vols. III, IV); KUMASI (Vols. III, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V), URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

Kuomboka Ceremony Spectacular African cultural ceremony practiced for centuries by the Lozi ethnic group in ZAMBIA. The ceremony is an annual event in the country's Western Province. Usually taking place in late March or early April, the Kuomboka Ceremony marks the movement of the Lozi *lutunga,* or king, from his summer capital of Lealui to his winter capital in Limulunga.

Kuomboka literally means "to get out of water" and refers to the annual flooding of the Zambezi River that necessitates the *lutunga's* migration. The flooding turns the farmlands of the Barotse plains into a huge lake, forcing the people to move to higher ground. For years the Lozi ethnic group has turned this annual exodus into a huge ceremonial procession that includes small boats and dugout canoes led by the massive royal barge of the *lutunga.* The royal barge is named the Nalikwanda, which means "for the people," and is painted in huge white and black stripes that signify spirituality and black people. The Nalikwanda transports the *lutunga,* his attendants, and royal musicians. It is powered by the rowing of more than 100 people, who all wear traditional outfits. The queen's barge and a flotilla of smaller canoes follow the Nalikwanda.

The journey from Lealui to Limulunga takes about six hours. Throughout the trip the royal musicians play Lozi xylophones, called *salimbas*, and three huge royal war drums, called *maoma* drums. The drums are more than 3 feet (1 m) wide and are believed to be at least 170 years old. The music calls on the people to follow their king to higher, drier land. A huge celebration lasting at least three days follows the end of the *lutunga's* journey to Limulunga. The return trip marking the end of the floods, usually in July or August, is less celebrated.

The Kuomboka ceremony has become a national event that includes the participation of the country's president as well as foreign dignitaries. It is the continuation of a long-standing cultural ceremony, but lacks the political importance of the past, when the Lozi were an independent state. Still, it continues to have an important cultural meaning and has become a major tourist attraction.

See also: LOZI (Vols. III, IV); TOURISM (Vol. V).

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Laayoune (El Aaiun) Former colonial capital of Spanish Sahara (present-day WESTERN SAHARA). Now the political center of the disputed territory, Laayoune is located in the northern part of the region, on the Atlantic coast.

The Spanish laid claim to the region that is now Western Sahara in 1884. Laayoune was established as the administrative headquarters for the colony, which was officially granted to Spain during the Berlin Conference of 1884–85. In 1963 the discovery of massive phosphate deposits in nearby Boukra led to the construction of a conveyor belt to transport the phosphate to a pier 18 miles (29 km) southwest of Laayoune proper. Phosphate has since become Laayoune's primary export. The city also has a significant fishing industry.

In the early 1970s the indigenous SAHARAWI people, who had clashed with the Spanish for much of the 20th century, organized the POLISARIO, a resistance group that launched a guerrilla campaign aimed at securing independence. By 1976 Spanish troops had withdrawn from Laayoune, and MOROCCO claimed control of the city and the northern half of the former Spanish territory. The Polisario continued to fight, now against the Moroccans, and established a government-in-exile for the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, which has since been recognized by seventy countries.

During the fighting much of Laayoune's population fled to refugee camps in ALGERIA. A cease-fire was signed in 1991, but a UN referendum on the status of Western Sahara was repeatedly postponed, and Morocco made clear its intent to maintain its claims to the region. As of 2003 Laayoune remained a city in limbo. Due to the contentious status of Laayoune and difficulties with gathering legitimate census numbers, Laayoune's population is not well established, though 2003 estimates indicate roughly 300,000 people inhabit the city.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

labor Africa entered the era of political independence with labor systems that were vastly changed from what had existed prior to colonial rule. The process of diversification of labor that began during the colonial period accelerated greatly after 1960. The increasingly rapid URBANIZATION of much of the continent contributed significantly to the diversification of labor, as did the continued growth in using MONEY AND CURRENCY for economic transactions. While AGRICULTURE continued to occupy much of Africa's labor force, the MINING industry as well as the government also were major employers.

It is difficult to generalize about labor practices for Africa as a whole, since regional differences are important. For example, there are major contrasts between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. North Africa is the most urbanized region of the continent, with an average of 54 percent of the population living in urban areas. In LIBYA the figure is about 86 percent of the population, while in EGYPT the figure is about 45 percent. (However, Egypt's relatively low urbanization rate belies the fact that CAIRO, the Egyptian capital, is the largest city in all of Africa). The country with the next-highest urban percentage is GABON, a small, lightly populated country in west-central Africa where the development of rich OIL deposits has resulted in large-scale rural-to-urban migra-

tion. Africa's most *industrialized* country is SOUTH AFRICA, but 50 percent of its population still lives in rural areas.

Another major difference between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa involves gender relations. North Africa, due to the influence of Islam, has a far smaller percentage of women workers. Only 8 percent of the women there were economically active in 1970, but that number rose to 21 percent by 1990. On the other hand, a little less than 40 percent of sub-Saharan African women were economically active in 1970, a figure that barely changed by 1990. The republics of BENIN and BURUNDI, MOZAMBIQUE, and TANZANIA have the highest percentage of women in the overall economically active population (47 percent). Libya, with 10 percent, has the continent's lowest representation of women in the overall labor pool. In neither North Africa nor sub-Saharan Africa, however, does involvement in the economically active population take into account women's domestic labor. The 1990 statistics also show a major disparity in terms of children under age 15 in the work force. In North Africa only 4 percent of girls and 7 percent of boys age 10–14 were economically active, but in sub-Saharan Africa 21 percent of the girls and 33 percent of the boys were active.

Gauging gender dimensions by economic sector also brings out regional differences. Sub-Saharan African women overwhelmingly work in agriculture, as do men, but by a larger percentage (75 percent to 61 percent) than in North Africa. In North Africa a large percentage of economically active women—46 percent—are in the service sector, as are 40 percent of the men. Also, across all main professional groups, sub-Saharan African women participated more fully than did those in North Africa. The greatest disparity was in the sales industry, where women made up 52 percent of the labor force in sub-Saharan Africa but only 10 percent in North Africa.

Such a distribution of labor suggests not only how labor is utilized in Africa, but also provides insights into the economic DEVELOPMENT of the various countries. As noted, the agricultural sector is the largest employer in sub-Saharan Africa but much less so in North Africa. Only Egypt, with its large rural population, has a major concentration of labor in the agricultural sector, 42 percent of the male labor force and 8 percent of the female force. Much of Egyptian agriculture is oriented toward providing foodstuffs for the urban markets as well as producing cotton for export. Much of sub-Saharan African agriculture, on the other hand, is aimed at producing FOOD CROPS for domestic consumption. This is especially true for Sahelian countries such as NIGER (92 percent of the women and 84 percent of the men) and BURKINA FASO (85 percent of both men and women) as well as Burundi (98 percent of women and 87 percent of men) and RWANDA, with similar percentages. Countries producing a significant amount of CASH CROPS often have a smaller percentage of their labor force in agriculture than do sub-

sistence-oriented economies. GHANA, for example, has 50 percent of its female labor and 55 percent of its male labor in agriculture, while the respective figures for the IVORY COAST are 62 percent and 50 percent. Countries in which large numbers of men participate in migrant labor reflect this in the high gender imbalance in the agricultural labor force. Leading examples of this phenomenon are Mozambique, with 97 percent of the women but only 68 percent of the men, and MALAWI (women, 92 percent, and men, 63 percent).

On the whole Africa is the least industrial of the six inhabited continents, but there are pockets of industrialization. South Africa is the leader in this respect, with 48 percent of its male labor and 17 percent of its female labor working in the industrial sector as of 1994. Also, many of the 40 percent of the male workers and of the 70 percent of the women workers in the service sector were in areas supportive of the industrial sector. These figures have changed somewhat over the past decade, with perhaps the biggest change being a jump in the unemployment rate from 31 percent to 40 percent over this time span. Many of the formally unemployed, however, survive through work in the informal economy. They hawk goods and foodstuffs, work at odd jobs, and also engage in activities that are extra-legal.

Egypt also has a well-developed industrial sector (20 percent the female labor and 25 percent of the male labor) and service sector (71 percent of the female and 33 percent of the male labor) in its economy. Considering that Egypt's population is nearly 70 million and that its economy is second only to that of South Africa, it is clear that the health of the country's industrial and service sectors is crucial to millions of people. As in South Africa, TOURISM constitutes a growing component of the services sector. MAURITIUS is the country that is most rapidly developing its service sector by emphasizing information and communications technology. By 1999 nearly 61 percent of the total labor force of Mauritius was working in this sector.

The type of work that Africans do thus varies greatly depending upon whether they are rural or urban, in which part of the continent they live, the state of the economy in the countries in which they live, and whether they are men or women. Labor patterns in Africa have steadily evolved as the economies of the continent change, but they also can be greatly disrupted by events such as CIVIL WARS, natural disasters, and world economic factors.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GENDER IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); LABOR (Vols. I, IV); WOMEN IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

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labor unions (trade unions)   Organizations that bring together workers in the interest of improving wages, working conditions, and benefits. A labor union's concerns can draw members into the political arena in order to secure or force government support for the issues they deem beneficial to them.

African labor unions were strong supporters of African nationalism and the INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS that ended colonial rule in Africa. Labor leaders often became political leaders and, in a few instances, presidents of a newly independent country. Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) of GUINEA was a prime example of this. In general, the alliance between labor unions and the nationalist political parties in the struggle for independence did not survive long after the struggle achieved its goals. As with other potential rivals to their newly found political power, African heads of state often tried to co-opt or silence the labor movement. Indeed, Touré acted in this manner, all the while claiming to be establishing a people's democracy based on the principals of African Socialism. One-party states became the norm for much of Africa, a development that was reinforced when one COUP D'ÉTAT after another installed military officers in the presidential palaces of newly independent African countries. In SOUTH AFRICA the APARTHEID government worked diligently to prevent the emergence of any labor movement in its black LABOR force, though white workers were free to unionize and had considerable political influence.

The political realm was not the only challenge to labor unions in the postcolonial era. As Africa increasingly faced an economic crisis in the 1970s, the economic base for successful trade unions also eroded. INDUSTRIALIZATION had been slow to take hold in most countries, despite the efforts of leaders such as Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) of GHANA, who had sought to develop an industrial base for his country with such projects as the massive AKOSOMBO DAM. A strong industrial base was important for the emergence of labor unions. Mineworkers were an important source of union membership, but in countries such as ZAMBIA the decline of the copper MINING industry reduced the power of unions. Also, as growing URBANIZATION outpaced job creation, large armies of the unemployed were available to break any strike by unionized workers. This significantly undercut their ability to wield the strike as a weapon in their efforts to improve their situation.

Somewhat surprisingly, given the repressive and harsh reality of life under apartheid, it was in South Africa that the labor movement had unprecedented success. African trade unions, although not illegal, lacked the legal right to engage in collective bargaining or to strike, and where they did exist they were under great pressure from government authorities. In 1973, however, a wave of strikes that the government found itself unable to suppress broke out in the heavily industrialized port city of DURBAN. The strikes essentially led to a rebirth of the union movement. Under labor leaders such as Cyril RAMAPHOSA (1952–   ), the movement became increasingly energized, eventually leading to the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1985. COSATU in turn was a major force within the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, the organization that was leading the internal political opposition to apartheid. After the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) and other political parties were no longer banned, in 1990 COSATU entered into an electoral alliance with the ANC and the Communist Party to win the elections. The labor movement has been sufficiently strong in South Africa to continue as a viable force in the country's government. More recently labor unions have also challenged the government policies of Thabo MBEKI (1942–   ). In 1999, for example, 1 million workers staged a massive one-day strike to protest his plans to institute changes that could potentially send South African jobs abroad.

The same forces of DEMOCRATIZATION that have been at work in South Africa over the past 15 years have also strengthened labor unions elsewhere on the continent. Economic issues often crystallized the situation and led to increased labor-union activities. For example, in 1994 the purchasing power of workers was struck a heavy blow when the CFA—the contemporary currency of the former French colonies—was devalued by 50 percent. Unions in a number of West African countries waged a series of strikes seeking wage increases that would counter the CFA's diminished value. In Zambia Frederick CHILUBA (1943–   ), a former shop steward and the head of the 300,000-member Zambian Congress of Trades Unions, won 75 percent of the vote in the 1991 presidential elections. He then privatized Zambia's copper mines to help revive the moribund mining industry and improve the fortunes of the mineworkers. In neighboring ZIMBABWE the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, under the leadership of Morgan TSVANGIRAI (1952–   ), has been at the core of the electoral challenges to the long rule of Robert MUGABE (1924–   ). This political challenge has come at a great cost, however, with the government charging Tsvangirai with plotting to murder Mugabe.

Labor unions have survived through difficult times in much of Africa since the early 1960s. Though they remain weak in many parts of the continent, there is a persistence to their existence and their struggle to better the lives of their members and, in many instances, society in general.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); LABOR UNIONS (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Gay W. Seidman, *Manufacturing Militance: Work-*

In South Africa the Nationalist government resorted to lethal violence to suppress the protests of black laborers. When labor-related violence did break out, headlines like the one shown in this 1973 photo served to galvanize the black labor movements. © UPI

ers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa, 1970–1985 (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994).

Ladysmith Black Mambazo   South African vocal group. Ladysmith Black Mambazo was founded by Joseph Shabalala (1940–) and named in tribute to the group's hometown of Ladysmith, KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA. Black Mambazo literally means "Black Axe." Shabalala, the group's founder, lead vocalist, and chief songwriter, is the unquestioned leader. Usually having about 10 members at any time, the group is made up of Shabalala's brothers, cousins, and family friends.

Ladysmith Black Mambazo first achieved success in South Africa in the early 1970s, but it was in the mid-1980s when they gained international prominence. The group benefited greatly from their involvement in American musician Paul Simon's (1941–) *Graceland* album, in 1986, and the subsequent tour, allowing the group to perform to great acclaim all over the world.

Their first album released in the United States, entitled *Shaka Zulu,* won the Grammy award for Best Traditional Folk Album of 1987.

Ladysmith Black Mambazo has become synonymous with the ZULU male a capella choral music known as *isicathamiya*. This style evolved among Zulu mine workers who participated in singing competitions for leisure. *Isicathamiya* means "to step on one's toes lightly," probably referring to the nimble dance steps that the miners choreographed so as not to bother sleeping security guards.

Since then, Ladysmith Black Mambazo has been nominated for six additional Grammy awards. The group has recorded and toured with many of the world's leading

musical artists and has performed for numerous state functions both in South Africa and abroad. Their distinctive harmonizing has appeared on the soundtracks of numerous full-length motion pictures, including *Coming To America*; *Cry, The Beloved Country*; *A Dry White Season*; *Moonwalker*; and *Let's Do It A Capella.* Appearances on *Sesame Street* and commercials for Heinz, Lifesavers, 7-UP, and IBM have further enhanced the group's stature. Since the mid-1980s Ladysmith Black Mambazo has increasingly integrated Western popular and gospel music into its distinctive Zulu style.

Lagos Major port city and former capital of NIGERIA, located on the Bight of Benin, a series of lagoons and islands in the Atlantic Ocean. By the latter half of the 19th century Lagos was West Africa's leading port. Part of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria of the early 20th century, in 1914 it was named the capital. When Nigeria achieved independence in 1960, Lagos became the federal capital.

In the decade prior to independence Nigeria's economy had begun to turn away from the cash-crop production that the British had promoted. In its place OIL production became the country's crucial industry. As one of Nigeria's leading centers of petroleum processing, Lagos grew tremendously during the oil boom of the early 1970s, eventually boasting a population of nearly 1 million. The growth outpaced the expansion of the city's INFRASTRUCTURE and services, however, and Lagos became cramped, its atmosphere polluted by industry. Movement through the city became a major problem, with traffic often at a standstill on the bridges that connected the four main islands on which the 115-square-mile (300 sq km) city rests. By 1975 the problem had become so severe that officials decided to move the capital to ABUJA, in central Nigeria. Although the seat of government officially moved to Abuja, in 1991, many government offices still operated out of Lagos.

In 1981 a worldwide recession and a drop in oil prices greatly affected the Lagos economy, forcing officials to make cuts in social services. Nevertheless, a constant inflow of migrants from other parts of Nigeria and western Africa arrived at the city, resulting in a diverse urban population. Lagos's island topography restricted its expansion, resulting in high population densities (in 1995, the population was estimated at 1,480,000), which put an extra burden on the city's resources. Urban renewal projects are currently underway to improve the inadequate WATER, sewage, electricity, and health-care services. Lagos is projected to be one of the world's five largest cities by the early part of the 21st century.

Lagos still has a strong industrial sector centered on food processing, metal products, automobile and radio assembly, textiles, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, paint, soap, and fishing. It also hosts the Nigerian National Museum (founded in 1957) and the University of Lagos (1962).

See also: BIGHT OF BENIN (Vol. III); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); LAGOS (Vols. III, IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Margaret Peil, *Lagos: The City is the People* (London: Belhaven, 1991).

La Guma, Alex (Justin Alexander La Guma)
(1925–1985) *South African novelist*

Born to a Cape Coloured family, La Guma spent his youth in the inner urban area of CAPE TOWN known as District Six. He received both a high school and technical college EDUCATION and then worked in clerical and factory jobs. He also married, in 1954, and had two sons. In 1947, following in the footsteps of his political activist father, La Guma joined the Young Communist League. The following year, he officially joined the Communist Party, marking the beginning of his political activities.

La Guma's father, James (Jimmy) La Guma (1894–1961), was a Cape Town activist and a member of the Communist Party until it was banned in 1950. He was deeply involved in many ANTI-APARTHEID and labor organizations, such as the National Liberation League and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union. Like his son, he was also imprisoned for heading a strike, in this case among garment workers in the Cape region.

La Guma joined the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), in 1955, and the South African Coloured People's Organization (SACPO), which he helped lead through the 1950s and 1960s. In connection with these memberships, La Guma participated, in 1956, in the Congress of the People, which led to the Freedom Charter, a statement of rights for Africans in SOUTH AFRICA. His participation subsequently led to his being named a defendant in the infamous Treason Trial, which began that same year. In all, 156 defendants were tried, and though the trial lasted five years, ultimately there were no convictions.

La Guma began work as a journalist for the activist newspaper, *New Age,* in 1955. The following year he also began his career in fiction, publishing a short story in the magazine *Fighting Talk,* which continued to be a forum for La Guma as his activism intensified.

In 1961, however, one year after the SHARPEVILLE massacre and the imposition of the ban on the ANC, La Guma was arrested for his involvement in organizing a strike and

was sentenced, without trial, to five years under house arrest. During that time La Guma wrote a number of short stories and the novel *And a Threefold Cord* (1964). After the end of his sentence La Guma went into exile in England, where he published *The Stone Country* (1966) and *In the Fog of the Season's End* (1972), which is generally considered his finest work. Incorporating autobiographical elements, La Guma's novels expose the brutality and hopelessness of apartheid-era South Africa and feature characters struggling to gain their basic human rights.

The butcherbird feeds on ticks that in turn feast on the blood of livestock such as cattle. Because it removes the ticks, which often carry disease, the butcherbird is seen as a sign of good luck and health. La Guma's *The Time of the Butcherbird* concerns a racist landowner who is eventually killed by an African, an act symbolized by the butcherbird killing the tick, removing the cause of South Africa's apartheid disease.

In 1979 La Guma moved to Cuba and published his final novel, *Time of the Butcherbird.* He served as the ANC's official representative to Cuba until his death, in 1985, a decade before the fall of apartheid.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); FREEDOM CHARTER (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); *NEW AGE* (Vol. IV); NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV); NEWSPAPERS AND PRINT MEDIA (Vol. V).

land use   In Africa, land use has often engendered conflict over the small percentage of land that is suitable for farming. At 11.44 million square miles (29.62 million sq km), the African continent accounts for 20 percent of the world's land surface. With some 18 land-cover types, it is also highly diverse. Yet competing human needs and changing political norms present a dramatic challenge to establishing sustainable land use patterns.

African Land   Given a population of approximately 820 million, it would seem that 11.44 million square miles would leave ample territory to suit all human and ecological needs. Compared to the United States, where 270 million people live on only 3.5 million square miles, population density in Africa is similar. Yet this masks the fundamental diversity of African land area and its ecological and political challenges.

Two-thirds of the continent is classified as desert, a highly challenging, inhospitable environment for humans. Dense, humid FORESTS cover much of central Africa as well as the island-nation of MADAGASCAR, but—while the biomass that accumulates on the forest floor is integral to the incredible levels of African BIODIVERSITY—tropical soils do not lend themselves to sustainable agricultural practices. Approximately 21 percent of the African continent can be used for farming—this on a continent where about 61 percent of the population engages in agricultural activity. Limited infrastructure and the unavailability of irrigation, fertilizer, pesticides, and technologies all ensure that family farms remain small and that competition for land rights associated with the 2.4 million arable square miles (6.21 million sq km) remains fierce.

Agricultural Use   Where AGRICULTURE is a large part of daily life and the largest economic sector, it invariably is closely linked to DEVELOPMENT. The WORLD BANK has estimated that for every 1 percent increase in agricultural production there is a 1.5 percent increase in economic growth due to the rise of associated industries and sectors.

As a result, in the 1980s and 1990s many African nations focused on dedicating increasing amounts of agricultural land to nine primary commodities: bananas, cocoa, coffee, cotton, groundnuts (peanuts), rubber, sugar, tea, and tobacco. While some countries benefited from such a strategy, major problems have resulted from this policy. First, global agricultural markets are notoriously volatile, with many of these key products undergoing rapid, unforeseeable decreases in value. Second, it is often difficult to move from agricultural production to increased production in other sectors. Since crops are generally low-cost goods with low profit margins, it is unwise to view agriculture as a panacea for economic development ills. Third, the impact of agriculture on ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE can be tremendous.

Land Quality Degradation   Because of the wide range of land types, the quality of the land in Africa is extremely varied. Higher-quality land suffers from overexploitation, and many areas of lower-quality land have been forced into the service of food production. Increased population, inappropriate policies and management practices, and climate change all contribute to degrading the land. This degradation can be hyrdrological, chemical, physical, or biological.

Where there is hydrological degradation, WATER supplies are insufficient or become unusable because of high levels of dissolved salts or minerals. Chemical degradation is most commonly caused by irrigation runoff. Most critical in the short term, however, is physical degradation leading to soil loss. Where forests are cleared for agricultural purposes, soils erode rapidly. Compounding the problem is the tendency of tropical soils to hold their primary nutrients in the biomass closer to the surface, meaning that valuable nutrients are depleted quickly as the first layers of soil runoff. What is left of the former forest floor is marginal land with slow regenerative capacities and little agricultural potential. Further, the biodiver-

sity of the land decreases, as do the ecological functions that biodiversity provides.

Perhaps even more troubling than land degradation caused by agriculture in Africa is land degradation caused by livestock grazing. Indeed, grazing accounts for nearly half of all land loss in Africa. In total about 66 percent of Africa's land area has been either moderately or significantly degraded already. Some regions, such as southeast NIGERIA, have felt the impact of this more than others.

Land degradation necessarily reduces the amount of land available for agriculture. This, in turn, significantly affects a country's ability to feed itself. Land quality is thus closely linked to food security. For instance, in Turkana District, northern KENYA, overgrazing, agricultural practices, and climate change all have contributed to land degradation. As a result, livestock mortality has increased, and food security, income, and economic assets have decreased. In years of drought and famine, the region has required as much as 600,000 tons of food aid to forestall mass starvation. Kenya's neighbor ETHIOPIA has faced even greater challenges, with persistent food shortages leaving up to 50 percent of the population undernourished. As a result of this food security debacle, land-conservation policy is as closely tied to politics as it is to land-tenure policy, or the conditions under which land is held.

Land-Tenure Policies Although rooted in the colonial era, Africa's land tenure dilemmas have been perpetuated by the unsuccessful practices of modern governments. At the turn of the century, French and British authorities set "vacant land" policies as a way of acquiring land for the state, and land thus became a tool to control the masses. As land rights became based on race, African lands were viewed as collective and European lands were viewed as private. In addition there was poor documenting of, or accounting for, indigenous land-tenure systems.

In many cases both the techniques used to cultivate the land as well as the crops grown were adapted to satisfy European tastes. In the 1920s and 1930s there was further "re-imagining" of land tenure, with colonial governments criticizing what they perceived as inefficient traditional farming methods, leading them to take more control of agricultural management

At independence many new African elites inherited the existing land-tenure and agricultural management policies and adopted them for their own gain. European private-land holdings became commercial farms for emerging African business classes while the majority poor remained on "communal" lands (if there were no state-recognized land-tenure systems). How these lands were appropriated was often closely linked to the ideological goals of the new leadership, touching off firestorms of divisive land struggles throughout the continent just as African economies faced their greatest challenges.

Privatization vs. Public Land It was in this context that the World Bank began encouraging land privatization and the reassessment of land-tenure systems in the 1980s and 1990s. The challenge was to do something about so-called collective lands while recognizing "traditional" land claims. This meant that local land users had to "modernize" their land claims. In practice, many failed to do so, and well-placed domestic elites were able to grab lands and increase their holdings. Thus, while this process of privatizing lands may have been introduced with the best of intentions, in practice it has disproportionately benefited the rich at the expense of the poor.

Perhaps no more contentious case of this inequality exists than in ZIMBABWE, where land policies have been closely tied to the ability of president Robert MUGABE (1924–) to hold onto office. His state patronage system has benefited only commercial farmers and those of the land-holding classes who align themselves with his government. Further complicating the crisis is the fact that the Lancaster Agreement, which established Zimbabwe's independence from Great Britain in 1980, did not address adequately the role of white farmers of British descent still living in the country. Hence, land productivity in Zimbabwe decreased markedly between 1980 and 1995.

Land conflicts such as those found in Zimbabwe are increasingly common in Africa, even if the causes vary. They can be demographic, ecological, economic, or social. Specifically, population increases, environmental degradation, slow economic growth, continued dependence on small-scale farms, land scarcity, and social inequalities all contribute to the rise in land-use conflicts.

Further exacerbating these tensions are global environmental policies geared toward increasing the amount of state lands dedicated to NATIONAL PARKS and protected areas. Although conservation-driven land plans affect a relatively small percentage of the total land area (currently about 7 percent of the continent), local communities often see them as extensions of colonial policies that marginalize existing community-based land rights. The challenge in the coming years will be to find ways of decreasing these tensions while integrating local and national land-tenure policies in an equitable fashion. MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA, UGANDA, and other countries have tried to confront this situation in recent years through land acts and associated legislation.

Land Use Reform There have been increasing efforts to rectify land use inefficiencies and improve land quality and productivity in Africa. Between the years 2000 and 2002, for example, the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification has helped 24 African countries adopt national action plans to manage soils, reduce land degradation, fight desert encroachment, and improve land governance. Other international organizations, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the Consultative Group on International Agriculture Research have joined with

African governments to try to improve land use while ameliorating the effects of less-than-ideal land-use and tenure policies.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. V).

Further reading: Kathleen M. Baker, *Indigenous Land Management in West Africa: An Environmental Balancing Act* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2000).

language usage in modern Africa As a rule, Africans are multilingual, speaking a maternal language as a first language and one or more other languages for specific purposes in society. Today there are more than 2,000 African languages spoken on the continent, plus the European languages that are holdovers from the colonial era.

During the colonial period European language and governmental systems supplanted or limited those of the indigenous Africans. As a result European languages, the language of the colonizers, became the official languages of most modern-day African countries. North Africa was an exception, however. Arabic, with its long tradition of LITERACY and its intimate association with Islam, persisted through the colonial period to become the official language at independence. Even in the north, however, fluency in European languages was widespread. In EGYPT, for example, English was—and still is—widely spoken.

As the colonies approached independence, they wrestled with the question of a national identity associated with the formation of a nation-state. Central to this question is the concept of a national language. Two issues emerged in the choice of an official language. The language needed to be politically neutral, and it needed to be one that could help the new nation participate in global commerce. Each new country needed to choose one language for its official language. Given that almost every African country featured numerous languages, often spoken by competing ethnic groups, many of the former colonies chose the European colonizers' language as a "neutral" official language. This was one way to reduce the potential for ethnic conflict that could emerge by offending any one group as a result of giving preference to a single indigenous language within the country.

While there are 410 languages in NIGERIA, for example, there are three regional lingua francae, or languages used for inter-group communication. These include IGBO, HAUSA, and YORUBA, as well as the official language, English. For Nigeria to have selected any of the three linguae francae as official languages could have had disastrous results in a country already plagued by divisive issues of ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY. In fact, even without a debate regarding Nigeria's official language, the country descended into a brutal civil war (1966–70) because of long-standing ethnic differences.

If a nation chose an African language as its national language, it would limit its interaction within the global community. One example of this limitation is South Africa's appointment of a monolingual, AFRIKAANS-speaking ambassador to the United States, in 1948. He required an interpreter to communicate in the English-speaking milieu of the United States.

Today many Africans speak an indigenous African language as a first language, a local lingua franca as a second language, and a European tongue as a third language. Kenyans, for example, speak an indigenous tongue, the national language, Kiswahili, and the official language, English.

Because children learn faster and more easily in their first language(s), primary school instruction is conducted in the maternal language or, in some instances, a lingua franca. Secondary schools and schools of higher EDUCATION almost universally utilize European languages for purposes of instruction. Even in Egypt, technical subjects such as the engineering sciences are taught in English at the university level. Outside North Africa the official business of the government and the economy are generally conducted using European languages.

A language problem occurs when students are unable for one reason or another to complete their education, e.g., failure of the exit exam or passing the exam but unable to pay for books and uniforms. Because they have not been able to compete in the secondary classroom in the European language, these "school leavers," as they are called, may be unable to compete for higher paying jobs in the economy due to a language barrier. Many of those students living in rural settings have not completed their education, precluding them from participating in political or economic discourses. Language deficiency creates a two-tiered system in competition between the rural and urban areas and within the urban areas among those competing for jobs in the formal economy. In this and other ways, then, patterns of language acquisition and usage are central to many of the challenges that Africans face today, including problems related to DEVELOPMENT, POVERTY, and education.

See also: LANGUAGE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LANGUAGES, MAJOR (Vol. I); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Ali and Alamin M. Mazrui, *The Power of Babel: Language & Governance in the African Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Zaline Makini Roy-Campbell, *Empowerment through Language: The African Experience—Tanzania and Beyond* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2001).

law and justice Legal systems in Africa are generally made up of some combination of statutory law, customary law, court decisions, and common law. The legislature or

the executive branch of government writes *statutory law*. *Customary laws* are based on patterns of social behavior and customs developed over time. They are commonly ethnic or local in root. *Court decisions* interpret laws and guide their application. And *common law* is based on the British system of laws in which tradition, custom, and precedent are used to shape statutes or codes.

Perhaps the greatest challenge facing governments is finding a way to bring together these different systems of law. This is especially important in countries going through DEMOCRATIZATION or constitutional transitions. For them, new statutory or common laws at the state level must work hand-in-hand with customary laws that can vary dramatically from region to region. And this must be done while supporting courts that can effectively interpret and uphold the various laws.

In SOUTH AFRICA, for example, the legal code is based on a combination of Roman-Dutch and common law. It has been used to codify both the separation of powers and the participation of the public in a way that might ensure the growth of their young democracy. However, the constitution guarantees that customary law will be followed where it exists, as long as it does not go against the Bill of Rights. In fact, the state courts are obliged to recognize traditional leadership and apply customary laws.

While South Africa has one of Africa's more successful legal designs, there are still challenges. First, courts are fairly strong but cannot change policy. Second, the courts are sometimes reluctant to challenge the executive arm of the government, especially in a case that involves the poor or politically marginal. This is a sign that there is a weakness in the rule of law compared to the strength of executive leaders. Third, there is an ongoing question about the strength of customary law. For instance, land rights generally fall under customary law, but they are not always consistent with land registration related to common law. As a result the question of who holds rights to the land often becomes as issue. Recently this situation has arisen with increasing frequency when governments claim common law rights over property set aside for conservation and the "public good." Their claims often conflict with individuals or groups who already claim customary rights to the land for agricultural or other purposes.

An example of one of the greatest challenges in integrating types of law can be seen presently in NIGERIA. There, the constitution guarantees that customary law is honored by states. This customary law, however, is often the system of Islamic law called SHARIA, which sometimes contradicts other legal elements that are central to Nigerian democracy. Overcoming this deep-rooted divide in types of law will be crucial to promoting DEVELOPMENT and the success of the government in reflecting the will of the people.

See also: LAW AND JUSTICE (Vols. I, II, III, IV); SHARIA (Vol. II).

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Leakey, Mary (1913–1996) *Archaeologist, anthropologist, and paleontologist*

Born in 1913 and raised in England, Italy, and France, Mary Douglas Nicol Leakey was excited by prehistory even as a child. This sense of excitement remained with her throughout her life. As she was to write in her 1984 autobiography, *Disclosing the Past,* throughout her career she had been "impelled by curiosity." In 1933 she married the well-known paleoarchaeologist Louis Leakey (1903–1972), thus launching what was to become a formidable archaeological team that was to be responsible for some of the most important discoveries about early hominids. Her son, Richard LEAKEY (1944–), and his wife Maeve Leakey (1942–) continue the Leakey paleontological tradition of research on human origins, as does their daughter, Louise Leakey (1972–).

Mary Leakey and her husband Louis early on became known for their work at Olduvai Gorge in northern TANZANIA, where, in 1959, she discovered the famous 1.75-million-year-old *Zinjanthropus* skull. Then, in 1960, she came across an even older hominid, *Homo habilis,* who was perhaps the first to make stone tools. The late 1960s found Mary increasingly on her own, continuing to work after her husband's death in 1972. She now began to receive full recognition for the enormously important work she was undertaking. In the mid-1970s she began excavation at Laetoli, located some 30 miles to the south of Olduvai Gorge. The hominid materials she began to uncover dated from as early as 2.4 million years ago and were thus far older than the remains found at Olduvai. The most important discovery of all was of a parallel set of hominid footprints that proved to be 3.6 million years old and was the earliest evidence of bipedalism (walking upright). As with so many such discoveries, the prints were found serendipitously, when Paul Abell, a visitor to the site, came across the prints. Leakey thought that the creatures that left these footprints belonged to the genus *Homo,* but Donald Johanson (1943–) and other prominent scientists argued for a different genus, *Australopithecus.* The debate over who left these footprints is illustrative of the difficulties of interpreting the scientific evidence related to the early hominids.

During the 1980s Mary Leakey continued her excavations, but her most important discoveries were behind her. She received honorary doctorates from some of the

world's leading universities, including Chicago, Oxford, and Yale, as well as other major honors. Even a blood clot that led to blindness in her left eye did not seem to slow her down. She continued writing and directing excavations until close to her death in 1996. She was one of the 20th century's leading scholars on human origins.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); AUSTRALOPITHECUS (Vol. I); HOMO ERECTUS (Vol. I); HOMO HABILIS (Vol. I); LEAKEY, MARY (Vol. IV); LEAKEYS, THE (Vol. I); OLDUVAI GORGE (Vol. I); ZINJANTHROPUS (Vol. I).

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Leakey, Richard (1944–) *Kenyan paleoanthropologist and politician*

The son of famous paleoanthropologists Mary LEAKEY (1913–1996) and Louis Leakey (1903–1972), Richard Leakey was born on December 19, in NAIROBI, KENYA. As a child, Richard frequently joined his parents on their anthropological digs. He had little interest, however, in following in their footsteps and dropped out of high school to become a safari guide. But he soon grew bored with the work, and when he found a lower jawbone of an *Australopithecus* in 1963, Leakey decided that anthropology was indeed his calling.

In 1967 Leakey, while on an expedition in southern ETHIOPIA, noticed a stretch of land that looked like a potential excavation site. The site was later named Koobi Fora, and over the next decade it offered up a large number of fossils—more than 400, representing approximately 200 individuals. In terms of human fossils, Koobi Fora is the richest excavation site in history.

Leakey's interpretations of the fossils were controversial. He theorized that, about 3 million years ago, at least three kinds of humanlike species coexisted with each other. Leakey's findings pushed him to the forefront of the anthropological field, and his status only increased as his theory was supported by further finds at Koobi Fora, including a reconstructed *Homo habilis* skull named "1470," after its initial identification number.

In 1968 Leakey was appointed to direct the National Museum of Kenya, a position he held for 20 years. During the 1970s and 1980s Leakey continued his fossil hunting. In 1984 his team made a monumental discovery—an almost complete skeleton of a *Homo erectus* boy catalogued as "WT 15000," nicknamed "Turkana Boy."

Leakey's involvement in paleoanthropology diminished in the late 1980s, as he turned his efforts towards conservation. In 1989 he became director of the Wildlife Conservation and Management Department, which later became Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS). As director, Leakey worked to reduce CORRUPTION within the department and developed programs to eliminate elephant and rhinoceros poaching. During this time he angered a number of politicians, many of whom wanted to use KWS land for commercial purposes. In 1993 a plane Leakey was flying malfunctioned and crashed. Leakey lost both of his legs below the knee, necessitating his use of prosthetics to walk. After recovering, in 1994 Leakey resigned from the KWS, citing differences with Kenyan president Daniel arap MOI (1924–). That same year Leakey formed Safini, an opposition political party named after the Swahili word for Noah's ark.

Richard's wife, Maeve (1942–), and his daughter, Louise (1972–), have continued the Leakey family tradition of making important discoveries about human origins. Working in the Lake Turkana region of western Kenya in the late 1990s, they came across a hominid skull they named *Kenyanthropus platyops* (flat-faced Kenya man). Some 3.5 million years old, *K. platyops* represents a new genus that was possibly a direct ancestor of modern humans.

In 1997 Leakey won election to Kenya's Parliament. He is a staunch proponent of democratic reforms and racial unity, and some believe that he may become Kenya's first white president. However, the recent 2002 election of Mwai KIBAKI (1931–) as president may have diminished this possibility.

See also: ANTHROPOLOGY AND AFRICA (Vols. I, II, II, IV, V); ARCHAEOLOGY IN AFRICA (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); AUSTRALOPITHECUS (Vol. I); DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); HOMO ERECTUS (Vol. I); HOMO HABILIS (Vol. I); HOMO SAPIENS (Vol. I); KENYA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); LEAKEY, LOUIS (Vol. IV); LEAKEYS, THE (Vol. I).

Lenshina, Alice (Mulenga Mubisha) (1924–1978) *Bemba prophetess from Zambia (former Northern Rhodesia)*

In the mid-1950s Alice Mulenga Mubisha split from the Presbyterian Church in Lubwa, Northern Rhodesia (present day ZAMBIA), following a quarrel with church MISSIONARIES. She subsequently founded the Lumpa Church, and took the name *Lenshina,* meaning "queen."

Based on her supposed mystical visions, Lenshina's Lumpa Church attracted many followers and, indeed, by the late 1950s, it had emerged as a powerful religious and political force among the rural population. Her organization essentially rejected all earthly authority, whether it

be in the form of the colonial administration of Northern Rhodesia, the village chiefs, or, after 1964, the newly independent Zambian government.

When Zambia became independent, in 1964, the new UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP) government saw the Lumpa Church as a challenge to its authority, since Lenshina had ordered her followers to burn UNIP membership cards, issuing them church membership cards instead. A cycle of retribution and violence ensued, with UNIP members burning the homes of church members and destroying buildings belonging to the Lumpa Church. Church members responded by attacking and killing several UNIP members, causing the government to intervene with force. Subsequent clashes resulted in the deaths of about 700 of Lenshina's followers. Lenshina, for her part, was arrested, and her church was banned. Released in 1975, Lenshina defied the ban by holding church services. She was arrested again, in 1977, and restricted to the LUSAKA area, where she died in 1978.

See also: BEMBA (Vol. III); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LENSHINA, ALICE (Vol. IV); LUMPA CHURCH (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vols. IV, V); RELIGION (Vols. IV, V); WITCHCRAFT (Vol. I).

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Lesotho Impoverished, mountainous country, 11,700 square miles (30,300 sq km) in area, that is wholly surrounded by SOUTH AFRICA.

Lesotho at Independence Lesotho, formerly known as Basutoland, was a British High Commission Territory from 1884 to 1966. It achieved its independence on October 4, 1966, when it officially became the Kingdom of Lesotho, a constitutional monarchy complete with a Senate and a National Assembly. Arguably, its existence as an independent nation is improbable, given its small size and geographical constraints, since the country is landlocked and extremely mountainous, with more than 80 percent of its surface area at more than 1 mile (1.6 km) above sea level. It possesses little arable land or other NATURAL RESOURCES. Its 2002 population was about 2,208,000. The capital, MASERU, is located on the border with SOUTH AFRICA, which surrounds Lesotho, and has historically dominated it economically, culturally, and politically.

British colonial rule in Basutoland had allowed for Sotho chieftains to maintain a significant amount of power, and independent Lesotho's political system evolved around the issue of chieftain power. By the time of independence three prominent political parties had formed:

the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), the Basutoland National Party (BNP), and the Marema-Tlou Freedom Party. The 1965 pre-independence elections brought the BNP to power, with Mshweshwe II (1938–1996) as king and BNP leader Chief Joseph Leabua JONATHAN (1914–1987) as prime minister.

The first post-independence elections did not go as smoothly, however. The BCP won the majority, but Jonathan immediately moved to retain his power, suspending the constitution, arresting opposition members and sending Mshweshwe into exile. Though the BCP resisted and attempted a COUP D'ÉTAT in 1974, Jonathan remained in control of the country.

During this period Lesotho struggled to remain free of South Africa's APARTHEID influences while at the same time being economically dependent on the much larger country. Lesotho's resistance to apartheid raised its profile internationally but brought it into conflict with South Africa. Attempting to undermine the Sotho government, South Africa supported the BCP and other opposition groups, including the Lesotho Liberation Army. In 1982, based on claims that Lesotho was harboring guerrilla fighters of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, South African troops attacked Maseru, killing about 40 Sotho citizens. Tensions heightened until South Africa blockaded its border with Lesotho in 1986, isolating the country and placing it in an economic stranglehold.

The blockade had its desired results, as a pro–South African military faction overthrew Jonathan that same year. The blockade was lifted, and relations between the countries improved. Economic conditions in Lesotho continued to decline, however, due to a drop in the MINING of GOLD and a general recession in South Africa.

In 1990 King Mshweshwe II, who had returned to the throne following the 1986 coup, was once again ousted as a result of political intrigue. His son, Mohato (1963–   ), became King Letsie III, and the following year the military regime gave way. In 1993 elections were held that finally brought the BCP to power.

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King Letsie III abdicated in January 1995 when his father returned to Lesotho and was restored to the throne. Mshweshwe II was killed in an automobile accident in January 1996, however, and Letsie III again became king.

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Led by Ntsu Mokhehle, the BCP governed Lesotho through continued instability. After the fall of apartheid in South Africa, in the mid-1990s, Lesotho's economy actually declined further as foreign countries lifted sanc-

tions against South Africa. Unemployed and underpaid workers rioted and scared off any potential foreign investments.

In 1997 Mokhehle split from the BCP and formed the Lesotho Congress of Democrats (LCD), which won the elections held the following year. Pakalitha MOSISILI (1945–) became prime minister amid claims of voter fraud. Demonstrations ensued, and the government was forced to appeal to the SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY for military support from South Africa and BOTSWANA. Order was restored after extensive destruction in and around Maseru. The LCD was forced to allow for the formation of an interim government that included opposition party involvement.

See also: BASOTHO (Vol. III); BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); LESOTHO (Vol. IV); SOTHO (Vol. III).

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Lessing, Doris (1919–) *British novelist*

After the failure of her marriage to communist-activist Gottfried Lessing, Doris Lessing left her home in Salisbury (present-day HARARE) in Southern Rhodesia (now ZIMBABWE) and traveled to London with the couple's son. There she published her first novel, *The Grass is Singing* (1950). Lessing then produced a string of novels, short story collections, and poetry that used autobiographical material to depict the racial rivalries existing in southern Africa. Her vocal anticolonialism and criticism of the racist regimes in southern Africa led to her being declared a "prohibited alien" and effectively exiled by the Rhodesian government of Ian SMITH (1919–).

Disenchanted with the Communist ideals she had found appealing while living in Africa, Lessing turned to the radical psychological theories of R. D. Laing (1927–1989). These ideas played a major role in her groundbreaking novel, *The Golden Notebook* (1962), which uses multiple narratives to chronicle the character Anna Wulf's fragmentary experience. Wulf's struggles resonated with many women and firmly established Lessing as a feminist figure.

In 1965 Lessing published *African Stories,* a collection of new and previously published works that captures the immense scope of the African landscape, as well as Lessing's intense feelings against the white-settler society in her native land. In 1980, after years of white political dominance, Rhodesia became the independent nation of Zimbabwe, and Lessing was finally allowed to return to her former home. She visited there regularly over the next decade, chronicling her impressions in *African Laughter: Four Visits to Zimbabwe* (1992). The book approaches Zimbabwe through an outsider's perspective, yet one with an intimate knowledge of what the

country once was and what it had to overcome. Covering every aspect from ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE and political CORRUPTION to the impact of AIDS, *African Laughter* thoroughly examines the young nation still seeking to establish itself after its long struggle for independence. It also portrays Lessing's increasing disillusionment with the status of Zimbabwe's DEVELOPMENT as an independent nation.

In 1964 Lessing discovered Sufism, the ancient, mystical religion tied to Islam. Sufis maintain that Sufism contains the central tenets of all religions, and Lessing readily embraced Sufism's universal scope. Lessing's interest in Sufism led to her anomalous science-fiction series, *Canopus in Argos: Archives* (1979–83), which tells the history of humanity from the perspectives of extraterrestrial beings. Lessing's critics have marked her foray into science fiction as the reason why she has not yet won the Nobel Prize.

With books such as the critically acclaimed first volume of her autobiography, *Under My Skin* (1994), Lessing further cemented her position as one of southern Africa's, and the world's, exceptional writers and social commentators. Recently a harsh critic of Zimbabwe president Robert MUGABE's (1924–) oppressive regime, in 2001, Lessing received the Prince of Asturias Prize in literature, one of Spain's most prestigious awards, for her literary defense of freedom and her activism.

See also: LESSING, DORIS (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); SUFISM (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Liberia Country located on the Atlantic coast of West Africa, some 38,300 square miles (99,200 sq km) in size, bordered by SIERRA LEONE, IVORY COAST, and the Republic of GUINEA. Elected in 1944, William TUBMAN (1895–1971) remained president of Liberia for nearly 30 years. Throughout his presidency Tubman continued his national policy of establishing unity between the minority population of Americo-Liberians and the indigenous population. He also encouraged international investment. Serving for seven consecutive terms, Tubman supported the United Nations, and the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, and sided with the United States during the Cold War. He also supported INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS in other African nations. Within Liberia, however, Tubman censored the press and used clandestine operations to spy on his political rivals, impeding the development of a

truly democratic state. Two months after his reelection in 1971 Tubman died and was succeeded by his vice president, William R. TOLBERT (1913–1980). The last president of what is known as Liberia's First Republic, Tolbert emulated many of Tubman's policies, but he failed to reinvigorate a tepid economy. Tolbert, a rice importer by trade, was suspected of price manipulation when the cost of Liberia's staple food increased by 50 percent. As a result there were massive riots.

In April 1980 Master Sergeant Samuel DOE (c. 1952–1990), from the Krahn ethnic group, led a military COUP D'ÉTAT. After executing Tolbert and his top leaders, Doe and the People's Redemption Council suspended the constitution and took over the leadership of the country. Doe promised a return to civilian rule and invited the input of respected Liberians, such as civic leader Amos Sawyer (1945–   ), to lend legitimacy to the creation of a new constitution.

The elections of 1985 were based on the provisions of the new constitution, which included at least two points subverted by Doe's candidacy. First, a candidate had to be at least 35 years old, so Doe had his birth certificate altered. Second, the candidate could not be a member of the military, but Doe maintained his rank until he was sure of an electoral victory.

Amid accusations of ballot-box fraud and voter intimidation Doe won the 1985 elections, initiating Liberia's Second Republic. Soon after, General Thomas Quiwonkpa, a Gio from Nimba County, initiated a failed coup attempt. Consequently Doe became paranoid about future coups. He placed members of his Krahn ethnic group into positions of power, attacked the Gio and related Mano ethnic groups, and intimidated the press and political opposition.

At the time Liberia's economy was rapidly deteriorating, but the Doe administration's CORRUPTION and HUMAN RIGHTS abuses forced Liberia's major benefactor, the United States, to suspend aid to the country. Doe's deputy minister of commerce, Charles TAYLOR (1948–   ), exemplified the extensive government corruption, funneling millions of dollars in government funds into his own bank accounts. Taylor's impropriety resulted in his arrest and imprisonment in the United States, where he had fled from Liberia to avoid embezzlement charges. Taylor escaped from prison in the United States, however, and returned to Liberia. There, he organized the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), a rebel group made up of anti-Doe sympathizers and partially supported by Libya's Muammar QADDAFI (1942–   ).

In 1989, from his base in the Ivory Coast, Taylor led the NPFL in an invasion of Liberia. A year later, troops from the armed wing of the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS) were sent to Liberia as a peacekeeping force. Doe was captured, tortured, and executed by a splinter group of Taylor's NPFL. This did not end the conflict, however. The civil war lasted from 1989 to 1996, with new, armed factions organizing to join the fighting. The warring sides engaged in massive violence, murdering thousands. More than a million Liberians fled the bloodshed, becoming REFUGEES in neighboring countries that could ill-afford to provide help for them. A multitude of broken cease-fire agreements, interim governments, and peace agreements constantly gave and banished hope for an end to the civil war. As the death toll mounted, many of Liberia's warlords put guns in the hands of children, initiating a new generation into Liberia's cycle of violence.

In 1995 ECOWAS helped negotiate the first of the ABUJA ACCORDS, which called for a cease-fire and set the date for multiparty elections. Violence erupted again in 1996, when the ruling council attempted to arrest a popular warlord, Roosevelt Johnson. Despite the renewed violence, elections were set for July 1997. Liberians voted for Taylor and his new political organization, the National Patriotic Party, hoping that it could put an end to the country's endless warfare,. The fighting continued, however, as the opposition parties coalesced into the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy. Although Liberia's economy and INFRASTRUCTURE were all but destroyed and Liberia was more than $2 billion in debt, Taylor still involved himself in the affairs of Liberia's neighbors. Toward the end of the century, Taylor and Liberia were accused of supporting rebels in Sierra Leone in return for diamonds. At the same time Taylor accused GHANA of supporting Liberian rebels.

In 2000 Liberia fired across Guinea's border into the towns of Macenta and Guekedougou. The next year violence again erupted between rebels and Taylor's troops. In 2003, amid pressure exerted by international governments and internal insurgents, a UN-brokered cease-fire was established and Taylor left Liberia for self-imposed exile. Upon Taylor's departure Gyude Bryant (1949–   ), of the Grebo ethnic group and a member of the Liberia Action Party, was chosen to head the Liberian transitional government. Bryant, who was given the offices of chief of state and head of government in October 2003, was to remain in interim control until presidential elections scheduled for 2005.

See also: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICA (Vol. V); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV, V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); LIBERIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV, V); UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AFRICA (Vol. IV, V).

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Libreville   Capital city and secondary port of GABON, located on the estuary where the Gabon River enters the Gulf of Guinea. The Mpongwe people had settled around the site of modern-day Libreville as early as the 16th century. Fang people also had settled in the area prior to the colonial era.

The modern history of Libreville dates from 1843, when the French established a mission at the site. In 1849 the town became a refuge for freed slaves and was named Libreville (French for "free town"). During the colonial era, it developed a French character somewhat along the lines of DAKAR and the three other towns that made up the Quatre Communes of SENEGAL. The town's wide boulevards and paved roads continue to reflect this French colonial heritage and stand in sharp contrast to the towns of Gabon's interior.

Libreville is the nation's seat of government as well as its educational and industrial center; it shares port activities with Port-Gentil, to the south. Industries include timber processing, textiles, fishing, food and palm oil processing, brewing, and shipbuilding.

Investments made in Libreville's industrial sector in the 1960s resulted in a doubling of the city's population, which, by 2003, stood at about 660,000.

The main EXPORTS of Libreville and the nearby deep-water port of Owendo, which was opened in 1964, include tropical wood products, cocoa, rubber, and palm products. OIL and manganese—Gabon holds 25 percent of the world's known manganese reserves—are also important exports. In 1974 the 400-mile (646-km) Trans-Gabonese Railway was completed, linking Owendo with the interior and thus increasing the city's level of economic activity.

See also: FANG (Vol. II); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MPONGWE (Vol. III); QUATRE COMMUNES (Vol. IV); SLAVE TRADE (Vols. III, IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Libya   North African country, some 680,000 square miles (1,761,200 sq km) in size, situated on the Mediterranean coast with a dry, desert interior. Libya is bordered by EGYPT, the Republic of the SUDAN, CHAD, NIGER, ALGERIA, and TUNISIA.

Libya at Independence   After receiving its independence in 1951, Libya was governed under a constitutional monarchy with a bicameral legislature and a prime minister. The United Nations (UN) appointed the conservative King Idris (1889–1983), the head of the Islamic Sanusiyya Brotherhood, as Libya's first leader. With nearly all his support coming from the Brotherhood itself, Idris generated little enthusiasm or loyalty from other Libyans, who saw him as a leader imposed by outsiders rather than chosen by them. Until OIL was discovered, in 1958, Libya was a poor country, dependent upon loans and handouts from the industrialized nations. oil revenues, initially at least, did nothing to change this, as the overwhelming majority of oil profits went to international corporations headquartered in foreign nations.

Qaddafi's Rise to Power and Pan-Arabism   In 1969 the political discontent in Libya manifested itself in a COUP D'ÉTAT led by small group of army officers under Captain Muammar QADDAFI (1942–   ). The monarch was then replaced by a 12-member Revo-lu-tionary Command Council (RCC), with Qaddafi as the prime minister. The new government soon expelled a great number of foreigners, including former Italian colonists and the British and American troops who had occupied military bases near TRIPOLI since World War II (1939–45).

Like many of its North African counterparts, Qaddafi's regime supported a domestic policy based on a loose concept of socialism, which led the state to reinvest oil profits in the nation's INFRASTRUCTURE, such as roads, schools, hospitals, agricultural programs, and housing. During the 1970s the regime eventually launched a social revolution that declared Libya to be a Jamahiriya—a state run by the masses—a concept Qaddafi had articulated in a work entitled *The Green Book*. The government dismantled the government imposed by the United Nations, replacing it with a socialist one that supposedly placed decision making in the hands of people's committees. This gave the appearance of broad-based communities of local people making governmental decisions that would be either ratified or vetoed by the national government. In practice, however, Libya remained a strict, military dictatorship.

The ensuing 1973 cultural revolution combined African socialism with Islamic principles. However, as the president of the RCC (which became the seat of dictatorial power), Qaddafi generated political discontent that resulted in several attempts to overthrow him. This, in turn, led to the assassinations of Libyan dissidents both at home and in their self-imposed exile in Europe.

Meanwhile, world economic events had their effect on Libya's domestic situation. Dependent, as it was, on oil revenues, Libya was particularly vulnerable to price fluctuations in the petroleum market. During the 1970s,

when the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUN- TRIES was firmly in control of oil prices, Libya's profits were able to pay for its internal and external programs. However, conservation measures taken by the industrial nations precipitated a drop in oil prices in the 1980s, thereby reducing profits and making the Libyan govern- ment susceptible to rising discontent over the economy.

In the 1970s Libya's foreign policy sought to foster a practical pan-Arabism and to wage war against Israel and its allies. Furthering the ideals of Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), Libya attempted to implement a pan-Arab state by joining with Egypt and Syria in the Federation of Arab Republics. The union fell apart, however, when Egypt sued for a separate peace with Israel, in 1978, and Libya and Syria alienated other Arab states by backing Iran in the Iran–Iraq War (1980–88). After this, Libya unsuccessfully attempted a union with Algeria and Tunisia, its neighbors to the west, and, following this fail- ure, it sought to create a Saharan Islamic state with its southern neighbors Chad and Sudan.

Similar to the way in which PAN-AFRICANISM seeks to unite black Africans across ethnic and geographic di- visions, Pan-Arabism encourages unity among vari- ous Arab groups in North Africa and the Middle East.

Unable to join with other states, in 1973 Libya in- vaded Chad and occupied the mineral-rich Aouzou Strip, on the Chadian side of a disputed, common border. (In 1994, however, Qaddafi was forced to end the occupation when an international court of justice rejected Libya's claim to the land.) Also in 1973, Libya supported the Arab side during the Arab-Israeli War, sending troops and materials to the conflict. It used its position in OPEC to advocate a reduction of oil sales and to raise oil prices to those countries that supported Israel.

On a more peaceful note, in 1989 Libya organized the Arab Maghreb Union, a North African common mar- ket. Made up of Algeria, Libya, MAURITANIA, MOROCCO, and Tunisia, this organization was crafted by Qaddafi to promote economic cooperation among its members.

Libya, Freedom Fighters, and Terrorism Since it came to power, the Qaddafi government has built a repu- tation as a staunch anti-Western, anti-imperialist regime, supporting liberation movements throughout the world. It reportedly has provided a safe haven, financial support, and military training for anti-imperialist or anti-Israeli groups that call themselves "freedom fighters" (and that the United States and its allies often label "terrorists").

Over the years, some 30 organizations—including Hamas, the Palestine Islamic Jihad, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command—sup- posedly have benefited from Libyan backing. Libya also is reputed to have provided financial support for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, and the Irish Republican Army in the United Kingdom.

In the early 1980s, as a perceived "terrorist threat" intensified, the U.S. government tried to intimidate Libya by having its Sixth Fleet conduct training maneuvers in the Gulf of Sidra, off of Libya's northern Mediterranean coast. In 1981 tensions escalated as the United States shot down Libyan jets that had engaged American aircraft over the gulf. A year later the United States applied further pressure by placing a ban on Libyan oil imports, a political move that shored up anti-American sentiment in Libya. The situation continued to deteriorate, and in 1986 U.S. President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) ordered a bombing of Libyan government and military installations in the coastal cities of Benghazi and TRIPOLI.

Following the bombing of Pan-Am Flight 103 in 1988, an investigation produced evidence of Libyan involvement in the affair. The Libyan government re- fused to turn over the suspects in the bombing for trial, a refusal that resulted in UN sanctions. In 1998 the Libyan government agreed that the men could be tried under Scottish law at the International Court of Justice at The Hague, in the Netherlands. The following year the men were detained at a UN- monitored jail in Scotland, and the United Nations then lifted its sanctions after Libya accepted respon- sibility, paid compensation, disclosed intelligence, and renounced TERRORISM. The suspects' trial, in 2001, led to the conviction of one defendant but not the other.

Since the beginning of the 21st century Libya, with Qaddafi still it's leader, has managed to improve relations with neighboring North African countries. Furthermore, in late 2003 Libya announced plans to abandon its chem- ical and nuclear weapons programs, an action that was welcomed by U.S. president George W. Bush (1946–   ) and British prime minister Tony Blair (1953–   ).

See also: ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vols. IV, V); ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. V); LIBYA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); MAGHREB (Vols. IV, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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St. John, *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1991).

Lilongwe Capital city of MALAWI, located on the Lilongwe River in the country's fertile central plains. Lilongwe was founded in 1947 as an agricultural commercial center. In 1965 President Hastings Kamuzu BANDA (c. 1898–1997) made the city a center for economic expansion for the central and northern regions of the country. Subse-quent development included the improvement and construction of TRANSPORTATION networks, including a new airport and a rail line linking the city with the eastern and western parts of Malawi. At the start of 1975 Lilongwe was designated the new federal capital, and a new section of the town was built 3 miles (5 km) from the old town. This new area now houses government offices and businesses, some of which moved from the former capital, Zomba.

Markets located in the old sector of town focus mainly on selling the region's groundnuts (peanuts) and tobacco. Visitors to the markets can also find a myriad of South Asian spice and textile shops.

The tobacco trade is an important part of Lilongwe's economy. A lively auction house moves approximately 15,000 bales every day. Lilongwe offers several well-maintained parks and a 370-acre (1.5 sq km) nature sanctuary containing numerous birds, mammals, and reptiles. The city's population was estimated at 500,000, in 2003.

See also: URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

literacy In general African people are literate in the European language that had been the colonial language for their country. After independence public schoolrooms became the point of dissemination for the official language and, hence, for the acquisition of literacy. However, because the newly independent governments were largely unable to adequately fund their EDUCATION programs, the process of inculcating students in the official language was slow and uneven.

Unencumbered by some of the agricultural chores required of their rural counterparts, urban students tend to have more educational opportunities to pursue literacy. Also, generally speaking, males are more likely than females to have access to education. Levels of literacy have remained low because education is often made too expensive by the cost of textbooks and school uniforms. Many students are denied an education because the community lacks the required INFRASTRUCTURE or has facilities only for primary schooling. In some African countries the uneven acquisition of literacy creates a two-tier society in which those who can read and write have great advantages over those who cannot.

For students in North Africa, Arabic is the language of instruction. Many students are functionally literate in Arabic early on, learning first at Quranic schools, then at the *madrasas,* or theological schools, and later at Islamic universities such as al-Azhar in EGYPT. In the MAGHRIB, students may also gain literacy in the languages of former colonizers—English, French, or Italian. For students in East and West Africa, an Arabic education is acquired much the same as it is in North Africa.

Public schools in East Africa may require literacy in Kiswahili and English, the two official languages in the region. In West Africa public schools require literacy in either French or English, depending on whether France or England was the former colonial power.

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Students who attend Quranic schools for strictly religious purposes often achieve what is called level-two literacy in the Arabic language. This means that they can read Arabic only after memorizing the text.

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Many West African ethnic groups choose either Arabic or Roman script to write their indigenous languages. Fulbe speakers in GUINEA, for example, write the Fulbe language using Arabic script.

In the 1960s the issue of maternal languages and literacy was discussed by leaders in the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. Guinea's Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) was one of the few who chose to institute a national language program. From 1968 until his death in 1884 the dominant regional languages were chosen as the languages of instruction. In Upper Guinea, for instance, elementary students were taught in Maninka, since that was the regional lingua franca. They also learned French, the official national language, since classes at the high school level were taught in French. Those students who did not move on to high school would be literate only in the indigenous language, thus limiting their ability to secure certain government or civil-service jobs.

In SOUTH AFRICA Dutch-based AFRIKAANS developed as an indigenous language, but by 1915 it had been standardized for academic and official use. From 1948 to 1990 the Afrikaner-dominated government promoted literacy in Afrikaans and English. Afrikaans was the first language of 60 percent of white South Africans and more than 90 percent of those categorized as "Coloured." It was also the second language of many black Africans. In the new, democratized South Africa, Afrikaans is merely one of the 11 national languages. The government now encourages literacy in English for use in international trade and global communication.

Widespread illiteracy at the end of the 1960s led the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to organize adult literacy classes like this one near Bamako, Mali. © United Nations

Many West Africans are literate in indigenous writing systems that were created specifically to express indigenous languages. For example, the Vai of Liberia and SIERRA LEONE use the Vai syllabary, which was invented in the 19th century for correspondence and record keeping. The Vai syllabary lists characters that represent syllables in the spoken language. Other groups in the region, including the Mende, Loma, Kpelle, and Bassa base their indigenous scripts on the Vai syllabary.

The N'ko alphabet was invented in 1949 by Souleyman KANTÉ (1922–1987), a Muslim scholar from KANKAN, Guinea. He standardized a blend of the four linguae francae used for trade—Bamana, Dyula, Maninka, and Mandenko—to create the N'ko alphabet. By doing this, Kanté made it possible for West Africa's various Mande-speaking people to communicate over long distances in writing. For instance, using the N'ko alphabet, a Soninke speaker in MAURITANIA who knows the Bamana language can communicate in writing with a Nigerian Busa speaker who knows the Dyula language. While they are unable to speak to one another in their first languages, they are able to communicate across great distances by using a lingua franca written in the N'ko alphabet.

See also: KISWAHILI (Vols. II, III, IV); LANGUAGE (Vol. IV); LITERACY (Vol. IV).

literature in modern Africa   As African nations emerged from colonial rule, many writers continued to explore the theme of the imposition of Western values on the African people first explored novelistically in *Things Fall Apart* (1958), by Chinua ACHEBE (1930–   ), of NIGERIA. They also adopted new themes related to the conflicts accompanying independence, including political problems and cultural conflicts over indigenous lifestyle and practices.

African authors after Achebe faced challenges unique to the African situation. Immediately after independence, questions arose about which language an African author should use to write literature. At the Makerere Conference in 1963 a group of authors including NGUGI WA THIONG'O (1938–   ) took a stand, saying

that literature should be written in indigenous languages and not in European, colonial languages, even if those languages were now the official languages of the country. Ngugi continued writing novels and plays but used his mother tongue, KIKUYU, to communicate his ideas to his countrymen, whom he considered his primary audience. Others, including Achebe, disagreed. These authors continued to write in the official, European language of their respective countries.

Some African writers focused on producing a body of literature acceptable to the mainstream literary community. Those who excelled at this received recognition from the Western literary establishment. African winners of the prestigious Nobel Prize in literature include Wole SOYINKA (1934–), in 1986, Naguib MAHFOUZ (1911–), in 1988, Nadine GORDIMER (1923–), in 1991, and J. M. COETZEE (1940–), in 2003.

For reasons of politics as well as economics, African authors have had to seek out publishing houses in Europe and North America in order to expose their work to large audiences. With the exception of French-language publishers such as the Centre de Literature Evangelique, in YAOUNDÉ, CAMEROON, and Nouvelles Editions Africaines du Senegal, in DAKAR, most African novels in French of the 1990s were published in France. Similarly, most African novels in English were published in the United Kingdom or in North America.

North African Literature Considered by many to be the greatest contemporary Egyptian novelist, Nagib Mahfouz was deeply concerned about European exploitation, focusing his work on the life of the urban poor. Westernization is also a theme in Tawfik al-Hakim's modern novel, *The Bird from the East.* In North Africa, the languages of the literature of the Maghrib—ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and MOROCCO—are Arabic and French.

West African Literature In West Africa, literature written in English developed more rapidly than literature in French. Nigerians led the literary way, with Achebe following up the success of *Things Fall Apart* with *No Longer at Ease* (1960) and *Arrow of God* (1964). Often, the themes of Nigerian literature tend toward the negative aspects of post-independence Nigerian society, including governmental CORRUPTION, civil war, and the frequent military coups d'état that have plagued the country. The Nigerian author and activist Ken SARO-WIWA (1941–1995) wrote essays about the damage caused by government-sponsored OIL refining in the NIGER DELTA. These essays contributed to the government's decision to repress Saro-Wiwa, who was ultimately executed for his activism.

In GHANA, Ayi Kwei ARMAH (1939–) is recognized for his novel *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born* (1968). Fellow Ghanaian Kofi AWOONOR (1935–) is widely praised for his poetry. Gambian poet and novelist Lenrie Peters (1932–) gained recognition for *Second Round* (1965), a novel that describes the homecoming of an African man after studying abroad. In SIERRA LEONE, the genre of choice is poetry rather than fiction, written on the same themes as those found in West African novels and drama.

Women writers emerged, expressing their own ideas in their own voices centering on themes important to that largely underrepresented segment of the community. For instance, Nigerian author Flora NWAPA (1931–1993), Africa's first woman novelist, wrote *Efuru* (1966), which described the life of precolonial, rural women as they coped with the "tyranny of tradition." Other Nigerian women writers such as Buchi EMECHETA (1944–), Ifeoma Okoye, and Zaynab Alkali (1950–) provided an authentic women's perspective on Nigerian society and its changes. Other prominent women writing in English include, from Ghana, Ama Ata AIDOO (1942–) who wrote among other things *Changes: A Love Story* (1993), and from SENEGAL, Mariama BÂ (1929–1981) who wrote the celebrated *So Long A Letter* (1981). Similar to authors writing in English, the authors writing in French continued to produce anticolonial novels. However, they also developed new themes centering on the use and abuse of power. In *Le bel immonde,* written in 1976, Valentine Y Mudimbe (1941–) described the imbalance of power and the general disappointment of unfulfilled high hopes for independence. French African literature in various sub-genres—such as mysteries, science fiction, and political fiction—have proliferated recently.

East African Literature In SOMALIA, the leading novelist, Nuruddin Farah (1945–), wrote a trilogy against military tyranny. Somali literature often portrays the realities of rural life without nostalgia or idealization. Many East African novelists from KENYA and TANZANIA chose the city and its relations to the Mau Mau guerrilla warfare of the 1950s as the setting for their exploration of the trials of contemporary life. Four novels in English by Ngugi wa Thiong'o focus on the doubts and dreams of his heroes. The condition of modern women in Kenya was depicted in such books as *Kenyan Women Heroes and their Mystical Power* (1984), by Rebeka Njau (1932–), and in novels such as *The Graduate* (1980), by Grace Ogot (1930–).

East African poets include Okot P'BITEK (1931–1982), who started the tradition of using blank verse in Ugandan song poetry. Shaaban Robert, from Tanzania, used disciplined rhymes to write poetry in Kiswahili based upon Islamic and African traditions. Fellow Tanzanian Euphrase Kezilahabi experimented with blank verse. Kenya's best known poet, Jared Angira (1947–) wrote affectingly about the self-delusions of political leaders in *Tides of Time: Selected Poems* (1996).

Literature in Southern Africa In SOUTH AFRICA, novelists including André BRINK (1935–), Nadine Gordimer (1923–), J. M. Coetzee (1940–), and Athol FUGARD (1932–), penned the literary deconstruction of the nationalist apartheid government. Because books criti-

cal of APARTHEID were banned in South Africa, they had to be published overseas. However, books like *A Walk in the Night* (1962), by Alex LA GUMA (1925–1985), and the poetry of Dennis Brutus (1924–) evaded the censors and brought the message home to the townships. Many authors writing in AFRIKAANS, the language of the ruling National Party, expressed their dissatisfaction with apartheid and the society created under Afrikaner rule. Among these writers, Étienne Leroux (1922–), Brink, and the poet Breyten Breytenbach (1939–) stand out. Afrikaans poets of note since the 1960s have been mostly women, such as Wilma Stockenström (1933–), Sheila Cussons (1922–), and Antjie Krog (1952–). Exiles such as the poets Dennis Brutus, Keoraptse Kgositsile, Mazisi Kunene (1930–), and Daniel P. Junene published from abroad and epitomized the literary aspects of the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT of the 1970s. These poets invoked a cultural revolution in literary magazines and through monographs published by small publishing houses run by whites. By the 1980s the literary movement became a political one, with writers such as J. M. Coetzee and Nadine Gordimer writing eloquently about the personal and social destruction caused by the apartheid system, even as it crumbled around them.

The most poignant aspect of the literature of independence is the lack of indigenous publishing to advance the works of African authors and critics. This seems a necessary step in challenging the misperceptions of the international literary world.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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Lomé Capital and chief port of TOGO, located in the southwestern corner of the country on the Gulf of Guinea, in West Africa. Within a few years of its founding in 1884, Lomé had become the administrative center of German Togoland. Germany developed much of the city's INFRASTRUCTURE, including a pier, which facilitated the export of raw materials and, later, CASH CROPS. In addition they built rail lines to link the town with other commercial centers in Togo, including Anecho, Palime, and Sokode, in the north.

Lomé came under Anglo-French control as a result of World War I (1914–18), and then French control from 1922 until 1960, at which time Togo gained its independence. After independence, in 1968, Lomé's port facilities were improved, leading to an increase in exports, which include cocoa, coffee, copra (dried coconut meat), cotton, and palm nuts. The port of Kpeme, near Lomé, became Togo's principal exporter of phosphates, which are shipped to Lomé by rail. Industries in the city include textile manufacturing and food processing. In 1978 a new OIL refinery began production.

In addition to serving as the administrative, commercial, and TRANSPORTATION center for the country, Lomé is the site of the University of Benin (founded in 1970) and has a 3,000-seat international conference hall. The conference hall was the site of the diplomatic meeting that resulted in the LOMÉ CONVENTION, an agreement signed in 1975 that outlined trade relations between developing countries and the nations of industrialized Europe.

Although the population of Lomé grew rapidly before the 1970s, an economic crisis in the 1980s resulted in stricter economic policies known as STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT policies. This, in turn, led to civil unrest and migration from the city to neighboring GHANA. In 2002 Lomé's population was estimated at 658,000.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); WORLD WAR I AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Lomé Convention Series of trade agreements aimed at increasing the economic support given by wealthy countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) to poorer countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific (sometimes called the ACP states). Signed February 28, 1975, in LOMÉ, TOGO, the Lomé Convention was intended to help stabilize earnings from African EXPORTS. To achieve this the Convention outlined a system of trade concessions, and financial, industrial, and technological aid. It was hoped that $3.6 billion spent over five years would improve the strained relations between developed countries and 46 former colonies that continued to suffer from the legacy of past exploitation.

The results of the original agreement hardly lived up to expectations. By the time the Convention was implemented, in 1976, there was already significant dissatisfaction with the distribution of aid for both national and regional projects. Efforts to improve cross-regional industrial cooperation were insignificant, and trade continued to be viewed by many recipient countries as a neocolonial tool that enabled Europe to extract valuable NATURAL RESOURCES inexpensively. In addition, disagreements erupted over the addition of other member states.

A second Lomé Convention was signed in November 1979, enlarging the number of ACP states to 58 and the terms of trade to $7.5 billion. A third Lomé Convention,

signed in December 1984, enlarged the group once again, this time to 66, and settled on a $6.3 billion package.

All along there had been disagreement over the amount of aid, but the greatest threat to the Lomé Convention was the fundamental nature of the agreement itself: it did not serve its primary function of founding contractual relationships between institutions of rich and poor countries. The developed EEC countries continued to be seen as the dominant partners of the Convention, while the gap between rich and poor countries grew.

A fourth Lomé Convention was signed in December 1989. At that time a proposed single European Union market was set to launch in three years, raising fears that it would be even more difficult for poor countries to find open markets to the north. Amid growing suspicion that Lomé—already in violation of shifting international trade law—was destined to fail. the Cotonou Agreement replaced the Lomé Convention, in June 2000. While Cotonou maintained many of Lomé's basic precepts, it shifted the open-market laws to bring the agreement in compliance with World Trade Organization regulations by 2007. The new Cotonou Agreement increased the focus on CIVIL SOCIETY rather than governments, and membership increased to 71.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V); EUROPE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. IV, V).

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Luanda Capital city and major port of ANGOLA, located on the Atlantic coast in the northern part of the country. Founded by the Portuguese in 1576, Luanda was a major center for the slave trade well into the 19th century. Its economic focus then switched to exporting CASH CROPS—coffee, cotton, palm oil, and other commodities, including copal (a resin used in making varnish), leather, and cassava flour.

During the 1950s the city's population grew as a result of massive economic expansion brought on by favorable international coffee prices and government incentives for industries. Luanda attracted a number of Portuguese immigrants, and vibrant African communities developed within city limits. Although many of the Portuguese settlers left Luanda when Angola declared independence, the city's population still increased as REFUGEES moved there to escape the civil war that broke out in the Angolan interior. Between 1975 and 2003 the population of Luanda quadrupled to 2,700,000.

In response to the war-induced collapse in the urban economy, an informal market sector flourished, providing income to many of Luanda's residents. Roque Santeiro, one of the largest markets in Africa, is located in the city. Today,

many buildings are being constructed as Luanda recovers slowly from the war. However, basic INFRASTRUCTURE and social services, designed for a Portuguese colonial city of 30,000, are inadequate for the current population.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); LUANDA (Vols. III, IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE (Vols. III, IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Lubumbashi (formerly Elisabethville) Capital and center of the MINING industry for the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, located near the border with ZAMBIA. With an advantageous location in the Copper-belt, the town of Elizabethville was founded by Belgian colonists as a mining camp in 1910. The town prospered after a transcontinental railroad was built, linking Elizabethville with the city of LUANDA, on the Atlantic coast, and with the port of Beira, MOZAMBIQUE, on the Indian Ocean. These ports, as well as river transport, conveyed the region's plentiful NATURAL RESOURCES to overseas markets. Elizabethville was said to be the "boomtown of the Congo" during the colonial period.

Immediately after the nation gained independence in 1960, the state of KATANGA declared itself an independent nation with Elizabethville as the capital. After a three-year civil war that eventually involved UN peacekeeping forces, Katanga agreed to rejoin the country. In 1966, in an attempt to purge the colonial legacy, the name of the capital was changed to Lubumbashi, after a local river.

Today the city is still the center of the mining activities for the region, prospering from the productive Copperbelt and processing zinc, cobalt, cadmium, germanium, tin, manganese, and coal as well. The government oversees a large portion of the processing, but some foreign mining companies also operate in Lubumbashi. The manufacturing of printed materials, flour, cigarettes, bricks, soap, textiles, metal products, and processed foods also contribute to the economy.

The city is also the site of the Lubumbashi campus of the University of Kinshasa (founded in 1955) and a museum, which holds a substantial collection of African ART. The population in 2003 was estimated at 1,206,000.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vols. IV); BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COPPER (Vols. I, II, IV); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); ELIZABETHVILLE (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Lumumba, Patrice (1925–1961) *First prime minister of independent Democratic Republic of the Congo*

Patrice Lumumba became prime minister of the Republic of the Congo (now the Democratic Republic of

the CONGO) as a result of the 1960 elections that set the stage for his country's independence from Belgium. He inherited a very unstable situation, however, for Belgium had planned for the decolonization process less than other colonial powers.

Furthermore, there existed no unity of purpose among the Congolese. Lumumba's own political party, the Congolese National Movement (Mouvement National Congolais, MNC), de-emphasized ethnicity and stood for a unified, centralized, and racially equal Congo. Many of the rival political parties, such the ABAKO party, under Joseph KASAVUBU (c. 1913–1969), and CONAKAT, headed by Moïse TSHOMBE (1919–1969), were ethnically based and stood for considerable provincial autonomy. Kasavubu was the country's president at independence.

During his Independence Day speech June 30, 1960, Lumumba recalled the brutality of the former Belgian rule, inflaming an already tense situation and, whether intitionally or not, causing widespread riots. In the following week the army mutinied against its white, Belgian officers, and many of the country's white population began to flee the country. The CONGO CRISIS had begun.

Next came the secession of the Katanga province, with its rich mineral resources. When Moïse Tshombe, the Katanga leader, invited the Belgian military to return, Lumumba responded by appealing to both the United Nations (UN) and the Soviet Union to send soldiers as well. Given the Cold War tensions of the time, this move alienated the United States, which backed the defense minister, Joseph Mobutu (soon to be MOBUTU SESE SEKO [1930–1997]), who then ousted both Lumumba and Kasavubu from their positions.

Lumumba retreated to his official residence in Léopoldville (now KINSHASA), where a standoff ensued between Mobutu's soldiers, who had placed him under house arrest, and UN troops, who were sent to protect him. Mobutu and Kasavubu then secretly agreed to an interim government that would exclude Lumumba. Fearing for his life, Lumumba fled but was seized by Mobutu's soldiers before he reached the safety of Stanleyville (today's KISANGANI). Mobutu had Lumumba flown to Elizabethville (modern LUBUMBASHI) and handed over to Tshombe's Katanga government. Within days, Lumumba was murdered under mysterious circumstances.

News of Lumumba's death became public days later, spurring international condemnation of the violence in Congo. He was a victim of the Cold War as much as of Congo's internal rivalry. The Soviet Union named a university in his honor, while the United States and its NATO allies denounced him as a Communist.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols IV, V); DECOLONIZATION (Vol. IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT (Vol. V); LUMUMBA, PATRICE (Vol. IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Luo (Kavirondo) Nilotic-speaking ethnic group located mostly along the shores of Lake VICTORIA in KENYA. Making up about 13 percent of the population, the Luo were influential in Kenyan politics in the years following independence.

Also known as the Kavirondo, the estimated 3 million Luo in Kenya form that country's third-largest ethnic group, after the KIKUYU and the Luhya. Traditionally, they sustained themselves through fishing and AGRICULTURE. In the early postcolonial era, the Luo were second only to the Kikuyu in terms of their contributions to the Kenyan political scene.

Members of the Luo group became high-ranking officials in the administration of Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), the first president of independent Kenya. Among them were Oginga ODINGA (1912–1994) and Tom MBOYA (1930–1969). Odinga and Mboya were cofounders of the KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION, the driving political force behind the Kenyan independence movement and the party that dominated Kenyan politics until 2002. Both Luo leaders, however, eventually came into conflict with Kenyatta. Mboya's assassination in 1969 led many Luo to suspect Kenyatta, a Kikuyu, of leading a campaign against their people. With the rise of Daniel arap MOI (1924–), a member of the minority Kalenjin people, to the presidency, the Luo became less prominent in the government. In 1982 a group of Luo military officers attempted unsuccessfully to oust Moi in a COUP D'ÉTAT.

The Luo contributed significantly to Kenya's popular culture with the introduction of *benga* MUSIC during the 1970s. With guitar and bass heavily influenced by the traditional Luo *nyatiti* harp and lyrics sung in Luod, *benga* became Kenya's national signature sound. The pioneering *benga* musician was D. O. Misiani, who sang in Luo accompanied by his band Shirati Jazz. The Victoria Kings, named because they came from the Lake Victoria region, were another of the pioneering groups.

See also: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); LUO (Vols. II, III, IV).

Lusaka Capital of ZAMBIA, located in the south of the country on a plateau that rises 4,200 feet (1,280 m)

above sea level. Founded in the 1890s by the British South Africa Company, Lusaka grew slowly as the capital of the British protectorate of Northern Rhodesia. However, after the town became the capital of the independent nation of ZAMBIA in 1964, the population grew rapidly, with people from around the countryside attracted by the temperate climate and the opportunities they believed the capital city would offer.

Although the town had been neglected during the colonial era, the Zambians who moved to the capital city began playing major roles in its DEVELOPMENT, buying property in previously segregated areas. The government, for its part, took over the formerly private schools and hospitals, enforcing racial integration. As the city developed, the middle-class residents migrated out to the suburbs, leaving the city center to poor and working-class Zambians. The city still displays distinct sectors, including the modern government center and the old downtown area.

Although Lusaka's economy still relies heavily on AGRICULTURE, other industries have developed, including food processing, and the manufacturing of textiles, electronics, shoes, and cement. Railroad links to Livingstone and the Copperbelt, to the west, and the city's location on major thoroughfares to TANZANIA and MALAWI, to the east, have encouraged economic diversification and POPULATION GROWTH. (By 1995 the population had grown to about 1,300,000.) In addition to being an economic, TRANSPORTATION, and population center, Lusaka, with its

numerous ART galleries and museums, also has become an excellent location for local artists to show their work.

Because of its centrality, Lusaka quickly became a "melting pot" of the country's ethnic groups. Similar to the situation in the Copperbelt, people from all over the country come to Lusaka and coexist. It is common to find children who speak various languages playing together and communicating easily in one or two languages. Chinyanja is widely spoken among the people in Lusaka, while English is the official language.

Politically, Lusaka has played a major role in regional and continental affairs. From the 1960s it served as a base for liberation movements from ZIMBABWE, SOUTH AFRICA, and NAMIBIA, and in the 1980s Lusaka began hosting major continental and international conferences.

See also: BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY (Vol. IV); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); LUSAKA (Vol. IV): NORTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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M

Maasai Ethnic group of southern KENYA and northern TANZANIA. The largely pastoralist Maasai, whose Maa language belongs to the Nilo-Saharan language family, number an estimated 500,000. Once among the most powerful and feared warrior peoples of East Africa, the Maasai had declined dramatically by the end of colonialism. Already devastated by disease and British colonial practices, the Maasai suffered further under the independent Kenyan government led by Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), who was an ethnic KIKUYU. Land redistribution and the creation of the Maasai Mara Game Reserve under Kenyatta led to extensive loss of land for the Maasai, who required large expanses to graze the cattle that are essential to their livelihood and culture.

Beginning in the 1980s, the Maasai received somewhat better treatment from Kenyan president Daniel arap MOI (1924–), a member of the linguistically related Kalenjin ethnic group. Many came to view the warrior-like Maasai as the muscle behind Moi in his power struggle with the Kikuyu people, a traditional Kalenjin rival.

Regardless of the country's leadership, the Maasai in both Kenya and Tanzania have been subject to repeated attempts to undermine their traditional ways of life. Their cattle-centered, pastoral culture has slowly failed in the face of imposed agricultural reforms and private land ownership. Long-held Maasai traditions—including female circumcision and other initiation rites—have been subject to intense criticism and repression from outsiders. The practice of sending young Maasai males, or *morans*, into the bush for the development of their warrior skills has also been threatened by various restrictions, including the outlawing of lion hunting, once an essential activity for *morans* to prove their manhood.

Today, the gradual loss of their traditional culture has forced the Maasai to move into other areas of economic DEVELOPMENT. One of the most easily recognized of African peoples, the Maasai play a large role in TOURISM. Facing greater and greater difficulty in maintaining their herds, some Maasai have also branched out into ostrich farming and beekeeping. Other Maasai have found work in the nature reserves that took over their ancestral lands. However, most Maasai continue to cling to traditional life in spite of the ongoing difficulties.

See also: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); MAASAI (Vols. I, II, III, IV); NATIONAL PARKS (Vol. V).

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Machel, Graça (1945–) *Mozambican nationalist*

The youngest of six children, Graça Simbine was born in a rural village in MOZAMBIQUE. Her father, a Methodist minister, died three weeks before her birth. Before he died, though, he made provisions to assure that his daughter would receive a high school EDUCATION—at the time, a rare commodity for someone living in rural Mozambique. After high school, in 1968, Graça Simbine earned a scholarship to attend Lisbon University, in Portugal. There she studied romance languages and associated with other students that were from Portuguese colonies in Africa, frequently engaging in anti-government discussions. The Portuguese secret police uncovered the group in 1972, and Simbine, fearful of a prison term if she returned to Mozambique, fled to Switzerland.

In 1973, while still in Europe, she joined the MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT (Frente de Libertação de Mozambique, FRELIMO), a nationalist movement that was on the verge of fulfilling its goal of Mozambican independence. Later in 1973 Simbine traveled to TANZANIA, Mozambique's neighbor to the north and staging ground for the FRELIMO offensive against the Portuguese. There she underwent military training, participated in insurgent activities, and met her future husband, Samora MACHEL (1933–1986). In 1974 Mozambique gained its independence, with Samora Machel as president.

While married to the president, Graça Machel saw her life change dramatically. Not only was she the first lady of Mozambique but she also cared for her husband's five children from a previous marriage. In addition, Graça Machel was named minister of education, an assignment she took on in earnest. During the following 12 years Graça Machel succeeded in decreasing Mozambique's staggering illiteracy rate. In 1986, however, Samora Machel died when his plane crashed in SOUTH AFRICA, near the Mozambican border. Devastated, Graça resigned her position as minister of education.

In 1990 Graça Machel reentered public service, helping to establish the Foundation for Community Development, an organization set up to improve local schools and health clinics. Later in the decade, she worked with the United Nations to begin the process of rehabilitating the numerous children affected by Mozambique's prolonged civil war. During this time she formed a close relationship with South Africa's president, Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ). In 1998, after years of courtship, the two married at Mandela's JOHANNESBURG home.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

Machel, Samora   (1933–1986) *First president of Mozambique*

The son of an indigenous farmer, Machel was born in the village of Chilembe, located in the Gaza Province of MOZAMBIQUE. He attended a Catholic mission school in the town of Souguene as a youth but left school in his late teens to become a nurse in the capital city of Lourenço Marques (now MAPUTO). While working as a nurse, Machel was disturbed by the poor treatment given to black patients. Spurred by this and other social inequalities resulting from colonialism, Machel joined the Nucleus of Mozambican Students, a nationalist political organization. His membership brought him to the attention of the Portuguese government's secret police, known as PIDE. Fearing arrest, Machel fled to DAR ES SALAAM, the capital of TANZANIA, where he encountered a burgeoning Mozambican nationalist movement.

In 1963 Machel joined the nationalist MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT (Frente de Libertacão de Mozambique, FRELIMO) and soon after went to ALGERIA for military training. Machel returned to Tanzania in 1964, taking charge of FRELIMO's nascent military training camp. In 1966 Machel became commander of FRELIMO's Defense Department. He quickly streamlined the department, allowing FRELIMO to offer services such as agricultural assistance and LITERACY classes.

During this time FRELIMO greatly increased its membership. However, this expansion led to an ideological split within the organization. Machel was loyal to a faction that supported the power of the common citizenry, opposing the FRELIMO faction that called for a leadership run by the educated elite. The two sides briefly fought over control of FRELIMO, with Machel and his faction emerging victorious.

In 1969 FRELIMO's president, Eduardo MONDLANE (1920–1969), was assassinated, and the following year Machel assumed the organization's presidency. Also in 1970 the Portuguese colonial government of Mozambique staged a military offensive against FRELIMO. During the next four years Machel led FRELIMO to a decisive victory over Portuguese forces. It was also during this time that he met his wife, Graça Simbine, who became known as Graça MACHEL (1945–   ).

In 1974 a military COUP D'ÉTAT in Portugal changed the dynamic of that country's presence in Africa. Later that year Machel signed the Lusaka Agreement, which paved the way for Mozambican independence under a FRELIMO-controlled government. This led to Mozambique's independence in 1975, with Machel as the first president. He instituted a one-party, Marxist government, nationalizing all Mozambican land and providing free EDUCATION and health care to all Mozambicans. Machel's efforts, however, were burdened by a failing economy and, later, by attacks from the MOZAMBICAN NATIONAL RESISTANCE (Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana, RENAMO), a guerilla group based in RHODESIA and later SOUTH AFRICA.

RENAMO's activities made it difficult for Machel to improve Mozambique's economy—at the height of the conflict, more than 40 percent of the country's budget was spent combating the group. In 1984 Machel and the South African president, P. W. BOTHA (1916–   ), signed the Nkomati Accord, which called for the end of South Africa's support for RENAMO. Botha, however, never honored the agreement, and fighting continued. In the midst of his effort to end the conflict with RENAMO Machel died when his plane crashed into the Lebombo Mountains, in South Africa. Although South African involvement was strongly suspected, the cause of the accident was never determined.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Madagascar (Malagasy Republic)

Madagascar (Malagasy Republic)   Large island, some 226,700 square miles (587,200 sq km) in size, located in the Indian Ocean about 242 miles (390 km) off the coast of MOZAMBIQUE on the southern coast of East Africa. Madagascar is a lightly industrialized nation, and less than one-third of the country's people live in urban areas. Major EXPORTS, mostly to European nations, include vanilla, coffee, and sugar. Most of Madagascar's population (totaling nearly 16 million in 1999) practices either a traditional, animistic religion or Christianity. A small minority is Muslim. Official languages are Malagasy and French.

Politics in Independent Madagascar   Madagascar was a monarchy prior to French colonization. The island began its transition from colony to independent democracy in 1956. The country's two significant political parties at the time were the Democratic Social Party of Mada-gascar (Parti Social Démocrate de Madagascar, PSD), led by Philibert TSIRANANA (c. 1912–1978), and the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar (Antokon'ny Kongresy Fanafahana an'i Madagasikara, AKFM), led by Richard Andriamanjato (1930–). The differences between the two parties presaged the fundamental rifts in Madagascar politics during the four decades that followed.

In the precolonial period the people of Madagascar fell into two groups, the Merina and the *cotier* (or "coastals"). The Merina were the long-dominant Asian ethnic group from the interior highlands. The *cotier*, on the other hand, was made up of people from the various African, Arabic, and Afro-Arabic ethnic groups along the coasts.

The PSD's Tsirinana came from the Tsimhety ethnic group of the *cotier*. He sought open trade along with continued close ties to France. On the other hand, Andriamanjato and the Merina-dominated AKFM sought a clean break from France. They desired a protectionist economy, and they promoted a movement to root out the vestiges of French influence and values among the Malagasy-speaking population. Andriamanjato himself was a Merina from the capital region of ANTANANARIVO, having served as the city's mayor from 1959 to 1977. Because of this, much of his support came from the urban population.

Called the Malagasy Republic, Madagascar gained independence from France on June 26, 1960, with Tsirinana as president. For much of the 1960s Tsirinana's First Republic benefited from cross-ethnic and cross-regional support for its pro-Western nationalist agenda of reconciliation. The country's French settlers, however, found the island's environment oppressive, and many departed the island, taking their businesses and money with them.

Continuing economic deterioration in the late 1960s eroded the support for Tsirinana. Under heavy pressure, he effectively turned the country over to the head of the military, a Merina general named Gabriel Ramanantsoa (1906–1979). This move gave rise to *cotier* discontent. Failing to bring the peace, Ramanantsoa turned power over to the more conciliatory Colonel Richard Ratsimandrava (1931–1975), on February 5, 1975. When Ratsimandrava was assassinated five days later, marshal law was declared.

On June 15, 1975, the military directorate appointed Lieutenant Commander Didier RATSIRAKA (1936–) as the country's new president. He enjoyed strong *cotier* support, especially in his home province of Toamasina, on the east coast. Ratsiraka nationalized banks and industries and adopted a Marxist charter for a Second Malagasy Republic. He also pushed Madagascar toward federation, handing significant political and economic power to regional and community governments. This turn was seen by some as an attempt to bring power to the people but was seen by others as an attempt to wrest power from the Merina-controlled capital.

In March 1976 Ratsiraka founded the Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (Antokin'ny Revolisiona Malagasy, AREMA), which became the lead party in a six-party governing coalition. Before long, the country's economy worsened and it became clear that the nation's socialist economic principals were failing. Nevertheless, Ratsiraka continued to ally his country with Communist countries, including China, North Korea, and the former Soviet Union. Popular dissatisfaction with Ratsiraka began in 1977, eventually leading to a series of government crackdowns the following year. By 1980 the socialist experiment had given way to a more authoritarian style of leadership that would characterize Ratsiraka's rule over the decade that followed. Economically, however, he turned to the WORLD BANK and the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND to help him liberalize the nation's beleaguered economy.

Despite growing unpopularity, Ratsiraka won reelection in 1982 and again, in a disputed election, in 1989. By 1991, though, the loss of support from the dissolved Soviet Union made Ratsiraka's government increasingly vulnerable. Finally, opposition to Ratsiraka's leadership led to a civil servants' strike that brought the capital to a halt. When Ratsiraka appeared unable to control the situation, Dr. Albert Zafy (1927–) led the Hery Velona ("Active Forces" in Malagasy) coalition in setting up a parallel government. In October 1991, Zafy's success led to the signing of the Panorama Convention, a power-sharing arrangement that prepared for a transition to democracy. A new constitution was popularly ratified in August 1992, and Zafy was elected president in February

1993. The Hery Velona parties won a landslide legislative victory in June 1993.

Despite his ability to mobilize the opposition, Zafy proved to be a poor leader. He was identified with the cotier, but he relied heavily on the Merina base to centralize political power in the capital. In 1995, following a referendum, Ratsiraka reinvested the presidency with unprecedented authority, raising some eyebrows in the capital. By August 1996 he was convicted of CORRUPTION and impeached. In December 1996, following an election marked by poor voter turnout, Didier Ratsiraka came back to power and AREMA soon took control of the legislature.

Recent Political Developments Ratsiraka's second term was fraught with controversy. In July 2001 it appeared that Ratsiraka would win the December 2001 election. However, in August 2001 Marc RAVALOMANANA (1949–), Antananarivo's popular mayor and founder of the Tiko milk products company, declared his candidacy. Although Ravalomanana was of Merina descent, he had wide support among the general population. Despite dubious changes in the electoral rules called for by Ratsiraka, Ravalomanana won the election. Ratsiraka contested the vote count and the AREMA-controlled National Electoral Commission determined that Ravalomanana failed to win at least 50 percent of the vote. The commission then called for a run-off election. On the other hand, Ravalomanana and the independent National Committee of Election Observers claimed he won more than the necessary 50 percent.

Both Ratsiraka and Ravalomanana refused to budge, and when Ravalomanana declared himself president in February 2002, the country became divided. Ratsiraka was ousted from Antananarivo and went with his forces to Toamasina. After four months of military conflict and failed negotiations, Ratsiraka fled to Paris. Ravalomanana was sworn in—again—in May 2002. Shortly thereafter he oversaw the formation of Tiako-i-Madagasikara (I Love Madagascar), a political party that won commanding control of the Madagascar legislature in December 2002.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MADAGASCAR (Vols. I, II, III, IV); MERINA (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Mervyn Brown, *A History of Madagascar* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2000).

Maghrib (Maghreb) Muslim region of northwest Africa along the Mediterranean Sea, extending eastward from the Atlas Mountains, in MOROCCO, to the coasts of ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and LIBYA. The countries of the Maghrib have shared similar historical and cultural experiences, as three of them—Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya—were under the Ottoman Empire, and all of them fell under European colonial rule. After obtaining their independence, the North African countries that comprise

the Maghrib charted their individual courses as sovereign nation-states. The individual character of society and governance of each kept them divided politically. In the 1980s, however, a united northern Africa became possible as these countries entertained the idea of forming a North Africa common market known as the Arab Maghrib Union, which is sometimes referred to as the Maghrib Economic Space. Discussed by Arab nationalists first in the 1920s and again in the mid-1960s, the union was formalized in 1989. It promotes the region's common economic interests and commercial exchanges, but pledges non-interference in the domestic affairs of its member states. Member nations include Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, MAURITANIA, and WESTERN SAHARA.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); MAGHRIB (Vols. I, III, IV); OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Mahfouz, Naguib (1911–) *Egyptian writer and Nobel laureate*

Regarded as the leading figure in Egyptian and Arabic literature, Mahfouz was born in one of the oldest quarters of CAIRO in 1911. He was 17 when he began writing, but it was not until 1939 that his first novel, *Hams al-junun*, was published. This work was followed by 10 more. The first three concerned ancient EGYPT. Thereafter Mahfouz shifted his focus to modern Egypt, a move that helped revolutionize Egyptian and Arabic fiction by establishing the novel as a legitimate genre within Arabic literature. His crowning achievement of this period, and perhaps of his career, was the Cairo Trilogy, published in 1956–57. These three books, *Bayn al-qasrayn* (1956), *Qasr al-shawq* (1957), and *Al Sukkariya* (1957) (published in English as *Palace Walk, Palace of Desire,* and *Sugar Street* respectively), made up an epic story of three generations within a middle-class Cairo family in the period between the two world wars.

Mahfouz's first work to be translated into English was *Midaq Alley* (1947) in 1966. However, it was not until after he won the Nobel Prize in 1988 that Mahfouz garnered widespread Western attention and had a significant portion of his literary corpus translated into English.

In 1952 King Faruk (1920–1965) of Egypt was overthrown in a COUP D'ÉTAT carried out by a group of army officers. Shortly thereafter Colonel Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) assumed the presidency and instituted a socialist regime. Mahfouz initially supported the fall of the

monarchy, and, until 1972, served in various governmental positions. However, the writer became increasingly disgusted and frustrated with Nasser's administration. For seven years following the coup Mahfouz produced no new works, though his previous novels gained dramatic new popularity in Egypt.

In 1959 Mahfouz's frustrations finally boiled over into a new novel, serialized as *Awlad haratina* (published in English as *Children of Gebelawi*). The novel's narrative mirrored that of a religious quest and lashed out at the social injustice Mahfouz perceived in socialist Egypt.

The book raised the ire of Islamic fundamentalists, who issued a fatwa, essentially a death sentence, on Mahfouz. Fundamentalist displeasure with Mahfouz's works later led to an assassination attempt in 1994. The author survived the stabbing, and the perpetrators were captured and executed.

Children of Gebelawi began a string of novels and short stories that used symbolism and allegory to thinly cover Mahfouz's critique of Nasser's government. In 1967 Mahfouz published the novel *Miramar,* which was his final address against Nasser and the socialist revolution. Mahfouz's later works became more experimental in nature, often in the form of lengthy fables. The author's new direction earned mixed reviews, but nevertheless he has remained very popular in Egypt, where each new Mahfouz publication marks an important cultural event.

In 1988 Mahfouz became the first Arab and, two years after Wole SOYINKA (1934–) won, the second writer from Africa to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature. As of 2003 he has published more than 30 novels and numerous short stories and articles.

In the address he gave while accepting the Nobel Prize, Mahfouz said, "I am the son of two civilizations that at a certain age in history have formed a happy marriage. The first of these, 7,000 years old, is the Pharaonic civilization; the second, 1,400 years old, is the Islamic civilization."

See also: FARUK, KING (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Makeba, Miriam (1932–) *South African singer*

Widely known as "Mama Africa," Miriam Makeba has been the most recognizable female ambassador of African MUSIC over the last four decades. From humble origins in SOUTH AFRICA, Makeba gained fame during the 1950s as a talented vocalist through her appearances with local South African bands. She soon became an international star.

Shortly after a cameo appearance in the 1957 anti-APARTHEID film, *Come Back, Africa,* Makeba met Harry Belafonte (1927–), the famous African-American singer. Belafonte became her mentor and was instrumental in introducing her to American audiences, where her concert performances and record sales met with great success. Her music popularizes the songs of Africa, as well as those of other cultures. She is best known for such standards as "Pata, Pata" and "The Click Song," which utilize the click sounds of her XHOSA mother tongue.

Makeba's political and private lives have also been noteworthy. In 1960 the South African government prevented her, on political grounds, from returning to her own country. In 1964 she married South African trumpeter Hugh MASEKELA (1931–), who was also a political exile from South Africa, but they divorced two years later. In 1968 Makeba married African-American civil rights activist Stokely Carmichael (1941–1998), later known as Kwame Ture, one of the most influential leaders of the civil rights and black liberation movements of the 1960s in the United States and, later, a leader of the Black Panther Party. Her marriage to Carmichael resulted in a music industry boycott and constant surveillance by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Stokely Carmichael changed his name to Kwame Ture when he and Makeba moved to GUINEA. He chose the name in honor of President Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) of GHANA and President Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) of Guinea, two leaders of the Pan-African movement. Kwame Ture became active in African nationalist causes.

As a result she and Carmichael left the United States in 1969 and took up residence in Guinea. Makeba continued to tour widely, mainly in Europe and Africa. In 1975 she represented Guinea in the United Nations, where she proved to be an outspoken critic of APARTHEID. In recognition of her activism, she was awarded the Dag Hammarskjöld Peace Prize in 1986. Her career in the United States was revived in 1987, when she performed in the new nation of ZIMBABWE with American folk-rock singer Paul Simon (1941–) on his *Graceland* tour. In the late 1980s, after a 30-year exile, Makeba returned to South Africa, where she has continued to take an active role in her homeland's cultural life.

See also: UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Makerere University Institute of higher EDUCATION located in KAMPALA, UGANDA. Founded in 1922 as Makerere College, Makerere University began as a technical school that taught carpentry, construction, and mechanics. Later it became an inter-territorial institution for British East Africa, preparing students from KENYA, Uganda, Tanganyika, and ZANZIBAR for professions in AGRICULTURE, education, MEDICINE, and governmental administration in the colonies. In 1937 the College began its program in higher education and later formed a partnership with the College of London, from which students received general university degrees. Makerere was the only institution of higher education in East Africa during the colonial period.

In 1963, a year after Ugandan independence, Makerere College joined the universities of Kenya and Tanzania to form the University of East Africa (UEA). Offering its own degree program, the UEA produced the next generation of African leaders in government and business. In 1970, with a solid reputation in academic research and teaching, Makerere became the University of the Republic of Uganda.

However, political events during the 1970s and 1980s destroyed the INFRASTRUCTURE of the University. While Uganda was under the control of first Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003) and then Milton OBOTE (1925–2000), Makerere lost much of its funding. As a result it was unable to keep up with revolutionary changes in informational technology. Because of government CORRUPTION and a general lack of attention to social concerns, faculty members were the last civil servants to be paid. (Army staff, on the other hand, were the first to be paid.) Low faculty salaries caused many teachers to leave.

To compound Makerere's problems, at the same time that faculty were leaving and university resources were diminishing, the school's student population was increasing. This was a logical result of the fact that independent Uganda's students were moving through the country's free educational system from primary school through secondary school to the university.

By the 1990s the university was beginning to benefit from changes in governmental organization that removed it from state control. No longer dependent on the government for its revenues, Makerere began instituting alternative methods of funding, including charging student fees. As a result, the university has regained its status within Uganda as a solution to the challenges of DEVELOPMENT.

Malabo Primary port and capital city of EQUATORIAL GUINEA, located at the northern end of Bioko Island (formerly called both Fernando Po and Santa Isabel) on the Gulf of Guinea. The British founded the city in 1827, having leased the island from Spain in order to suppress the slave trade. As a result many freed slaves ended up settling there. Spain regained full control in 1900, renaming the city Santa Isabel and making it the capital of Spanish Guinea. The two periods of Spanish rule are clearly reflected in the city's ARCHITECTURE. In 1968 Santa Isabel remained the capital when Spanish Guinea became the independent nation known as Equatorial Guinea. Five years later the city's name was changed to Malabo.

Malabo has been in decline since independence. In 1969 the country's president, Macías Nguema Biyogo (1924–1979), encouraged rioting against the European residents of the island, mostly Spanish, which caused many people to flee the country. The population declined further in the 1970s, when numerous contract workers returned home to NIGERIA. In addition, local people left the city and the country due to Biyogo's brutal rule, which oppressed the island's Bubi ethnic minority in favor of his own Fang people.

Today Malabo has a relatively small population of 93,000. Even so, it remains the commercial and economic center of the country. The city's main industry is fish processing and, along with fish, Malabo's EXPORTS include coffee, cotton, cocoa, and timber. The recent development of offshore OIL fields holds the potential for an economic revival, but Malabo's citizens have not yet realized any great benefits.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FANG (Vol. II); FERNANDO PO (Vol. III); SLAVE TRADE (Vols. III, IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

malaria Human parasitic disease common throughout the tropical areas in Africa. Malaria probably originated in Africa and infected prehistoric man. The transmission mechanism was known as early as 1898, and the life cycle of the disease was confirmed by 1948. Today malaria is considered one of the major health problems in Africa.

The African continent, where malaria causes more child deaths than any other disease, has approximately 80 to 90 percent of the world's malaria cases. In places where malaria is endemic, adults often develop immunity to the disease. However, this immunity is compromised during pregnancy or during prolonged periods of non-exposure. Also, many places in Africa have seasonal or sporadic malaria outbreaks that do not allow for immunity in adult populations.

While there are four species of malaria worldwide, only three are important in Africa. One of these, *Plasmodium falciparum,* is blamed for most of the infections on the continent. *Anopheles* mosquitoes in Africa are responsible for transferring the disease to humans. The three main types of *Anopheles* mosquitoes, *A. gambiae*, *A. funestus,* and *A. arabiensis,* inhabit different areas depending on climate, water sources, and vegetation. The female mosquito transmits the malaria parasite through its bite.

Malaria infects an estimated 300–500 million people worldwide each year, killing 2 million of them. The massive scale of the human suffering malaria produces attracted the attention of the world's richest couple, Bill and Melinda Gates. Through their William H. Gates Foundation, in 2003, they awarded $50 million to support a Malaria Vaccine Initiative. To date, no vaccine has been discovered. Most malaria research takes place in developed countries, which are generally located in temperate regions. Since malaria is a disease of the tropics, there has been limited interest and little incentive to commit significant resources to fighting malaria.

The World Health Organization initiated the Global Eradication of Malaria Program in the 1950s. This effort was primarily based on the use of DDT, an insecticide, to eliminate the mosquito vector. However, by 1972, after it became apparent that eradication was impossible, the program officially ended. The failure of the initiative was blamed on several factors, including the ineffectiveness of DDT to kill all mosquito vectors and the frequent misdiagnosis or ineffective treatment of the infection. The organization also found that the overuse of malaria medication had accidentally helped develop malaria strains that were resistant to treatment.

Current malaria programs focus on educating the population to recognize symptoms and seek early treatment. Other preventive measures include using mosquito nets and insecticide and destroying potential breeding places, such as pots with water, bushy areas, and puddles. Africa Malaria Day, April 25, was established in 2000 to commemorate the commitment made by 44 African leaders to work toward reducing malaria infection rates.

See also: DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); DISEASE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); HEALTH AND HEALING IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); MEDICINE (Vols. IV, V).
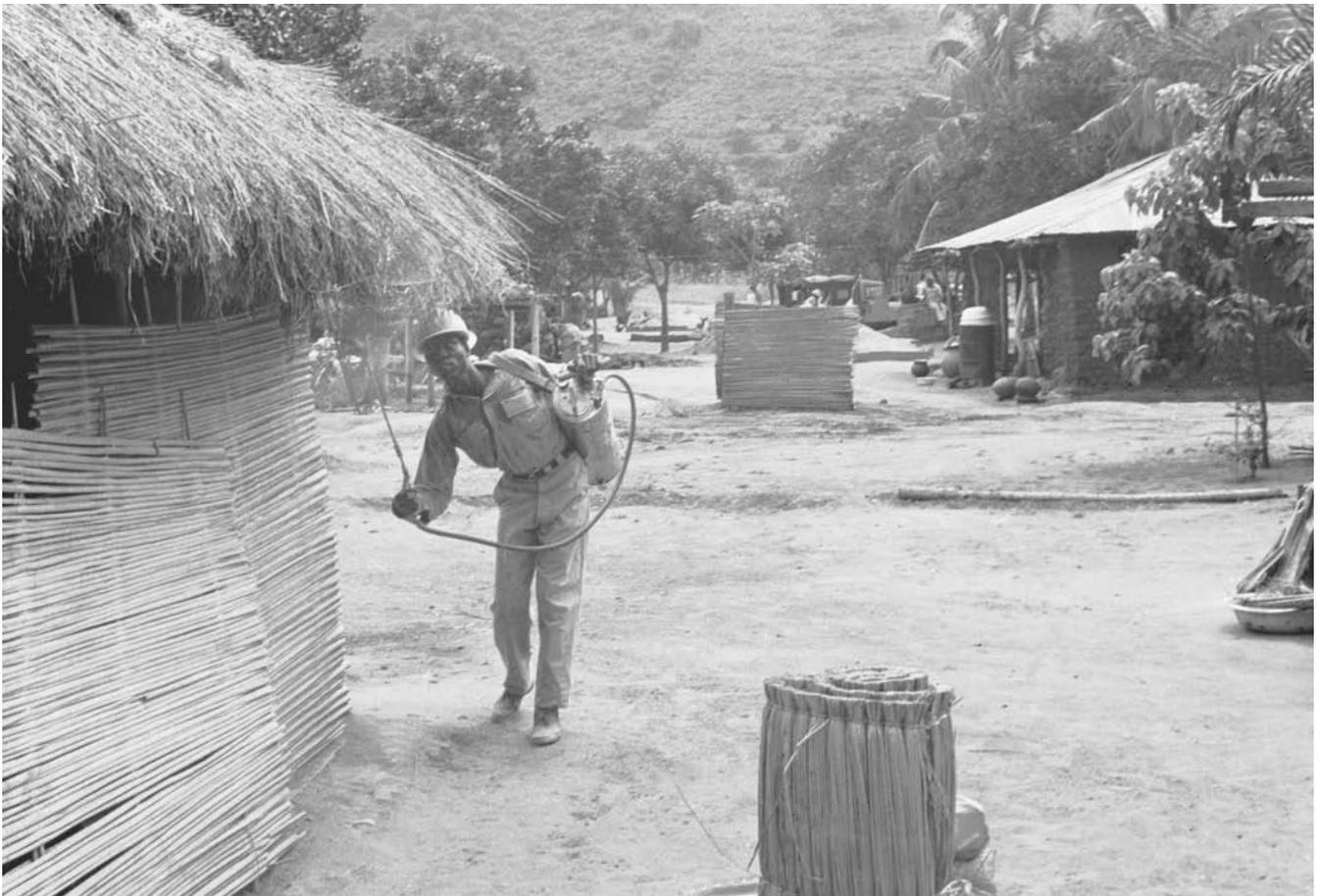
Beginning in the 1950s a concerted effort was made to end the frequent malaria outbreaks that plagued tropical Africa. Shown in 1963, a World Health Organization worker is spraying DDT, an insecticide, to kill the mosquitoes that carry malaria. © *United Nations*

Malawi Country located in southeastern Africa and bordered by TANZANIA to the north, MOZAMBIQUE to the east and south, and ZAMBIA to the west. About 45,700 square miles (118,400 sq km) in size, Malawi is land-locked, though its borders do include the massive Lake Nyasa, which covers some 8,900 square miles (23,051 sq km).

Malawi at Independence Ruled as the British colony of Nyasaland after 1907, by 1960 the drive for independence was in full force behind the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and its leader, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu BANDA (c. 1898–1997). Demonstrations instigated by Banda and the MCP forced the British to declare a state of emergency, in 1959–60. In 1963 the Central African Federation, a colonial entity of which Nyasaland was a part, was dissolved. One year later Nyasaland became independent Malawi.

Banda served as prime minister until 1966, when the Republic of Malawi was formed and Banda became the country's first president. He put into place a government that was called a "guided democracy," but in practice was a one-party dictatorship, dominated by the MCP. Using a loyalist faction of the MCP called the Malawi Young Pioneers as his muscle, Banda took control over every aspect of Malawian society, from the media to the national treasury to the way citizens were allowed to dress. He imposed his Chewa heritage on the entire nation, attempting to make chiChewa the national language and moving the capital from Zomba to LILONGWE, in Chewa lands. Political opponents were driven into exile or assassinated by the feared secret police.

At the time of Banda's rule, Malawi was one of the poorest nations in Africa. Little progress was made toward DEVELOPMENT under Banda, who used much of the country's funding for his own personal benefit. In 1967 Banda's highly controversial decision to form diplomatic relations with the racist APARTHEID government of SOUTH AFRICA was made with the intent of benefiting economically from the larger country. Ultimately, however, it was not its relationship with South Africa but large amounts of foreign ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE that boosted Malawi's economy during the 1970s.

In 1971 Banda seemingly extinguished all possibility for the DEMOCRATIZATION of Malawi by declaring himself president for life. He ruled the country as such until the early 1990s. By 1992, in the midst of a terrible drought, Banda was no longer able to ignore pressure to reform the government. A letter by the Catholic church criticizing the dictator's regime was read in churches throughout Malawi, sparking mass demonstrations against Banda. In addition, foreign economic assistance was withdrawn. With little choice Banda, who was in ill health, acquiesced and was stripped of his president-for-life title in 1993. The following year multiparty elections resulted in a victory for the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its leader, Bakili MULUZI (1943–), a former official in Banda's government.

Malawi under Muluzi Muluzi became president of a nation with a 65 percent POVERTY rate and drastic food shortages. Health care had become a serious issue as HIV/AIDS began to ravage the population. In addition Malawi had to adjust to a democratic system and avoid the kind of political infighting that could lead to governmental instability. Muluzi moved to aid this adjustment by forming a coalition government with the other major opposition party, the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD). However, the political regionalism that has emerged under the multiparty system, with the UDF dominating the south, the MCP the central region, and AFORD in the north, has made for a tense situation.

In 1995 Muluzi had former president Banda arrested on four counts of murder committed during Banda's rule. Banda, along with six of his cohorts, was acquitted of the crimes. Muluzi himself faced claims by opponents that he should be held accountable for any transgressions by the Banda regime, considering that Muluzi was a high-ranking official in the MCP.

In 1999 Muluzi was reelected amid accusations of electoral fraud. In 2004, however, he had to step down because Malawi's constitution does not allow for a third presidential term. Muluzi put his support behind Bingu wa Mutharika (1934–), a WORLD BANK economist and former Muluzi rival in the UDF party. Mutharika won the elections amid more accusations of fraud.

Malawi still remains highly dependent on foreign aid to support its economy. Privatization programs are being employed to encourage investments, though the economy is largely based on AGRICULTURE and Malawi is subject to the recurring droughts and floods. Life expectancy among Malawians is very low (37 years), and by 2003, 15 percent of the population was thought to be infected with the HIV virus. Government CORRUPTION is also a growing concern, leading some nations to withhold foreign assistance.

See also: HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); MALAWI (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Mali Landlocked central West African country 478,800 square miles (1,240,100 sq km) in size stretching north into the Sahara Desert, where it shares borders with MAURITANIA and ALGERIA; other countries bordering Mali include NIGER, BURKINA FASO, IVORY COAST, GUINEA, and SENEGAL. The population is concentrated in the southern

half of the country in the watershed of the Niger River. Mali is the largest country in West Africa.

Mali at Independence   Mali is noted for being the geographical center of several powerful empires, including the Soninke empire of Ghana (c. 900–1250), the Muslim Almoravid empire (c. 1050–1146), the Mandinka empire (1235–1368) of Mali—the country's namesake—and the Songhai Empire (c. 1375–1591). The country received its independence from France in 1960. Modibo KEITA (1915–1977) was the country's first president within a one-party system. Under Keita, Mali endured a difficult economic environment as well as the festering of a violent opposition movement. Popular discontent with Keita's rule steadily grew through the 1960s, culminating in a COUP D'ÉTAT led by Lieutenant Moussa Traoré (1936–   ) in 1968. Over the next decade Traoré ruled Mali under a military monarchy.

In 1974 a new constitution was adopted that allowed for popular elections. However, Mali remained a one-party state, ensuring the continuing reelections of Traoré. During the 1970s and 1980s Mali suffered from a series of crises, including severe droughts, which had a devastating impact on the already weakened economy. In 1990 the country's situation grew worse, with disaffected Tuaregs staging an unsuccessful rebellion. Soon after, in March 1991 lieutenant colonel Amadou Toumani TOURÉ (1948–   ) led a military coup that ousted Traoré.

Mali Today   In early 1992 Mali held multiparty elections that resulted in 10 parties winning seats in the new 129-member legislature; the leader of the Alliance for Democracy in Mali, Alpha Oumar KONARÉ (1946–   ), won the presidency. Konaré's term was marked by instability and political tensions punctuated by periodic violent protests. At the same time, however, Mali moved toward a more democratic society while encouraging a free press. This process of DEMOCRATIZATION succeeded in attracting FOREIGN INVESTMENT, which in turn sparked economic growth and stabilized the country's politics.

With his days as president winding down, in 2002 Konaré pardoned Traoré and his wife, releasing them from the death sentences they received for misappropriation of Mali's funds and for Traoré's role in the deaths of pro-democracy demonstrators in the days leading up to the coup that ousted him from power. The death sentences were subsequently commuted to life imprisonment.

Mali's progress toward a democratic and stable political system got a further boost from the 2002 elections. That year, Konaré relinquished the office of president,

submitting to the two-term limit mandated by the constitution. In the ensuing election, Amadou Toumani Touré, who had reentered Malian political life, ran on a popular anticorruption platform and handily won the presidency. Touré committed his government to ensuring domestic peace and alleviating the country's POVERTY.

See also: ALMORAVIDS (Vol. II); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); GHANA (Vol. III); MALI (Vols. I, II, III, IV); MALI EMPIRE (Vol. II); MANDE (Vols. I, II, IV); SONGHAI (Vols. II, III); SONINKE (Vols. IV).

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Mancham, James (c. 1939–   ) *First president of Seychelles*

In the 1960s the development of a professional urban middle class caused a political shift in the SEYCHELLES and led to the formation of two major political parties. James Mancham led the Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP), in opposition to the Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP), led by Mancham's political nemesis, France-Albert RENÉ (1935–   ). With Britain slowly preparing the islands for independence, Mancham favored continuing ties with Britain, a position he reversed once Britain's lack of interest in the Seychelles became obvious. In 1974 Mancham and the SDP won control of the country in what was largely decried as a rigged election. Mancham overcame the controversy and formed a coalition government with the SPUP, and in 1976 Mancham became the president of the Republic of the Seychelles, with René as his vice president.

Mancham's presidency was short-lived, however. In 1977, while Mancham was in London, a group of SPUP members staged a COUP D'ÉTAT, supposedly without René's knowledge, and installed René as president. René quickly moved the government in a socialist direction and banned all political parties save his own, now renamed the Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF). Exiled, Mancham agitated against René's government to no avail.

In 1991 pressure from Britain and France forced René to allow for multiparty elections. The following year, Mancham returned to the Seychelles as a hero. Now leading the Democratic Party, Mancham promised to win the 1993 elections. However, René and the SPPF easily dominated, a feat they repeated in 1998 and 2001, keeping Mancham's political influence to a minimum.

Mandela, Nelson (Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela)
(1918–   ) *South Africa's first black African president*

Rising from modest beginnings to become a leading activist in the struggle against APARTHEID in SOUTH

AFRICA, Nelson Mandela faced even greater challenges in the second half of the 20th century, when the conflict between the country's ruling white minority and the oppressed black majority reached its highest levels.

In 1960 the South African government banned the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), the highly active anti-apartheid organization of which Mandela was a leader. The banning forced Mandela to take the resistance underground. It also forced the rebels to reconsider their nonviolent stance. In 1961 Mandela and other influential ANC leaders such as Walter SISULU (1912–2003) decided violence was the only answer to the ruthless tactics of the apartheid government. That same year they formed the UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (meaning "Spear of the Nation" and known as the MK), a guerilla military group that Mandela commanded. In 1962 Mandela secretly left South Africa to travel to ETHIOPIA, TANZANIA, England, and ALGERIA to rally support for the MK and to undergo military training.

However, not long after his return to South Africa Mandela was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison on charges of encouraging strikes and leaving the country without permission. Then a raid by South African police on MK headquarters at a Rivonia farm to the north of JOHANNESBURG produced strong evidence of Mandela's involvement in the MK sabotage campaign. During the following 1964 trial, which became known as the Rivonia Trial, Mandela—a lawyer by trade—gave a rousing defense, staunchly maintaining his opposition to apartheid and openly criticizing the racist regime. Ultimately, however, Mandela and six of his fellow MK members were sentenced to life in prison.

During his defense, Mandela declared, "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Even while imprisoned on ROBBEN ISLAND Mandela was recognized as the central figure of the fight against the tyranny of apartheid, serving as an inspirational leader to those who carried on the movement for equality and majority rule. Throughout the 27 years he remained behind bars, Mandela never ceased to support his cause and prepare himself for the time when apartheid would fall, teaching himself AFRIKAANS and becoming a leader among his fellow inmates.

The End of Apartheid   At the end of the 1980s the racial conflict in Africa was reaching a fever pitch. By this time Mandela had been twice offered a conditional re-

lease from prison, which he refused in each instance. However, in 1986, he began negotiations with President P. W. BOTHA (1916–   ) and, later, with F. W. DE KLERK (1936–   ), who had promised upon his election to make provisions for multiracial elections. Finally, in 1990, the ANC ban was rescinded, and Mandela was released.

The end of apartheid did not come quickly, however. Mandela and de Klerk negotiated for four years, through periods of renewed protests and violence. De Klerk wanted a guarantee of continued white influence through a power-sharing system, while Mandela uncompromisingly demanded a fully democratic system where the vote of the majority determined those who would form the government. In 1993 both Mandela and de Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to end racial conflict in South Africa. Ultimately, in 1994 the first multiracial national elections ever in South Africa were held. Mandela was elected president, with the ANC capturing nearly two-thirds of the votes. Apartheid had been dealt its deathblow.

Mandela as President   Though Mandela had accomplished the once seemingly impossible task of overcoming apartheid rule, he found himself in the unenviable position of leading a nation shattered by violence and still seething with racial hatred. He had to balance a number of volatile factors. As head of a government still largely staffed by white officials, Mandela had not only to head off further racial conflict in South Africa but he also had to ease ethnic tensions within the black majority. The ANC and the ZULU people, represented by the INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY, had long been at odds. The remnants of apartheid still lingered, as well, in the form of white extremist groups like the Afrikaner Resistance Movement.

Ultimately, it was Mandela's open lack of bitterness toward his former antagonists that set the tone for South Africa's healing process. In 1995 Mandela formed the TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION, headed by Desmond TUTU (1931–   ), an anti-apartheid leader and the Anglican Church's Archbishop of CAPE TOWN. The commission gathered testimony from both perpetrators and victims of the apartheid era. It offered amnesty to those who confessed to racial crimes, so long as they could prove their motives were purely political in nature. Though criticized by some as too lax, the commission allowed the events of South Africa's past to come to light. Their findings helped place the blame on the appropriate people and made provisions for those people to be forgiven in the eyes of the new government. In order to prevent divisive political disputes, Mandela also encouraged the participation of black ANC opponents in his new government.

In addition to having to overcome South Africa's past, Mandela faced the equally daunting task of rescuing a nation in economic disarray, particularly among the long-oppressed black population, which was badly un-

deremployed. To combat the situation, Mandela launched the Reconstruction and Development Plan, which set various economic goals to encourage DEVELOPMENT. The return of FOREIGN INVESTMENT and the lifting of economic and political embargoes on the country helped make those goals more realistic. International admiration for Mandela also helped the president raise millions for charity causes in South Africa.

In 1996 Mandela divorced Winnie Nomzamo MANDELA (1936–) after she became an open critic of his government and was indicted on kidnapping charges. Nelson Mandela later married Graça MACHEL (1945–), the widow of the late president of MOZAMBIQUE, Samora MACHEL (1933–1986).

Mandela Steps Down In 1999, in a move rarely seen in Africa, Mandela voluntarily stepped down from the presidency after serving only one term. His successor, Thabo MBEKI (1942–), had been groomed to take his place, and Mbeki continued the process of healing and rebuilding the nation.

Among Mandela's many causes is the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Africa. In 2003 Mandela launched the 46664 initiative, named after his prisoner number while he was on Robben Island. The initiative seeks to raise awareness of AIDS through MUSIC. The 2003 Nelson Mandela Concert brought musicians from around the world to CAPE TOWN to raise money and attract attention to the crisis.

This was by no means a retirement for Mandela. The former president became deeply involved in resolving other devastating conflicts in Africa, most notably the ethnic conflict between the HUTU and the TUTSI peoples in BURUNDI. Mandela's continued efforts to promote peace have earned him many accolades, including an honorary degree from Harvard University and a lifetime achievement award from the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Through 2003 Mandela remained perhaps Africa's best-known and internationally respected statesman. He has since returned to his humble beginnings, building his retirement home in his former hometown of Qunu, in the Transkei region of the Eastern Cape Province.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. IV); HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); MANDELA, NELSON (Vol. IV); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV).

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Mandela, Winnie (Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela) (1936–) *Anti-apartheid activist and ex-wife of former South African president Nelson Mandela (1918–)*

Known by a number of nicknames ranging from "mother of the nation" to "mugger of the nation," Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is both adored and despised by factions within the population of SOUTH AFRICA. Born Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela in Pondoland, South Africa, Mandela trained as a social worker in JOHANNESBURG, subsequently becoming South Africa's first black medical social worker.

While in Johannesburg Madikizela became involved in the anti-APARTHEID activities of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). She established ties with a number of ANC figures, including Adelaide Tsukudu (1929–), the wife of Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993), a prominent activist. In 1957 Madikizela met ANC leader Nelson MANDELA, marrying him the following year.

Madikizela's marriage to Nelson Mandela began a deep involvement in the struggle to overthrow South Africa's racist apartheid government. She became a leader of both the Federation of South African Women and the ANC Women's League. In September 1958 she was arrested during demonstrations against the pass laws, the much-hated laws that required black South Africans to carry official identification booklets at all times.

In 1962 Madikizela-Mandela's activism led to her being banned by the government, meaning she was essentially under house arrest with limitations on visitation and communication with the outside world. Two years later the already extremely difficult life for Madikizela-Mandela became even more so, when her husband was sentenced to life imprisonment for planning to sabotage installations of the white government. Madikizela-Man-dela was left with two children and no livelihood.

Madikizela-Mandela remained banned for almost all of the next 11 years. However, she consistently ignored the restrictions placed upon her, and so suffered numerous periods of incarceration and solitary confinement. Nevertheless, she continued to defy the authority of the apartheid government, which resulted in increasingly stringent government restrictions. In 1976 the government forced her from her home in Orlando, near Johannesburg, and relocated her to remote Phatakahale, in the Orange Free State.

While in Phatakahale she worked tirelessly to help improve the surrounding black neighborhoods. In 1985 her home was bombed, most likely by the government. Unfazed, Madikizela-Mandela continued to defy banning orders until, in 1986, the government essentially gave up and lifted the restrictions.

Madikizela-Mandela's new freedom, however, led to a period of troubles for her. She moved to SOWETO, where controversy soon began to swirl around her and her group of bodyguards, known as the Mandela United Football Club. Members of the neighborhood often complained about the bodyguards, accusing them of crimes from theft to murder. In 1988 charges were brought accusing Madikizela-Mandela and her bodyguards of kidnapping four local youths and murdering one of them, the 14-year-old leader of a local "children's army" that had fought back against the Football Club. The following year, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT both publicly distanced themselves from Madikizela-Mandela. In 1990 Nelson Mandela was finally freed from prison, but this joyous occasion was overshadowed for Madikizela-Mandela by her conviction in the kidnapping case the following year. The six-year prison sentence was reduced to a fine during the subsequent appeal.

This conviction marked the beginning of a downward spiral for Madikizela-Mandela. Nelson Mandela separated from her in 1992, as the long years of separation and negative publicity took a toll on their marriage. Madikizela-Mandela was then forced to resign as head of the ANC's social welfare department, leaving the position amid rumors of $130,000 dollars in missing funds. She became a vocal opponent of the ANC and her husband during the negotiations that eventually led to the fall of apartheid in 1994. Nelson Mandela became the country's first black president following multiracial elections held that year.

Madikizela-Mandela was appointed minister for arts, culture, science, and technology in her husband's government. However, in 1995, seeking evidence of financial scams run by one of Madikizela-Mandela's charities, Soweto police searched her home. The negative publicity that this event sparked led Nelson Mandela to fire Madikizela-Mandela from her government position. The couple divorced the following year.

In 1997 she became a candidate for the deputy presidency of the ANC, in spite of her open criticism of her ex-husband and Thabo MBEKI (1942–), Mandela's chosen successor. Once again, however, Madikizela-Mandela's questionable past interfered, as she was called before the TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION to testify about the crimes committed in the 1980s by the Mandela United Football Club.

Demonstrating the resiliency that earned her the nickname "Teflon Queen of Africa," Madikizela-Mandela has remained immensely popular with many South Africans, despite her legal troubles. Her strongest supporters are among the nation's poor and oppressed, who see Madikizela-Mandela as a champion for the lower classes. Though there is little doubt that Madikizela-Mandela's reputation has suffered greatly, her uncompro-mising struggle against apartheid and her role as a symbol of strength during her former husband's lengthy imprisonment still mark her as one of South Africa's most influential figures.

In 2001 Madikizela-Mandela was charged with 85 counts of fraud and theft linked to bank loans she approved for impoverished people who did not qualify. The judge in the case called Madikizela-Mandela a "modern-day Robin Hood," but this comparison has done little to help her avoid further disgrace. She was found guilty in April 2003 and sentenced to five years imprisonment with one year suspended. She was subsequently freed on bail while she appealed her sentence. In July 2004 an appeals court judge overturned her convictions for theft and suspended her sentence for fraud. This left Madikizela-Mandela free, for the time being.

See also: WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Mao Zedong (1893–1976) *Revolutionary Chinese leader*

Born in Hunan Province, China, Mao helped form the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and became the organization's general secretary for Hunan. In 1946 his communist forces emerged victorious from China's civil war, with Mao declaring the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.

A heavy-handed leader, Mao initiated what he termed the "Great Leap Forward," an attempt to utilize peasant unity to industrialize China in a single decade. By 1959, Mao had driven most of China's population into organized, self-governing communes. This attempt at quickly industrializing China failed, however, and the period of 1958–66 proved a time of terrible famine.

Regardless of his experiment's failure, however, Mao's communistic ideals made a lasting impression on several African leaders, including Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961), and Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973), all of whom had organized ideological, anti-imperialist movements on their own. Most notable among the Africans was the Tanzanian revolutionary leader Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), who studied both Mao's peasant revolution of the 1940s and his revisionist ideas of peaceful coexistence in the 1950s.

Nyerere saw the policies of the Great Leap Forward as an attempt to revitalize ideas and assumptions about how best to manage a society. The by-product of this ideological expansiveness—communes—became a centerpiece of Nyerere's revolutionary movement. In the form of UJAMAA villages, communes were to be one of the cores of his early policy initiatives as Tanzania's first president

See also: CHINA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V).

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Maputo   Major port city and capital of MOZAMBIQUE, located in the southeastern part of the country on Delagoa Bay. Maputo was called Lourenço Marques, after an early Portuguese explorer, until the country's independence in 1975. (As part of the decolonization process, African place names replaced many of the names given during the colonial era.) It had become the capital of Portuguese East Africa in 1907, and it remained the capital of Mozambique after 1975.

The city's port facilities first became important with the discovery of GOLD in the Transvaal in the late 1800s. Today the city remains an important port for the landlocked countries of ZAMBIA and ZIMBABWE as well as for the interior portions of SOUTH AFRICA. Goods passing through the port include cotton, coal, sugar, sisal, minerals, and processed foods. The city also has an industrial sector that includes petroleum refining, brewing, shipbuilding, iron working, manufacturing of textiles, shoes, and cement, and food processing.

Before independence Lourenço Marques was a popular tourist spot for whites from South Africa and the former Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Maputo's TOURISM declined dramatically, however, as the quality of city life worsened during the warfare of the 1970s and 1980s. Now tourism is beginning to rebound as the city is portrayed as a destination of world rather than regional tourism, attracting visitors to its beaches, temperate climate, and the nearby Maputo Elephant Reserve.

In addition to being the country's main administrative center, Maputo is also home to the Eduardo Mondlane University (founded in 1962) and the Museum of Natural History. The population of Maputo was estimated at 1,115,000 in 2003.

See also: DELAGOA BAY (Vol. IV); LOURENÇO MARQUES (Vol. IV); MAPUTO (Vol. III); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Marrakech (Marrakesh)   Major urban center in west-central MOROCCO, located at the foot of the Atlas Mountains. This ancient city was founded in the 11th century and developed into an important Saharan trade center before falling under French control in 1912. The city is divided into two distinct sectors: the ancient Moorish sector, known as Medina, and the French-built modern sector known as Gueliz.

Today the city is still an important commercial center and is linked by road and rail with the port cities of Safi and Casablanca on the Atlantic coast. The city produces fruit, vegetables, hides, wool, flour, building materials, carpets, and crafts. It also has several mineral mines nearby. The palm groves that dot the landscape, along with the many famous parks, add to the ancient beauty that attracts tourists.

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Marrakech's famed Medina, the area that makes up the ancient Moorish quarter, is surrounded by a wall that was built in the 12th century. The narrow pedestrian streets form a maze among urban dwellings. These urban dwellings, known as *riads*, are constructed in an ancient Moroccan design with a simple exterior, a comfortable and decorative interior, and an inner courtyard. Numerous specialized markets scattered throughout the sector sell products such as dyed fabrics, leather products, jewelry, spices, and carpets.

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The city promotes itself, with its unique Berber culture, as "the other Morocco," reflecting an earlier era. Visitors also come to enjoy skiing in the Atlas Mountains during the winter months. The population of the Marrakech urban area was estimated at 755,000 in 2003.

See also: ATLAS MOUNTAINS (Vol. I); BERBERS (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MARRAKECH (Vols. II, III, IV); SAHARA (Vols. I, II); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Masekela, Hugh (1931–   ) *South African jazz musician*
Over four decades Masekela gained worldwide recognition as a talented jazz musician, prolific recording artist, and an inveterate opponent of APARTHEID. As a teenager, he was encouraged to play by Father Trevor Huddleston (1913–1998), a British-born Anglican priest (and later, archbishop). Renowned in SOUTH AFRICA for his anti-apartheid views, Huddleston taught Masekela at St. Peter's School in JOHANNESBURG.

During the late 1950s Masekela became one of the leading young jazz musicians of South Africa. He eventu-

ally joined notable South African jazz pianist Abdullah IBRAHIM (1934–   ), then known as "Dollar" Brand, in a group called the Jazz Epistles. In 1959 this became the first African jazz band to record an album.

Masekela left South Africa in the early 1960s to study MUSIC, first at the Guildhall School of Music in London and then at the Manhattan School of Music in New York City. In 1960 he released his first solo album, and in 1968 he released "Grazin' in the Grass," one of the few instrumentals to reach the top of the pop charts. Further adding to his stature, from 1964 to 1966 he was married to Africa's preeminent female vocalist, Miriam MAKEBA (1932–   ), also an anti-apartheid activist, whom he began dating in the 1950s. The couple fled South Africa in the early 1960s because of apartheid.

During the 1970s Masekela infused his bebop jazz more and more with different African genres of music to create a sound all his own. His association with Nigerian bandleader FELA (1938–1997) increased his exposure to West African music and helped add a rich texture to his sound.

In 1983 he returned to Africa, taking up residence in BOTSWANA. In the late 1980s Masekela's career received a boost from his collaboration with American musician Paul Simon (1941–   ), with whom Masekela toured in 1987–88 to support Simon's *Graceland* album. Masekela also garnered acclaim for cowriting the music for the 1987 hit musical, *Sarafina!*

In the early 1990s Masekela ended a 30-year, self-imposed exile and returned to South Africa. He continued to play an active role on the South African and international music scene, regularly recording albums such as *Sixty*, in 1999, to celebrate his sixtieth birthday and *Tsepothola—A New Dawn* in 2002. This latter recording provides a musical tribute to South Africa's new dawn after the long night of apartheid.

Maseru (Masero) Capital of LESOTHO and the country's only sizeable city, located in the western part, near the border with SOUTH AFRICA. In 1869 the Sotho king, Mshweshwe I (1786–1870), moved his capital from Thaba Bosiu to Maseru. When the British annexed Basutoland (as Lesotho was called at the time), Maseru became the colonial capital. The town remained a backwater during the colonial era and did not even have a paved street until 1947. When Basutoland gained its independence and became Lesotho in 1966, Maseru achieved a new status as the capital city of a sovereign state. In addition to the executive, legislative, and judicial offices of the country, the city also hosts numerous foreign embassies and international agencies engaged in providing ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE for DEVELOPMENT.

Today Maseru remains an active trading center, with road, rail, and air links to South Africa and roads to many parts of Lesotho. Major EXPORTS include livestock, hides,

wood, and grains. The principal manufactured products are candles, carpets, and textiles. In addition to providing transport for agricultural products and manufactured goods, Maseru's rail system also transports laborers to South Africa, where the majority of Lesotho's LABOR force works. The city's population was estimated at 174,000 in 2003.

See also: SOTHO (Vol. III, IV); BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); MSHWESHWE (Vol. III); THABA BOSIU (Vol. III); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Mashinini, Emma (1929–   ) *South African trade union organizer and author*

Mashinini was born in JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, and raised in an environment of POVERTY and insecurity that was the direct result of the rigors of APARTHEID. Twice the apartheid state forcibly relocated her family. Following her parents' breakup she left school at age 14 to work as a nanny. Three years later she married and went on to bear six children, although three died shortly after birth. Her marriage failed owing to her husband's physical abuse and Mashinini's keen resentment of the gender inequalities in their relationship. To support herself and her children she became a machinist in a textile factory manufacturing uniforms. Her job led to her involvement with LABOR UNIONS.

Mashinini's remarkable career as a trade unionist began when her coworkers elected her as a shop steward of the Garment Workers' Union. She remarried in 1967 to Tom Mashinini, a fellow trade union organizer. Through her tireless efforts she helped build the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa into a powerful organization. As a result of her activism the state subjected her to harassment and eventually imprisonment. In 1981 Mashinini was charged under the draconian provisions of the Terrorism Act and held in solitary confinement for six months. The abuse and humiliation she endured while incarcerated traumatized Mashinini and precipitated a nervous breakdown.

Upon release she continued her trade union work until 1985, contributing to the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). A year later she accepted a position as director of justice and reconciliation with the Anglican Church of South Africa, headed by Bishop Desmond TUTU (1931–   ).

Underlining the harshness of South African society, both Mashinini's daughter and her son-in-law met with violent deaths. Although not one of the most readily recognizable figures among South African women, Mashinini's life is illustrative of the hardship, discrimination, and tragedy routinely suffered by millions of women in South Africa because of their degraded status as both women and as blacks. Her autobiography, *Strikes Have Followed Me All My Life* (1991), chronicles Mashinini's sacrifice and highlights her spirited refusal to accept her inferior status.

Masire, Ketumile (Sir Quett Ketumile Joni Masire) (1925–) *Second president of Botswana*

Born into a minor headman's family in Kanye, southern BOTSWANA, Masire went to local schools before attending the well-known Tiger Kloof Institute, in SOUTH AFRICA. After earning a teaching certificate in 1949, he started the Seepapitso Secondary School, where he taught for six years until deciding to become a farmer. Changing careers again, in 1958 he became a journalist, editing the Botswana newspaper *Terisanyo,* which was devoted to promoting democracy.

In the 1960s Masire became actively involved in the country's politics as a member of the Democratic Party, which was led by Seretse KHAMA (1921–1980), a fellow graduate of Tiger Kloof. In 1965 the Democratic Party won 28 of the 31 contested seats in the country's new legislative assembly, giving it a mandate to lead Botswana to independence. Masire was elected the country's vice president the following year, and he served in this capacity until 1980.

He earned a reputation as a highly competent technocrat and was credited with directing the steady growth of Botswana's economy and INFRASTRUCTURE between 1966 and 1980. When Sir Seretse Khama died in 1980, Masire was the undisputed choice to succeed him. Under Masire's leadership, Botswana's annual economic growth of 10 percent was among the highest in the world. Diamonds continued to be the nation's most important source of earnings. Under Masire Botswana was seen as a model African country in terms of democratic politics and economic growth and management. He was knighted in 1991.

In 1998, after 17 years of service, Masire left the presidency amid factional infighting and accusations of CORRUPTION. Although he intended to return to farming, he was recruited by the United Nations to serve as facilitator of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, which was in the throes of the brutal civil war that destabilized the entire region. Masire was recognized for his efforts in negotiating a tenuous peace.

Masire's leadership style depended heavily on coalition building and cooperation through numerous regional and international organizations. He was the chairman of the SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY and served as vice chairman of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. He was also a member of the United Nations Group on African Development.

See also: BECHUANALAND (Vol. IV); DIAMOND MINING (Vol. IV).

Matanzima, Kaiser (Kaiser Daliwanga Matanzima) (1915–2003) *Former president of the Republic of the Transkei, in South Africa*

Matanzima was born in the Emigrant Tembuland region of the XHOSA-speaking Transkei, which at the time was one of the principal "Native Reserves" of SOUTH AFRICA. He and his brother George (1918–2000) were sons of a chief. By law and custom, Kaiser was also the nephew of future South African president, Nelson MANDELA (1918–). Both Matanzima and Mandela attended FORT HARE COLLEGE at the same time, with Matanzima earning his BA degree in 1939. Matanzima then returned to the Transkei, where he was soon appointed a chief and also became involved in the reserve's political system.

In the early 1950s Matanzima sided with the South African government and its APARTHEID plans by supporting the Bantu Authorities Act (1951). On the other hand, Mandela and the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS opposed that law, as well as the subsequent Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (1959), which Matanzima also supported. This second piece of legislation laid the foundation for transforming the Transkei and nine other "Native Reserves" into BANTUSTANS (later called homelands).

Upon learning of Matanzima's death Nelson Mandela stated, "We shall remember Daliwonga with great fondness. Although our political paths parted early on and we pursued political goals that were diametrically opposed, on family issues we remained friends throughout the years."

With the backing of the South African government, which took actions against his political opponents, Matanzima soon emerged as the central political figure in the Transkei. In 1963 he became the chief minister of the reserve, overseeing the transfer of limited self-government to the Transkei under the terms of the 1959 act. In 1976—the year of the SOWETO rebellion—the Transkei became the first homeland to become a supposedly "independent state" in South Africa's peculiar version of decolonization. Matanzima became the prime minister, and his brother was named attorney general. Three years later Kaiser became president and his brother prime minister. Kaiser Matanzima's hold on office depended on continued financial support from South Africa, which provided most of his government's budget and supplied key civil servants. When Matanzima retired in 1986, he was a wealthy man. His brother, George, continued as prime minister. In 1987, however, an army officer, Bantu Holomisa (1955–), ousted him in bloodless COUP D'ÉTAT, accusing him of CORRUPTION.

Matanzima continued to live in the Transkei and serve as the paramount chief, or king, of the Emigrant Tembu. The Republic of the Transkei disappeared as a separate political entity in 1994, as did the other so-called independent states. It became part of South Africa's newly formed Eastern Cape Province. At the time of his death Matanzima served in relative obscurity as a member of the Eastern Cape House of Traditional Leaders. With the exception of the ZULU leader, Mangosuthu Gatsha BUTHELEZI (1928–), virtually all of the Bantustan leaders were relegated to the political sidelines with the demise of apartheid.

Mauritania   Country located in northwestern Africa, bordered by WESTERN SAHARA and ALGERIA to the north, MALI to the east and south, SENEGAL to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean, to the west. It is approximately 398,000 square miles (1,030,800 sq km) in size, with almost 3 million inhabitants. The capital is NOUAKCHOTT, located on a coastal plateau. Mauritania's geographic location, straddling the Arab-Berber MAGHRIB and the largely black Sahelian region called the Sudan, predisposes the country to both internal and external ethnic and cultural tensions.

> **Not to be confused with the country, the Sudan is the region of central Africa below the Tropic of Cancer that the Arabs called *Bilad al-Sudan,* meaning "land of the blacks."**

Mauritania at Independence   In 1960 Mauritania became fully independent, ending a two-year period as an autonomous member of the French Community. Presidential elections the following year brought Moktar Ould Daddah (1924–) to power. Daddah formed a coalition government that resulted in the merging of the nation's major political parties into the Mauritanian People's Party (Parti du Peuple Mauritanienne, PPM). Daddah attempted to head off any potential conflicts and centralize his power by making the PPM the country's only legal political entity. He also made sure a significant minority of black Africans from the south were involved in the government. This was intended to ameliorate the bitterness felt by Mauritania's black citizens toward the politically dominant Maures, or northern Arab population. Further complicating ethnic and racial factors was the significant percentage of Mauritanians of combined Maure and black ancestry.

Any progress Daddah made, however, was undermined by a devastating drought in the Sahel region that spanned nearly two decades between the 1960s and 1980s. More than three-quarters of the country's livestock perished during this time, and much of the AGRICULTURE in the south was wiped out. Many of the country's nomadic people migrated to the cities, placing a great strain on a nation with little INFRASTRUCTURE to support the swelling urban population.

> **In 1966 Daddah made Arabic the official language for teaching in Mauritania's schools, leading to violent protests by the black African population.**

Mauritania and Conflict in Western Sahara   A Spanish possession since the late 1800s, Western Sahara became the central issue in Mauritanian politics during the 1970s. Early in the decade, with most African nations having attained independence, the indigenous SAHARAWI independence movement known as the POLISARIO Front attacked Spain's colonial holdings in Western Sahara. As a result, Spain prepared to withdraw from the region—although Spanish companies planned to retain their MINING rights to the region's profitable phosphate deposits.

In 1975, ignoring international opposition, Mauritanian and Moroccan officials met with the Spanish government in Madrid to establish an agreement for the three-way partition of Western Sahara. Mauritania claimed the territory's southern third, called the Tiris al Gharbiyya, with the rest falling under the control of MOROCCO. Spain dropped all claims to Western Sahara, in 1976, but retained rights to mining and fishing interests.

Mauritania's motivation for staking claims in Western Sahara belied its concerns about Moroccan expansionism. Morocco had for some time claimed territorial rights to Mauritania and recognized Mauritania as a legitimate independent country only as late as 1969. Elements within Mauritania also favored assimilation into Morocco, particularly Maure groups who wanted separation from the black African south. Because of this, Daddah's government initially called for total independence for Western Sahara, with the hopes that the territory would later decide to join with Mauritania due to the close ethnic ties between the Maures and the Saharawi. However, considering the clear Moroccan interest in the territory, Mauritania settled on the Tiris al Gharbiyya as a buffer against encroachment by their militarily superior Maghrib neighbor. This move was not popular among Mauritanians, however. Most Maures wanted either complete control of Western Sahara or full independence for the territory. The black African population in the south opposed any involvement in Western Sahara, which they considered to be an Arab concern unrelated to their own.

Ultimately the Mauritanian occupation of the Tiris al Gharbiyya proved to be a disaster. From Algeria, which supported the Saharawi cause, the Polisario immediately launched a broad offensive against Mauritanian troops. Despite aid from France, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco, Mauritania was unable to stamp out the Polisario resistance.

The ongoing conflict stunted Mauritania's post-independence DEVELOPMENT, and in 1978 Daddah was overthrown in a military COUP D'ÉTAT led by Colonel Mustapha Ould Salek, who became the new prime minister. Salek, too, was unable to solve the Western Sahara crisis, and in 1979 Colonel Mohammed Khouna Ould Haidalla (1940–) replaced Salek. By the end of the year Haidalla had negotiated a peace treaty with Polisario, and Mauritania withdrew its claims to the Tiris al-Gharbiyya.

Continuing Instability Haidalla named himself president and installed a civilian government, with Ahmed Ould Bneijara (1947–) as prime minister. However, in 1981 Haidalla responded to growing tensions by halting his nascent political reform efforts and reinstating military rule. Continuing aggression by Morocco and yet another failed coup supported by LIBYA underscored Haidalla's growing weakness. The president's decision in 1984 to recognize the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic as the true government of Western Sahara caused an uproar within his own government and among Mauritanians who feared the move would instigate Moroccan attacks. Continuing drought conditions, CORRUPTION, and a failing economy all finally contributed to Haidalla's 1984 ouster, at the hands of the army chief of staff, Colonel Maaouya Ould Sid Ahmed TAYA (c. 1941–).

Internal ethnic problems continued under Taya, as black Africans in the south faced oppression at the hands of lighter-skinned Maures. In 1989 conflict erupted in Nouakchott and even spilled over into neighboring Senegal. Outbreaks of violence between Maures and black Senegalese in the Mauritanian capital ultimately led Taya to drive 100,000 Senegalese nationals from the country. In return, 240,000 Maures were expelled from Senegal. It was not until two years later that the two countries reestablished peaceful relations.

In 1992 Taya was officially elected to the presidency as head of the Social and Democratic Republican Party (Parti Républicain Démocratique et Social, PRDS). Though Mauritania's involvement in the Western Sahara conflict was largely over, President Taya still faced many of the same difficult issues as his predecessor. The country was poorly developed and relied heavily on foreign ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. To combat the situation, Taya worked with the WORLD BANK and INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND to rebuild the economy. He also launched an effort to eliminate government corruption.

In spite of the nation's continuing problems, Taya and the PRDS maintained their control of Mauritania through both the 1997 and 2001 elections, though these victories were tainted by claims of electoral fraud. In 2002 Taya attempted to eliminate his opposition by reducing Mauritania to a single-party state. From Daddah to Taya, Mauritania came full circle in a cycle of political instability and autocratic rule.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); MAURITANIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Mauritius Indian Ocean island nation that is 720 square miles (1,870 sq km) in size and is situated approximately 500 miles (805 km) east of MADAGASCAR. A coastal plain rings the island, backed by mountains that rise to an interior plateau.

Mauritius at Independence Mauritius, which became independent in 1968 and became a republic in 1992, was for a time the sugar capital of the British Empire. Companies imported LABOR from India to work in the sugar fields alongside the Africans who had been brought to the island in bondage before slavery was abolished in 1835. The result is that, today, the island's population is ethnically and linguistically quite diverse, though the majority of the people are Indo-Mauritian. French (reflecting the island's pre-British colonial heritage) and English are joint official languages. Creole and South Asian languages are spoken as well. In terms of RELIGION, most of the population is Hindu, although Christianity and Islam are also important.

In the 1960s the Mauritian economy was almost entirely dependent on a single cash crop, sugar. Although sugar continues to be an important export crop, political independence has allowed other activities, such as TOURISM, financial services, and manufacturing, to develop as strong elements within the economy. The manufacturing sector is particularly dependent on labor-intensive industries such as textiles. The economy relies on EXPORTS from the industrial sector, fueled by creating an island-wide "Export Processing Zone." The economic transformation of Mauritius has allowed it to take its place among the middle-income countries of the world.

Key to the economic growth of Mauritius has been its relative political stability. The Mauritian Labor Party (MLP), led by Seewoosagur Ramgoolam (1910–1985), was in power through 1982. That year, however, the rival Mauritian Militant Movement-Mauritian Socialist Party coalition won a parliamentary majority, and Anerood JUGNAUTH (1930–) became prime minister. His party base then became the Mauritian Socialist Movement (MSM), which lost the 1995 election to the MLP in alliance with the MMM. Navin Ramgoolam (1947–), the son of the country's first prime minister, assumed his fa-

ther's old office. Although Jugnauth even lost his parliamentary seat in 1995, in 2000 the MSM swept back into power, and Jugnauth once again became the country's prime minister.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the government of Mauritius is attempting to diversify the economy further. In the same way that tourism and textile manufacturing replaced sugar, the government is now turning to information and communications technologies for the next stage in its economic DEVELOPMENT. Toward this end, the island has been helped by its high LITERACY rate (83 percent) and now universal schooling. It has developed its first cyber-city and is attracting major MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, which are investing in software development, training, computer manufacturing, and call center facilities. Membership in the SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY, which it joined in the 1990s, positions Mauritius to provide much of the information and communications technology services for a large part of the African continent.

In 2000 ethnic, class, and religious tensions boiled over, and there were riots between the Creole and Hindu communities. In an effort to restore calm and political stability Jugnauth, a Hindu, relinquished the prime ministership to the deputy prime minister, Paul Raymond Berenger (1945–   ), who was a Creole Catholic. Jugnauth then became president of the republic.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vols. IV, V); MAURITIUS (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Further reading: Edward and Bridget Dommen, *Mauritius: An Island of Success: A Retrospective Study 1960–1993* (Oxford, U.K.: James Currey, 1999).

Mbabane Capital of SWAZILAND, located in the Mdimba Mountains in the northwestern part of the country. In the late 19th century, Mbabane developed as a settlement near the home of the then Swazi king, Mbadzeni (d. 1889). Because of its cool and pleasant highland location, the town became the administrative capital of British colonial Swaziland in 1902. (It retained its capital status when Swaziland became independent in 1968.) The city is mainly a center for government. However, in 1964 a railroad was built to MOZAMBIQUE, and this promoted the export of iron ore and tin, which are mined nearby. Iron

ore EXPORTS have declined in recent years, but the city has remained a commercial center for the surrounding agricultural region. With a population of approximately 70,000, Mbabane is second in size to Manzini, which, with 75,000 people, is both the largest city and a major industrial center of Swaziland.

Mbabane has recently started to promote its tourist potential in an attempt to compete with the booming tourist industry of SOUTH AFRICA. The city enjoys a temperate climate, scenic mountain landscapes, easy access to the culturally rich Ezulwini Valley, and a host of international hotels.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); TOURISM (Vol. V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Mbeki, Govan (Govan Archibald Mvunyelina Mbeki) (1910–2001) *South African political activist, intellectual, and journalist*

Govan Mbeki was born and raised in the Transkei region of the eastern Cape Province, SOUTH AFRICA. Coming from a prominent Christian family, he received an excellent EDUCATION, capped, in 1937, by a BA degree from FORT HARE COLLEGE. From the mid-1930s, Mbeki was an active opponent of the racist policies and system of government of South Africa and a leading member of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). In 1961 he joined the South African Communist Party, as well.

In the aftermath of the police shootings at SHARPEVILLE, in 1960, Mbeki was banned (which involved virtual house arrest and prevented an individual from being quoted in the media) and twice arrested. He went into hiding and in 1962 he became a member of the ANC's armed wing, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Spear of the Nation). The following year he was arrested along with other key ANC leaders in a home in Rivonia, a suburb outside JOHANNESBURG, and sentenced to life imprisonment for allegedly plotting to overthrow the government. Along with other ANC colleagues, among them Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ), Mbeki was sent to the fortress prison of ROBBEN ISLAND, located in False Bay off the beaches of CAPE TOWN.

In 1964 Mbeki's *South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt* was published in Great Britain, although it was banned in South Africa. The manuscript for the book was written while he was in prison and smuggled out on toilet paper.

After 25 years on Robben Island Mbeki was released in 1987, in large part because of his failing health. He

chose to resume his political activism and was placed under house arrest in Port Elizabeth, an Eastern Cape city. In 1990 Mbeki published *Learning from Robben Island: The Prison Writings of Govan Mbeki*, followed by *Struggle for Liberation in South Africa; A Short History* (1991) and *Sunset at Midday: Latshon'ilang'emini!* (1996). In May 1994, when the ANC came to power in South Africa's first fully democratic elections, Mbeki was elected deputy president of the senate. He also served as a delegate to the National Council of Provinces. Having retired from political life in 1997, Mbeki died in 2001. His son Thabo MBEKI (1942–) succeeded Nelson Mandela as president of South Africa in 1999.

Mbeki, Thabo (1942–) *President of South Africa*

The successor to popular and universally respected South African president Nelson MANDELA (1918–), Mbeki has struggled to carry on the successes of Mandela's administration. Born in Idutywa, SOUTH AFRICA, and raised in the village of Mbewuleni, Mbeki is the son of the late anti-apartheid leader Govan MBEKI (1910–2001). Through the influence of his parents, both members of the South African Communist Party (SACP), Mbeki became interested in politics at an early age. Well schooled and precocious, Mbeki joined the Youth League of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), at age 14. He was expelled from secondary school in 1959 for organizing a student strike and only a few years later joined the SACP.

In 1963 Govan Mbeki, then one of the founders, along with Nelson Mandela, of the militant ANC wing known as UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, was arrested by the APARTHEID government and sentenced to life in prison on ROBBEN ISLAND. As a precaution the ANC sent Thabo Mbeki abroad to London, where he studied at the University of London and then the University of Sussex, earning a master's degree in economics. He also worked with the London ANC branch led by Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993). This experience led to Mbeki's significant role in organizing support for the ANC from exile. In 1970 he traveled to the Soviet Union for Marxist and military training, and then served the ANC in various African nations, including BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA, SWAZILAND, MOZAMBIQUE, and NIGERIA. His public relations efforts, particularly his attempts to encourage the involvement of anti-apartheid whites in the resistance, made him a prime diplomatic figure in the ANC.

In 1990 Mbeki returned to South Africa and played a major role in the negotiations leading to the end of the apartheid system. In 1994 Nelson Mandela was elected the country's first black president, and an era of extreme racism and oppression in South Africa finally move toward a close. Mbeki then became deputy president of Mandela's government.

Known for his political skills and unfailing work ethic, Mbeki was positioned by the ANC to succeed Mandela. By 1996 Mbeki was essentially acting as president for Mandela, whose age prevented him from enduring the full rigors of the office. The following year Mbeki became president of the ANC. This established him as Mandela's protegé and made his election to the national presidency inevitable. With Mandela's support, Mbeki became president after winning the 1999 elections.

The polar opposite of Mandela in terms of personality, the somber and reserved Mbeki has faced difficulties as president, despite his political prowess. Stepping from behind the scenes into the national and international limelight, Mbeki was greeted with skepticism by many who were not sure what to expect from the new president. Despite the fall of apartheid, South Africa still faced many pressing concerns, particularly high unemployment, rising crime rates, and the spread of HIV/AIDS.

In an effort to reverse the declining economy Mbeki broke from his Marxist background and promoted the privatization of many of South Africa's industries. He continued public works projects aimed at providing utilities to previously neglected rural areas. He also liberalized LABOR laws and decreased government spending. Under Mbeki, South Africa also began to take a larger role in southern Africa through the SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY. In connection with this he talked about "an African renaissance," which he saw South Africa as well positioned to lead. However, the country's economy continued to struggle, and the deepening crisis in neighboring ZIMBABWE diverted his attention from such an endeavor.

Mbeki garnered negative publicity in response to his peculiar position on the HIV/AIDS epidemic, to which he has seemed indifferent. He has gone as far as discounting the proven medical facts about the disease and refusing to support expensive efforts to provide needed drugs to AIDS victims. His position on this issue has led to great public outcry against the president, including criticism from Nelson Mandela, who has since publicly regretted his past support of Mbeki.

See also: HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Mbikusita-Lewanika, Inonge (1943–) *Head of the Agenda for Zambia political party*

Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika was born in Senanga, in the Western Province of ZAMBIA. Her father, Godwin

Mbikusita-Lewanika (c. 1907–1977), was a social welfare officer in the copper MINING town of Kitwe and was the first president of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress. He later became the *litunga* (king) of the Lozi people from 1968 until 1977. Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika was the fourth-born in a family of 13. She grew up in Kitwe's Busakile Township and attended Busakile Primary School. Upon graduation she went to Chipembi Girls Secondary School, located in Zambia's Central Province.

In 1960 Mbikusita-Lewanika went to Costa Mesa Junior College in California. There she earned a BS degree in home economics and a master's degree in EDUCATION and psychology. In 1979 she earned a doctorate from New York University. Mbikusita-Lewanika held a variety of teaching jobs, including positions at the Evelyn Hone College in LUSAKA, Mongu Teacher Training College in Western Province, and the University of Zambia. From 1980 to 1990 Mbikusita-Lewanika served in East and southern Africa as the UNICEF regional adviser and senior program officer.

In 1991 Mbikusita-Lewanika became actively involved in politics when she joined the opposition MOVEMENT FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY (MMD). That same year she was elected to parliament. Two years later Mbikusita-Lewanika was among 11 members of the MMD who resigned in protest against the party's direction. She remained in parliament, however, joining and becoming the leader of the National Party. Three years later, she left the National Party and joined the Agenda for Zambia party, which was led by her brother, Akashambatwa. In 2001 she took over the party's leadership and ran for the national presidency. The party finished tenth in the election, which included 11 major parties. In February 2003 Zambia's president, Levy MWANAWASA (1948–   ), appointed Mbikusita-Lewanika ambassador to the United States and special envoy responsible for 17 countries in the Americas and the Caribbean.

See also: LOZI (Vols. III, IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

Mboya, Tom (Thomas Joseph Odhiambo Mboya) (1930–1969) *Kenyan labor union leader and politician*

A founding member of the dominant KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (KANU) and supporter of Kenya's first president, Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), Mboya initially served as minister of justice when Kenya became independent in 1963. However, his LABOR UNION experience made him a natural choice for the position of labor minister as well. Mboya set about establishing a system of fair LABOR laws and practices for the new country. Within a short time his role expanded to include the ministry for economic planning and DEVELOPMENT, and he was responsible for turning Kenya into a leader among new African nations in the areas of employment and economic growth.

Mboya, however, had his detractors. To some, especially to his long-time rival, vice president Oginga ODINGA (1912–1994), Mboya was not radical enough in the pursuit of the immediate redistribution of white-owned land to Africans. By the late 1960s Mboya also became increasingly critical of the authoritarianism and CORRUPTION that began to characterize Kenyatta's government. Mboya's break with Kenyatta was compounded by the fact that Mboya was a LUO, a minority ethnic group in a country dominated by Kenyatta's KIKUYU.

In 1969 Mboya was shot and killed by a Kikuyu reputed to have close ties to Kikuyu officials in Kenyatta's government. Although major investigations were carried out, nothing was ever proved, and suspicions of both ethnic and government involvement in Mboya's assassination linger to the present day.

See also: MBOYA, TOM (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Cherry Gertzel, *The Politics of Independent Kenya: 1963–1968* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1970); Tom Mboya, *Freedom and After* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963).

medicine There has been a great variety of medical systems in Africa for centuries. During the colonial period Western biomedicine was introduced and became another widespread option for treatment. Despite decades of opposition from the biomedical community toward "traditional" medical systems, efforts have been made recently to establish a relationship of cooperation between biomedical and traditional systems.

From the patients' perspective, there are many options to choose from when illness occurs. Self-treatment is often the first action taken. Self-treatment is usually easier and cheaper than visiting one of many traditional healers or the nearest biomedical clinic. Often, over-the-counter drugs for common ailments are widely available at pharmacies or roadside kiosks, and many people have at least a limited knowledge of herbal remedies, which they can collect themselves.

With the widespread use of over-the-counter drugs, however, there is increasing concern regarding the evolution of drug-resistant illnesses. For example, patients may purchase a medication that does not specifically target their particular illness, or they may be able to afford only a partial dose of the correct medicine. In the long term, this can lead to drug-resistant illnesses. MALARIA, for example, has become resistant to treatment with chloroquine, a medicine used in many areas of Africa.

Although countries such as SOUTH AFRICA and KENYA have major medical treatment and research facilities that

By the middle of the 1960s, vast differences could be observed between the various practitioners of medicine. Compare, for example, the traditional healer on the left with the one dressed in Western-style clothing on the right. © AP/Wide World Photos

offer the latest in medical procedures, rural areas are largely underserved and have limited medical resources. Rural areas usually have higher patient-doctor ratios and, therefore, rural patients have longer waits. In addition, rural clinics often lack supplies, which leads patients to seek medicine on their own. This general lack of resources is usually the reason that rural Africans often choose to self-medicate first. Biomedical clinics are often far away, expensive, and have long lines for treatment. Some countries have policies that call for free public health care; however, others have had to implement user fees after making budget cutbacks or adopting STRUC-TURAL ADJUSTMENT programs.

Government biomedical health care facilities have joined forces with international organizations, including the World Health Organization, to establish goals for treatment. In addition to treatment, many countries now offer preventative health care related to sexual education, sanitation, and neonatal care. Other international and NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS such as CARE, the

Centers for Disease Control, and the United Nations have implemented programs that provide biomedical services to remote and urban populations. In many areas of Africa, aggressive vaccination programs have substantially lowered the chances of contracting diseases such as measles, polio, and smallpox, which has been eradicated. A major effort, funded by the William H. Gates Foundation in 2003, is also underway to find a vaccine for malaria.

People can also seek treatment from one of the many types of traditional healers. Traditional healers can use a variety of tools when administering treatment including herbs, rituals, offerings, foods or food restrictions, charms, minerals, animal products, song and dance, or modern biomedicine.

In reality, many people exercise multiple health care options to treat a single illness. The growing cooperation between the biomedical system and traditional health care systems should increase options and improve treatment for people in Africa.

As a consequence of the cooperation between traditional and biomedical systems, pharmaceutical companies now collect information regarding medicinal plants that have been used for centuries in Africa. This information may be used to develop new treatments. The re-legitimization of traditional health care by African governments and international bodies has also resulted in the large-scale production and international trade of medicinal plants and substances. Some medicinal plant farmers now provide products for markets in Asia, Europe, and the United States.

Currently the access and availability of HIV/AIDS antiretroviral drugs is one of the more heated issues regarding Africa and medicine. Many of the people in countries with high HIV/AIDS prevalence rates do not have access to antiretroviral drugs due to their high costs. So far BOTSWANA is the only country to commit to making antiretroviral drugs available to all citizens at no cost. Discussions are ongoing regarding the legality of in-country pharmacies in Africa to produce antiretroviral drugs for lower prices.

See also: DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol V); HEALTH AND HEALING IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); MEDICINE (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Meles Zenawi (Ato Meles Zenawi) (1955–)
Prime minister of Ethiopia

Meles Legesse Zenawi was born May 9, 1955, in northern ETHIOPIA. His father belonged to the TIGRAY people and his mother came from a wealthy family in neighboring ERITREA. After attending secondary school in ADDIS ABABA, he continued his education studying medicine in the capital in the early 1970s. He left his studies to take part in the military COUP D'ÉTAT that deposed Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) in 1974.

Meles began his political career as a founder of the Marxist-Leninist League of Tigray. This organization provided the ideological base for the Soviet-supported Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). During the mid-1980s the TPLF grew, with Meles eventually establishing supreme leadership. In 1989 he founded the ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (EPRDF) in order to broaden the base of support for the TPLF, which was seen as an exclusively Tigrayan party. Meles claimed victory in 1991 when his organization ousted Ethiopia's president, MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–). In July 1991 Meles became the president of Ethiopia.

Meles soon won international support after instituting a movement away from the Marxist path that had failed the country up to that point. In August 1991, following a U.S.-brokered peace agreement, an unstable transitional government was appointed. In 1995 new elections led to the seating of the Council of People's Representatives, a new parliamentary body. Meles then stepped down as president, which was by then a largely ceremonial position, to become prime minister, a position that offered the leader more power.

As Ethiopia's leader Meles has struggled to bring Ethiopia's various ethnic groups together. An ethnic Tigray, he supported the right of self-determination for Eritrea, which has a large Tigrayan population. However, he has been unable to resolve the contentious issue of self-determination for Ethiopia's large OROMO population. For their part, the influential Amhara people opposed Meles's plans for ethnic decentralization and the potential break-up of Ethiopia, since they had long enjoyed the dominant position in the country's political life. Meles, however, largely ignored the public outcry.

Described as shy and soft-spoken, Meles has avoided publicity and media attention. Although he has played an integral role in liberalizing Ethiopia, at the same time his intentions of turning the country into a democratic state have been compromised by war with Eritrea and by his authoritarian tendencies.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV).

Mengistu Haile Mariam (c. 1937–) *Ethiopian dictator from 1977 to 1991*

Mengistu was born in ADDIS ABABA to an Amharan father and OROMO mother, both of whom were servants in the house of the nobleman Baron Dadkazmach Kbede Tasama. Baron Kbede financed Mengistu's primary education, and there is speculation that the baron, a regular visitor to the court of Ethiopian emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975), was Mengistu's father.

In 1957 Mengistu entered the army, later attending the Genet Military Academy in the city of Olatta. Upon graduation in 1966 he was commissioned as a lieutenant and went to work as a baggage handler and logistics coordinator for Haile Selassie. In the late 1960s Mengistu continued his military training at the Aberdeen Training Grounds, near Washington D.C. While in the United States, Mengistu witnessed racial prejudice first-hand, an experience that left him with anti-American sentiments.

Mengistu eventually rose to the rank of major and returned to the Genet Military Academy as a teacher in 1971. He later served in Ogaden, a disputed frontier region along the border between ETHIOPIA and SOMALIA. In June 1974 Mengistu became chairman of the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee, also called the Dergue.

Unable to abide the widespread CORRUPTION of Haile Selassie's government, Mengistu participated in the 1974 COUP D' ÉTAT that overthrew the emperor. Mengistu quickly became among the highest-ranking leaders in the new government. He served as one of the two vice chairmen of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), a decision-making body made up of Dergue members that came to power after Selassie's fall. In the midst of internal struggles within the PMAC Mengistu rose to the fore. After a murderous period known as the "red terror," he purged his opposition from the government, gaining full control in 1977.

Mengistu introduced socialist reforms and allied his country with the Soviet Union during the Cold War, reversing Ethiopia's long-standing alliance with the United States. Mengistu initially attempted to empower the people of Ethiopia by nationalizing land ownership and organizing peasant associations, but his leadership quickly became brutal and dictatorial. As a result, he inspired fear among the diverse Ethiopian peoples and faced years of armed rebellion, especially in the northern region of TIGRAY and in Eritrea.

In the early 1990s with the withdrawal of Soviet aid after the fall of the Soviet Union, Mengistu's hold on power became even more tenuous. In 1991 the ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT, a coalition of northern rebel groups led by the Tigray People's Liberation Front, captured Addis Ababa, causing Mengistu to flee to ZIMBABWE. Ethiopian attempts to get Zimbabwe to extradite the former dictator were unsuccessful.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); FAMINE AND HUNGER (Vol. V); OGADEN (Vol. IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Messaoudi, Khalida (1958–) *Algerian activist*

Messaoudi was born in the Algerian village of Khabylia, south of ALGIERS. A math teacher as a young woman, she became politically active in her early twenties. In 1981 she joined a group of about 100 women that publicly protested the Family Code—proposed by Islamic fundamentalists—that called for the elimination of equal treatment of men and women. As the EDUCATION system became more influenced by fundamentalists, Messaoudi left teaching and entered politics.

In 1989 she helped found the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), a political party that represents Berber interests and promotes modernization and secularization. Messaoudi's liberal political ideology made her a target of the fundamentalist Front for Islamic Salvation (FIS), a political party that desires an Islamic state in Algeria. Since 1993 Messaoudi has lived under a *fatwa*, or death sentence, handed down by the FIS. Despite living a

clandestine and nomadic lifestyle to avoid assassination, the courageous Messaoudi won election to Algeria's Parliament in 1997.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Khalida Messaoudi, *Unbowed: An Algerian Woman Confronts Islamic Fundamentalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

Michel, James Alix   See SEYCHELLES.

minerals and metals   Africa, which produces more than 50 types of minerals and metals, contributes greatly to the world's production of cobalt, diamonds, chromium, GOLD, manganese, and phosphates. Africa also produces a share of the world's output of bauxite, uranium, copper, coal, and platinum. The once-important metal resources of copper and iron have fallen in their level of production. At the same time the production of uranium and bauxite has risen in amount and importance.

The minerals Africa produces are used in a variety of activities and industries. Copper, for example, is used in the electronic industry and space exploration. Iron is used in manufacturing tools and constructing buildings. Uranium is used as an energy source as well as in the manufacturing of nuclear weapons.

In 2003 United States president George W. Bush (1946–) said in his State of the Union speech that one justification for the invasion of Iraq that year was an alleged attempt by Iraq to acquire uranium from NIGER for use in a nuclear arms program. The accuracy of this claim became the subject of contentious debate.

Although Africa, as a region, has enormous wealth in minerals and metals, these NATURAL RESOURCES are not distributed evenly throughout the continent. As a result only a handful of countries benefit from the MINING industry. For example, the two countries of SOUTH AFRICA and NIGERIA account for more than one-half of the total mineral production in Africa.

Still, the potential for greater benefits from the mining of minerals and metals is present, as many African countries possess these natural resources. For example, MAURITANIA, LIBERIA, and WESTERN SAHARA have rich deposits of iron ore, while the Copperbelt, stretching from ZAMBIA into the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, is rich in the mineral for which it is named. Major bauxite

reserves are found in a band stretching across West Africa from GUINEA to TOGO.

Unfortunately, the countries that have major deposits of minerals and metals and also have developed the IN-FRASTRUCTURE to extract them remain heavily dependent on the export of these resources. Since most of these countries are not engaged in processing minerals for their own domestic markets or industries, they consequently lose out on much of the potential profit.

Zambia is an example of a mineral-rich country—in this case copper—that has not been able to turn its mineral resources into national wealth. A number of unrelated events contributed to the country's situation. Land-locked, Zambia was long dependent upon rail TRANSPORTATION through neighboring countries to export its copper. In 1965, when RHODESIA issued its UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF IN-DEPENDENCE, Zambia lost its rail connections to the south. Ten years later, the war in ANGOLA cut off its northern rail links to Benguela. Also in 1975 there was a sharp decline in world copper prices, which made the extraction of the metal unprofitable. By the time copper prices recovered in the late 1980s the country's mines, long deprived of adequate investment capital, faced rising production costs that cut deeply into the potential returns from increased world prices.

Geologists and speculators estimate that many of Africa's mineral and metal resources are yet to be discovered. Civil unrest and political instability have hindered the exploration process and many multinational mining companies have been hesitant to invest in some potentially mineral-rich areas.

Political Exploitation Because of the potential wealth that minerals and metals could provide to many African countries desperate for economic stimulus, their presence has frequently been used for political gain. In the middle of the political upheaval known as the CONGO CRISIS, for example, the Democratic Republic of the Congo's mineral-rich province of KATANGA seceded from the country under the leadership of the politically motivated Moïse TSHOMBE (1919–1969).

More recent manipulation of Africa's natural resources has been largely been linked to government opposition groups. In the 1990s rebel leader Jonas SAVIMBI (1934–2002) used money from diamonds to finance an armed rebellion against Angola's popularly elected government. Meanwhile, in SIERRA LEONE, the REVOLUTION-ARY UNITED FRONT (RUF) has used the sale of illegal

diamonds to finance the purchase of arms during the country's civil war. In 2000 the United Nations (UN) issued a ban on diamonds from RUF-controlled areas in Sierra Leone in an effort to diminish their value. The UN ban was also extended to LIBERIA, a country that many of the diamonds passed through on their journey to the diamond centers of Antwerp and New York. In response, Sierra Leone set up a certification process for diamonds to distinguish those legally mined within the country. In 2003 the United Nations lifted its ban on Sierra Leone diamonds, though the ban on Liberia diamonds is still in effect.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COPPER (Vols. III, IV); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); DIAMONDS (Vol. IV); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. IV); MINERAL REVO-LUTION (Vol. IV).

mining   Process of extracting certain NATURAL RE-SOURCES from the ground, including coal, diamonds, GOLD, and copper. During the 1960s most African nations gained their independence, altering the dynamic of the mining industry in Africa. Many of the newly independent countries gained part ownership of mining developments, and with it an interest in ensuring their profitability. This often weakened the ability of miners' unions to gain wage increases or improvements in mining conditions.

African countries such as GHANA, ZAMBIA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO chose to nationalize the mining industries that had previously been dominated by private companies. The intention was to boost domestic economies; however, this proved to be ineffective. These countries lacked the expertise to manage the mines successfully, resulting in their continued dependence on foreign involvement in the industry. The slump in world metal prices during the 1970s also contributed to the problems these countries faced, as the lack of profits made it difficult for them to keep up with the maintenance of the mines and equipment.

In the 1980s the WORLD BANK and INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND implemented STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs that required African governments to begin privatizing their economies in order to increase competition, efficiency, and profits. As a result countries that had previously nationalized their mining industries began to reverse this policy and privatize their mines. This process further hindered the mining industry in these nations.

At the end of the 20th century the mining industry in Africa faced continued difficulties and was unable to provide a stable base for the continent's fledgling economies. Political instability has deterred DEVELOPMENT of potentially lucrative mineral deposits in many parts of Africa. At the same time what mining there is does little to support the local economy. Instead of being used to manufacture
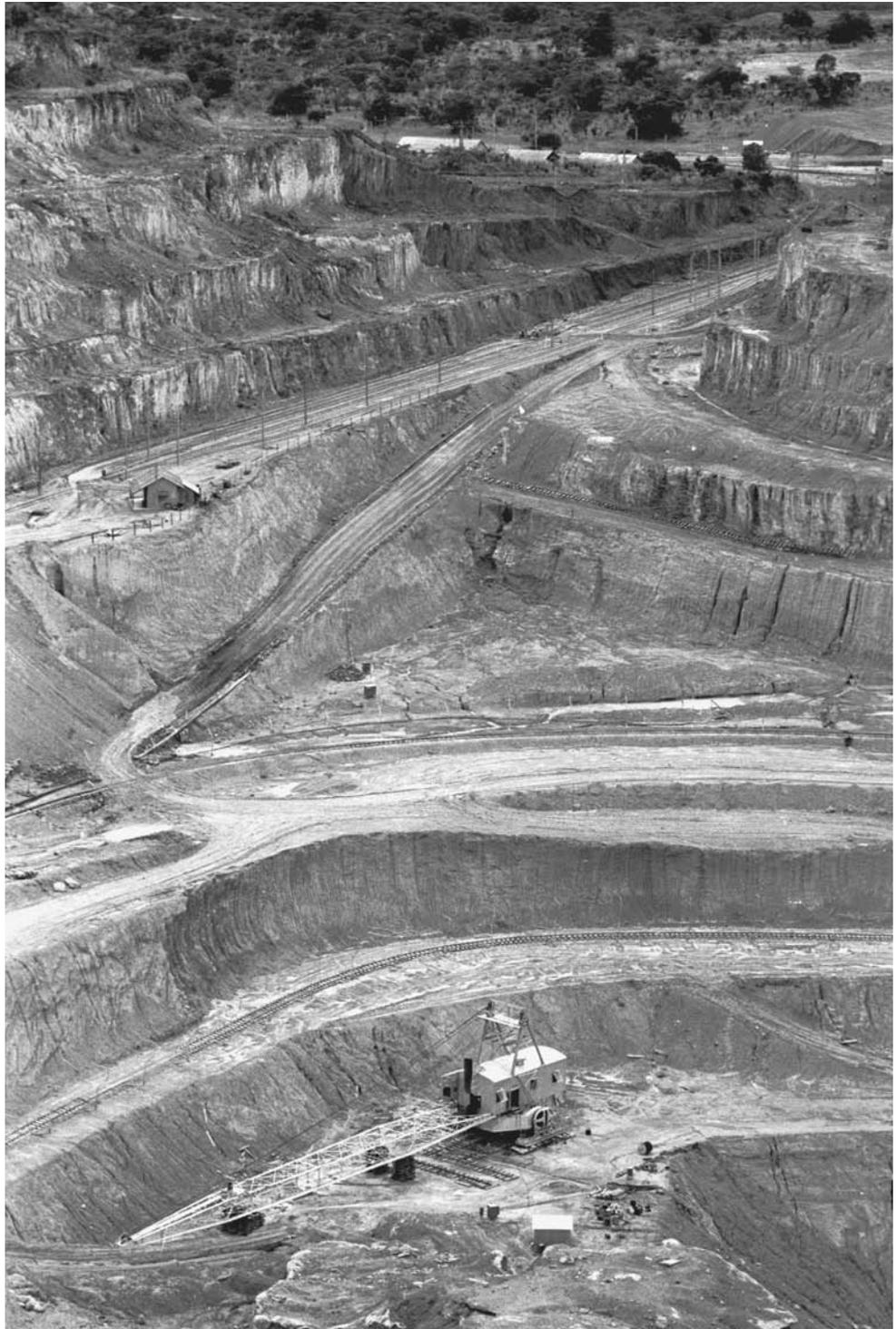
Africa's Copperbelt region contains an estimated 30 percent of the world's copper reserves. Mining the copper is a costly process, in more ways than one. This operation in Katanga, shown in 1963, reveals the environmental damage done by open-pit copper mining. © United Nations

products, many of the mined minerals and metals are exported as raw materials. As a result most of the jobs created by mining are unskilled and the industry remains isolated from other business enterprises.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (Vol. V); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V).

missionaries Individuals who work in an organized institutional framework to convert others to their own RELIGION—non-Christians to Christianity, non-Muslims to Islam, and so on. In Africa, however, the term "missionary" has come to be associated with Christianity. During the colonial period the missionary system in Africa was largely a European-led undertaking. This, of course, fol-

lowed the general rule of colonial administration, in which Europeans were in charge and gave orders to African subordinates. Africans responded to this by establishing autonomous churches that were independent from the mission churches, challenging them for adherents.

With the onset of African INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS in the 1950s and 1960s, European-run churches increasingly placed Africans in leadership positions. This occurred even in segregated SOUTH AFRICA, where, in 1986, Desmond TUTU (1931–) became the archbishop of Cape Town and the head of the country's Anglican Church. In recent decades, however, the fastest growing African Christian churches have been independent.

With the transition of church leadership to Africans, missionaries became far less important in evangelization and conversion. Their previous broad role in EDUCATION has largely disappeared as national governments assume larger responsibilities in the field. Missionaries have, however, continued to play important roles in Bible translation and health care, staffing mission hospitals that are sometimes the only medical providers in an area.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); HEALTH AND HEALING IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); MISSIONARIES (Vols. III, IV).

Further reading: Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1996).

Mkapa, Benjamin (Benjamin William Mkapa)

(1938–) *President of Tanzania, elected in 1995*

Born in Ndanda, TANZANIA, Mkapa was educated at Kisongera Seminary, St. Francis College (Cambridge), and MAKERERE UNIVERSITY in UGANDA, where he earned a degree in English in 1962. Mkapa took positions in the civil and foreign service in mainland Tanganyika, which would soon join with ZANZIBAR to become the Republic of TANZANIA. Later he moved into media positions and served as managing editor of two national newspapers. In 1974 Tanzanian president Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) appointed Mkapa as his press secretary, and two years later Mkapa became the founding director of the Tanzanian press agency. In the years that followed, Mkapa also served in ministerial and ambassadorial positions in NIGERIA, Canada, and the United States.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s Mkapa worked closely with Tanzania's first two presidents, Nyerere and Ali Hassan MWINYI (1925–). In 1995, with the endorsement of Nyerere, Mkapa was named the candidate for the ruling PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM). Mkapa won the 1995 election and was reelected to another five-year term in 2000.

Mkapa is widely seen as representing a new generation of African leadership that emphasizes economic DEVELOPMENT and market reform. After taking office Mkapa

also appointed a presidential commission to study CORRUPTION in the country. This move helped lend credibility to his campaign promise to fix the governmental irregularities that plagued the Mwinyi government.

Despite economic reforms, however, Tanzania's dependence on foreign ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE has increased, which will likely have a negative impact on the country's long-term development prospects. Other than the economy, Mkapa's other challenges include establishing a lasting peace in the region and tackling the HIV/AIDS crisis that affects so many African nations.

See also: HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Mobutu Sese Seko (Joseph-Désiré Mobutu)

(1930–1997) *Military dictator of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which he renamed Zaïre*

Born Joseph-Désiré Mobutu in what was then the northern part of Belgian Congo, the future Congolese dictator was a member of the Bangala people, one of the country's more than 200 ethnic groups. He was educated at Roman Catholic mission schools before being drafted into the Congolese colonial army. He rose to the rank of sergeant-major, the highest rank attainable by an African under the Belgian colonial system.

After his army service, Mobutu became a journalist, eventually becoming editor-in-chief of the independence-oriented newspaper *Actualites Africaines*. There he became acquainted with two pro-independence leaders, Joseph KASAVUBU (c. 1913–1969) and Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961). His association with Lumumba eventually led to Mobutu taking an organizing role in Lumumba's Congolese National Movement (Mouvement National Congolais, MNC). This, in turn, led to positions in the government formed by Kasavubu and Lumumba when the Congo gained its independence in June 1960.

Seizing Power In the chaotic first days of Congolese independence, Mobutu initially proved himself a trustworthy lieutenant for Lumumba, helping to put down a mutiny among Congolese soldiers and taking on the duties of army chief of staff. However, with the arrival of United Nations peacekeeping troops, the secession of mineral-rich KATANGA province, and Lumumba's turning toward the former Soviet Union for assistance, Mobutu separated from Lumumba. In September 1960 he used his military strength to seize control of the government, which he held until turning power over to Kasavubu in January 1961.

During the early 1960s Mobutu concentrated his attention on the Congolese military, strengthening a force that was intensely loyal to him. In November 1965 he used this army to initiate a COUP D'ÉTAT, overthrowing Kasavubu and declaring himself head of state. Supported by major European powers and, because of his anti-Communist stance, the United States, Mobutu quickly

managed to concentrate virtually all governing power in his own hands. Elections were cancelled, a government by decree was established, and the governors of the various Congolese regions were rendered powerless. Within a matter of months, Mobutu had complete control of the country, and the image of the dictator, wearing his trademark leopard-skin hat, became the dominant one in the country.

Since the early 1960s questions have consistently been raised about Mobutu's involvement in the death of Patrice Lumumba. While nothing has been proven, it is widely believed that Mobutu had at least some part in the one-time prime minister's death. The most likely scenario involves Mobutu ordering that Lumumba be taken from his jail cell, near Leopoldville, and transported to Katanga, where he eventually was murdered.

Economic Disaster The Congo is a vast region, rich in MINERALS AND METALS and other NATURAL RESOURCES. Although it was mismanaged and its people brutally repressed during the period of colonial rule, the Congo had the potential to become one of Africa's wealthiest independent nations. Under Mobutu, however, it quickly became an economic disaster. In the early years of his rule, in spite of nationalizing MINING and other industries, he encouraged FOREIGN INVESTMENT. He also brought in foreigners to replace the skilled workers who had fled during the chaotic first years of independence. This initially proved a successful strategy, and by 1970 the country seemed to be on the road to economic stability.

In 1973, however, Mobutu reversed policies, in effect encouraging citizens to claim the property and businesses of foreign investors. Foreign investment came to a grinding halt, the economy stumbled, and, within a few years, the country was virtually bankrupt. To make matters worse, Mobutu used whatever money was coming in—the majority of it being aid from European countries and the United States—for grandiose projects designed to further his own image. Little went to develop the potentially rich nation's economy or INFRASTRUCTURE. As a result, the standard of living fell, inflation soared, and unemployment rose rapidly. It was not long before the country was keeping afloat, economically, almost entirely on the basis of foreign aid and loans. By 1985, in fact, interest on foreign loans alone ate up more than 50 percent of the nation's budget.

Government Corruption under Mobutu Problems such as these, however, were only part of the country's economic and social woes. Government CORRUPTION

was another major element. In fact, 17 percent of the national budget was allotted as a "salary" for the head of state—Mobutu. But that was just the tip of the iceberg of the corruption. Estimates by various experts suggest that, during the 1970s, nearly 60 percent of all the money that the government took in ended up in the pockets of various officials. The government system of corruption and patronage was eventually labeled a *kleptocracy,* meaning "rule by thieves." Mobutu rewarded those who were loyal to him with both money and opportunities for graft. During this period Mobutu himself accumulated a fortune estimated at $5–$8 billion and maintained palaces in various parts of his own country as well as residences in Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, and IVORY COAST.

Authenticity Programs The economy was not the only disaster area created by Mobutu. During the early 1970s, he also launched an "authenticity" campaign aimed at eliminating western-style behavior and returning the country and the people to a more African identity. In 1971 he renamed the country ZAÏRE, and embarked on an effort to have all citizens with Christian-style names change them to African names. With characteristic self-aggrandizement, he himself changed his name to Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wazabanga, meaning "the warrior who knows no defeat because of his endurance and inflexible will and is all-powerful, leaving fire in his wake as he goes from conquest to conquest."

Mobutu's Fall from Power Although monuments and attempts at cultural revolution created a number of distractions, they could not hide the true effects of Mobutu's rule. Indeed, it was only through corruption and a menacing secret police force that the dictator was able to maintain his power in Zaïre. On the international level it was only through the economic support of democratic or capitalistic European and American governments—which considered Mobutu an ally in the Cold War—that he held on to power. During the 1980s, however, as the Cold War was coming to an end, the foreign support gradually diminished. By 1990, no longer able to justify their ties to Mobutu's corrupt and repressive regime, many countries ceased providing aid altogether. Left on his own Mobutu found his economy foundering. Troops mutinied because they were not paid, shopkeepers refused to accept the new, virtually worthless currency he created, and inflation soared.

Inflation reached staggering proportions in Mobutu's Zaïre. In 1989 one U.S. dollar was worth 250 zaïres (the nation's economic unit). In 1993, just four years later, one dollar was worth 2.6 million zaïres.

Opposition mounted, and, in the wake of political unrest, Mobutu was forced to legalize political parties once again. On top of this, he suffered from prostate cancer and required a great deal of medical attention, which he sought outside the country.

Mobutu's end came in the wake of horrific violence in RWANDA, Zaïre's neighbor to the east. In 1996 thousands of Rwandans—many of whom had long detested the Zaïrean dictator—fled that country and settled in Zaïre, creating an even more radical "anti-Mobutu" atmosphere. Led by Laurent KABILA (c. 1939–2001), rebel Rwandan forces organized and marched toward the Zaïrean capital of KINSHASA, where they found great popular support among Zaïreans. Mobutu fled from Kabila's advancing forces and sought political asylum in various countries, all of which turned him down. Finally MOROCCO gave him refuge. He died there in September 1997.

See also: ARMIES, COLONIAL (Vol. IV); BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu's Congo* (New York: Perennial, 2002).

Mogadishu   Capital and principal port of SOMALIA, located on the nation's southeastern Indian Ocean coast. This ancient port city, which dates back to the 10th century, served as an Italian colonial capital for the first half of the 20th century. In 1960 Mogadishu, then a city of some 86,000 people, became the capital of the independent nation of Somalia. During the 1960s the city invested in its port facilities, becoming a commercial and economic center in the process. Major EXPORTS included livestock, fruit, and hides. Major industries included processed foods, beverages, leather, cosmetics, wood products, and textiles. The Somali National University, located in the city, gained university status in 1959, and the city later became the site of several other schools of teaching, ART, health, and Islamic law.

Since the late 1980s Mogadishu's manufacturing and trading activities have declined severely due to the civil war that broke out between opposition forces and those loyal to then president Mohammed Siad BARRE (1910–1995). In 1991, before being forced out of office, Barre and his forces shelled portions of the city held by his opponents, causing massive destruction and killing perhaps 50,000 of the city's residents. Unrest and chaos continued, as soldiers supporting Mohammed Farah AIDEED (1934–1996), a longtime rival of Barre, fought with other rebelling factions in an attempt to maintain control of the city.

United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces were stationed in the city at times during the 1990s. In 1993 a United States military intervention in support of the UN peacekeepers ended in disaster, with the deaths of a number of American soldiers and a subsequent withdrawal of U.S. forces. Although a Transitional National Government was set up in 2000, it has not been able to maintain peace in the city or the nation. The population of Mogadishu was estimated at 1,200,000 in 2003, but it is difficult to obtain a reliable figure due to the large number of temporary residents and war REFUGEES.

See also: ARAB COASTAL TRADE (Vols. I, II); BENADIR COAST (Vol. III); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MOGADISHU (Vols. II, III, IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Mogae, Festus (Festus Gontebanye Mogae) (1939–   ) *Third president of Botswana*

Born in Serowe, eastern BOTSWANA, Mogae went to school at Moeng College in his own country before going on to earn a bachelor's degree in economics from Oxford University and a master's degree in DEVELOPMENT economics from Sussex University, in the United Kingdom. Upon his return to Botswana, he served in the ministry of finance and development as a planning officer, director of economic affairs, and as permanent secretary. Between 1971 and 1976 Mogae also served on governing boards of the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, the African Development Bank, and the WORLD BANK.

In the early 1980s Mogae was appointed governor of the Bank of Botswana but left to serve as permanent secretary to President Ketumile MASIRE (1925–   ). Mogae supervised elections from 1982 to 1989, at which time he became minister of finance and development planning. In 1992 he was made Masire's vice president. When Masire decided to retire in 1998, Mogae was handpicked to be his successor, contingent upon elections to be held the following year.

Since Mogae took office following his easy victory in 1999, Botswana's economic and political situation has remained healthy. He has continued to support privatization of MINING and industry. His major challenge has been dealing with the country's HIV/AIDS epidemic. Recent United Nations reports classified Botswana as having the highest rate of infection in the world, with more than 30 percent of all adults infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS.

See also: HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Mohammed VI (1963–   ) *King and head of state of Morocco*

Born Crown Prince Sidi Mohammed in the Moroccan capital of RABAT, Mohammed was groomed from an early

age to eventually assume the throne. At the age of four he began Quranic studies, and he progressed through the Royal College and the College of Law at Rabat Mohammed V University. From there his studies took him to Belgium and France, where he completed his law degree in 1993.

As his father, King HASSAN II (1929–1999), became increasingly ill, Mohammed played a greater role in the governing of MOROCCO. In 1994 he became division general and second-in-command of the military. Five years later King Hassan died, and, in a matter of hours, Mohammed became King Mohammed VI. He was the eighteenth successive Alawite Muslim ruler of Morocco, part of a line that stretched back to the mid-17th century.

Though not as charismatic as his father, the new king has gained praise for assuming a less autocratic position than Hassan, allowing for more democratic practices, and promising to purge the government of CORRUPTION. He has also removed many of his father's friends from their holdover positions in the government and released a number of political prisoners. Though Mohammed came to power during a period of economic decline and rampant unemployment, Moroccans have looked to him as a welcome move away from elitist rule.

Moi, Daniel arap (Toroitich arap Moi) (1924–   )
President of Kenya from 1978 to 2002

Moi was born Toroitich arap Moi in the Kenyan village of Kuriengwo. A member of the Kalenjin ethnic minority, he took the name Daniel upon his Christian baptism. As a youth Moi attended local mission schools before studying at Kapsabet Teacher Training College. He became a teacher after graduating in 1945, and he later advanced to the position of school administrator.

In 1955 the British colonial administration appointed Moi to fill a vacancy on the Kenyan Legislative Council. Two years later, when KENYA held its first elections in which Africans were allowed to vote, Moi was elected to the council. He was actively involved with the country's move toward independence. In 1960 he traveled as a delegate to London and participated in the Lancaster House Conference, a gathering that drafted Kenya's new constitution.

That same year Moi, along with Ronald Nagala (1948–1972), founded the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). The main goal of KADU was to protect the interests of Kenya's numerous minority peoples. After Kenya's independence in 1963, however, Moi struck a deal with the country's new president, Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), and merged KADU with Kenyatta's party, the KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (KANU). As a result Kenya effectively became a one-party system controlled by KANU, and Kenyatta rewarded Moi by appointing him minister of home affairs, in 1964, and later vice president, in 1967.

Moi ascended to Kenya's presidency after Kenyatta's death in August 1978. The following year Moi was officially elected to the position. He ran unopposed in 1983 and 1988. During this time Moi went from a progressive reformist who ushered in an era of unprecedented freedoms to the repressive leader of an authoritarian regime. Moi increasingly consolidated his power, appointing fellow Kalenjin to positions of power, which in turn vexed Kenya's largest ethnic group, the KIKUYU. Despite his anti-majority policies, Moi maintained control thanks in large part to support from the United States for his pro-Western stance in the midst of the Cold War.

By the early 1990s however, Moi faced increasing pressure from the West to institute political and economic reforms. In 1992, under a U.S. threat to withdraw aid, Moi reintroduced multiparty elections. Despite increasing accusations of CORRUPTION, Moi won the presidency in 1992 and 1997. The legitimacy of these elections, however, was largely contested by opposition parties, leading to widespread riots. In addition, during Moi's last term in office, allegations of corruption increased. Term limits outlined in Kenya's constitution forced him to step down from the presidency in 2002. Moi endorsed Uhuru Kenyatta, Jomo Kenyatta's son, as his successor, but Kenyatta was defeated by a well-organized coalition of opposition parties that was led by his former political ally, Mwai KIBAKI (1931–   ). In the aftermath of KADU's defeat the new government launched an investigation into government corruption under Moi. However, in 2003 Moi obtained immunity from prosecution on corruption charges.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); KALENJIN (Vol. III).

Mombasa
Major port city on the East African coast of present-day KENYA. Mombasa entered Kenya's post-independence era as the country's principal port and one of the major ports for Africa's entire Indian Ocean coastline. The DEVELOPMENT of the city's modern deepwater port facilities further entrenched its dominance. The major highway and railroad to the interior have Mombasa at their coastal terminus. Virtually all of the seaborne EXPORTS and imports for Kenya, UGANDA, RWANDA, and BURUNDI flow through Mombasa's docks. In addition to being a TRANSPORTATION center, the city also developed major industrial areas with the economic stimulus that accompanied independence. Among the major industries were OIL refineries, sugar processing, and the manufacturing of cement and fertilizer. Economic development meant jobs, and the availability of jobs drew KIKUYU and other Kenyans from the interior to the city.

In the process of economic and POPULATION GROWTH, Mombasa began to lose some of its original coastal character. The older Kiswahili- and Arabic-speaking population

continued to predominate in the island quarters of the city, with mosques, houses with overhanging second stories, and narrow streets continuing to provide Mombasa with the characteristics of a long-established Swahili coastal city. However, more recently developed areas of the city, especially those on the mainland, became more national in character. Former Kenyan president Daniel arap MOI (1924–) also actively suppressed those elements of Mombasa's political life that sought to assert the coast's distinctiveness from the rest of the country.

The newest element in Mombasa's cultural and economic life is a booming TOURISM business. The initial tourism of the 1950s expanded very rapidly over the following decades. By the 1980s tourist-oriented hotels had sprung up along the beautiful beaches to the north and south of the city. The old Portuguese military post of Fort Jesus, which is now a museum, became a main tourist attraction, as did the city's old quarters. Furthermore, East Africa's game parks were readily accessible. More than a quarter-million tourists now arrive annually, providing employment for many of the city's 665,000 people.

See also: FORT JESUS (Vol. III); MOMBASA (Vols. II, III, IV); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV); URBANIZATION (Vol. V).

Mondlane, Eduardo (1920–1969) *Leader in Mozambique's drive for independence*

When he formed and assumed the leadership of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, FRELIMO) in 1962, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane was one of the best-educated nationalist leaders on the continent. He held a PhD in anthropology and had taught on the faculty of Syracuse University in New York State. He had accepted a faculty position in MOZAMBIQUE, but the pull of liberating his country from oppressive and stifling Portuguese colonial rule proved too compelling. Although Mondlane personally admired the nonviolence of Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968), he ultimately concluded that armed resistance was the only way for Mozambique to achieve independence. The armed struggle began in 1964, and FRELIMO was soon making gains, achieving a military victory, for example, in the Cabo Delgado territory. However, a rift began to develop between the organization's hard-line Marxists and those who, like Mondlane, favored a more democratic organization. Ultimately FRELIMO grew increasingly radical, advocating not only independence but also major changes in the social order and government of Mozambique.

Mondlane was assassinated by a letter bomb in his office in DAR ES SALAAM, the capital of TANZANIA, in February 1969. Although those responsible for the murder have never definitely been identified, it was believed to be the work of either his Portuguese enemies or hostile elements within FRELIMO itself. FRELIMO's military commander, Samora MACHEL (1933–1986), succeeded Mondlane as the leader of the group. In 1975 Mozambique finally achieved its independence after years of armed struggle, with Machel becoming its first president.

In 1969, the same year of his death, Mondlane's book, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, appeared in a Penguin paperback edition as a title in its Penguin African Library series. Mondlane cites the economic exploitation, lack of EDUCATION, and cultural segregation of the Portuguese colonial rule as the reasons why he and others in FRELIMO launched a guerilla war of national liberation to create an independent Mozambique.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); MONDLANE, EDUARDO (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

money and currency Prior to independence African countries utilized currencies based on those of the occupying colonial powers. Thus, the British colonies had pounds, shillings, and pence, while the French colonies utilized the franc. Independence brought considerable change. For example, the former French North African colonies of ALGERIA and TUNISIA replaced francs with dinars. However, 14 countries in sub-Saharan Africa continued to utilize the former colonial currency, the CFA franc.

Today the CFA franc is divided between the West African franc, which is the standard currency of the African Financial Community, and the Central African franc, which is the currency of Financial Cooperation in Central Africa. The French treasury has guaranteed the value of the CFA franc, which for a long time was exchanged at the rate of 1 CFA franc to .02 French francs. In 1994, however, the French government unilaterally devalued the CFA franc by half so that it was 1 CFA franc to .01 French franc. While this pegging of the African franc to the French franc ensures that the currency is readily convertible and stable, it also means that money exchange in 14 African countries is subject to continuing French control.

Other African countries gained control over their currencies at independence. While some continued to use the former colonial terms (e.g., the pound in EGYPT, shillings in KENYA, TANZANIA, and UGANDA, and francs in MADAGASCAR), the currencies were no longer linked to those of the former colonial power. The more usual prac-

tice, however, was to rename currencies as a way to demonstrate national independence. Thus, NIGERIA replaced the Nigerian pound with the naira, SOUTH AFRICA replaced the pound with the rand, and ZAMBIA and MALAWI each adopted the kwacha. LIBERIA, in West Africa, continues to use the U.S. dollar because of its long history of economic ties with that country.

Created in 1945, the CFA franc originally was the currency of the "Colonies Françaises d'Afrique" (French Colonies of Africa). The former colonies joined the French Community 13 years later, and CFA came to denote "Communauté Française d'Afrique" (French Community of Africa).

As African economies have slumped, however, national control of currencies and their worth led to drastic devaluation. The Nigerian naira is a prime example. In 1973 when Nigeria made the switch from the pound to the naira, 1 naira was worth $1.52 (U.S.). By 1990 it had fallen to 8 naira to $1, and, by 2003, it had sunk to 128 naira to $1.

See also: MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Monrovia Capital and principal port of LIBERIA, located at the mouth of the St. Paul (Mesurado) River on the Atlantic Ocean. Monrovia was founded in 1822 by the American Colonization Society and therefore developed an American-oriented society that reflected its politically dominant Americo-Liberian population. American influence became even more pronounced during and after World War II (1939–45), when Liberia served as the major West African base for United States forces. After the United States expanded Monrovia's port facilities during the war, the city's economy subsequently thrived on export and import activities; major EXPORTS include iron ore and rubber. In addition, the city manufactures processed food, petroleum, pharmaceuticals, building materials, and furniture.

As the principal city of one of the two African members of the League of Nations (SOUTH AFRICA was the other), and capital of one of the founding member states of the United Nations, Monrovia has played an important international diplomatic role. In 1961, for example, it was the site of the conference that spawned the MONROVIA GROUP, a bloc of African countries united in their desire for a gradual unification of Africa's newly independent countries in a pan-African organization. Two years later the Monrovia group would come together with others to form the pan-African ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN

UNITY with the stated purpose of eradicating all forms of colonialism from, and promoting peace and security throughout, the African continent.

The Liberian economy began to decline in the 1970s, and a high unemployment rate among Monrovia's growing population eventually led to widespread rioting in 1979. The following year Liberian army sergeant Samuel DOE (c. 1952–1990), an ethnic Krahn, led a bloody COUP D'ÉTAT that toppled President William R. TOLBERT (1913–1980), ending the Americo-Liberian political monopoly.

In 1990 the rebel forces led by Charles TAYLOR (1948–) besieged Monrovia, leading to the intervention of an ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS) peacekeeping force. Despite their efforts, Taylor's men still managed to capture and execute Doe, an action that sparked a devastating civil war that caused destruction and a mass exodus from the city. ECOWAS helped establish a tentative peace in the mid-1990s, but renewed fighting in other parts of Liberia forced large numbers of people to seek refuge in Monrovia. In 2003 the fighting spread once again into the city proper which, devastated by the fighting, saw its INFRASTRUCTURE and economy collapse. The population of the city was estimated at 543,000 in 2002, but the continuing warfare and disruption has made an accurate count impossible.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); MONROVIA (Vol. IV); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V): URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Monrovia group (Monrovia bloc) Name given to a collection of African countries that, from 1961 to 1963, were united in their conservative, gradualist approach to pan-African unity. During the 1950s, as African nationalism and INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS gained momentum, some leaders began calling for the establishment of organizations whose purpose would be to encourage peace and cooperation in economic and social DEVELOPMENT on a continental scale. Although these groups all desired pan-African unity, they sometimes disagreed on how to achieve this goal.

In May 1961 leaders from NIGERIA, LIBERIA, TOGO, and GUINEA met in MONROVIA, the Liberian capital. Known as the Monrovia group, or Monrovian bloc, these countries were led by Nigerian prime minister Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966) and Liberian president William TUBMAN (1895–1971). One of the group's primary plans was to establish regional, as opposed to continental, alliances. These smaller alliances, they argued, could be the basis for gradual economic and social development. In addition, they believed that opportunities for direct FOREIGN INVESTMENT, especially from former colonizers, would be greater for countries within such alliances.

With this ideology, the Monrovia group defined itself in opposition to the CASABLANCA GROUP, which, in late 1960, had begun advocating the rejection of foreign influence and the immediate establishment of a "United States of Africa." Made up of mostly North African and some West African states, the Casablanca Group accused the Monrovia Group of being aristocratic and backward-looking. For its part, the Monrovia group felt that, in light of the instability that plagued the continent, a United States of Africa was doomed to failure.

During the early 1960s each bloc tried to convince newly independent African states to join its alliance. Countries that later aligned themselves with the Monrovia group included ETHIOPIA, SIERRA LEONE, Congo-Brazzaville (today's Republic of the CONGO), CAMEROON, SENEGAL, DAHOMEY (today's Republic of BENIN), the Malagasy Republic (today's MADAGASCAR), CHAD, UPPER VOLTA (today's BURKINA FASO), and NIGER.

Ultimately a conference planned by the Monrovia group evolved into a summit involving all 32 of the African countries that were independent at the time, from both the Monrovia and Casablanca groups. On May 25, 1963, in ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, 28 of the 32 countries adopted a pan-African unity charter, which was subsequently ratified by their governments. Thus the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) was established. The OAU charter overrode the charters of the Monrovia and Casablanca groups, and the two alliances were dissolved.

See also: PAN-AFRICANISM (Vol. IV).

Moore, Bai T. (1920–1988) *Liberian civil servant and author*

Bai T. Moore was born in Dimeh, northwest of MONROVIA, LIBERIA. He attended elementary school in Liberia before going to the United States, where he studied first in Virginia public schools and then at Virginia Union University in Richmond. In 1941 Moore returned to Liberia, where he began his life-long career as a public servant. His literary career commenced in 1947 with the publication of his poetry in *Echoes from the Valley: Being Odes and other Poems,* a volume he coedited. Moore's main body of literary work was produced in the 1960s, beginning with a volume of poetry that appeared in 1962 under the title *Ebony Dust*. He also wrote a novella, *Murder in the Cassava Patch* (1963) and, in 1976, a popular novel called *The Money Doubler.* Moore's poems, noted for their innovative line structure, were written not only in English, but also in Vai and Gola, two local Liberian dialects. Through his poetry and his work in the public sector, Bai T. Moore promoted LITERACY and the rich Liberian cultural heritage.

See also: LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vols. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Morocco North African country measuring approximately 279,400 square miles (723,646 sq km), located in the MAGHRIB, bordering both the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. In 1956, under the leadership of King Mohammed V (1909–1961), Morocco regained its independence from France. Upon King Mohammed's death in 1961, his son, King HASSAN II (1929–1999), ascended to the throne. At the beginning of his reign Morocco drafted its first democratic constitution, but political CORRUPTION and ineptitude led to government instability and popular dissatisfaction.

In 1965 King Hassan cemented his control by dissolving Parliament and implementing a form of direct rule. Similar to events in other North African states, the king nationalized all foreign-owned businesses and commercial AGRICULTURE, using the additional income to reward loyalty and win over the opposition.

In an effort to divert attention from his policies, Hassan chose to focus on nation building. This strategy included using nationalism to unify the Moroccan people against foreign targets. In 1975 he turned his attention to the WESTERN SAHARA, the southern Saharan provinces that were under Spanish occupation. At the time, Western Sahara was engulfed by war, with the indigenous SAHARAWI fighting for their independence from Spain. King Hassan, however, wanted to incorporate the area into Morocco, and he sent a contingent of 350,000 volunteers on the "Green March" to recapture the Sahara.

Named in honor of the holy color of Islam, the Green March was performed by unarmed marchers carrying pictures of the king, Moroccan flags, and copies of the Quran. In light of the marchers, the Spanish army withdrew, but the Saharawi felt as if they were under a foreign invasion. Morocco's seizure of the Saharan provinces fostered an armed national resistance movement by the POLISARIO Front, which represented some 100,000 Saharawi desiring independence.

The war with Polisario aided Hassan's domestic policy in that the Moroccan army was busy and content, but the invasion of Western Sahara caused conflict in the region and strained Morocco's relations with its neighbors as well as its weak economy. Despite the continued efforts of the United Nations to broker an end to the conflict, the status of Western Sahara governance was still still unresolved as late as the end of 2004.

In 1979 an economic crisis loomed over Morocco as its national debt grew, its economy stagnated, and its population increased. The INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND forced Morocco to cut its state subsidy on imported food, and the resultant increase in food prices led to a decline in the standard of living, which was accompanied by massive protests.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s Morocco held multiple elections, but the vote was frequently split among various parties. King Hassan II used these inconclusive

returns to exclude his opposition from government and solidify his direct rule.

During the late 1980s Morocco improved its relationships with neighboring African nations, resuming diplomatic relations with both ALGERIA and MAURITANIA. In 1989 Morocco signed a treaty that established the Arab Maghrib Union, a North African common market. In 1993 Morocco hosted the Economic Summit on the Middle East and North Africa as well as the Seventh Islamic Summit Conference, both in Casablanca.

In 1999, after 38 years of autocratic rule, King Hassan II died from a heart attack. He was quickly succeeded by his son, Crown Prince Sidi Mohammed (1963–), who was enthroned as King MOHAMMED VI. The young king has promised to purge CORRUPTION from the government, allow more freedom of the press, and encourage more democratic practices. Since his ascension to the throne, many of his father's friends have been removed from office and some political prisoners have been released. However, vestiges of his father's influence remain. The results of the 2002 election were similar to those in the past, with King Mohammed VI retaining direct control over major policy decisions.

See also: ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MOROCCO (Vols. I, II, III, IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Stephen O. Hughes, *Morocco under King Hassan*, (Reading, U.K.: Ithaca, 2001); C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

Moroni (formerly Port-aux-Bountres) Capital and principal port city of the Federal Republic of COMOROS, located on the west coast of the island of Njazidja (known to the French as Grande Comore) in the Indian Ocean. At the time when the city was taken over by the French, in the late 19th century, it had already seen its original Polynesian and Malaysian settlers mix with more recently arrived Arab traders and merchants. Moroni replaced the city of Dzaoudzi as Comoros's administrative capital in 1958, and it remained the capital when President Ahmed Abdallah (1918–1989) declared the nation's independence in 1975.

The city's economy is based on the production of beverages, metal and wood products, and cement. It imports food products while exporting vanilla, cocoa, coffee, and ylang-ylang, a flower oil widely used in the perfume industry. The Arab history of Moroni is represented by the Arabic ARCHITECTURE visible in many of the buildings, the numerous mosques, and the Arab quarter of town with its narrow, winding streets. The city, which has a population of about 60,000, also has resorts and restaurants that are frequented by increasing numbers of foreign tourists.

While French is the official language and Arabic the religious language of Comoros, the people of Moroni, like the rest of the islands' inhabitants, speak variations of Comorian. Closely related to Kiswahili, Comorian is a Bantu language that, because of the people's long history of ocean trading, contains many words borrowed from Hindi, Persian, Portuguese, English, and French. Traditionally, Comorian has been written in Arabic script, but there have been recent attempts to use Roman script.

See also: ARABS (Vol. II); ARABS, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV); TOURISM (Vol. V).

Mosisili, Pakalitha Bethuel (1945–) *Lesotho's prime minister, elected in 1998*

Mosisili was born in the town of Waterfall, in the Qacha's Nek district of LESOTHO. He attended local schools as a youth, then studied at the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, earning a bachelor's degree in 1970. Mosisili later studied in the United States, obtaining a master's degree in 1976 from the University of Wisconsin. Mosisili continued his education at the University of South Africa and in 1982 obtained a master of education degree in Canada from Simon Fraser University.

Mosisili's involvement in politics began in 1967, when he joined the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP). Actively involved in the BCP's Youth League, Mosisili was arrested during a state of emergency and was imprisoned for more than a year. Released in 1971, he remained active in the BCP, but strayed from the political arena until 1993, when he won election to Lesotho's Parliament as representative from Qacha's Nek. In 1995 Mosisili became deputy prime minister under Prime Minister Ntsa Mokhele (1918–1999). That same year Mosisili joined a mass exodus from the BCP to join Mokhele and his newly formed party—the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD). Mosisili became deputy leader of the LCD, placing him in line to succeed the aging Mokhele as leader of the party. In 1998, when Mokhele retired, Mosisili assumed the LCD leadership, guiding the party to a landslide electoral victory later that year. With his party firmly in control of Parliament, Mosisili became Lesotho's prime minister.

However, opposition party leaders vigorously disputed the election results of 1998. Massive protests desta-

bilized the country, and, worried that he was losing his grip on power, Mosisili asked for military assistance from SOUTH AFRICA. Although the South African forces met stiff resistance from Lesotho's coup-minded military, they eventually restored a semblance of order. In the aftermath of this unrest Lesotho founded the Interim Political Authority, a government agency that was to establish an Independent Electoral Commission and set the standards for new elections in 2002. Despite the previous protests, the LCD carried the 2002 elections as well, and Mosisili began a second term as Lesotho's prime minister.

Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)

Main opposition party in ZIMBABWE, founded in 1999 by LABOR leader Morgan TSVANGIRAI (1952–). During the 1990s large segments of Zimbabwe's population became increasingly concerned by the country's dire economic situation. However, Zimbabwe's president Robert MU-GABE (1924–) and his ruling ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NA-TIONAL UNION-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) effectively silenced all political opposition through intimidation and violence. As a result, the 1996 presidential elections had the lowest voter turnout of any election since Zimbabwe became independent in 1980.

In an attempt to channel the nation's discontent with the Mugabe administration, Tsvangirai, the secretary general of the powerful Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) joined together with leaders from other CIVIL SO-CIETY organizations to form the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Besides the ZCTU, other organizations in the umbrella MDC coalition include the Zimbabwe Council of Churches, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, the Legal Rights Foundation, and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Organization. Tsivangirai became MDC president.

In 2002 MDC representatives vied for parliamentary seats on a platform of economic discipline and government accountability. Although ZANU-PF won the elections by a narrow margin, the MDC had a strong showing that boded well for its future in Zimbabwe.

Following the 2002 elections Mugabe charged Tsvangirai with treason for allegedly plotting to assassinate him. The MDC claimed that the charges were nothing more than Mugabe's attempt to drain MDC resources and hinder its effectiveness as a viable opposition party.

See also: POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Staffan Darnolf and Lisa Laakso, eds., *Twenty Years of Independence in Zimbabwe: From Liberation to Authoritarianism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)

Zambian political party that challenged and defeated Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–) and his UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP), which had been the only legal party within ZAMBIA for nearly 20 years. In 1972 Zambia's UNIP-controlled government adopted a one-party state system, forbidding the activity of other political parties. This lasted for nearly two decades, with Kaunda as both leader of UNIP and president of Zambia for all of those years. During his presidency the economy of Zambia gradually deteriorated, spurred by aggressive social spending and ill-conceived food subsidies. By the mid-1980s Zambia faced economic crisis, with inflation running rampant and riots erupting in response to government attempts to remove food subsidies.

In the years that followed, Zambia's problems only worsened. In 1990 Kaunda, pressured by the INTERNA-TIONAL MONETARY FUND and the WORLD BANK to implement further STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT, again cut subsidies for food. This time, however, he also implemented fees for hospital care and EDUCATION. Once more, Kaunda's moves caused violent riots. As a result, the call became more urgent for political change in the form of multiparty elections. In July 1990 a coalition of interest groups, led by Frederick CHILUBA (1943–), came together in LUSAKA to form a political party called the Movement for the Multiparty Democracy (MMD). That same year, conceding to increased domestic and international pressure for multiparty elections, Kaunda amended the constitution to allow for the formation of opposition political parties. At the same time, Kaunda called for free elections to be held in 1991.

The MMD was an alliance of various groups of Zambians including intellectuals, LABOR UNION leaders, politicians who had served in the UNIP government, entrepreneurs, and other business professionals. Chiluba, a former leader of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, was a powerful figure within Zambia's trade unions. Accusing the UNIP-controlled government of CORRUP-TION and ineffectiveness, the MMD campaigned under the slogan "The Hour Has Come!," an allusion to the length of UNIP's uncontested governance.

The MMD campaign was popular, and MMD rallies were well attended. Though more than 20 political parties had registered by the time of the elections, the MMD held sway. In the October election Chiluba received three-fourths of the votes compared to Kaunda's one-fourth, making MMD the new majority party. The election set a precedent in Africa, marking a peaceful

transition from one-party rule to a multiparty rule. Chiluba's pro-democracy pedigree was tarnished soon after, however. In 1996 he won reelection, but his victory was marred when he changed the constitution to bar Kaunda from running against him. In 2001 Chiluba proposed another constitutional change aimed at furthering his political ends. Wanting to run for a third term, he sought to eliminate the two-term limit for Zambian presidents. Domestic and international pressure against his proposal, however, eventually forced Chiluba to abandon his plans but only after his efforts had caused a rift in the MMD. Despite the exodus of some party members, the MMD candidate, Levy MWANAWASA (1948–), won the 2001 election, and the party maintained its hold on the presidency.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Mozambican Liberation Front (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, FRELIMO)

Anticolonial nationalist movement in MOZAMBIQUE that fought for the end of Portuguese colonial rule and upon assuming power became involved in a civil war. The Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) was founded in June 1962 in TANZANIA, to the north of MOZAMBIQUE. With the help of Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), then president of Tanzania, FRELIMO was created from the merger of the three existing nationalist groups within Mozambique. FRELIMO's main concern was realizing independence from Portugal. The founders of FRELIMO were exiles from Mozambique who demanded liberation from Portugal's harsh colonial rule. Despite the merger, however, FRELIMO remained internally divided as a result of ideological and ethnic differences, as well as personal rivalries within its leadership, headed by Eduardo MONDLANE (1920–1969).

FRELIMO received support from both the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War period. Under Mondlane FRELIMO created a resistance army of several thousand Africans and waged a guerrilla war against Portugal. In the early years of fighting, however, FRELIMO action was limited to remote parts of Mozambique. Despite the vast number of Portuguese troops sent to Mozambique, which reached a level of 70,000 during the middle of the 1960s, FRELIMO could not be deterred from its goal of independence.

After Mondlane was assassinated in 1969, Samora MACHEL (1933–1986) took over FRELIMO leadership. He extended the range of FRELIMO guerrilla activities. His success in expanding the zones of FRELIMO control in the country helped create a sense among Portuguese military leaders that they could not win the war. This in turn sparked the 1974 military COUP D'ÉTAT that brought down the Portuguese national government and opened the way for independence negotiations. After independence was declared in 1975, FRELIMO was made the only legal party in Mozambique. It then reorganized its ideology to follow a Marxist-Leninist path. Reform of the country's weakened economy was a main concern at this time.

Unfortunately for Mozambicans, civil war followed independence. Much-needed economic reform was foiled by the actions of the MOZAMBICAN NATIONAL RESISTANCE (RENAMO), which was supported by SOUTH AFRICA. Machel died in a mysterious plane crash, in 1986, and FRELIMO was taken over by Joaquim Alberto CHISSANO (1939–), who continued with earlier reforms and began peace talks with RENAMO.

In 1990, despite the raging civil war, a new constitution was created recognizing multiple political parties. After the civil war ended in 1992, general elections were held in 1994 and again in 1999, and Chissano's FRELIMO was victorious in both elections. As of the end of 2004, Chissano was president and head of the FRELIMO government of Mozambique.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: William Finnegan, *A Complicated War: The Harrowing of Mozambique* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1992); Colin Legum, *The Battlefronts of Southern Africa* (New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1988).

Mozambican National Resistance (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, RENAMO)

Guerrilla opposition group and political party of MOZAMBIQUE. RENAMO, formed in 1976, was an invention of white army officers from RHODESIA (now ZIMBABWE). Its purpose was to destabilize Mozambique and make it difficult for that country to support the Rhodesian independence movement. Ironically, the Rhodesian officers filled RENAMO with disaffected members of the MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT (Front de Libertaçao de Moçambicana, FRELIMO), a political movement that had won independence for Mozambique in 1975. Initially used only to spy on guerrillas in neighboring Mozambique, RENAMO later expanded its activities to include destruction of INFRASTRUCTURE such as bridges and roads. It also began to terrorize Mozambique's rural population.

The first leader of RENAMO was André Matsangaíssa (d. 1979), a former FRELIMO soldier who had spent time in prison for car theft. Matsangaíssa was killed in battle and replaced by his deputy, Alfonso Dhlakama. By 1980 RENAMO had recruited between 1,000 and 2,000 men
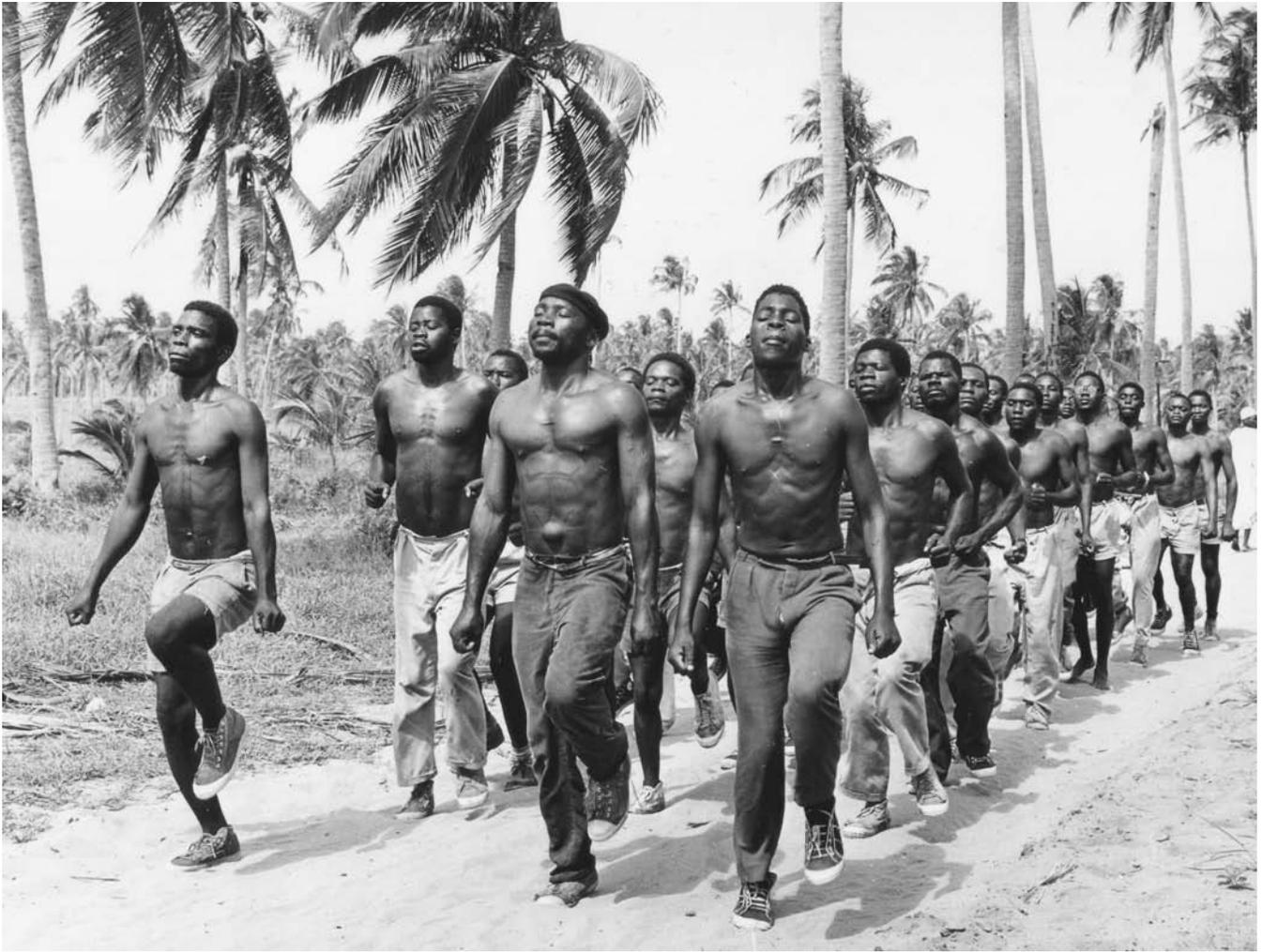
The Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) fought for freedom from Portuguese colonial rule. FRELIMO rebels, like these shown training in neighboring Tanzania in 1965, finally achieved their goal in 1975. *© AP/Wide World Photos*

and operated mostly in the center of Mozambique, near the border of Rhodesia. When the white government of Rhodesia collapsed in 1980, RENAMO lost its greatest supporter. Soon after, however, SOUTH AFRICA increased its support, allowing RENAMO to continue its activities. South Africa's interest in RENAMO was related to Mozambique's government's support of UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, the military wing of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, which was seeking to overthrow South Africa's APARTHEID government.

In the early 1980s RENAMO opened multiple military fronts in Mozambique. This action expanded during the decade and caught FRELIMO largely unprepared. During this time the West offered RENAMO large amounts of international aid to help it counter the activities of FRELIMO, a pro-Marxist organization. This aid continued until the late 1980s, when several RENAMO massacres turned international opinion against the group.

Aid from the United States ended in 1988, after a State Department report claimed that RENAMO was responsible for the deaths of more than 100,000 civilians.

In the early 1990s FRELIMO's Joaquim Alberto CHISSANO (1939–), who became president of Mozambique in 1986, began peace talks with RENAMO. In 1992, in light of a new Mozambican constitution that instituted a multiparty political system, the two sides signed a peace agreement. RENAMO became an opposition political party, gradually increasing its political base and its share of seats in the Mozambican National Assembly.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: William Finnegan, *A Complicated War: The Harrowing of Mozambique* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1992).

Mozambique Country located in southeast Africa that is bordered by MALAWI and TANZANIA to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, SOUTH AFRICA and SWAZILAND to the south, and ZIMBABWE and ZAMBIA to the west. Mozambique has an area of about 297,800 square miles (771,300 sq km). While the coastal regions are generally low-lying, the central and northwestern areas of the interior rise to an elevation of 5,000 feet (1,524 m), with several higher points.

Mozambique at Independence In 1960 the responsibility for conducting the affairs of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique lay with a small but diverse group of Europeans, Asians, and African *assimilados*. (*Assimilados* was the term used to describe those Africans who were literate in Portuguese, had adopted European dress, and held mid-level jobs.) The disparity between this governing minority and the rest of Mozambique's population, and the harsh colonial rule that produced this gap formed the foundation for Mozambique's prolonged war of liberation and the troubled independence that followed.

The fight for national independence had its origins in the rebellion and resistance against Portuguese rule that continued into the early decades of the 20th century. By the 1940s the groundwork was being laid for the emergence of an organized nationalist movement focused on winning Mozambican independence.

From 1962 onward the drive for independence in Mozambique began to build, encouraged by successful rebellions in both ANGOLA and GUINEA-BISSAU, also Portuguese colonies at the time, as well as by the success of many of the former British and French colonies in gaining their independence. Portugal, however, refused to discuss independence for its colonies, leading many Mozambicans to take up armed struggle. Eventually several anticolonial political groups combined to form the MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, FRELIMO), in 1962. FRELIMO, led by Eduardo MONDLANE (1920–1969), soon began a violent insurgence campaign against Portuguese rule.

Under Mondlane and, later, under Samora MACHEL (1933–1986), FRELIMO used guerrilla military tactics to expand the territory under its control. Still the government of Portugal was determined to retain its colonial territory. However, in 1974 a disgruntled group within the Portuguese military, the Armed Forces Movement (AFM), led a successful COUP D'ÉTAT within Portugal itself. The AFM leaders were strongly against continuing colonial rule in Africa, and Portugal soon relinquished control of all its African possessions, including Mozambique. More than a decade after FRELIMO's war of resistance began, Mozambique finally gained independence on June 25, 1975.

At independence FRELIMO established a Marxist state and made other political parties illegal. FRELIMO aligned itself with the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Later FRELIMO supported the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), which sought to overthrow the system of APARTHEID in neighboring SOUTH AFRICA. Both of these situations would greatly affect Mozambique's stability. Soon after independence a civil war began for control of the newly free Mozambique. This struggle was partially shaped by the international environment of the Cold War. With the Soviets backing FRELIMO, several other nations backed its rival the MOZAMBICAN NATIONAL RESISTANCE (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, RENAMO). For example, until it became independent Zimbabwe in 1980, Rhodesia supported RENAMO. After 1980 South Africa, which saw the ANC as a common enemy, provided RENAMO with most of its support.

The vicious civil war plagued the first 10 years of Mozambican independence, which were also marked by economic turmoil. It is estimated that more than 1 million people died, with several million left as REFUGEES and internally displaced persons. At the same time, however, colonial modes of production and thinking were purged from the new state. For example, policies such as the forced cultivation of crops, forced LABOR, and racial discrimination were eliminated. Meanwhile a massive emigration of Portuguese colonists from Mozambique took place, weakening the INFRASTRUCTURE and economy, since many of those who fled were well trained and well paid.

In 1983 President Machel admitted that the socialist experiment in Mozambique was a failure and that Mozambique was in dire need of governmental reform. The prevailing FRELIMO commitment to communal farming and state-run AGRICULTURE had both alienated and angered farmers, some of whom called for the return of their land that had been appropriated by the state. In 1984 diplomatic talks were opened with South Africa; however, the talks were limited in their scope, resulting in agreements that were largely ignored. Machel's death in a mysterious plane crash, in 1986, only complicated matters.

Joaquim Alberto CHISSANO (1939–) succeeded Machel. Soon after, he began peace talks with RENAMO. In 1990 a new constitution was made, providing for a multiparty political system, a free-market economy, and unobstructed elections. The civil war finally ended in 1992, and by the middle of 1995 nearly 2 million refugees began returning to their homes. Facilitated by a successful United Nations peacekeeping mission, this massive return was the largest repatriation of people in the history of sub-Saharan Africa.

In 1994 Chissano retained the presidency by winning internationally supervised elections. His party, FRELIMO, also did well, winning the majority of seats contested for the national assembly. In 1998 Mozambique held its first local elections. However, RENAMO boycotted these elections, citing procedural flaws. Deciding to accommodate the opposition, the FRELIMO government agreed to international assistance in the elections. FRELIMO still dominated the elections for the National Assembly, and

in 1998 Chissano was reelected. At the beginning of the 21st century, although it was beginning to show signs of economic growth, Mozambique was one of the world's least-developed nations.

See also: MOZAMBIQUE (Vols. I, II, III, IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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On June 25, 1975, Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, addressed a crowd assembled for Independence Day celebrations in Maputo. © *United Nations/Bob Van Lierop*

Mphahlele, Ezekiel (Es'kia Mphahlele, Bruno Eseki) (1919–) *South African writer, critic, and scholar of African literature*

Hailing from PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA, Mphahlele was a teacher—before being barred from the classroom for his anti-APARTHEID activism—and then a writer for JOHANNESBURG-based *Drum* magazine. In 1957 he went into self-imposed exile, going to the University of IBADAN, in NIGERIA, where he taught English literature. About the same time, he was writing his first major work, *Down Second Avenue,* which was published in 1959.

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In Mphahlele's 1962 critical work, *The African Image,* he discusses both black and white African literature and calls on all African writers to shed their obsession with race relations to create characters with a more profound sense of humanity.

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After the success of *Down Second Avenue*, Mphahlele worked as a staff writer, from 1961 to 1963, at the Paris-based *Présence Africaine*, a leading journal of the black consciousness movement called *négritude*. Throughout the 1960s Mphahlele traveled to universities in Africa, Europe, and the United States. He was a visiting scholar at the University of Denver, in the United States, from 1966 to 1968, during which time he earned a PhD in English literature. After lecturing for two years at the University of Nairobi, in KENYA, Mphahlele returned to teach in the United States, first at Denver, and then at the prestigious University of Pennsylvania. During this time, he wrote another autobiographical novel, *The Wanderers* (1971), which cemented his reputation as one of the foremost writers of African literature in English.

In 1977, tired of being a wanderer, Mphahlele returned to his native South Africa to teach at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg, and to take part in the renaissance of black South African culture that was at hand. Into the 1980s he continued teaching and writing on literature and poetry before becoming professor emeritus at Witwatersrand in 1987.

See also: *DRUM* (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); MPHAHLELE, EZEKIEL (Vol. IV); NÉGRITUDE (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

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MPLA See POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA.

Mswati III (1968–) *King and political head of Swaziland*

The son of King SOBHUZA II (1899–1982), Mswati was known as Prince Makhosetive before his coronation. The prince was educated in SWAZILAND and England, where he was living when he received news of the death of his father, who died, after 60 years of rule, in 1982. Swaziland was then ruled by a succession of regents until 1986, when Makhosetive was crowned as Mswati III.

In an effort to consolidate his power Mswati immediately disbanded the *liqoqo,* the traditional royal advisory group, and replaced a number of government officials. The king also publicly made the elimination of government CORRUPTION a priority of his administration. Despite his attempts, royal intrigue and conflict within the government remained characteristic of Mswati's rule.

In 2003 Mswati came under fire over his decision to choose an 18-year-old student as his tenth wife. The mother of the young woman accused Mswati of kidnapping her daughter.

Though Mswati's government has been troubled at times and often rendered ineffective by internal conflict, Swaziland continues to benefit from one of the stronger economies in Africa. In 1996, facing public pressure to make allowances for greater political freedom, Mswati established a constitutional commission to produce a revised constitution, replacing the one banned by Sobhuza II in 1973. Controversy and infighting prevailed, however, and as of 2003 the commission had yet to unveil a new constitution.

Mubarak, Hosni (1928–) *President of Egypt*

Mubarak was born in Kafr El-Meselha, EGYPT, in the same Nile Delta province as another Egyptian president, Anwar as-SADAT (1918–1981). After graduating from the National Military Academy in 1949, Mubarak began an illustrious military career in the Egyptian air force. He served first as a flight instructor, then as base commander, commander of the Air Force Academy, air force chief of staff, and, by 1972, commander in chief of the air force and deputy minister of war for Sadat's administration.

In 1973 Mubarak rose to international prominence by leading a victorious assault on Israeli forces on the east bank of the SUEZ CANAL, initiating another clash in the ongoing ARAB-ISRAELI WARS. Earning Sadat's trust and admiration, Mubarak was sent on diplomatic missions following an October cease-fire. Included in his itinerary were the direct negotiations with Israel that eventually led to the Camp David Peace Accords in 1978. During this time Sadat also named Mubarak vice president.

Mubarak's role in the government gradually increased until he virtually handled the day-to-day administration of the country. In 1980 he became vice chairman of the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP), a position that all but made him Sadat's successor to the presidency.

In 1981 Sadat was assassinated by Islamic fundamentalists. Slightly wounded in the attack, Mubarak was nominated by the NDP to assume the presidency. A week later, a voter referendum put Mubarak in office.

Mubarak moved immediately to crush the Islamic fundamentalist movement. An uprising in Asyut was put down and nearly 2,500 militant Islamists were imprisoned. Though Mubarak's actions were swift, radical Islamists who sought to undermine Egypt's secular government continued to be a threat. In 1995, while visiting the Ethiopian capital of ADDIS ABABA, Mubarak narrowly avoided an assassination attempt by Egyptian fundamentalists. The president responded with further arrests. By 1999 nearly 20,000 people had been imprisoned in an effort to extinguish the movement, and, the following year, the conflict was considered under control. TERRORISM, however, continues to be an issue for Mubarak's administration and a detriment to the Egyptian economy, which relies a great deal on TOURISM.

While struggling with Islamist opposition, Mubarak managed to make great strides both domestically and abroad. Through the 1980s and 1990s Mubarak initiated a number of economic reforms that resulted in consistent annual growth for the country. Mubarak also cracked down on CORRUPTION, purging the government of a number of officials from the Sadat administration.

In 1997, in what was termed Mubarak's "great pyramid" for Egypt, the president created the New Valley Canal project, an effort to transform portions of Egypt's large desert regions into farmland through the construction of a new canal.

In terms of foreign policy, Mubarak did much to reconnect Egypt with Arab neighbors alienated by Sadat's peace with Israel. He continued to foster strong relations with Western nations—including the United States—while also improving ties to the former Soviet Union. His decisive support of the Coalition forces in the first U.S.-Iraq conflict made Mubarak a prominent Arab leader in the eyes of the Western world.

Mubarak's reelection to the presidency in 1987, 1993, and 1999 attested to his success as president. In part, his

longevity can be attributed to his ability to survive the ten assassination attempts that occurred during his time as president. However, Mubarak has clearly been a stabilizing force in Egypt and his administration has produced numerous beneficial results for the country. Of great concern for the Egyptian people is how much longer Mubarak will be able to serve in the role of the nation's leader. Seventy-six years old in 2004, and displaying some signs of infirmity, Mubarak had no clear successor.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Mugabe, Robert (1924–) *First president of independent Zimbabwe*

Robert Gabriel Mugabe was born 1924 at the Roman Catholic Kutama Mission at Zvimba in what was then Southern Rhodesia (now ZIMBABWE). His mother was a teacher, and his father a carpenter at the mission. Educated initially in missionary schools, he completed his secondary and early college education through correspondence to qualify in 1941 as a secondary school teacher. After teaching for a few years he attended FORT HARE COLLEGE in SOUTH AFRICA, where he graduated with a BA in English and history in 1951. This was an eventful time in South Africa, for the National Party victory in 1948 led to APARTHEID. Fort Hare, which AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS leaders such as Nelson MANDELA (1918–) and Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993) had attended, continued to educate leaders in the struggle for African rights in the face of the oppressive apartheid system.

Upon graduating from Fort Hare Mugabe returned to Southern Rhodesia to teach in government schools. Then in 1957 he went to GHANA to teach at a Catholic college. There he met Sally Heyfron (d. 1992), whom he later married. These were also the heady times of African independence. Ghana became independent that year under the leadership of the charismatic Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), who had as a goal the liberation of the entire continent from colonial rule.

Mugabe was inspired by the socialist ideologies of Nkrumah and others in the first generation of African leaders at independence. He returned home in 1960 at a time when Rhodesia's white government was moving increasingly rightward and becoming ever more repressive. Ian SMITH (1919–) was soon to form the Rhodesian Front, and in 1965 he issued a UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE that severed Rhodesia's ties with Britain.

Back home Mugabe became involved in politics. He worked as the publicity secretary and a youth organizer for the National Democratic Party (NDP), which demanded majority rule without sharing power with the white minorities. The government soon banned the NDP, but within a short time the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES' UNION (ZAPU), led by the moderate Joshua NKOMO (1917–1999), emerged in its place. Within a few months,

however, the government also banned ZAPU. Denied the right to engage publicly in politics, nationalist leaders such as Nkomo, Ndabaningi SITHOLE (1920–2000), and Mugabe moved to TANZANIA. Their political disagreements, however, led Mugabe and Sithole to break with Nkomo and establish the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (ZANU). Mugabe and other movement participants soon returned to Southern Rhodesia, where they were arrested. For the government the arrests signaled the end of the nationalist movement, especially its more militant elements.

For the next 10 years Mugabe was in detention. He used part of his time to earn two more degrees, both by correspondence. He also remained involved with leadership of ZANU. Soon after his release from prison, Mugabe became the chairman of ZANU.

Mugabe has had uneasy alliances with other nationalist leaders. Since the early years of struggle against the white-minority regime and continuing after independence, he and Nkomo formed several different alliances. In 1976 they created the PATRIOTIC FRONT to strengthen the political and military effort to end white-minority rule. Their alliance continued through the elections of 1980, which resulted in Mugabe becoming the first prime minister of independent ZIMBABWE. Eventually, however, Mugabe's ZANU co-opted and neutralized ZAPU, creating ZANU-PF.

Mugabe's early post-independence politics focused on strategic reconciliation, though within the rubric of a centralized one-party state. He reached out to the minority whites by guaranteeing them their property rights and shared political power with the minority Ndebele, who supported ZAPU. However, within a decade of independence Zimbabwe's economy was declining, and it became embroiled in the regional conflict of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

In the midst of a growing crisis and Mugabe's declining popularity, the simmering controversy over land distribution came to the fore. In 2000, veterans of the Zimbabwean war for independence, with support from Mugabe, renewed their efforts at reclaiming land that was taken by the white minority under British colonization; more than one-third of Zimbabwe's arable land was owned by 4,000 whites. Despite losing a popular referendum that would have allowed land seizures without compensation, Mugabe has continued to support the land-taking. By August 2002 Mugabe had taken a hardline position, ordering all white commercial farmers to leave their land without compensation.

Mugabe's support for the squatters and his repressive rule led to foreign sanctions against Zimbabwe. Once heralded as a champion of the anticolonial movement, Mugabe became viewed by many in the international community as an authoritarian leader who was responsible for egregious HUMAN RIGHTS abuses and the continued decline of Zimbabwe's economy.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); MISSIONARIES (Vols. IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); STATE, ROLE OF (Vol. V).

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multinational corporations (MNCs)

Firms that have direct investments and trade in two or more countries. Such companies can provide opportunities for economic growth. At the same time, however, they can distort local economies while ravaging the environment and ignoring HUMAN RIGHTS. Since MNCs are intended, first and foremost, to play an economic role, they commonly are viewed as a positive force in poor countries because they invest money from wealthy countries. Also, they can create jobs and improve terms of trade. New tax revenues from multinational corporations create economic opportunities for state expansion and investment. MNCs invest in the development of INFRASTRUCTURE, helping to improve roads, schools, electricity, and WATER RESOURCES in an effort to ensure a continued base of commerce. At their best they develop human capital and raise the quality of life for many. PepsiCo, for instance, has 142,000 employees and operates in virtually every country in the world. In 2002 it had more than $25 billion in sales. That is more than the total gross domestic product (the combined value of a nation's goods and services) of 38 of Africa's 54 countries. In SOUTH AFRICA alone the beverage company PepsiCo provides, directly or indirectly, tens of thousands of jobs. It also has programs for environmental protection, wastewater and effluent treatment, and pollution monitoring, as well as social programs such as those for combating HIV/AIDS.

Yet, despite the economic opportunities MNCs create, they are sharply criticized for their business practices. For instance, Ramatex, an Asian textile giant, insisted on pollution-control exemptions as a condition of doing business in NAMIBIA. The Namibian government chose to forego environmental standards in favor of job creation. The result has been alarmingly high levels of pollution and water use in a country where water is one of the scarcest NATURAL RESOURCES. In NIGERIA Shell Oil was accused of using its influence with the government to force the arrest of writer and activist Ken SARO-WIWA (1941–1995). After bringing attention to the environmental damage and human misery caused by Shell Oil operations, in 1995 Saro-Wiwa and a group of human rights activists were involved a clash with pro-government forces. Ultimately, he and eight colleagues were arrested and executed.

MNCs have entered into job creation agreements with host governments that lead to unconscionable human rights abuses verging on indentured servitude and child slavery. Other critics point out the disruptive influence MNCs have over the government and foreign policy of their home countries. The United States regularly works to ensure a market for U.S. goods. This has led to development projects for purchasing products that are not cost-effective, not price-competitive, or not most appropriate for the task at hand. The U.S. government, in particular, exerts its influence worldwide on behalf of its corporations. Indeed, the country stands accused of favoring the interests of American corporate lobbies at the expense of the economies of the countries involved.

At the heart of the criticism lies an imbalance of power that dates to the colonial era. The budgets of today's MNCs are often larger than the entire economy of their host countries. In these situations MNCs might be the largest employers and stand to provide the most economic opportunities. For countries in sub-Saharan Africa, they provide the most valuable, if not the only, significant link to the changing transnational world. Thus they wield tremendous power.

Yet, as argued by Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman (1912–   ), a company's only role is to maximize profits for shareholders, not to provide for the social good. At their worst MNCs can actually fuel conflict. MNC operations in Africa led critics to accuse corporations of complicity in unseemly activities, from human rights abuses to fueling CIVIL WARS. In an extreme case, the DeBeers MINING company purchased diamonds from LIBERIA even after it became clear they were actually "conflict diamonds" from rebels in SIERRA LEONE. DeBeers also purchased diamonds from ANGOLA, even when it was clear the profits from the sale supported Jonas SAVIMBI (1934–2002) in his efforts to destabilize the Angolan government. Indeed, these conflicts could not have continued if DeBeers had stopped providing a source of revenue. On the other side of the conflict the Angolan government received tax revenue from multinational British Petroleum. Clearly, in the globalized economy of the 21st century, MNCs are both bane and blessing.

See also: ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V), EXPORTS (Vol. V), INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vol. V), TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vol. V).

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Muluzi, Bakili (1943–   ) *President of Malawi*

Born under British colonial rule in what was then Nyasaland, Elson Bakili Muluzi received his early educa-

tion in the colony before traveling to Denmark and Britain for college. When Nyasaland became independent MALAWI in 1964, Muluzi became a court clerk and later received a parliamentary appointment. He quickly became an influential member of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), led by President Hastings Kamuzu BANDA (c. 1898–1997). In 1982, however, Muluzi fell out of favor and withdrew from politics for a time. He resurfaced in 1993, leading the new UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF), which had formed after Banda's autocratic, one-party government had finally given way to pressure for a multiparty system. In the 1994 elections Muluzi and the UDF enjoyed strong support in the populous southern region of Malawi and beat out Banda and the MCP.

After some minor conflicts the UDF formed a coalition government with the Alliance for Democracy, which held sway in northern Malawi. As president, Muluzi focused on the dismal economy and health care situations in Malawi, one of the world's poorest nations. Roughly 65 percent of the population lived below the POVERTY line, and many died each month from complications arising from constant hunger. In addition about 15 percent of the adult population was infected with HIV/AIDS by 2003. Muluzi moved to privatize AGRICULTURE and encourage private investment to boost the economy, but the country still relies heavily on outside ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

Despite his announced commitment to improving Malawi's economy, in 1999, Muluzi married his second wife in an extravagant ceremony costing thousands of dollars of public money.

Muluzi was reelected in 1999 amid accusations of fraud. However, despite his efforts to revise the country's constitution, Muluzi was denied his attempt to run for a third term in 2004. At the end of Muluzi's administration Malawi still faced dramatic food shortages and government CORRUPTION, which has led some foreign donors to hold back much-needed aid.

See also: HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Museveni, Yoweri (1944–   ) *President of Uganda*

An influential figure in the tumultuous history of post-independence UGANDA, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni was born to TUTSI parents in Ntungamo, in the southwestern region of the country. His education was superior to that of many Ugandans at the time, and he graduated from the University College in DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, in 1970. He then found employment as a research assistant for the administration of then prime minister, Milton

OBOTE (1925–   ). The following year, however, Obote was overthrown in a COUP D'ÉTAT led by Major General Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003), and Museveni was forced into exile in Tanzania.

There Museveni plotted a return to Uganda to unseat the new dictator, founding an army called the Front for National Salvation (FRONASA). In preparation for a campaign against Amin, FRONASA trained in MOZAMBIQUE along with the guerilla group known as the MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT. Museveni also drew inspiration from Tanzanian president Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), whose socialist ideals greatly influenced Museveni's later political career.

In 1978, in an ill-advised maneuver, Idi Amin ordered a surprise military incursion into Tanzania. FRONASA joined forces with rebel supporters of Milton Obote, forming the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF), and the UNLF joined Tanzanian troops in a counterassault, invading Uganda. By April 1979 the coalition troops had captured the capital of KAMPALA and sent Amin fleeing to LIBYA.

As a leader of the new Military Commission, Museveni served as defense minister for a succession of short-lived presidential administrations. In 1980 he formed a political party, the Uganda Patriotic Movement, but lost the presidential elections held that year to Milton Obote of the Uganda People's Congress. Convinced the results were fraudulent, Museveni separated from the government and formed his own personal militia, the National Resistance Army (NRA), which sought to overthrow the president. The Obote government gradually became as oppressive as Amin's, and in 1985 a military coup removed Obote and brought Basilio Okello (1929–1990) to power. Turmoil and violence continued to wrack Uganda as Museveni and Okello attempted to negotiate a peace. However, in 1986 the NRA captured Kampala and sent Okello into exile. Museveni then assumed the presidency.

Museveni immediately set about the task of closing the rifts that had divided Uganda since its independence from colonial rule, costing the lives of nearly 400,000 of its citizens. He eliminated all political parties save for the NRA, and formed a group of "resistance committees," which were responsible for security and for unmasking CORRUPTION. He made taming the military one of his priorities, though he has not been wholly successful in eliminating the random acts of violence that were characteristic of Ugandan military rule under Amin and Obote.

Convinced that Uganda's divisiveness was a result of forming political parties along religious, regional, and ethnic lines, in 1989 Museveni declared presidential elections would be conducted in a "no-party" format. Candidates ran as individuals, not sponsored by any political entity. Though this system was naturally advantageous to

Museveni, who won easily, the elections went smoothly and confirmed the wisdom of the president's idea. In 2001 the no-party system was used again, although amid great controversy, with Museveni again winning.

Uganda under Museveni improved dramatically, especially considering its war-torn early years. The economy grew steadily, aided by the general peace and Museveni's free-market policies. The expansion of the economy was also helped by the return of the Asian business owners who had been so integral to the nation's economy before Idi Amin drove them out in 1971. State-run EDUCATION also improved, and Uganda made significant strides in reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS.

However, the specter of Uganda's past still haunts the nation. Armed militias in northern and western Uganda have ties to other rebels in both RWANDA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, threatening Uganda's tenuous peace. Reports of kidnapping, torture, and abuse have been rising once again. The rebel threat has had a negative effect on TOURISM and other aspects of the economy.

In 1990 Tutsi rebels based in Uganda began incursions into Rwanda in an attempt to take down the government of Rwanda's HUTU president, Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994). Led by Museveni's longtime ally, Paul KAGAME (1957–), the Tutsi rebels called themselves the RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (Front Patriotique Rwandais, RPF). In 1994, as the rebels closed in on KIGALI, the capital, Habyarimana was assassinated, probably by RPF agents. His murder infuriated Rwanda's Hutu population, sparking what would become one of the most brutal genocides in history.

A 2000 amnesty bill for rebels who gave up their weapons failed to produce any results; a 2002 military offensive against the anti-government groups also failed. As Uganda's population grew at one of the world's fastest rates, Museveni faced the massive challenge of holding the nation together as he approached the end of his final term, in 2006.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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music Music continues to be an important facet of contemporary Africa. As many areas of the continent have become more urbanized and intimately linked to other

regions of the world, Africa's music has evolved, reflecting these changes. The wide contact Africa enjoys with other continents and their cultures has facilitated a lively exchange of cultural expressions, particularly in the field of music. Just as African rhythms have exercised an enormous impact on musical forms all over the world, the influence of electric instruments from the West and popular music from the Middle East and the West have transformed both the shape of African music and the instruments on which it is played. The reciprocal nature of this process is evident: over the last three decades, the appeal of African popular music has extended well beyond the continent's shores.

Africa is host to many kinds of music, most of which are an admixture of different sources, across geographic regions and time. Music in Africa today represents a complicated and rich interplay between musical forms that are sometimes misleadingly conceptualized as overly polarized: traditional and modern, indigenous and foreign, religious and secular, etc. While, indeed, a clash of styles, approaches, values, and even world views is often discernible in the music of many countries, the boundaries that separate different styles are generally more porous and fluid than often recognized.

Raï music serves to illustrate some of these tendencies. *Raï*, which is popular among the youth of North Africa, mixes Arabic music with Western popular music. Initially, *raï* was a form of traditional Algerian music, sung by women. But since the late 1970s it has transformed its origins and appeal. It is popular with young people throughout North Africa, and commands a growing audience worldwide. Cheb Mami (1966–) and Cheb Khaled (1960–), both from ALGERIA, are its most widely known proponents. Khaled, who now is known by simply by his surname, electrified *raï* and served as its leading pioneer in its formative years. Because *raï's* subject matter and lyrics often focus on secular issues, such as romance and alcohol consumption, Muslim authorities have sought to limit its appeal. The tensions between conservative Islamic forces and *raï* musicians, who detractors regard as purveyors of secularism, Western influence, and immorality, came to a head in 1994, when Cheb Hasni (1968–1994), a popular raï artist, was killed in Oran, Algeria by religious fundamentalists. Not surprisingly, Mami, Khaled, and other prominent *raï* musicians reside in the freer, more hospitable cultural climate that Paris affords.

In fact, many of Africa's most famous musicians live abroad in Western centers such as Paris, London, and New York. Sometimes, African musical artists who have large followings in their home countries are relatively unknown abroad, and those most celebrated in international musical circles do not enjoy the same elevated status at home. As well, such mainstays of Western popular music, such as Sade (born Helen Folasade Adu) (1959–) and

Dave Matthews (1967–   ), born in IBADAN, NIGERIA and JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA respectively, although African by birth, are deeply rooted in the West, where they matured musically. Other musicians, such as Babatunde Olatunji (1927–2003) and Manu Dibango (1933–   ) have spent large portions of their productive careers abroad. In the case of Olatunji, despite growing up in Nigeria, he studied, lived, and worked in the United States beginning in 1950, collaborating with many important recording artists, including Carlos Santana (1947–   ), Mickey Hart (1943–   ), and the Grateful Dead.

Again, highlighting the reciprocity involved in the transfer of music and musicians between Africa and other continents and the resultant cross-fertilization, a number of Western artists have tapped into the vitality and innovation of African music, to their decided benefit. Paul Simon (1941–   ) rejuvenated his career as a result of his Grammy Award-winning *Graceland* album. In a controversial move at the time, he flouted the ban on recording with South African musicians, working with LADYSMITH BLACK MAMBAZO and other South African artists. In 1994 Ry Cooder (1947–   ) produced an album jointly with Malian Ali Farka Touré (1939–   ) entitled *Talking Timbuktu* and it too won a Grammy Award. Peter Gabriel (1950–   ) has done much to promote African and World Beat music, most notably his collaborative work with Youssou N'DOUR (1959–   ) of SENEGAL. In 2000 Sting (born Gordon Matthew Sumner) (1951–   ) scored a success with his song "Desert Rain," with the haunting chanting of Cheb Mami in the background.

Although a number of African recording artists have achieved mainstream commercial success both in Africa and in markets abroad, record sales and playing time on radio and music video programs are not necessarily the best barometer for measuring relative popularity or prestige. Record labels generally focus on African musicians who might appeal to the tastes of Western consumers, so that many of Africa's finest musicians remain unrecorded, or their music lacks adequate promotion. Included among the most widely recognized African artists of the last three or four decades would be: Ladysmith Black Mambazo and Miriam MAKEBA (1932–   ) of South Africa, FELA (1938–1997) and King Sunny ADE (1946–   ) of Nigeria, Manu Dibango of CAMEROON, Salif KEITA (1949–   ) of Mali, Youssou N'Dour of Senegal, Angelique Kidjo (1960–   ) of BENIN, Papa Wemba (1953–   ) and Tabu Ley Rochereau (1940–   ) of Democratic Republic of the CONGO, and Cesaria EVORA (1941–   ) of the Republic of CAPE VERDE.

Most of these musicians belong to one or more of Africa's many distinct musical genres, and are usually the most popular representatives of their respective genres. Ladysmith Black Mambazo has achieved worldwide fame as the preeminent *isicathamiya* vocal group. *Isicathamiya* (literally meaning "to step on one's toes lightly") is a capella choral music from South Africa, common among the country's ZULU population. Miriam Makeba, Africa's most readily recognizable female singer over the last four and a half decades, sings in a variety of styles, but clearly draws upon her XHOSA heritage, most notably in her famous hit, "The Click Song." The Nigerian musician Fela developed a distinctive sound that fused West African rhythms with American jazz. He dubbed his energetic, at times hypnotic music, Afrobeat, a classification that today is applied to other Nigerian bands and musicians, including his son, Femi Kuti (1962–   ). By contrast, his fellow countryman King Sunny Ade produces a much more mellow, almost seductive sound. It lacks the hard edge or the political radicalism of Kuti's music, although both musicians emerged out of the highlife music tradition, which took shape in Nigeria and GHANA during the late 19th century and gained great popularity in the 1960s. Ade's musical style, combining complex, multilayered percussion with synchronized vocal harmonies and backed by synthesizers, electric keyboards, and electric and pedal steel guitars, is usually termed *juju.*

The popular dance music of Cameroon known as *makossa* has been honed by its main ambassador, Manu Dibango, a saxophonist, who has enjoyed an illustrious career in Africa, Europe, America, and the Caribbean. Salif Keita blends several musical styles together, including rock, jazz, Afro-Cuban rhythms, and Islamic music to produce what could be termed Afro-pop. Drawing on many of the same sources, Youssou N'Dour has popularized *mbalax,* a unique blend of Senegalese percussion music, mixed with Western pop and the rhythms of Cuba. Like Keita and N'Dour, Angelique Kidjo also borrows heavily from Western popular music, especially rock n' roll and funk. Her hard, driving music, sung in several languages, including her mother tongue of Fon, has proven particularly popular in France. Papa Wemba and Tabu Ley Rochereau are just two of the many musicians of central Africa associated with *soukous,* a style characterized by large guitar bands accompanied by Afro-Cuban rhythms, especially the rhumba. *Morna* is a style closely associated with Cesaria Evora, whose doleful songs, nostalgically lamenting failed relationships and homesickness have captured worldwide acclaim. She sings in Creole, Portuguese, and French, and is accompanied by guitar, clarinet, violin, and accordion.

It is instructive to note how many African musical styles have drawn upon traditions from various parts of the globe, where the impact of African peoples made itself felt centuries earlier as a result of the African diaspora. For instance reggae, which evolved as a musical genre in Jamaica among persons of African descent, has over time come to influence African musicians, owing in large part to the dynamism and genius of Bob Marley (1945–1981). Not only has reggae found its way into the African music scene, some African reggae artists have

emerged in recent years, most notably South Africa's Lucky Dube (1964–   ). Similarly, American rhythm and blues, rock 'n' roll, and gospel, which all owe a large debt to their African origins, have profoundly altered African music. African musicians have also made significant contributions to the quintessentially African American genre of music known as jazz. Hugh MASEKELA (1931–   ), a South African-born trumpeter, left South Africa in the early 1960s to pursue a career abroad, achieving international recognition for his virtuosity. He succeeded in creating a distinctive sound, blending bebop jazz with African musical forms. Even before entering self-imposed exile, Masekela had gained fame within his homeland as a member of the Jazz Epistles, which included Kippie Moeketsi (1925–1983) and Abdullah IBRAHIM (1934–   ) (originally known as Dollar Brand). Ibrahim, a pianist and composer, has also built an international following. As with Masekela, although Ibrahim's music is classified within the idiom of American jazz, it is still rooted in a distinctively South African musical tradition.

Some critics warn that the crossover music many of Africa's most renowned musicians have embraced, bridging two or more different musical traditions, will lead to the westernization of African music and the eventual disappearance of authentic African musical genres.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FON (Vols. III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MUSIC (Vols. I, II, III, IV); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

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Mutharika, Bingu wa See MALAWI.

Mutombo, Dikembe (1966–   ) *Basketball player from the Democratic Republic of the Congo*

Dikembe Mutombo was born June 25, 1966, in KINSHASA, capital of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. He went to the United States to pursue a degree in MEDICINE at Georgetown University on an academic scholarship, though he later switched his major from premed and received a bachelor's degree with a double major in linguistics and diplomacy. While at Georgetown he

came to the attention of the basketball coach and was convinced to join the team. He became Georgetown's all-time leader in field-goal percentage and second all-time leader in blocked shots.

In 1991 Mutombo was drafted by the Denver Nuggets of the National Basketball Association (NBA) and stayed with the team for five seasons. He has since played for other teams, including the Atlanta Hawks, the Philadelphia 76ers, the New Jersey Nets, and the New York Knicks. Standing 7' 2" (2.18 m) tall and weighing approximately 265 pounds (115 kg), his physique is ideally suited to the center position. His superb ability to rebound and block shots has prompted sportswriters to call him one of the best centers in the NBA. He has been named Defensive Player of the Year a record four times. He has also been chosen to play in eight NBA All-Star games.

Off the court, Mutombo has distinguished himself for his tireless humanitarian efforts. He established the Dikembe Mutombo Foundation to carry out various assistance projects, most notably donating $3 million toward the construction of a hospital in his homeland. In 1999 he received a President's Service Award in recognition of his extraordinary commitment to volunteer work. On tours of Africa, he has served as a spokesperson for CARE and otherwise uses his high-profile status to assist fellow Africans.

In addition to his own two children, Mutombo and his wife have adopted four others. He also provides financial support for approximately 50 relatives. Mutombo speaks several African languages as well as English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish.

See also: SPORTS AND ATHLETICS (Vol. V).

Muzorewa, Abel (Bishop Abel Tendekayi Muzorewa) (1925–   ) *Zimbabwean minister and political leader*

Born in Umtali (today's Mutare), in the eastern highlands of colonial Southern Rhodesia (present-day ZIMBABWE), Abel Tendekayi Muzorewa studied to become a minister in the American-based United Methodist Church (UMC). Following his ordination in 1953 he worked in the UMC for five years before going to the United States under UMC sponsorship. In 1963 he was awarded a master's degree in theology.

Muzorewa returned home (to what was then RHODESIA) to find the country in political turmoil. In 1965 Rhodesia's white-minority government issued a UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE from Great Britain. Within a year a guerrilla war was being waged to overthrow Ian SMITH (1919–   ) and his white-minority government. In the midst of these developments, in 1968 Muzorewa was promoted to UMC bishop and then elected to head the church in Rhodesia. It was the first

time in the country's history that a major church had selected an African as its head.

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Muzorewa continued his strong links with the American Methodists. In 1980, Morningside College, a Methodist-affiliated college in Sioux City, Iowa, awarded him an honorary doctorate. At least four members of his family attended Morningside, with the most recent one graduating in 1995.

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In 1971 Britain reached an agreement with the breakaway Rhodesian government to end sanctions in return for a commitment to a gradual transition to majority rule. Africans, however, were pressing for immediate majority rule. In light of the situation, Muzorewa co-founded the African National Council to mobilize opposition to the proposed British agreement with Smith. Though essentially a moderate nationalist movement, the African National Council for a short time became an umbrella organization for even the more activist Zimbabwean nationalist movements. Leaders of these movements included Ndabaningi SITHOLE (1920–2000), Robert MUGABE (1924–) of the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION, and Joshua NKOMO (1917–1999) of the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION.

The African National Council coalition soon broke down, however, with the guerrilla forces of Mugabe and Nkomo fully committed to a national war of liberation, which Muzorewa rejected. In 1978 Muzorewa, Sithole, and Smith signed an internal agreement that changed Rhodesia's name to "Zimbabwe Rhodesia" and provided for elections the following year. When the African National Council won the elections, Muzorewa became the prime minister. However, real power, including control over the army and the police, remained in the hands of Smith and the white minority.

Denounced by the guerrilla movements, Zimbabwe Rhodesia proved to be a short-lived experiment. The guerilla armies discredited Muzorewa as a nationalist leader and, with each victory on the battlefields, turned the tide in their favor. When the various warring factions signed the Lancaster House Agreement in September 1979, the independent state of Zimbabwe was created. Elections in 1980 essentially ended Muzorewa's political role in the country, though he was elected to Parliament. In 1996 Muzorewa challenged Mugabe for the presidency but received less than 5 percent of the vote.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

Mwanawasa, Levy (Levy Patrick Mwanawasa)
(1948–) *Third president of Zambia, taking office in 2002*

Born in the MINING town of Mufulira, in Zambia's Copperbelt, Mwanawasa was one of 10 children. In a country where ethnicity plays an important role, he came from the Lenje ethnic group, one of the smaller groups in ZAMBIA. In 1973 Mwanawasa graduated from the University of Zambia with a law degree. After graduation he worked for private law firms until 1978, when he formed his own firm, Mwanawasa & Company. Mwanawasa served as Zambia's solicitor general from 1985 to 1986, but he returned to private practice the following year. In 1989 he became the first Zambian lawyer to be appointed an advocate and solicitor for the Supreme Court of England and Wales.

In March 1991 the Zambian president, Frederick CHILUBA (1943–), named Mwanawasa his vice president. That same year Mwanawasa was involved in a serious automobile accident that resulted in the death of his assistant. Opposition candidates used the accident against Mwanawasa, claiming that he had suffered brain damage and was unfit to hold political office. He resigned from the vice presidency in 1994 and accused Chiluba's government of CORRUPTION.

In 1996 Mwanawasa failed in a bid to gain the presidency of Zambia's ruling party, the MOVEMENT FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY (MMD). In 2001, however, the MMD national executive committee, led by Chiluba, nominated Mwanawasa as the its presidential candidate. Mwanawasa won a close election, defeating the runner-up, Anderson Mazoka (1945–), by less than 2 percent. Many objected to his inauguration, however, and opposition candidates, led by Mazoka, asked the Supreme Court to nullify the results and force a recount. Despite observers from the European Union having reported irregularities in the balloting, the Supreme Court rejected the petition by the opposition candidates. Mwanawasa was sworn in as president of Zambia on January 2, 2002. Because Chiluba had handpicked Mwanawasa, people expected Mwanawasa to be beholden to the former president. These critics were surprised when Mwanawasa allowed an inquiry into past indiscretions by Chiluba, who later lost his presidential immunity and was tried for embezzling public funds. The decision brought Mwanawasa new respect and his popularity increased as he vowed to continue his anti-corruption campaign, stating: "There will not be two sets of laws, one for the leadership and one for the citizens. If a leader transgresses the law, he will be punished."

See also: COPPERBELT (Vol. IV).

Mwinyi, Ali Hassan (1925–) *Former president of Tanzania*

Born in Kivure, Tanganyika, Ali Hassan Mwinyi moved to ZANZIBAR, where he trained as a teacher. Later

he went to England where he earned a degree from the University of Durham in 1956. Mwinyi returned to Zanzibar and worked as a teacher and rose to the position of principal of the Zanzibar Teacher Training College. A devout Muslim, he was also a member of the AFRO-SHI-RAZI PARTY, the nationalist party that led Zanzibar to independence in 1963. He left the teaching profession in 1964 to become permanent secretary to the minister of EDUCATION in Zanzibar. He served in several political positions including minister of health, ambassador to EGYPT, and vice president. In April 1984 Mwinyi was elected president of Zanzibar. As such, according to the Tanzanian constitution, he also became Tanzania's vice president. As president of Zanzibar he introduced economic reforms that were more liberal than the socialist policies of President Julius NYERERE (1922–1999). He was viewed as a moderate, which made him a preferred candidate to be Nyerere's successor. Mwinyi also gained popularity in Zanzibar for bringing forth a new constitution there, strengthening the union with mainland Tanzania while affirming the autonomy of the islands.

Nyerere chose Mwinyi as the sole candidate the PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION (known by its Swahili name of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM) to replace him. Although Mwinyi was the only candidate, both he and Nyerere campaigned vigorously to ensure the support of the majority of the people. As a result he received more than 90 percent of the vote. As the country's president, he inherited serious economic problems from Nyerere's socialist era including poor INFRASTRUCTURE, shortage of goods, and FOREIGN DEBT totaling approximately $3 billion.

In order to secure some debt relief Mwinyi agreed to abandon socialist principles and follow the conditions of the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. As a result, in 1986, Tanzanian's major donors rescheduled the bulk of the country's loans. In the same year, using a loan from the IMF, he introduced a three-year economic recovery plan. In 1989 he introduced the country's second national DEVELOPMENT plan. The following year, in October, Mwinyi was elected to a second term and also became chair of the ruling CCM when Nyerere relinquished the position. Two years into his second term Mwinyi initiated the transition to a multiparty state in response to internal and international pressure to reform the one-party system. Mwinyi served as president until 1995 and is credited with liberalizing the economy and reintroducing the multiparty system. His successor as president was Benjamin MKAPA (1938–), who came from the mainland.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V).

N

Nairobi Capital city of KENYA and major urban center in the fertile central highlands of East Africa. Nairobi is located midway between MOMBASA, on the Indian Ocean, and Kisumu, on the shores of Lake VICTORIA. Founded in 1899 as a camp for railroad workers, Nairobi became the colonial capital in 1905, and it remained the capital when Kenya gained its independence, in 1963. It is home of the University of Nairobi, founded in 1956, and it came to host other institutions, including the Kenya Polytechnic (1961), the Kenya Institute of Administration (1961), Kenyatta University College (1972), the national museum, and the national theater.

By 1963 Nairobi already was the major commercial, industrial, and economic center for East Africa. Its role has since expanded, with industries producing cigarettes, processed foods, textiles, building materials, communication and TRANSPORTATION equipment, and beverages. It also ships agricultural products from the surrounding area to coastal Mombasa for export. As Nairobi is well connected by road, rail, and air to all major stops in East Africa—and within one day's drive from three of the most popular wild-game reserves—the city boasts a strong TOURISM industry.

With its temperate climate and cosmopolitan atmosphere, Nairobi continued to grow rapidly after independence. Soon, the POPULATION GROWTH overwhelmed the WATER RESOURCES and housing facilities, and shantytowns sprang up in the shadows of the city's modern skyscrapers. In 1962 the population was an estimated 266,800, but by 2002 the greater Nairobi area was home to more than 3 million residents. During this same time span, the Asian and European minority percentage of the population dropped from 40 percent to 4

percent, signaling Nairobi's transition from a colonial city to an African one.

> **The 45-square-mile (117-sq-km) Nairobi National Park is located about 4 miles (7 km) from the city's center and is thus easily accessible to visitors and locals alike. Much of East Africa's varied WILDLIFE, and nearly all of Kenya's major game animals except for elephants, can be seen in the park. Among its noteworthy features is a highly successful rhinoceros-breeding program.**

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); BRITISH EAST AFRICA (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NAIROBI (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Namibia Mineral-rich, largely arid and semi-arid country located in southwest Africa, on the Atlantic Ocean. Namibia covers 318,300 square miles (824,400 sq km) and is bordered by ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, and SOUTH AFRICA. The most influential groups in Namibia include the Ovambo, who make up about 50 percent of the population, the HERERO, the Nama, and Afrikaner and German minorities. In 1990 Namibia became the last country in Africa to become independent.

Namibia as South West Africa Beginning 1915 Namibia—formerly German South West Africa—was

On March 21, 1990, Namibia finally achieved independence from South African rule. Following the hoisting of the Namibian flag, Sam Nujoma was sworn in as president by United Nations secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar. © *United Nations/J. Isaac*

ruled as a United Nations (UN) mandate by South Africa, whose established system of racial inequality slowed the progress toward independence. In the 1950s Namibians began organizing protests by any means possible, with African and mixed-race miners forming unions, holding strikes, and making vocal demands for civil rights.

In 1956 the Herero paramount chief, Hosea Kutako (1870–1970), succeeded in getting a representative to petition the United Nations for help. Although progress was still slowed by the bureaucratic foot-dragging of the South African government, INDEPENDENCE MOVE- MENTS were emerging all over the African continent, and it seemed that Namibian independence could not be far off.

In 1959 Namibians founded their own indepen- dence-minded political party, the South West Africa Na- tional Union (SWANU). It continued the UN petition process, called for better EDUCATION and health services for Africans, and demanded a more equitable distribution of the country's land and NATURAL RESOURCES. At the same time, SWANU began smuggling members across the

border to British Bechuanaland (soon to be independent Botswana) to train as freedom fighters.

Despite the progress that SWANU was making to- ward independence, some Namibians felt that the organi- zation was too accommodating to the South African government. Ovambo leader Sam NUJOMA (1929–   ) and members of his Ovamboland People's Organization broke from SWANU to create the SOUTH WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO), a more militant group that ap- proached the independence movement with greater ur- gency. However, as they had done with SWANU, the South African government banned meetings and refused to recognize Nujoma's party.

In 1966, under mounting international pressure, the United Nations voted to revoke South Africa's mandate to govern SOUTH WEST AFRICA. South Africa, in turn, refused to recognize the UN action, and the movement toward independence lost momentum once again.

Having failed through peaceful, diplomatic means to meet their objectives, in 1966 SWAPO began an armed insurgency through their militant faction, the People's

Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). With the violence escalating in 1971, the UN Security Council took the reins in the negotiations for a peaceful transition to independence, officially recognizing SWAPO—which enjoyed broad support both in South West Africa and on the international stage—as the sole representative of the Namibian people. The United Nations then declared the South African occupation of South West Africa to be illegal and demanded that South Africa begin the dialogue for Namibian independence.

Throughout the late 1970s and into the 1980s the war for Namibian independence raged in both South West Africa and across the border, in Angola. PLAN, supported by both the MPLA and Cuban troops, continued its armed rebellion against white rule. The United Nations, meanwhile, continued to allow South Africa to defy its orders.

The war for liberation in Namibia was just one of many throughout southern Africa at the time. Inspired by the success of the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertaçao de Angola, MPLA) large numbers of Namibian rebels began moving north to Angola, both to train and to launch offensives against South African troops posted along the border.

In 1986, after years of fraudulent negotiations and failed cease-fire agreements, South African troops from South West Africa moved into Angola. Over the next three years, the casualties on both sides continued to mount. By 1989 the futility of the situation finally became overwhelming for both sides. The United Nations brokered a cease-fire agreement and appointed a five-nation "Contact Group," which included the United States, to oversee independence negotiations between Namibian political parties and the South African government. Despite a few skirmishes, the cease-fire held, and elections were set for November. In voting that reflected Namibia's ethnic diversity, SWAPO emerged as the victorious party, with 57 percent of the votes, and Sam Nujoma became president of the Republic of Namibia. After creating a new constitution, Namibia declared its independence on March 21, 1990.

Since the first elections Nujoma's SWAPO, with its solid Ovambo electoral base, has increasingly dominated Namibian politics. Nujoma has proven to be a capable leader, directing a successful campaign of national reconciliation from his offices in WINDHOEK, Namibia's capital. The country still faces serious challenges, however, including an HIV/AIDS epidemic and long-standing disagreements regarding LAND USE and property rights.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); CUBA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); HERERO (Vols. II, III, IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NAMA (Vol. IV); OVAMBO (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Nasser, Gamal Abdel (Gamal Abdul Nasser; Gamal Abdal Nasser) (1918–1970) *President of Egypt from 1954 to 1967*

Gamal Abdel Nasser's rise to the Egyptian presidency began with his participation in the 1952 military COUP D'ÉTAT that removed the monarchy in EGYPT and set up a one-party, authoritarian state. Nasser became head of state in 1954 and began a sweeping program of land reform and economic and social DEVELOPMENT that Nasser called Arab Socialism. In addition, he nationalized heavy industry, giving oversight of production to a government ministry.

In the 1960s Nasser continued to implement his agenda of Arab socialism. In 1962 he nationalized the press, the CINEMA, THEATER, and BOOK PUBLISHING. He established a ministry of national guidance and a ministry of culture, which had authority over the media and controlled the public expression of ideas. Nasser even nationalized Cairo's influential al-Azhar University, Islam's oldest center of learning, and made it an arm of the government. This act infuriated many Muslims, especially those among the Muslim Brotherhood, which wanted an Islamic state to replace Nasser's secular regime.

Nasser's reforms often aimed at a redistribution of wealth. He made it illegal to own assets in excess of 10,000 Egyptian pounds. He returned rents to their 1944 level, benefiting small farmers. Further land reform measures broke up large corporate and individual estates, dividing them into smaller parcels of land that the government redistributed to the landless peasants. The government also established free EDUCATION programs and initiated health reform.

In terms of international affairs Nasser maintained a policy of nonalignment, or neutrality, even during the tensest moments of the Cold War between the Soviet and Western blocs. Nasser refused to take sides between the superpowers, often to the annoyance of the United States. When the United States refused Nasser's request to fund the construction of the ASWAN DAM, for example, he turned to the Soviet Union for financing. Built in the 1960s, the massive dam created additional farmland to be redistributed among the peasantry. Utilizing the electrical power generated by the dam, Nasser was able to build Egypt's industrial base. However, despite economic and social reform, inefficiency in the private and public sectors caused Egypt's economy to stagnate.

Nasser remained, like many Arab leaders, a vocal opponent of Israel and a strong supporter of Palestinian rights. However, Israel's quick defeat of Egyptian forces in the 1967 Six-Day War, one of a series of ARAB-ISRAELI

WARS, humiliated Egypt. As a result of this war Egypt lost the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula, which contained Egypt's richest OIL fields. Egypt also suffered a tremendous human loss, with 12,000 killed and 60,000 captured. Nasser took full responsibility for the defeat and offered to resign. However, Egyptians refused to accept Nasser's resignation. Nasser died of a heart attack in 1970. News of his death came as a shock to the Egyptian public, and millions turned out in CAIRO to view his funeral procession.

See also: ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NASSER, GAMAL ABDEL (Vol. IV); NONALIGNED MOVEMENT (Vol. V).

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National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, FNLA)

Anticolonial movement founded in 1961 by Holden ROBERTO (1923–   ). The FNLA had its roots in the deep heritage and traditions of the Kongo people, who ruled the most important state in the region before the colonial era. As an organization, the FNLA emerged from the Union of Peoples of North Angola (UPNA), the political group that became the Union of Angolan People (União das Populações de Angola, UPA), in 1958. In 1961 a faction of the UPA led by Holden Roberto changed its name to the FNLA and began an armed insurrection against Portuguese colonial rule. Within a year of its founding the FNLA was sending rebels into ANGOLA from Kongo strongholds in what is now the Democratic Republic of the CONGO.

At times during the 1970s with the Cold War environment still shaping superpower decisions, both the United States Central Intelligence Agency and China supported the FNLA.

After Angola declared independence from Portugal in 1975, the FNLA soon faded away as a political and military force. Its leader, Roberto, went into exile, and its members joined the ranks of the remaining warring factions, which included the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA and the NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA. In the 1992 elections a reconstituted version of the FNLA attempted to regain power, but the movement received only a small percentage of the votes and dissolved once again.

See also: CHINA AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN)

Long-time ruling party of ALGERIA that came to power after a prolonged armed struggle against French colonial rule. When Algeria achieved independence in 1962, the FLN faced the task of transforming itself from a liberation movement to a governing political party. There was considerable internal struggle and competition over the direction the party. Soon, however, Ahmed BEN BELLA (1916–   ), the country's prime minister emerged as the party's first leader. He had been the FLN's key political thinker during the war to oust the French. This made him a natural choice to head the party and the newly independent government it controlled. The following year Ben Bella became the country's president and instituted a one-party state with a political philosophy centered on socialism and pan-Arabism.

Although Ben Bella headed the party, he did not totally control it. In 1965 key FLN figures concluded that Ben Bella was seeking to garner too much power, and defense minister Houari BOUMEDIENNE (1927–1978) led a successful COUP D'ÉTAT to unseat Ben Bella. The FLN continued as Algeria's sole legal party, a position that was reaffirmed with the approval of a new national charter, or constitution. According to the charter, the FLN was the only legal political party, and Islam was the official religion.

By the late 1980s many young Algerians had grown disillusioned with the country's political leadership and their own uncertain future. When they started widespread riots in 1988, the FLN called for a national referendum in which voters approved a multiparty political system. As new political parties emerged, the FLN leadership was forced to revitalize. The major challenge to the FLN came from the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which won 55 percent of the seats in the 1989 local elections. In December 1991, in the first stage of the two-part election for the National Assembly, the FIS won more than 80 percent of the seats. The FLN won only 15 of the 231 contested seats. The army then stepped in, halted the second stage, declared the FIS to be illegal, and imprisoned its leadership.

In the aftermath of the elections, the sitting president, Chadli Benjedid (1929–   ), resigned, his successor, Mohammed Boudiaf (d. 1992), was assassinated, and an army general, Liamine Zeroual (1941–   ), became head of state. In 1995 Zeroual ran for president as the candidate of the newly founded National and Democratic Rally (Rassemblement National pour la Démocratie, RND). He won handily when the eight opposition parties boycotted the election.

The 1995 election marked the end of the FLN's hold on the presidency. In 1997 the FLN placed second in the National Assembly elections, winning 64 out of 380 seats. This total was fewer than the seats won by both the "moderate" Islamist Movement for a Peaceful Society (69 seats) and the RND (115 seats). The FLN and RND then formed a coalition majority in the assembly.

The FLN continues as a viable, though minority political party in Algeria. In 1999 both it and the RND supported the election of President Abdulaziz BOUTEFLIKA (1937–). Deprived of its former status as the ruling party in Algeria's one-party state, the future of the FLN now depends on how well its leaders can craft a message that will appeal to an electorate for whom the 1954–62 war for independence is increasingly a historical memory.

See also: BATTLE OF ALGIERS (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

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national parks One of the most familiar types of protected natural areas, national parks are important tools for CONSERVATION. In Africa the topic of conservation has led to conflict over a number of issues, including who gets to make decisions about NATURAL RESOURCES and how people view their relation to nature.

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) defines a protected area as "an area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal or other effective means." Besides national parks, the most common types of protected areas include *managed resource areas,* which try to encourage the use of natural resources in a sustainable, manageable way; *national monuments,* which protect culturally important sites; *nature reserves,* which are open only for scientific use; and *wilderness areas,* which forbid habitation and limit human impact in order to retain the wild characteristics of an area.

The world's first national park was Yellowstone National Park, in the United States. Established in 1872, it sought to both preserve one of the North American continent's great natural areas and, at the same time, to develop that area for recreational use. Its success led the United States to establish 14 other national parks, as well as 21 national monuments, by 1916. Since then establishing national parks has become one of the primary ways in which governments attempt to protect important natural areas. By limiting LAND USE and promoting activities that have minimal harmful impact on the environment, national parks serve as a major force in preserving nature for future generations.

Today Africa is the site of many spectacular national parks. South Africa's famous Kruger National Park, for example, provides a safe haven for some of the continent's most important WILDLIFE. Similarly, Mount Kenya National Park, which encompasses 276 square miles (715 sq km) and rises to altitudes over 17,000 feet (5,181 m), preserves a site that not only is of great physical beauty but that is of great cultural and religious importance. Parks like these represent an important investment in their countries' futures, not only in terms of preservation of their environments, but also in terms of the hard economics of TOURISM.

As of 2002 there were 109 national or international parks in North Africa, 136 in East Africa, 80 in Central Africa, 138 in West Africa, and 586 in southern Africa. The IUCN has established a target in which 10 percent of all land area in Africa should come under some form of environmental protection. So far, six African nations have achieved that goal: BOTSWANA, BURKINA FASO, NAMIBIA, RWANDA, SENEGAL, and TANZANIA. To a great extent, these efforts have been aided by outside donations, much of it from private, non-governmental agencies like the World Wildlife Fund, which provided nearly $10 million for African forest conservation in 2001.

The establishment of national parks, especially in Africa, has not been without problems. The idea of protected national parks arises from a particular "nature aesthetic," a view that holds that nature is of value in and of itself and that it should be "protected" by the government from human interference. Not all cultures, however, share this view, and, even if they "appreciate" nature, many cultures do not necessarily see a value to nature separate from its utility to humans. Indeed, for many cultures the loss of land to a national park represents a cultural as well as an economic hardship.

The conflict between the nature aesthetic and the view that the land has other uses has been particularly sharp in Africa. The first national park in Africa was Virunga National Park, which was originally known as Albert National Park. It was organized in 1925 in what was then the Belgian Congo (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO). The effort, shared by both the Belgian and British governments, sought to protect the park's mountain gorillas.

When Virunga was proposed, however, a large human population had to be displaced in order to establish the 3,000-square-mile (7,770-sq-km) park. In doing this the authorities were attempting to save an endangered animal, but at the same time they were effectively establishing a vision of "what Africa should look like." Further, the decision was made by colonial administrations rather than by Africans. As a result a basic conflict arose. To the administrators, the land was being taken for the good of the area and of the world. To the local population, however, the land was simply being confiscated, like so much of the rest of Africa, by colonial imperialists.

Beyond this, from the African standpoint, establishing the park assumed a separation of human beings from a nature that can be dominated, controlled, or protected. This separation, as well as the whole nature aesthetic that went with it, was foreign to Africans. To the people who lived in and near the land that became Virunga National Park, human beings lived as a part of nature, and separating humans from their environment made no sense at all.

The conflict that marked the establishment of Africa's first national park still exists today. Nearly all African countries now have national parks systems. Most are modeled on either the U.S. system or one developed by SOUTH AFRICA during the 1920s. Not surprisingly, as the number of parks has increased, so has the number of problems.

The history of Virunga National Park once again provides a telling example. In 1979 Virunga was put on the World Heritage List, primarily to preserve the high level of BIODIVERSITY found within its borders and to continue protecting the diminishing mountain gorilla population. This designation, however, meant that the resources in the area were even less available than before. The situation became a crisis in 1994, when the war in neighboring Rwanda drove more than 40,000 REFUGEES into the park. These people collected great amounts of forest products each day for firewood and other necessities. Nearly 50,000 acres (20,234 hectares) were deforested in just a few months. In response the United Nations upgraded Virunga to a World Heritage Site in Danger, an ac-

Recently, the movement for the establishment of national parks has gained momentum from those who are making wildlife conservation a global concern. These rhinos are a protected species in South Africa's Kruger National Park. © Corbis

tion that, to refugees and local residents alike, seemed to blur the line between natural resource management and the right to survive.

Virunga provides an extreme example of the problems involved in creating national parks, but it is one that is becoming, in many ways, more common. In 1980 the IUCN created a new group, the World Conservation Strategy (WCS), for the purpose of finding ways to balance two critical requirements: the resident people's need for economic growth and the world's need for resource conservation. In actual practice, however, the WCS's concern with potential loss of biodiversity has outweighed any issues raised by resident peoples. As a result, throughout the 1980s and 1990s African governments set up new parks and reorganized and expanded old ones, all the while mimicking the actions of the one-time colonial powers by relocating large numbers of people.

Mkomazi Reserve, in Tanzania, Kibale Forest Reserve and Game Corridor, in UGANDA, and Central Kalahari Game Reserve, in Botswana, were set up with processes involving massive relocation of residents. Although the relocation of inhabitants in this way is less popular today, it remains a major part of government policy in many areas.

Relocation is not the only issue involved in the establishment and management of national parks. Of primary concern is the question of local land use. In northern Tanzania, for example, an intense debate developed between the MAASAI population and the government over the right to graze herds on pasture lands in national parks and protected areas. The conflict became so intense, in fact, that it led Tanzania's former president Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) to appoint a Maasai prime minister in 1980. Similar conflicts involving park-resident differences have taken place in Tsavo National Park, in KENYA, and around all of the borders of Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, which covers parts of ZIMBABWE, MOZAMBIQUE, and South Africa.

Throughout Africa the benefits have been tremendous regarding the establishment of national parks and protected areas. The parks have helped reduce the loss of biodiversity and have lessened the pressures brought on by agricultural and industrial land use. Parks also have helped reduce pollution and limit the introduction of new plants and animals that often have disastrous effects on individual environments. Clearly, however, the existing parks cannot succeed and new ones cannot be created without the cooperation of resident populations. For this reason the IUCN has attempted to modify policies, advo-

cating a system that also recognizes the rights, concerns, and traditions of resident populations in all environmental protection projects. As a result, in the future, national parks and protected areas may not be the only way to reduce environmental change. Instead, there may be broader, more inclusive plans that will integrate conservation with development and local resource management.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V).

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National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, UNITA)

Anticolonial nationalist movement founded in 1966. After ANGOLA became independent in 1975, UNITA was one of the major factions that became embroiled in Angola's civil war. Jonas SAVIMBI (1934–2002) organized UNITA in 1966, combining elements that broke away from the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, FNLA). Members of UNITA were drawn primarily from the Ovimbundu and Chokwe peoples of central and southern Angola. Originally UNITA was an organization sympathetic to the thought of Chinese Communist leader MAO ZEDONG (1893–1976). However, it evolved into an anti-Communist party after it accepted aid from Portugal in the armed conflict against the pro-Communist POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA).

When the MPLA declared independence from Portugal in 1975 UNITA, briefly aided by the FNLA, engaged the MPLA in what was to become Africa's most protracted civil war. Reflecting the political maneuvering of the Cold War, the United States backed UNITA to counter the support that the former Soviet Union and Cuba gave to the MPLA. At the height of hostilities UNITA also received support from the South African Defense Force, whose troops were fighting against both the MPLA in Angola and rebels in nearby NAMIBIA.

By 1988 the war in Angola was coming to a tentative close, and foreign troops began to withdraw. In 1992 this ultimately led to Angolan elections that resulted in a UNITA defeat. Although international observers judged the elections to be fair, Savimbi immediately declared the election a fraud, reigniting the civil war.

During the fighting that again enveloped the country, Savimbi's UNITA used proceeds from illegally smuggled Angolan diamonds to fund its insurrectionist campaign. As a result of the international condemnation of UNITA

tactics, a splinter group, UNITA-R, suspended Savimbi and laid claim to the leadership of the party. UNITA soon split into three factions.

In the late 1980s Namibia, which lies between Angola and SOUTH AFRICA, had yet to achieve independence from South Africa. The fighting between South African troops and Namibia's rebel armies often spilled over into southern Angola.

Despite his professed desire to resolve the conflict, in 2002 Savimbi was assassinated by government troops, and within months UNITA signed an agreement to end hostilities. Although internal conflict persists in Angola, the reintegration of former UNITA combatants into the government is proving generally to be a success.

See also: CHINA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CUBA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OVIMBUNDU (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

natural resources In Africa natural resources often have been the engine propelling DEVELOPMENT at the same time that their exploitation has contributed to social and environmental ills. The term *natural resources* has come to include any material goods existing in nature that can be exploited by human beings for economic gain.

The idea of natural resources became important in Africa early in the 20th century as Europe's colonial powers sought to profit from the continent's mineral riches. In the process, other African natural resources, including indigenous African FOOD CROPS, plants, and soil and WATER RESOURCES, were also exploited. After World War I (1914–18), the shift in the economics of colonialism forced European countries, the United Kingdom and France in particular, to mandate that colonial governments maintain greater levels of self-sufficiency. This, in turn, led to even greater exploitation of Africa's most precious commodities.

This pattern—generating wealth through the exploitation of natural resources—continued into the postcolonial era. African elites formed new businesses to trade GOLD, copper, iron, timber, and agricultural goods, as well as other products. As international markets grew and became more complex, uranium, diamonds, and, perhaps most critically, OIL became the engines for economic growth for African economies. Today, while the

United States and other advanced industrial economies rely on technology, industry, and service for the largest part of their economies, most African countries still survive by exploiting their natural resources.

There is no doubt that NIGERIA, for example, would suffer without the sale of oil, ZAMBIA without the sale of copper, NAMIBIA without the sale of uranium, GUINEA-BISSAU without the sale of groundnuts (peanuts), MAURITANIA without the sale of fish, and SIERRA LEONE without the sale of diamonds. However, exploitation of natural resources comes at a huge price. Costs frequently include permanent ecological change as well as long-term, and even irreversible, damage to the ecosystem.

The economy of GUINEA provides a telling example of how present-day needs are met at the expense of the future. Guinea's economy is dependent on a combination of the minerals bauxite, gold, iron ore, silver, lead, platinum, uranium, nickel, and cobalt. At the same time Mount Nimba, in Guinea, is a critical BIODIVERSITY resource that contains a large number of species found nowhere else. It is both a Reserve of the Biosphere and a UN World Heritage site. Yet even as the government has put in place CONSERVATION measures, MINING threatens the area's vitally important evergreen FORESTS and unique plant formations. Mining also has reduced the area that farmers can cultivate, forcing them to attempt to grow crops on marginal lands and use unsustainable agricultural practices.

Another challenge comes from global markets. The global marketplace often forces African exporters to consider short-term profits even if this means long-term environmental or market erosion. For instance, gemstone production in Zambia is focused predominantly in the informal market sector. This is because there are not adequate legal incentives or INFRASTRUCTURE to ensure that sellers abide by practices that benefit the country as a whole. As a result, the mining of Zambian emeralds, aquamarine, amethyst, and tourmaline is an important source of wealth, but it is not a sustainable pursuit. On its current path the resources will be exhausted, the environment will be destroyed, and only a few people will have ever gained any benefits.

Economic benefit and SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT are major issues in regard to oil, which has provided some countries with the most valuable resource in their history. For example, oil exploitation in the NIGER DELTA, which became part of Nigeria under British colonialism, has become a mainstay of that country's economy. In fact, it to-

tals 95 percent of the Nigerian national budget. Yet the Ijaw people of the region are among the country's poorest. Beyond this, in 1997–98 alone, oil spills amounted to 100,000 barrels (4.2 million gallons). Local AGRICULTURE has been poisoned and game animals have all but disappeared. More broadly, pollutants from the oil industry have contributed to ATMOSPHERIC CHANGE.

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In recent years the mining of the mineral coltan (short for columbite-tantalite) has caused upheaval in Central Africa. Mined by hand from streambeds mainly in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO (DRC), coltan is used in mobile phones, beepers, and laptop computers to regulate voltage and store energy. The global technology boom that began in the 1990s increased demand for the mineral, causing its value to skyrocket to as much as $180 per pound ($400 per kg). To meet demand armed rebel factions from DRC, RWANDA, UGANDA, and BURUNDI have set up unregulated mining operations in Congo's NATIONAL PARKS. The rebels' mining activity—which can earn them as much as $20 million per month—threatens local human populations and endangers the parks' gorillas and elephants.

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In Nigeria the effects of the oil industry are not confined to just the environment, however. Political CORRUPTION has resulted, leading to the degradation of water quality, electrification, EDUCATION, and medical care. On the social level, in 2000 alone, violence associated with the oil industry took as many as 5,000 lives.

Africa's vast natural resources are a double-edged sword. They are finite, non-renewable goods. As such, they are the primary engine contributing to economic growth in the short term. But they simultaneously represent one of the greatest threats to both the environment and sustained economic growth in the long term. Despite significant improvements in natural resource management in recent years, as long as irreplaceable natural goods are used as a means by which to generate wealth, they will pose hazards to the environment and threats to the long-term economic potential of Africa's most impoverished countries.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); MINERALS AND METALS (Vols. IV, V); MINING (Vol. IV); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vol. IV); PASTORALISM (Vol. IV).

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Ndayizeye, Domitien   See BURUNDI.

N'Djamena   Capital of CHAD, located in the southwestern part of the country on the Chari River, the southern outlet of Lake Chad. The French founded the town as Fort-Lamy in 1900, after defeating the Sudanese merchant-warrior, Rabih bin Fadlallah (1845–1900), who, with his slave army, had established control of a large area east of Lake Chad. Fort-Lamy became an administrative center and military base of French Equatorial Africa before becoming the capital of Chad upon the country's independence, in 1960. Since then nearly continuous struggles for control of the country have created large-scale upheaval. The French name of the town, Fort-Lamy, was changed to the African name, N'Djamena, in 1973.

In 1990 the authoritarian government of Idriss DÉBY (1952–   ) took control. Eventually, democratic elections were held in 1996 and 1997, but an opposition group began fighting again in 2000. In 2002 a peace accord was signed, and Déby remained in power. Physically, N'Djamena reflects the country's tumultuous history, with many government buildings still bearing the scars of war. With a population estimated at slightly more than 600,000, N'Djamena serves as Chad's main commercial and economic center, as well as its political capital. It has a refrigerated slaughterhouse, and meat processing is the city's main industry. The city's markets trade in livestock, salt, dates, fish, cotton, and grains from the surrounding area. The city is also the site of the National School of Administration (founded in 1963) the University of Chad (1971), and the national museum, which specializes in prehistoric items.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); RABIH BIN FADLALLAH (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

N'Dour, Youssou (1959–   ) *Senegalese singer*

Born in DAKAR, the capital of SENEGAL, N'Dour was singing in public by the time he was 12 years old. He joined the Star Band in 1976, and three years later he formed his own band, the Etoile, which was renamed Super Etoile, in 1981. N'Dour quickly became the foremost proponent of the Senegalese musical style known as *mbalax,* a mix of West African, Cuban, and Western rhythms. He became known to a much broader audience in 1986, when he toured with English rock star Peter Gabriel (1950–   ) in support of the hit album "So," on which he sang. Since then, N'Dour's musical services have been requested by a great number of non-African recording artists, including Branford Marsalis (1960–   ) and Neneh Cherry (1964–   ).

N'Dour is recognized for his distinctive vocal inflections and his four- to five-octave vocal range. Reflecting his varied international audience, N'Dour records in French, English, Wolof, Pulaar (Fulfulde), and Serer. Over the years, he has used his fame to promote HUMAN RIGHTS and peace with such organizations as Amnesty International and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

See also: MUSIC (Vol. V).

Negasso Gidada (1944–) *President of Ethiopia*

Born to OROMO parents in Dembi Dolo, ETHIOPIA, Negasso Gidada attended school in his home village and later in ADDIS ABABA, at Haile Selassie I University. From 1974 to 1991 he lived in Germany, where he became involved in Oromo causes, including the Union of Oromo Students in Europe and the Oromo Liberation Front. In 1989 Negasso Gidada came out in favor of the ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (EPRDF). By the time he returned to Ethiopia in 1991, the EPRDF controlled the country, having driven socialist dictator MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–) from power.

Negasso joined the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), eventually becoming part of its central committee. He then became minister of labor and social affairs and, later, minister of information under the transitional government headed by Prime Minister MELES ZENAWI (1955–), an ethnic TIGRAY. In 1995 Negasso Gidada was elected to the largely figurehead office of president of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Meles and the EPRDF enacted a national government that favored the power of ethnically based regional governments, as opposed to centralized power in Addis Ababa. Rather than improving relations between Ethiopia's various ethnic groups, the plan exacerbated tensions and was decried particularly by the Amhara and the Oromo. The Tigray-led EPRDF thinly disguised its repression of these groups.

Caught between these sides, Negasso Gidada openly criticized elements in the EPRDF that repressed the Oromo. Ethnic tensions threatened to split the EPRDF coalition, which was made up of different ethnic organizations, including the OPDO. The situation came to a head when Negasso Gidada stormed out of a government meeting, officially severing his ties with Meles. In 2001 Negasso Gidada asked for political asylum in Italy. He held onto his claim to the presidency, however, until his term expired later that year. In his place, Girma Wolde-Giorgis (1917–), also an Oromo, was elected to the presidency. By the end of 2003 Ethiopia's "government by ethnicity" still appeared to be a shaky undertaking.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); TIGRAY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT (Vol. V).

neocolonialism and underdevelopment

Leaders and participants in the African INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS believed that ending colonial rule on the continent would free Africans to pursue a path of DEVELOPMENT of the continent's human and NATURAL RESOURCES for their own benefit rather than the benefit of their colonial rulers. However, within a few years of independence a number of African political leaders and intellectuals began to perceive the continuance of external indirect "neocolonial" control in the economic and cultural spheres, and even in the political sphere. Rather than developing, Africa seemed to be mired in underdevelopment. Dependency rather than true independence seemed to be Africa's situation.

It was Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), the prime minister of GHANA at independence in 1957, who first coined the term "neocolonialism." As the central nationalist leader in his country's independence movement, he had believed that the achievement of political independence would almost inevitably lead to broad-based economic progress. By 1965, however, he had lost faith in such a formula, as indicated by the appearance of his book, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last State of Imperialism.* In it he argued that gaining national sovereignty did not in any substantial manner alter the fundamental economic, social, and cultural relationships of colonialism. Rather than the forces of African nationalism compelling the European colonial powers to withdraw from the continent, the colonial powers had engaged in their own process of decolonization. They bequeathed the appearance of sovereignty on the successor African states while retaining the real power for themselves. This neocolonialism expressed itself primarily through economic and monetary measures. African countries, for example, continued to export CASH CROPS and other raw materials to their former colonial rulers while importing manufactured goods from them. The currencies of the former French colonies remained pegged to the French franc. But, according to Nkrumah, there was also a new dimension to neocolonialism, that of the involvement of new actors in Africa's subjugation, including the United States.

Others soon picked up the concept of neocolonialism and began to utilize it to better understand the impasse that Africa had reached. In 1971 the Egyptian economist Samir Amin (1931–) published *L'Afrique de l'Ouest Bloquee: L'Economie Politique de la Colonisation, 1880–1970*, which was then translated and, in 1973, published as *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa.* At the time, Amin was the director of the UN African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, in DAKAR, SENEGAL. Previously he had been a senior government economist in EGYPT and a technical advisor for planning to the government of MALI as well as an economics professor in France and Senegal. The focus of Amin's work as an economist was, as he once said, on "the problems of unequal developments of capitalism

on a world scale," whereby the developed capitalist countries had gradually arisen and come to dominate the underdeveloped countries of Africa and elsewhere. This process had taken place through the development of colonial TRADE AND COMMERCE, by which external firms came to dominate African markets. African participation in this colonial economy was oriented toward EXPORTS rather than internal development. This led to colonial economic enclaves such as the Copperbelt of ZAMBIA and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO or the cocoa-producing regions of West Africa. This type of economic development also worked against the emergence of a strong middle class that was vital for the development of the national economies of Africa. All of these dimensions of the colonial economy continued essentially unchanged after formal independence, thus creating the neocolonial situation.

NGUGI WA THIONG'O (1938–) waged a long campaign against the effects of colonialism. As a young lecturer in the Department of English at the newly established University of Nairobi, he was part of the successful effort in the late 1960s to replace it with the Department of African Languages and Literature. He next stopped using his English Christian name of James because of the links between the RELIGION of the MISSIONARIES and colonialism. In an interview after his decision to write his novels and plays only in Gikuyu (the Kikuyu language) or Kiswahili, he argued that "language is a carrier of a people's culture," which in turn transmits a people's values that are the basis for their identity. Thus, "when you destroy a people's language, you in essence destroy their identity."

African writers have also addressed the issues of neocolonialism, underdevelopment, and dependency. Indeed, these issues are central to much of the LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA. One of the central writers in this regard is Ngugi wa Thiong'o, of KENYA. As with most African authors of his or more recent generations, Thiong'o started out writing in the colonial language, which in his case was English. His 1977 novel, *Petals of Blood,* won him recognition. He soon concluded, however, that by continuing to write in a foreign language he was perpetuating neocolonialism and, furthermore, that he was producing Euro-African literature rather than genuine African literature. He thus wrote his next novel, *Caitaani mutharaba-ini* (1980; translated into English and appearing as *Devil on the Cross,* in 1983) in his own Gikuyu language. By this he sought to make explicit that an author's choice of language in the neocolonial context is inherently a political decision and that decolonizing African minds required writing in African and not European languages.

But by the 1970s many observers saw that rather than development African countries faced neocolonialism and underdevelopment. This was not limited to Africa, for scholars from Latin America, the Middle East, and parts of Asia also were concerned with the continued global dominance of the western world.

Neocolonialism, according to historians such as Walter RODNEY (1942–1980), has roots deep in the African past. In 1972 he published his highly influential *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,* in which he argued that Europe's exploitation of Africa stretched back more than 500 years. It began with the maritime expansion of Europe that led to its dominance of global trade. This in turn led to the transatlantic slave trade, which became the basic factor in the continent's underdevelopment and its structural dependence on the West. With the end of the slave trade, Europe turned to promoting the export of Africa's raw materials as a means of extracting an economic surplus. Colonial rule intensified this process and also utilized Christianity, EDUCATION along Western lines, and promoting the use of European languages as means of political subordination. The colonial period thus locked Africa into a subordinate position of dependency that formal political independence alone was unequipped to end. Rodney concluded that Africa's subordination would continue as long as the Western, capitalist world remained dominant. In short, there was no ready escape for Africa from a world that was radically skewed in terms of developmental inequities.

More recently scholars have begun to examine Africa's neocolonial situation through "critical development theory." This approach moves beyond what have been largely economic explanations to include other dimensions of neocolonialism such as culture, gender, social structures, and POLITICAL SYSTEMS. At the heart of neocolonialism is determining to what extent the increasing involvement of the Western world has precluded future African development from progressing along African lines. Expanding globalization in the early 21st century makes this an even more complex and difficult question.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); LANGUAGE USAGE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); POSTCOLONIAL STATE (Vol. V); SLAVE TRADE (Vols. III, IV).

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Neto, Agostinho (António Agostinho Neto)
(1922–1979) *First president of Angola*

Neto, son of a Methodist pastor and a kindergarten teacher, was born near the town of Catete, ANGOLA, on September 17, 1922. A leading African intellectual and nationalist, Neto was also a doctor and poet, with his first volume published in 1948. However, it was as president of the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF AN- GOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA) and director of the armed struggle for independence from Portugal that he rose to international prominence.

In 1947 Neto received a scholarship from the Methodist church and traveled to study MEDICINE in Portugal, first at the University of Lisbon and, later, at Coimbra. In Portugal Neto was imprisoned several times for participating in demonstrations against the dictatorship of António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970) and for writing against the harsh conditions of life under Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. During this time, Neto became well known as an African intellectual and nationalist. When he was released from prison in 1958, Neto completed his medical studies, returning to Angola the following year with his wife, Maria Eugenia. In Angola Dr. Neto was afforded a life of peace and privilege that suited his inclination toward intellectual pursuits. However, he traded this lifestyle for one of hardship and political action when he chose to champion Angolan independence.

In 1960 Neto was arrested at his medical practice— which doubled as a meeting place for his political activities—and was again imprisoned. Two years later, while he was under house arrest, Neto, along with his wife and children, escaped to MOROCCO. Ultimately they moved to Léopoldville (now KINSHASA) in ZAÏRE (today's Democratic Republic of the CONGO).

In Léopoldville Neto was elected president of the MPLA, and over the next decade he directed the organization's armed struggle against Portuguese continued rule. Finally, in 1975, Angola won its independence, and Neto was sworn in as the first president of the People's Republic of Angola. As the leader of the country, Neto inherited a centuries-long legacy of colonial neglect and abuse, which included widespread POVERTY, illiteracy, and a general lack of basic health services. In addition to these internal difficulties, several belligerent outside forces, including the United States, refused to accept the legitimacy of Neto's government.

In 1977 Neto survived an attempted COUP D'ÉTAT by the Nitistas, a group of hard-line Communists in his government that was disenchanted with Neto's leadership. Neto proceeded to purge his government of Nitista influence, but he also tried to reorganize the Marxist-Leninist model of his government to address the shortcomings that the Nitistas had brought to light.

Upon his death of leukemia in the Soviet Union on September 10, 1979, Neto had yet to fulfill his hopes of an Angolan socialist state. Neto was succeeded as president by José Eduardo DOS SANTOS (1942–   ), who was to put Angola on a more Western-friendly course.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLO- NIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV);

At midnight on November 10, 1975, Dr. Agostinho Neto, president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, declared Angolan independence in Luanda, the capital. © *United Nations*

PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

Comprehensive strategic framework devised by African leaders to address the continent's major SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT issues. To its critics NEPAD is not effective in economic terms because it does not address pre-existing inequities that are only made worse by market approaches.

POVERTY rates are high in Africa, where almost half its population of 400 million lives on less than $1 a day. Neoliberal economic reform and liberalization policies in the 1980s and 1990s have resulted in increased inequalities while undermining formal and informal social security programs and safety nets. NEPAD seeks Africa's DEVELOPMENT by calling for the end of its wars, the deepening of commitments to DEMOCRATIZATION and good governance, and the reduction of CORRUPTION. NEPAD relies on the invisible hand of the market. One of the main concerns of initiators of NEPAD has been to stave the trend of falling ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE to Africa for development purposes. Rich countries and international donors have been increasingly reluctant to support investment in Africa because of mismanagement and corrupt leaders.

NEPAD was conceived by African leaders of five major African countries: South Africa's Thabo MBEKI (1942–), Nigeria's Olusegun OBASANJO (c. 1937–), Algeria's Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA (1937–), Senegal's Abdoulaye WADE (1926–), and Egypt's Hosni MUBARAK (1928–). Their motivation was to gain from the benefits of free trade and EXPORTS. The framework for NEPAD, formally adopted in 2001 at the 37th Summit of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (recently transformed into the AFRICAN UNION), was presented as a blueprint for promoting the positive norms of international development: democracy, HUMAN RIGHTS, people-centered development, gender equality, and good governance.

NEPAD is different from many previous initiatives in Africa in that the framework is not imposed by outsiders but was drawn up by some of Africa's more respected leaders. Its supporters view NEPAD as a major step in the right direction for resolving Africa's economic "crisis." NEPAD seeks to attract foreign direct investment to Africa by proposing specific projects with measurable targets rather than relying on the historic handouts of overseas development assistance. For African leaders supporting NEPAD, the emphasis has been to figure out how to encourage exports and assuage doubts on the part of foreign investors, international donors, and wealthy Afri-cans about the stability of the African continent. This would potentially attract annual investments of $64 billion, which could lead to higher economic growth rates of up to 7 percent.

NEPAD is also unique in its use of a special "peer review mechanism." When operational, it would be in the form of a peer review forum comprised of African heads of state who monitor each other's performance on economic management, human rights, corruption, and democracy. A team of experts will provide regular monitoring through indicators of experts. Similar to other international regimes, the fear is that NEPAD will fall short in these internal reforms. By 2004 only 16 countries had pledge their support for the peer review mechanisms.

Critics of NEPAD point out that the initiative does not take into account Africa's unequal relations with the West in the last three centuries in terms of the slave trade, colonialism, and neocolonialism. It appears too docile in confronting some of the major negative aspects of contemporary globalization. Critics argue that rather than seeking an alternative development paradigm that builds on Africa's own history and culture, NEPAD simply extends the neoliberal, free-market development strategies that have repeatedly failed.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HEALTH AND HEALING IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); STATE, ROLE OF (Vol. V).

Further reading: Thabo Mbeki, *Africa Define Yourself* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2002).

newspapers During the 1960s the press in Africa was deeply involved with the POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS seeking an end to colonial rule. To a large extent, when independence was achieved, the newspapers of many countries fell under government control. This was the case especially in countries ruled by single-party governments. During the widespread DEMOCRATIZATION that occurred in the 1990s, however, newspapers generally tended to become more independent and freer of government controls.

Many African countries have only a handful of newspapers. In some cases this is because of the small size of the country and its population; in other cases, factors such as low literacy or low per-capita income limit newspaper circulation. CHAD, for example is a relatively poor country with an adult literacy rate of under 48 percent. Not surprisingly, it has only one daily and one weekly newspaper, both published in French. KENYA, on the other hand, with four times the population of Chad, a per-capita income more than double that of Chad, and an adult literacy rate of 78 percent, has five dailies and several weekly newspapers.

The press is most developed in SOUTH AFRICA and in North African countries. Not surprisingly, these are the countries with the strongest economies and higher rates of literacy. South Africa has 19 dailies and 10 weekly papers. Most of them are published in English, though some are

published in Afrikaans and other African languages. A couple of papers have been published for more than 150 years. During the APARTHEID era the Afrikaans papers supported the government, while the English-language newspapers opposed it. Consequently, the English papers were often under great pressure from the government.

The *Sunday Times,* with a readership of more than 3.5 million, is South Africa's best selling newspaper, while several dailies have readership in excess of 500,000 each. Ownership of South African newspapers is divided among five major newspaper groups, with one—the Independent Newspapers, run by an Irish tycoon—controlling more than half of the country's press. The newspaper with the highest circulation, *The Sowetan,* has a largely black readership and is owned by a black empowerment company formed in 1993.

In northeast Africa, a strong economy and the highly urbanized and literate population of EGYPT combine to support 11 dailies and 10 weekly newspapers. While the majority of daily papers are published in Arabic, some are in English or French, as are several of the weeklies. The paper with the largest circulation is the Arabic language daily *Al-Ahram,* with 1,160,000 readers. It has both English- and French-language weekly editions.

ALGERIA has 20 daily newspapers, although five of them account for 80 percent of the readership. Of these five, three are published in French and two in Arabic. The freedom of today's Algerian press, in contrast to the situation in the early years of Algerian independence, is illustrated by the fact that the five leading newspapers opposed the 2004 reelection of President Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA (1937–   ). The opposition had little effect, however, since he won with more than 80 percent of the votes.

Many African newspapers aspire to high standards. For example, *New Age,* in NIGERIA, strives to be one of the finest newspapers anywhere. The paper's statement of purpose says that it seeks to "occupy the high ground professionally and meet the needs of an informed and influential audience for news, analysis, comment and specialized features." For *New Age* quality means not only high journalism standards but also a modern full-color press.

See also: NEWSPAPERS (Vol. IV).

Nganga, Nakatindi Yeta (Princess Nakatindi Miriam Nganga) (1925–1972) *Zambian politician and prominent feminist*

Nakatindi Yeta Nganga was born in Barotseland in northwestern ZAMBIA, the daughter of the Lozi king Yeta III, (1871–1946), and the granddaughter of King Lubosi Lewanika (1845–1916). She attended primary school in the western province of Zambia and was the first princess to complete junior secondary school in Barotseland. Nganga then broke with tradition by being the first in the royal family to study outside the country. She studied in SOUTH AFRICA where her classmates included Sir Seretse KHAMA (1921–1980), first president of BOTSWANA. Upon her return to Zambia she defied the royal establishment and became the first member of the royal family to enter the independence struggle, joining the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP).

Princess Nakatindi used her influence to help UNIP make an impact in the Western Province, where there was a strong resistance to the national struggle and the people preferred to remain as the kingdom of Barotseland. The colonial government had promoted the idea that if the Lozi people joined in the fight for national unity they would lose their rights and identity. Not surprisingly, this discouraged them from joining in the struggle. In 1962 Nganga became a UNIP candidate in a general election against a European, M. G. Rubb, a candidate of the United Federal Party led by Roy Welensky (1907–1991). Nganga lost the election, but, undeterred, she stood for election in Nalikwanda in 1964 and won. She was one of the first female members of Parliament and later held various top government positions. Remembered for fighting for women's rights long before the international declarations, Nganga spoke out in support of women's rights and advocated the creation of a national body to protect and promote them. Fittingly, Nakatindi became the first director of the Women's Brigade, the national body created for women's welfare.

See also: BAROTSELAND (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LEWANIKA, LUBOSI (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); WELENSKY, ROY (Vol. IV); WOMEN IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (James Ngugi) (1938–   ) *Kenyan novelist and playwright*

Born James Thiong'o Ngugi in Limuru, KENYA, Ngugi is a member of the KIKUYU people, Kenya's largest ethnic group. Part of a large peasant family, he was educated at mission schools and then at Alliance High School, in Kikuyu town, near NAIROBI. In 1962, while studying at MAKERERE UNIVERSITY in KAMPALA, UGANDA, Ngugi produced his first major literary effort, a play called *The Black Hermit*. It was performed that year in the National Theater in Kampala. After graduating he traveled to England to study at the University of Leeds.

While in England Ngugi wrote his first novel, *Weep Not, Child* (1964), which was one of three works (the others being *The River Between* [1965] and *A Grain of Wheat* [1967]) that centered around the Mau Mau rebellion of the 1950s and its aftermath. As with many in Kenya, Ngugi's family was directly impacted by the Mau Mau rebellion. His brother was part of the movement, and he saw his stepbrother killed and his mother tortured during the violence.

With the publication of *A Grain of Wheat,* Ngugi's philosophy toward language and politics solidified into a firm anticolonial stance, mixed with bitterness against the new government of Kenya. Ngugi felt the government ignored the nation's peasants, who had played a vital role in winning independence from Britain. While working as a professor of English literature at the University of Nairobi, in 1967 Ngugi took part in a successful effort to change the department's name to African Languages and Literature. He also dropped his Christian name in favor of a Kikuyu version, and renounced Christianity, seeing it as a colonial influence.

In 1977 Ngugi publicly decided to abandon English and write only in Kikuyu or Kiswahili. He reasoned that language and culture were inseparable; therefore, English had the effect of a "cultural bomb," eradicating precolonial cultures and traditions even after independence. In that same year, Ngugi amplified his rhetoric against the Kenyan government in a novel, *Petals of Blood,* and a play, entitled *Ngaahika Ndena* (I Will Marry When I Want), which he wrote with Ngugi wa Mirii (1951–   ). The play, which scathingly addressed the inequalities of Kenyan society, was performed in Ngugi's hometown of Limuru, and it became so popular among the peasant population that the Kenyan government, then headed by President Daniel arap MOI (1924–   ), banned it and imprisoned Ngugi without a trial.

While in prison Ngugi took notes that later became the memoir *Detained: A Writer's Prison Diary* (1981), and he wrote the novel *Caitaani Mutharabaini* (Devil on the Cross) (1980). Ngugi was released a year later through the efforts of Amnesty International. Despite being banned from teaching positions, Ngugi remained a thorn in the government's side. In 1982 his theater group was banned, and Ngugi went into a self-imposed exile in London.

***Matagari* was extremely popular among Kenya's peasant population. Greatly concerned and under the impression that Matagari was a living person, the Kenyan police sought to arrest the fictional character. When they realized their mistake, the police instead "arrested" the book in 1986, barring its sale and confiscating all copies. It was not available again in Kenya until 10 years later.**

Ngugi continued to write in exile, further defining his ideas of the importance of preserving native languages in *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986). He also wrote the novel *Matigari* (1987), featuring a title character based on a Kikuyu folktale. He moved to the United States in 1989.

Unable to return to Kenya, he taught at a number of universities in the United States as well as in Australia and New Zealand.

See also: ALLIANCE HIGH SCHOOL (Vol. IV); AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICA (Vol. V); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); LANGUAGE USAGE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); MAU MAU (Vol. IV).

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Niamey Capital of NIGER, located on the Niger River in the southwestern part of the country. Niamey was a small fishing village when, in 1902, the French arrived and established a military fort. From 1926 until 1956 the town served as the capital of the Niger Territory, within French West Africa. As late as 1940, however, it had only a few thousand inhabitants.

After World War II (1939–45), with greater African political autonomy looming, Niamey's population expanded as the town was viewed as a possible government center. When Niger became independent, in 1960, Niamey was named its capital. The city's international profile rose accordingly.

The construction of the Kennedy Bridge facilitated the expansion of Niamey to the south bank of the Niger River. Named after U.S. president John F. Kennedy (1917–1963), the bridge, finished in 1971, was funded by USAID, an American government organization that specializes in international DEVELOPMENT.

Attracting HAUSA and YORUBA merchants and traders from other parts of Niger—as well as from NIGERIA, the Republic of BENIN, and TOGO, to the south—Niamey steadily developed a bustling trade in agricultural products from the surrounding areas. Today the city's major EXPORTS include livestock, grain, vegetables, woven mats, and hides. The city also has a manufacturing sector, which produces bricks, leather products, textiles, shoes, charcoal, and building supplies. An economic downturn in the 1990s hampered Niamey's economic development, however.

Niamey is the site of Niger's National School of Administration (founded in 1963), the University of Niamey (1971), and several research institutes. It also hosts a national museum. In 2003 the population of the city was estimated at 748,000.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Niger Landlocked West African country approximately 458,100 square miles (1,186,500 sq km) in size that is bordered to the north by ALGERIA and LIBYA, to the east by CHAD, to the south by NIGERIA and the Republic of BENIN, and to the west by BURKINA FASO and MALI. The capital is NIAMEY.

Niger at Independence Niger gained its independence from France on August 3, 1960, becoming a republic with Hamani DIORI (1916–1989) as president. The leader of the Nigerien People's Party (Parti Populaire Nigerien, PPN), President Diori served as Niger's leader from 1960 to 1974. On April 15, 1974, he was overthrown by a military COUP D'ÉTAT, and Lieutenant Colonel Seyni Kountche (1931–1987) took control of the government.

For nearly 13 years Kountche ruled Niger. He was considered a man of integrity, attempting to include all ethnic groups in his government. Kountche was succeeded by his army chief of staff, General Ali Saibou (1940–). Saibou adopted a new constitution in 1989 and formed the National Movement for a Development Society, which attempted to end the military dictatorship and return the country to a state of law. His administration was impaired by student and union protests calling for multiparty elections, and Kountche was eventually forced to hold a national conference to determine the fate of Niger's government. The first national conference was held on July 29, 1991, at which time the conference declared itself sovereign, suspended the constitution, and dissolved the government and the National Assembly. Amadou Cheiffou (1942–) assumed the task of overseeing the restructuring of legislative and presidential elections as well as running the country until the newly elected government was in place. On March 27, 1993, Mahamane Ousmane (1950–) was elected president of Niger for a five-year term, and the Alliance of the Forces of Change swept the legislative elections.

On January 27, 1996, with the country in the midst of a national crisis marked by a struggling economy and ethnic rebellions, the army staged another coup and assumed power. Colonel Ibrahim Baré Maïnassara (1949–1999) emerged as the leader, promising a return to democracy. But Maïnassara, a Muslim and member of the HAUSA ethnic group, supported the rise of Islamic fundamentalists within the country. He attempted to spark Niger's stagnant economy but met with little success. Increased opposition to Maïnassara's presidency culminated with his assassination, in 1999.

Prime Minister Ibrahim Assane Mayaki assumed leadership after Maïnassara's death, disbanding the National Assembly and temporarily suspending all political parties. In 1999 Mamadou TANDJA (1938–) was elected president of Niger's Fifth Republic with more than 59 percent of the vote. Real political power, however, remains in the hands of the military.

See also: NIGER (Vols. I, II, III, IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Niger Delta Vast area measuring about 27,000 square miles (69,930 sq km) at the mouth of the Niger River, in southeastern NIGERIA. The discovery of OIL in this region a half-century ago sparked ethnic violence, as resident populations struggled with national and international forces to benefit from the profits.

The Niger Delta, with poorly drained soils that are high in clay content and not well suited for AGRICULTURE, contains a diverse COASTAL AND MARINE ECOSYSTEM replete with mangroves, swamp FORESTS, and lowland rain forests. It supports a high level of BIODIVERSITY. Its ecology is closely tied to the local population and to national and international interests. Seven million people, representing 20 ethnic groups, inhabit the delta region. The largest ethnic group, the Ijo, has inhabited the region for approximately 7,000 years and has established a strong cultural identity. There has been immense confusion and conflict between the diverse Ijo populations and the government of Nigeria over Ijo LAND USE and tenure systems. Consequently, the Nigerian government has effectively ignored and overridden local land governance in favor of its own system.

There is one main reason for the government's actions. With an estimated 25–30 billion barrels, the Niger Delta has one of the largest reserves of oil in Africa. The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, operated by the Royal Dutch Shell Company, retains a 55 percent share. The Shell Oil Company, a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell, holds another 30 percent share, while Chevron-Texaco, Elf, Agip, and several smaller companies hold or operate the remaining portion.

There are numerous threats to the delta's environment, including URBANIZATION, INDUSTRIALIZATION, waste discharges, and coastal erosion. Yet by far the greatest threat comes from the oil industry. Each well drilled produces 1,500 tons of a toxic mix of brine, WATER, and mud. There also is significant groundwater contamination. In addition, between 1987 and 1996 there were a reported 1,629 oil spills in the Niger Delta, with the numbers steadily increasing. Sabotage plays a major role in oil spills in Nigeria. The Ijo, OGONI, and other smaller

ethnic groups inhabiting the delta region feel that they are at the margins of Nigerian society. Although their lands provide the engine for Nigeria's economic growth, the region's people are the poorest in the country. In 2000 the people of the Niger Delta region received $5.6 million in compensation for land lost, oil spills, tenement rates, and construction damage, while the state of Nigeria earned $18.9 billion in oil EXPORTS. During times of democracy in Nigeria, receipts returning to the region have increased slightly; however, they have nearly all gone to local leaders while the majority of the population remains starving and jobless. Even subsistence-level solutions are impossible. The water in the region is so polluted that fishing is virtually impossible, and the land, already poor, has been so degraded that it is entirely unsuitable for farming.

The disparity between the poverty of the delta's people and the richness of region's NATURAL RESOURCES has led to significant ethnic strife in the Niger Delta. This strife became steadily worse, moving from peaceful protest, in the 1970s, to armed resistance, at the turn of the millennium. Now thousands of people die each year and foreign oil industry workers have become regular targets for kidnapping.

Few options are left for the resident population. The design of the Nigerian state is such that elite classes, primarily in LAGOS, have benefited from oil extraction in much the same way that the British elite did in the era of colonial rule. In 1958, when oil was discovered in Nigeria in large quantities, the delta's resident populations argued that they could benefit more from their local resources if they were an independent country. This directly opposed Britain's plan of a single, united Nigeria.

During the colonial era the Royal Niger Company, which was responsible for oil extraction prior to Nigeria's independence in 1960, struck a contract with Shell D'Archy, now the Shell Petroleum and Development Company (SPDC) of Royal Dutch Shell. The SPCD is as embedded in Nigeria's current political and civilian elite circles as Shell D'Archy was in the colonial administration.

The ethnic strife and simmering Ogoni nationalism in the Niger Delta reached a crescendo in 1995 with the execution of playwright and activist Ken SARO-WIWA (1941–1995). His death produced an international backlash against Shell Oil and the Nigerian state. For their part, on December 11, 1998, the Ijo passed the Kaiama Declaration, which reiterated their claims on the rights to all natural resources in Ogoniland. The various Nigerian

governments in power since independence, democratic and dictatorial alike, cracked down on the rise of regional identity. Groups such as the Ijo Youth Council (IYC) and the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People form a well-organized, collective front. While these movements are not new, their fervency, and the rise of extremist sub-groups such as the IYC's Egbesu Boys, is relatively recent.

Oil is a natural resource of high value in Nigeria, and it is critical for the country as a whole. But there are reasons for concern about local livelihoods, environmental change, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, responsible governance, and respect for international law. To date, the Nigerian government and the oil companies have done little to address any of them.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NIGER RIVER (Vols. I, III); NIGER DELTA (Vols. I, III).

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Nigeria   West African country located on the Gulf of Guinea and bounded by CHAD, CAMEROON, NIGER, and the Republic of BENIN. Covering some 356,700 square miles (923,900 sq km), Nigeria is not the largest country in Africa, but it is its most populous. In fact, Nigeria's 110 million people account for about one-seventh of the continent's population. The people of Nigeria have long shaped trends across the region and the continent, presenting the country with the opportunities and challenges that accompany a long historical legacy of political, ethnic, and religious complexity.

The territorial boundaries of modern-day Nigeria took shape in 1914, when Britain united the separate Colony of Nigeria and Protectorate of Nigeria, dividing the area into the north, south, and LAGOS colonies. The north was predominantly HAUSA-Fulani and Muslim; the south was largely YORUBA in the west and IGBO in the east, with a growing number of Christian converts. The resulting entity was large, diverse, and difficult to manage.

Nigeria gained its independence in October 1960 with a constitution that made it an ethnically based feder-

ation. Its three original regions—Northern, Western, and Eastern—reflected the three largest ethnic groups. The system of rule was parliamentary, with the central government's powers limited to defense and security, foreign relations, and commercial and fiscal policies. Regions retained most powers of domestic governance.

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Although Nigeria originally had three regions, the actual number of regions within the Nigerian federated system has fluctuated between four and 36, as the nation's leaders have experimented with various ways to maintain unity within the diverse nation.

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The country that Nigerians inherited from the British was marked by ethnic, regional, and religious tensions. Large disparities in wealth existed between south and north, and the people who made up Nigeria's roughly 400 smaller ethnic groups were almost completely excluded from political and economic power.

Governmental Instability and Military Rule
After independence the new parliamentary democracy and the constitution that formed it were short-lived. On January 15, 1966, a group of Igbo army officers led by Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi (1924–1966) executed a successful COUP D'ÉTAT, assassinating the British-installed prime minister, Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966), and establishing a military government.

The new government was determined to centralize power, and it also was determined to maintain its hold on the OIL-rich Eastern Region. This worsened existing ethnic tensions, fomenting a strong anti-Igbo sentiment among Nigeria's other regions and ethnic groups. As a result, in July of the same year a second coup overthrew the government, assassinating Aguiyi-Ironsi and putting in power Gen. Yakubu GOWON (1934–   ), a leader from the northern Hausa ethnic group. Bloody ethnic violence ensued in which tens of thousands of Igbos were slaughtered. In addition thousands of Igbos who had migrated to the Northern Region were forced back to their southern homelands. Ultimately, Igbo nationalism grew, and Colonel Emeka Ojukwu (1933–   ) began an Igbo secessionist movement.

Gowon attempted to forge a federalist compromise through the creation of 12 semiautonomous states. Ojukwu saw this as a ploy, however, and in May 1967 he declared an independent Republic of BIAFRA in the eastern part of Nigeria. After three years of brutal civil war, the Biafra secessionists were defeated, and the central government once again had control of the east. Almost 100,000 Biafran soldiers and an estimated 500,000 to 2 million civilians died, primarily due to conflict-related starvation. The war also had social effects: a rise in ethnic animosities, a widening divide between northern and southern Nigerians, and increased tensions between the country's various religious groups. Minorities, who represented 20 to 25 percent of the population, were also victims of the conflict, and they began expressing their own discontent.

After the end of the civil war Nigeria's political life continued to be marked by ethnic and religious tensions and governmental turnovers. Gowon ruled until 1975, when a bloodless coup brought Murtala Muhammad (1938–1976) to power. A year later, when Murtala Muhammad was killed in a thwarted coup attempt, the Supreme Military Council turned to the army chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Olusegun OBASANJO (c. 1937–   ). Although he was a Yoruba, Obasanjo's military background and close ties to Murtala Muhammad gave him support in the north. In 1979 Obasanjo fulfilled a pledge to reestablish civilian rule, and Shehu Shegari (1924–   ) became the president of the Nigerian Second Republic. In 1983, however, Shagari was overthrown by Muhammadu Buhari (1942–   ), who ruled until he was overthrown by Maj.-Gen. Ibrahim BABANGIDA (1941–   ) in 1985.

Babangida ruled with an iron fist until 1993. At that time, even though he had allowed for a general election to be held on June 12, 1993, he annulled what international observers generally viewed as a free and fair voting process. Amid a storm of protest, Babangida appointed Ernest Shonekan (1936–   ) to run a transitional, or temporary, government, with Gen. Sani ABACHA (1943–1998) as vice chairman. This set off protests from supporters of Mashood ABIOLA (1937–1998), the reputed victor in the elections. On November 17, 1993, Abacha deposed Shonekan, dissolving the legislature and putting power once again in the hands of the military. Abiola's efforts to declare himself the legitimate ruler of Nigeria led Abacha to arrest him for treason. Ultimately, in June 1994 Abiola was put in prison, where he remained until his death in 1998.

The Abacha years were among the most brutal and corrupt in Nigeria's history. A Hausa and a Muslim, Abacha ruled with ultimate authority, continuing the domination of the northern groups over the rest of Nigeria. This had the effect of worsening the ever-present ethnic and religious divisions among the three major ethnic groups. It also increased tensions among Nigeria's myriad smaller ethnic groups, especially among the Ijo and OGONI in the NIGER DELTA, who were outraged at Abacha's tight control of the profits from the exploitation of oil and other NATURAL RESOURCES in their region.

Although Abacha promised the international community a transition to civilian rule, he had taken only token steps toward this when he died suddenly in June 1998. Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar (1943–   ) took power, marshalling support for a democratic election in 1999. Obasanjo, a strong favorite in the Western Region,

came to power once again, this time as a democratically elected, civilian leader. He was reelected in 2003, with 62 percent of the vote.

The Return of Democracy With Obasanjo's new democracy came a new constitution. Based on an American model, it calls for a legislature with two separate houses as well as a strong executive branch. The judiciary branch is fairly independent, and the legislature is active, although Obasanjo's People's Democratic Party dominated it following his elections. Critically, Nigeria remains a federal system, but now with 36 states. The autonomy of the states is intended to reduce regionalized tensions.

Ethnic Conflicts and Oil In spite of the presence of a democratically elected government since 1999, ethnicity in Nigeria remains as divisive an issue as ever. Obasanjo has the advantage of being a Yoruba who happens to have backing from the Northern Region. But he has been hard-pressed to win Igbo support. Even more important, his administration ultimately has heightened, rather than reduced, tensions with minority ethnic groups in the Niger Delta. In large part this is because the delta region—which is home to much of Nigeria's oil industry as well as to many of its ethnic minorities—has continued to remain mired in POVERTY, despite the fact that the region's oil wealth is primary in Nigeria's economy.

After the Nigerian civil war each of the country's political regions staked oil claims in the Niger Delta. In 1969 this led to a decree that gave the central government full control of the country's oil resources. The Nigerian National Oil Corporation was then set up, and in 1971 it began to regulate this centralized industry. One of the major effects of this was that the proceeds from the oil industry designated for the regional government dropped from 20 percent, in 1975, to 3 percent, in 1993.

The first oil pipeline in Nigeria was built by the Royal Dutch Shell Company in 1956. Stretched across the Delta region to Port Harcourt, it was built without local consultation. Nor was there any compensation for the loss of land or for the ongoing damage the pipeline caused to people's health or to the region's ecology. At independence the oil proceeds were to be divided 50 percent for the oil companies, 20 percent for the regional government, and 30 percent for the Nigerian population. As this allotment for the population was countrywide, its distribution was absorbed almost entirely in other, more populous, more politically entrenched regions than the delta.

These changes in the distribution of oil profits led to demands for local autonomy in the Niger Delta. This was especially true among the region's smaller ethnic groups. Previously, the Ijaw and Ogoni, like other kinship groups, were linked primarily by family, language, and culture. In response to the region's continued poverty and the loss of oil revenues, however, they became solidified ethnic groups with increasingly nationalistic feelings.

There are many reasons for the hostility between the delta region's ethnic groups and the government. These range from the lowering of the oil revenues received by the local communities to the lack of inclusion of delta leadership in decisions about the oil industry, and from the high poverty of the region to the lack of environmental safeguards. None of these causes is greater, however, than the lack of recognition of local identity. In their struggle for recognition, minority ethnic groups such as the Ijo and the Ogoni find themselves too few in number to wage an all-out war. But they find that they can successfully wage a battle of attrition, forcing shutdowns in oil production and taking a high cost in terms of investment and lives.

Religious Divisions Historically, northern Nigeria is predominantly Muslim, and the south is predominantly Christian and/or animist. The long periods of military rule that marked independent Nigeria prevented the political rise of Islamic fundamentalism, even though those governments have been dominated by northerners. Ironically, the movements toward democracy and federalism have had the opposite effect, primarily because democracy brings with it freedom of RELIGION and federalism usually gives regional governments the right to exercise their own legislative desires. As a result, *SHARIA,* or Islamic law, has been rising as a state-level form of governance in Nigeria. The process began, in 1999, when one of Nigeria's northern states, Zamfara, adopted *sharia.* Soon other northern states followed suit. Although the drive to institute *sharia* drew hundreds of thousands of supporters to the streets in Zamfara, the move was not always greeted so enthusiastically. When the issue was raised in Kaduna state, in February 2000, as many as 400 people died in the public disturbances that followed.

Convinced that letting local governments rule by *sharia* would erode the democratic gains Nigeria had made, in July 2000 Obasanjo decreed that local governments did not have the right to govern by *sharia.* Governors countered that if *sharia* is the expressed will of the people, then denying it is anti-democratic. In the name of national stability Obasanjo looked the other way as state after state adopted *sharia.* By 2003 12 northern states—fully one-third of Nigeria—had adopted *sharia.*

Other Challenges Obasanjo's political challenges are not limited to ethnic rivalry and religion, however. At the national level, CORRUPTION still abounds, HUMAN RIGHTS are regularly abused, and the economy shows little improvement. Indeed, despite Obasanjo's electoral campaign to clamp down on government corruption, according to Transparency International, Nigeria is second only

to Bangladesh in the level of corruption. In fact, according to many observers, corruption is actually worse now than it was when Abacha was in power. Likewise, even though elections have increased the level of political rights, civil liberties continue to be eroded. Freedom House, a leading non-government organization measuring levels of democratic freedom, indicates that civil liberties continually declined from 1999 to 2002.

Regionally based ethnic and religious divides are the greatest problem Nigeria faces in terms of political stability. The economic divide between rich and poor, however, is the key issue Nigeria faces in terms of DEVELOPMENT. The country's economy is split into a modern, industrial oil economy and a subsistence AGRICULTURE economy. Oil accounts for more than 75 percent of the national economy and nearly 95 percent of the export economy. Yet gross domestic product remains at only $323 per capita. This indicates that Nigeria's huge oil revenues—approximately $19 billion each year—do little to improve the economic standing of the Nigerian people. To complicate matters further, even as oil has continued to be exploited, the quality of Nigeria's EDUCATION and health care has declined. Meanwhile, a high rate of inflation has degraded even the limited buying power of the average Nigerian. The country's oil is scarcely even used domestically and accounts for less than 15 percent of energy consumption.

Outside of the oil sector, natural gas, coal, tin, columbite, limestone, iron ore, lead, zinc, gypsum, barite, and kaolin are mined. Food products are manufactured, but poor soil in most areas limits the extent to which Nigeria's crops can be diversified. Cocoa remains the only major agricultural export. Cassava and yams, which are grown mostly for household consumption, dominate family farm production.

See also: ANIMISM (Vol. I); CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V): ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. I); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); NIGERIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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Nimeiri, Gaafar (Gaafar Mohamed El-Nimeiri)

(1930–   ) *Military leader and president of the Republic of the Sudan (1971–1985)*

A 1952 graduate of the Sudan Military College, Nimeiri underwent further military training in EGYPT. He admired President Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) of Egypt and soon organized a Free Officers' Association patterned after the organization that had brought Nasser to power. Returning to the Republic of the SUDAN, Nimeiri became a major figure in the political turmoil that engulfed the country in the years following independence from colonial rule.

Early on, Nimeiri commanded an army garrison in the southern Sudan, where he became convinced of the futility of the government's efforts to Arabicize and Islamize the region. Rebels were already contesting government control, thus initiating a lengthy civil war (1955–72). Frustrated by the lack of a competent government in Sudan, Nimeiri also participated in a number of attempted coups, finally succeeding in unseating President Ismail al-Azharj (1902–1969), in 1969. Following the COUP D'ÉTAT, Nimeiri became Sudan's prime minister. He outlawed political parties and disbanded Parliament before being driven from office, in 1971, by a Communist military uprising. Nimeiri was restored to power later that year and was handily elected to the presidency.

As president, Nimeiri took steps to end the civil war between the Sudan's northerners, who are primarily Arab and Muslim, and the southerners, who are mostly Africans and are Christians or followers of traditional religion. In 1972 he granted the south limited autonomy, temporarily ending hostilities. In 1976 Nimeiri survived a failed coup d'état by conservative Muslims led by future Sudanese president, Sadiq al-Mahdi (1935–   ).

Nimeiri attempted to address the country's failing economy by installing first a socialist plan and later a capitalist approach to AGRICULTURE. As part of his attempt to reform Sudanese agriculture, in 1981 Nimeiri launched the Kinanah sugar project, which became one of the world's largest sugar refineries. However, each attempt failed to produce significant results. Instead, Nimeiri found himself the target of a number of attempted coups.

Another source of conflict Nimeiri faced was southern resistance to his desire to establish a punitive version of Islamic law, or SHARIA, throughout the nation. Although he had approached resolving the civil war from the perspective of a military officer, he was now under growing pressure from Islamic fundamentalists. He thus concluded that his political survival was dependent on reversing his earlier position in favor of southern autonomy. Nimeiri declared a state of emergency in 1984 to help him impose his new judicial system, which employed punishments such as amputations and whippings for various crimes. Both Muslims and non-Muslims were subject to Nimeiri's "decisive justice courts." In contrast to his hard-line Islamist stance at home, Nimeiri joined Egyptian leader Anwar as-SADAT (1918–1981) as the first Muslim leaders to broach a peace with the Jewish state of Israel.

Ultimately Nimeiri accomplished little in terms of stabilizing Sudan. In 1985 deep-running frustrations over

food shortages and another developing rebellion in southern Sudan combined to return the country to chaos. While Nimeiri was in Egypt, the minister of defense, General Siwar al-Dahab (1930–   ), led a coup that ended Nimeiri's administration. Nimeiri remained in Egypt for the next 14 years before returning home to Sudan in 1999.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

Nkomo, Joshua (Joshua Mqabuko Nyongolo Nkomo) (1917–1999) *Nationalist leader and vice president of Zimbabwe*

Nkomo was widely known as "Father Zimbabwe" in recognition of his long struggle for independence from white rule in Southern Rhodesia (present-day ZIMBABWE). Briefly forced into exile to avoid arrest, Nkomo was in London in 1960 when he was elected president in absentia of the newly formed Rhodesian National Democratic Party (NDP). He returned to Southern Rhodesia later in the year. When the white government banned NDP Nkomo founded the successor ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION (ZAPU), which was also banned. Dissident ZAPU members then formed the more militant ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (ZANU), which emerged as ZAPU's principal rival among the country's African population.

Nkomo was a passionate advocate for international sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and, as ZAPU president and the nation's most prominent African nationalist leader, he came under intense state scrutiny. The government of Ian SMITH (1919–   ) increasingly cracked down on its African opposition, and for almost a decade beginning in 1964 Nkomo was either in prison or under house arrest. Rather than diminishing Nkomo's political reputation, however, his detention enhanced his status as a martyr for the cause of national liberation. In 1974 Nkomo fled to ZAMBIA, from where he conducted a guerrilla war against Smith's white-minority regime. In 1976 Nkomo forged an alliance with ZANU, the other main opposition group, led by Robert MUGABE (1924–   ). Known as the PATRIOTIC FRONT, or ZANU-PF, this group forced Smith to negotiate a truce, which, in 1980, resulted in the creation of the independent, African-dominated Republic of Zimbabwe.

In the republic's first elections Mugabe and ZANU emerged victorious, largely because ZANU had support among the Shona people, Zimbabwe's majority ethnic group. ZAPU, on the other hand, was the party of the Ndebele, who constitute only 20 percent of the population. Nkomo was named minister of home affairs in Mugabe's government, but he was dismissed in 1982 for his alleged involvement in a plot to overthrow Mugabe.

During much of the 1980s Nkomo and ZAPU were engaged in factional fighting with ZANU. Both sides reportedly committed HUMAN RIGHTS atrocities, although Nkomo's ZAPU supporters took the worst abuse. In 1987 Nkomo and Mugabe finally reached an accord, merging their parties into ZANU-PF and thereby transforming Zimbabwe into a one-party state. For the duration of his political career, Nkomo remained extremely popular, especially in Matabeleland, his home region and where he was in charge of DEVELOPMENT. With his health in decline, he left politics in 1997 and died two years later.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NDEBELE (Vol. IV); NKOMO, JOSHUA (Vol. IV); SHONA (Vol. I); SHONA KINGDOMS (Vols. III, IV); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

Nkrumah, Kwame (Francis Nwia Kofie Nkrumah) (1909–1972) *First president of Ghana*

After leading GHANA to independence, in 1957, and becoming president of the new republic, in 1960, Kwame Nkrumah focused on formulating domestic and African policy while responding to the pressures of the Cold War. Nkrumah centered his domestic policy on a rapid modernization of industries and communication, and the development of an educated African workforce. He believed that accomplishing these goals would be made easier by removing political opposition. To facilitate this, Nkrumah pushed through the passage of the Deportation Act of 1957 and the Detention Acts of 1958, 1959, and 1962, and he encouraged the intimidation of opposition party members. These tactics were hardly welcomed, and there were two assassination attempts against Nkrumah. In 1964 Nkrumah eliminated all opposition parties, establishing Ghana as a one-party state and appointing himself president for life.

Nkrumah's government improved Ghana's INFRASTRUCTURE, building new roads and constructing, in 1966, the AKOSOMBO DAM, which was to meet Ghana's expanding electrical needs. Nkrumah believed that these measures would allow Ghana to extricate itself from colonial and neocolonial exploitation and enable the country to be a leader of the PAN-AFRICANISM movement. In an attempt to lessen Ghana's dependence on cocoa EXPORTS, Nkrumah emulated Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), of EGYPT, and Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984), of GUINEA, by accepting aid from both the capitalist and the Communist blocs. In 1965, however, he published the book *Neocolonialism,* in which he explained how foreign companies and governments were becoming rich at the expense of African peoples. The United States took issue with the book and responded by withdrawing $35 million in economic aid. By 1966 Ghana was in serious economic trouble, due at least in part to the heavy debt incurred by Nkrumah's infrastructure programs.

Meanwhile, in foreign affairs Nkrumah focused on forming a United States of Africa, believing that the political unification of the continent would enable African countries to compete equally with industrialized nations in the global marketplace. He also believed that such a union would help African nations withstand the political pressures of the Cold War. In the 1930s Nkrumah had developed this concept of a United States of Africa while he was a college student in the United States of America. His beliefs were strengthened in 1945, when he participated in the fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England. To that end, in 1958 Nkrumah joined Ghana with Guinea; MALI joined the union in 1961. Nkrumah planned to use this collaboration as a successful example of unification. He also wrote a book, *Why Africa Must Unite,* to promote his views. In 1963 he organized a conference at ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA, for the heads of the 32 African states that had achieved independence by that time. The result of this conference was the founding of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU), which pledged to work for African unity, freedom, and prosperity. The members, however, would remain individual African states rather than Nkrumah's desired United States of Africa.

Over time Nkrumah's spending on DEVELOPMENT projects and his concept of a united Africa overburdened Ghana's treasury. With the collapse of world cocoa prices during the early 1960s and the subsequent downturn in the country's economy, unemployment and inflation rose dramatically. Nkrumah responded with a socialist-based austerity program, which included higher taxes that brought protests from workers and farmers. In response to criticism, Nkrumah detained and imprisoned hundreds of opponents, bringing about allegations of HUMAN RIGHTS abuses. Ever more concerned about his hold on power, Nkrumah established a personal security service and presidential guard, both better equipped than the neglected army and police.

Despite Nkrumah's efforts, in 1966 a military COUP D'ÉTAT took place while he was traveling to Hanoi, North Vietnam. The government was taken over by the National Liberation Council, which dismissed Nkrumah as president and banned his Convention People's Party (CPP). Guinea's president Touré then invited Nkrumah to live in Guinea and preside with him as co-president. While living in Guinea Nkrumah wrote *Handbook for Revolutionary Warfare* (1968) and *Class Struggle in Africa* (1970). He died in 1972 in Romania, where he was receiving medical treatment for cancer. He was buried in Ghana.

Although controversial, Nkrumah is considered an authority on the political theory and practical application of PAN-AFRICANISM. A charismatic leader, Nkrumah believed that Ghana must lead the way to the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and its lingering effects, arguing that once political freedom was achieved, then economic freedom would follow.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vol. V); COCOA (Vol. IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); NKRUMAH, KWAME (Vol. IV).

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Nkumbula, Harry (1916–1983) *Zambian leader of African nationalism*

Nkumbula was born in the southern region of ZAMBIA (Northern Rhodesia, at the time), where his father was a chief of the Ila ethnic group. As a youth Nkumbula attended church-run schools before studying to become a teacher at Kafue Training College. In 1942 he moved to the city of Mufulira, where he became active in politics. Soon after, he went to the copper-MINING center of Kitwe and helped form the Kitwe African Society. Apprehensive about Nkumbula's growing political influence and hoping to divert his energies, colonial authorities gave him a scholarship to study at MAKERERE UNIVERSITY, in UGANDA. They later gave him a scholarship to study in England. There he became acquainted with other key African nationalist figures, including Hastings Kamuzu BANDA (c. 1898–1997), Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978), and Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972).

Nkumbula returned home to Northern Rhodesia in 1951 and joined the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, which, modeling itself after the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS of SOUTH AFRICA, reorganized and renamed itself the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC). During this time Nkumbula also worked closely with the 20,000-member African Mineworkers Union, which was the colony's largest organized African group. At the time, African political activity in Northern Rhodesia centered around opposing the Central African Federation, the formation of which would have united Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (now MALAWI) with the white-dominant government of Southern Rhodesia. Nkumbula, along with fellow NRANC member Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–   ), organized African resistance to the federation, including boycotts and demonstrations. In 1955, however, their activities landed the pair in prison, where they both served two months time.

After their release Nkumbula and Kaunda gradually moved in different directions. In 1958 Kaunda and others left the NRANC to form what eventually became the UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP). UNIP quickly ascended to the preeminent position among Northern Rhodesia's political parties, gaining the most parliamentary seats in the 1962 elections. The NRANC, however, won a sufficient number of seats to prevent a UNIP majority. As a result UNIP was compelled to form a coalition government, with Nkumbula as the education minister. The 1964 independence election, however, provided UNIP with a clear victory, leaving the NRANC as the opposition. In 1972, with the constitutional amendment that prohibited other political parties, the NRANC had to dissolve. Nkumbula, having lost his political base, joined UNIP.

In 1978 Nkumbula and Simon Kapwepwe (1922–1980), another veteran politician, challenged Kaunda for the UNIP presidency. In response Kaunda engineered the changing of the party rules, nullifying the candidacies of Nkumbula and Kapwepwe. Disillusioned, Nkumbula quit politics. He died five years later, leaving behind a political career that mirrored those of many other African leaders who had gained prominence during INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS, only to be excluded from leadership positions once independence became a reality.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NORTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

Nonaligned Movement and Africa During the Cold War, many states rejected strict alignment with either the Eastern bloc countries, led by the Soviet Union, or the Western bloc countries, led by the United States. Various African presidents and their states played important roles in the movement, which has continued since the end of the Cold War. The Nonaligned Movement (NAM) was created in September, 1961, when the leaders of 25 countries met in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. At the time, the threat of war between the former Soviet Union and the United States dominated international politics. The Nonaligned Movement was inspired by the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference of 1955. At that summit 29 African and Asian countries showed solidarity in distancing themselves from the Western and Soviet power blocs to avoid becoming pawns in Cold War power games.

Subsequent NAM conferences were usually held once every three years. As of 2003, five out of the 12 conferences were held in African countries: EGYPT (1964), ZAMBIA (1970), ALGERIA (1973), ZIMBABWE (1986), and SOUTH AFRICA (1998). The early conferences held in Africa featured widespread condemnation of Western colonialism and called for a rejection of the building of foreign military installations in Africa.

When Cold War tensions loosened in the 1990s, African countries used their membership in the NAM to campaign against the use of anti-personnel land mines, POVERTY, and disease. As of 2003, all African states except the embattled country of WESTERN SAHARA stood as member states of the NAM. The 116 NAM member states met in 2003, affirming the movement's relevance at its summit in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. There they outlined a plan of action to promote peace, security, justice, equality, democracy, and DEVELOPMENT in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

See also: BANDUNG AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE (Vol. IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

non-government organizations Independent associations, usually advocate groups, that have no governmental function or agenda. Today non-government organizations (NGOs) are a powerful third force along with governments and private enterprise. Until the early 1980s non-government organizations were generally thought of as independent organizations, such as churches, hospitals, and cultural organizations. They were not considered valuable as potential conduits for information or goods. Their role rapidly changed, however. In the late 1980s, international donors such as the UN Development Program, the WORLD BANK, the U.K. Department of International Development, and the U.S. Agency for International Development began looking at governments in the developing world with a more critical eye. High levels of government CORRUPTION and poor management of funds forced donors to look for alternative ways of providing funds for DEVELOPMENT, POVERTY relief, and other humanitarian efforts. Partnerships with private companies became more popular.

However, donors found that many project needs went unmet because private companies still operated under the pressure to maximize profits. Non-government organizations were singled out as a third path that could implement projects of interest to donors. As a result, between the late 1970s and 1992, donor funding for international NGOs rose from less than 2 percent to about 30 percent of income. For many local NGOs, donors were the sole source of funding.

The diversification of funding meant a rapid evolution in the makeup and function of many NGOs. Typical NGOs now have a formalized structure, are completely independent of government, operate as non-profit groups, and are objective in their quest to improve the lives of those in their project areas. With a broad array of responsibilities, the activities of NGOs now often overlap with

those of various nonprofit, community-based, and volunteer organizations.

The explanation behind the recent explosion of NGO support was that, as new NGOs form, they could participate in the great DEMOCRATIZATION efforts that began in the early 1990s following the end of the Cold War era. NGO's did not intrinsically mandate a particular ideology, but instead focused on regular and active participation. In keeping with strategies of improved governance, donors could funnel funds without being challenged by the existing governments. Moreover, the structure of local NGOs integrated well with international NGOs, resulting in proliferation of international-local NGO partnerships with multiple revenue streams. These organizations, many soon realized, were far superior to state-run development agencies, which, in Africa, tended to exacerbate ethnic and class tensions between the ruling elite and the masses.

The changing role of NGOs has come with its own problems, however. For instance, when an NGO links to an international institution, such as the United Nations or the World Bank, it must conform to standards set by the international institution. Operating under the bureaucratic regulations of these larger institutions often causes the smaller NGO to lose the nimble and adaptive qualities that make it such a valuable mechanism. The NGOs end up unable to react to government actions or to cooperate fully with their international partners. In these cases, NGOs rapidly become irrelevant.

In the 21st century NGOs continue to provide valuable mediation between the private sector and government. In addition, the general consensus is that the effectiveness of NGOs is improving. For instance, the World Bank estimates that, between 1995 and 2003, 66 percent of projects that involved NGOs were successful, up from 48 percent in the five-year period 1990–95. In some places, such as SOMALIA, the number of NGOs increased rapidly in just a few years, as localized organizations began performing what are normally government functions.

Unfortunately, external donor funding of NGOs has led to opportunism and even fraud. An all too common situation is one in which so-called development brokers—often government bureaucrats laid off from STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs—create NGOs for the sole purpose of acquiring international funds for embezzlement or some other misappropriation.

However, enthusiasm for some NGOs is more modest, especially in cases where donors disagree on what it takes for NGOs to succeed. Current topics of discussion and debate for most NGOs include the role of the administrative environment, the experience of the particular NGO, the relationship between the NGO and its beneficiaries, the quality of the NGO monitoring, and the NGO leadership skills. They also take into consideration the fact that weak relationships with beneficiaries and low levels of community participation erode potential NGO success. Recently NGOs have been asked to improve their relationships with governments rather than simply replace government organs.

NGOs have also faced challenges from below. In KENYA, for instance, the formation of NGOs became popular among MAASAI groups seeking to improve pastoral development funding. NGOs coordinated land rights and linked them to international norms. In so doing, however, NGOs undermined Kenyan CIVIL SOCIETY at the community level. Rather than reflecting the views of the initial beneficiaries, these NGOs became proxies for doing the bidding of donors.

See also: STATE, ROLE OF (Vol. V).

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Northern People's Congress (NPC)   Political party of Northern Region of pre-independence NIGERIA. Formed in 1949, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) represented the interests of HAUSA-Fulani people in independence negotiations and in the drafting of a postcolonial constitution. When Nigeria did become independent, in 1960, NPC representatives in the coalition government were awarded positions of power. NPC president Abubakar Tafawa BALEWA (1912–1966), for example, exercised broad executive power as the nation's first prime minister.

At independence Nigeria had more than 80 political parties, symbolic of the ethnic, class, and regional divisions that made the country difficult to govern. Since the NPC was the main party of the Muslim-dominated Northern Region, it had to form alliances with other conservative parties to gain influence in national politics.

In 1966 Nigeria's ethnic tensions broke out in violence, with a group of IGBO army officers staging a COUP D'ÉTAT to remove northern Hausa-Fulani Muslims from the top of Nigeria's power structure. Balewa and fellow NPC leader, Ahmadu BELLO (1909–1966), were assassinated in the coup. As a result of the Eastern Region's secession to form BIAFRA, civil war soon engulfed the country, creating a power vacuum that was filled by a military government.

In 1979, when it seemed that Nigeria's civil strife was over, the military government approved a new constitution and made provisions for the election of a new civilian government. Old political parties were dissolved and reorganized into five new organizations for the election. The NPC, for its part, was folded into the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), which won the elections. The NPN founder, Shehu Shagari (1925–   ), formerly of the NPC, became Nigeria's new president. The NPN differed from the NPC, however, in that it garnered significant support in some non-Igbo states in southeastern Nigeria. Shagari won reelection in 1983 but was soon toppled in yet another military coup.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Larry Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria: The Failure of the First Republic* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1988).

Nouakchott Capital and principal urban center of MAURITANIA, located on a plateau near the Atlantic coast. In 1957, three years prior to Mauritania's full independence, the small coastal village of Nouakchott was chosen to be the national capital. The following year a massive construction project was started to accommodate about 15,000 residents. Since that time, the population of the city has exploded, with an estimated 661,000 people living there today. The rapid growth can be attributed largely to the migration of REFUGEES from the Sahara during recurring periods of drought. Gated villas, luxurious by local standards, are visible from the slums located at the city's center. Islam is the state religion of Mauritania. Nouakchott's mosque, built with donations by a Saudi Arabian philanthropist, is a major feature of the urban landscape.

Although Nouakchott's industrial output is light, a nearby port, with its deepwater harbor built in the 1980s, provides the INFRASTRUCTURE to export OIL and copper. Small-scale commerce is active, and high-quality handicrafts can be purchased in the city's sprawling markets. In addition, Nouakchott is home to Mauritania's National Institute of Advanced Islamic Studies (founded in 1961) and the National School of Administration (1966).

See also: ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. V); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); SAHARA (Vols. I, II); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Ntaryamira, Cyprien (1956–1994) *President of Burundi*

Not much is known about Ntaryamira's early life. An agricultural engineer, he became involved in politics in the early 1970s, during the short civil war that was sparked by an attempted COUP D'ÉTAT against the dictator of BURUNDI, Michel Micombero (1940–1983). As many as 200,000 HUTU died in the conflict, and Ntaryamira, a Hutu, was forced into exile.

In 1983 Ntaryamira returned to his homeland. He found employment in the Foreign Ministry of TUTSI president Jean-Baptiste Bagaza (1946–   ). Ntaryamira became involved in underground movements to reform Bagaza's government, in particular a new political party, the FRONT FOR DEMOCRACY IN BURUNDI (FRODEBU). FRODEBU was led by Ntaryamira's close friend, the Hutu Melchior Ndadaye (1953–1993), and challenged the only legal party in Burundi, Bagaza's Union for National Progress.

In 1987 a coup d'état removed Bagaza from power and replaced him with the Tutsi Pierre BUYOYA (1949–   ). The following year ethnic violence between the Hutu and Tutsi erupted again in northern Burundi, and Buyoya sent the largely Tutsi army to reassert control. About 5,000 Hutu died as a result of the army's suppression, which Burundi's Hutu called a massacre.

This event eventually put great pressure on Buyoya to reform the government and allow for multiparty, democratic elections. The 1993 elections brought Ndadaye to the presidency, with Ntaryamira taking a ministerial position. Forming a government made up of both Hutu and Tutsi, Ndadaye seemed to be leading Burundi toward peace until a coup resulted in his assassination. After much controversy Ntaryamira was inaugurated as president.

Though Ntaryamira worked to ease ethnic tensions, his efforts proved fruitless. Two months after assuming power in 1994 Ntaryamira's plane crashed while returning to Burundi from a summit with other African leaders on Hutu-Tutsi violence. Ntaryamira was killed along with Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994), Rwanda's president. Though there were no eyewitnesses to the crash that killed Ntaryamira, it is commonly believed that the plane was shot down in an attempt to assassinate the Burundian president. The deaths of both leaders had far-reaching effects, particularly in RWANDA, where a horrific civil war ensued. In Burundi Ntaryamira's death actually had a pacifying effect, with the worst of the violence subsiding.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I).

Nujoma, Sam (Samuel Daniel Shafiishuna Nujoma) (1929–   ) *First president of Namibia*

Born to a large family in Etunda, in the Omusati Region of SOUTH WEST AFRICA (present-day NAMIBIA), Nujoma studied at the Okahao Finnish Lutheran Mission School until 1945. He then moved to WALVIS BAY and, later, WINDHOEK, the country's capital. In Windhoek he worked as a dining-car waiter for South African Railways, gaining his first political experience while trying to organize a union for railway workers—an action that cost

him his job. In 1959 Nujoma and fellow Ovambo Andimba (Herman) Toivo ja Toivo (1924–   ) founded the Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO), which Nujoma was elected to lead.

At the time, SOUTH AFRICA administered the former German colony, initially as a League of Nations mandate, and then from 1946 as a United Nations (UN) trust territory. Though it was supposed to be preparing Namibia for independence, South Africa essentially annexed the territory as its fifth province and brought it under the APARTHEID system.

In 1959 the OPO and the HERERO-led South West African National Union (SWANU) organized resistance against racially based relocation policies imposed by South Africa. The resistance led to a police massacre of 12 protesters, and Nujoma was arrested. He went into exile the following year.

While in exile Nujoma's OPO distanced itself from SWANU and formed the SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO). Despite his exile, as the leader of SWAPO, Nujoma made many international appearances, appealing for an end to South African rule in Namibia. When petitions to the United Nations failed, Nujoma turned to funneling weapons from ALGERIA to support SWAPO's guerrilla wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). They eventually launched an armed resistance in 1966. In 1978 the United Nations passed Resolution 435, which paved the way for Namibian independence. In 1989 Nujoma returned to Namibia after almost 30 years of exile and led SWAPO to victory in national elections. Nujoma became president, and the following year, after decades of South African delay and resistance, Namibia declared its independence.

As president, Nujoma benefited from Namibia's UN-organized transition toward DEMOCRATIZATION. Nujoma won reelection in 1994, and at the end of that term the Parliament's SWAPO majority amended the constitution to allow him to sit for a third term, which he began in 1998. This move caused alarm both in Namibia and abroad, as Nujoma has become increasingly authoritarian. He has been criticized for his Marxist ideals and his appreciation of Zimbabwe's increasingly autocratic president, Robert MUGABE (1924–   ). He has also made moves toward centralizing the government and he has lashed out against political opposition. He even banned all public demonstrations in 1997 after a hostage incident involving soldiers demanding jobs. In 2002 he assumed control of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, censoring all foreign television broadcasts. He has also come under fire from international organizations, such as Amnesty International, for his virulent anti-homosexual stance.

See also: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICA (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OVAMBO (Vols. II, IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Nwapa, Flora (Florence Nwanzuruahu Nkiru Nwapa) (1931–1993) *Nigerian author and publisher*

A child of IGBO parents who were both teachers, Flora Nwapa was born in Oguta, in eastern NIGERIA. She received her early education at schools in Nigeria and in 1957 graduated with a bachelor's degree from Nigeria's University College. The following year Nwapa traveled to study at the University of Edinburgh, in Scotland, where she received a teaching degree.

After Scotland Nwapa returned home to Nigeria, a country that was on the verge of independence, to work as a teacher and school administrator. With the encouragement of fellow Nigerian author Chinua ACHEBE (1930–   ), she also began writing a novel, *Efuru,* which was published in 1966. The story of an Igbo woman who finds a unique way of fitting in to her society, *Efuru* was one of the first English-language novels—if not the first—to be published by a Nigerian woman.

Following the publication of *Efuru,* Nigeria suffered through the BIAFRA rebellion, during which time Nwapa experienced first-hand the horrors of civil war. In 1967, the year the Biafran crisis began, Nwapa married Chief Gogo Nwakuche, with whom she eventually had three children.

After the war in 1971 Nwapa published *Idu,* another story of a Nigerian woman in crisis, as well as a collection of short stories called *This Is Lagos.* The latter book marked a change in setting from Nigeria's rural villages to the bustling former capital of the title, and exposed Nwapa to a new urban readership.

> **When Flora Nwapa's novels were first published, literary critics, mostly males, failed to recognize their importance. As time went on, however, Nwapa's unique voice and her ability to capture the indomitable spirit of Igbo women made her a popular author among feminists in Africa and around the world.**

In 1975 Nwapa published *Never Again,* an antiwar novella that recalled the fighting and starvation that she experienced first-hand during Nigeria's civil war. That same year, she quit her position as a government official to devote herself to writing. Frustrated with her publishers, Nwapa also started her own publishing company, Tana Press, and, in 1977, she founded the Flora Nwapa Book Company, both of which she used to publish her

own works, including several children's books. Nwapa died in Nigeria after a brief illness in 1993.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol V).

Nyerere, Julius (Julius Kambarage Nyerere)
(1922–1999) *First president of Tanzania (1962–1985)*

Over the course of the 1950s Nyerere, a former teacher in Catholic mission schools, orchestrated the movement for Tanzanian independence. Central to this effort was the country's first political party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). (Prior to 1964, mainland TANZANIA was known as Tanganyika.) Taking advantage of the international status of Tanganyika as a United Nations Trust Territory, Nyerere succeeded in getting elections scheduled. In 1960, following elections, the colonial power Britain granted Tanganyika limited self-government, and Nyerere became the nation's chief minister. Full independence came in 1961, with Nyerere becoming prime minister. When the country became a republic, in 1962, Nyerere was elected its first president.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Nyerere was recognized as one of Africa's most gifted and original political thinkers. He spoke and wrote extensively about his ideas for the continent's social, political, and economic DEVELOPMENT. Among his books are *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (1968) and *Man and Development* (1974).

Political turmoil struck Tanganyika in 1963, when the African population of nearby ZANZIBAR staged a bloody revolution in the wake of its independence, overthrowing the government of the Busaidi sultan and forcing most of the island's Arab elite to flee. Not long after, the Tanganyika army attempted its own COUP D'ÉTAT, which Nyerere managed to suppress only with the backing of the British army. As a result of the political upheaval, in 1964 Nyerere led mainland Tanganyika to merge with Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania. With the establishment of a new constitution in 1965, Tanzania became a one-party state, and Nyerere's old party—still called TANU but now standing for the *Tanzanian* African National Union—governed the mainland. Zanzibar, for its part, continued to be run by the AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY. The two parties finally merged in 1977 to form the PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION (in Kiswahili, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM).

Nyerere had emerged as one of the key African leaders instrumental in the founding of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, in 1963, and he continued to be a firm believer in the unity of the continent as a whole—not just the two East African neighbors. He was also committed to the end of colonial rule throughout Africa and therefore offered sanctuary in Tanzania to members of African liberation movements from SOUTH AFRICA, ZIMBABWE, MOZAMBIQUE, and ANGOLA. In addition, in 1978, he sent 20,000 soldiers into UGANDA to depose its dictator, Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003), after Amin had first invaded northwestern Tanzania. These activities, however, exacted a heavy toll on Nyerere's poor country.

Because he saw that Tanzania, and indeed most of Africa, was impoverished in the aftermath of colonialism, Nyerere advocated socialism based on African values. This led to the ARUSHA DECLARATION, in 1967. Its centerpiece was UJAMAA ("community" or "familyhood"), a cooperative state policy characterized by economic self-reliance, egalitarianism, and local rural development.

Nyerere's reforms reached all aspects of life within Tanzania. Nyerere fostered Kiswahili as the national and official language, and Kiswahili became the medium of instruction in schools at all levels. This, Nyerere felt, was a way of empowering those Tanzanians whose limited knowledge of English, previously the official language, would have excluded them from full participation in national life.

Nyerere's policies had a mixed record. The quality of life for Tanzanians improved dramatically, and the country soon became one of Africa's most stable, both politically and socially. And further, in an era when many African heads of state utilized their positions to enrich themselves and their families, Nyerere chose to live a modest lifestyle. Yet, Tanzania remained desperately poor, and even today its per-capita income is only $610. (In comparison, the per-capita income of KENYA is $1,000; of Uganda, $1,200; and of South Africa, $9,400. The per-capita income of the United States is about $36,300.) Much of the fault lies with the economic failure of *ujamaa,* which relied on an inefficient, socialistic system of AGRICULTURE.

Nyerere, the former school teacher, took an active hand in promoting the development of Kiswahili as a language of instruction. He translated two of Shakespeare's plays, *Julius Cesar* (1963) and *The Merchant of Venice* (1969), into Kiswahili as a way of expanding the literature books available for use in schools.

In 1985 Nyerere gained the respect of Tanzanians and of the world by being one of the first African presidents to

retire voluntarily from office, although he remained chairman of CCM until 1990. His successor was the Zanzibari political leader, Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1925–   ).

In 1999 Nyerere was in London for medical treatment when he died. Tanzanians genuinely mourned the passing of the man whom they all respectfully called *Mwalimu* (teacher).

See also: Busaidi (Vols. III, IV); Colonial Rule (Vol. IV); Education (Vols. IV, V); Kiswahili (Vols. II, III, IV); Language usage in modern africa (Vol. V); Nyerere, Julius (Vol. IV); Tanganyika (Vol. IV).

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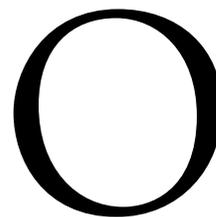
Obasanjo, Olusegun (Matthew Olusegun Fajinmi Aremu Obasanjo) (c. 1937–   ) *Nigerian military dictator elected president in 1999*

Born in YORUBA-dominated southwestern NIGERIA, Obasanjo dropped the English part of his name while he was in high school in rebellion against what was widely felt in Nigeria to be British cultural imperialism. In 1958, unable to afford college, he entered the military, quickly rising in the officer corps. After serving with UN peace-keeping forces in the long-running Congolese civil war, Obasanjo held several important commands during Nigeria's own civil war, also known as the Biafran War (1967–70). Extensive training at the Royal College of Military Engineering in England and with the Indian Army School of Engineering led to his posting as commander of Nigeria's army engineers.

In 1975 the Nigerian leader Yakubu GOWON (1934–   ) appointed Obasanjo federal commissioner of works and housing, and, following Gowon's ouster by General Murtala Muhammad (1938–1976), Obasanjo became army chief of staff. In the wake of Muhammad's assassination in 1976, Obasanjo assumed power, taking control of both the government and the army. Pledging to lead Nigeria into a new period of civilian rule, he vowed to hold democratic elections, led the nation in adopting a new constitution, and lifted the ban on political parties. In the promised democratic election of 1979, Obasanjo was defeated by Shehu Shagari (1925–   ), to whom he turned over the reins of government, initiating Nigeria's Second Republic.

Although Obasanjo was widely praised for his DE-MOCRATIZATION efforts during the 1970s, many found his policies to be repressive. In 1977, for example, Obasanjo's soldiers raided the home of musician FELA (1938–1997), an outspoken critic of the military regime. The soldiers burned down the house and threw the musician's aged mother from an upper-floor window. After his mother later died of the injuries she suffered, Fela composed a song, "Coffin for a Head of State," in which he describes trying to present his mother's coffin to the dictator.

After leaving the government Obasanjo started an agricultural company. He also became active in international affairs, at one point even being considered for secretary-general of the United Nations. Obasanjo remained on the sidelines of domestic politics during the 1980s, which was a turbulent decade in Nigeria. However, in 1995 the head of state, General Sani ABACHA (1943–1998), accused Obasanjo, along with scores of others, of treason, sending him to prison. In spite of numerous international protests, it was not until Abacha's death, in 1998, and the accession to power of General Abdulsalami Abubakar (1943–   ), that Obasanjo was finally released.

Obasanjo reentered politics, and in November 1998 he declared himself a candidate for president in the coming elections. In spite of charges and counter-charges of CORRUPTION and election rigging, international observers concluded that Obasanjo's victory over Chief Olu Falae

was legitimate, and Obasanjo was declared president in the spring of 1999. Since then he has struggled to solve the various economic, political, and social crises facing Nigeria. He supervised the creation of a new constitution, privatized and deregulated a number of businesses, and attempted to revitalize Nigeria's struggling agricultural sector. He also reorganized the Nigerian military, eliminating officers from political posts, and has made some inroads against governmental corruption.

Less successful, however, have been Obasanjo's efforts at dealing with Nigeria's infamous inter-ethnic conflicts. Hostility between the three main groups—the HAUSA of the north, the IGBO of the east, and the Yoruba of the west—continues. To make matters even more difficult, Nigeria's Muslim leaders have been advocating a return to the strict Islamic legal system of SHARIA. Caught in a debate over the extent of the central government's power to limit the authority of local governments—and unwilling to alienate completely Nigeria's large Muslim population—Obasanjo stood by as seemingly independent legal systems are established, often in direct conflict with the Nigerian constitution. As the 21st century began, this legal crisis was added to the others that challenged Nigeria's civilian government.

See also: BIAFRA (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Obiang, Teodoro (Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo) (1942–) *President of Equatorial Guinea*

Born in the continental region of EQUATORIAL GUINEA known as Río Muni, Obiang was schooled at Río Muni's administrative capital of Bata. He underwent military training in Spain, returning to Equatorial Guinea in 1965. The nephew of Equatoguinean dictator Francisco Macias Nguema (1922–1979), Obiang received special treatment and quickly rose through the military ranks, becoming military governor of the island of Fernando Po (now Bioko) and serving as director of the Black Beach prison. Enjoying Nguema's favor, Obiang became a lieutenant colonel in 1975.

The relationship between Obiang and the president quickly soured, however, when the dictator ordered the execution of Obiang's brother, in 1979. Later that year, Obiang launched a bloody COUP D'ÉTAT that ousted Nguema from power. Obiang assumed the presidency as head of a supreme military council. Nguema was tried, convicted on multiple charges, and executed.

Obiang led a country with no INFRASTRUCTURE, a completely devastated economy, and a population only one-third the size it had been when Nguema became the country's first president, in 1968. Conditions failed to improve under Obiang. He banned POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS, and despite promises of DEMOCRATIZATION he maintained supreme authority in Equatorial Guinea.

Obiang repeatedly ran unopposed in elections, as fraud and repression forced his opponents to withdraw. In 2001 the entire cabinet resigned in protest against Obiang's authoritarian rule. Running unopposed in 2003, the president was once again reelected.

Equatorial Guinea remains a dictatorial state where citizens lack political rights and suffer through miserable economic conditions. The discovery of OIL, which became the nation's prime export in 1999, has produced a significant enough economic boost to provide the country with sustained DEVELOPMENT, but nearly all of the profits have gone directly to Obiang and his supporters.

Obote, Milton (Apolo Milton Obote) (1924–) *Ugandan political leader*

Born in the village of Akokor, in northern UGANDA, Milton Obote rose to prominence during the pre-independence era of the 1950s. Successfully merging several once-independent political parties, he was able to defeat the dominant Democratic Party and become prime minister when Uganda emerged as an independent nation.

Although Obote won the election, he faced almost insurmountable problems as prime minister, the most important of which was trying to create a unified nation out of a divided population. The major obstacle to unity lay in the role traditionally played by Buganda, a kingdom that had a long history of autonomy and power under the British colonial administration of Uganda. The wealthiest and most powerful of all Ugandans, the Baganda, as people from Buganda are called, were not willing to relinquish their supremacy in the political, social, and economic arenas. By the mid-1960s the situation had erupted in violence. Obote responded by seizing the reins of power, suspending the constitution, and even ordering his army, under General Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003), to attack Buganda's capital, KAMPALA.

Obote's one-party rule, which began to veer toward a more socialist state, was not well received by many Ugandans, and in 1971 Amin seized power in a COUP D'ÉTAT. Obote, who was out of the country at the time, fled to TANZANIA, where he remained throughout the eight years of murder and terror that followed.

In 1979 Obote, aided by an invasion from Tanzania, was back in Uganda. One year later, following an election that many people believe was rigged, Obote returned to power. By then, however, he was opposed by a wide range of forces, and he was able to keep office only by resorting to the same kind of terror that had been employed by Amin. Opposition to Obote came from the international community as well as from within, and it was not long before his tactics were denounced worldwide. Accused of being responsible for the murders of more than 100,000 of his people, Obote was finally overthrown

in 1985. He eventually fled to ZAMBIA, where he was given political asylum.

See also: BUGANDA (Vols. III, IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); OBOTE, MILTON (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Phares Mutibwa, *Uganda Since Independence: A Story of Unfulfilled Promise* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1992).

Odinga, Oginga (Jaramongi Oginga Odinga)
(1912–1994) *Luo political leader in Kenya*

Odinga was part of the powerful LUO political tradition that included Tom MBOYA (1930–1969). In 1960 the two were founding members of the KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (KANU), a political party that played a major role in securing Kenya's independence as well as the freedom of the party's imprisoned KIKUYU leader, Jomo KENYATTA (c. 1891–1978). In 1964 Kenyatta became the first president of independent Kenya, and Odinga was rewarded with the vice presidency.

Odinga's relationship with Kenyatta quickly soured, however. Kenyatta believed that the country needed a one-party political system in order to maintain national unity. To that end, Daniel arap MOI (1924–   ) agreed to merge his Kenyan African Democratic Union (KADU) with KANU, thereby further consolidating Kenyatta's power. Odinga strongly supported a multiparty system and believed KANU favored the Kikuyu minority. His opinions gradually led to his alienation from the party. In 1966 Mboya maneuvered to abolish the position of vice president, and Odinga was essentially removed from the government.

> The root of Odinga's opposition to Kenyatta was largely economic and ideological. He opposed the economic and political alliance that Kenyatta forged with the capitalist West during the era of the Cold War, preferring the ideology of African socialism. Odinga set forth his views in *Not Yet Uhuru,* published in 1967. In the book Odinga argued that true freedom *(uhuru)* for Kenya went beyond political independence to include economic independence as well.

Later in 1966 Odinga formed the Kenya People's Union (KPU) in an attempt to generate opposition to Kenyatta's government. Kenyatta cracked down on the KPU, however, imprisoning a number of its leaders and, in 1969, arresting Odinga on charges of staging a riot. Odinga served 15 months in prison, and the KPU was subsequently banned.

Kenyatta died in 1978, and Odinga was welcomed back into KANU by Moi, who had become Kenya's president. Odinga, however, continued his opposition stance, accusing both the old and the new governments of CORRUPTION. His vocal criticism once again led to his exile from the party, but this did little to quiet Odinga's call for a democratic, multiparty state. In 1991 he formed the National Democratic Party, which suffered a similar fate to the KPU. However, international protests against KANU, particularly in regard to HUMAN RIGHTS violations, gave Odinga's work added clout. His efforts sparked the formation of an alliance of opposition leaders called the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD). Bowing under pressure from FORD and abroad, Moi returned Kenya to a multiparty political system.

The multiparty elections of 1992 were a disappointment for Odinga. FORD suffered from internal dissension, with a faction of the party breaking away to support its own candidate for the presidency. This split the opposition's voter base and allowed for Moi to win the presidency again. Odinga finished fourth in the polls. He died in 1994 having earned the reputation as Kenya's "most persecuted politician," but also its strongest opposition voice. His son, Raila Odinga (1945–   ), currently is involved in Kenyan politics.

See also: NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vols. IV, V); ODINGA, OGINGA (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V).

Ogoni
Minority ethnic group living in the NIGER DELTA region of NIGERIA; their battle for recognition of their ethnic identity and civil rights has been linked to the distribution of OIL profits. The Ogoni people of southwest Nigeria are a minority under pressure. While under their land lies one of Africa's largest oil reserves, they remain among the poorest people in their country. This dichotomy has led to the rise of Ogoni unity and a strong nationalistic desire for a semiautonomous nation-state.

The Ogoni people live in a defined region in southwest Nigeria's Niger Delta. Numbering between 300,000 and 500,000, the Ogoni historically formed their ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY around linguistic and cultural norms, as opposed to a developed political state. This has sparked academic debate about whether the Ogoni were in fact an ethnic group before British colonialism or merely a loose conglomeration of kinships. There was some form of independent Ogoniland until the British incorporated the region into their colonial state, a move the Ogoni resisted until 1914.

In 1958 a significant amount of oil was found in the delta. The British government rapidly realigned the Royal Niger Company for oil extraction, and the company in turn contracted with Shell D'Archy (now the Shell Petroleum and Development Company—SPDC—of

Royal Dutch Shell) as a service provider. From the outset, the Ogoni people received only marginal amounts from the oil proceeds. When Nigeria became independent, in 1960, the new government took ownership of the oil. The Ogoni protested, and in 1968 Nigerian forces occupied the region. Many Ogoni were removed by force, and as many as 30,000 were killed. Their situation grew worse as the country descended into the Nigerian civil war, or Biafran War (1967–70). The IGBO, one of Nigeria's three major ethnic groups, seceded from the nation to form the Republic of BIAFRA. During the subsequent fighting between breakaway Biafra and the Nigerian government, both sides accused the Ogoni of collaborating with the enemy. In addition, as oil extraction continued, the environment was dramatically degraded, reducing agricultural and fishing potential, while new jobs were few and quality of life in the region declined. Today Nigeria earns between $18 billion and $20 billion per year in oil revenues with practically none of the proceeds going to the Ogoni.

Undoubtedly the sense of Ogoni identity crystallized around these political, social, and economic inequities. Ogoni ethnic mobilization simmered throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but in a relatively peaceful form. The character of this protest changed in October 1990, when youths in the village of Umuechem clashed with Shell Oil staff, and the Nigerian army came in to support the corporation at the expense of its citizens. Thousands of people were killed. In response to their worsening conditions and treatment at the hands of their own government, the Ogoni people formed the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), led by activist and writer Ken SARO-WIWA (1941–1995). They passed an Ogoni Bill of Rights and demanded political autonomy and control over the NATURAL RESOURCES on Ogoni land.

Since the early 1990s thousands have died each year in the Niger Delta's clashes with the government. In 1993 Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and other international NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS started aiding the Ogoni. In the same year, then-president General Ibrahim BABANGIDA (1941–   ) passed the Treason and Treasonable Offences Decree, under which claims of "ethnic autonomy" were punishable by death. General Sani ABACHA (1943–1998), who overthrew the government of Ernest Shonekan (1936–   ) in 1993, subsequently used this decree to sentence to death and then execute Ken Saro-Wiwa, along with eight other activists, on November 10, 1995. During the resulting outcry, Nigeria became an international pariah and was suspended from the British Commonwealth of Nations until democratic elections were held, in 1999.

The international community largely believed that Nigeria's DEMOCRATIZATION under President Olusegun OBASANJO (c. 1937–   ) would improve Ogoni welfare, reduce Ogoni nationalism, and limit civil strife. But while there was a small increase in oil proceeds that were returned to the region, nearly all of the money has gone to local leaders to support the state, not the citizenry. The regime type may have changed, but the structure of the state has not. As much as 90 percent of state wealth is still generated by oil, and the oil industry forms a close bond with national leadership. The democratic government has shown just as high a propensity as the previous dictatorships for suppressing secessionism. As a result, strife in the Niger Delta has increased.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); ROYAL NIGER COMPANY (Vol. IV).

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oil Though only about 150 years in DEVELOPMENT, the oil industry is one of the largest and most lucrative in the world. Among the most valuable of all NATURAL RESOURCES, oil is principal to industrial production, cars and other TRANSPORTATION, heating, construction, cooking, even refinement of other energy sources. Oil is composed primarily of hydrocarbons, the combination of carbon and hydrogen. Hydrocarbons form deep under the earth's surface from the fossilized remains of sea organisms mixed with other organic material and subjected to intense pressure over millions of years. Plate tectonics, or the shifting of the earth's crust, is generally seen as a critical feature in oil formation, as the crust's movements help generate the necessary pressure. Some scientists hypothesize, however, that volcanic activity, rather than plate tectonics, has played the primary role in producing Africa's oil deposits.

Just as entire economies are dependent on oil consumption, some economies, particularly in Africa, South America, and the Middle East, are based almost entirely on oil production. In 1949 the world's largest oil producers, Venezuela, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia, met to form agreements to better manage the complex and rapidly growing international oil economy. In 1960 they formalized the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC), which eventually expanded to number 13 countries. OPEC became a union of states designed to ensure pricing and the stability of the oil market. With oil accounting for a majority of export earnings in most of these countries, market stability is of great importance for fiscal planning. Today the world's seven largest oil producers are among the 11 current

OPEC countries, three of which are in Africa (ALGERIA, LIBYA, and NIGERIA). Combined, the seven countries account for nearly 80 percent of the more than 1 trillion barrels of known crude oil reserves.

Africa follows the Middle East and Latin America in both production and quantity of oil with nearly 100,000 million barrels of known reserves. In addition to the four OPEC nations, ANGOLA, the Republic of the CONGO, CAMEROON, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, IVORY COAST, EGYPT, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, and TUNISIA all export oil. Oil exploration in MADAGASCAR, NAMIBIA, SOUTH AFRICA, and the Republic of the SUDAN indicates that these countries will also join the oil-exporting ranks.

The African oil industry has been growing substantially. Nigeria alone accounts for 39 percent of all sub-Saharan African oil production and stands to increase even further. Significant new finds in the Gulf of Guinea are expected to increase oil production in Angola, which generated 1.6 billion barrels in 2001, by as much as five-fold in the coming years. New finds in SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE and new opportunities for oil exploitation in CHAD are also expected to increase Africa's share of the oil market.

The growing oil economy represents simultaneously one of Africa's greatest opportunities and one of its greatest problems. Given low levels of development, INDUSTRIALIZATION, and automobile use, oil is not used at a high rate in Africa compared to Europe and the United States. The refining of oil in African countries is also limited compared to their Western counterparts. As a result oil used for transportation and industry is often imported African oil that was previously exported by large MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS for refinement overseas.

Oil is a large source of conflict in Africa. In Nigeria oil is found off the coast and in the NIGER DELTA. The latter, the largest single source of oil in sub-Saharan Africa, has become the site of ethnic and nationalist clashes fueled by controversy over the region's oil supply. The adverse environmental effects of oil drilling have degraded the land inhabited by Nigeria's Ijaw and OGONI peoples, among others. Worse, these groups receive virtually none of the financial benefits derived from the sale of oil taken from their lands. Thousands die each year from violent conflicts between these ethnic minorities and the Nigerian government, which has long collaborated with major oil companies such as Royal Dutch Shell and Chevron-Texaco to monopolize the delta's vast oil resources.

In Angola President José Eduardo DOS SANTOS (1942–) used oil revenues to stave off attacks from Jonas SAVIMBI (1934–2002) and his rebel army. Even after the death of Savimbi, in 2002, as much as $1 billion in oil revenue is still unaccounted for in the state budgets. International speculation is that the president used this money as patronage in an effort to maintain his office.

Indisputably, oil has driven a wedge in the Angolan economy, creating a small, wealthy business class atop a large, poor population trying to make a living in an economy ravaged by war. In Gabon, as in Angola, oil has proven to be an impediment, not a stimulant, to democracy, as it assists the privileged few in maintaining power. New oil states, such as Chad and São Tomé and Príncipe, will face similar dilemmas unless their resources are managed more equitably.

President dos Santos's patronage is both domestic and international. In fact, he is known to have given $100,000 to the presidential campaign of U.S. president George W. Bush (1948–) in the hopes of currying favor if Bush was elected. President Bush returned the donation.

In the late 1990s the WORLD BANK entered the African oil sector. In a new role for the international organization, it offered loan guarantees to stabilize an Exxon-Mobil-led consortium to build a 660-mile (1,062-km) pipeline from Chad to the coast of Cameroon, investing $180 million in the project. When it reaches full production this pipeline will deliver 250,000 barrels per day of crude oil to tankers waiting off the coast. The World Bank has put in place oversight mechanisms to help ensure economic accountability of the oil revenues in Chad and has mandated that the majority of the proceeds should go to development and not the creation of individual wealth. Critics argue that the World Bank has a poor record with extractive industries and improving governance and that it undermines democracy by holding the government accountable to the World Bank rather than the Chadian people for its fiscal decision-making. Some critics go so far as to argue that it is an effort to maximize the extraction of oil to the benefit of the prime users—Western countries—as opposed to Chad or Cameroon. Regardless, the World Bank, as well as countries such as the United States, which hold much of the power within the institution, will almost certainly play a larger role in Africa's oil industry in the coming years.

Oil provides unheard of economic opportunities in sub-Saharan Africa. The billions of dollars it produces cannot be matched by any other single source. Properly used, oil exports can provide the money necessary to jumpstart an economy, create new industries, and bring about national development. To date, however, oil production has tended to fuel CIVIL WARS, poor governance, and ethnic strife. At its current rate this nonrenewable natural resource will be exhausted before it can provide Africa with its potential economic benefits.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Olajuwon, Hakeem (1963–   ) *Basketball player from Nigeria*

Olajuwon, whose name translates as "always being on top," started playing basketball in his homeland of NIGE-RIA at age 15. In 1980 he was recruited by the University of Houston, and led the team to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) basketball tournament in all three years he was on the team. In 1984 Olajuwon, nick-named "The Dream," was the Houston Rockets' first-round draft choice (and the first pick of the entire draft), becoming a professional athlete in the National Basketball Association (NBA). He played for the Rockets until 2001, when he was traded to the Toronto Raptors. Hampered by a series of ailments and injuries, Olajuwan retired from professional basketball the next year.

Standing 7 feet tall (2.13 m) and weighing 255 pounds (115.7 kg), Olajuwon was a dominant defender, and he used his agility, exceptional footwork, and fade-away jump shot to excel on offense. He was particularly productive in playoff games and led the Rockets to back-to-back NBA championships in 1994 and 1995. In 1996 the NBA named him one of the league's 50 all-time great-est players. That same year Olajuwan, who became a U.S. citizen in 1993, was a member of the U.S. basketball team that won the gold medal at the Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia. Among his many honors Olajuwan was chosen Most Valuable Player in 1993–94 and Defensive Player of the Year for the 1992–93 and 1993–94 seasons. In addition, he was selected to play in 12 All-Star games.

Olajuwon finished his playing days with a career av-erage of 21.8 points per game. At the time of his retire-ment, he was the NBA's seventh all-time leading scorer, with 26,946 points, as well as the league's all-time leading shot blocker, with 3,830 blocked shots. He was also the first player in NBA history to register 2,000 blocked shots and 2,000 steals.

See also: SPORTS AND ATHLETICS (Vol. V).

Olympic Games See SPORTS AND ATHLETICS (Vol. V).

OPEC   See ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES.

Organization of African Unity (OAU) Continent-wide political body created to fight colonialism, promote unity and cooperation among African countries, and de-
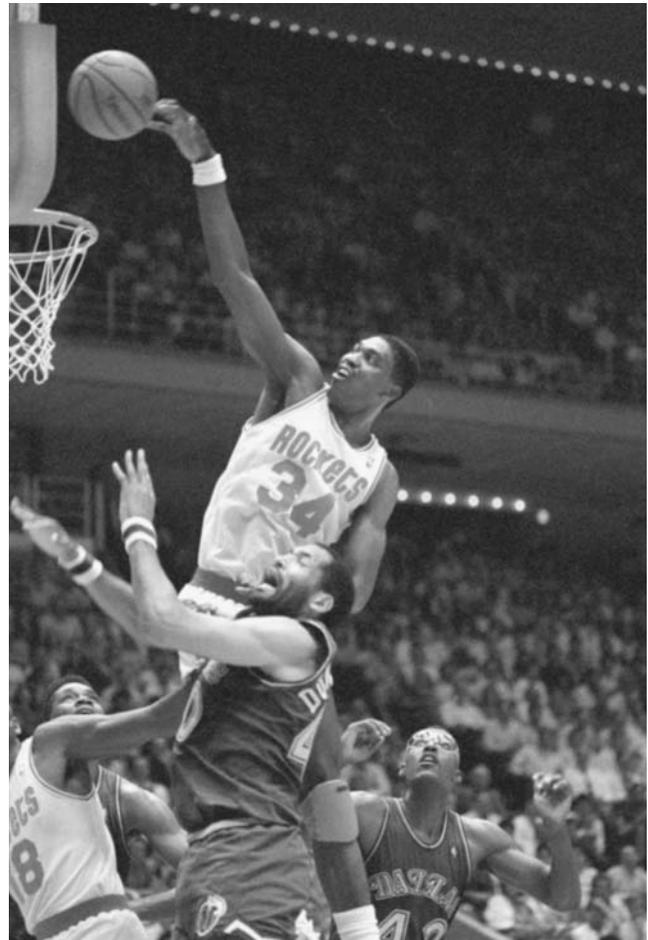
Nigerian basketball player Hakeem Olajuwon, shown in action in 1988, won worldwide acclaim for his impressive skills. © *AP/Wide World Photos*

fend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its mem-bers. Founded in 1963, the OAU was replaced by the AFRICAN UNION (AU) in 2001.

In the early 1960s there emerged two groups, each with its own idea on how to pursue African unity. One group, which supported a gradual approach to African unity, was called the MONROVIA GROUP. Originally made up of four African states that came together in 1961 in MONROVIA, LIBERIA, this group eventually came to include another bloc of states, the Brazzaville group. Made up of independent African states that were former French colonies, the Brazzaville group was especially concerned about the liberation war in ALGERIA (1954–62) and wanted to find a way of mediating the conflict without alienating France.

The other major bloc, called the CASABLANCA GROUP—it originally met in Casablanca, MOROCCO—was more radical. Made up mainly of socialist-leaning countries, the Casablanca group strongly advocated immediate po-

litical and economic unity among African states. This group was concerned about securing full independence for all African countries. Consequently the Casablanca group was more wary than the Monrovia group of the role that the colonial powers might play in opposing or compromising such independence.

During the early 1960s each group attempted to recruit newly independent African states. By 1963 leaders of the two groups sought reconciliation. Through the efforts of Ethiopia's Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975), who represented the Monrovia group, and President Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984), of GUINEA, acting on behalf of the Casablanca group, the leaders of 32 independent African states met in ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA, on May 25, 1963. At this summit they approved the charter creating the Organization of African Unity. Addis Ababa remained the OAU headquarters throughout the organization's existence. At its inception the OAU had three main governing bodies: the Assembly of the Heads of States and Governments, the Council of Ministers, and the General Secretariat. Each year a different African leader chaired the OAU.

The objectives of the OAU were to promote unity and solidarity among African states; to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence; and to eradicate colonialism. Any independent African country could become a member of the organization. The OAU also welcomed the participation of African liberation movements that were not widely recognized as legitimate governments. These included the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, in SOUTH AFRICA, the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA, and the MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT.

In 1981 Morocco temporarily withdrew its OAU membership because some African countries recognized WESTERN SAHARA as an independent state. At the time, territory that presently belongs to Western Sahara was still claimed by Morocco.

After its creation in 1963 the OAU helped strengthen ties among African countries and raised the standing of the continent in international debates. Given the climate when the OAU was established, its initial actions were focused on providing both material resources and political backing for INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS in countries still under colonial rule. It also supported opposition to the APARTHEID regime in South Africa. In the year of its inception, the OAU formed the African Liberation Committee to provide financial support to liberation movements fighting Portuguese colonial rule in GUINEA-BISSAU, ANGOLA, and MOZAMBIQUE. The movements succeeded in 1974, when Portugal abandoned its

former African colonies. The OAU supported liberation movements against white-minority rule in ZIMBABWE and NAMIBIA, and it also successfully campaigned to bar South Africa from participating in the UN General Assembly. From 1974 until 1994, when white-minority rule and apartheid ended, South Africa was excluded from OAU membership.

The OAU also worked to preserve peace on the continent, although, in some cases, with limited success. It mediated a border dispute between Algeria and Morocco in 1964–65, and it also mediated the border conflicts of SOMALIA with Ethiopia and KENYA in 1968–70.

In 1986 the OAU established the African Commission on Human and People's Rights to monitor HUMAN RIGHTS practices in member nations.

During the 1990s the OAU was also concerned about strengthening the economies of member countries. To that end, it encouraged the creation of regional partnerships across the continent. In 1997 OAU members established the African Economic Community (AEC). Envisioned as an African common market, the AEC signed an agreement with regional African economic groupings including the SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY, the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES, the Maghrib Arab Union, and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa.

While the OAU had some success, it faced problems that eventually undermined its ability to achieve its lofty goals. A primary subject of criticism was the clause in the OAU charter that guaranteed noninterference in the internal affairs of other member states. Because of this policy, the OAU could not act to help resolve CIVIL WARS in BIAFRA, Ethiopia, or Somalia. Unable to act in such situations, the OAU was criticized for condoning undemocratic leadership.

The OAU also lacked the capacity for effective peacekeeping. For example, troops sent to quell Chad's civil war in 1981—the first such action by the OAU—were forced to withdraw before completing their mission. To address this deficiency, in 1993 the OAU created the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. The body enabled the OAU to intervene in conflicts in RWANDA, BURUNDI, the COMOROS, SIERRA LEONE, LIBERIA, Ethiopia, ERITREA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. With its limited capacity, the OAU sometimes could do no more than send observers to document the conflicts. In other cases, OAU personnel worked closely with the UN observer missions or peacekeeping operations.

Throughout its existence the OAU was hampered by a lack of financial resources. It depended on member contributions for its operations, but, in many cases, members failed to pay their dues. To compound the situation, in the 1990s many OAU member states were unable to pay off mounting FOREIGN DEBT, making it even more difficult for them to meet their financial obligations. During this time the OAU was increasingly criticized for its inability to address Africa's major challenges, especially those related to economic DEVELOPMENT and the spread of HIV/AIDS. In response, the OAU redirected its energies to focus on developing the economies of member states. Citing the past failures of the OAU, Libya's leader, Muammar QADDAFI (1942–   ), proposed the creation of the African Union as a more effective institution for increasing prosperity in Africa. In the end, the AU was formally established in September 2001, in Sirte, LIBYA. In replacing the OAU, the AU sought to harmonize the economic and political policies of all African nations in order to improve pan-African welfare and provide Africans with a voice in international affairs. The AU member states believed that the new organization would have a stronger charter than the OAU and would be better funded. Future plans for the AU include an international court of justice, an African parliament, and a common African currency.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and Africa

Association of countries that rely heavily on the production and sale of OIL for their national incomes. In 2003 the 11 member states of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries produced an estimated 40 percent of the world's petroleum. As of 2004, OPEC's African member states were ALGERIA, LIBYA, and NIGERIA.

In 1960 oil ministers from the founding states of Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela held the first OPEC conference, in Baghdad, Iraq. The first African state to join OPEC was Libya (1962), followed by Algeria (1969), and Nigeria (1971). The west-central African country of GABON joined OPEC in 1975, although it subsequently left the cartel in 1994.

During the 1960s OPEC had relatively little influence on international petroleum markets, which were dominated by huge Western oil companies. In the early 1970s, however, OPEC gained greater control of its production and pricing mechanisms. As a result it began to exert in-

fluence in crude-oil markets worldwide. In 1973, in light of United States support for Israel in the ARAB-ISRAELI WARS, Arab states imposed an oil embargo on both the United States and its European allies. Within months the OPEC price for a barrel of crude oil quadrupled. Although the embargo was largely the result of political posturing that had nothing to do with Africa, it greatly affected the civil war in Nigeria, where the country's warring factions sought to establish control of increasingly lucrative oilfields. Markets recovered after the embargo was called off in March 1974, but the power of the OPEC cartel could no longer be denied.

In 1986 OPEC states dealt with a crisis of a different nature when the market price of crude fell dramatically because of an international oil glut. Nigeria, which was still recovering from its civil war, was hit especially hard. During the 1990s, however, prices remained relatively stable, and the Nigerian oil industry recovered. Although operations in Nigeria remained riddled with CORRUPTION and inefficiency, by 2000 OPEC estimated the country's oil export revenues to be $17 billion. By comparison, Algeria's 2000 oil revenues were estimated at about $19 billion, and Libya's were about $10 billion.

Throughout OPEC's history, five Africans have served as the organization's secretary general. They are Omar el Badri (1970) and Abdallah Salem el Badri (1994), from Libya, Abderrahman Khene (1973–74), of Algeria, and Nigerians Chief M. O. Feyide (1975–76) and Dr. Rilwanu Lukman (1995–2000).

See also: ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. V); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vol. V).

Oromo (Galla)

Largest ethnic group in ETHIOPIA, making up nearly one-half of the population. While this group has a presence in many areas of the Horn of Africa, most Oromo live in the central Ethiopian state of Oromia. They speak Oromiffa, which is an Eastern Cushitic language. Throughout their history the Oromo have had little political influence and have been marginalized by Ethiopia's dominant Amhara political leaders because of linguistic, cultural, and political differences.

The greater Oromo ethnic group is made up of several subgroups, including the Arsi and Borana. Despite notable differences among the subgroups, there is a pan-Oromo identity that has been forged by centuries of mistreatment and oppression by successive Ethiopian regimes. The Oromo were involved in the political up-

heaval of the 1970s and 1980s, following the fall of Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) in 1974. In later years, though, Oromo leaders worked to build coalitions with other ethnic minorities.

The Oromo gained political recognition through the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), a rebel group formed in 1973. In 1990 the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) sponsored the founding of the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) in an effort to broaden TPLF support throughout Ethiopia. In 1991, following a lengthy civil war, an umbrella opposition party replaced the Amhara-dominated government. This coalition party, called the ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMO-CRATIC FRONT (EPRDF), was made up of several groups, including the TPLF, the OPDO, the Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Organization, and the AMHARA NA-TIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT.

The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) states on its web page that its mission as a political organization is "to lead the national liberation struggle of the Oromo people against the Abyssinian (an older name for Ethiopian) colonial rule. The emergence of the OLF was a culmination of a century-old desire of the Oromo people to have a strong and unified national organization to lead the struggle." Also, the OLF disparages the EPRDF-led government of Prime Minister MELES ZENAWI (1955–   ) as a "[Tigrayan] regime . . . that is merely a cosmetic change intended to affect the momentum of our just struggle."

Like other ethnic groups in Ethiopia, the Oromo people desire self-determination. This aspiration, among other political and economic problems, continues to create discord in Ethiopia. However, it has also inspired a federal system of government that seeks to balance ethnic rights and self-determination with maintaining the integrity of the state of Ethiopia.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); OROMO (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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Ouagadougou (Wagadugu)   Capital of BURKINA FASO, located in the central part of that landlocked West African country. Ouagadougou is the former capital of the powerful Mossi state of the same name. Founded in the 11th century, by the 1750s Ouagadougou was an administrative center for the Mossi people. In 1896 the city became the colonial administrative center for French UPPER VOLTA, part of French West Africa.

Ouagadougou is still the home of the traditional Mossi leader, mogho naba, but his power has diminished since the colonial period. Because of its long history and ties with Mossi political authority, Ouagadougou appears less influenced by French colonialism than many other Francophone African states.

Although Ouagadougou is the administrative center of the nation, the city of Bobo-Dioulasso, located about 200 miles (322 km) to the southwest, remains its industrial center. Ouagadougou, with a population of approximately 962,000, produces processed food, beverages, cotton goods, rugs, soap, matches, shoes, and handicrafts. It is connected by rail to the coastal city of ABIDJAN, in IVORY COAST, and by road to NIAMEY, in NIGER. The city has an international airport and is also the site of the national University of Ouagadougou, founded in 1969.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); MOSSI STATES (Vols. II, III, IV); OUA-GADOUGOU (Vols. II, III).

Ousmane Sembène (Sembene Ousmane, Ousman Sembene) (1923–   ) Senegalese writer and pioneer in African cinema

Born in 1923 in the Casamance region of French colonial SENEGAL, Ousmane Sembène was raised by an uncle who was a devout Muslim. Moving to DAKAR as a teenager he received limited education before taking a variety of jobs in the building trades. After serving with French forces in France and Germany during World War II (1939–45), he worked on the docks of Marseilles, France. It was at this time that Sembène began writing, and his experiences as an African laborer in France formed the background of his first novel, Le Docker noir (The black docker) in 1956. An active union member, Sembène eventually rose to a position of leadership among the longshoremen of the French docks before devoting himself full-time to writing.

Sembène returned to SENEGAL not long before independence and he soon emerged as not only a writer of fiction but as an astute commentator on the life of the common people of the new nation. Always considering himself a Marxist-Leninist, he sought to depict the effects on ordinary working people of both colonialism and the

self-serving, elitist officialdom that colonialism left in its wake. As a result his works from this period, including *Oh pays, mon beau peuple* (Oh, my beautiful people) and *Les Bouts de bois de Dieu* (God's bits of wood), reveal not only the people's struggle to achieve a sense of national consciousness but also the efforts of the elite to maintain power and control.

In 1961 Sembène's career changed dramatically when he went to the Soviet Union to study film. In CINEMA he found a medium even better suited than fiction for communicating with the masses of Senegal. Although he continued to write fiction, cinema soon became Sembène's primary means of artistic expression. Beginning in 1963 with *Borom Sarat,* a 20-minute movie that depicted a day in the life of a cart driver, Sembène's films became landmarks in the development of African cinema. Among his achievements were *Le Noire de . . .* (Black girl from . . .), the first sub-Saharan-produced feature film, and *Mandabi* (The money order), the first sub-Saharan film presented at the prestigious Cannes Film Festival, in France.

Sembène faced the dilemma of many African authors who wrote in a European language, which, in his case, was French. "I could have written in Wolof," he once stated, "but who would have read it?" Yet, by writing in French, only the educated elite and Westerners, and not the ordinary working people with whom he identified, could access his work. Film offered him a way out of this dilemma by letting him address directly the audience he most wanted to reach. Some of his films came out in both French and Wolof language versions.

From the first, Sembène's films found an audience, not only in Senegal but in the world beyond Africa as well. Indeed, audiences and critics in both Europe and North America lavishly praised *Black Girl from . . .* as well as *Mandabi,* a film that shows the postcolonial bureaucracy crushing a man who tries to cash a check from a relative in Paris. As his career developed Sembène became the most recognizable voice of African cinema on the international scene, winning prizes at film festivals at Cannes (1967), Venice (1969), and Atlanta (1970).

It was his audiences in his homeland, however, that were most important to Sembène, and throughout his career he would take films from village to village, showing his movies and discussing them with audiences. Although Sembène's films struck a responsive chord among the Senegalese people, the officials of his native country were not among his admirers. Films such as *Xala* (1974), which parodied the postcolonial Senegalese elite, and *Ceddo* (1976), a historical epic about the conflict between Islam and traditional African RELIGION, angered Senegalese officials so much that the films were banned by the government.

The government's efforts, however, failed to silence Sembène, and through the 1980s and 1990s his films continued to explore the life of simple African people at the same time that they portrayed the follies and evils of colonial and postcolonial oppression. As the years progressed Sembène persisted with his straightforward cinematic style, avoided using movie stars (or even polished actors), and rejected sophisticated camera work and effects. Instead Sembène relied on nonprofessional actors with whom his audiences could identify; he also maintained his use of elementary techniques that often made his films seem like home-movies—or even reality itself. These techniques helped his films achieve an artistry that transformed movies from elitist entertainment into something like traditional tales that could be shared among the common people he admired and hoped to serve.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRENCH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); LABOR UNIONS (Vols. IV, V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

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P

PAIGC See AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE.

Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) Militant black opposition organization in SOUTH AFRICA that emerged from the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). Originating in 1959 as a breakaway faction of the African National Congress, the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC) was geared to a more confrontational and populist brand of politics as a way to rid South Africa of APARTHEID. Consequently, it rejected the ANC's commitment to multiracialism in favor of an Africans-only policy, that became known as Africanism.

In March 1960, led by Robert SOBUKWE (1924–1978), the PAC organized a nationwide public demonstration against the hated identity documents, known as passes, that Africans were required to carry by South African law. The PAC encouraged followers to mobilize outside police stations without their passes and thus solicit arrest. On March 21, 1960, the first day of the anti-pass campaign, the police opened fire on the approximately 5,000 demonstrators that had congregated at a police station in SHARPEVILLE. As a result 69 protesters were killed and many more wounded.

In the state crackdown that followed, the PAC and ANC were both banned, and a state of emergency was declared. Sobukwe was imprisoned. Potlako Leballo (1924–   ) assumed leadership of the PAC in Sobukwe's absence. The PAC went into exile, setting up headquarters in various African states.

For much of its history in exile the PAC was troubled by factional disputes. In 1979 Leballo was displaced, and a succession of leaders followed. The PAC was unbanned in February 1990, but failed to gain widespread popularity in the lead-up to the 1994 elections. It refused to forsake violence and expressed reluctance to negotiate with the government toward some form of power sharing. Terrorist acts committed by its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and organizational weakness contributed to the PAC's failure to win broad-based support. It received less than 2 percent of the popular vote in the 1994 elections and remains a marginal political party.

Poqo **(a word meaning "pure" in the XHOSA language) was the name of an armed underground off-shoot of the PAC, formed to achieve PAC goals through the use of TERRORISM and other violent means. As a result of a 1963 raid on PAC headquarters in MASERU, capital of what was still the British colonial territory of Basutoland (present-day LESOTHO), police uncovered a list of Poqo members, thousands of whom were subsequently arrested in South Africa. By the mid-1960s Poqo was no longer a viable organization.**

See also: BASUTOLAND (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1978); Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945* (New York: Longman,

1983); Tom Lodge, *South African Politics since 1994* (Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 1999).

pan-Africanism   Ideology that emphasizes the commonality of all peoples of African heritage and calls for African unity to help combat the influence of colonialism in Africa. Toward the end of the 19th century a solidarity movement emerged among Africans and people of the African diaspora. Defining their goals through a series of congresses held between 1919 and 1945, subscribers to this "pan-Africanism" opposed European colonization of Africa and supported nationalism and INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS.

As independence spread across the continent in the mid-1900s, pan-Africanism became a guiding ideology in the building of relationships between the fledgling African governments. The most prominent leader of the movement at that time was Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), the first president of GHANA. Various intergovernmental meetings and organizations began to emerge, beginning with the First Conference of Independent African States, held in ACCRA, Ghana. That meeting featured primarily North African countries, but subsequent pan-African groups, such as the Union of African States and the African and Malagasy Union, began to include more independent sub-Saharan states. The movement was especially influential in portions of Africa still without majority African rule, such as SOUTH AFRICA. There the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS, a splinter group of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, formed in 1959, basing their opposition to the racist APARTHEID regime on pan-Africanist ideals. Pan-Africanism also spawned the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT, initiated in South Africa by anti-apartheid activist Steve BIKO (1946–1977).

Not every pan-Africanist group shared the same views. Clear differences were seen between the CASABLANCA GROUP (including Ghana, EGYPT, GUINEA, MALI, MOROCCO, ALGERIA, and LIBYA) and the MONROVIA GROUP (including LIBERIA, NIGERIA, TOGO, and CAMEROON and expanding later to include many more). The leaders of states in the Casablanca group desired the immediate establishment of a federated "United States of Africa," which they thought would be the best way to establish economic and political stability and exorcise lingering colonial influence. On the other hand, leaders of the Monrovia group took a more moderate stance, desiring a system of regional alliances prior to pursuing continental unification.

Eventually the various pan-Africanist groups gave way to two major entities, the ORGANIZATION FOR AFRICAN UNITY (OAU), founded in 1963, and the African-Malagasy-Mauritius Common Organization, founded in 1964. The OAU became the preeminent pan-African organization, with 53 member states in 1995. However, conflicts between and within member states often undermined the OAU's effectiveness. In 2001 the newest form of pan-Africanism took the form of the AFRICAN UNION (AU). Based on the European Union, the AU took the place of the OAU in 2002.

See also: DU BOIS, W. E. B. (Vol. IV); GARVEY, MARCUS (Vol. IV); *NÉGRITUDE* (Vol. IV); NKOMO, JOSHUA (Vols. IV, V); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vol. IV).

Party for Social Renewal (Partido para a Renovação Social, PRS) Political party in GUINEA-BISSAU.

See also: AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V); YALA, KOUMBA (Vol. V).

Party of the Revolutionary (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, in Kiswahili, CCM)   Largest political party of TANZANIA. Known in Tanzania as Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the Party of the Revolutionary was established on February 5, 1977, as a result of a merger between the TANZANIAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION and the AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY of ZANZIBAR. The first president of Tanzania, Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), proposed the merger to foster closer relations between mainland Tanzania and the island of Zanzibar.

Until 1992, when a multiparty system was introduced, CCM was the only political party in Tanzania. It remained the largest party even after Nyerere's successor, Ali Hassan MWINYI (1925–   ), ushered in a multiparty system. Attesting to the dominance of the party, all of Tanzania's presidents, including Nyerere, Mwinyi, and Benjamin MKAPA (1938–   ), belonged to the CCM party and were reelected to office.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); POLITICAL SYSTEMS (Vol. V); TANGANYIKA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Michael Okema, *Political Culture of Tanzania* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1996).

Patassé, Ange-Felix (1937–   ) *President of the Central African Republic*

Born in Ouham-Pendé, near the northwestern border of the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (CAR), Patassé had an improbable political career, considering he was a member

of the Sara people, an ethnic group long under-represented politically in the CAR. He began a quick climb in the country's government during the regime of brutal dictator Jean-Bedel BOKASSA (1921–1996), who had assumed control of the CAR after overthrowing its first president, David DACKO (1930–). Patassé served as minister to a number of departments, including TRANSPORTATION and commerce, AGRICULTURE, health, environmental resources, and TOURISM.

In 1978, however, Patassé fell out of favor and was dismissed. The following year he went into exile in France, where he worked to develop opposition to Bokassa. After a French-led assault unseated Bokassa and restored Dacko to the presidency Patassé returned to the CAR. However, because of his ties to the Bokassa regime, he was arrested in 1979 and was held in the infamous Ngaragba prison, in BANGUI.

Upon his release Patassé remained in hiding, traveling in the CAR, LIBYA, CHAD, and France. While in exile he worked to rally opposition to Dacko's government and, later, to the government of General André Kolingba (1935–).

It wasn't until 1993 that Patassé found his opening. That year a failing economy and international pressure led Kolingba to reform his one-party government and allow for multiparty elections. Running as the candidate for the Movement for the Democratic Evolution of Central Africa (Mouvement pour la Libération du Peuple Centrafricaine, MLPC), Patassé won the presidency.

His position was not an enviable one. In financial ruin, the CAR was nearly without civil services and suffered from a decrease in support from its main benefactor, France. Patassé faced numerous coup attempts after his narrow victory over Kolingba and Dacko in 1999. In 2001–02 intervention by Libyan troops was all that saved Patassé from the opposition's attempts to unseat him. With a weak political base and only a minority of seats held by the MLPC in the legislature, Patassé found it difficult to make significant moves early in his presidency.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Patriotic Front (PF) See ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION.

P'Bitek, Okot (1931–1982) *Ugandan author*

Okot P'Bitek was born in the town of Gulu in the LUO-speaking Acholi region of northern UGANDA. His informal education provided him with a strong foundation in Luo oral literature and performance. After attending his local high school and the Church Missionary Society's elite King's College at Budo he went to Great Britain for further study. There he attended Bristol University, from which he received a certificate in education. He

then earned a law degree at University College of Wales at Aberystwyth. He subsequently attended Oxford University, studying social anthropology and writing a thesis on the traditional songs of his home area for his bachelor's degree in literature.

In 1964 P'Bitek returned to Uganda to teach at MAKERERE UNIVERSITY and become the director of the Uganda Cultural Center. While on a visit to ZAMBIA in 1966, he made comments that were critical of the Ugandan government, which earned him the enmity of President Milton OBOTE (1925–). This led him to emigrate to KENYA. During the years of dictatorial rule of Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003) in Uganda, P'Bitek continued his exile and taught literature at the University of NAIROBI. After Amin's overthrow in 1979, P'Bitek returned to Uganda to resume teaching at Makerere University, where he stayed until his death in 1982.

In 1953 P'Bitek published his first novel, *Lak Tar Miyo Kinyero Wi Lobo* (*If Your Teeth are White, Laugh!*), which was written in Luo. In 1956 he published his now classic long narrative poem, *Song of Lawino,* written in Luo in rhyming couplets. When he published an English version in 1966 it became a best-seller. His 1970 *Song of Ocol* also was in the form of a traditional Luo song. Both works reflected the ongoing cultural conflict between African and European values.

Through these and other works written in traditional Luo styles, P'Bitek sought to redefine the scope of African literature. He considered the genre of written narrative elitist and, as a poet and social critic, promoted performance as a more authentic expression of the African voice. In this he differed from many of his contemporary fellow authors who wrote in the colonial languages.

See also: CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (Vol. IV); LANGUAGE USAGE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); LITERACY (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

People's Rally for Progress (Rassemblement Populaire Pour le Progres, RPP) Political party of DJIBOUTI that was the country's only legal party for more than a decade. Djibouti, which was known as the FRENCH TERRITORY OF AFARS AND ISSAS from 1967 to 1977, is a country largely inhabited by these two ethnic groups. The Issas are the majority but, as the former name of the country indicates, the Afars are an influential minority. In 1977, when the country gained total independence from France, the Issas and the Afars were in a political struggle for control of Djibouti's government. Hassan GOULED APTIDON (1916–), an Issa, became president. As political conflict in the country continued in 1979 he formed the RPP in an attempt to unite both ethnic groups under one umbrella political party. This purpose was never served, however, as the RPP became dominated by the Issas. This was a precursor to the fate of Djibouti's government. In

1981 Gouled made Djibouti a one-party state, with the RPP as the country's only legal party. Gouled used the RPP's status to stifle political competition and strengthen Issa dominance of government.

After years of domestic and international pressure, in 1992 Gouled returned Djibouti to a multiparty system. The RPP maintained unchallenged control of government, however, leading to an uprising of Afar rebels organized under the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD). In 1994 a faction of FRUD signed a peace agreement with Gouled's government, but a more radical bloc within the organization continued to fight. In 1999, when Gouled stepped down from the presidency, he chose the head of Djibouti's secret police (and his nephew), Ismail Omar GUELLEH (1947–   ), to succeed him. Using the RPP's political strength, Guelleh easily defeated Moussa Ahmed Idriss later in 1999.

In 2002 the law limiting the number of political parties expired. As a result political parties proliferated, with all of them jockeying for an advantage in the 2003 parliamentary elections. Wary of a strong coalition of opposition parties, Guelleh united his RPP with four smaller parties to form the Union for the Presidential Majority. Despite the organized opposition, Guelleh's coalition party won all 65 contested seats for Parliament, solidifying Guelleh's and the RPP's hold on power.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V).

Pereira, Aristides Maria (1923–   ) *President of the Republic of Cape Verde*

Aristides Pereira was the central figure in Cape Verdean politics for much of the late 20th century. Born in Boa Vista, in what was then the Portuguese colony of Cape Verde, Pereira began a career as a radio-telegraph technician. He eventually landed a job as head of the TELECOMMUNICATIONS department in GUINEA-BISSAU, where he worked up until 1960.

At the time, both Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde were suffering under the colonial rule of fascist Portugal, led by António Salazar (1889–1970). In 1956 Pereira joined Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973) and other nationalist leaders in forming the AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC). The party initially favored nonviolent means as a way of encouraging independence. However, in 1959 Pereira organized a dockworker strike in Guinea-Bissau that was met with a disproportionate response by the Portuguese colonial authorities. Fifty dockworkers were killed, causing PAIGC to abandon its peaceful protests in favor of guerilla warfare.

During PAIGC campaigns Pereira operated behind-the-scenes in neighboring GUINEA, where the PAIGC was headquartered. He worked to secure foreign aid for the struggle, receiving help from the former Soviet Union and the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. He also arranged sabotage missions into Guinea-Bissau. By 1964 the PAIGC controlled two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau.

In 1968 Portuguese dictator Salazar had suffered a stroke and resigned, although the fascist regime continued in Portugal. By 1973 Pereira had become secretary general of PAIGC. That same year, however, Portuguese secret police assassinated Cabral, PAIGC's leader and inspirational head. Pereira was kidnapped but later rescued by the Guinean navy. He took control of PAIGC and led the movement to victory. In 1974 Portuguese military officers, disillusioned with the campaign in Africa, rose up and ended fascist rule in their country. Guinea-Bissau won its independence, and Cape Verde followed a year later. Pereira was elected president of the Republic of CAPE VERDE by a vast margin.

Pereira and PAIGC faced the very difficult task of transforming a nationalist political party into a functioning government. In 1981 the Cape Verdean PAIGC split from its Guinea-Bissau counterpart and formed the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde, PAICV).

During the struggle for independence PAIGC maintained the goal of uniting Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde as a single autonomous nation. Following independence this ideal was still favored by Pereira and Guinea-Bissau president, Luis Cabral (1931–   ), Amílcar Cabral's brother. In 1980, however, Cabral's prime minister, João Bernardo Vieira, overthrew him, and the plan for unification was abandoned. The COUP D'ÉTAT also caused the Cape Verdean PAIGC to split and form the PAICV. Despite some tension, the two countries eventually signed a mutual cooperation treaty in 1988.

Beyond its political transition, Pereira and PAICV faced the task of promoting economic prosperity. The country's arid climate is frequently subject to devastating droughts, and its limited amount of land has led to an overflowing population and forced emigration for many Cape Verdeans. These factors, coupled with scant NATURAL RESOURCES, left Pereira little to work with. Pereira directed government efforts to reform agricultural practices and promote the CONSERVATION of WATER RESOURCES. Pereira succeeded in preventing economic collapse, largely due to foreign aid, but the nation's economy remained weak.

Cape Verde was essentially a one-party state until 1990, when new legislation provided for a multiparty

election in 1991. The movement toward greater democracy proved detrimental to Pereira, however, as he and PAICV lost the election in a landslide to António Monteiro (1944–) and the Movement for Democracy. Pereira retired from politics, but in 2001 PAICV again became the dominant party, with Pereira's former prime minister, Pedro PIRES (1934–), winning the presidency.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

photography   Photography has been an important medium in Africa for more than 150 years. During the colonial period the camera conveyed images of Africa to the outside world, particularly to the western world. More specifically, photography during this period focused on Africa's landscapes, its WILDLIFE, and its people, with a particular emphasis on traditional cultures.

In the modern era, photography in Africa has continued this tradition of conveying impressions of the continent and its people to the outside world. However, the perspective of indigenous Africans—i.e., photography *by* Africans rather than *of* Africas—is increasingly valuable in conveying images of African life to the outside world. For example, Peter Magubane (1932–), a South African photographer, published *Vanishing Cultures of South Africa* in 1998 to record the traditional lifestyles of the various ethnic groups of SOUTH AFRICA. Over nearly 50 years as a photographer, Magubane has amassed a collection that is helping preserve the memory of that country's traditional cultures as seen from the inside

In contrast to the most common themes of colonial-era photography, recent efforts have tried to move beyond the emphasis on the exotic, instead portraying Africa in a more realistic way. One such effort resulted in the critically acclaimed *A Day in the Life of Africa,* a photo book project that collected images from around the continent taken by about 100 photographers during a 24-hour period in 2002. Proceeds of the book went to fund AIDS research and education.

Photography has effectively conveyed problems facing Africa, such as those stemming from CIVIL WARS and from FAMINE AND HUNGER. However, photojournalism that focuses on the challenges facing Africa sometimes creates an exaggerated sense of a continent gripped in crisis. On the other hand, during the APARTHEID era photojournalism helped expose the true harshness of the South African political system. Ian Berry (1934–), for example, was the only photographer present at SHARPEVILLE in 1960. By chance, he documented the tragedy that unfolded when South African police opened fire on a crowd of Africans, killing 69 of them.

As with people in other parts of the world, Africans also have an interest in photography for sharing pictures with family, friends, and the broader community. The capital city of BAMAKO, MALI, was one of the places in Africa where self-taught photographers were well-established in the photography business by 1960. Seydou Keita (c. 1921–2001) was one of the most prominent of this group. Starting out at age 12 with a Kodak Brownie camera, he went on to a highly successful career as a studio portrait photographer before later working as a photographer for the Malian government. Across the continent there are individuals such as Keita who continue to earn their livelihood through photography. They do this primarily by catering to the high demand for family photographs and photos for identity documents such as passports and driver licenses. In recent years African art photography has become more popular both in Africa and abroad, especially in cosmopolitan cities such as Paris and New York.

See also: PHOTOGRAPHY (Vol. IV).

Pillar and Structure for the Salvation of Madagascar (Andry sy Riana Enti-Manavotra an'i Madagasikara, AREMA)   Party of President Didier RATSIRAKA (1936–) that dominated MADAGASCAR politics from 1976 to 2002. Ratsiraka came to power by military coup in 1975 and quickly embarked on a socialist agenda. AREMA, an acronym of the party's name in Malagasy, Andry sy Riana Enti-Manavotra an'i Madagasikara, was formed in March 1976 as the means for implementing this program. In the years that followed Ratsiraka's strong hand assured AREMA's dominance despite Madagascar's competitive multiparty system. As a result, by 1983 AREMA held 85 percent of the seats in the National Assembly.

The party, however, never achieved institutional independence from Ratsiraka. Consequently, when the democracy movement forced Ratsiraka from power in 1993, the party was weakened. AREMA revived when Ratsiraka returned to power in 1997. However, the landslide victory of Ratsiraka's opponent, Marc RAVALOMANANA (1949–), in the 2002 elections, followed by Ratsiraka's self-imposed exile to Paris, once again diminished the party's importance.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V).

Further reading: Philip M. Allen, *Madagascar: Conflicts of Authority in the Great Island* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995); Maureen Covell, *Madagascar: Politics, Economics, and Society* (London: F. Pinter, 1987).

Pires, Pedro (1934–) *President of the Republic of Cape Verde*

Pedro Pires was at the forefront of the struggle for independence in Cape Verde. Born on the island of Fogo, Pires was educated first in Cape Verde and later in Portugal, where he was forced into military service before

he completed his studies. In 1961 he left the armed forces and joined the AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC), a nationalist organization founded by Amílcar CABRAL (1924–1973) and future Cape Verdean president Aristides PEREIRA (1923–). For the next three years Pires served the PAIGC in SENEGAL and France. In 1973 he was appointed president of the National Commission of PAIGC for Cape Verde. The following year he led the Cape Verdean arm of the PAIGC and headed the delegation to Portugal to negotiate for independence. When the island colony became the independent Republic of CAPE VERDE in 1975, Pires was elected prime minister under President Pereira.

In 1981 the African Party for Independence of Cape Verde (Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde, PAICV) broke away from the PAIGC, and Pires became assistant secretary-general of the new party. During his terms as prime minister Pires was able to guide the economically struggling country to relatively significant levels of DEVELOPMENT, especially considering the nation's limited arable land and lack of NATURAL RESOURCES.

Pires spearheaded the nation's shift from a one-party system dominated by the PAIGC to a multiparty state. Ironically, this led to a temporary setback in Pires's political career, as the PAICV was defeated in the first open elections, in 1991, by António Monteiro (1944–) and his party, the Movement for Democracy. Throughout most of the late 1990s Pires continued to head the PAICV, and in 2001 he won the presidency, bringing the party back to prominence.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Further reading: Richard A. Lobban, Jr., *Cape Verde: Crioulo Colony to Independent Nation* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995).

Polisario (Frente Polisario)

Polisario (Frente Polisario) Armed resistance movement of the SAHARAWI people of WESTERN SAHARA. Parts of today's Western Sahara were known as the coastal Spanish colonies of Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro. *Polisario* is a shortened version of the Spanish name of the organization: Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro).

During the colonial period, the Saharawi living in the western part of the Sahara suffered under both French and Spanish rule. In 1958, as nationalist movements swept across the African continent, a joint Spanish-French military operation defeated the Saharawi army. However, the resistance was reborn 10 years later as the Movement for the Liberation of the Sahara, led by Mohammed Sidi Brahim Bassiri (1942–1970).

In 1970 mass demonstrations led by the movement in LAAYOUNE, the Western Sahara capital, led to the massacre of protesters by Spanish forces. The Spanish also arrested Bassiri, who was never again heard from and presumably was killed soon after his arrest. Three years later Polisario was formed, and nonviolent methods of resistance were put aside. Ten days after its founding the rebel army carried out an attack on the Spanish outpost of El-Khanga. For the next two years Polisario harried Spanish forces and sabotaged the territory's European phosphate MINING operations, the lucrative reason that Spain wanted to remain in the territory. The Polisario movement received support from ALGERIA and Algerian president Houari BOUMEDIENNE (1927–1978), who became a champion of Saharawi self-rule. MOROCCO, however, led by King HASSAN II (1929–1999), and MAURITANIA, led by President Mokhtar Ould Daddah (1924–), had their own designs on the region.

In 1975, the same year that its long-ruling dictator Francisco Franco (1892–1975) died, Spain began to withdraw from the disputed region. With international pressure mounting to allow autonomy for the Saharawi, Morocco acted to lay claim on the territory. In October of that year, King Hassan launched the Green March, a mass migration of 350,000 Moroccan settlers into Western Sahara. At the end of the month Moroccan troops entered the territory, running into vigorous Polisario resistance. In November, despite UN condemnation and threats from Algeria, representatives from Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania met in Madrid and agreed to partition the Western Sahara among the African countries.

Although Spain officially ended its colonial rule in 1976, by then Moroccan troops, in the north, and Mauritanian troops, in the south, occupied the territory. Facing the aggression of the occupiers, the Polisario responded with more attacks on the phosphate industry, effectively ending mining operations. In early 1976 the movement declared a government-in-exile, the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), which was eventually recognized by 70 countries as well as the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. Within the country, the Polisario acted not only as a military entity but it also organized food dispersal, medical care, and other civil services. The movement also coordinated the evacuation of a large portion of the Saharawi civilian population, with most seeking refuge in Algeria. By the middle of 1976 the Polisario initiated an all-out offensive, sending incursions into Mauritania and launching assaults on the Mauritanian capital of NOUAKCHOTT.

The Polisario then widened its offensive, attacking Spanish fishing boats and inflicting heavy losses on Moroccan forces. Despite French military assistance, the struggle took its toll on Mauritania, and in 1978 a COUP D'ÉTAT overthrew President Daddah. The subsequent government was quick to establish a peace with the Polisario.

By the end of 1979 the two sides had signed the Algiers Agreement, which stipulated a withdrawal of Mauritania's claims in Western Sahara.

Spain officially recognized the Polisario in 1978, ending hostilities and leaving Morocco as the Saharawis' only antagonist. With Morocco tenaciously maintaining its hold on the northern territory, the Polisario launched the Houari Boumedienne offensive in 1979 in honor of the late Algerian president. Vicious fighting and attempts by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations to push a resolution did little to weaken the resolve of either side. Finally, in 1988, the Polisario and Morocco agreed to a UN-brokered peace plan. A tenuous cease-fire was established in 1991 pending a referendum on Western Saharan independence. However, Morocco used various tactics to delay the vote, and repeated attempts at negotiation have failed. As of 2004 the Polisario's goal of achieving self-rule for the Saharawi had yet to be reached.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: Tony Hodges, *Western Sahara: The Roots of a Desert War* (Westport, Conn.: L. Hill, 1983); Yahia H. Zoubir and Daniel Volman, eds., *International Dimensions of the Western Sahara Conflict* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1993).

political parties and organizations African political parties in the modern era fall roughly into four categories, two of which have their origin in the colonial period and two that have evolved in the era since African countries gained independence. The nationalism and INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS of the colonial period led to the emergence of two types of political parties. The first, which was common in the majority of African countries, were parties that organized in colonies where the colonial powers were overseeing a constitutional, and largely peaceful, transition from colonial rule to independence. One of the foremost examples of this type of party was the Convention People's Party (CPP) in GHANA, established in 1949. Through the CPP, its founder, Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), challenged the dominant United Gold Coast Convention for leadership of the political process leading to independence. Similarly, in TUNISIA, the Neo-Destour Party, which had its roots in the older Destour Party, provided the vehicle for Habib BOURGUIBA (1903–2000) to lead his country to independence from France in 1956. Yet another example is the Tanganyikan African National Union, led by Julius NYERERE (1922–1999). That party, which evolved into the TANZANIAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION, negotiated Tanganyika's independence from Britain, helping Nyerere to become the country's prime minister and, eventually, president.

A second type of major modern political party emerged out of wars of liberation or otherwise bitterly contested independence struggles. In most such cases the colony was populated by significant numbers of European settlers who had gained considerable control over its government. For example, in SOUTH AFRICA, which had in effect been fully independent since 1910, a group of educated African leaders formed the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), in 1912. The ANC pressured the white-controlled government to open the electoral process to Africans. Instead, white rule became even more oppressive and repressive, culminating with the advent of APARTHEID, in 1948. When, in 1960, the government outlawed African political parties and organizations, the ANC went underground and eventually established a military wing, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE. Fortunately, although the prolonged political struggle was punctuated by military activity, it ultimately ended not in open war but rather in a negotiated constitutional settlement that led, in 1994, to a democratic election. Successfully transforming itself from a liberation movement into a political party, the ANC won the election and went on to form the new South African government.

Other countries with large white-settler populations encountered much more warfare and bloodshed. This was especially true in ALGERIA, where, after a prolonged and costly struggle, the NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN) led the country to independence in 1962. The FLN then formed the new government. A similar process took place in the former Portuguese colonies of ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, the Republic of CAPE VERDE, and GUINEA-BISSAU, as well as in the breakaway British colony of RHODESIA, which later became ZIMBABWE.

The fates of political parties based in the independence and liberation movements varied greatly. The expectation at independence had been that African countries would follow the example of the European countries that had ruled them and would have competitive elections and democratic governments. However, this often proved not to be the case. In Ghana, for example, Nkrumah established the CPP as the sole legal political party. When, in 1966, a COUP D'ÉTAT overthrew Nkrumah, the Convention People's Party also lost power. For decades Ghana remained in the political wilderness, struggling under a succession of mostly military governments. In 1996 the situation finally began to change when the CPP was one of two parties that supported John Agyekum KUFUOR (1938–) in democratic elections. Though Kufuor lost that year, he came back to win the 2000 election, restoring some power to the CPP.

A frequent occurrence elsewhere in Africa was the establishment of a single-party state not long after independence, followed by a military coup. The CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC is such an example. In other situations, how-

ever, ruling parties in one-party states managed to survive, although sometimes in a diminished capacity.

The FLN, in Algeria, and the Neo-Destour Party, in Tunisia, were secular in nature despite governing Muslim countries. In both countries, their failures to improve living conditions coincided with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. The result was the formation of new Islamic fundamentalist political organizations. In 1986 in Tunisia, ZINE EL ABIDINE BEN-ALI (1936–   ), President Bourguiba's prime minister, ousted him from power, thereby opening up the political process. This revitalized the aging Neo-Destour Party, which became the Constitutional Democratic Assembly. In Algeria similar pressures also led to an opening of the political process. In 1995, the candidate of the new National and Democratic Rally (Rassemblement National pour la Démocratie, RND) won the presidential election, and the FLN was reduced to minority-party status after more than three decades in power.

The political history of Algeria illustrates the categories of political parties that have emerged in the years since Africa shed colonial rule. Internal and external pressures caused authoritarian political systems to loosen their grip on power, leading to the spread of DEMOCRATIZATION. Especially in the 1990s, new political parties formed to elect officials to office. The RND in Algeria and the recently formed Senegalese Democratic Party (Parti Democratique Sénégalais, PDS) are examples of this process. In 2000 the PDS ended the 40-year hold of the Senegalese Socialist Party on the country's government. Similar situations can be observed around the continent.

The other major type of political party that emerged after independence evolved out of political organizations that used force to replace an existing government. A leading example is the ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT (EPRDF). The EPRDF, which now governs ETHIOPIA, began as an umbrella organization seeking to liberate the country from the despotic rule of MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–   ). In UGANDA the National Resistance Movement (NRM) emerged during the chaos and political turmoil of the 1970s and early 1980s to challenge the government of Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003) and then that of Milton OBOTE (1924–   ). Finally, in 1986 the NRM won out and its leader, Yoweri MUSEVENI (1944–   ), became the country's president. The NRM became the sole legal party, and in 2000 the country voted down a multiparty system.

Political parties and organizations have thus had a varied and checkered history since African countries gained their political independence. Military coups ended some parties. In other countries, where the state collapsed, they disappeared altogether. Others lost their vitality as the sole party in one-party states and could not compete effectively when democratic elections were restored. On the other hand, some continued to win elections when faced with new opposition.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (Vol. IV); DESTOUR PARTY (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (Vol. IV).

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political systems   A political system may be a dictatorship, democracy, monarchy, oligarchy, theocracy, plutocracy, aristocracy, meritocracy, or stratocracy. Since 1990 state governance in sub-Saharan Africa has been in significant transition. No longer are purely autocratic political systems tolerated; rather, some level of democracy is commonly sought.

Since independence most political systems in sub-Saharan Africa have been either dictatorships or democracies. Dictatorships, which can take many forms, are situations in which the power of rule is concentrated in the hands of one person. An *authoritarian* dictator is a leader who controls the political sphere without challenge. He—Africa's authoritarian dictators have all been males— stands above the law and is not accountable to the people. In this system there is generally very little popular political participation, if any, and the government controls the press. All of this is made possible through military force. MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, GUINEA-BISSAU, and NIGERIA are among the many countries in Africa that have been governed this way at one point or another in recent history. Other countries, such as GHANA, under Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972), and ALGERIA, under Houari BOUMEDIENNE (1927–1978), were one-party states in which the military was under the tight control of the country's leadership.

A *totalitarian* dictator is one who exceeds authoritarian rule by seeking control of not just politics but society. Usually a totalitarian ruler justifies his actions by claiming to want to reform society. The late MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997) of the Democratic Republic of the CONGO (formerly ZAÏRE) and Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003) of UGANDA are examples of totalitarian dictators.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Africa's political systems have almost universally sought DEMOCRATIZATION. While the word democracy refers simply to rule by the people, in practice, democratic system types are diverse and complex. *Liberal democracies* generally have a representative government operating through the rule of law. In a healthy liberal democracy citizens enjoy significant personal freedoms, and political institutions such as the legislature, executive, and judiciary are in place and properly functioning. The United States is commonly named as an example of a liberal democracy. *Procedural*

democracies, too, have democratic institutions. However, citizens in a procedural democracy may lack some personal freedoms, and a free press might be wanting. In *electoral democracies,* multiparty elections ensure that representatives reflect the will of the people, but democratic institutions might be in a state of continuous transformation, and personal freedoms might be more limited. Generally speaking, electoral democracies are only "semi-democratic" because authoritarian leaders can still retain significant power over the people.

The APARTHEID political system of SOUTH AFRICA was a variant of an authoritarian state. The country's non-whites had no voice in governing the country and were subject to arrest and imprisonment if they engaged in any form of vigorous protest over their exclusion from the political process. White South Africans, on the other hand, participated in multiparty elections to select their parliamentary representatives. Only with the 1994 elections was the political process opened to all adult South Africans.

In 1990 it appeared as if nearly all of Africa would make the transition from dictatorial political systems to democratic ones. However, more than a decade later only a few countries—among them Algeria, Ghana, MALI, Republic of BENIN, Guinea-Bissau, and NAMIBIA—have made significant progress. In some cases leaders of weak states have been unable to unify smaller, local political systems into a cohesive national system. Elsewhere, would-be autocrats have tried to usurp power and former autocrats have used the new political framework to reassert their power. Most African countries have stagnated in electoral or semi-democratic form. As a result they have regular multiparty elections but their political processes are highly flawed and there are significant limitations on personal freedoms. It nonetheless remains the professed goal of virtually every country in Africa to make the transition to a political system of consolidated liberal democracy.

See also: POLITICAL PARTIES (Vol. V).

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popular culture   See CINEMA; LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA; MUSIC; RADIO AND TELEVISION; SPORTS AND ATHLETICS; TELECOMMUNICATIONS; THEATER.

Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA)

Marxist anticolonial movement founded in 1956; in 1975 the MPLA formed the first government of independent ANGOLA. The MPLA officially was founded 1956, with many of its members coming from the Communist Party of Angola. The organization arose because the disunity among the various nationalist movements in Angola called for a single, broad political party. Centered in the Angolan capital of LUANDA, the MPLA supported the Marxist-oriented social program favored by the nation's urban Mbundu population.

The MPLA movement faced much resistance, however. The Portuguese secret security force, known as PIDE, used its powers of arbitrary arrest and indefinite imprisonment to prevent the MPLA from garnering support throughout the Angolan countryside. Hounded by PIDE and unable to unite the country's urban elite with its rural population, the MPLA leadership went into exile. In 1960 they accepted the invitation of President Ahmed Sékou TOURÉ (1922–1984) of GUINEA and established headquarters in CONAKRY, Guinea's capital.

Ilidio Tomé Alves Machado (1915–), born to a slave mother in Luanda, was the MPLA's first president and one of those arrested by the PIDE. However, Machado was a man of ideas and not a leader of the masses. The organization's true leaders were Agostinho NETO (1922–1979), Mário Coelho Pinto de Andrade (1928–1990), and Viriato da Cruz (1928–1973). Neto was imprisoned for his writings against Portuguese colonialism and brutality, Pinto de Andrade was a prolific writer against Portuguese colonialism, and Viriato da Cruz was a former civil servant in the Department of Education who was fired in 1952 for his political activities.

Throughout the late 1960s and into the early 1970s the MPLA waged an armed struggle for independence against the Portuguese colonial army. Finally, in November 1975, the MPLA announced the People's Republic of Angola, with Neto as president. Unfortunately independence did not unify the disparate factions in Angola, and some foreign countries refused to recognize the MPLA as the nation's legitimate government. As a brutal civil war raged on, the pro-Communist MPLA received aid from Cuba and the Soviet Union. At the same time, the main opposition to the MPLA, the NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, UNITA), received support from SOUTH AFRICA and the United States. In this way, the situation in Angola became a prime example of the political maneuvering and proxy wars that characterized the Cold War.

During the 1970s the MPLA became known as the MPLA-PT (Labor Party) and modeled itself as a Marxist-Leninist party. After Neto's death in 1979, however, José Eduardo DOS SANTOS (1942–) took over the leader-

ship of the party and slowly established better relations with the West.

Under dos Santos the MPLA remained the only legal political organization in Angola until multiparty elections were held in 1992. Following its victory in those elections the MPLA was finally recognized internationally as the government of Angola, although the civil war between the MPLA and UNITA dragged on for another decade. As of 2004 the MPLA was the strongest party in Angola, holding a vast majority of seats in the National Assembly.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CUBA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

population growth From 1900 until 1950 the annual population growth rate for the African continent overall was estimated at approximately 1.2 percent. The continent then underwent a dramatic population increase, with the annual growth rate rising to about 3.3 percent in the 1980s. This upward trend is attributed to a decrease in mortality rates and a concurrent increase in life expectancy.

The decrease in death rates was largely due to widespread vaccination programs, the increased availability of drugs, and the expansion of health care. These conditions resulted in a decline in many fatal diseases, such as smallpox.

Africa as a whole lowered its mortality rates with advances in social and economic DEVELOPMENT. At the same time, women's fertility rates remained relatively high. In 2001 the average fertility rate, which is the number of births per woman, was 5.2 for Africa. For other developing regions, the number stood at 2.8.

There is, of course, great variation in the population growth trends by country. For example, by 2001 MAURITIUS had undergone one of the most rapid declines in fertility rates in the world. This phenomenon is attributed to several changes, including delayed marriages, free EDUCATION, especially for women, and a greater tendency of community leaders—including religious leaders—to promote family planning practices. On the other hand, CAMEROON and NIGERIA both had a fertility rate of approximately 5.0 births per woman. This elevated rate is attributed to early marriages, absence of family planning, the cultural value placed on large families, and limited access to education and health care.

During the 1990s Africa's overall population growth rate declined to approximately 2.8 percent, and it is ex-

Population Density: Africa
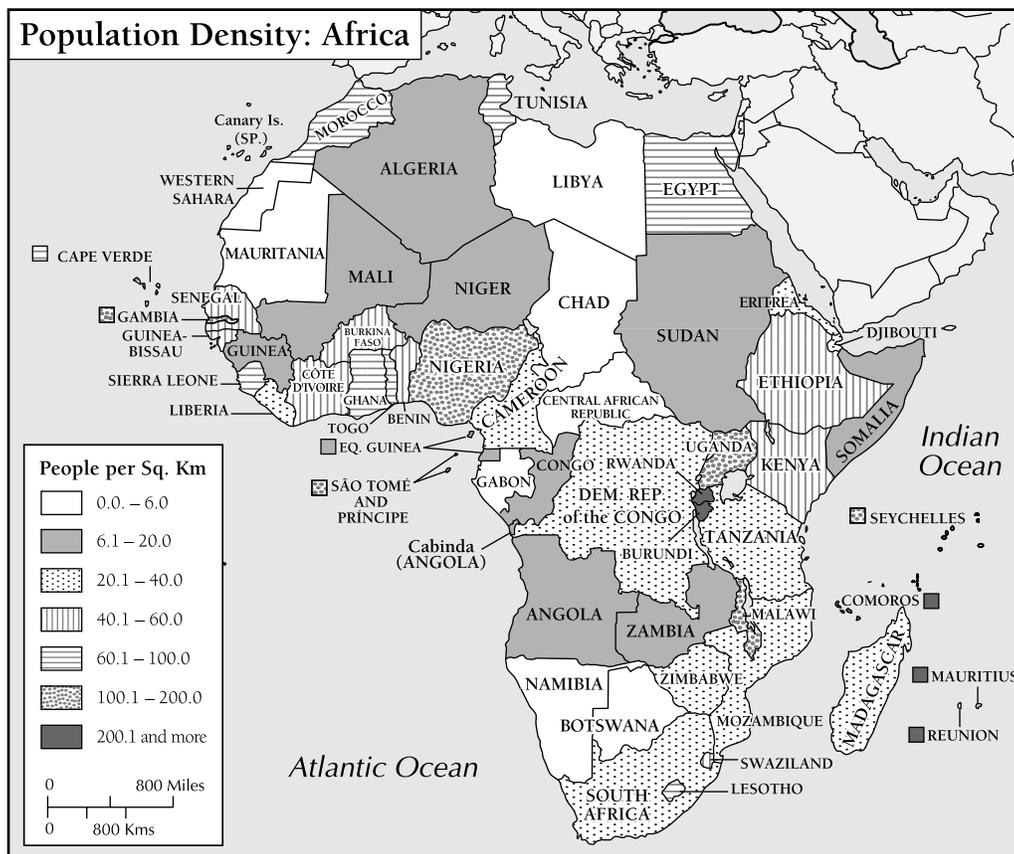
pected to continue to decline over the next 10 years. The continent's ongoing HIV/AIDS pandemic will have a great influence in this decline. In 2001 the average HIV-prevalence rate for adults in sub-Saharan Africa was 8.4 percent, though averages varied widely by region. Some countries of West Africa reported less than 2 percent HIV-prevalence, while certain countries in southern Africa reported a rate greater than 20 percent. The increase in mortality and decrease in life expectancy has resulted in projections of a 1 percent population growth rate in the near future for some countries.

While a declining growth rate helps to relieve the pressure of overpopulation, the nature of HIV/AIDS makes the issue of population growth much more complex. As a result of the disease, women feel the need to have more children to ensure the survival of some. The subsequent positive growth rates will require commensurate increases in agricultural production. But HIV/AIDS affects those who are sexually active, generally the young people who make up the most productive portion of the agricultural LABOR pool. In the 21st century, therefore, the countries in sub-Saharan Africa will have to find a balance between reducing the negative impacts of HIV/AIDS while encouraging a continued decline in population growth rates.

See also: DISEASE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HEALTH AND HEALING IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA (Vol. V); MEDICINE (Vols. IV, V).

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Port Louis Capital and principal port of MAURITIUS, located on the northwestern coast of the Indian Ocean island country. Port Louis dates from 1715, when a French sea captain visited the site and named it after King Louis XIV (1638–1715). The French imported large numbers of African slaves to work sugar plantations, but the British, who took control in 1814, abolished the practice of slavery in 1835. (They had outlawed the slave trade in 1807, but not slavery itself.) The British then brought laborers from India to work on the plantations. These developments largely determined the make-up of the population, language, and culture of Port Louis.

After independence in 1968 improvements were made to the Port Louis harbor. This facilitated the export of sugar, which was long the country's major source of income. By the 1980s, however, the economy began to diversify and Port Louis now has an active industrial sector that produces processed foods (including sugar), printed materials, wood products, and textiles. In fact, textiles now surpass sugar in terms of export earnings. The city also has become an offshore banking center. In recent years TOURISM has developed into another main-

stay of the economy and also has surpassed sugar in economic importance.

The city's historic structures, including the French Government House, built in 1738, and the Citadel, built in 1838, enhance the appeal of the city, as does its Chinese district, which has a casino, a horse track, and several markets. A museum of natural history houses an exhibit on the extinct dodo bird, and the nearby botanical gardens are another attraction. Port Louis is also the site of the national library, as well as numerous EDUCATION and research institutes. As of 2004 the population of Port Louis stood at approximately 140,000.

See also: CASH CROPS (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Portugal and Africa   The longest-standing colonial presence in Africa, Portugal attempted to hold onto its African colonies after other European powers had granted those lands independence. After the end of World War II (1939–45) colonized people throughout the world increasingly began to challenge the legitimacy of their status as a colonial subjects. The rising tide of nationalism soon manifested itself as powerful INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS, all seeking to end colonial rule in Africa. For many one-time colonies, these movements culminated in the 1960s in the withdrawal of the colonizers and the achievement of national independence. For the colonies of Portugal, in contrast, it would take long and bloody wars in order to achieve independence, which did not come until the mid-1970s.

In ANGOLA the movements that fought against Portuguese control were the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA, the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA, and the NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA. In MOZAMBIQUE the main liberation movement was the MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT. The independence movement in GUINEA-BISSAU was spearheaded by the AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE.

In spite of the determination of the African freedom fighters in these lands, the achievement of independence was not entirely due to African resistance. The Portuguese government ultimately reached the point of wishing to shed its colonial baggage, which was placing enormous strain on the Portuguese economy, military, and citizenry. Ironically, while in other situations, such as France and ALGERIA, it was the colonial powers' military organizations that frequently demanded the maintenance of colonial power, in the case of Portugal, it was the military that ultimately forced the end of colonialism. The Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (AFM) was made up of disillusioned Portuguese military personnel who in 1974 over-

threw the pro-colonial regime and replaced it with a government determined to withdraw from Portugal's colonies in Africa. This withdrawal took place soon afterward, with the Portuguese granting independence to their former colonial possessions in 1974 and 1975.

This independence was met with a feeling of triumph and hope for the independent states. However, not all of these states would have smooth sailing upon gaining their freedom. For one thing, with the end of Portuguese rule, the great majority of 200,000 Portuguese in Mozambique and 300,000 Portuguese in Angola left Africa. Along with them went many government officials and leaders in the private sector. These people had provided important skills and wherewithal that had kept the colonies functioning, since under colonial rule few Africans had access to EDUCATION and jobs above the level of menial LABOR. In their place were only people who were, deliberately, uneducated and untrained for these roles. Beyond this, skirmishes broke out among the many previously marginalized groups, all vying for power in the newly independent countries. In the case of Angola, the level of violence in the post-independence power struggles eventually dwarfed the violence that had led to independence.

Given the strained relations between Portugal and its former colonies, it took some time for new relationships to develop between the independent countries and Portugal. However, Portugal's former colonies continued to use Portuguese as their official language, a situation that provided a basis for resuming the ties that had once existed. Gradually relations were rebuilt, trade again began to take place, and Portuguese educators and technical specialists were sent to help with DEVELOPMENT projects. In time Portugal even served as an intermediary in the CIVIL WARS in Angola and Mozambique, allowing it to take a peace-making role in countries where it had, only shortly before, been a primary cause of bloodshed.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV).

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postcolonial state Alternative to the view that former colonial states in Africa require DEVELOPMENT, institutionalization, and improved governance. While in literal terms a *postcolonial state* is one that emerged from a state formed as an instrument of colonial rule, the term has in recent years taken on more particular normative connotations.

A state is the sum of the government, territory, and population of a country. However, states in Africa during the colonial era differed from other types of states. Rather than having as their fundamental responsibility the sovereignty of their borders and the protection of their people, the colonial states existed for the benefit of the colonial powers. The boundaries drawn during the Berlin Conference of 1884–85 were a reflection of the relationships of European states, not of African states. In fact, when it came to establishing colonial state boundaries, precolonial African political and ethnic divisions were generally ignored.

The dominant view is that postcolonial African states have been weak because of failures in African leadership. However, alternative views now challenge this notion. If African countries were supposed to move from undeveloped to developed, in a Western fashion, the system necessarily gives power to those states that are further along the path of development—namely, wealthy Western states.

Rather than adopting existing patterns of state formation, new African perspectives consider alternative modes of development. Such alternatives have been criticized for working against the forces of globalization. On the other hand, those who support the alternative modes of state building insist that their position is a legitimate response to the imbalances left from the colonial state system. They argue that mandates for "good government" in postcolonial states are a dysfunctional remnant of the colonial era. These mandates, it is said, succeeded in other contexts, but they are blind to the diverse histories and power structures of African countries.

These mandates also ignore potential institutional relationships that can actually improve governance. For instance, practices that might be negatively considered as "patronage" in the West may well end up building effective networks of kinship organization that contribute to good government. In other cases, what may be considered CORRUPTION in the West may actually prove to be a codified and historically valid system of payment for services rendered. This is especially true in cases in which the state either cannot afford or cannot support its civil service.

See also: BERLIN CONFERENCE (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); STATE, ROLE OF (Vol. V).

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poverty As the world moves toward reducing the number of people who suffer from the associated effects of food, water, and shelter deprivation, sub-Saharan Africa

remains a stubborn exception. Definitions of poverty vary widely. What constitutes a basic necessity can vary by time and place, and a lifestyle that makes someone seem "poor" in one place can seem relatively affluent in another culture. For this reason, poverty is often defined as "relative" rather than "absolute."

Relative poverty usually indicates that though a person lacks what certain societies may deem "necessities," he or she is still able to satisfy his or her basic needs compared to those around him. For instance, a person in a Senegalese village might have shelter, food, and clothing—where many of his neighbors do not—but lacks electricity, which is almost a basic necessity by United States and European standards. Defining relative poverty is often very controversial, since what is "basic" may have cultural or social biases. It is controversial also because it is commonly seen as the job of government to address the problems faced by those below a changeable "poverty line"; the "poor" label, therefore, comes with ethical obligations or mandates for the state.

Absolute poverty, on the other hand, is less controversial. Under conditions of absolute poverty, a person cannot procure the basic needs for survival: food, water, and adequate housing. A worldwide "poverty line" of U.S. $1 (or the equivalent) per day is commonly used by international aid organizations, though the validity of that amount varies according to the cost of goods in a particular country or region. Often external factors, such as disease or local market collapse, can move someone from relative to absolute poverty.

Measuring Poverty Measuring poverty is a great challenge. For decades poverty was measured by the gross national product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP), macroeconomic indicators that represent the sum monetary value of a country's goods and services for one fiscal year. GNP measures this value worldwide and GDP measures this value domestically. However, GNP and GDP are not ideal indicators of poverty. They measure income, not welfare. Furthermore, they are aggregate national statistics that do not address variations among

Under white minority rule in the mid-1970s, the black majority of Rhodesia (today's Zimbabwe) was greatly affected by poverty. Unable to afford child care, these women had to bring their children to work with them as they picked coffee beans on a white-owned plantation near the Mozambique border. © AP/Wide World Photos

smaller, regional populations. Also, these measures address only market activity, meaning that they do not measure other factors related to a person's ability to meet his or her needs. These other factors include housework, community service, time to spend with family, environmental degradation, and natural resource depletion.

In light of the limitations of GNP and GDP as poverty indicators, the UN Development Program uses the Human Development Index and Human Poverty Index. These indices take into consideration such microeconomic factors as individual EDUCATION and life expectancy. By these criteria, NIGER is commonly listed as the world's poorest country, with the next 21 countries on the list all in sub-Saharan Africa.

The Impact of Poverty on Living Standards
Poverty impacts many aspects of a person life and the country in which he or she lives. A persistent lack of food security leads to famine, a condition in which a person is unable to acquire safe, nutritionally adequate, and personally acceptable food. Sometimes the inability to meet basic food needs is tied to environmental factors such as poor soil conditions or severe drought; other times it is a political problem, such as territorial conflict or a lack of land-access rights. It can also be tied to an inability to purchase needed LABOR or fertilizer, or to lease land for farming purposes.

In Africa, poverty that affects AGRICULTURE also affects education. It is not uncommon in African countries for up to 80 percent of the population to rely on subsistence agriculture. In NAMIBIA, for example, 70 percent of the population survives on farming. In SWAZILAND the figure is 60 percent; in MADAGASCAR, 77 percent; in BURKINA FASO, 80 percent; and in RWANDA, more than 90 percent. Every birth is a new mouth to feed, so if a child is not working the field then he or she is a net drain on the family's ability to survive. As a result, in many countries children too young to farm go to school, but children old enough to farm do not. The percentage of enrolled students thus falls off precipitously in second and third grade. This mechanism turns poverty into a cycle: children don't obtain the basic LITERACY and education levels necessary to advance their ability to meet their own needs and, consequently, future generations will probably suffer the same fate.

The poverty cycle is also tied to employment. If literacy and education levels are low, then the skilled labor base is small, making it harder for countries to create jobs or attract foreign business. Yet, without salaried employment the majority of the population is forced to remain in subsistence agriculture, which too often precludes them and their families from obtaining the education level necessary for salaried employment.

Moreover, where poverty is high, health suffers. Water in poor households is often contaminated, leading to high incidences of MALARIA, worm parasites, and other diseases.

Poor parents can afford neither the primary health care to prevent these diseases nor the cost of treating them once they are contracted.

The negative effects of poverty have made it difficult to make progress in fighting one of the most dire health threats in contemporary Africa: HIV infection and AIDS. Already, more than 15 million Africans have died from the disease, and another 25 million people are HIV-positive. In rural Africa, once HIV is contracted, effective treatment is virtually impossible, since patented drugs cost approximately $1,500 per year. Even generic equivalents cost $600 per year, more than three times the per-capita income of most Africans and 60 times the per-capita health budget of many African countries. Even AIDS prevention is an economic problem, since the cost of condoms is prohibitive.

The Impact of Poverty on the Environment
Over the past two decades the interaction between poverty and the environment has received tremendous attention. The "Green Revolution" in wealthy countries has increased the technology gap in agricultural practices to highlight the inefficiencies of many African agricultural systems. Also POPULATION GROWTH rates are higher where absolute poverty is common, putting a greater stress on the environment.

In the IVORY COAST, for instance, rice is a food staple. However, the soil is often rough, and 94 percent of rice paddies are rain fed (without irrigation). As a result, an acre of rice paddy in Ivory Coast produces less than one-sixth the amount produced by the equivalent paddy in the United States. According to the UN Human Settlements Program, the average household in Ivory Coast has 7.32 people, meaning that each household that relies on subsistence agriculture must produce about 1.2 tons of rice (1,219 kg) per year just to meet basic nutritional needs. Since normal cultivation techniques cannot produce this amount of rice, farmers must use dry rice cultivation and slash-and-burn techniques that, when implemented too frequently and extensively, take a toll on FORESTS. With the fastest-growing population of any region in the world (2.8 percent annual growth rate), there is little hope that Africa will lessen the stress on the natural resources in its poorer countries any time soon.

What Is Being Done About Poverty in Africa?
The classic view of alleviating poverty has been to increase DEVELOPMENT through modernization and INDUSTRIALIZATION. By adopting the technologies and market strategies of rich countries, the poor countries of the world hope to

Real GDP Per Capita 2002: Africa

▥	$7,500–$10,000
▤	$2,000–7,499
░	$1,000–$1,999
▓	0–$999
☐	Data not available

0   800 Miles

0   800 Kms

Note: The United States per-capita GDP was approximately $34,280 in 2001 (World Bank Data). Data from CIA World Fact Book
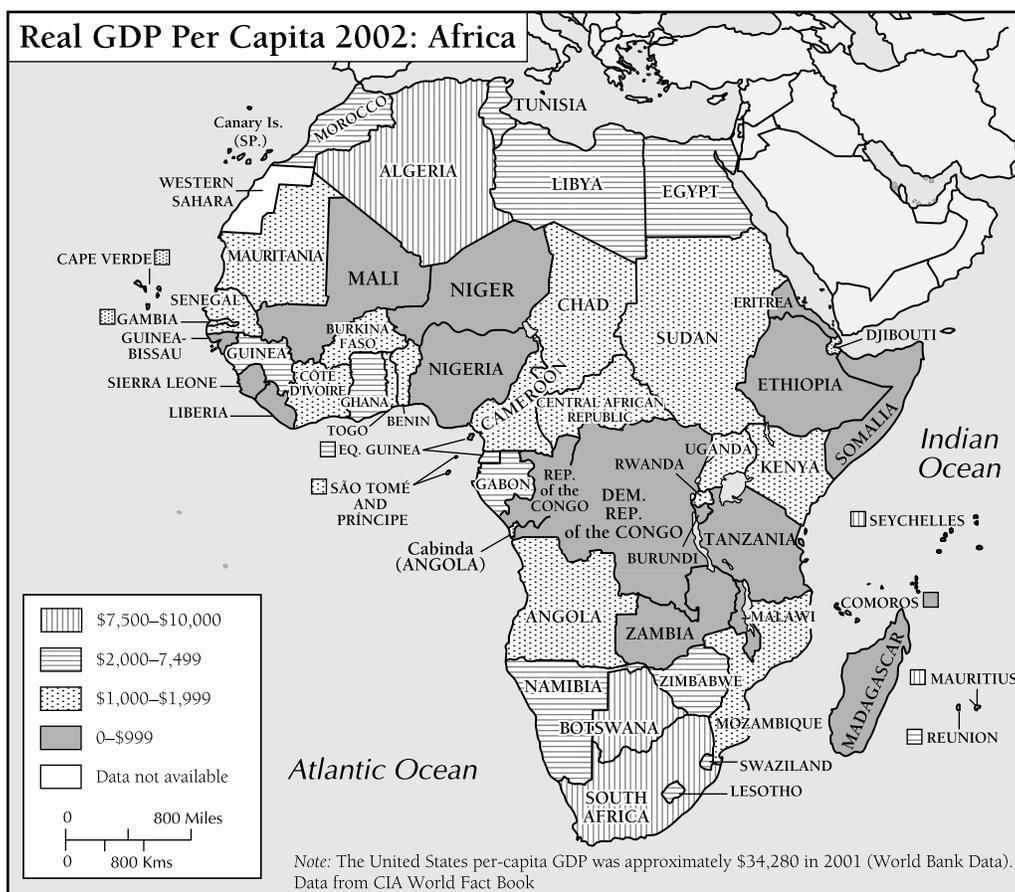
progress at a rapid rate. Unfortunately this approach, popular in the 1960s and 1970s, has not proved successful. In the 1980s the WORLD BANK and the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND offered loan packages related to macroeconomic incentives. The idea was that if African countries could get their financial policies and institutions functioning well, they would attract FOREIGN INVESTMENT and jobs, producing positive effects that would trickle down to the population. Instead, the net income of most African countries decreased in the 1980s and 1990s, the quality of life for most African people became worse, and the number of people in poverty increased.

Part of the problem has been the implementation of this approach. As part of STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT, African countries are required to reduce trade barriers, most notably import tariffs. Most wealthy countries, however, have high import tariffs on African goods, especially agricultural goods that compete with what their own farmers produce. This arrangement reduces the incentives for farmers to invest in agricultural technologies that can only be justified by high export earnings. It also discourages foreign investment by manufacturers, since importing African goods into overseas markets is not cost-effective.

On September 8, 2000, 150 countries, including the United States, signed the landmark United Nations Millen-

nium Declaration. In the declaration are eight Millennium Development goals and targets, the first of which is to halve the number of the world's poor and hungry by 2015. The second goal is to achieve universal education by 2015. The other stated goals call for improved gender equality and women's empowerment, a reduction in child mortality, improved maternal health care, a reduction in the spread of HIV/AIDS and malaria, and an increase in effective and environmentally sound development. It targets Africa specifically, stating that it will "take special measures to address the challenges of poverty eradication and sustainable development in Africa, including debt cancellation, improved market access, enhanced Official Development Assistance and increased flows of Foreign Direct Investment, as well as transfers of technology."

Unfortunately the trend has been in the opposite direction from the goals. Although the World Bank has made an effort to reduce debt, the reduction has not kept pace with newly created debt. Moreover, foreign direct investment in global stock decreased by more than half between 1980 and 1990, and that trend shows little sign of reversal. For the United States the percentage of its GNP devoted to African foreign aid (less than .15 percent) remained the lowest of all the industrialized countries.

The World Bank estimates that SENEGAL will be the only country in Africa to meet the Millennium poverty goals; the continent, as a whole, will see a net increase in poverty. By 2015 an estimated 600 million people, 70 percent of the population, will live on less than $2 per day, with more than half of those living on less than $1 per day.

The consequences of such failures are dire. The health, education, and ability of people to meet the most basic of food and shelter needs will decline. Life expectancy will continue to decline, diseases will continue to proliferate, and the quality of life will improve for only a scant few.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); FAMINE AND HUNGER (Vol. V); FOOD CROPS (Vols. IV, V); HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); HUMAN RIGHTS (Vol. V); NEO-COLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Praia Port city and capital of the Republic of CAPE VERDE, located on São Tiago (Santiago) Island, some 400 miles (644 km) off the coast SENEGAL. Praia was the capital of the Portuguese possession of Cape Verde. It maintained its status as capital when the nation gained independence in 1975. The city is the nation's largest urban area and its principal economic and commercial center. The coffee, sugarcane, and fruit produced on the islands pass through the port, and the city also has a strong fishing industry. TOURISM contributes to the local economy, as many of Cape Verde's visitors arrive at the Praia airport or docks before moving on to beach resorts in and near the city. The population of Praia was estimated at 99,400 in 2003.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Pretoria Administrative capital of SOUTH AFRICA, located in the northern part of the country in what is now the Gauteng Province. Founded in 1855, Pretoria became the capital of the Transvaal in 1860 and the administrative capital of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Today it continues to share its capital status with two other South African cities, CAPE TOWN, which is the legislative capital, and Bloemfontein, which is the judicial capital.

In sharp contrast to the APARTHEID era, when AFRIKANERS held a monopoly on government office and the civil service, present-day Pretoria reflects the democratic post-apartheid era, in which the administration of the state better represents the country's African majority. Nevertheless the city, with its 1,250,000 residents, continues to exhibit its earlier Afrikaner character, with numerous Afrikaner historic sites, including the house of Transvaal president Paul Kruger (1825–1904); Melrose House, where the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed to end the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902); and the Voortrekker Monument, which honors the participants of the Great Boer Trek.

Pretoria is a center for higher EDUCATION institutions, including the University of Pretoria (founded 1908), the University of South Africa (founded 1873), and the famous Onderstepoort Veterinary Research Institute. There are numerous parks in the city, including the National Zoological Gardens, Venning Park, and the gardens of the Union Buildings, as well as several nature reserves. In October and November visitors and residents enjoy the plentiful blooming jacaranda trees that line the streets.

> **Except for areas such as Tshwane, which shows evidence of recent social change, the neighborhood settlement patterns of Pretoria tend to be holdovers from the apartheid years. Whites predominately occupy the areas close to the city center, and blacks live mainly in the outlying townships.**

As the administrative capital for South Africa, Pretoria hosts numerous foreign embassies, giving the city an international flavor, especially since the end of apartheid (1994). There is also a strong industrial sector, emphasizing food processing, engineering, ceramics, chemicals and MINING. Good roads and rail networks leading to many other South African cities, including nearby JOHANNESBURG, make TRANSPORTATION relatively easy.

See also: AFRIKANER REPUBLICS (Vol. IV); BOER (Vol. III, IV); KRUGER, PAUL (Vol. IV); PRETORIA (Vol. IV); TRANSVAAL (Vol. IV); UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); VEREENIGING, TREATY OF (Vol. IV).

prophets and prophetic movements Present-day African societies are beset by a number of major ills, ranging from the HIV/AIDS pandemic to POVERTY to the overcrowding and lack of service associated with rapid URBANIZATION to the lack of sustained economic DEVELOPMENT. Prophets historically arise in times of crisis to try to put the social world into balance by applying new solutions to the problems rending society impotent. The crises confronting Africans today provide fertile grounds for prophetic movements.

Combining elements of Christianity, which had been introduced by European MISSIONARIES, and indigenous RELIGION, African prophetic movements attracted large numbers of people who no longer found the answers they were seeking in indigenous religious beliefs but also found that the Euro-centered Christian message of the missionaries did not meet the needs of African daily life. The churches they have founded fall within the broad category of African Initiated Churches (AICs).

The word *prophet* is commonly associated with a divinely inspired religious leader. In Africa, however, it more specifically refers to one whose belief in a direct communication with God allows him or her to make official judgments, moral pronouncements, and future predictions on the community's well-being. The charismatic African prophet interprets dreams and transmits messages from the spirit world. The word is communicated through indigenous methods that include MUSIC made with African instruments as well as lyrics and dance.

Indigenous African society is communal, working toward the good of the community, and African religious beliefs that include the idea of social renewal are a part of daily life. The concept of renewal is not for any one individual but for the entire group, a social reformation. Prophets arise in times of crisis, for example, an epidemic or governmental CORRUPTION, and they provide new solutions to problems that have arisen and that old approaches have failed to resolve.

Islam does not normally believe in prophets other than Mohammed, who is considered the last prophet. However, the tradition of belief in millenarianism, the return of the Mahdi, and the West African Sufi teachers indicate a Muslim hope for figures who can bring about social renewal. In northern NIGERIA, for example, the Islamic leader Alhajji Muhammadu Marwa (d. 1980) led the Maitatsine movement against corruption by the elites and against Christians in KANO in 1980–82.

The Maitatsine movement, supported by largely unemployed and poorly educated individuals who often had recently come to Kano from the rural areas, sparked a series of riots that led to a state of emergency in late 1980. After the police lost control of the situation, the Nigerian army and air force intervened. In the end, more than 4,000 people died, including Alhajji Muhammadu Marwa, and hundreds were arrested.

Christianity, in contrast to Islam, tends to legitimize prophecy, and it supports millenarianism and the idea of renewal similar to the African belief. In Africa prophets came into prominence and their churches have been accepted by local governments and entered the mainstream religious community. In West Africa the largest prophet-based movement is the Aladura movement, which represents a group of independent Pentecostal churches in Nigeria that emphasize healing prayer and visions. One of the key leaders was Joseph Babalola (c. 1906–1959), who in 1955 founded the Christ Apostolic Church. Today it has more than 500,000 members, runs two seminaries, and supports 26 high schools. Its mission activities extend elsewhere in West Africa and even to Houston, Texas, where it ministers to the sizeable expatriate Nigerian community. Other prophetic churches are more deeply rooted in the colonial era. The Christ Army Church of Nigeria, for example, was founded by Garrick Braide (c. 1882–1918), while the Harris Church of the IVORY COAST and the Church of the Twelve Apostles in GHANA originated with the Liberian-born evangelist William Wade Harris (1850–1929).

In East Africa the Holy Spirit Movement, which forms part of the wider movement of African-initiated churches, is illustrative of the ongoing emergence of new prophetic movements. In 1985 Alice Lakwena began a movement among the Acholi in northern UGANDA calling for the removal of evil forces and impurities in society. Speaking through a female Acholi spirit medium, the prophet said that God told her to bring the world back into balance by ridding Uganda of its corrupt government. Building an army based on retired Acholi soldiers who applied the tactics that they had learned as members of the King's East African Rifles during World War II (1939–45), the Holy Spirit Mobile Forces, as they were called, almost succeeded in toppling the country's government. In the end, though, they failed and Lakwena fled to neighboring KENYA, in 1987. Some of her followers, however, continued to fight in the CIVIL WARS that have plagued the region.

In 1955 Alice LENSHINA (1924–1978) founded the Lumpa Church, in ZAMBIA. With its opposition to secular authority, the church clashed first with the British colonial government and then came into conflict with Kenneth Kaunda's (1924–) UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP) during the move for independence. After independence, a misunderstanding between the government and the church led to violence, with the main church building being burned. Many Lumpa church members moved to the Democratic Republic of the CONGO in self-imposed exile, and Lenshina and her husband were arrested, dying while in detention.

In southern Africa, prophetic movements and AICs took root in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One of the earliest leaders was Isaiah Shembe (c. 1870–1935), who founded one of the earliest and most important AICs, the Church of Nazareth in SOUTH AFRICA. A son succeeded him as the leader of the church, which in-

creased in size from about 100,000 members in 1960 to over a million in the 1980s. This expansion was part of the rapid expansion of AIC membership in southern Africa in general over the last several decades, with both small independent churches and large multi-congregational churches contributing to this growth.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); HARRIS, WILLIAM WADE (Vol. IV); LUMPA CHURCH (Vol. IV); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); RELIGION (Vols. III, IV, V).

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Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC)

Ruling party of GHANA under Jerry RAWLINGS (1947–) for more than 10 years. The PNDC took control of Ghana's government on December 31, 1981, after Rawlings led a successful COUP D'ÉTAT. Rawlings, a pilot in the country's air force and the leader of a prior successful coup, wanted the PNDC to be viewed as a different type of military-controlled government. Appointing civilians to many high-ranking posts, he stated that the PNDC was a populist government. Despite this stance, however, the PNDC was quick to ban other political parties.

At the time of the PNDC's inception Ghana faced severe economic troubles—its inflation rate stood at 200 percent and exports were at historic lows. To fix the struggling economy the PNDC introduced an Economic Recovery Plan (ERP). The ERP was marked by spending cuts and a request for aid from the WORLD BANK and the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. The ERP met with some initial success—lowering the inflation rate to 20 percent and expanding the economy at a healthy rate of 6 percent— but Ghana's economic problems continued, as unemployment remained extremely high.

Ghana's economy was not the only problem facing the PNDC. Many Ghanaians viewed Rawlings and his PNDC as authoritarian, accusing the regime of abusing HUMAN RIGHTS and intimidating opposition leaders. During the early 1980s, as the PNDC faced multiple coup attempts, proponents of a return to a civilian government continued to criticize the leadership's slow progress toward DEMOCRATIZATION. In response, in 1984, the PNDC formed the National Commission for Democracy (NCD), which called for public input in helping Ghana move toward representative democracy. The NCD eventually suggested the formation of district assemblies, and district elections were held in 1988. By 1992 the PNDC had removed the ban on political parties, and the country held multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections.

Rawlings and the National Democratic Congress   Under Ghana's new multiparty system, political parties had to be new organizations—no reincarnations of previously active parties were allowed. So, when the PNDC was dissolved, Rawlings retired from the military. However, after months of wavering, he decided to reenter politics and run for president as a civilian. He became the candidate of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), which was, in spite of ostensible rules to the contrary, essentially a continuation of the PNDC. Despite questions about his human rights record and his mixed results with Ghana's economy, Rawlings won the presidency. In the elections of 1996 Rawlings and the NDC again won a majority of the vote and returned as Ghana's ruling government. During the NDC's eight years in power Ghana made some economic advances, but many of these gains deteriorated with the decline in international prices for the country's major EXPORTS. The NDC's reign ended in 2000, as constitutional term limits forced Rawlings to step down. In elections held that year John Agyekum KUFUOR (1938–), the leader of the opposition New Patriotic Party, defeated the NDC's presidential candidate, John Atta Mills (1944–). Kufuour's party also won a majority of the seats in Parliament, marking the first electoral transfer of control of the government since Ghana became independent in 1957.

See also: POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

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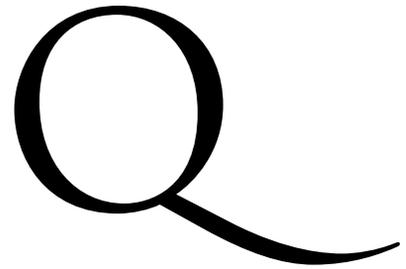
Qaddafi, Muammar (Gadaffi, Muammer el-; Khaddafi; Qadhdhafi) (1942–) *Libyan head of state*

The only son of an Arabized Berber family from the Hun Oasis near Sirte, Muammar Qaddafi received his Islamic and elementary EDUCATION from Egyptian teachers. His secondary education came from private tutors after his political activities—including demonstrations against the ruling monarch—led to his expulsion from the high school in Misurata, near TRIPOLI. Later Qaddafi studied at the University of Libya, the Libyan Military Academy at Benghazi, and the British Royal Signal Corps School before receiving his officer's commission in 1965.

Informing many of Qaddafi's actions and views, even at an early stage of his career, were his family experiences during the Italian colonial occupation and the speeches by Egyptian president Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) on Radio Cairo. Nasser had become the leader of the Arabic-speaking world and had won Qaddafi's admiration for his fight against the ways in which the superpowers—the United States and the former Soviet Union—were attempting to manipulate the people and countries of the Middle East and Africa. After Nasser's death, Qaddafi aspired to follow the Egyptian president's lead in implementing Pan-Arabism and African Islamic socialism. The lasting effects of Israel's victory in the 1948 Palestine War and Libya's apparent lack of support for the Arab cause also influenced Qaddafi.

Inspired by his long-standing political views—as well as by his disdain for the foreign control exercised over Libyan king Idris (1890–1983)—the 27-year-old Qaddafi, then an army captain, led a COUP D'ÉTAT in 1969. Qaddafi's "federation of the free officers" deposed King Idris, charging him with governmental CORRUPTION, nepotism, un-even regulation of Islamic law, and failure to support EGYPT in the war against Israel.

Qaddafi led the new government as the prime minister of a 12-member Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). He closed the foreign military bases on Libyan soil, nationalized banks and insurance and OIL companies, confiscated the property of Libya's Italian and Jewish communities, outlawed political parties and LABOR UNIONS, and returned LIBYA to its Islamic roots by banning pork, outlawing alcohol and gambling, and returning the lettering of street signs and commercial advertisements to Arabic.

Qaddafi resigned as Libyan prime minister in 1972, although he did retain supreme governmental power as president of the RCC. Later in the 1970s Qaddafi took on the mantle of his hero, Nasser, promoting African Islamic socialism, pan-Arabism, and Arab nationalism as a means to foment a pan-Islamic revolution in Africa and the Middle East. At home he financed his socialist programs by reinvesting oil profits in the social INFRASTRUCTURE. After massive investment in the country's schools, hospitals, roads, and agricultural programs Qaddafi launched a cultural revolution in 1973. Calling Libya *Jamahiriya,* or "state of the masses," he set out to create a nation in which, in theory, the common citizen made decisions about the running of government through various levels of committees that channeled their ideas to the RCC. In practice, however, Qaddafi's policies created a nation that was a military dictatorship. Leaders of the revolution imprisoned and executed their political opponents, many of whom went into self-exile in Europe. By the late 1970s Qaddafi had consolidated his control over the government, the economy, and the religious life of the nation.

Qaddafi's approach to pan-Arabism represented a two-pronged attack on the industrialized nations. Feeling that the balkanization of the Arab world reduced its international clout, he sought to create a universal Islamic state. He started with neighboring states—first with Egypt and Syria, then with TUNISIA and ALGERIA, and then with CHAD and the Republic of the SUDAN. These unions, however, fell apart for various reasons, leaving Qaddafi with little to show for his massive investment of money.

Qaddafi's approach to spreading Islam on the African continent reportedly included a $2 million bribe to Jean-Bedel BOKASSA (1921–1996) of the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC to become Muslim. Bokassa accepted the money, became a Muslim, and then immediately returned to his Christian roots.

The other prong of Qaddafi's attack on the industrialized powers was the support of liberation movements, including the Palestine Liberation Organization in its battles against Israel. Because he saw these liberation movements as helping his cause, Qaddafi often supported them without much investigation, satisfied that they would destabilize Western imperialism. This led him to become involved, in one way or another, with numerous groups labeled "terrorists" by the United States and its allies, a situation that brought him into direct conflict with the United States.

Following a chain of events that included maneuvers by the U.S. Sixth Fleet, a U.S. ban on Libyan oil imports, and the 1986 bombing of a disco in Berlin that was popular with U.S. soldiers, U.S. president Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) ordered an air strike against Libyan military and political targets. Qaddafi's personal compound was targeted, and, in the attack, he was wounded and his adopted daughter was killed. In 1988 terrorists bombed Pan-Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, apparently as Qaddafi's response to the attack on his personal quarters. Qaddafi refused to turn over the Libyans charged in the case, leading the United Nations to impose sanctions on his country. Eventually, however, the Libyan leader complied, allowing the suspects to stand trial in exchange for the lifting of UN sanctions.

At the beginning of the 21st century, Qaddafi tried to keep a low profile and improve relations with his oil customers in the European Union. He continues to support Islamic and pro-Palestinian causes, and he is reported to be active in African affairs, supplying weapons and military training to rebels in several sub-Saharan countries, including ZIMBABWE, IVORY COAST, SIERRA LEONE, and LIBERIA.

See also: ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V).

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Rabat Historic city and national capital of MOROCCO, located at the mouth of the Bou Regreg River, on the Atlantic coast in the northwestern part of the country. The urban settlement of Rabat dates as far back as the third century BCE. In the 12th century Rabat gained its initial importance when the Almohad sultans established a military base at the site. During the 17th century the city became the home of Andalusian Moors who had fled from Spain and made Rabat, and its twin city of Salé across the Bou Regreg, centers of corsair raiding. France, which established a protectorate over Morocco in 1912, made Rabat the capital of French Morocco, and it continued in that role when the country gained its independence in 1956.

Rabat's long history is evident in the numerous historical structures scattered throughout the city today. The tower of Hassan and the Almohad gateway date from the 12th century, while the corsair fortress of Casbah des Oudaia dates from the 17th century. A great wall, built by the third Almohad sultan, still encloses the ancient Muslim quarter (*medina*) and the Jewish quarter (*millah*).

The modern quarter, featuring substantial contributions by the French, is the site of the royal palace built in the 1950s. It also houses government offices and several educational facilities, including Muhammad V University, established in 1957, and the National Conservatory of Music, Dance and Dramatic Arts. In addition there are many museums that display Moroccan ART and artifacts.

Rabat's once active port has declined in importance primarily because deposits have clogged the mouth of the Bou Regreg. Today, aside from the national government, the city's economy is based mainly on the industries of textiles, processed foods, building materials, and TOURISM.

The combined population of the Rabat-Salé area was estimated at 1,636,000 in 2003.

See also: ALMOHADS (Vol. II); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MUHAMMAD V, KING (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

radio and television Radio is still the most important mass medium in Africa, with ownership of radio sets being much higher than for any other broadcasting device. By 1997 UNESCO estimated radio ownership in Africa at about 170 million with a 4 percent annual growth rate. By 2002 it was estimated that there were more than 200 million radio sets, compared with only 62 million televisions.

Many people in African communities watch television or listen to the radio at the same time. More than 60 percent of the population in Africa is reached by existing radio transmitter networks while national television coverage is largely confined to major towns. Some countries still do not have their own national television broadcaster.

After many countries liberalized broadcasting in the 1980s, an increasing number of commercial stations have been established. However, in terms of the news that commercial stations air on their channels, there is a tendency simply to broadcast news from the government (which generally controls the news agencies) rather than from an international broadcaster or news agency. Unfortunately this type of news broadcast tends to focus on the government and ignores the news outside the urban areas. The exceptions to this are GHANA, MALI, NIGER, SOUTH AFRICA, and UGANDA, all of which have seen notable numbers of new community radio licensees. Radio is still a leading source of information and entertainment. Groups of people in many communities

In 1965 Rhodesians, both black and white, listened to a transistor radio as Prime Minister Ian Smith issued his unilateral declaration of independence from Britain. Radio is still the most important mass medium in Africa. © UPI

can be seen listening to the news, a popular sports event, or a talk show. African radio and television include a wide range of local and Western broadcasting including CNN, Voice of America, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Radio Netherlands, and Deutche Welle.

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As the Arabic-speaking world's cultural and informational hub, CAIRO, the capital of EGYPT, is a major center of broadcasting. Its first TV station began operations in 1960. Today government-controlled ETV has two nationwide channels plus additional regional channels. Al-Jazira and other networks are available to those with satellite reception. By 2000 there were nearly 8 million TV sets in Egypt, which was about one set for every nine people, and approximately 23 million radios.

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In the last few decades radio and television in Africa have gone through many changes. From the time of independence many countries controlled the radio and television stations. From the late 1980s there was pressure on the government to liberalize the airwaves, and this government monopoly has gradually broken down. Radio and television are improving and are gradually becoming powerful instruments for public information and EDUCATION.

Despite the progress made, however, radio and television in Africa are still hampered by problems including shortage of funds, personnel, and material resources. African governments have always considered radio and television broadcasting vital elements which need to be controlled for information and for DEVELOPMENT. However, government control has gradually relaxed. In the 1990s private radio stations proliferated in almost every country in Africa, most broadcasting on frequency modulation (FM) channels with relatively low output and coverage area. This expanded coverage has expanded the

diversity of information for both urban and rural areas. Similar developments, though not so pronounced, have taken place in television, with the privatization of ownership and the proliferation of cable and satellite broadcasting or relay stations.

Television in Africa began slowly. In late 1959 Southern Rhodesia (now ZIMBABWE) and NIGERIA initiated the process when they started their television services. In Zimbabwe this service was limited to the capital and broadcast black and white recorded series for around six hours per day. Television was only introduced in SOUTH AFRICA as late as 1977, a surprise considering the country's level of development. This was because some of the country's Calvinist theologians spoke critically of "the evils of television." By the end of the 1990s South African television broadcasts were seen in several neighboring countries. One of the last countries to receive television in Africa was MALAWI, whose television service only started in 1998. Most countries have one or two television stations. Some, like Uganda, have six television stations.

In recent years television has developed at a rapid rate throughout Africa. Television is improving and is gradually becoming a powerful instrument for public education, entertainment, and information. African governments are giving up their monopolistic control, and private stations are being established, forcing the government-owned stations to reassess their approach to broadcasting. Official television stations are under pressure to move their focus away from reporting the activities and official communiqués of the president and government ministers. A wide variety of television programs are aired on television including education campaigns, popular MUSIC shows, a variety of talk shows, plays, fashion shows, religious programs, and feature films.

While there has been a growth in the television industry, many of the new, private stations face major problems. Most tend to have insufficient budgets and are overly commercialized. Consequently, many have become retransmitters of programs from the powerful TV stations of the West. Many stations find themselves in a situation in which they are unable to produce their own programming due to a lack of equipment. Also, many radio and television stations tend to run for part of the day and close around midnight.

A popular medium of entertainment in many urban areas is the videocassette recorder, or VCR. Popular movies from the United States, China, Britain, and various African countries are rented and played in homes or public places. Due to the availability of video cameras, some operators make their own local videos based on popular themes. These have become especially popular in West Africa.

Satellite-based broadcasting has also gained in prominence in Africa since the 1990s. In 1995 the South African company M-Net launched the world's first digital direct-to-home subscriber satellite service. Known as DSTV, its subscribers have access to more than 30 video channels and 40 audio programs. These are available on C-band to the whole of Africa and on lower-cost KU-band to southern Africa, south of LUSAKA.

Last year South Africa's public broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), launched Channel Africa, a new satellite-based news and entertainment channel aimed at providing programming content focused on the continent. It broadcasts news, current affairs, and informational programming on shortwave in English, French, Kiswahili, and Portuguese. Daily listenership in the sub-Saharan region is estimated at 7 to 9 million. The service also feeds programs in languages such as Chinyanya, Silozi, Ichibemba, and Shona to rebroadcasters via tapes and telephone links.

In 1998 North Africa started receiving direct-to-home (DTH) TV broadcasts from Nilesat, the continent's first locally owned geostationary satellite, capable of broadcasting up to 72 digital TV programs simultaneously. Operated by the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU), the country's national broadcaster, Nilesat's coverage extends as far south as northern parts of CHAD, the Republic of the SUDAN, ERITREA, and ETHIOPIA (as well as from MOROCCO in the west to the Arabian Gulf in the east). However, satellite broadcasts are expensive and very few people can afford to buy the equipment and pay the subscription fees.

The Union of National Radio & Television Organizations of Africa, a professional body with more than 48 active member organizations, is committed to the development of all aspects of broadcasting in Africa. It encourages the exchange of indigenous programming via satellite and videocassette and strives to obtain preferential satellite tariffs to facilitate news and program exchange.

See also: CINEMA (Vols. IV, V); TELECOMMUNICATIONS (Vol. V); RADIO (Vol. IV).

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Ramaphosa, Cyril (1952–) *South African labor union organizer*

Ramaphosa grew up in SOWETO, SOUTH AFRICA, just outside of JOHANNESBURG. He began his political career as part of the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT while attending the University of the North. There he joined both the Student Christian Movement and the SOUTH AFRICAN

STUDENTS ORGANIZATION, the latter of which was founded in 1968 by Steve BIKO (1946–1977). In 1974 Ramaphosa organized a rally in support of the MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT (FRELIMO), a nationalist, liberation organization seeking to rid Mozambique of Portuguese rule. As a result of this anti-government activism, Ramaphosa was arrested and detained for 11 months under the provisions of the Terrorism Act.

Undeterred, Ramaphosa joined the Black Peoples' Convention after his release from jail. In 1976 he was again imprisoned, this time for six months. He then studied law and earned his degree from the University of South Africa in 1981. Continuing with his activism, Ramaphosa joined the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) as a legal advisor. He gained national prominence in 1982 when he became general secretary of the newly formed National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). He withdrew the NUM from the all-black CUSA, in 1985, and joined it to the Council of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), multiracial labor-union federation. As head of the single largest union within COSATU, and a high-profile member of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, an anti-APARTHEID opposition front, Ramaphosa assumed a political role on a national scale and forged important links with the exiled AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC).

In 1987 Ramaphosa initiated a three-week miners' strike that involved the participation of 300,000 people. Under Ramaphosa's leadership, from 1982 to 1991, the NUM had become the largest South African workers' union, with membership growing from 6,000 at its inception to 300,000. Chosen by ANC president Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ) to serve as ANC secretary-general, Ramaphosa played a decisive role in spearheading talks with the ruling National Party about moving South Africa from minority-white rule to an inclusive, fully democratic political process. Ramaphosa's negotiating skills proved instrumental in bringing about this transition, securing free, one-person–one-vote national elections and helping to hammer out a new constitution.

Despite his remarkable abilities and exemplary contribution to both the anti-apartheid struggle and the coming to power of the ANC, Ramaphosa was, for the most part, passed over in the new ANC-led government. Instead of obtaining a high post in the new government, he became chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly. Some commentators have suggested that since Ramaphosa is not a XHOSA-speaker, as are many of the most prominent ANC leaders, he was excluded. In 1996 Ramaphosa, the former trade-union organizer, left politics for the world of business. He has become chairman of several large corporations and sits on the boards of others. Additionally, he was frequently mentioned as contender for the position of South African president.

See also: LABOR (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V).

Rastafarianism (Ras Tafarianism)   Religious movement started by black Jamaicans. Rastafarians, or Rastas, as they are commonly known, venerate former Ethiopian emperor, HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975), whose name prior to becoming emperor was Ras Tafari Makonnen. Today there are an estimated 1 million Rastafarians worldwide.

Based on Biblical traditions, Rastafarianism emerged during the first half of the 20th century. In the 1920s Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), a prominent black Jamaican nationalist, exhorted the African diaspora to look to Africa for the coming of a black king who would deliver them from bondage. His prophecy coincided with the rise of Ras Tafari Makonnen, who in 1930 was crowned emperor of ETHIOPIA, taking the name Haile Selassie.

Garvey's message resonated with downtrodden black males in the urban slums of Jamaica who were concerned with throwing off the "slave mentality" that poisoned their community after centuries of white oppression. In 1935–36 the righteous indignation of the fledgling movement was heightened when, following the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie was forced into exile. Although they preached nonviolence, early Rastas were virulently anticolonial and often took to the streets to protest the colonial power structure in Jamaica. Without an individual leader or organized hierarchy, however, the Rasta movement remained relatively small.

Haile Selassie himself had little regard for those who worshiped him. He did visit Jamaica once, calling for his followers to help liberate the people of Jamaica from white oppression. The date of his visit—April 25, 1966—along with the dates of his birth and coronation are among the most important in the Rasta religious calendar.

In the late 1960s and into the 1970s the politicized Rasta movement increasingly came under fire by the conservative establishment. During that time white leaders in Jamaica demonized Rastafarians, especially for their ritualistic smoking of marijuana, or *ganja*. (Claiming that they are supported by passages from the Bible, Rastas believe that the use of marijuana facilitates meditation and brings them closer to Jah, or God.) The leaders began portraying Rastafarians as rowdy, drug-fuelled bandits, finding them convenient scapegoats for the social violence that raged in the island's cities. In reality very few Rastas were involved in the violence, but the international reputation of the Rasta religion was sullied by the accusations.

In the 1970s a young Rasta named Bob Marley (1945–1981) gained international prominence through his lyrics over reggae MUSIC, which combined messages of racial harmony with black empowerment. With his regal bearing and positive message, Marley was widely regarded as a Rastafarian prophet. He visited KENYA and Ethiopia in 1978 and returned to Africa two years later at the official invitation of the new government of ZIMBABWE to play at that country's independence ceremony.

Today the Rastafarian religion is still relatively minor and lacks individual leadership. However, by continuing to promote a natural, peaceful, and meditative way of life, it is slowly gaining converts, both in Jamaica and around the world.

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Rasta men let their hair grow into long, thick strands called dreadlocks. These "manes" identify them with Haile Selassie, who was also called the "Lion of Judah." However, as Bob Marley gained worldwide popularity in the 1970s, many people, both black and white, grew dreadlocks as a fashion statement that had nothing to do with the Rastafarian religion.

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See also: AFRICAN DIASPORA (Vol. IV); ETHIOPIANISM (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Barry Chavannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1994).

Ratsiraka, Didier (1936–) *Former president of Madagascar*

Ratsiraka was born in Vatomandry, near the provincial capital of Toamasina, on Madagascar's east coast. After completing primary school in his hometown he went on to secondary school in Paris. He later attended the French Naval Officers' School and was commissioned a captain. Of Betsimisaraka ethnicity, Ratsiraka served as Madagascar's military attaché to France from 1970 to 1972. In 1975 General Gabriel Ramanantsoa (1906–1979) took power in MADAGASCAR after a bloodless COUP D'ÉTAT, and Ratsiraka was named Ramanantsoa's minister of foreign affairs. When Ramanantsoa's leadership faltered Colonel Richard Ratsimandrava (1931–1975) took power in February 1975. Five days later elements within the military assassinated Ratsimandrava, with many believing that Ratsiraka was involved in the murder plot.

Ratsiraka was appointed president by a military directorate on June 15, 1975. In December of that year, after promoting himself to admiral, Ratsiraka won a popular election. However, he then doffed his military uniform and began espousing a "scientific socialist" platform driven by a plan for DEVELOPMENT through state investment. In March 1976 Ratsiraka founded the PILLAR AND STRUCTURE FOR THE SALVATION OF MADAGASCAR (Andry sy Riana Enti-manavotra an'i Madagasikara, AREMA) which became the lead party in a six-party governing coalition.

After Ratsiraka nationalized industry many foreign investors left Madagascar, and before long his economic plan caused the economy to collapse. From 1979 to 1991 he continued liberalizing the economy while maintaining tight control on military and political power.

After a 1991 civil-servants strike nearly forced him from power Ratsiraka agreed to a transitional government. He lost the 1993 election to Albert Zafy (1927–), only to win back the presidency in 1997. Following four more years of economic stagnation, in December 2001 Ratsiraka lost the general election to business owner and mayor of ANTANANARIVO, Marc RAVALOMANANA (1949–). Unwilling to accept his defeat, Ratsiraka contested the results and strong-armed the High Constitutional Court of Madagascar to call a run-off to determine the winner.

Ravalomanana, an ethnic Merina, responded by starting a broad popular insurrection. Ratsiraka attempted to rally support by playing on the ethnic tensions between Madagascar's coastal peoples, the *cotier,* and the Merina, a group from the central highlands that has long held a privileged position in Madagascar society. Ratsiraka shut down media outlets that supported Ravalomanana and he used his military to threaten those who criticized his leadership. However, after a few tense months Ratsiraka's methods failed. In late April the court announced that Ravalomanana had won the run-off with 51 percent of the ballots.

In July 2002, after Ravalomanana was declared the country's new president, Ratsiraka fled to France. In December 2003 he was sentenced in absentia to five years in prison for encouraging five Malagasy provinces to secede.

See also: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MERINA (Vols. III, IV).

Ravalomanana, Marc (1949–) *President of Madagascar*

Born near the capital, ANTANANARIVO, Ravalomanana studied at a missionary school before leaving for a Protestant secondary school in Sweden. An ethnic Merina of a common caste, he came home to marry Lalao Rakotonirainy, have three children, and run his family's small yogurt company. With the help of the Roman Catholic Church, he won a small business loan from the WORLD BANK, building the company into Tiko, the largest agro-business interest in MADAGASCAR.

Ravalomanana successfully ran for mayor of Antananarivo in 1999. He quickly showed the ability to clean up both the city's politics and its streets, using this success as a platform to run for president in December 2001. The election results were highly contested by the sitting president, Didier RATSIRAKA (1936–), who claimed that Ravalomanana's victory fell short of the 50

percent necessary to avoid a run-off. Ravalomanana responded by calling hundreds of thousands of supporters to the streets. In February 2002 he declared himself president, leading to military conflict. After more than three months of violence Ravalomanana finally secured the office after a decision in his favor by the courts. He was officially inaugurated in May 2002, making him the country's first Merina president. He then acted to build his fledgling political party, Tiako-i-Madagasikara (meaning "I Love Madagascar," in Malagasy), which won a large majority in the December 2002 legislative elections.

Ravalomanana speaks Malagasy, the provincial language of Madagascar, and he is known to speak English better than the more common colonial language, French. This fact characterizes his leadership style and priorities—he is a man of the people with strong ties to the United States and a commitment to a capitalist path. To his detractors, he is a Christian zealot who is too eager to take hard-line positions when it favors his own merchant class. To his supporters, however, he is a self-made champion of the poor who is successfully rooting out CORRUPTION.

See also: MERINA (Vols. III, IV).

Rawlings, Jerry (Jeremiah John Rawlings)

(1947–   ) *Ghanaian army officer who ruled Ghana for more than 20 years*

Rawlings, the son of a Scottish father and a Ghanaian mother, was born in ACCRA, the capital of GHANA. His parents never married and he was raised by his mother. She managed to send him to the distinguished Achimota secondary school, from which Rawlings graduated in 1966. A year later he enlisted as a cadet in the air force. He eventually qualified as a pilot and earned a commission as a flight lieutenant.

During the 1970s Rawlings aligned himself with an anti-government movement within the army. In May 1979 he led an attempted COUP D'ÉTAT against the government that was quickly put down. Rawlings was jailed and then tried in public. In court Rawlings railed against the CORRUPTION within the military-led government, and his outspokenness gained him the admiration of low-level military personnel. In June Rawlings escaped from jail with help from the outside. Once freed he immediately went to a local radio station and broadcasted a call to overthrow the government of Lieutenant General Frederick W. K. Akuffo (1937– 1979). Within a day after overcoming resistance from pro-government forces, Rawlings' supporters had taken control of Ghana. In the aftermath of the coup the new government arrested many of the country's military leaders. Eight officers were executed, including three former leaders of Ghana—I. K. Acheampong (1931–1979), Akwasi Afrifa (1936–1979), and Akuffo.

Rawlings formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) to guide the new government, but he promised that elections would be held to return the country to civilian rule. In September 1979 Dr. Hilla Limann (1934–1998) won a narrow electoral victory and became Ghana's new president. Rawlings returned to the air force, but he remained in the political spotlight, criticizing the government for its lack of success in revitalizing Ghana's struggling economy.

In 1981 Rawlings led another coup and again took over Ghana's government. This time, however, there were no promises of relinquishing control. Rawlings immediately abolished the country's constitution, dismissed Parliament, and declared all political parties illegal, except for his newly created PROVISIONAL NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL (PNDC). Rawlings made economic reform a priority, but like his predecessors, met with little success. The PNDC's failure to spark an economic turnaround combined with Rawlings's authoritative style of governing led to multiple coup attempts during the rest of the 1980s.

In 1990, facing increasing domestic and international pressure to move toward DEMOCRATIZATION, Rawlings formed the National Commission on Democracy (NCD) to organize debates on the subject of making Ghana a multiparty democracy. In 1991 the NCD recommended holding a national election for president, forming a national legislature, and creating the position of prime minister. The PNDC agreed with the suggestions and set an election date of November 3, 1992.

Rawlings, meanwhile, resigned from the military and announced his intention to run for president as a civilian. The candidate of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), a reincarnation of the PNDC, he won handily, receiving 58 percent of the vote. Though foreign observers said the election was fair, opposition leaders maintained that the results were corrupted by electoral abuse. To protest this perceived injustice, they encouraged their supporters to boycott the ensuing parliamentary elections. Without the participation of opposition parties the NDC won more than 90 percent of the 200 contested seats for Parliament.

In 1996 Rawlings again won election to Ghana's presidency. The NDC again gained a majority in Parliament, winning 130 of 200 seats. In 2000 Rawlings stated his intention to retire from politics. He nominated his vice president, John Atta Mills (1944–), as his successor, but Mills was defeated in a runoff election by John Agyekum KUFUOR (1938–). After leaving office Rawlings became involved in a campaign to fight HIV/AIDS in Africa, traveling across the continent to increase awareness of the disease and stress the need for health-care volunteers in combating the illness.

See also: HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

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refugees The basic international definition of a refugee came from the 1951 convention of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR). According to the convention, a refugee was defined as a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country . . . ." Subsequently, this definition has been expanded to include those fleeing war or famine, and women who face persecution because of their refusal to comply with social constraints. Those who voluntarily leave their home countries for economic reasons, however, are not refugees under international law.

Modern Africa has faced wars of liberation, CIVIL WARS, and other types of violence associated with ethnic conflict, coups d'état, and war between states. These conflicts in turn have produced large numbers of both refugees and "internally displaced persons" (IDPs), who share many of the characteristics of refugees other than living outside their own countries. MOZAMBIQUE, for example, was a country long beset by armed conflict, first during its war of liberation, in the 1960s and early 1970s, and later during its civil war, in the 1980s and early 1990s. Neighboring MALAWI alone received several hundred thousand Mozambican refugees. By the time the United Nations brokered a cease-fire in 1993 there were more than 1.7 million Mozambican refugees in need of repatriation. An additional 3 million Mozambican citizens were classified as IDPs. By the end of 1996, however, the political and economic situation had stabilized, and few Mozambicans could still be classified as "refugees." The 100,000 or so who continued to stay in SOUTH AFRICA did so for the economic opportunities they had found there.

The case of Mozambique also illustrates another aspect of the refugee situation in Africa: It can improve. Indeed, by the mid-1990s, as long-standing regional conflicts were finally resolved, southern Africa ceased to be a principal source of refugees in Africa. ANGOLA was the one regional exception. There, and throughout the broad belt stretching across Central Africa to the Horn of Africa, both old and newer conflicts continued to produce large numbers of refugees and IDPs. In fact, Angola, BURUNDI, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, ERITREA, SOMALIA, and the Republic of the SUDAN are six of the 10 countries in the world (the others being Afghanistan, Burma, Iraq, and the Palestinian territories) that, in 2001, accounted for 78 percent of refugees worldwide. In Sudan alone, a long-running civil war has led to an estimated 2 million deaths and 4 million displaced persons.

The 1990s also witnessed the outbreak of conflict and flow of refugees in the neighboring West African countries of GUINEA, GUINEA-BISSAU, IVORY COAST, LIBERIA, and SIERRA LEONE. Conflict in Liberia was the source of the catastrophe, and that country's population suffered the worst consequences. At one point or another, over seven years of fighting, virtually every one of Liberia's approximately 3.3 million citizens was either a refugee or IDP. In 1998 the flood of 280,000 refugees from Sierra Leone was the largest single national exodus in the world that year. Refugees fleeing one country usually settle in a neighboring country. This is principally how the West Africa wars affected Guinea, which, in 2002, was hosting 182,000 refugees from Liberia. Ironically, some 220,000 people from war-torn Ivory Coast sought refuge across the border in Liberia by 2002.

Despite the terrible circumstances of the 1990s and the first years of the 21st century, the refugee situation in Africa has actually improved in comparative and absolute terms. In 1994 the UNHCR reported nearly 10 million African refugees, more than half of the world's total. By 2001 the figure had dropped to approximately 6.1 million, a little more than one-quarter of the world total. Still, this is a disproportionate number, since Africa has only 12 percent of the world's population. Furthermore, there has been a steady growth in IDPs over the same years, almost doubling from about 5 million to 9.5 million people. Until there are more resolutions of major conflicts, as was the case in Mozambique, the African continent will continue to witness great movements of both refugees and other displaced persons.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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religion Since independence, traditional African religions changed as universal religions exerted their influence over wider and wider regions. While this process had been taking place since the original spread of Christianity and Islam into Africa centuries ago, it took on new dimensions in the modern era.

Although universal religions have experienced success over many centuries in establishing themselves on the continent, African traditional religions (ATRs) continue to be widely distributed, and each ethnic group not affiliated with a universal religion has its own belief system. Typically, Christianity and Islam actively compete with one another for conversion of people who ascribe to African traditional religions. Many of the ATR practitioners who do convert to Islam or Christianity tend to blend their indigenous religious knowledge with that of the new religion, creating an entirely new syncretic belief system. The prophetic movements that emerged in Africa under colonial rule are an expression of this blending of indigenous and exogenous religious beliefs.

African Islam has assumed the status of an indigenous religion in much of the northern regions of the continent due to its long historical presence. In ETHIOPIA Christianity has the status of an indigenous religion. In sub-Saharan Africa Islam is second to Christianity in terms of the number of practitioners, including newcomers to the faith. However, on the whole Islam is growing faster than Christianity in Africa, and it is dominant in much of the savanna belt stretching across the continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. These are the regions where Islam was introduced early on. However, in much of this belt there remain those who adhere to traditional indigenous faiths.

Christianity is found in coastal areas of West Africa, across central Africa, in the interior of East Africa, and throughout southern Africa. Of the major world denominations of Christianity found in Africa, the Roman Catholic Church is the largest, while various Protestant denominations are also important. For example, the Anglican Church has more members in NIGERIA than does its American branch, the Episcopal Church. The largest growing segment of Christian churches are made up of the charismatic and Pentecostal churches.

As Christians and Muslims proselytize to Africans who practice ATRs, they come into competition with one another, a competition that can become deadly when mixed with politics. Nigeria demonstrates the problems presented by this type of competition. The geographical middle of that country, 10 states and the southern portion of two other states, make up the Middle Belt, which is populated by hundreds of ethnic groups. Muslims from the north and Christian MISSIONARIES from the south both sought converts in the region. In 1966 a military government abolished the regional system, allowing for a rapid spread of Christianity and Western-style EDUCATION into the region. Muslim northerners felt threatened by the expansion. In the 1970s Nigerian Muslims came under the influence of Muslim fundamentalists from Saudi Arabia, a fellow member of the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES. This association with Islamic fundamentalism encouraged Muslim Nigerians to press for making Nigeria an Islamic state or at the very least call for domestic Islamic law, or SHARIA. It was now the Christians' turn to feel threatened. In the 1980s minority ethnic groups spread charismatic Christian fundamentalism into the region, and so the cycle of religious conflict continued. As a result the region has been the site of numerous riots and massacres since the end of the 20th century.

Although embracing ATRs, Christianity, and Islam, the peoples of the African continent are contending with conflicts between these religions and various sub-sects. The frequent association of these competing religions with political power, particularly in states such as the Republic of the SUDAN and CHAD, continues to be a source of instability in Africa.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V), ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); PROPHETS AND PROPHETIC MOVEMENTS (Vols. IV, V); RELIGION (Vols. I, IV).

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RENAMO See MOZAMBICAN NATIONAL RESISTANCE.

René, France-Albert (1935–) *President of the Seychelles*

A SEYCHELLES native, France-Albert René received his early education in the capital of Victoria before continuing his studies in Switzerland and England. Returning to the SEYCHELLES in 1957 he became involved with the British Labour Party (at the time the Seychelles were still a British colony) and thus began his long career in Seychellois politics. In 1964 he became a leading figure in the Seychelles burgeoning political scene by founding the Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP). The SPUP became one of the islands' two major parties, its opponent being the Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP), led by Sir James MANCHAM (c. 1939–). The parties differed on nearly every subject, particularly on the issue of relations with Britain. René and the SPUP favored complete independence from its colonizer; the SDP wanted to maintain close ties.

Ultimately, the Seychelles moved toward independence. Elections leading up to autonomy produced a controversial victory for the SDP, and in 1976 Mancham was awarded the presidency, with René as vice president.

René did not remain in Mancham's shadow for long, however. In 1977 the SPUP staged a COUP D'ÉTAT while Mancham was abroad in London, installing René as president. René immediately moved to centralize his power, establishing a new constitution that made the SPUP, now called the Seychelles People's Progressive Front, the nation's only legal political party.

René implemented a socialist economic strategy under which the Seychellois accrued the highest per capita income of any African peoples. However, with population constraints limiting the size of the workforce, the country's economy declined in the 1990s. René tried to counter the decline with a number of controversial economic initiatives, but these produced few results.

René's socialist policies made him the target of upper-class ire. Between 1978 and 1987 a number of coup at-

tempts were made, including one by a group of mercenaries led by Irish colonel Michael "Mad Mike" Hoare. Mancham also tried unsuccessfully to agitate against René from exile in England. Military aid from TANZANIA helped René maintain power through these repeated threats.

Because the standard of living has increased for middle- and lower-class Seychellois under René's administration he has remained popular, winning elections in 1984 and in 1989. In 1993, under a new constitution that created a multiparty system, René easily defeated James Mancham's bid to reclaim the presidency. René also won elections in 1998 and in 2001, maintaining a remarkably long and relatively successful presidency in spite of economic troubles and constant threats of coup attempts.

In April 2004, however, René stepped down and hand-picked his vice president, James Michel (1944–   ), to succeed him. Despite giving up the presidency, René maintained his leadership position in the ruling Seychelles People's Progressive Front party.

Réunion Island Longtime French possession and part of the Mascarene archipelago (which includes Rodrigues and MAURITIUS) in the western Indian Ocean. Officially settled by the French in the mid-1600s, the island has been under French rule ever since, save for a brief period during the Napoleonic Wars (1805–1815), when the British assumed control. A layover for ships on the Indian Ocean shipping routes, Réunion was also a major coffee producer until the British introduced sugarcane, which quickly became the island's essential industry. In economic decline after the 1869 opening of the SUEZ CANAL changed the major trade routes, Réunion continued to be a French colony until 1946, when it became a *département* (similar to a county or state) of France, with the city of Saint-Denis as its capital.

Réunion was formed through volcanic activity and is highly mountainous. Among the notable peaks on the island are Piton des Neiges, which is extinct, and Piton de la Fournaise, which still erupts regularly. For a small island, Réunion has a wide range of climates, with zones of heavy rainfall in the south and east and dry areas in the north and west. Though low elevations on the island tend to be tropical and humid, the peak of Piton des Neiges has been known to receive snow.

As inhabitants of a French *département,* the Réunionese are full French citizens and have representation in the National Assembly. Sentiment among the Réu-

nionese has been increasingly for further, though not complete, autonomy. In 1991 riots against the French government left 10 dead in Saint-Denis. However, the benefits of French rule, as well as Réunion's economic reliance on France as the main destination for the island's EXPORTS, have kept much of the population from favoring total independence.

Economically, sugar and sugar products remain the island's main exports, and problems such as unemployment are still prevalent. TOURISM is also a major industry, but Réunion is routinely overshadowed by nearby MAURITIUS and the SEYCHELLES, which boast better beaches.

At the beginning of the 21st century, most of Réunion's population of approximately 744,000 was Creole, descended largely from the African slaves and Asian indentured laborers who worked the coffee and sugar plantations in the 1800s. Creole is also the island's main language, though French is the official tongue.

Réunion's high population density and low land area has led to high levels of emigration from the island. Many of the emigrants are males, who travel to France for further EDUCATION and often do not return. Because of this, Réunion has a skewed male-to-female ratio: approximately one man to every seven women.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MONO-CROP ECONOMIES (Vol. IV); RÉUNION ISLAND (Vols. III, IV).

Revolutionary United Front (RUF) Rebel militia group that waged civil war against the SIERRA LEONE government between 1991 and 2001. Led by Foday SANKOH (1937–2003), the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) claimed to be a populist movement seeking to end government CORRUPTION in Sierra Leone. In 1991 the RUF launched its first offensive from LIBERIA, Sierra Leone's neighbor to the south. Although the rebels claimed to be fighting a war of liberation, they soon began violently plundering the villages they encountered.

Originally a small movement made up of an unruly collection of disenfranchised and marginalized individuals, the RUF quickly grew by using ruthless, forced-recruitment methods. These included supplying hallucinogenic drugs to child soldiers, who were often forced to kill or perform violent acts against family members as a rite of initiation. RUF rebels gained worldwide notoriety for their brutal acts, including torture, the abduction and rape of young girls, and the frequent burning of people and property.

Many believe that Charles TAYLOR (1948–), the former president of Liberia, played an instrumental role in funding the RUF attacks. He originally met Sankoh in the 1980s when they were both at a rebel training camp in LIBYA. Evidence indicates that Taylor resented Sierra Leone's support of ECOMOG forces, the military personnel sent by the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES to remove him from power in Liberia. Aided by willing buyers in Liberia, Sankoh and the RUF sold "conflict diamonds" that enabled them to purchase arms and drugs. Some RUF figures also amassed personal fortunes from the sale of illegal diamonds.

Despite peace agreements signed in 1999 and 2000, the war continued practically uninterrupted for 10 years. RUF rebels regularly violated the cease-fire terms. Ultimately, in May 2000, the RUF was subdued through a combined effort by British, UN, and ECOMOG forces. The rebels' principal leaders, including Foday Sankoh, were imprisoned. In May 2001, many former RUF rebels began returning to civilian life under a disarmament process sponsored by the Sierra Leone government. They were allowed to exchange their weapons for job training and compensation packages.

The end of hostilities was officially declared in January 2002. Later that year the RUF was one of about 20 parties that registered with Sierra Leone's national election commission to contest elections held that year. Sankoh fell ill soon after his arrest, and he died in UN custody in July 2003.

See also: UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Rhodesia Name given to the former British colony of Southern Rhodesia in the aftermath of the collapse of the Central African Federation, in 1963. Rhodesia became ZIMBABWE in 1980. In 1965 Rhodesia's prime minister, Ian SMITH (1919–), issued a UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE from Britain. This was an effort to maintain the rule of the white minority, perhaps 5 percent of the country's population, over the African majority. Britain, however, refused to recognize Rhodesia's independence, and its African majority supported a long guerrilla war that ultimately forced the government in 1979 to acknowledge British sovereignty.

In 1980 Rhodesia became the independent, African-ruled country of Zimbabwe. This change in the country's name also erased the name of Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902), the leading builder of Britain's colonial African empire, from the map of the continent. At one time, Rhodes had two African countries named in his honor (Northern Rhodesia, now ZAMBIA, had changed its name upon independence, in 1964.) Further symbolizing the fundamental political shift that had taken place was the name change of the country's capital city from the English, Salisbury, to the African HARARE.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NORTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); RHODES, CECIL (Vol. IV); SALISBURY (Vol. IV); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

Robben Island Island near CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, used as a prison for those deemed extremely "dangerous." Located in Table Bay, approximately 6 miles (10 km) from CAPE TOWN, Robben Island takes its name from the Dutch word for seals, which were once found there in large numbers. Beginning in the 16th century, passing Dutch and English ships frequently anchored at the island to pick up food from the mainland. During the 19th and 20th centuries various categories of people were sent to Robben Island to separate them from society: lepers, the insane, the medically quarantined, and African resistance leaders.

During World War II (1939–45) Robben Island was fortified to guard Cape Town against naval assault, and in the process its INFRASTRUCTURE was upgraded. Beginning in the early 1960s Robben Island served as a maximum-security prison for black criminals and, most notably, anti-APARTHEID activists. The government cracked down on black opposition groups, bringing many key members of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) and the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC) to trial. Convicted ANC leaders such as Nelson MANDELA (1918–), Walter SISULU (1912–2003), and Govan MBEKI (1910–2001), and PAC president Robert SOBUKWE (1924–1978), were among the island's most notable prisoners.

Because of its physical isolation from the mainland, the island easily limited prisoners' contact with the outside world, adding to the hardship they endured. In addition to strict discipline and harsh treatment meted out by guards, prisoners also were required to perform hard labor in the island's lime mines or gather seaweed washed up on the shore.

When Nelson Mandela—arguably the world's most famous political prisoner—was held there, Robben Island came to symbolize the inhumanity and brutality of South Africa's apartheid regime. Despite long imprisonment on the bleak, windswept outcrop of rock that is Robben Island, he and his fellow inmates managed to keep alive a spirit of resistance. Upon his release from prison in 1989, Mandela seamlessly assumed the mantle of leadership of the ANC and the black opposition.

The detention of political prisoners on Robben Island was discontinued in 1991, but it still functioned
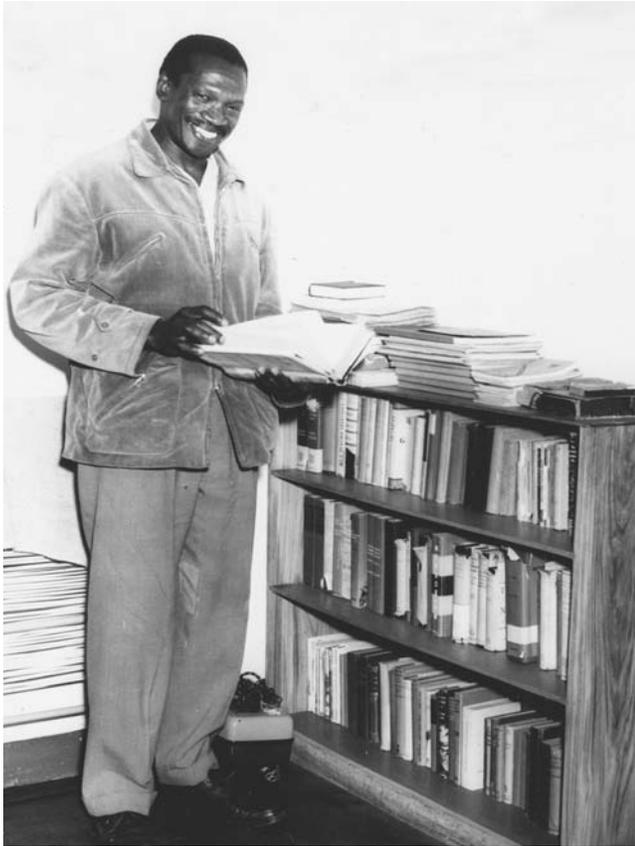
While imprisoned on Robben Island in the 1960s, Pan-Africanist Congress president Robert Sobukwe earned a degree in Economics from the University of London. © AP/Wide World Photos

as a medium-security prison until 1996. Since 1997 Robben Island has operated as a nature reserve and a museum of the apartheid era. It was declared a World Heritage site in 1999.

Further reading: Fran Lisa Buntman, *Robben Island and Prisoner Resistance to Apartheid* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Roberto, Holden (Holden Roberto Alvaro)
(1923–) *Angolan nationalist*

Holden Carson Roberto was born on January 12, 1923, in Kongo-dominated São Salvadore, ANGOLA. His father worked for the Baptist mission, and his mother was the eldest child of the revolutionary Miguel Necaça. In 1925 Roberto was taken to Léopoldville (now KIN-SHASHA), in the Belgian Congo (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO), where he attended a Baptist mission school until 1940. He returned to Angola for a time and then went back to the Belgian Congo, where he worked for eight years as an accountant in the colonial administration.

In 1958 Roberto was elected to represent the Union of Angolan People (União das Populações de Angola, UPA) at the All-Africa People's Congress in ACCRA, the capital of newly independent GHANA. There Roberto met the elite of Africa's nationalist revolutionaries, including Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961) and Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–). The following year he returned to Léopoldville and took control of BaKongo efforts to overthrow the Portuguese colonial administration in Angola. Rejecting Marxism but supporting the ideas of China's MAO ZEDONG (1893–1976), Roberto believed that revolution was possible only through bloodshed. He also was sympathetic to the ideas of Angolan nationalist Agostinho NETO (1922–1979) regarding national independence, pan-African unity, and the elimination of colonial culture. By March 1961 Roberto had launched the first of many anti-Portuguese military offensives in Angola.

Roberto's UPA spawned the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, FNLA), which by 1962 was acting as a government-in-exile for the Angolan people. During the 1970s the FNLA received support from China as well as the American Central Intelligence Agency. However, following Angolan independence, in 1975, the FNLA, once the strongest rival of the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA) for the leadership of the anticolonial struggle, had ceased to be a serious fighting force. The Angolan power struggle continued, however, between the MPLA and the NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, UNITA), both of which were backed by outside forces during the Cold War.

After the fall of the FNLA Roberto lived in exile in the Congo and later in France. Although some former FNLA troops were recruited by SOUTH AFRICA for its ongoing war with rebels in NAMIBIA, Roberto's main supporters reconciled with the MPLA and moved back to Angola. Roberto reconstituted the FNLA for the 1992 elections in Angola, but his party received an insignificant portion of the vote.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Rodney, Walter (1942–1980) *Radical West Indian historian, educator, and political activist*

Born to a middle-class family in Georgetown, British Guiana (present-day Guyana), Walter George Rodney was an astute, politically engaged young student. After graduating with honors from the University of the West Indies, in Jamaica, Rodney attended London University, earning a

PhD in history in 1966. He then moved to DAR ES SALAAM, in TANZANIA, to teach. Two years later Rodney returned to the Caribbean, teaching at his alma mater and earning a reputation as an impassioned radical communist. In fact, he was ordered to leave Jamaica for his "subversive" writings and teachings.

In 1968 the Jamaican government—fearing Rodney's influence as a Marxist agitator—declared the popular professor a prohibited immigrant. Rodney left Jamaica and traveled to Montreal, Canada, returning later the same month. Upon his return the Jamaican government's refusal to allow him back into the country touched off student riots all over the Caribbean.

Denied access to Jamaican classrooms, Rodney went first to Cuba and then returned to Dar es Salaam, where he taught at the university from 1968 to 1974. It was during this period that he published his first major work, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast: 1545–1800* (1970). Based on his doctoral dissertation, the book examined the historical development of the stretch of the upper West African coast that was a center of the transatlantic slave trade. Two years later he published his highly influential *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972). As the title indicates, it was an indictment of the European capitalist model that, Rodney asserted, kept Africa from developing strong indigenous economies. Highly popular in African universities, Rodney's text became perhaps the most influential African history book for a whole generation of scholars and leaders educated on the continent.

Rodney remained politically engaged while in Dar es Salaam, writing numerous articles and critical essays on such varied topics as forced labor, the African struggle for democracy, the policing of African societies, pan-Africanist theory, and the worldwide black power movement.

He returned to Guyana in 1974 to teach at the university. However, the Guyanese government, like the Jamaican government, viewed Rodney's radical thought as a serious threat and blocked his appointment. The following year he taught for a semester in the United States before returning to Guyana. Rodney had joined the communistic Working People's Alliance (WPA) in 1974 and began organizing the masses in Guyana, Grenada, and throughout the Caribbean region. By 1979 the WPA was an independent political party and Rodney was a marked man. When two government buildings were burned the Guyanese authorities had Rodney and seven others arrested for arson. In the months that followed the government often threatened and harassed Rodney until

June 13, 1980, when he was killed by a remote-controlled car bomb, not far from his birthplace in Georgetown. A soldier in Guyana's defense force was the primary suspect in the assassination. Rodney's third major history book, *A History of the Guyanese Working People: 1881–1905,* was published posthumously in 1981.

See also: HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP ON AFRICA (Vol. V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V).

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Rosa, Henrique Pereira See GUINEA-BISSAU.

RUF See REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT.

Russia and Africa See SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA.

Rwanda Landlocked country in Central Africa bordered by UGANDA to the north, TANZANIA to the east, BURUNDI to the south, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO (DRC) to the west. Measuring approximately 9,600 square miles (24,900 sq km) and with a population of about 8 million people, Rwanda is one of Africa's smallest countries and its most densely populated.

Rwanda at Independence Rwanda received its independence from Belgium in 1962. Following a UN-monitored referendum, Gregoire KAYIBANDA (1924–1976) became the country's first president, and his party, the Bahutu Emancipation Movement (PARMEBAHUTU), won control of the new legislature. He proved to be a corrupt leader with a weak following. By 1973, when he was ousted in a military COUP D'ÉTAT led by Major General Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994), Kayibanda had very little popular support. Two years after taking over Habyarimana founded the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) and created a monolithic one-party state. He then reorganized the administration of the country along a French model of prefectures, which were broken down further into sub-prefectures, local communes, and then sectors of approximately 5,000 people. It would later become clear that this structure was an effective means for controlling the population from the top down.

The reorganization was part of the new constitution ratified by ballot in 1978. Habyarimana was elected president three times between 1978 and 1988, although each time he was the only candidate. In 1990, however, under significant pressure from both Rwandan CIVIL SOCIETY

and international organizations, Habyarimana finally consented to a more open, multiparty democracy.

In 1994 Rwanda was the site of one of the most ferocious genocides in modern history when ethnic HUTU extremists systematically annihilated 10 percent of the population. Before the genocide approximately 84 percent of the Rwandan population was Hutu and 14 percent TUTSI. While some historians and social commentators have characterized Rwanda as being ethnically divided between Hutu and Tutsi, it is probably more accurate to characterize the division as an evolving relationship between two dynamic groups within a society. The division is also accurately characterized as being of caste or class. Unlike ethnic rivalries in other countries, the divide between Hutu and Tutsi is neither primordial nor static, as it has been possible for individuals to adopt one identity or the other depending on social standing or intermarriage. In particular, the period following the Rwandan revolution of 1959, which led to the overthrow of Tutsi leadership, was marked by significant intermingling of the two groups.

The distinction became important in postcolonial politics since the word *Tutsi* came to mean an elite person of status and *Hutu,* a commoner. Habyarimana was a Hutu and thus sought a populist base to counter elites, mostly Tutsi, who were favored under Belgian colonial rule. These ethnic and class differences were in place but remained dormant throughout the 1980s. It helped that Rwanda's economy was expanding through the growth in the coffee sector and substantial foreign ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

The Outbreak of Violence The good times would not last. One of the critical factors in the changing face of Rwanda was the estimated 600,000 Tutsi expatriates who began to take an interest in their home country. Most of these people had fled Rwanda either after the 1959 revolution or during Habyarimana's rule, but now they saw an opportunity to return. In 1986 Habyarimana declared that those who had been expelled in 1982 would not be allowed to repatriate. This led to rising militancy in the UGANDA-based refugee community. In 1988 the Tutsi REFUGEES declared their right to return.

Further complicating the situation, by 1989, the international coffee market had collapsed, and global prices dropped precipitously. Since some 80 percent of Rwanda's export earnings were based on coffee, the country's economy went into a tailspin. In the midst of this economic
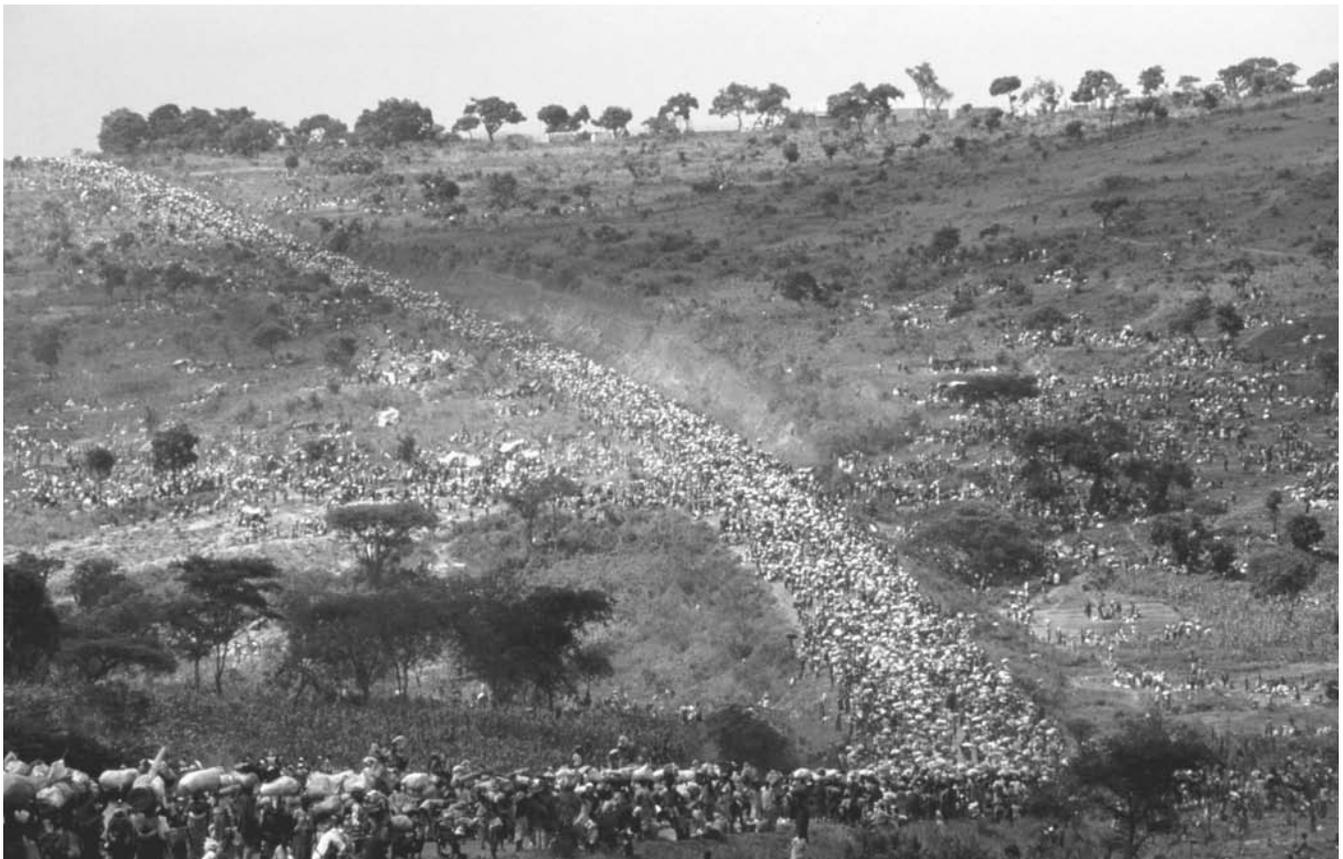
When genocidal violence broke out in April 1994, hundreds of thousands of Rwandans fled the country. Although the violence had not entirely subsided, these refugees returned home in July of that year. © *United Nations/J. Isaac*

turmoil, Habyarimana's domestic support waned. Church groups that had long supported him began to question his ability to lead. Even foreign donors who had previously backed him now pushed for reforms. In the early 1990s, under this pressure, Habyarimana allowed for the growth of opposition political parties. At the same time though, he feared these new parties, knowing well that his MRND could not compete successfully in a large number of districts.

Abbé André Sibomana (1954–1998), the editor of Rwanda's principal newspaper, also served as vice president of the Association for the Defense of Human Rights and Civil Liberties. His continuing criticism of Habyarimana's government led to threats on his life and attempts to link him with involvement in the country's terrible genocide. The charges remained unsubstantiated.

In September 1990 the Tutsi-led RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) invaded from Uganda. The Habyarimana government used the occasion to define what he saw as his country's enemies: the Ugandan army, dissatisfied Hutu (mostly northerners who played a more moderate role in the 1959 revolution), the unemployed, criminals, foreigners married to Tutsi, and Tutsi still within the country. His former populism was clearly replaced by an effort to build a strong, oppressive state.

Habyarimana's forces successfully repelled the original RPF incursion, in 1990, but the attacks continued for the next two years. As a result Habyarimana was forced to consolidate his political base and use strong-arm tactics against his own population. In 1992 he and the RPF signed a cease-fire and power-sharing agreement. A UN mission arrived in Rwanda the following year.

Although he helped broker the peace agreement, Habyarimana was concurrently using the media and church groups to spread anti-Tutsi sentiments throughout the country. He argued that the "invaders" were attempting to install a new Tutsi regime that would enslave the majority Hutu population. Moreover, he argued, those who helped repel the Tutsi "devils" from their Christian country would be doing God's work. Following Habyarimana's rationale, the only way for Hutu to save themselves would be to kill the Tutsi before the Tutsi killed them. Habyarimana's rallying cry succeeded in fomenting hatred among the Hutu.

Rwanda's history took a sharp turn April 6, 1994. On that date Habyarimana and Cyprien NTARYAMIRA (1956–1994), the president of BURUNDI, were killed when their plane was shot down on its return from peace talks. This was the spark that lit the tinderbox. By July 1994, between 800,000 and 1 million people, mostly Tutsi and their Hutu "sympathizers," were dead, many hacked to death by their machete-wielding neighbors.

Rwanda since the Genocide With a fractured base the RPF seized power on July 4, 1994. A unity government was created with Pasteur Bizimungu (1951–   ), a Hutu, at the helm, and the United Nations was invited back to Rwanda. Late in 1994 the United Nations set up an International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, TANZANIA. However, it became clear that RPF leader Paul KAGAME (1957–   ), a Tutsi who was both Rwanda's vice president and minister of defense, held the real power. Tutsi refugees were repatriated, and thousands of Hutu accused of genocide fled west, to the Congo. In the years that followed, few people in Rwanda dared to cross Kagame. One person who did challenge him, Hutu interior minister Seth Sendashonga (d. 1998), was assassinated under suspicious circumstances.

In 1998 Kagame ordered the United Nations out of Rwanda. A savvy propagandist himself, he convinced the population that UN inaction in 1994 meant that the organization lacked a purpose and was no longer wanted. He also convinced the international community, particularly the United States, that he was the best choice for stability in the country and the region. As a result of his lobbying tens of millions of dollars in foreign support followed the more than $100 million in reconstruction funds he had received in 1994. On March 24, 2000, President Bizimungu resigned, citing that he was tired of being a figurehead. Kagame then added *President* to his string of titles.

Throughout the late 1990s conflict between Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo intensified, with Kagame targeting the DRC's president Laurent Kabila (c. 1939–2001). As payback for Kabila's support for the Interahamwe, a militant group seeking to overthrow the Tutsi-dominated government, Kagame provided military support to rebels seeking to overthrow Kabila. When Kabila was assassinated, in January 2001, many blamed Kagame, though no evidence has been uncovered to incriminate him. Within the month Kagame and Laurent Kabila's son, Joseph KABILA (1971–   ), the new Congolese president, met in Washington, D.C. to discuss a peace accord. Conflict continued for more than a year, but a peace treaty was signed between the two countries in 2002.

In August 2003 Rwanda held its first elections since the genocide. Running with no opposition from any viable candidates, Paul Kagame won in a landslide. It appeared that this solidified a stable Tutsi base of leadership in KIGALI. However, neither the elections nor the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda did much to heal the wounds created by more than a century of colonial rule and the decades of state-sponsored social division that followed.

See also: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); RWANDA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Alison des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999); Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 1998); Gerard Prunier, *The Rwandan Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Catharine Newbury, *The Cohesion of Oppression* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Rene Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1970).

Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF)   Political party of Paul KAGAME (1957–), elected president of RWANDA in 2000. In the late 1980s Kagame and the former deputy commander of the UGANDA army, Major General Fred Rwigyema (c. 1955–1990), founded the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF). Made up of Rwandan political exiles and TUTSI citizens living in Uganda, the RPF supported an ethnic Tutsi army called the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA). In October 1990 the RPA launched its first armed incursion into Rwanda in an effort to unseat President Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994), an ethnic HUTU who had prevented Tutsi REFUGEES living in Uganda from returning home to Rwanda. These incursions escalated into a three-year civil war.

In August 1993 the RPF and the Habyarimana government reached a peace agreement that held until April 1994, when a plane carrying Habyarimana and Burundi's president, Cyprien NTARYAMIRA (1956–1994), crashed at the airport in KIGALI, Rwanda's capital. Though there were no eyewitnesses, it was believed that the plane was shot down by surface-to-air missiles. The incident sparked a period of extremely violent Hutu reprisals against the Tutsi. In July 1994 Kagame and the RPF responded to the Hutu-led violence by invading Rwanda and seizing control of Kigali. Five months later, in a move aimed at national unity, the RPF formed a transitional government with the Hutu Democratic Republican Movement and three other parties. Kagame was elected president by the RPF-controlled Rwandan National Assembly in 2000.

Further reading: Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999); Gérard Prunier. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (London: C. Hurst, 1998).

S

Sadat, Anwar as- (1918–1981) *Egyptian president from 1970 to 1981*

Born in the delta region of EGYPT, Anwar as-Sadat was raised in CAIRO, where his father worked as a minor bureaucrat. He entered the Egyptian Military Academy in 1938, becoming, along with future president Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), one of the first generation of non-elites to attend the prestigious school. As a young military officer Sadat was greatly influenced by the examples of anticolonial world leaders. These included Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881–1938), the creator of the modern state of Turkey, and Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), who led the nonviolent resistance movement against Britain in India.

Sadat's participation in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War disillusioned him about the course of Egyptian politics under King Faruk (1920–1965). Sadat subsequently joined Nasser and other officers of the Free Officers Movement in the 1952 coup that overthrew Faruk and ultimately ushered Nasser into power. He remained in the background during Nasser's presidency (1954–70), seemingly content in his role as a journalist and government propagandist, writing about how nationalization, social mobilization, and pan-Arabism empowered the Egyptian people.

At Nasser's death, in 1970, Sadat was vice president, but he was a virtual unknown to the general public when he succeeded Egypt's long-time leader and became president. In 1971 Sadat moved to consolidate his power. Through a governmental purge known as the "Corrective Revolution," he eliminated potential competition from those in Nasser's former inner circle. Although Sadat publicly supported Nasser's socialist policies, he immediately began establishing his own distinct agenda.

In foreign policy Sadat shifted his perspective with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In his attempt to maintain Egypt's leadership of the Arab world he insisted that 1971 was the year that Egypt and Israel would either make peace or go to war. When he was unable to manipulate the Cold War rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States to get the Soviet Union to supply the weapons he wanted, Sadat expelled most of the Soviet advisers and technicians living in Egypt. Sadat also resisted the initiatives by the United States to attempt to mediate an Egyptian-Israeli settlement. His principal concern was that a separate peace with Israel would isolate Egypt from the rest of the Arab world and also alienate the Arab OIL-exporting countries upon which Egypt was now dependent for much of its oil.

In 1973 Sadat, dismayed by a fruitless peace process, led Egypt in the surprise attack on Israel known as the Yom Kippur War. Egypt was joined in the conflict by Syria and other Arab countries, their purpose to regain lands lost to Israel during the Six-Day War of 1967. A massive air and artillery assault initially caught Israel by surprise and allowed Egyptian forces to reoccupy the SUEZ CANAL. Though Israel quickly recovered and inflicted heavy losses upon the Egyptian army, Sadat's initiative pushed the two sides toward peace. On November 11, 1973, the United States helped conclude a cease-fire between the two nations. Through the subsequent Sinai I and II disengagement agreements, Egypt was able to reclaim a majority of the Sinai Peninsula that it had lost in 1967. In many ways, then, Sadat obtained his objectives through diplomacy. This ultimately led him to renounce war as a means of resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Domestically Sadat made sweeping changes to his predecessor's governmental policies. He lifted censorship of the press. He dismantled Nasser's internal security apparatus and gave amnesty to political prisoners. In deference to Muslim activists he made religion compulsory in schools and rewrote the constitution to make Islamic law, or SHARIA, a "main source" (though not the only source) of law. Further distancing himself from Nasser, he changed the country's name to the Arab Republic of Egypt. In 1974 he launched *infitah,* an "open door policy" that encouraged foreign capitalists to invest in local enterprises.

In 1977 Sadat boldly challenged what was widely perceived as neocolonialism on the part of the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF). The IMF had been pressuring Egypt to alter its economic policies in order to repay its debts. In particular, the IMF wanted Egypt to gradually phase out its government food subsidies, which the IMF claimed were draining the country's financial resources. In response Sadat removed all food subsidies in one day. The resulting price increase caused large-scale rioting and ultimately forced the IMF to back down and reschedule the repayment of Egypt's loans.

Sadat's daring politics, however, eventually began to turn on him. Sadat believed that peace with Israel was the first step to rebuilding the economy, which had suffered greatly following Egypt's multiple defeats in the ARAB–ISRAELI WARS. In 1977 Sadat accepted the invitation of Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin (1913–1992) to address the Israeli legislative body, the Knesset. In 1978 he participated along with Begin in the Camp David Summit, organized by U.S. president Jimmy Carter (1924–   ), which led to the 1979 Israeli-Egyptian Peace Accord. The peace process earned Sadat considerable acclaim in the West. *Time* magazine named him "Man of the Year" in 1977, and in 1979 he shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Begin.

However, Sadat's popularity at home and in the broader Arab world declined drastically. In spite of the United States expanding its economic and military aid, Egypt's economy was slow to recover. Sadat's *infitah* policy was contributing to inflation and a skewed distribution of wealth. Many in Egypt and other Arab countries had begun to view Sadat as being aligned with the West. When Islamic extremists assassinated Sadat in 1981 for making peace with Israel, few Egyptians mourned his death.

See also: GANDHI, MOHANDAS (Vol. IV); NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V).

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safari Swahili word, meaning "travel" or "journey," that has become associated with off-road trips in search of African WILDLIFE. For many years the image of the safari—complete with khaki-wearing tourists roaming in search of "big game"—dominated African TOURISM. Today, however, although foreign tourists still come in significant numbers to view lions, elephants, and other wild animals, the safari has changed dramatically. Indeed, Africans themselves now enjoy visiting the continent's NATIONAL PARKS and game reserves. In East and southern Africa, safaris have become well-organized, professional outings, often centered around accommodations at luxurious game lodges. Drivers and guides lead groups of camera-carrying tourists in sport utility vehicles or minivans, often using two-way radios to share information about wildlife observation opportunities, all in order to provide a truly satisfying experience for the tourists who frequent the lodges.

Accommodations offered in many of Africa's game lodges are like nothing else in the world. Tourists paying anywhere from $150 to more than $250 per night are greeted by the professionally dressed staff with an assortment of tropical fruit drinks. The staff, which lives in substantially more modest quarters, attends to the guests in their rooms, around the pool, and in the various common spaces of the lodge. Each day after an early drive in search of wildlife, food is arranged on buffet tables. Lunch and dinner are similarly served, and guests enjoy afternoon tea or evening cocktails on the veranda, enjoying views of herds of buffalo, gazelles, or elephants.

Although high-end tourism brings in the most money for the countries of East and southern Africa, mid-priced and even budget-priced alternatives are becoming more common. In some areas even camping accommodations are being provided for visitors. Indeed, in contrast to the conventional vehicle-driven safari, some tourists, especially in SOUTH AFRICA and BOTSWANA, choose to go on "walking safaris," where they hike through the nature preserve with a guide who is well educated in regard to animal behavior and the workings of a given ecosystem.

At the other extreme, safaris for hunting big game are once again appearing. Highly popular during the

colonial period, hunting safaris tended to fade away with independence and the subsequent efforts at CONSERVATION. Recently, however, owners—usually white—of large tracts of land have turned from cattle and sheep ranching to raising game. These farm-raised animals are then "hunted" by Americans and Europeans, who then can have their "trophies" mounted at conveniently located taxidermy shops.

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Saharawi People of WESTERN SAHARA who have been fighting for self-rule since the imposition of Spanish colonial rule, in 1884. The Saharawi are descended from Arabs who, in the 15th century, migrated from Yemen. By the 18th century the western Saharan region of Saguia el-Hamra had become known as the "Land of Saints," a center of Islamic culture. Before the Spanish colonial conquest toward the end of the 19th century, the Saharawi was a loose confederation of peoples. A governing body known as the Assembly of Forty featured representatives from each group, but the various Saharawi peoples were largely autonomous.

Determined to maintain its claims to the Canary Islands, Spain established a protectorate over the region between Cape Blanc and Cape Bojador, in 1884, and then established the colony of Spanish Sahara. By 1906 the Saharawi had mounted a strong resistance to the Spanish colonization effort. By 1912 France had entered the conflict after reaching an agreement with Spain to make MOROCCO a French protectorate. The Saharawi resisted the combined efforts of France and Spain until 1934, when they were temporarily pacified by the French army. In 1936 Spain finally gained full control of its colony.

In 1956 the Saharawi rose up again, and in 1958, with the support of now independent Morocco, a joint Spanish-French military effort called the Ecouvillon Operation annihilated the Saharawi army. Two years later Spain ceded some of the western Sahara to Morocco but maintained control over Saguia el-Hamra and the Río de Oro (now Dakhla) peninsula.

In 1967 the fiercely independent Saharawi once again began a resistance movement to Spanish rule, organizing the Movement for the Liberation of the Sahara. Mohammed Sidi Brahim Bassiri (1942–1970) led the renewed resistance effort. In 1970 a large, nonviolent demonstration in the colonial capital of LAAYOUNE (El Aaiun) led to a massacre of the demonstrators by Spanish forces. In response, in 1973, an organized armed resistance group named the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro, or the POLISARIO Front, was formed. The Polisario launched campaigns against Span-

ish settlers until the European colonizer finally withdrew its claims to Western Sahara, in 1976. That year, the Saharawi declared the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic. The victory for the Saharawi was short-lived, however, as Morocco and MAURITANIA entered into fray, laying claim to the north and south of the territory, respectively (See Western Sahara map, page 452.) The Polisario continued its battle for liberation, causing Mauritania to relinquish its claims, in 1979, and forcing a cease-fire with Morocco, in 1991.

The cease-fire was supposed to lead to a UN referendum that would decide Western Sahara's inde-pendence. However, Morocco rejected any appeals to withdraw claims to the region and attempted to influence the outcome of any potential referendum by sending thousands of Moroccan settlers into Western Sahara. The referendum has been repeatedly delayed as the United Nations attempts to identify eligible voters. As of 2004 the Saharawi had yet to throw off the yoke of Moroccan rule.

See also: UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

Samba, Chéri (1956–) *Painter from the Democratic Republic of the Congo*

Born in 1956 in the colonial Belgian Congo, Chéri Samba dropped out of school at a young age to become a sign painter in his native KINSHASA. Without any formal ART training, he began painting and developed a vivid style that eventually combined bright, colorful graphics with political and social texts.

Although Samba's works have been compared to the political and historical paintings of such French artists as Edouard Manet (1832–1883) and Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), his paintings also have been linked to the social realism of the Mexican artist Diego Rivera (1886–1957). In many ways, however, Samba, a self-taught artist, evolved his own style, one that is rooted in the direct communication of the advertising billboards he painted in his youth. Deeply committed to both social and political causes, Samba's art, like its creator, attempts to communicate, with both pictures and words, a demand for a more humanitarian world. In works such as his 1989 painting, *Le Sida* (*AIDS*), for example, he depicts three women, two holding drug capsules and one grasping a globe, with all three objects covered with condoms; below are large letters spelling out the words "Aids is still incurable but preventable."

Samba's work has been widely exhibited in Africa, Europe, and North America, in group shows in such places as the Académie des Beaux-Arts, in Kinshasa, and the Centre George Pompidou-La-Villette, in Paris, and in individual exhibits in Paris, Barcelona, Berlin, Amsterdam, Chicago, and New York. There is a major collection of his work at the Institut des Musées Nationaux in his native Democratic Republic of the Congo.

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Samkange, Stanlake (1922–1988) *Zimbabwean writer and activist*

Stanlake Samkange grew up in the family of a Methodist minister and became one of the best-known Zimbabwean intellectuals of his generation. A political activist in the 1950s, Samkange opposed the white settler monopoly of political power in the region and pushed for gradual civil reforms. He began planning for a school, Nyatsime College, in the early 1950s, and from 1957 to 1959 he studied at Syracuse University, in the United States.

In 1965 the Rhodesian government of Ian SMITH (1919–) issued its UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, which sparked an armed struggle for independence the following year. Samkange, opposed to militant methods of liberation, returned to the United States for further education. Already holding a master's degree from Syracuse, he enrolled at Indiana University, where he earned a doctorate in history. Between 1968 and 1976 he taught on the history faculties of Northeastern, Tennessee State, Fisk, and Harvard universities. During this period he wrote extensively, publishing both historical studies and fiction. Among his historical works were *Origins of Rhodesia* (1968) and *African Saga: A Brief Introduction to African History* (1971). One of his most popular works, a historical novel called *On Trial for My Country* (1966), is a fictional account of the intersecting lives of the Ndebele king, Lobengula (1836–1894), and Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902). Samkange's 1968 historical study, *Origins of Rhodesia,* received the 1969 Herskovits Award of the U.S. African Studies Association as the best scholarly work published on Africa the previous year. Another book, *The Mourned One* (1975), dealt with African Christians and white MISSIONARIES.

In 1977 Samkange returned home to become a political advisor to Rhodesia's first African president, Bishop Abel MUZOREWA (1925–), and also to serve as secretary of education. African nationalists, however, regarded the Muzorewa government as a front for continued white power. When, in 1980, an independent ZIMBABWE emerged out of the political ashes of RHODESIA, Samkange left politics behind to become director of Harare Publishing House.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); LOBENGULA (Vol. IV); RHODES, CECIL (Vol. IV); SAMKANGE, STANLAKE (Vol. IV); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

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Sankoh, Foday (1937–2003) *Rebel leader in Sierra Leone*

A former photographer and television cameraman, Foday Sankoh was a student leader before joining the SIERRA LEONE army. He was imprisoned in 1971 for treason. Following his release from prison, in 1984, Sankoh trained at a camp for revolutionaries in LIBYA, where he met Charles TAYLOR (1948–), the future president of LIBERIA.

After returning to West Africa, Sankoh became the self-styled political leader of the REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT (RUF), a rebel group that claimed to fight against government CORRUPTION in Sierra Leone. In March 1991, with Taylor's support, Sankoh and the RUF began launching attacks into Sierra Leone from LIBERIA.

Sankoh's stated purpose was to liberate Sierra Leone from the excesses of a corrupt elite. However, he and his rebel group quickly evolved into a band of pillagers. They used violent tactics including abduction, forced conscription of young boys, systematic raping of young girls, looting, and arson. They also profited from selling illegal diamonds to Liberian agents. During the war, which lasted from 1991 to 2001, as many as 50,000 people died. In addition, more than half the population fled Sierra Leone to seek refuge in neighboring countries.

With the nation in upheaval, in May 1997 Major Johnny Paul Koroma (1960–) led a COUP D'ÉTAT to overthrow Ahmad Tejan KABBAH (1932–), the democratically elected leader. Koroma then offered to share power with Sankoh and the RUF in the new military government called the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). However, in February 1998 troops from a peacekeeping force organized by the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS) drove the AFRC from the capital at FREETOWN. Following the AFRC ouster, RUF rebels went back on the attack.

In January 1999 Sankoh was captured and sentenced to death for treason. In retaliation the RUF staged a bloody three-week occupation of Freetown. An estimated 5,000 civilians were burned or shot to death, 3,000 children were kidnapped, and hundreds of buildings were looted and burned by the rebels. Efforts to stop the violent conflict led, in July 1999, to an ECOWAS-brokered peace deal. The agreement, which was signed in LOMÉ, TOGO, gave Sankoh the vice presidency in a new coalition government. He also became the chairman of the Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources—the ministry responsible for running the diamond mines.

Frequent breaches of the peace accord stirred up popular unrest, and in May 2000 an estimated 20,000 people marched on Sankoh's villa in Freetown. Sankoh was eventually captured and sent to face war-crime charges in an international tribunal. In court appearances following his capture Sankoh was incoherent and sickly. In 2002 he suffered a stroke and was transferred from a prison cell to a

prison hospital. Following repeated hospitalizations, he died in UN custody on July 31, 2003.

São Tomé (city) Capital city and principal port of the tropical island country of SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE, which is located off the coast of GABON in western Central Africa. The city of São Tomé, located on the northeastern shore of the island of the same name, became the national capital at independence, in 1975. The island's economy, which in the colonial era was based on the production of sugar, has since changed over to the production of other CASH CROPS, especially cocoa and coffee. Today the port of São Tomé also exports copra (dried coconut meat) and bananas. The city's light industry includes the manufacture of soap, beverages, and tiles.

The 53,300 inhabitants of the city (2003 estimate) constitute about one-third of the entire population of the country. Most are descended from Portuguese colonists, African plantation workers, or a mix of the two. People in São Tomé speak Portuguese, the official language of the country, or a Portuguese-based Creole language.

Visitors to São Tomé enjoy the relaxed tropical climate and the city's numerous lush, beautifully kept parks and gardens. In addition, the city is the site of the National Museum of São Tomé and Príncipe, which is housed in an old Portuguese fort. São Tomé is characterized by its crumbling, yet charming, colonial buildings. These contrast sharply with the few Soviet-style buildings constructed after the postindependence government established ties with the Communist-bloc countries.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SLAVERY (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

São Tomé and Príncipe Small nation made up of two islands, located just north of the equator off the coast of GABON, in western Central Africa. One-third of the country's 140,000 inhabitants (2003 estimate) live in the capital city of SÃO TOMÉ, located on the island of that name. Only one-fifth of the country's population lives on the smaller island of Príncipe.

Totaling some 390 square miles (1,010 sq km), the islands were first settled by the Portuguese in the late 15th century. Historically the islands' economic focus has been the production of CASH CROPS for export—first sugar, and later coffee and cocoa. From the beginning of their settlement, human captives were brought from the central African mainland to the islands to work on Portuguese-owned plantations.

São Tomé and Príncipe at Independence As a result of harsh working conditions, dissent among the laborers turned into an independence movement in the mid-20th century. When São Tomé and Príncipe gained independence, in 1975, the principal leader of the independence movement, Manuel Pinto da Costa (1937–   ), became the country's first president. At that time most of the Portuguese plantation owners and government officials left the country, leaving a population composed mostly of the descendants of freed slaves and people of mixed Portuguese and African ancestry.

After independence the nation was one of the first African countries to make substantial moves towards DEMOCRATIZATION. A strong commitment to civil liberties has led to an excellent HUMAN RIGHTS record and several peaceful national multiparty elections. In 2001 Fradique DE MENEZES (1942–   ) was elected president of the nation for a five-year term. However, in July 2003 a military junta led by Major Fernando Pereira briefly seized governmental power. Although de Menezes was soon reinstated, ongoing coup threats have cast a cloud over the country's future.

In addition to democratic reforms the nation has also instituted numerous economic reforms under STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT policies. Attempts to diversify the nation's economy, however, have met with mixed success. Although fertile volcanic soils and plentiful rainfall make the island nation well suited for AGRICULTURE, it is at the same time very isolated, making DEVELOPMENT difficult. Cocoa is the major export and is responsible for the majority of the country's foreign exchange earnings, but the islands still must rely on foreign ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. Some fishing contributes to the economy. The recent discovery of offshore OIL reserves holds the potential for a rapid improvement in the economic situation of the islands' inhabitants.

The government of São Tomé and Príncipe recently has made efforts to invest in INFRASTRUCTURE related to TOURISM, hoping that the physical beauty of the tropical islands—with their dense FORESTS, dramatic volcanic peaks, and numerous endemic species—will attract many visitors.

See also: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Saro-Wiwa, Ken (Kenule Beeson Saro-Wiwa) (1941–1995) *Nigerian writer and political activist*

Born in the coastal town of Bori, in southern NIGERIA, Saro-Wiwa was a member of the OGONI, an ethnic minority living in the OIL-rich NIGER DELTA. Anticipating a career in academia, he attended the University of IBADAN and the Government College at Umuahia. He taught at Umuahia and then at the University of Lagos until the outbreak of the Biafran War (1967–70), at which time he became employed in civil administration. In 1968 he became administrator of the port of Bonny and afterwards took the position of minister of the Rivers State. Saro-Wiwa is most celebrated for his novels concerning the Biafran War. Beginning with *Sozaboy* (1985), he devel-

oped a large body of fiction, including *A Forest of Flowers* (1986), *Prisoners of Jebs* (1988), and *On a Darkling Plain* (1989). He also produced children's books, a book of poems, and a number of books based on the popular television series *Basi and Company.* Though his adult fiction dealt largely with the Biafran War and the upheaval in Nigeria, Saro-Wiwa's writing was sometimes humorous and often satirical.

> **Being part of an ethnic minority, Saro-Wiwa could not rely on his native tongue for his writing, as it would not reach a wide enough audience. Therefore, he wrote in English, distinguishing between "pure" English and "rotten" English, the latter being a pidgin Nigerian dialect. *Sozaboy* (Soldier Boy) won international recognition for its use of "rotten" English.**

Saro-Wiwa is perhaps best remembered, however, for his political activism on behalf of his Ogoni people. The Ogoni homeland holds vast oil reserves, which are central to Nigeria's economy. The various military governments that ruled Nigeria since 1966 collaborated with MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, such as the Shell Oil Company, to exploit the oil resources of Ogoniland. Oil extraction devastated the local environment, polluting the soil and water that the Ogoni had once thrived on. Being a minority in a country dominated by three major ethnic groups (the YORUBA, IGBO, and HAUSA-Fulani), the Ogoni could do little to voice their grievances.

Saro-Wiwa was horrified by the conditions his people were forced to live in and he formed the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). The organization spoke out against dictator Sani ABACHA (1943–1998), accusing the government of conducting what amounted to genocide against the Ogoni. It also called for the even distribution of oil revenue, reparations from the oil companies, and the removal of oil company operations from Ogoni lands. Saro-Wiwa outlined these grievances in the essay collection *Nigeria: The Brink of Disaster* and *Similia: Essays on Anomic Nigeria,* both published in 1991.

Despite the fact that Saro-Wiwa and MOSOP advocated nonviolent protest, Abacha launched a campaign of retribution against the Ogoni. Nigerian soldiers rampaged through Ogoni villages in an effort to force the Ogoni back into submission. In 1993 Saro-Wiwa was imprisoned for four weeks on charges of treason but was released after an international outcry.

In 1994 a MOSOP meeting that Saro-Wiwa did not attend erupted into a clash between Saro-Wiwa's supporters and a pro-government faction, resulting in the deaths of four of the dissenting chiefs. The government seized the opportunity to imprison Saro-Wiwa again, along with eight other MOSOP leaders, on charges of inciting the murders. In 1995, after a trial that was, by all accounts, a mockery, the defendants were sentenced to death. Eight days later Saro-Wiwa and the other eight MOSOP members were executed.

The result of Saro-Wiwa's death was an international backlash against Abacha and the Shell Oil Company. Nigeria was suspended from the British Commonwealth, a number of nations ceased diplomatic relations with the country, and the WORLD BANK withdrew $100 million in aid. In spite of government propaganda aimed at defaming Saro-Wiwa, he has achieved the status of hero both among the Ogoni and worldwide.

> **Saro-Wiwa's *A Month and A Day: A Detention Diary* (1995), written while he was in prison and published after his death, expresses the universality of the Ogoni situation and argues that inequalities of power exist in every country.**

See also: BIAFRA (Vol. V); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Sassou-Nguesso, Denis (1943–) *President of the Republic of the Congo*

The Republic of the CONGO, unstable and undermined by ethnic tensions since its independence from colonial rule in 1960, benefited little under the administration of Sassou-Nguesso. Born in Edou, in the north of the country, Sassou-Nguesso became involved in the nationalist movement against colonialism and left his teaching job to join the army. In 1962 he was made commander of the BRAZZAVILLE military zone. His career in the army became increasingly successful, culminating in his reaching the rank of colonel.

Sassou-Nguesso was close to the country's Marxist president, Marien Ngouabi (1938–1977), and became his minister of defense in 1975. Two years later he was appointed vice president of the military committee of Ngouabi's Congolese Worker's Party (Parti Congolais Du Travail, PCT). However, Nguouabi was assassinated that same year. Joachim Yhombi-Opango (1939–) assumed the presidency and moved away from Marxist ideals toward a more West-friendly government. Marxist elements in the PCT strongly opposed Yhombi-Opango and forced him from office in 1979. A provisional committee took over, with Sassou-Nguesso as its head. A month later he was officially appointed president.

However, Sassou-Nguesso continued to move the government away from a Marxist path. He initiated reforms designed to diminish government influence and privatize portions of the economy. In 1992 he allowed multiparty elections. Unfortunately, this led to disaster. The Panafrican Union for Social Democracy (Union Panafricaine pour la Démocratie Social, UPADS) won the elections, with Pascal Lissouba assuming the presidency. When a coalition government between UPADS and the PCT failed, the PCT allied with another party, the Union for Democratic Renewal (Union Pour le Renouveau Démocratique, URD). After a great deal of political controversy the PCT-URD coalition formed a separate gov- ernment and fomented a rebellion against Lissouba. Between 1993 and 1997 the conflict exploded into full civil war. The capital, Brazzaville, became a microcosm of the country as a whole. It was divided into three sections, with Sassou-Nguesso, Lissouba, and PCT-URD chairman Bernard Kolelas (1933–) each holding a section. The combatants laid the city to waste, forcing nearly all of its inhabitants to flee. It was not until late 1997 that Lissouba was forced into exile and Sassou-Nguesso declared victory.

After retaking the presidency, in 1998, Sassou-Nguesso was once again faced with war when Lissouba and Kolelas loyalists rebelled. In 1999 the intervention of GABON's president, Omar BONGO (1935–), eventually led to a peace with a majority of the rebels. Under international pressure Sassou-Nguesso reformed the constitution to democratize the government. In 2002 Sassou-Nguesso won the presidential elections, though there was significant evidence of fraud. Violence once again broke out following Sassou-Nguesso's election, as rebel activity escalated.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); STATE, ROLE OF (Vol. V).

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Savimbi, Jonas (Savimbi Jonas Malheiro)
(1934–2002) *Angolan nationalist*

Jonas Savimbi was born in the Portuguese colony of ANGOLA. His father was an influential Ovimbundu chief who also worked on the Benguela railroad as a stationmaster. In addition his father was a preacher who promoted Protestant Christianity in opposition to the dominant Catholic Church. Savimbi was educated at Angolan missionary schools and ultimately earned a scholarship to study in Portugal. He studied MEDICINE in Lisbon, but his anti-Portuguese activism led him to move to Switzerland, where he continued his studies at the University of Lausanne.

Savimbi met Holden ROBERTO (1923–) in 1961 and soon joined Roberto's Popular Union of Angola (União das Populações de Angola, UPA), an independence movement aimed at toppling Portuguese colonial rule. Savimbi became the UPA secretary-general and played a key role in forming the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA, a UPA splinter group. He soon broke with Roberto, however, believing in undertaking the independence struggle from within Angola rather than leading it from exile, as Roberto was doing. After spending time in guerrilla training camps in China, Savimbi returned to Angola, and in 1966 he formed the NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, UNITA).

Although it claimed to oppose ethnic-based organizations, UNITA generally promoted the interests of the Ovimbundu peoples of southern and eastern Angola. Because of this, UNITA waged a guerrilla war against the Portuguese. After independence it also fought against the Mbundu-dominated, northern-based POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA), led by Agostinho NETO (1922–1979).

Neto became the president of Angola at independence, but civil war soon broke out. Other countries became deeply involved, and Angolan politics became enmeshed in the Cold War. Over the course of the civil war the United States, China, and SOUTH AFRICA backed UNITA and Savimbi, while Cuba and the former Soviet Union supported the MPLA government.

A peace agreement signed in 1991 led to UN-supervised elections two years later. UNITA lost the elections, but the party was offered positions in a government of national unity—including the vice presidency for Savimbi. Savimbi rejected the offer, and UNITA resumed its military struggle against the now-legitimate government of Angola.

In the 1990s UNITA's control of Angola's diamond-MINING region helped Savimbi illegally finance his ongoing armed rebellion. Although his opportunistic tactics brought international criticism, at the same time Savimbi was lauded by his supporters for being both a strong leader as well as a crusader for democracy. Ultimately Savimbi faced opposition both from within his own UNITA party and from the Angolan government. Savimbi was ambushed and assassinated by government troops on February 22, 2002.

See also: CHINA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CUBA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OVIMBUNDU (Vols. II, III, IV); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, shown here in 1989, used illegal diamond profits to fund UNITA, his opposition political group. Angola's civil war ended after Savimbi's assassination, in 2002. © AP/Wide World Photos

Further reading: Elaine Windrich, *The Cold War Guerrilla: Jonas Savimbi, the U.S. Media, and the Angolan War* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).

science Africa has a long history of scientific discovery and knowledge. However, scientific study by indigenous Africans stagnated during the colonial period, gaining momentum again only after independence. Prior to World War II (1939–45) it was common for African scientists to export objects of scientific importance to Europe to be studied by western scientists. After the war, however, scientific research centers and university science departments within Africa began training African scientists. By the 1960s and 1970s prestigious science departments had been established at many of Africa's major universities, including the University of LAGOS, in NIGERIA, and the University of DAR ES SALAAM, in TANZANIA. In addition science councils, such as the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, were established to promote western science in Africa.

Unfortunately a widespread economic decline during the 1980s and 1990s forced states to decrease funding to their public university systems. As a result the quality of the scientific study at many of Africa's universities faltered. At the same time, however, scientific research performed by international agencies remained a strong component of foreign involvement in Africa. Today there are numerous NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS and government ministries that have teamed up to conduct research on the continent. The primary fields of study for these teams are the agricultural, biological, physical, and medical sciences.

An unwanted side effect of the international aspect of science training in Africa is the "brain drain" phenomenon. While some excellent African scientists received their advanced training from African universities, many others studied abroad in Europe or the United States. Because science studies in the West are better funded, the labs and science programs found there are generally superior to those in Africa. As a result some African scientists found it difficult to return to Africa to study, train, or teach, thereby draining the continent of some of its best and brightest scholars.

See also: SCIENCE (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Senegal Country on West Africa's Atlantic coast that is defined to the north and northeast by the Senegal River. Senegal covers about 76,000 square miles (196,800 sq km) and is bordered to the north by MAURITANIA, to the east by the Republic of MALI, and to the south by GUINEA and GUINEA-BISSAU. In a unique feature of political geography, Senegal nearly surrounds the country of The GAMBIA, except for The Gambia's western, coastal border.

Senegal at Independence Upon gaining its independence from France, Senegal joined the Mali Federation in June 1960. The Mali Federation was short-lived, however, and in August Senegal pulled out. Senegal then

became a republic, with Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001) as the country's first president. By 1962 Senegal was politically unstable, and Senghor had to put down an attempted COUP D'ÉTAT. Consolidating his power, in 1966 Senghor replaced Senegal's multiparty democracy with a single-party state that was controlled by his SENEGALESE PROGRESSIVE UNION (Union Progressiste Sénégalaise, UPS).

At the time, Senegal's economy was, and still is, largely agricultural and dependent upon a single crop—groundnuts (peanuts). Under French rule the groundnut trade and other industries were controlled by private enterprises. This gradually changed, as Senghor promoted a form of African Socialism that placed control over much of the country's economic direction in the hands of the government.

However, Senghor moved away from economic socialism in the 1970s, and, in an effort to diversify the economy, he emphasized new industries beyond groundnut cultivation such as TOURISM and fishing. Still, the health of Senegal's economy remained greatly affected by factors outside of the country's control, including fluctuations in the international price of groundnuts and OIL.

In an effort to alleviate the dependent nature of its economy, in 1973 Senegal joined other West African nations to create the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES, which was organized to promote economic and political cooperation among its member nations.

In 1981 Senghor resigned, and his handpicked successor, Abdou DIOUF (1935–   ), assumed the presidency. Diouf continued Senghor's move toward privatization of industries formerly controlled by the government. He also continued Senegal's shift, begun by Senghor in 1978, from a single-party political system to a multiparty democracy. In the midst of these reforms Diouf faced a new threat, as armed separatists became active in Casamance, a southwestern region of Senegal isolated from the rest of the country by The Gambia. These separatists formed the Movement of Democratic Forces in the Casamance (Mouevement des Forces Démocratiques du le Casamance, MFDC) to organize their resistance.

Diouf continued to introduce further economic and political reforms, selling government-owned companies and allowing more political parties. In 1982, following an attempted coup d'état against The Gambia's president, Dawda Kairaba JAWARA (1924–   ), Senegal joined The Gambia in the SENEGAMBIA CONFEDERATION. The immedi-

ate purpose of the organization was to guarantee mutual security with a long-range plan for an economic and military union. However, in 1989 disputes over economic issues and the sharing of political power forced the dissolution of the organization.

Meanwhile Senegal faced new threats to its political and economic stability. From 1989 to 1991 it engaged Mauritania in a border war that began as a dispute over land and water access in the Senegal River plain. This conflict deteriorated into ethnic fighting between the Maures and a coalition of Fulani and Tukulors. At the same time, the MFDC continued its insurgency in the Casamance region, leading to a decline in the tourism industry and the movement of REFUGEES into neighboring Guinea-Bissau.

In 2000 an opposition party led by Abdoulaye WADE (1926–   ) defeated Diouf and his Socialist Party, which had evolved from the UPS. Despite the new leadership, Senegal continues to face diplomatic difficulties. Though the MFDC signed a peace accord with the government in 2001, die-hard secessionists remained active in the Casamance.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SENEGAL (Vols. I, II, III, IV); SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); SENEGAMBIA REGION (Vol. IV); SENEGAL RIVER (Vols. I, II).

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Senegalese Progressive Union (Union Progressiste Sénégalaise, UPS)

Ruling Party of SENEGAL for more than 40 years. In 1976 it changed its name to the Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste, PS). Founded in 1958 by Senegal's first president, Léopold SENGHOR (1906–2001), the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS) positioned itself as the ruling party by handily winning the national elections of 1959. In April 1960 Senegal gained its independence with Senghor as president. In 1966 Senghor declared Senegal a one-party state.

Even though the UPS was Senegal's only legal party, the country still held regular elections, and Senghor encouraged political opponents to join the UPS. Although Senghor easily won reelection for the third time, in 1973, Senegal's poor economy led to increasing dissatisfaction with his growing stranglehold on power. In 1976 Senghor pushed through changes to the constitution permitting the formation of competing parties, and the UPS changed its name to the Socialist Party.

Senghor and the Socialist Party Senghor and the PS handily won the national elections in 1978, and Senghor remained firmly in control of Senegal's government. When he retired in 1981 Senghor was able to handpick his successor, Abdou DIOUF (1935–   ).

Under Diouf, the PS organized youth and women's movements within the party, using the youth organizations as a feeder system for the national party. In 1991, in response to renewed pressure to increase political competition, Senegal's constitution was changed to allow for more political parties. Diouf lost the 2000 presidential election to Abdoulaye WADE (1926–   ), a defeat that marked an end to more than 40 years of PS political dominance. The party, however, still remained a strong force in Senegal's government.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Senegambia Confederation (1981–1989) Short-lived agreement between the Republic of SENEGAL and The GAMBIA that intended to integrate the military, trade, and governmental institutions of the two nations. Following the independence of Senegal (1960) and The Gambia (1965), several unsuccessful attempts were made to unite the two countries. Senegal completely surrounds The Gambia except along the coast, and the populations of both Senegal and The Gambia are mostly Wolof-speaking Muslims. They generally consider themselves a single people who were divided into two when France and Britain partitioned their territory during the colonial era. Furthermore, the territorial configuration of The Gambia as a political entity did not correlate well with the region's culture or economy.

In 1981 President Abdou DIOUF (1935–   ) of Senegal sent forces to help Gambian president Dawda Kairaba JAWARA (1924–   ) thwart an attempted COUP D'ÉTAT. The violent incident led the two presidents to draw up plans for confederation that would be put into effect the following year. According to the agreement, the individual states would maintain their independence and sovereignty, but the confederation would "strengthen the unity of their defense and their economies and the coordination of their policies in other fields."

Since Senegal was the larger of the two nations in both land area and population, Diouf was made the president and Jawara the vice president of the Senegambia Confederation. Two-thirds of the confederal parliament was selected from among the Senegalese Parliament, and the remaining one-third was selected from The Gambian House of Representatives. However, the union never lived up to its promise, for the most part because of The Gambia's reluctance to cede substantial governmental power to Senegal. In September 1989, eight years after its creation, The Gambia withdrew from the Senegambia Confederation and the union was dissolved.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SENEGAMBIA (Vol. III); SENEGAMBIA REGION (Vol. IV); WOLOF (Vols. II, IV).

Senghor, Léopold (Léopold Sédar Senghor) (1906–2001) *First president of Senegal*

Between the end of World War II, in 1945, and the independence of SENEGAL, in 1960, Léopold Senghor established himself as his country's leading political and cultural figure. He worked closely with French and African politicians, playing a critical role in Senegal's transition from colony to independent country. At the same time, he became a leading spokesperson for the pan-African literary and cultural movement known as *Négritude* and was a co-founder of *Présence Africaine,* which served as the movement's leading journal.

When Senegal achieved independence Senghor was in position to become the country's first president. Despite coming from a minority ethnic group, the Serer, and despite being a Christian in a country that was overwhelmingly Muslim, Senghor was widely recognized by the Senegalese people as the best candidate. His presidency was not an unqualified success, however, and he had to thwart an attempted COUP D'ÉTAT in 1962. Beyond this his steadfast alliance with France and the establishment of a one-party
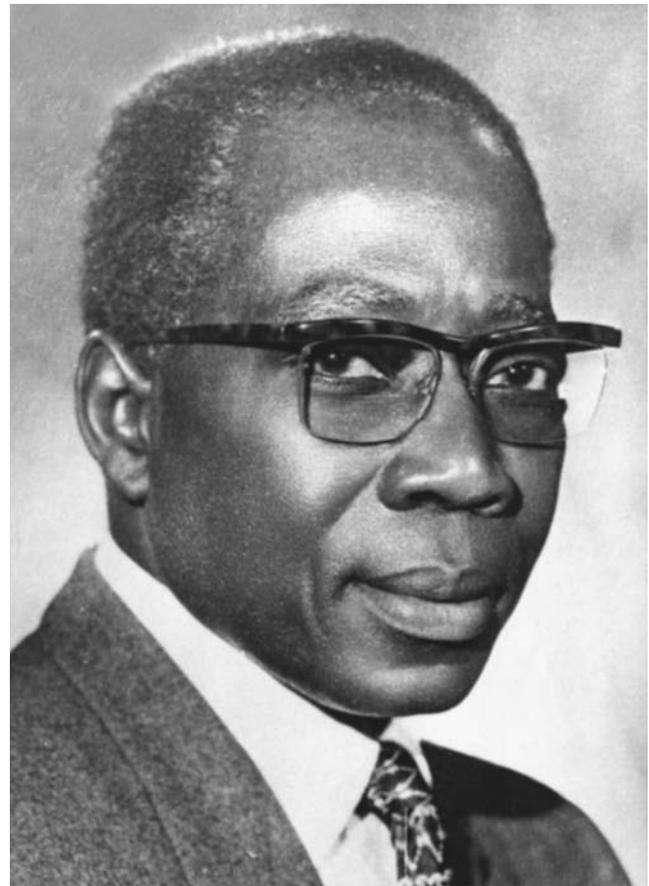
Senegalese president Léopold Senghor, shown in 1972, was known as much for his literary and cultural achievements as he was for his political leadership. © AP/Wide World Photos

socialist state led to unrest and student riots. Yet he was an adroit politician, serving as president until 1980, when he voluntarily relinquished the office to his handpicked successor, Abdou DIOUF (1935–   ). Senghor was one of only a handful of African political leaders of his generation to retire willingly from presidential office, and by doing so he became a highly respected and influential elder African statesman.

Throughout his presidency Senghor continued with his literary and cultural activities. In 1966, for example, he sponsored the First World Festival of Negro Arts, in DAKAR. His French literary skills earned him the honor of being the first African elected to the French Academy, France's most distinguished intellectual institution. His election to the academy along with his sponsorship of the World Festival illustrate the complex Senghor—a man equal parts African and French.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol.V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NÉGRITUDE (Vol. IV); PAN-AFRICANISM (Vols. IV, V); *PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE* (Vol. IV); SENGHOR, LÉOPOLD (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Janet G. Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Seychelles Archipelago located in the western Indian Ocean. It is made up of two island clusters: the inhabited Mahé group of 40 islands, and the largely uninhabited coralline islands, numbering about 70. The Seychelles became an independent nation in the British Commonwealth in 1976.

The Seychelles were a French possession until 1814, when the Treaty of Paris turned control of the islands over to Britain. The Seychellois, as the islands' inhabitants are called, began moving toward independence in the 1960s. Britain allowed universal suffrage for the Seychellois, and an elected governing council was eventually set up to administer the colony. Increasing autonomy led to greater political activity, and a developing urban, professional middle class began to challenge the landed elite, who had dominated the islands' political scene since 1948.

This new middle class supported the development of two political parties: the Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP), led by Sir James MANCHAM (c. 1939–   ), and the Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP), led by France-Albert RENÉ (1935–   ). The parties differed in opinion on virtually every topic of importance to the Seychelles, particularly the issue of independence. Mancham's SDP favored continued ties with Britain, while René's SPUP wanted full autonomy. By the early 1970s, however, Britain's general lack of interest in the Seychelles, as well as burgeoning international criticism of colonialism, led the

SDP, too, to change its tack and favor independence. In 1974 elections were held to establish a government in preparation for full autonomy. Mancham and the SDP won the elections amid great controversy and claims of rigged results. Regardless, a coalition government was formed, and in 1976 the Republic of the Seychelles became an independent nation within the British Commonwealth, with Mancham as president and René as vice president.

In 1971 an international airport opened on the Seychelles' main island of Mahé. The airport had an immediate impact, as travelers no longer had to endure long ocean voyages to reach the islands. TOURISM quickly became the Seychelles' dominant industry, and now accounts for three-quarters of the islands' economy.

Mancham held the presidency for only one year, however. While he was abroad a group of Tanzanian-trained SPUP members staged a COUP D'ÉTAT and placed René in power. René reorganized the government and SPUP, establishing a new constitution, in 1979, that allowed for only one legal political party, namely the SPUP's new incarnation, the Seychelles People's Progressive Front. Applying socialist policies, René won popular support among the Seychellois as the standard of living increased. René had enemies among the upper classes, however, and between 1978 and 1987 he had to survive a number of coup attempts.

In 1981 an attempt to overthrow René was made by a group of mercenaries led by the Irish colonel Michael "Mad Mike" Hoare, who was already famous for his exploits in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. The mercenaries, posing as a rugby team, tried to enter the country but were discovered. They escaped by hijacking a passenger plane, eventually landing in SOUTH AFRICA, where the government imprisoned a number of the mercenaries for their crimes. Hoare claimed the attempted coup had been supported by South African intelligence.

The exiled Mancham also tried to undermine René's government, which responded by seizing lands owned by political opponents living outside of the Seychelles. In 1991 pressure from Britain and France led René to allow for a multiparty government. In spite of this René still won the presidential elections in 1993, 1998, and 2001. In April 2004, however, René stepped down and chose his vice president and long-time ally, James Alix Michel (1944–   ), to be his successor.

Today the Seychelles benefit from a strong tourist industry, drawing travelers from across the world to take in the islands' beaches and lush scenery. The islands also have

a strong fishing industry, with main EXPORTS of coconuts, vanilla, and guano (bird droppings used for fertilizer). The Seychellois, largely a people of both African and Asian descent, live mostly in Victoria, the capital city on the main island of Mahé. Creole is the main spoken tongue, though English and French are also official languages.

See also: SEYCHELLES (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

sharia Islamic law, containing bodies of rules that govern Muslims. Although there are several schools of thought and law within Islam, the general notion of the strict application of *sharia* within pluralistic African countries has met with controversy. This has been true even when Muslim theologians and politicians have argued that any punishments meted out by the Islamic theological courts would apply only to Muslims.

The question of the imposition of *sharia* received a human face during the late 20th and early 21st centuries with the famous case of Safiyatu Huseini. An Islamic court found her guilty of adultery with a married man and condemned her to death by stoning. Her case, in which she claimed that her pregnancy was the result of rape, not adultery, is one of several that attracted international attention. Ultimately an appeals court overturned her conviction on the grounds of convincing evidence of rape.

The tenets of *sharia* are largely based on specific guidance laid down in the Quran and the way that Muslim Prophet Muhammad lived his life, known as the Sunna (the Way). Two other sources of authority are Qiyas, which is the application of *sharia* to new situations, and *ijma* (consensus). The practice of *sharia* is dependent on Islamic *ulema* (scholars), who study the laws and codify them through *maddhabs* (schools) where Islamic law, known as *fiqh*, is taught.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the widespread implementation of *sharia* was found in only a handful of countries, including Saudi Arabia, Iran, Sudan, LIBYA and Nigeria. Critics maintain that the *sharia* courts in Nigeria too often mete out harsh punishments without respecting *sharia* rules of evidence and testimony, which call for the requirement of four eyewitnesses and stipulate that a woman's testimony should be equal to a man's testimony.

See also: ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); LAW IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

Further reading: I. M. Lewis, *Islam in Tropical Africa* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press 1966).

Sharpeville Black township located near JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, that was the site of the infamous Sharpeville Massacre, March 21, 1961. The tragic event brought international attention to this township located near Vereeniging. What sparked the massacre was a peaceful gathering, organized by the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC), to protest the APARTHEID-era pass laws .

During the apartheid era, black South Africans were required to carry "passes," or identity cards that government officials used to monitor the movements of Africans within the country. The system of pass laws led to discrimination, harassment, and arbitrary arrests by the police. The attempt to eliminate the laws—and the government's obstinate determination to keep them in place—became a focal point of many protests during the anti-apartheid struggle.

In March 1961, in an attempt to call national attention to the government's unjust and racist pass laws, the PAC asked its followers to leave their pass books at home and march on police stations for voluntary arrest. Approximately 5,000 protesters gathered in the center of Sharpeville. Toward the end of the day the crowds had thinned and only about 300 protesters remained outside the station. At that time, despite the peaceful nature of the protest, nervous police officers opened fire on the crowd, killing 69 Africans and wounding 180 more. Most of the victims were shot in the back as they fled.

In response to the Sharpeville Massacre, the government declared a state of emergency, banned both the PAC and its rival, the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), and arrested thousands of Africans. The events—including the way in which the South African government handled the situation—initiated international condemnation of the apartheid system. Within a few days, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution that called for an end to apartheid.

The international and domestic reaction, however, did nothing to lessen support for apartheid among South Africa's white government leaders. Indeed, it seemed to make Prime Minister Hendrik VERWOERD (1901–1966) more determined than ever to enforce the country's racist laws. The administration's obstinacy in the face of international outrage sparked the formation of the ANC's military faction, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, which launched a sabotage campaign against the government.

In 1966, in commemoration of the massacre, the United Nations declared March 21 the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Thirty years

later South African president Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ) announced the signing of the new democratic constitution in Sharpeville. Today March 21 is celebrated in South Africa as Human Rights Day.

See also: HUMAN RIGHTS (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Philip H. Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and its Massacre* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2001).

Sierra Leone   West African country measuring approximately 27,700 square miles (71,700 sq km). Sierra Leone shares borders with GUINEA, to the north and east, and LIBERIA, to the south. It also features about 250 miles (402 km) of Atlantic Ocean coastline to the west. FREETOWN, on the coast, is the capital.

Sierra Leone at Independence Sierra Leone received its independence from Britain in 1961, formally bringing an end to a British colonial presence in the Freetown area that dated back to 1808. Dr. Milton Margai (1896–1964), who led the independence movement as head of the SIERRA LEONE PEOPLE'S PARTY, remained prime minister until his death, in 1964. He was succeeded by his half brother, Sir Albert Margai (1910–1980). The party, however, was perceived by many as favoring the Mende ethnic group, and it was defeated in the 1967 general elections by the more inclusive All Peoples Congress, which was led by Siaka Stevens (1905–1988). Following a COUP D'ÉTAT early in his presidency, Stevens consolidated control over the government, eventually declaring Sierra Leone a one-party state in 1978.

Western observers characterized Stevens' leadership as corrupt and repressive. Unwise public spending led to economic inflation, pushing the cost of many basic food items out of the reach of the average Sierra Leonean. Purchasing power and the standard of living declined, while unemployment and food prices soared, leaving many people disillusioned with their leadership.

According to the National Bank of Sierra Leone, prior to Steven's rule diamonds generated about $200 million in profits in Sierra Leone's formal economy and provided 70 percent of foreign exchange reserves. Under Stevens, however, the country's legitimate diamond industry quickly deteriorated. By 1987 diamonds passing through formal, taxable channels were valued at only $100,000. Combined with little economic diversification and insufficient capital from FOREIGN INVESTMENT, the economy quickly spiraled out of control.

The spread of CORRUPTION among figures in Stevens' government and throughout the civil service exacerbated Sierra Leone's socioeconomic and political troubles. Popular unrest resulted in a number of attacks by both civilian and army personnel. These included student riots as well as an assassination attempt on one of Steven's vice presidents by a group of soldiers.

Political Instability Leads to Civil War In 1985 Stevens turned over the presidency to his handpicked successor, Joseph Momoh (1937–2003), who led the country until 1992. That year, a group of disgruntled junior officers, led by Valentine STRASSER (1965–   ), confronted Momoh about the nonpayment of their salaries. Their protest escalated into a military coup d'état, and Strasser, merely 26 years old, ended up replacing Momoh as Sierra Leone's leader. Beyond the nonpayment of their salaries, Strasser and his fellow coup members were bitter about the situation that unfolded in 1991, when rebels attacked Sierra Leone from Liberia. Led by Foday SANKOH (1937–2003), the rebels, known as the REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT (RUF), claimed to want to end political corruption in Sierra Leone. After they entered the country, however, they were more interested in controlling the country's only sure source of income, its diamond mines. In their efforts to take control of the mines, RUF rebels killed, raped, maimed, and otherwise terrorized thousands of Sierra Leoneans during a brutal war that lasted 10 years.

In January 1996 Brigadier Julius Maada Bio (1964–   ) overthrew Strasser, who was exiled to Guinea. In elections held in March 1996, Ahmad Tejan KABBAH (1932–   ) emerged victorious to become Sierra Leone's third president. Kabbah signed a peace accord with the RUF, in November 1996, but the accord fell apart by the end of the following year. Disenchanted by Kabbah's leadership, Sankoh and an interim government called the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), ousted Kabbah in a coup. After fleeing to neighboring Guinea, Kabbah began lobbying for international support to return him to power. As a result of Kabbah's efforts, the United Nations and neighboring West African states began applying sanctions to Sierra Leone. At the same time, Britain also suspended the country's membership in the British Commonwealth.

In February 1998 Nigerian-led ECOMOG forces— the military arm of the ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES—drove the rebels and AFRC troops out of Freetown, thus paving the way for Kabbah's return, in 1998. Peace was short-lived, however. The RUF attacked the capital in January 1999, leaving an estimated 5,000 dead and thousands more maimed and injured. RUF troops also looted and burned hundreds of homes before ECOMOG forces finally drove them out. By July 1999, when government and RUF leaders finally signed a peace accord in LOMÉ, TOGO, Sierra Leone was one of the most dangerous and least developed countries in the world.

> By signing the Lomé peace treaty, Foday Sankoh was given amnesty and allowed to live under house arrest, in Freetown. In May 2000, however, an angry mob of 20,000 civilians forced him from his home and captured him. Although he survived the ordeal, Sankoh was shot in the leg, beaten, and paraded naked through the streets of Freetown.

With both sides exhausted, the war was officially declared over in January 2002. In largely peaceful elections held in May 2002, Kabbah's Sierra Leone People's Party won a landslide victory. Although Sankoh died by what appeared to be natural causes while in UN custody, the other rebel leaders were tried by a special UN war-crimes court for crimes against humanity. This, along with a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, has led the way in uniting the war-torn country and mending rifts caused by decades of chronic social and economic instability.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); SIERRA LEONE (Vols. I, II, III, IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Further reading: Earl Conteh-Morgan and Mac Dixon-Fyle, *Sierra Leone at the End of the Twentieth Century: History, Politics, and Society* (New York: P. Lang, 1999); Mariane C. Ferme, *The Underneath of Things: Violence, History, and the Everyday in Sierra Leone* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2001); Brett Sillinger, ed., *Sierra Leone: Current Issues and Background* (New York: Nova Science, 2003).

Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP)   Founded in 1951, the Sierra Leone People's Party governed SIERRA LEONE at independence, returning to power, following a COUP D'ÉTAT, in the 1990s. The party's symbol is the palm tree, its color is green, and its motto is "One Nation One People."

The SLPP brought together three political parties: the Peoples Party (PP), the Protectorate Education Progressive Union (PEPU), and the Sierra Leone Organization Society (SOS). The party led Sierra Leone to a peacefully negotiated independence, in April 1963, under the leadership of Sir Milton Margai (1896–1964). Margai became the first prime minister of Sierra Leone and served until his death, in 1964, when his half-brother, Sir Albert Margai (1910–1980), took over. The SLPP remained the governing party in Sierra Leone until 1967, when it was defeated by the All Peoples Congress (APC) headed by Siaka Stevens (1905–1988). Many of the SLPP members were ethnic Mende, and the organization was widely perceived as representing Mende interests. This view was reinforced by the fact that the primarily Mende southern

and eastern provinces, along with the western area around the capital FREETOWN, were relatively more developed than the northern province, which was mainly Temne. Additionally, economic mismanagement during Sir Albert's leadership contributed to the APC's rise in popularity. Ultimately, the SLPP went down in defeat to Siaka Stevens, who pledged extensive reform as part of his campaign platform.

Between 1967 and 1978 many members of SLPP were imprisoned, along with other opposition politicians. In 1978 Stevens instituted one-party rule, outlawing all other political parties, including the SLPP. The party was resurrected in 1995 following a referendum reinstating multiparty rule. Headed by Ahmad Tejan KABBAH (1932–   ), the SLPP emerged victorious in the March 1996 elections. The party has since governed through turbulent times, facilitating the transition to a peaceful Sierra Leone in the aftermath of the defeat of the REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT. The original SLPP motto, "One Country, One People," was expanded in 1995, following the transition back to political pluralism, to include "The only way out, the only way forward, the only way through, and power to the people."

See also: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); MARGAI, MILTON (Vol. IV); MENDE (Vol. III); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Sisulu, Albertina (Nontsikelelo Albertina Metetiwe Sisulu) (1918–   ) *South African antiapartheid activist*

The eldest of five orphaned children, Albertina Nontsikelelo was born in the Transkei, SOUTH AFRICA. After gaining certification as a nurse in JOHANNESBURG, she became politically involved as a result of her involvement with Walter SISULU (1912–2003), a pivotal member of the Youth League within the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). They married in 1944. Walter's political activities and prolonged incarceration on ROBBEN ISLAND (1964–89) kept them apart for most of their marriage.

Albertina Sisulu joined the ANC Women's League, in 1948, and co-founded the Federation of South African Women, in 1954. During the 1950s she actively opposed the implementation of BANTU EDUCATION and the extension of the government's pass system to African women. For her defiance Sisulu was repeatedly subjected to state harassment, including detention, imprisonment, house arrest, and multiple banning orders, which prevented her from meeting with more than two people at any one time.

In 1983 she helped found the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF), the leading organization dedicated to coordinating opposition groups in the struggle against APARTHEID. In 1984 she was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for her ANC-related activities, but the sen-

tence was subsequently dismissed. Beginning in 1991 Sisulu served on the ANC's National Executive Committee, and when free democratic elections were introduced to South Africa, in 1994, she was elected to office as a member of Parliament representing the ANC.

Despite repeated detentions and the rigorous demands of her political activism, Albertina Sisulu raised five children. Because of her husband's political activities and extended absences, she also had to assume the role as the family's principal breadwinner and head. A number of her children and grandchildren played roles in the dismantling of the apartheid state, also suffering imprisonment and exile in the process. In addition to her parliamentary duties, she serves as president of the World Peace Council and is involved with numerous other organizations.

See also: WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA (Vol. V).

Sisulu, Walter (Walter Max Ulyate Sisulu)

(1912–2003) *Leading figure of the African National Congress in South Africa*

A key leader of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) from the early 1940s, Walter Sisulu was committed to ending APARTHEID in SOUTH AFRICA. Because of his political activism he was frequently the target of government harassment and arrest. The tempo of repression against Sisulu and other anti-government activists greatly increased, beginning in 1960, when he was detained during the state of emergency that was imposed following the police massacre at SHARPEVILLE. After being arrested six times in 1962, Sisulu went underground. In 1963 he joined UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's armed wing, but he was arrested in July of the same year. At the Rivonia Trial in 1964 he served as the chief defense witness for his colleagues, who included Nelson MANDELA (1918–), Govan MBEKI (1910–2001), Raymond Mhlaba (1920–), Ahmad Kathrada (1920–), Lionel Bernstein (1920–2002), and Bob Hepple (1934–). The accused were found guilty but, against expectations, were not sentenced to death. Most of the defendants, including Sisulu, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Named for the suburb of JOHANNESBURG where the accused were arrested in 1963, the Rivonia Trial did much to bring the injustices of apartheid to the attention of the international community. At the trial, held in PRETORIA, South African prosecutors brought treason and sabotage charges against Sisulu and his codefendants. All were found guilty.

From 1964 to 1984 Sisulu, along with Mandela, Mbeki, Kathrada, and Mhlaba, were imprisoned on ROBBEN ISLAND, which had become the principal prison for ANC and other black anti-government political activists. In 1984 he was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison, in CAPE TOWN. Finally, in 1989 Sisulu was released and reunited with his wife, Albertina SISULU (1918–).

Walter Sisulu went on to assume an active role in the ANC during the early 1990s, serving as deputy president from 1991 until 1994 and participating in negotiations between the ANC and the government of F. W. DE KLERK (1936–). Those negotiations culminated in the formation of South Africa's first multiparty, black-majority government. After 1994, well into his eighties, Sisulu continued to assist the ANC, working out of its headquarters in Johannesburg. In addition to his own direct political legacy, his son, Zwelakhe (1950–), a LABOR union leader and journalist, and his daughter, Lindiwe Nonceba (1954–), a member of Parliament, carry on the family tradition of political activism on behalf of the disadvantaged African majority.

See also: LABOR UNIONS (Vols. IV, V).

Sithole, Ndabaningi (1920–2000) *Zimbabwe politician*

A teacher by profession, Sithole made the leap into politics in 1960 when he joined the National Democratic Party (NDP), a nationalist movement headed by Joshua NKOMO (1917–1999) that was pushing for Southern Rhodesia's independence from Britain. Sithole became an executive member and rose to the position of treasurer. In 1962 the colonial government banned the NDP, leading to the immediate birth of the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION (ZAPU). The following year dissension over Nkomo's leadership led to a split in the organization, with Sithole forming the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (ZANU).

At this time the political upheaval in Southern Rhodesia was increasing dramatically. Along with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the colony had been part of the Central African Federation beginning in 1953. However, that union collapsed in 1963, and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland achieved independence as ZAMBIA and MALAWI, respectively. Southern Rhodesia, now renamed simply RHODESIA, remained a colony of Britain.

In 1964 Ian SMITH (1919–), the Rhodesian prime minister banned ZAPU and ZANU and placed Sithole, Nkomo, and many others in detention. Then in 1965 Smith issued a UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE from Britain. The former colonial power strenuously objected but did not send troops to reclaim the rebellious colony. This left Rhodesia in the control of a white-supremacist government that had no intentions of allowing Africans to participate in its country's political affairs.

As well as being a politician and clergyman, Sithole was also an author. In 1970 Oxford University Press published his *Obed Mutezo of Zimbabwe,* which Sithole had written while in prison, smuggling out the manuscript. The book is a biographical account of the events that led Obed Mutezo, a man from an ordinary, rural background, to join the nationalist movement. Oxford had also published Sithole's earlier *African Nationalism,* which stated the case for the African position within Southern Rhodesia.

Sithole was held in detention until 1969, when he was put on trial for an alleged assassination plot against Smith. He was sentenced to another six years imprisonment. Following his release in 1974 Sithole attempted to play a role in Zimbabwe's preparations for an African-led government, brought about by British pressure on Smith and continuing guerrilla warfare led by militant factions of both ZANU and ZAPU. In spite of Sithole's efforts, however, it was his rival, Robert MUGABE (1924–), who became prime minister of newly independent ZIMBABWE in 1980.

All told Sithole was arrested and put on trial three times for allegedly plotting assassinations. In 1969 he was convicted for plotting to take the life of Prime Minister Ian Smith. The next two times (1995 and 1996) he was accused of involvement in plots against ZANU leader and Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe. Evidence against Sithole was weak in all three cases, and Sithole firmly declared each time that he had been falsely accused.

After independence Zimbabwe remained politically unstable. In the face of an intense—and frequently violent—political struggle, Sithole fled to the United States in 1987. He returned to Zimbabwe in 1991, however, and attempted to regain his political prominence. His efforts faltered and finally collapsed when the government levied charges against him accusing him of plotting to take Mugabe's life. Fearing the consequences of a guilty verdict, Sithole traveled back to the United States in 1997. He died after a heart operation in 2000.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SITHOLE, NDABANINGI (Vol. IV).

Smith, Ian (1919–) *Prime minister of former Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe)*

Ian Smith was born in Selukwe, Southern Rhodesia. After completing high school he enrolled in Rhodes University in Grahamstown, SOUTH AFRICA. World War II (1939–45), however, interrupted his studies. He joined the British Royal Air Force and was a pilot in the North African and Italian theaters of war. On returning home Smith completed his commerce degree, married Janet Watt, with whom he had three children, and became a rancher. His political career began with a stint in the Legislative Assembly (1948–53) and continued with his election to the federal Parliament of the Central African Federation (CAF). In 1958 he became the chief government whip under Prime Minister Roy Welensky (1907–1991).

Smith came into the public eye during his time as prime minister of Rhodesia. A believer in white supremacy, he insisted that political control of Southern Rhodesia remain with whites, despite the position of blacks as the country's overwhelming majority. Resisting pressure from Britain for such changes he became one of the founders of the Rhodesian Front (RF) party. It became the majority party in the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly and was in control of the government in 1964, when the dissolution of the CAF occurred and the country's name changed to RHODESIA. By this time, Smith was prime minister.

Ian Smith came to be referred to as "Iron Man Ian" or "Good Old Smithy" by his fellow white Rhodesians for his strong views regarding the racial supremacy of the white minority. His memoirs, *The Great Betrayal*, published in 1997, showed that he continued to persist in his views long after white-ruled Rhodesia was but a historical memory.

On November 11, 1965, Smith issued a UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (UDI) announcing Rhodesia's secession from the British Empire. Although he sought to evoke the ideals of the American Declaration of Independence to justify this move, the UDI was issued for the purpose of maintaining white-minority rule over the African majority. For several years Smith and his government negotiated with Britain in an effort to seek international legitimacy for Rhodesia, but internal African opposition prevented an agreement. In the meantime, a guerrilla war gradually escalated and put sufficient pressure on the government that Smith was forced to allow free elections. In 1979 Bishop Abel MUZOREWA (1925–) led his African National Council to electoral victory and replaced Smith as prime minister of what was now Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Effective control of the military, police, and civil service, however, remained in white hands and Smith essentially remained the real head of state. This arrangement could not hold in the face of growing guerrilla and international pressure, however, and within a few months the Muzorewa government agreed to recognize Britain's

sovereignty over the country. Britain in turn then granted the country independence under the name of ZIMBABWE, with Robert MUGABE (1924–) as the prime minister. The new constitutional arrangement granted whites 20 out of 100 seats in Parliament, and Smith remained a member until 1987, leading the RF opposition to Mugabe.

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

Sobhuza II (1899–1982) *King of Swaziland*

When Ngwane V (1876–1899) died in 1899, his infant son, Nkhotfotjeni, became the next monarch of SWAZILAND. The great-grandson of the first Swazi king, Sobhuza I (1785–1836), Nkhotfotjeni became Sobhuza II, though he did not actually assume power until some 20 years later. His grandmother, Ndlovukazi Labotsibeni, ruled as queen regent in the meantime.

Driven by her desire to regain Swazi lands lost to European encroachment, Labotsibeni groomed Sobhuza II to become a powerful leader. The young king was educated in Swaziland and at Lovedale College in SOUTH AFRICA. As Sobhuza II was preparing to take the throne, however, Britain established colonial rule over Swaziland. In 1907 Britain divided the nation among concessionaire companies, and the Swazis lost more than 60 percent of their lands.

In 1921 Sobhuza II became the official monarch of Swaziland, taking the title of Ngwenyama, or "the Lion." The following year he led a delegation to England demanding the return of his people's lands. Though this initial effort fell short, Sobhuza II continued to campaign over the next 15 years and ultimately succeeded in recouping an additional 13 percent of the Swazis' original lands.

Sobhuza II was a highly traditional leader, but he was also open to those western influences. When Swaziland finally gained independence in 1968, Sobhuza II continued to rule as an absolute monarch, preserving one of the few monarchies to survive colonialism.

> Upon his country's independence Sobhuza II remarked, "As one of the last countries to achieve independence, we have had the opportunity of learning from nations which have won their independence before us. We have watched them crossing rivers [and] have seen [them] being swallowed by crocodiles. Now that we have seen the crocodile-infested drifts, we shall try to cross through crocodile-free drifts to a peaceful, independent Swaziland."

In 1973, facing political opposition, Sobhuza II further consolidated his power by suspending the constitution and abolishing both the Parliament and all political parties. His death in 1982 marked the end of a 60-year reign, the longest of any monarch of his time. After a lengthy interregnum, the Crown Prince Makhosetive (1968–), one of Sobhuza's 67 sons, became King MSWATI III.

> Sobhuza, who was also known as "the Great Mountain," "the Bull," and "the Inexplicable," was greatly revered by the Swazi people. Upon his death all members of the Swazi kingdom shaved their heads as a symbol of their loss.

Sobukwe, Robert (1924–1978) *Leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa*

A political activist from his student days at FORT HARE COLLEGE in the late 1950s, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe broke with the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) and co-founded the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC). He believed that ANC's alliances with the anti-APARTHEID organizations representing other racial groups compromised the ANC's goals and undermined the self-confidence of black Africans. To signal its greater militancy and to increase its national stature, the PAC organized a campaign against pass books, the identity documents that Africans were legally compelled to carry at all times. Those who wished to participate in the protests were enjoined to report to police stations without their pass books and offer themselves up for arrest. On March 21, 1960, the first day of the campaign, nervous police opened fire on a peaceful crowd of African protesters outside a police station in SHARPEVILLE, resulting in 69 deaths. Sobukwe was arrested for incitement and imprisoned for three years.

When he was released he was rearrested by virtue of the so-called Sobukwe clause, which effectively meant that the government reserved the right to detain, without benefit of a trial, any person deemed to be a threat to the state. As a consequence, Sobukwe was sentenced to an additional six years, which he served on ROBBEN ISLAND. He was imprisoned in a small house, away from the other political prisoners, who included Nelson MANDELA (1918–). Upon Sobukwe's release from prison in 1969 he settled in Kimberley. However, he continued to be banned from meeting with more than one person at a time or from being quoted in the media. He was also forbidden to leave SOUTH AFRICA. While in prison Sobukwe received an economics degree from the University of London and also began studying law via correspondence. He ultimately established a law practice in Kimberley.

Sobukwe died of lung cancer in 1978. The Africanist philosophy he developed influenced the next generation of African political activists, particularly Steve BIKO (1946–1977), one of the most prominent anti-apartheid leaders during the 1970s, and others affiliated with the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT.

See also: KIMBERLEY (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1978).

social capital Sociological concept that implies that trust among citizens, social networks, and community institutions has positive effects on democracy and economic growth. According to some social theorists, social capital is the assessed value of our social networks and the things we do for those we know. Like economic capital, social capital can be increased, spent, and depleted. For instance, as we exchange recipes with our neighbors, notes with our colleagues, and secrets with our friends, we build trust. This makes it more likely that we will share important information that we have, or impart our personal beliefs, such as whom we will vote for in an election. Churches, schools, civic associations, and even sports clubs can all be important venues for building social capital.

For most people, life is easier in communities where there is high social capital. Simply put, where there is a high level of social capital, people trust each other more so they help each other more. Whole networks of people emerge from such trust, making coordination and cooperation easier. This, in turn, leads to collective action and improved results. When people in positions of authority, such as politicians and powerful business interests, must live up to a collective, societal trust, the incentives for opportunism and CORRUPTION are reduced.

Those who believe in the idea of social capital maintain that it adds to a sense of civic identity. Therefore it is more likely that individuals will act in groups to express their views in a democratic fashion, achieving a more robust citizen rule. However, this is not always the case, particularly in Africa.

Social capital is not based on prescribed norms. It builds common views without particular attention to the "good" of any form of organization or rule. Instead of supporting democracy, it may build a common anger toward a government or business class that is exploiting the broader population. It may bring people together, in fact, to resist, rather than support, change. And it may actually help to undermine the growth of civic institutions that support a government that people do not like. This is a particular threat where economic liberalization, commonly thought of as the driving force behind economic DEVELOPMENT, leads to dramatically negative effects on

key parts of the population of a country. For instance, in TANZANIA, President Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) created the UJAMAA policies of collective action. These policies significantly reduced ethnic, religious, and regional tensions in the country, but at the same time these policies undermined the nation's economic goals. Although a period of economic liberalization followed, *ujamaa* heightened the sense of individualism and eroded much of the newly established social unity. As a result, in recent years the overall economy has improved, but the average Tanzanian is both poorer and less likely to trust, or act in concert with, his or her neighbors.

Social capital is exceedingly important in Africa, where countries are trying simultaneously to change both political and economic institutions. More than 60 percent of sub-Saharan Africa lives a rural, agrarian lifestyle, precisely the population in which the forces of social capital are often weak. Indeed, contrary to the common myth, evidence shows that the majority of people in rural Africa prefer to solve problems on their own rather than in a group. As a result, among these populations there usually isn't the social capital necessary to form the networks that can support democratic civic change.

The growth of social capital in Africa is slow. Moreover the ability of African social capital to contribute to a desired political end is uncertain. Still there is evidence to suggest that a high level of social capital has a positive impact on household welfare in African communities. That is, an increase in social capital helps add to an increase in economic capital. For instance, when the government of SOUTH AFRICA entered into its Reconstruction and Development Program, it encouraged a social, political, and economic transformation that increased social capital. As trust and networks of trust grew, so did work opportunity and efficiency, which led to an increase in household expenditure among people participating in the program. Likewise, in SOMALIA the fall of the government in 1991 led to great upheaval. But in the Somali city of Boosaaso a high level of social capital encourage a flourishing of trade that led to a rapid increase in local incomes.

Further reading: Partha Dasgubta and Ismail Serageldin, eds., *Social Capital: a Multifaceted Perspective* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2000).

Somalia Country located in the Horn of Africa, bordered by DJIBOUTI to the northwest, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean to the north and east, and KENYA and ETHIOPIA to the west. The country covers approximately 246,000 square miles (637,100 sq km). Its nominal capital is MOGADISHU, though in recent years warring factions and various secessions have rendered any central government in Somalia ineffective.

Somalia at Independence   In 1960 the former protectorate of British Somaliland and the trust territory of Italian Somaliland joined to become the United Republic of Somalia. Abdullah Osman Daar (1908–) of the dominant southern Somali Youth League (SYL) became president. Independence held great promise, as the ethnically uniform country experienced wide political freedom and participation. However, the fault lines were already drawn that would lead to a complete rupturing of the country in later years. Similar to countries such as CHAD and the Republic of the SUDAN, Somalia was deeply divided between its northern and southern populations. The economic and political dominance of the south, where Mogadishu is situated, created an imbalance of power in the country. In addition, although Somalia was almost entirely ethnically Somali, conflicts among various Somali clans, including the Majerteen, Mareehaan, Isaaq, and Hawiye, caused rifts not unlike those experienced in more ethnically divided nations like NIGERIA and RWANDA. Added to these conditions was the drive for a "Greater Somalia," a goal outlined in the national constitution that entailed the uniting of the Somali people in French Somaliland (now DJIBOUTI), in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, and in the southern region, along the border with Kenya. Disorganized attempts to claim these regions ultimately destabilized all of Somalia.

Tensions between the north and the south boiled over for the first time in 1961 when, following political disputes over southern political dominance, northern military groups revolted against southern command. Also, in 1964 war broke out between Somalia and Ethiopia after four years of border skirmishes. The conflict only lasted a few months, but it was a harbinger of things to come.

Somalia under Barre   In 1967 clan politics, arguments over the use of force to create "Greater Somalia," and party defections combined to destabilize the government. In 1969 President Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was assassinated by a disgruntled member of a clan long powerless in the government. In the period of uncertainty that followed, a military group backed by the SYL seized power and brought Major General Mohammed Siad BARRE (1910–1995) in to serve as president. Barre immediately eliminated all threats to his power by disbanding the National Assembly, suspending the constitution, and outlawing political parties.

Somalia came under Barre's unique form of "scientific socialism," which combined Quranic teachings with Marxism and Barre's own cult of personality, which was evident in the appearance of multiple public portraits of the president in the company of such Communist figureheads as Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924). Barre's socialist position earned him the support of the Soviet Union, but in reality Barre's government was an autocratic regime kept in place through Barre's deft manipulation of clan politics and violent repression of opponents.

In 1977 Barre upset a temporary peace with Ethiopia by attempting once again to capture the Ogaden region. While an uprising at home sabotaged the effort, Ethiopian troops fended off the incursion and, in 1978, inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Somali military. Sporadic warfare continued in the region over the next 10 years. Ethiopian retribution forced Somalis living in the Ogaden back into Somalia, causing a massive wave of REFUGEES that the country was ill-equipped to handle. With the treasury dry, Barre became even more ruthless in his attempt to maintain power. He also tried to play the game of Cold War politics to secure funding, appealing to the United States, which had formerly supported Ethiopia. Employing increasingly brutal tactics, including letting his Red Beret soldiers unleash murderous campaigns against opposing clans, Barre held onto power until 1991, when guerrilla groups finally ousted the Somali strongman.

The 1990s: Descent into Chaos After Barre's fall from power, Somalia began to fracture. A region of northern Somalia declared itself independent of the rest of the country and named itself the Somaliland Republic, though the new country was never formally recognized by foreign nations. The national capital of Mogadishu became a battlefield between competing militias, led on one side by Mohammed Ali Mahdi and on the other by Mohammed AIDEED (1934–1996). Ultimately the fighting and a devastating drought combined to kill more than 300,000 Somalis. Troops from the United Nations and the United States attempted to establish a peace and bring in much-needed food supplies, but the continuing violence undermined both efforts. In particular, a 1993 U.S. attempt to capture Aideed turned into a debacle in which a number of U.S. soldiers died, leading the western power to end its military efforts in Somalia.

With no central government, Mogadishu and much of southern Somalia fell into chaos. Despite this, the Somaliland Republic, a semi-independent state in northern Somalia, basically remained stable and even saw its economy grow. In 1998 both Puntland, in northeastern Somalia, and Jubaland, in the south, also seceded from greater Somalia. A conference in 2000 established a new national government that was largely ignored, and in 2002 the region of Southwestern Somaliland declared independence. This final secession left Somalia at three-quarters the size it was at independence. In late 2002 a cease-fire was approved by all except the Somaliland Republic, but fragmented Somalia remains far from any real stability.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); PUNT (Vol. I); SOMALIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

South Africa Large, economically dominant nation at the southern tip of Africa, with an area of approximately 470,700 square miles (1,219,100 sq km), that contains several diverse ecosystems, many of them renowned for their unique beauty. South Africa completely surrounds the country of LESOTHO and is bordered by NAMIBIA to the northwest, by BOTSWANA and ZIMBABWE to the north, and by MOZAMBIQUE and SWAZILAND to the east.

With a large population of about 44,000,000 (in 2000) and an impressive array of mineral resources, South Africa towers above other nations in southern Africa as an economic and political colossus. It possesses the most industrialized economy on the continent, and the highest levels of managerial and technical expertise among its varied population. Yet it has had a turbulent history. In 1994 the map of South Africa was significantly redrawn. In place of its previous four provinces, which included the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, and the so-called homelands, nine new provinces were created (Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, North-West, KwaZulu-Natal, Free State, Gauteng, Northern, and Mpumalanga). In addition, the new South Africa adopted fully 11 official languages (including also Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, XHOSA, and ZULU), instead of only English and AFRIKAANS.

Further reflecting the emphasis given African culture, the popular "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrica" (God Bless Africa) joined "Die Stem van Suid Afrika" (The Call of South Africa) as the country's two official national anthems. Despite the new constitution (approved in December 1996 and implemented in stages over the following three years) and changed composition of government, South Africa continued to maintain three capitals: PRETORIA (administrative); CAPE TOWN (legislative), and Bloemfontein (judicial).

State Repression in the 1960s Following the political turbulence of the early 1960s, political quiescence characterized the remainder of the decade. Even though former colonies were achieving independence throughout Africa, South Africa moved in the opposite direction. Instead of relaxing settler control and moving toward a power-sharing arrangement with South Africa's majority black population, the government, led by the National Party (NP), intensified attacks on the African urban population. It attempted to separate the different racial groups within South Africa, in part by consigning Africans to nominally independent BANTUSTANS or "homelands" that the government sought to develop in various parts of the country.

By and large, the government's repressive tactics aimed at crushing the opposition were successful for the duration of the decade and into the early 1970s. They did, however, transform South Africa into a police state, where basic civil liberties were abridged or altogether violated on a routine basis. Economically, the country enjoyed a remarkable and sustained boom, which boosted the living standard of white South Africans to among the highest in the world, even while black South Africans lived in desperate POVERTY. The government's ability to maintain political stability resulted in confidence among foreign investors and a willingness of whites from other parts of the world to immigrate to South Africa.

At the same time, South Africa's standing in the international community progressively eroded. The criticism that the United Nations directed at South Africa became increasingly urgent beginning in the 1960s. In addition to its legally entrenched APARTHEID policies coming under intense scrutiny, the country's defiant refusal to surrender SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA), which it originally administered as a League of Nations mandate, also subjected South Africa to condemnation. In October 1966 the United Nations General Assembly voted to end South African administration. Five years later the International Court of Justice reaffirmed the illegal nature of South Africa's control of Namibia. In 1973 the UN General Assembly went so far as to declare apartheid "a crime against humanity." Four years later the UN Security Council authorized an arms embargo against the country.

Mounting Black Resistance The relative political calm that followed the neutralization of the African opposition in the first half of the 1960s was shattered, in 1973, by the outbreak of LABOR unrest among black workers. Faced with low wages, mounting inflation, and high unemployment, workers engaged in a series of illegal strikes. During the first three months of 1973 alone, more than 600 strikes were organized in DURBAN. Work stoppages and labor unrest soon spread to other industrial centers in the country. The government was slow to respond, with four years passing before it established the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry to investigate the plight of black labor. In 1979, acting on the commission's recommendations, the state took the unprecedented step of offering legal recognition of LABOR UNIONS with African workers. But what appeared to be an important concession, was in fact a subtle attempt to impose greater control on black unionization by imposing a battery of restrictions on registered unions. In the meantime impatience with pervasive workplace exploitation and intolerable working conditions grew and fed the widespread discontent among black South Africans.

The founding of the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT (BCM) in the late 1960s fueled yet greater militancy among young black South Africans. Steve BIKO (1946–1977), a student activist from within the ranks of the multiracial National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), broke with NUSAS to found the SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION (SASO) in 1969. Biko was the BCM's most visible and gifted leader and proved instrumental in popularizing its appeal. The BCM ideol-

ogy stressed black pride and the need for black independence from white assistance. Organizations under the BCM umbrella, like SASO and the Black Peoples Convention, exercised a profound impact on a new generation of black South Africans coming of age, instilling in them a heightened race consciousness and a fierce determination to end discrimination on the basis of race. Not coincidentally, in the years to follow, the greatest impetus toward overthrowing the apartheid regime, was spearheaded by African youth.

The full-scale struggle against apartheid was triggered on June 16, 1976, by the shooting of African students who were protesting against mandatory instruction in Afrikaans in their school curricula. Since Africans long associated AFRIKANERS and their language, Afrikaans, with apartheid and oppression, resentment ran high. The initial protest occurred in SOWETO, a township southwest of JOHANNESBURG, inhabited by black South Africans. In short order, however, riots and protests spread to other urban centers across the country. Black youth rose up in revolt, attacking symbols of state control. In particular, black policemen and black politicians cooperating with white authorities were singled out for attack and often killed.

In response, the government declared a state of emergency and carried on a campaign of repression against all forms of anti-government agitation. Thousands of protesters were arrested, and hundreds died. Most notably, Steve Biko was killed while in police custody. Other protesters carried on the liberation struggle abroad, often joining the ranks of the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS or UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Spear of the Nation, known simply as MK), the military arm of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), South Africa's preeminent black opposition organization. Beginning in the 1970s, these guerrilla groups stepped up acts of sabotage against government targets.

The Unraveling of Apartheid   The government responded to the MK's acts of sabotage with a campaign of violent repression that catapulted South African politics into the international spotlight, where it became the target of intense condemnation. At the same time the economy stalled. Further contributing to the pressure applied to the state, several neighboring countries that had once been friendly to South Africa's white-minority government gained their independence, and power transferred to African nationalist movements. Beginning in the mid-1960s, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland achieved their independence from British colonial rule. Then in 1975, Mozambique and ANGOLA finally overcame Portugal's armed attempts to maintain them as colonies. African pro-Marxist leaders gained power in both countries, and gave support to the enemies of the apartheid state. After 1980 when Zimbabwe's African majority wrested control from the white UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE government of Ian SMITH (1919–   ),

South Africa could no longer count on the assistance or moral support of its neighbors. In fact, the new Zimbabwean president, Robert MUGABE (1924–   ), and his ZIMABABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION were vehemently opposed to the racial policies of South Africa.

In the West numerous governments cut off trade with South Africa and otherwise imposed restrictions on investment. Some MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS cut back or altogether eliminated their operations in South Africa. Additionally, many public and private institutions divested themselves of any capital holdings in the South African economy.

Further complicating the attempts to shore up apartheid, many professional and skilled whites, particularly among the English-speaking community, fled South Africa, emigrating to Western countries. This exodus of entrepreneurs, managers, scientists, engineers, educators, and journalists ebbed and flowed, starting in the mid-1970s and continues to the present day.

Responding to this general economic crisis, Prime Minister P. W. BOTHA (1916–   ), who succeeded John Vorster (1917–1983), in 1978, responded aggressively to the changed domestic and international circumstances. He embarked on a series of reforms, which were more cosmetic than real, dismantling some of the features of apartheid. Africans became legally entitled to occupy skilled industrial positions for the first time since the 1920s, and the hated pass system, which profoundly limited the mobility of Africans, was eliminated in 1985. In an especially controversial move, Botha introduced a three-chamber parliament, one which gave representation to Coloured and Indian South Africans but, significantly, excluded South Africa's majority population group—black Africans. Spirited opposition to this initiative emerged from all sides, including Coloureds and Indians. Perhaps most importantly, in 1983 the multiracial UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) was established to fight this development. The UDF represented more than 500 organizations from among trade unions, civic associations, and various philanthropic groups dedicated to ending the inequities of apartheid. Among anti-apartheid groups, both those under the UDF umbrella and those without, opposition escalated and became increasingly militant and violent. Public protests, although illegal, frequently were held, most notably at the funerals of slain anti-apartheid activists. Strikes, boycotts, and marches collectively demonstrated the strength and determination of the liberation movement.

Botha responded by concentrating power at the center, empowering the State Security Council with extraordinary powers which had been the traditional purview of the cabinet. Furthermore, with the new constitution of 1984, Botha acquired the newly created position of state president. Despite these consolidating measures undertaken to carry out a "total onslaught" policy against the

opposition, Botha was buffeted by criticism on both the left and the right. Hard-liners committed to maintaining the superstructure of apartheid in all its integrity opposed concessions of any kind. Many AFRIKANERS believed that the Botha government was selling their birthright to the African majority, and turned to alternative POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS that were further to the right.

The extreme right wing Afrikaner Resistance Movement (founded in 1979) and the Conservative Party (1982) joined with the existing Reconstituted National Party to signal an important shift among the Afrikaner electorate, which had traditionally proffered its allegiance to the NP unfailingly. In particular, the Conservative Party garnered a significant portion of the NP's core base of supporters, and pushed it to adopt a less liberal approach or risk political suicide. Within the Afrikaner community, the relative unity it once enjoyed broke down at more than just the political level. Several key Afrikaner business leaders opened talks with the ANC in exile, recognizing the inevitability of having to negotiate with the black majority.

Other developments also gave indication of the government's inability to stem the rising tide of opposition. In 1984 a renewed wave of anti-government protests sparked more violence. To meet the crisis the government declared a state of emergency the following year and deployed the South African Defense Force and police on a wide-ranging scale in the ill-fated attempt to impose order. Despite the efforts of South Africa's formidable security forces, the country's black townships became ungovernable.

International condemnation mounted in the wake of this new South African crackdown. The awarding of the 1984 Noble Peace Prize to Desmond TUTU (1931–), the Anglican archbishop vociferous in his opposition to South Africa's racial policies, was intended to send a unambiguous political message. The U.S. Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, over the veto of President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004). It imposed restrictions on American capital investment, the importation of South African goods, and direct airline access between the two countries. The Reagan administration generally pursued a conciliatory approach toward South Africa, opting to promote progress in racial relations through positive incentives instead of public criticism. However, this approach, known as CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT, yielded little in the way of tangible results. In fact it effectively played into the hands of the NP and Botha, who sought to indefinitely defer power sharing with the African majority. Similarly, Margaret Thatcher (1925–), prime minister of Britain, adopted a soft stance with respect to South Africa. In spite of the restraint called for by Reagan and Thatcher, international pressure mounted, and economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa increased dramatically. These measures, especially the

suspension of foreign capital investment, severely undermined the health of the already struggling South African economy.

Despite attempts by neighboring countries to undermine South Africa's economy and capacity to govern, the white South African government appeared invincible. Ultimately the FRONTLINE STATES, as these neighboring countries were called, depended on access to South African goods, ports, and markets. In addition, many workers from the Frontline States sent the wages they earned in South Africa to their families back home, providing a major infusion of capital. This income came largely through employment in the GOLD, diamond, and coal MINING industries. South Africa offered clandestine assistance to rebel factions within Angola and Mozambique to destabilize their governments and thus undermine their ability to provide support to anti-government forces.

The Road to Reconciliation Although the hardline position of Botha and the NP government promised no sign of relaxation, Botha suffered a stroke in 1988, precipitating a rapid and unprecedented sequence of events. Botha surrendered leadership of the NP to the Transvaal provincial leader of the NP, F. W. DE KLERK (1936–), and months later he was replaced by de Klerk as president. De Klerk began implementing meaningful changes to better integrate black South Africans into mainstream political life. He entered into substantive talks with Nelson MANDELA (1918–), the former leader of the ANC who had been imprisoned since 1963. As a result of their lengthy discussions, de Klerk and Mandela reached an understanding that would form the basis of future negotiations aimed at arriving at some new, yet unspecified political arrangement that would include African political participation. On December 2, 1990, de Klerk announced that Mandela and other political prisoners would be unconditionally released from prison. Opposition political parties were no longer banned, and the government entered into earnest negotiations for some form of power sharing with the formerly disenfranchised members of South African society.

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa, which opened in December 1991, eventually led to a compromise reached on November 13, 1993 between the NP and the ANC. The negotiations between the government and opposition groups, the ANC being the most prominent among the latter, were protracted and frequently acrimonious. The early 1990s witnessed considerable violence among rival political factions courting South Africa's black constituency, with right-wing white political groups alternatively threatening violence or the establishment of a separate state for whites only. Especially violent were clashes between supporters of the ANC and the Zulu-dominated INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP), led by Mangosuthu Gatsha BUTHELEZI (1928–). Tensions had simmered between the ANC and the IFP

since the 1970s when the Inkatha movement was formed. Because Inkatha appealed exclusively to Zulus, and because it was willing to cooperate with the white state, the ANC and Inkatha were at ideological odds.

These differences took on a violent character in the late 1980s and early 1990s, often reflecting not only political and ethnic divisions, but also the gulf between Inkatha members, who were often rural and engaged in migrant labor, and ANC supporters, who tended to be more urban. Despite the danger of these tensions spilling over into warring factions, the various groupings were able to agree to an interim constitution and the principle of fully democratic national elections. In 1994, in recognition of their efforts toward a peaceful transition to a new, more inclusive political arena, de Klerk and Mandela were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In April of 1994 South Africa held its first national elections in which all South Africans of age could vote. Twenty different political parties participated, but the ANC won 63 percent of the votes and subsequently formed a coalition government. Mandela became South Africa's first black president, and during his one-term presidency he distinguished himself for his attempts to include South Africans of all races, ethnicities, and political backgrounds in the new "Rainbow Nation." On the international stage, his high-profile statesmanship won widespread praise and drew international focus to South Africa's unique situation.

Challenges Facing the New South Africa
Despite South Africa's positive changes, little foreign capital has been invested in South African markets. In general, an unstable workforce combined with extraordinarily high rates of crime and violence have hindered the country's economic growth.

After a single term Mandela stepped aside in favor of his handpicked successor, executive deputy president, Thabo MBEKI (1942–   ). Mbeki and the ANC again won a convincing victory in the election of 1999.

Even though apartheid has crumbled and been replaced by democratic rule, the high expectations held by South Africans have not entirely been fulfilled. Many lingering divisions between the various political parties, races, ethnic and language-speaking groups, still are present in South Africa. Its future is also somewhat clouded by the horrific loss of lives as a result of exceptionally high rates of HIV/AIDS infection.

As a result of decades of apartheid a culture of violence is ingrained in South African society. The situation is made worse by high rates of gun ownership and the enormous gulf that separates rich from poor. The division often corresponds to the color line, with whites having a disproportionate share of the country's wealth. Despite nearly a decade of democratic rule and a controversial government program of affirmative action, formerly dispossessed South Africans still lack access to land, and their levels of training and EDUCATION continue to lag be-

hind those of whites. A large percentage of black South Africans still lack even basic services such as electricity, running water, and sewers. Eager to court FOREIGN INVESTMENT, the ANC-led government has charted a moderate fiscal policy with an approach that has largely been pro-business. This is surprising, given the ANC's past alliances with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the labor movement, and in light of its own platform, embodied in the 1955 Freedom Charter, which called for a commitment to socialist policies. Not surprisingly, this fiscally conservative approach has hurt the ANC's relationship with organized labor and the SACP.

In the attempt to heal the many and deep wounds of the apartheid era, the TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION, a 17-member body that included Archbishop Tutu, was formed in April 1996 to hold hearings throughout the entire country. It sought to bring to light the atrocities and immeasurable suffering of the previous five decades, so that the nation could move forward. The commission partly succeeded in bringing a sense of closure to many victims of apartheid by exposing the gross injustices and inequities of the system.

See also: HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); SOUTH AFRICA (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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South African Students Organization (SASO)
Anti-apartheid student group active in SOUTH AFRICA in the 1970s. During the mid-1960s the multiracial National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) gained support among black students looking for an outlet to express anti-government sentiments. NUSAS membership, however, was mostly white, and the organization gradually became ineffective. Unable to persuade NUSAS leadership to take a bolder stance in the fight against APARTHEID, the group's black members became increasingly disillusioned with the organization.

At the NUSAS 1967 Congress a group of black delegates led by Steve BIKO (1946–1977) initiated a debate on the lack of power given to blacks within NUSAS. Later that year Biko proposed the idea of an all-black student movement, and by year's end plans were made for the first conference of the South African Students Organization (SASO). At the first meeting, held in 1978, Biko was elected the organization's president. Initially SASO was amicable toward NUSAS. However, by 1970 SASO dis-

credited NUSAS for not representing all South African students. Led by Biko, SASO became synonymous with the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT (BCM), which promoted black pride and black self-determination in regard to changing the South African government.

Initially the South African government did not interfere with SASO and other BCM groups, due to its split with NUSAS. By 1973, however, the government's stance changed, and Biko and other SASO members were banned from further political activity. In 1974 SASO and its sister organization, the Black People's Convention (BPC), organized rallies to support the nationalist MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT, which was engaged in a war to free MOZAMBIQUE from Portuguese colonial rule. Later that year the South African government arrested a group of SASO leaders, later known as the "SASO Nine," for their role in the rallies. Biko testified for the defense, using their trial to highlight the injustices of the apartheid government and to promote the tenets of the BCM. Despite his efforts, in 1976 the SASO Nine were sentenced to prison on ROBBEN ISLAND. This was also the year of the SOWETO rebellion, which was launched by African high school students influenced by SASO and its black consciousness ideology.

In 1977 Biko was arrested while returning home from a political meeting. While in the custody of the South African Security Police, he was beaten and later died from brain injuries. Later that year the government banned SASO and all other organizations associated with the BCM. The BCM did not end, however, and in 1978 the former BCM groups formed the Azanian People's Organization to carry on the fight against apartheid.

Southern African Development Community (SADC)

Regional community of states that seeks economic cooperation and DEVELOPMENT. The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was the forerunner to the Southern African Development Community (SADC). During the late 1970s leaders of nine southern African nations realized that in order to advance their political struggles, they also needed to cooperate in social and economic development. This realization was facilitated by the positive experiences of many members working together as the FRONTLINE STATES (ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, and ZIMBABWE), all of which were cooperating among themselves to ward off the aggression and pressure emanating from the APARTHEID government of SOUTH AFRICA. This relationship established a constructive precedent for the formation of a new regional community. The first of many SADCC annual meetings was convened in 1979 in Arusha, Tanzania, with the six Frontline States as well as LESOTHO, MALAWI, and SWAZILAND in attendance.

By the early 1990s member states felt that it was time for the conference to have a more formal status. Thus, in 1992 the SADCC broadened its goals and became the SADC. It set high standards for the region, emphasizing peace, solidarity, security, HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRATIZATION, and the rule of law. From the beginning the objectives of the community were concrete, focusing on economic development and political growth. Among its many objectives, the SADC sought economic interdependence among member states. It also promoted the development of common political systems and values and sought to maximize productive employment. Sustainable use of the region's NATURAL RESOURCES was a stated goal as well. The end of apartheid rule in South Africa and the democratic election of 1994 led to that country's admission into the SADC as its eleventh member state. Given the size and importance of the South African economy, the organization's prospects for success greatly improved.

Structurally, the SADC is a decentralized institution whose member states formulate and implement policy decisions. The organization has more than a dozen commissions and councils, including the Summit, which is the policy-making body, and the Integrated Committee of Ministers, which is responsible for ensuring the coordination and harmonization of policies and activities that cross various states and economic sectors.

The SADC has demonstrated a range of possibilities in regional cooperation. Although there have been some problems, which is the case in any regional project of this scope, the SADC has been very successful. One of its main achievements was the focus on the region's INFRASTRUCTURE. The SADC prioritized the rehabilitation of roads, railways, and harbors, all of which are essential to economic development and cooperation.

The SADC currently has 14 member countries including Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, Lesotho, Malawi, MAURITIUS, Mozambique, NAMIBIA, SEYCHELLES, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. As of 2004 the organization headquarters were located in GABORONE, Botswana, and Angola's president, Jose Eduardo DOS SANTOS (1942–   ), was serving as chairperson.

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South West Africa

Name of the territory that became independent NAMIBIA. The former German colony of South West Africa was a mandate territory of the League of Nations, which assigned it to be administered by SOUTH AFRICA following World War I (1914–18). After World War II (1939–45) the League of Nations was dissolved

and its role in South Africa was assumed by the United Nations (UN). In 1946 the status of South West Africa was changed from mandate to United Nations trust territory, and the United Nations then reassigned the territory to the South African government. Before long the South African administration was ruling South West Africa as if it were an integral part of South Africa itself, with that country's increasingly repressive, racist policies.

The German and AFRIKAANS-speaking whites of South West Africa participated in an elective form of government, based in WINDHOEK, the capital. They worked in concert with the South African government to exclude Africans and mixed-race people from the political system. The exclusionary government, a version of the official APARTHEID government in South Africa, remained in place for more than 40 years.

Finally in 1990, following a protracted struggle that claimed many lives, the African people of South West Africa gained their independence under a UN-supervised transition and renamed their country Namibia.

See also: SOUTH WEST AFRICA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)

Nationalist party at the forefront of the struggle for independence of NAMIBIA from SOUTH AFRICA. It became Namibia's dominant political party after independence was achieved in 1990. SWAPO came into being in 1960 when Namibia was still known as SOUTH WEST AFRICA. The party evolved out of the Ovambo People's Organization, the resistance party established by Andimba (Herman) Toivo ja Toivo (1924–) and future Namibian president Sam NUJOMA (1929–). At the time of SWAPO's founding Nujoma was in exile, attempting to rally international support for Namibia's independence from South Africa, which had controlled the country since World War I (1914–18). When Nujoma's efforts proved futile SWAPO formed a guerrilla wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). In 1966 PLAN launched an armed resistance that was based in ANGOLA and backed by both the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA) and the former Soviet Union. PLAN's operations led to Toivo ja Toivo's arrest in 1968. Toivo ja Toivo was sentenced to a 20-year prison term but was released in 1984. He was imprisoned on ROBBEN ISLAND, with other political prisoners, including Nelson MANDELA (1918–), the future president of South Africa.

Although PLAN made little headway in terms of territorial gain, its actions did attract international attention, and in 1978 the United Nations declared SWAPO the only legitimate representative of Namibia. Nujoma and SWAPO negotiated with the United Nations Security Council, securing the passage of Resolution 435, which outlined the course of Namibia's independence. South Africa managed to delay the resolution through diplomatic means, finally yielding in 1988. A cease-fire agreement was signed, and in 1989 SWAPO swept the elections, with Nujoma becoming president. Namibia declared independence the following year. With its strong Ovambo electoral base, SWAPO continued as the governing party into the 21st century.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); OVAMBO (Vols. II, IV); POLITICAL PARTIES (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Soviet Union and Africa

In the second half of the 20th century the Soviet Union's influence in Africa was largely confined within the framework of the Cold War. As African nations began to achieve independence, they were faced with pressure to cast their lots with either the communist Soviet Union or the capitalist United States of America. The effort to avoid getting embroiled in Cold War intrigue led to the birth of the NONALIGNED MOVEMENT, which allowed nations to maintain a neutral stance.

Many newly autonomous African states favored the support of the Soviet Union over that of the United States, a country they associated with Europe and colonialism. The Soviet Union was in turn willing to support African governments that espoused communist or socialist ideals. Like the support from the Unites States, Soviet support typically came in the form of military and financial aid. However, in cases like the ASWAN DAM, in EGYPT, the Soviet Union also provided engineers, advisors, and workers to complete significant public works projects.

During this period the Soviet Union's alliances with various African nations frequently were subject to changes and full reversals. One clear example was in the Horn of Africa, where, in the 1970s, the Soviet Union supported the socialist regime of Mohammed Siad BARRE (1910–1995) in SOMALIA. Somalia's conflict with ETHIOPIA over the Ogaden region mirrored the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States, which backed Ethiopia. When the socialist government of MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (1937–) assumed control in Ethiopia, the Soviet Union chose to back Ethiopia, the more influential country in the region. Consequently the United States withdrew support from Mengistu's country and began supporting Somalia. In such cases the Soviet Union's involvement in Africa and its attempts to support nascent socialist governments often served to increase the scale and intensity of conflicts. This was true in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and ANGOLA as well as in the Horn of Africa.

The Russian Federation and Africa In 1991 the collapse of the Soviet Union and the sudden absence of Soviet support was disastrous for many African states, bur-

dened as they were by heavy internal opposition and failing economies. In many cases, these states chose to move toward DEMOCRATIZATION. In Somalia's case, however, Barre's form of socialism as a choice of government ideology began to fall from favor, and he was driven from power.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the subsequent Russian Federation has continued to pursue an active role in Africa's affairs. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, Russia has been involved in international peacekeeping missions in WESTERN SAHARA, ERITREA, Ethiopia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In his *Concept of the Russian Federation's Foreign Policy,* Russian president Vladimir Putin (1952–) stated that "Russia will expand its interaction with African countries and promote the soonest possible settlement of regional military conflicts in Africa." Russia has also supported economic measures in Africa, including the NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT and the Plan of Actions on Africa, a debt-relief initiative for which Russia plans to write off $26 billion of debt it is owed by African countries. Russia also enjoys particularly good relations with South Africa, which was the first African country to recognize the Russian Federation after the end of the Soviet era.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); CUBA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Soweto Abbreviation for the South Western Township, the largest township in SOUTH AFRICA. In the 1940s the APARTHEID government of South Africa created Soweto as an agglomeration of 26 smaller townships. The plan was for Soweto to become home to black Africans working in the neighboring JOHANNESBURG area. Between the two world wars the area had developed into slums of poorly constructed shacks. In 1948 the slums were cleared and permanent housing was constructed.

Life in Soweto was difficult. Low income levels combined with repressive government restrictions that were in place during the apartheid era created an atmosphere of fear and anger. The ever-present danger of urban youth gangs called *TSOTSIS* exacerbated the situation. In the 1970s Soweto emerged at the forefront of protests in South Africa. On June 16, 1976, anti-apartheid sentiments boiled over in an uprising that garnered international attention.

It began with schoolchildren assembling to protest the required use of AFRIKAANS as a language of instruction in Soweto high schools. Without provocation, white police shot at the children, killing one student and injuring several others. A violent rampage followed in the wake of the killing, and protests spread throughout the country.
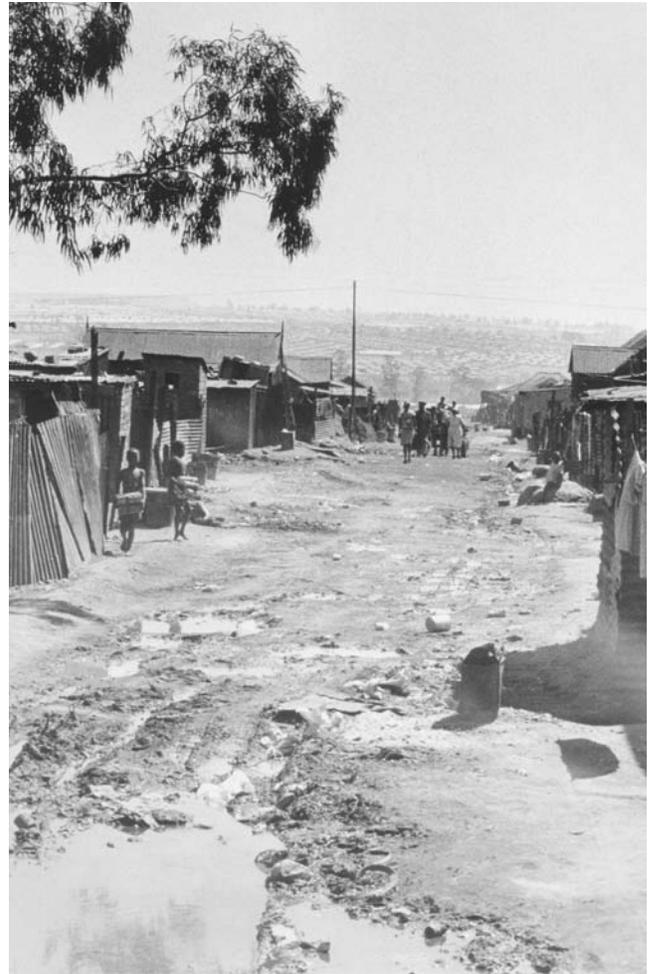
Tin-roof shacks like these were typical of the housing for blacks living in Soweto. In 1976, four years after this photo was taken, Soweto's residents rioted, unable to endure substandard living conditions and government oppression. © AP/Wide World Photos

Hundreds died in clashes with the police during the months that followed. The post-apartheid government subsequently designated June 16 as a national day of remembrance, known as Youth Day.

Kliptown, one of the earlier residential areas of Soweto, contains Freedom Square. In 1952 this was the site at which the Freedom Charter was drafted. One of the most famous documents in modern African history, the charter became a cornerstone of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). The site has recently been renamed Sisulu Square in honor of the late ANC leader, Walter SISULU (1912–2003).

Soweto's population (estimated at 1,243,000 in 2003) remains mostly African. Housing ranges from shacks, which are common in African shantytowns, to mansions. Although the majority of Soweto residents commute to Johannesburg to work, local residents have established several tour companies designed to give visitors the "Soweto experience." The homes of Nelson MANDELA (1918–) and his his former wife, Winnie MANDELA (1934–), are major attractions on the tours.

See also: FREEDOM CHARTER (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Soyinka, Wole (Akinwande Oluwole Soyinka)

(1934–) Nigerian writer and Nobel Prize laureate

One of the best known and most respected contemporary African writers, Soyinka fuses traditional African motifs with modern, European literary forms. His creative combining of disparate elements is as striking in its presentation as it is deep in its intellectual questioning of the problems of contemporary African identity.

In 1960 Soyinka returned to NIGERIA from England, where he had studied drama at Leeds University and then worked for two years with London's Royal Court Theater. His 1960 play, *Trials of Brother Jero,* about a fraudulent African preacher, had already earned him a reputation as an emerging literary figure. Upon his return he took up the study of Nigerian folklore at the University of IBADAN, and he also founded Masks, a theater group that was instrumental in the creation of contemporary Nigerian theater. During this period Soyinka wrote *Dance of the Forests,* an early work that brought him fame. The play utilizes traditional drumming, dancing, and music to celebrate Nigeria's independence, while also issuing a warning about the pitfalls that might lie before the new nation.

Soyinka spent the 1960s and 1970s intensely involved in both literature and politics. He traveled much, but he also produced some of his most noteworthy works, including *The Road* (1965), a play that succeeds in integrating YORUBA religious mythology into a clearly modern drama, and *The Interpreters,* a novel in which he explores themes related to contrasting Western and indigenous beliefs.

The Road is considered by many critics to be Soyinka's best play. In it the Yoruba god Ogun—the traditional deity of the forge, creation, and destruction—is transformed into the controller of electricity and automotive travel, with car accidents becoming a symbol of the god's destructive power.

Soyinka's strong political views brought him into conflicts with the Nigerian government. In 1964 he was arrested—apparently without any cause—on a charge of forcing a radio newscaster to announce invalid election results. Jailed for three months, he was eventually released amid an outpouring of protest from the international community of writers. This incarceration, however, was just a prelude to the long imprisonment Soyinka endured during Nigeria's bloody civil war (1967–70) in which the Nigerian federal government ultimately defeated and reincorporated the secessionist nation of BIAFRA. Most Yoruba sided with the government, but Soyinka became an outspoken critic of the war, adamantly opposing the international sale of armaments to either side. Angered by Soyinka's activities, the Nigerian government arrested him in 1967. Soyinka spent the next two years in prison, enduring a long list of torments, from solitary confinement to the refusal of prison officials to give him books or writing materials. The authorities even denied him basic medical treatment.

Soyinka managed not only to survive his imprisonment but also to produce poems and letters, which he wrote using homemade ink on anything he could find, from cigarette packs to toilet paper. Finally released in 1969, Soyinka left Nigeria, living in England and then GHANA before finally returning home in 1975, when a new, more democratic government was in power.

Following his long period in prison Soyinka's art took on tones that were at once darker and more lyrical. *The Man Died: Prison Notes of Wole Soyinka* (1972) and his second novel, *Season of Anomy* (1973), for example, deal in astonishing detail in the day-to-day experiences of prison. The graphic scenes of torture and murder left many readers with a sense of hopelessness about the future of Africa—or virtually anywhere else. A play from the same period, *Madmen and Specialists* (1970), is equally dark, dealing with a doctor who returns home from war, now fully trained in the "art" of torture, to practice his new-found "speciality" on his own father. In contrast, however, in 1988 Soyinka published a biography of his own father, *Isara: A Voyage around Essay* that is considered one of his most beautiful books. Based on a collection of papers left behind when his father died, the book brings to life a man who faced the cultural divisions of the colonial era. As he yearned for his traditional world, the book's hero also understood the need to adapt to the world brought to Nigeria by the European powers.

During the 1980s Soyinka's opposition to dictatorship and his pessimism about Africa's political future intensified. Typical of his work from this period is his play, *A Play of Giants,* in which four African leaders meet at the United Nations, in New York, and casually discuss the brutality and criminality of their governments. Soyinka's political estrangement culminated in another period of exile during the 1990s, when the military regime of

General Sani ABACHA (1943–1998) gave the writer, in effect, a choice between a death sentence and voluntary exile. When Abacha died in 1998, Soyinka returned to Nigeria.

From his earliest works, Soyinka has been a challenging, even difficult writer, especially for non-African audiences. His novels are complex and dense, and his plays use dance, MUSIC, and choral techniques that are unfamiliar to non-African actors and directors. In spite of this, however, readers both in Africa and in the world beyond have found him to be a modern master, a writer whose vision at once is clearly and accurately fixed on the immediate world around him and on universal truths beyond. His 1986 Nobel Prize in Literature, the first awarded to a sub-Saharan African author, testifies to the scope, quality, and impact of his literary art.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); SOYINKA, WOLE (Vol. IV).

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sports and athletics Organized athletic competitions and feats of physical skill and prowess have long been a part of African social life and culture. Modern competitive sports and athletics first entered Africa in the colonial period and achieved growing visibility and significance after independence.

Sports organized along western lines emerged in Africa in connection with schools run by MISSIONARIES. By the 1890s the dual English-XHOSA language newspaper *Imvo zabaNtsundu,* for example, was carrying the results of cricket matches between African boarding schools in SOUTH AFRICA. Soccer, which is called football in Africa (as it is in Europe), captured the imagination of young men on ZANZIBAR in the years following World War I (1914–18), and Zanzibaris began to organize leagues for their teams. Throughout colonial Africa, sports clubs and organizations became increasingly popular, so that by the 1950s and 1960s many Africans, especially urbanites, were either participating in or following sports, both amateur and professional.

The real boom in African sports came with national independence for African countries. Participation in international sports competition such as the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games became just as important in its own right as membership in international organizations. At the continental level sports helped promote PAN-AFRICANISM. African athletes first gathered for the All-African Games in BRAZZAVILLE, Republic of the CONGO, in 1965. The eighth All-African Games took place in NIGERIA in 2003. At the national level sports provided a unifying force and national focus as part of the nation-building process. Sports events within countries serve as an important leisure time activity for both participants and fans who support their favorite teams or athletes. As in Europe and the United States RADIO AND TELEVISION have served to popularize sports as a whole and also serve as a venue for their commercialization.

The Olympics The Olympic Games provide the most visible measure of achievement for individual African athletes and for countries as well. Since it is a competition for the athletes of sovereign nations, only a few African athletes participated before 1960. South Africans took part in the Games beginning in 1904, but their participation was limited to whites. One of them, Reginald Walker, was the first person from Africa to win a gold medal, in the 100 meters, in 1908. The 1960 Games were the turning point. Ike Quartey of GHANA won the light-welterweight boxing silver medal, thus making him the first black African to win an Olympic medal. A few days later Abebe BIKILA (1932–1973) of ETHIOPIA created a sensation by running the marathon barefoot and besting Rhadi Ben Abdesselem of MOROCCO to become the first sub-Saharan African athlete to win a gold medal, a feat that he repeated in 1964.

Bikila's marathon victory was the start of African dominance in the long distance events. Ethiopians also won the marathon in 1968 and in 2000. In 1996, an Ethiopian, Fatuma Roba (1973–), was the first African to win the women's marathon. She also won the Boston Marathon from 1997 to 1999, with Kenyan women winning from 2000 to 2002. Kenyan men won the Boston Marathon in 1988, 1991–2000, and 2002–03, with an Ethiopian winning in 1989. In 2004, the top two women finishers were from Africa, with Kenyan Catherine Ndereba (1972–).

The 1968 Olympics were a breakthrough for Africans. Medalists included Tunisia's Mohammed Gammoudi (c. 1940–), who won the 5,000-meter gold, and Kipchoge KEINO (1940–), of KENYA, who won the 1,500-meter gold and the 5,000-meter silver. Two other Kenyans also took home gold medals: Naftuli Temu, who won the 10,000-meter race, and Amos Biwott (1947–), winner in the 3,000-meter steeplechase. In addition, the Kenyan men's team won the silver in the 4x400-meter race.

The first African woman medalist in track and field not from South Africa was Nawal el Moutawakil (1962–) from MOROCCO who won the 400-meter hurdles in 1984. In 1992 African women won the gold in the 1,500 and 10,000 meters and silver in the 10,000 meters and 4x100 meter. That same year African men won 15 track and field medals, including three gold medals. Eight years later there were 17 African men medalists (5 gold) and eight women (3 gold).

The other Olympic event that has had significant African participation is boxing, with ALGERIA, Morocco, Ghana, and Nigeria providing most of the medalists. Beginning with Quartey's 1960 silver, African boxers have won an additional 16 bronze medals and one gold.

African teams have also been successful in the Olympics, beginning with Ghana's bronze medal in soccer in 1992. In 1996 Nigeria won the gold in soccer, as did CAMEROON in 2000.

In all Africans have won 237 gold medals. South Africa, which participated in the Olympics from 1904 to 1960 and then was suspended due to its APARTHEID policies until 1992, has the most medals at 63, including seven in 2000. Kenya is next with 54, placing it thirty-first among all nations, followed by Ethiopia with 24, Nigeria with 17, Egypt and Morocco with 16, and Algeria with 12. Other African countries have also won medals.

Team Sports Soccer's greatest competition, the World Cup, is another major international venue for showcasing African athletic talent. In 1970 Morocco was the first African team to qualify for the World Cup, with ZAÏRE (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO) doing so in 1974 and TUNISIA in 1978. In the 1982 World Cup there were at least two teams from Africa, and by 2002 teams from SENEGAL, South Africa, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Tunisia all qualified. Senegal reached the quarterfinals before losing. The only other African team to reach that level was Cameroon in 1990. South Africa's bid to host the 2006 World Cup, and thus be the first African nation to do so, lost by one vote, but it is expected to be successful in its bid for the 2010 World Cup.

South Africa did host the 1995 Rugby Union World Cup. Rugby is predominantly a game of the British Isles and former dominions such as South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. For the most part it is not popular in Africa outside the southern part of the continent, although IVORY COAST was represented in 1995. ZIMBABWE had its national teams play in the first and second Cups (1987 and 1991), while South Africa was in the 1995 Cup, which it hosted and won, and the 1999 Cup, where it placed third. NAMIBIA participated in the 2003 Cup.

Cricket is another sport associated with the former British Empire and is especially popular in the West Indies, India, and Pakistan, as well as England and Australia. In Africa it is mostly played in South Africa and Zimbabwe. South Africa is the only team from the conti-

nent to have participated in the Cricket World Cup, having done so in 1992 and again in 1999.

Individual Athletic Accomplishments Individual athletes Africa have made their mark internationally in a number of different sports, ranging from boxing to track and field to basketball. As noted above, Kenyan and Ethiopian men and women runners have come to dominate the marathon internationally, first rising to prominence in the 1960s and then to dominance in the 1990s. Individual African players are found on many professional soccer teams in Europe after first playing on their national teams or professional teams in Africa. Occasionally a boxer from Africa, such as Ghana's Azumah Nelson (1958–), has held world titles in his weight class. Even though basketball is not a major team sport in Africa, some of the continent's most prominent international star athletes are basketball players. Two of the pioneers in this regard are the Nigerian Hakeem OLAJUWON (1963–), who was the National Basketball Association's MVP in 1994, and Dikembe MUTOMBO (1966–), from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. With their success and that of others, the college basketball ranks now have a number of players from Africa.

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state, role of The world is largely governed by a system in which states are the most important political units. They are often confused with governments, but in fact they are much more. States are the sum of the government, territory, and population of a country. Weak or "soft" states of sub-Saharan Africa have created economic challenges, problems of governance, and fierce conflicts.

It is the fundamental responsibility of the state to defend its borders and protect its people. In an ideal state this means that the military and police represent legitimate power. In sub-Saharan Africa a recurrent problem is a lack of state capacity. The soft state is incapable of upholding the laws the government creates. Lack of funds, training, and INFRASTRUCTURE mean that the state cannot adequately protect its citizens. Moreover, leaders at all levels of government can act in their own self-interest at the expense of their constituents without fear of being caught or even impugned. Soft states cannot ensure that governmental affairs are carried out in an efficient manner, which can threaten DEMOCRATIZATION. Also these states cannot efficiently collect and utilize taxes, leaving the government without a revenue base to make the investments necessary for DEVELOPMENT.

Where states are incapable of carrying out their primary functions, it is common for rival interests to chal-

lenge the existing authority. For example, in TANZANIA during the 1970s the state directives of President Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) were challenged by existing local networks of economic cooperation. As a result the nationalized collective farming policy known as UJAMAA failed.

In such countries as the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, LIBERIA, SIERRA LEONE, and ANGOLA, rival political factions have challenged the authority of soft states. Typically, the upstarts have been able to use wealth obtained by controlling a state's NATURAL RESOURCES—especially diamonds—to build armies. The result has been long, violent CIVIL WARS that are essentially rooted in a challenge to supremacy of state leadership and organization.

In some cases, a weak but functioning state fails. It might be recognized internationally as the legal authority in a particular country, but it does not effectively control the territory. The root of this failure is commonly identified as the creation of African states by colonial fiat rather than through a process that would have taken into consideration population distributions and historic trends.

Other states actually collapse. According to some political scientists, "state collapse" refers to a situation in which authority, law, and political order no longer exist. State collapse contrasts with "change in government," whereby the leaders are replaced, or "regime change," whereby a country might overhaul its type of governance. In state collapse, primary institutions such as state banks or courts cease to function, and order and power are contested. The country of SOMALIA, in the Horn of Africa, is an example of a state that collapsed. After a decade of civil war and the absence of a cohesive state authority, alternative local political structures emerged to take over primary functions normally carried out by the state. CHAD, UGANDA, LIBERIA, MOZAMBIQUE, and ETHIOPIA are other states that have collapsed.

See also: CIVIL SOCIETY (Vol. V).

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Strasser, Valentine (Valentine Esegrabo Melvin Strasser) (1967–) *Military head of state in Sierra Leone from 1992 to 1996*

Born into a Krio family in SIERRA LEONE, Strasser attended the prestigious Sierra Leone Grammar School, the oldest secondary school in the nation. After high school he joined the military, becoming a second lieutenant in 1987.

His experiences fighting against the REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT motivated his rise to power. After being injured in battle Strasser became disillusioned with the low pay, outdated weaponry, and poor conditions that charac-

terized the Sierra Leone Army. In April 1992 he spearheaded a protest by disgruntled junior and middle-ranking soldiers. The group marched into FREETOWN, ostensibly to voice their grievances to President Joseph Momoh (1937–2003), who had governed the country since 1985. Soon, however, the march escalated into a COUP D'ÉTAT. When it was over Strasser, at 25 years old, found himself Sierra Leone's youngest ever head of state—and the first of Krio descent.

To justify their actions the dissident soldiers cited the inability of the government to reverse the country's deteriorating economic situation. They also noted the extensive government CORRUPTION and the general indifference of the country's leadership to the poor living conditions of the populace. The coup leaders also cited the fact that they had not been paid their salaries for an extended period of time yet were expected to defend Momoh's government against rebel attacks.

During his four years in power Strasser led the National Provisional Ruling Council in making some positive strides in improving the economy, rebuilding ruined INFRASTRUCTURE, and safeguarding the security of average Sierra Leoneans. He mounted a massive clean-up campaign in Freetown and reduced inflation. His government also imposed STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT policies that were required by the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND as a condition of receiving ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. Further decentralizing the government he privatized some state corporations and reduced the civil service workforce. Strasser promised a return to civilian rule in five years, scheduling elections for February 1996.

However, although it experienced some success, Strasser's government was also marked by instability. An attempted coup on December 29, 1992, led Strasser to execute 26 political opponents, an act that provoked international condemnation of his regime. In light of the clampdown that followed, the world's leading HUMAN RIGHTS organization, Amnesty International, accused Strasser of various atrocities. Nevertheless, he pressed on, curtailing freedom of the press and turning a blind eye to accusations of corruption within his own government.

On January 16, 1996, prior to elections, Strasser's second-in-command, Brigadier Julius Maada Bio (1964–), overthrew him. After a brief exile in neighboring GUINEA Strasser attended law school in England on a United Nations scholarship. He dropped out after one year, claiming a lack of funds, and lived in Britain under an assumed name until his student visa ran out. When Britain rejected his application for asylum, Strasser was deported back to Sierra Leone, in December 2000. Although heads of state are entitled to a pension under Sierra Leone's constitution, the government contended that, since Strasser was not democratically elected, he was ineligible for this benefit.

See also: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICA (Vol. V).

structural adjustment   Economic belt-tightening policies that countries are encouraged to adopt in order to receive ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. Amid the economic turmoil of the 1980s many African nations looked to international organizations such as the WORLD BANK and the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND for economic help. As a means of protecting their investments these lending organizations demanded certain conditions from the states that desired their help. Collectively these conditions became known as structural adjustment programs.

The main objectives of structural adjustment programs include removing government controls on economic structures, reducing government spending on social services, and expanding commerce and industry in the private sector. Economists in favor of structural adjustment programs believe that free markets increase efficiency and thus are conducive to DEVELOPMENT. They argue that the lack of competition in many African nations has contributed to high levels of government CORRUPTION and waste.

In order to support a free-market system, African governments were asked to remove subsidies for AGRICULTURE, which are commonly implemented to keep food prices artificially low for urban populations. Supporters of the proposed changes argued that food prices would rise and food producers would benefit. This, in turn, would provide incentive for increased agricultural production, a necessary increase in light of Africa's rapid POPULATION GROWTH. The privatization of WATER RESOURCES, communications, TRANSPORTATION, and energy industries was another key element of structural adjustment programs.

Under structural adjustment reforms governments were also required to devalue their currencies and allow them to fluctuate freely on the international market. This often made imports cheaper. In some places the devaluation undermined the local market of consumer goods. However, pro-structural development economists claimed that, eventually, individuals and companies would learn to produce only those goods and items that were in demand and which they could sell at a profit.

In some areas the devaluation of currency decreased wages, increasing POVERTY levels for wage LABOR. Among other negative effects of structural adjustment, the policy of decreasing government services resulted in reduced government spending on EDUCATION, health care, and other social safety net systems. This resulted in the implementation of user fees for public health-care systems and also increased the cost of education. Theoretically, the gap in social services would be filled by investments from the private sector. However, in Africa, this private investment has been slow to materialize.

Recently there has been sharp criticism of structural adjustment programs in Africa. While supporters of the changes point to GHANA as a success story, opponents argue that Ghana's economy would have improved re-gardless of whether these programs were adopted or not. In 1996 a group of NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS formed the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative to study the impact of these programs. Ghana, UGANDA, and ZIMBABWE were chosen as the focal points of the analysis in Africa. The initiative's final report, published in 2002, found that, although they were implemented with good intentions, many of the structural adjustment policies have backfired. The impact of these programs varied tremendously depending on the livelihood activities of the individuals they were meant to help and whether they were urban or rural dwellers.

However, there are numerous case studies that have found evidence of positive change, including the rooting out of government CORRUPTION, participation in global markets, and the implementation of tighter budgets that greatly improve a country's financial outlook.

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Sudan, Republic of the   Northeast African country bordered by EGYPT to the north, the Red Sea to the northeast, ERITREA and ETHIOPIA to the east, KENYA, UGANDA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO to the south, and the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, CHAD, and LIBYA to the west. Covering approximately 966,800 square miles (2,504,000 sq km), the Sudan is Africa's largest country. Its capital is KHARTOUM.

The Republic of the Sudan at Independence The movement of the Sudan toward independence was sparked by the 1952 revolution in Egypt that brought Colonel Muhammad Naguib (1901–1984) to power, ending the Egyptian monarchy. Naguib supported Sudanese autonomy, and in 1953 he signed an agreement with the British to end the joint rule of the Sudan as established under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.

The colonial administration of the Sudan had favored the country's largely Arab and Muslim northerners. So, as independence approached, many non-Muslim southerners feared the north would end up with a disproportionate amount of political authority. The declaration of Arabic as the national language and a growing number of northern Sudanese who were given government positions bore out the validity of this fear. In 1955 southern soldiers mutinied against their northern officers initiating the first conflict of a civil war that contin-

In addition to ongoing civil war, the Republic of the Sudan has been wracked by devastating drought. In 1998 this mother brought her starving son to a famine relief center in Ajiep, southern Sudan. *© UN/DPI photo/Eskender Debebe*

ued through the early years of Sudan's history as a sovereign state.

In 1956, with the north-south conflict already raging, the Sudan became an independent republic under Prime Minister Ismail al Azhari (1902–1969). Azhari was soon replaced by Abd Allah Khalil (1888–1970), who struggled to establish a government in the face of rampant CORRUPTION and widespread political dissension. Ultimately, however, it was Khalil's mismanagement of Sudan's production of cotton, the country's prime economic commodity and its leading export, that led to his demise. In 1958 General Ibrahim Abboud (1900–1983) led a military COUP D'ÉTAT. Incapable of improving the Sudan's dire situation and threatened by ongoing violence perpetrated by southern guerrilla troops known as the Anya Nya, Abboud gave way, in 1964, to a short-lived civilian government. Colonel Gafaar NIMEIRI (1930–   ) seized power in 1969.

Nimeiri consolidated his power by outlawing all political parties and dissolving Parliament. He did, however, manage to negotiate an end to the civil war that had ravaged the country since independence. The 1972 agreement between Nimeiri's government and the main rebel group, the Southern Sudan Liberation Front, to which the Anya Nya belonged, was brokered by HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) of Ethiopia and resulted in general autonomy for southern Sudan. A year later the Sudan's first permanent constitution was approved.

Peace did not last, however, as Nimeiri followed policies that once again raised the ire of southern Sudanese. In 1983 he established Islamic law, or *SHARIA,* as the country's supreme law. This, coupled with a collapsing economy and food shortages, resulted in a renewal of hostilities in the south led by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). In 1985 Nimeiri was overthrown by the Sudanese military. In the end, Nimeiri's regime left the Sudan with a shattered economy and $9 billion of debt. Elections held the following year established the civilian Sadiq al-Mahdi (1935–   ) as the country's leader. By 1989, he, too, had been overthrown.

The Sudan under al-Bashir and al-Turabi After Sadiq al-Mahdi, the Sudan's ruler was Lieutenant General Omar Hasan Ahmad al-BASHIR (1945–   ). Al-Bashir openly favored the Muslim north, strengthening *sharia* and establishing closer ties with Arab nations. He ex-

tended the nation's civil war and attempted to starve the southern region by directing international food aid to the north. Upon his official election to the presidency in 1993, however, it became apparent that the real power in the Sudan lay not with al-Bashir but with Hassan Abd Allah al-TURABI (1932–   ), the speaker of the Sudanese Parliament.

The lengthy civil war has wreaked havoc on the Sudan's population. Combined with DROUGHT AND DESERTIFICATION, by the late 1980s it had turned nearly a third of the country's population into REFUGEES. The actions of the militant Islamic government cut off the country from much potential international relief assistance, especially after the United States listed the Sudan as a major supporter of international TERRORISM. The United States also launched missile attacks on suspected chemical weapons manufacturing facilities in Sudan in the aftermath of the 1998 bombing of the U.S. embassies in NAIROBI and DAR ES SALAAM.

Known worldwide as an outspoken supporter of Islam and *sharia,* al-Turabi had long worked to make Sudan a country that was fullly Islamic. Essentially governing from behind the scenes, al-Turabi tried to have Parliament increase his powers even further, but al-Bashir balked and disbanded the legislative body. The following year al-Turabi was forced from al-Bashir's National Congress party to form his own Popular National Congress party.

When al-Turabi made conciliatory moves toward southern rebels, apparently in an effort to undermine al-Bashir, he was placed under house arrest. The civil war seemed headed for a conclusion when al-Bashir and the SPLA negotiated a six-year peace plan. However, fighting continued throughout the country.

In the western region of DARFUR, the ongoing war has been especially devastating. There the al-Bashir government has looked the other way as horse-mounted Arab raiders—called *janjaweed* by the Darfurians—pillaged southern villages. Toward the end of 2004, tens of thousands of Darfurians had died in the *janjaweed* attacks, and more than a million people were left homeless, creating a severe humanitarian crisis that affected both Sudan and neighboring Chad. The inability to reconcile the differences of its northern and southern regions, a problem mirrored in such countries as MALI, Chad, and NIGERIA, threatens any hope for stability in the Sudan.

See also: ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM (Vol. IV); CASH CROPS (Vols. IV, V); CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); GEZIRA

SCHEME (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SUDAN, REPUBLIC OF THE (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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Suez Canal Waterway in EGYPT linking the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. At its completion in 1868 the Suez Canal was considered an engineering marvel as well as a commercial success. However, during the 20th century it has been the focus of intense national and international crises. Beginning with the anti-British riots of the 1950s and the nationalization of the canal by the government of Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970), the Suez Canal has been the focus of contention between the forces of Egyptian nationalism and pan-Arabism and the remnants of British and French colonial power. The appearance of the new state of Israel served to exacerbate the situation, and, from the 1960s to the 1980s the canal became, in many ways, a pawn in the larger game of Arab-Israeli relations.

After the 1956 Suez Crisis, the canal operated under Egyptian authority for more than a decade. The Six-Day War of 1967, however, changed that dramatically. With Israel taking possession of the Sinai Peninsula and the eastern banks of the canal, Egypt closed down the canal in protest, obtaining financial aid from other Arab countries to compensate for lost revenue.

After the Yom Kippur War of 1973 between Israel and the Arab states, Egypt regained control of the eastern bank of the canal. Aided by the U.S. Navy, Egypt cleared the canal of sunken ships, mines, and other impediments to shipping, and the canal was finally reopened in 1975, after an eight-year closure.

Since then it has operated continuously, although traffic significantly declined during the 1980s and 1990s. The development of OIL reserves outside the Middle East and the increased size of oil tankers too big to negotiate the canal have led to its decreased importance. In response, plans were announced in 1997 to lower fees and to deepen the canal enough to handle the larger ships. Currently 14 percent of all of the world's shipping passes through the Suez Canal, as does 26 percent of all oil exports.

See also: ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vols. IV, V); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); MEDITERRANEAN SEA (Vol. I); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); RED SEA (Vol. I); SUEZ CANAL (Vol. IV).

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sustainable development Concept used to describe a process of economic and social improvement that does not deplete NATURAL RESOURCES or do irreparable harm to the environment. ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES became internationalized in 1972, when leaders of most countries of the world gathered in Stockholm, Sweden, to discuss for the first time the growing concerns of global environmental damage. They especially focused on the challenges of pollution and the threat of overpopulation. Since that time, national and international DEVELOPMENT policies have reflected a greater attention to sustainability with respect to both human development and ecological processes. Understanding the environmental sustainability of development is important, if only because the livelihood of more than half the world's population are based on AGRICULTURE, forestry, and fishing. The term *sustainable development* entered the lexicon of international relations following the publication of "Our Common Future," a UN report issued in 1987.

In 1992 representatives at the Earth Summit held in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, launched Agenda 21. This comprehensive proposal laid out the actions to be taken by the United Nations system, national governments, and CIVIL SOCIETY groups in all countries where human activity impacted the environment. Following Agenda 21, 178 countries adopted international conventions pertaining to deforestation, BIODIVERSITY loss, and climate change. More recently, the World Summit for Sustainable Development, or the JOHANNESBURG Summit, was held in SOUTH AFRICA in 2002. It concluded that both environmental protection and the well-being of future generations are closely linked with issues of POVERTY reduction. This new focus on the social dimensions of sustainable development has a particular relevance for present-day Africa, where many states have launched development programs that show little regard for environmental protection.

See also: CONSERVATION (Vol. V); ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); FORESTS (Vol. V); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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SWAPO See SOUTH WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION.

Swaziland Small land-locked southeastern African country, about 6,700 square miles (17,400 sq km) in size, surrounded mostly by SOUTH AFRICA but sharing a short border with MOZAMBIQUE. A monarchy, Swaziland's administrative and judicial capital is MBABANE; the legislative capital and royal residence is located at Lobamba.

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Lobamba is traditionally held as the residence of the Queen Mother, known as the Ndlovukazi (She-Elephant). The geographic and spiritual center of Swaziland, Lobamba is also the site of many of the Swazis' most important cultural ceremonies.

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Swaziland at Independence At the start of the 1960s Swaziland began to move toward independence from British colonial rule with a flurry of political activity. SOBHUZA II (1899–1982), the Swazi king or Ngwenyama (The Lion), formed the Imbokodvo National Movement (INM), which promoted traditional Swazi government and culture. In the 1964 legislative elections the INM won a sweeping victory and became the country's dominant party. In 1968 Swaziland achieved full independence with a monarchical form of government. It was to be the only monarchy in Africa that successfully survived the transition from the indirect rule of the colonial era to modern statehood.

In 1972 the INM once again won a majority in national elections, but there was enough of an opposition showing to lead Sobhuza to act radically, abolishing the constitution and the parliament and seizing all political power for himself. He also banned all political parties and LABOR UNIONS, saying that his act was a necessary measure to rid Swaziland of the remnants of colonialism. Sobhuza did, however, install a version of a cabinet system, headed by a prime minister.

Ultimately Sobhuza's reign in Swaziland lasted longer than the reign of any other contemporary monarch. During his reign Swaziland enjoyed strong economic DEVELOPMENT, especially in its agricultural sector, and political consistency, luxuries few other post-independence African nations could claim. This development, however, took place in the shadow of APARTHEID in neighboring South Africa, and much of the country's economic growth depended on TOURISM by South Africans who flocked to the country's gambling casinos.

Following the death of Sobhuza's, in 1982, political controversy erupted in the royal family. It continued until his son, Prince Makhosetive (1968–), was crowned as King MSWATI III. In an effort to centralize his power, Mswati III dissolved the traditional royal advisory council, the Liqoqo, which had become highly influential dur-

ing Sobhuza's reign. The new king also purged the government of a number of officials in an effort to combat CORRUPTION.

Under Mswati III, Swaziland continued to enjoy relative prosperity, though political infighting at times upset the stability of Mswati's administration. In addition the Swazi public began to demand greater DEMOCRATIZATION of the government. As a result, in 1993, Mswati allowed for legislative elections. In 1996 the king began the process to establish a new constitution for Swaziland, but as of 2003 no results had been achieved.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); SWAZILAND (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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T

Tambo, Oliver (1917–1993) *Leader of the African National Congress in South Africa*

After joining the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, in the early 1940s, Oliver Reginald Tambo rose through the ranks to become one of the organization's most important leaders. In 1960, when the government of SOUTH AFRICA cracked down in earnest on all forms of black political dissent, Tambo was chosen by ANC's executive leadership to go into exile to lead the organization from abroad. The decision proved prescient, as the ANC was banned in April 1960, and it became increasingly difficult to coordinate activities from within South Africa.

With the arrest of many leading ANC members at a farm in Rivonia, outside JOHANNESBURG, in 1963, Tambo emerged as the highest-ranking member still free and beyond the government's reach. From 1958 to 1969 he was ANC deputy president. He also served as acting president from 1967 to 1969, following the death of ANC president Chief Albert John Lutuli (1889–1967). Tambo was elected president in 1969 and reelected in 1985.

Tambo's efforts from abroad helped the ANC gain legitimacy and widespread recognition as a government-in-exile. Under his direction ANC bases were established in many countries surrounding South Africa, most notably in ZAMBIA and TANZANIA. He traveled widely, conducting diplomatic negotiations on behalf of the ANC with heads of state, UN representatives, the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, and, in the 1980s, with influential white South African business leaders. By 1990 the ANC had established missions in 27 different countries.

After more than 30 years in exile Tambo returned to South Africa in December 1990. Due to his poor health, Tambo transferred the ANC presidency to Nelson MAN-DELA (1918–), his longtime friend and fellow anti-apartheid crusader, after Mandela was released from prison in 1990. Tambo then assumed the honorary position of national chairman of the ANC.

Tambo died shortly before South Africa's first fully democratic elections, which brought the ANC into power, in 1994. Although not the symbol of the anti-apartheid struggle that Mandela became during his long years in prison, Tambo was equally important in making possible the elections that ended APARTHEID.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. V).

Tandja, Mamadou (1938–) *President of Niger*

Born in Maine-Soroa, NIGER to the Kanouri ethnic group, Tandja was educated in a military school and joined the national army. Through years of service he rose to the rank of colonel. In 1974 he played a vital role in organizing the COUP D'ÉTAT that overthrew Niger's president, Hamani DIORI (1916–1989). Tandja's associate and fellow military leader, Senyi Kountché (1931–1987), assumed the presidency. Over the next several years Tandja served in high-ranking government positions until he retired from the military early in the 1990s.

In 1993 Mamadou Tandja was an unsuccessful candidate for president in the first democratic elections held in Niger in more than 20 years. The victor, Mahamane Ousmane (1950–), eventually was undermined by civil unrest, violence, and mounting economic crises. He was ousted by another military coup, in 1996, when Colonel Ibrahim Bare Mainassara (d. 1999) placed himself at the head of the new government by means of rigged elections.

As public dissatisfaction and unrest grew, Tandja and other political rivals joined together to fight for free elections, forming the Front for the Restoration and Defense of the Democracy. In 1996 Tandja turned himself in and was arrested as a political dissident. In 1999, however, Mainassara was assassinated, making way for a free, democratic election. Later that year Tandja was elected president of Niger with approximately 59 percent of the vote. As president, Tandja forged a coalition majority with supporters of former president Ousmane. In terms of economics, however, he faced a mounting national debt and extreme crises related to POVERTY, unemployment, poor health care, and social and economic instability.

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Tansi, Sony Labou (1947–1995) *Congolese novelist*

Born in Kimwanza, Belgian Congo (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO), Tansi was educated at the École Normale Supérieure, the French high school in BRAZZAVILLE, Republic of the CONGO, where he was to continue to reside and work. He began writing seriously in 1971, and devoted himself to writing full-time after teaching for a brief period.

In 1978 Tansi published a satirical play, *La parenthése de sang* (Parentheses of blood), and, the following year, founded the Rocado Zulu Théâtre troupe. At that time he also published his first novel, *La Vie et demie* (published in English as *The Tortuous Path of the Fable*).

Although Tansi was a vocal proponent of the Kongo people, his theatrical productions were dedicated to all Africans and the challenges they faced in postcolonial Africa. Tansi once said of his theater, ". . . people come to the Rocado from all over the place, there is a superposition of multiple cultures. Thus theater simultaneously allows them to discover very different universes, the discovery of African diversity."

Tansi's novels include *L'antipeuple* (The antipeople, 1983), *Les septs solitides de Lorsa Lopez* (The seven solitudes of Lorsa Lopez, 1985), and *Les yeux du volcan* (Eyes of the volcano, 1988). In these works Tansi often chronicles the experiences of a sympathetic character in a cruel and unforgiving world. To its chagrin, Congo's one-party government proved unable to silence Tansi, whose popular novels and dramatic productions gave average Congolese people a voice in the face of inept leadership. Tansi died of an AIDS-related illness in 1995.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Tanzania

Country in East Africa covering approximately 342,100 square miles (886,000 sq km) and made up of mainland Tanganyika and the offshore Indian Ocean islands of ZANZIBAR, Pemba, and Mafia. Tanzania is bordered by UGANDA and KENYA to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, MOZAMBIQUE, MALAWI, and ZAMBIA to the south, and RWANDA and BURUNDI to the west. It also shares Lake Tanganyika in the west with the Democratic Republic of the CONGO and borders on Lake VICTORIA to the north. The capital has been the coastal city of DAR ES SALAAM, but it is being shifted in stages to the more centrally located DODOMA.

Tanzania at Independence Tanganyika became independent, in 1961, as a result of a sustained lobbying effort before the United Nations (UN); before independence it was officially ruled as a TRUST TERRITORY by Britain under the auspices of the United Nations. Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), the country's central nationalist figure, became its first prime minister and then its first president when Tanganyika became a republic, in 1962. Three years later Tanganyika united with ZANZIBAR and formed the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which was renamed the United Republic of Tanzania. The mainland portion dominated the major issues between the two political units especially in foreign affairs and defense. Led by Nyerere, Tanzania participated actively in many regional, continental, and international affairs. The country became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and joined with Kenya and Uganda to form the East African Common Services Organization in 1961, which from 1967 to 1977 was called the EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC). In 1966 Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania each established its own national currency based on the shilling, but all three national shillings remained legal tender across the region, and all remained convertible into British pounds.

Tanzania also played an important role in assisting INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS fighting for liberation in other African countries. An active member of the FRONTLINE STATES, Tanzania suffered economically for its support of liberation movements in Mozambique, ANGOLA, GUINEA-BISSAU, SOUTH AFRICA, and ZIMBABWE. Tanzania also played a leading role in the Nonaligned Movement and the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. President Nyerere, who became known internationally as a leading statesman, was one of the founding members of Nonaligned Movement and the Frontline States. In 1979 Tanzanian troops helped to overthrow Ugandan dictator, Idi AMIN (c. 1925–2003). After Amin attempted

to seize part of Tanzania its troops quickly moved into Uganda and forced Amin from power. They helped install a new government and withdrew as soon as their task was accomplished. Due to Nyerere's leadership Tanzania gained fame as a supporter of Africa's values and liberation. Tanzania was seen as a progressive African nation and a political base for revolutionary activists from around the world, including African-Americans.

In 1967 President Nyerere established a national policy that had a lasting impact on the society and economy of the country. Outlined in the ARUSHA DECLARATION, named after the town in which he made the proclamation, the policy sought to transform the country. Nyerere declared that Tanzania would pursue socialist policies. The major tenet of his philosophy was a brand of African Socialism, or collectivism, called UJAMAA. It was centered on community and was characterized by economic self-reliance, egalitarianism, and local rural DEVELOPMENT. In this regard villages were intended to be socialist organizations created by the people and governed by the people. Villages were grouped for effective development and sharing of resources. Nyerere's socialist objective was to build a society in which the community's material welfare took precedence over an individual's and in which all members would have equal rights and opportunities and live in peace with their neighbors without suffering, injustice, or exploitation.

In order to meet his objective of having a sole political party mobilizing and controlling the population, Nyerere merged his Tanganyika African Union (TANU) and Zanzibar's AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY (ASP) into a single party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), which translates as PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION. Nyerere's objective was for the party to be a vehicle for the flow of ideas and policy directives between the village level and the government. To pursue his objective of building an egalitarian society, Nyerere nationalized the economy and increased taxes. He made it illegal for government ministers and party officials to have shares or directorships in companies or to receive more than one salary in an attempt to prevent the development of an exploitative class. The result is that Tanzania did not develop great economic disparities within its population.

Nyerere, who had trained as a teacher, set forth his views about socialism in books such as *Freedom and Socialism: A Selection from Writings & Speeches, 1965–1967,* which appeared from the Dar es Salaam office of Oxford University Press in 1968.

While Nyerere was moving ahead with his socialist ideology, the country's economy plummeted. The *ujamaa* policy, the OIL crisis of the 1970s, and the falling world market prices for the country's principal CASH CROPS negatively affected the country's economy. In addition, Tanzania's commitment to liberation movements and its invasion of Uganda added to the country's economic difficulties. As a result the country was near bankruptcy. Tanzania remained one of the world's poorest countries with a per-capita income at the time of $270 (it is currently $610) and dependent mainly on agricultural production of sisal and cloves, since it lacked significant mineral resources. AGRICULTURE accounts for 85 percent of its export earnings.

In 1985 Nyerere stepped down from the presidency and was succeeded by Ali Hassan MWINYI (1925–), who was from Zanzibar. Nyerere retained his position as chair of the ruling CCM party and continued to influence the country's politics until his death, in October 1999. Mwinyi introduced new policy directions and belt-tightening STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs to help integrate the parallel economies of Tanzania and Zanzibar and stimulate economic growth. From 1986 Tanzania embarked on an adjustment program to eliminate government control of the economy and encourage participation of the private sector. Under compulsion from the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, Tanzania initiated economic recovery measures that generated increases in agricultural production and financial support from donor nations. At this time national and international pressure forced President Mwinyi, in 1992, to introduce a more inclusive election system. In 1995, for the first time in 30 years, multiparty elections were held, contested by 13 political parties. Benjamin MKAPA (1938–) of the CCM party won the election and was reelected to a second five-year term in 2000. From 1996 onward Tanzania's economy continued to grow due to improvements in production and increased EXPORTS. In 1993 the WORLD BANK classified Tanzania as the second-poorest country in the world. By 2000, however, it had risen by two positions.

While his socialist economic policies were less than fully successful, Nyerere must be credited with the expansion of the use of one national language, a major feat for a country with more than 120 ethnic groups, of which the largest groups (the Sukuma and Nyamwezi) together represent only one-fifth of the population. Tanzania, however, has maintained the use of Kiswahili and English as the main languages, with English being the official language and Kiswahili the common national language. In 2002 the population of Tanzania was about 35 million, which reflects a significant POPULATION GROWTH since independence.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V); TANZANIA (Vols.

I, II, III, IV); TRUST TERRITORY (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

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Tanzanian African National Union (TANU)

First political party of independent TANZANIA. The Tanzanian African National Union emerged out of the *Tanganyika* African National Union (the original TANU), which was formed in 1954. It in turn had grown out of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), which was founded by the British colonialists in 1929 for Africans but was inadequate to further African nationalism. Julius NYERERE (1922–1999), who became the first president of the country, and other leaders transformed the TAA into the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in order to spearhead the fight against colonialism. TANU adopted three main strategies at its formation: to pressure the British government, to pressure the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, and to rally general African and international support for Tanganyika's independence. TANU's efforts resulted in its winning a large number of seats on the Tanganyika Legislative Council in elections held in 1958. Two years later TANU won 70 of 71 seats in the country's new Legislative Assembly.

Tanganyika became independent on December 9, 1961, and Nyerere was elected prime minister, modeling Britain's parliamentary system. The following year Tanganyika changed to become a republic with Nyerere as its president. Nyerere appointed a presidential commission, in 1964, to investigate the formation of a one-party state in Tanganyika. This was the same year that ZANZIBAR and Tanganyika merged to form Tanzania. The commission's report led to the adoption of TANU (now the *Tanzanian* African National Union) as the sole political party, in 1965. On February 5, 1977, TANU and the AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY, the sole Zanzibari political party, merged to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM, called the PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION in English) with Nyerere as its leader until his retirement from direct party politics, in 1990.

See also: ARUSHA DECLARATION (Vol. V); INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); POLITICAL SYSTEMS (Vol. V); TANGANYIKA (Vol. IV).

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Tati-Loutard, Jean-Baptiste (1938–   ) *Congolese statesman and poet*

Tati-Loutard was born in the Belgian Congo (present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO) and received his higher education at the University of Bordeaux, in France. In 1966 he returned to the Congolese capital, BRAZZAVILLE, to teach at the Center for Higher Education. In the late 1970s Tati-Loutard was recognized as a leader in the cultural movement of his country and other French-speaking African states, becoming minister of culture, arts, and sport and acting minister of foreign affairs. Tati-Loutard is best known internationally for his poetry, which features classical styles. A student of the black literary movement known as Négritude, Tati-Loutard used his poetry as a platform for exploring the black literary voice and the human condition in general. In the late 1990s Tati-Loutard became Congo's OIL minister on the strength of his ability to write about and disseminate the government's policies.

See also: LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); NÉGRITUDE (Vol. IV).

Taya, Maaouya Ould Sid Ahmed (c. 1941–   ) *President of Mauritania*

Born in the Atar region of MAURITANIA, Taya became deeply involved in the turbulent politics of his country. He joined the army early on, serving as an assistant to President Moktar Ould Daddah (1924–   ) before leading troops against POLISARIO guerrillas in the Mauritania-occupied region of WESTERN SAHARA. At the time Mauritania had divided the disputed region with MOROCCO, with both countries facing strong resistance from the indigenous SAHARAWI people. Controversy over the struggle in Western Sahara led to a COUP D'ÉTAT, unseating Daddah and bringing Mustapha Salek to power. Taya served as minister of defense until Salek resigned, in 1979.

In 1980 Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidalla (1940–   ) became president and attempted to reform the government from a single-party to a multiparty system. Taya became army chief of staff, essentially serving as Haidalla's prime minister. Haidalla's administration gradually became more oppressive as he defended himself against a number of attempted coups. Measures to stimulate the economy were instituted with little effect. In 1982 Taya led a military coup and assumed the presidency.

Under Taya, Mauritania's government remained a multiparty system, but the new constitution broadened the president's powers and allowed for unlimited terms. In 1992 Taya was officially elected president as the leader of the Social and Democratic Republican Party (Parti Républicain Démocratique et Social, PRDS). He won again in 1997 amid electoral controversy. Both Taya and the PRDS continued to dominate Mauritanian politics through the 2001 elections as well.

As president Taya has been dogged by a number of troubling issues. The country has suffered from inconsistent DEVELOPMENT and a fragile economy, relying heavily on foreign ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. Though the Western Sahara conflict ended under President Haidalla, Mauritania itself still struggles with ethnic tensions and racism, as dark-skinned Mauritanians have often faced extreme prejudice from lighter-skinned Arabic Mauritanians. Also, despite having officially abolished slavery four times, most recently in 1981, HUMAN RIGHTS groups have repeatedly uncovered evidence that the heinous practice continues in Mauritania under Taya's leadership.

In addition, Taya has continued to face hostility against his administration, leading him to ban a number of opposition parties, including, in 2002, the antiracism Action for Change (AC) party. The outlawing of the AC party left Mauritania once again a one-party state.

Taylor, Charles (1948–) *Former head of state of Liberia*

Charles McArthur Taylor was the son of an American father and a mother from the Americo-Liberian elite. After attending college in the United States and earning a degree in economics Taylor worked as a mechanic in Boston, Massachusetts. There he became active in organizations seeking to end the long-standing domination of LIBERIA by the Americo-Liberians' True Whig Party.

Taylor returned to Liberia when a COUP D'ÉTAT brought Sergeant Samuel DOE (c. 1952–1990) to power in 1980. Taylor eventually headed the country's General Services Agency, but, accused of embezzling almost a million dollars from the government, he fled to the United States in 1983. There he was arrested, but he escaped from jail and fled, spending the next five years in hiding. It is rumored that Taylor spent much of that time in LIBYA as a guest of Colonel Muammar QADDAFI (1942–).

Beginning in 1985 Taylor devoted four years to organizing his National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), an anti-Doe group that became increasingly militant. Eventually he put together a rebel force that he led in an invasion of Liberia on Dec. 24, 1990. For a while Taylor enjoyed the support of the United States as well as a large number of Liberians, who saw hope in his announced plans to democratize Liberia, return it to civilian rule, and to redistribute the power and wealth of the Americo-Liberians among the nation's other ethnic groups. By July 1990, however, many people had grown disenchanted with Taylor, and he was losing support. Indeed, when he and some of his armed force entered MONROVIA, the Liberian capital, factional disputes within his own NPFL made it impossible for him to take control of the city.

Civil war and ethnic hostilities dominated Liberian life for the next half-decade, but, when forthcoming elections were announced, Taylor was able to launch an effective campaign and win the election. Unfortunately, once in office he proved unable to do much of anything to solve the political, economic, and ethnic crises facing the country. At the same time he became caught up in fomenting unrest in other countries, supporting rebel groups in places such as SIERRA LEONE.

In 2003 accusations of corruption forced Liberian president Charles Taylor (right) to leave the country. Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo (left) offered Taylor refuge in Nigeria. *© AP/Wide World Photos*

In the early years of the 21st century Taylor proved unable to hold his country together. By 2003 Liberia had descended into virtual anarchy, and international pressure forced Taylor to flee to NIGERIA. In 2004, with the help of a United Nations mission, an interim government began restoring order to the ravaged land.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

telecommunications Although Africa still lags behind other regions of the world, the continent has witnessed the rapid DEVELOPMENT of telecommunications over the last two decades. A substantial increase in the rate of expansion and modernization of fixed networks has taken place along with the explosion of mobile networks. Mobile networks have spread rapidly, and subscribers have now surpassed fixed-line users in most countries, underscoring the latent demand for basic voice services. Due to the low cost and long range of the cellular base stations, many rural areas are also covered. But the high cost of mobile usage, which in 2002 was approximately 20–40 U.S. cents per minute, makes it too expensive for most local calls or wireless Internet access.

The number of fixed telephone lines also steadily increased. Between 1995 and 2001 the number of fixed lines jumped from 12.5 million to 21 million across Africa. Northern Africa had 11.4 million of the lines, while southern Africa had another 5 million lines, leaving 4.6 million for rest of the continent.

In general, African governments left the responsibility for maintaining public telephones to the private sector. In many countries this resulted in an increase in the number of public telephone places and telecenters. In SENEGAL, for example, there are now more than 10,000 commercial public phone bureaus that employ more than 15,000 people. While most of these phone service centers are in urban areas, a growing number are being established in rural locations. Some are even able to provide Internet access and other advanced services to the public.

At the beginning of the 1990s cellular operators were present in only six African countries. By 2002, however, there were more than 100 cellular networks in 48 countries serving more than 14 million customers. Operators provide access mainly in the capital cities, but they also are beginning to be found in some secondary towns and along major truck routes.

Some cellular operators are providing extra services including data transmission, short message sending, and even financial transactions. Calling cards and PIN-based public and cellular phones are becoming popular across the continent. This is creating a new revenue stream in the sale of telephone airtime by small shops and telecenters. This development can also form the basis for more advanced telephone-based services, including electronic commerce. This is already the case in ZAMBIA and SOUTH AFRICA, where mobile-phone-based bill-payment systems have been launched.

The use of the Internet has grown relatively rapidly in most urban areas in Africa in much the same pattern as the adoption of the mobile phone. In 1997 only a handful of African countries had local Internet access, but by 2000 it was available in every capital city.

According to statistics compiled in 2001 it was estimated that 24 million Africans had mobile phones. It also was estimated that 20 million people had fixed-line telephones and 5.9 million had personal computers. The growth rate in users that was seen in the 1990s has slowed down in most countries, primarily because most of the users who can afford a computer and telephone have already obtained connections. As of mid 2002 the number of dial-up Internet subscribers was close to 1.7 million, up 20 percent from the previous year. This was mainly due to growth in a few of the larger countries such as EGYPT, South Africa, MOROCCO, and NIGERIA. Of the total subscribers, northern Africa and southern Africa are responsible for about 1.2 million, leaving about 500,000 for the remaining 49 sub-Saharan countries.

In Africa each computer with an Internet or e-mail connection usually supports three to five users. This puts current estimates of the total number of African Internet users at around 5 million. In response to the high cost of Internet services and the slow speed of connections, lower-cost e-mail-only services attract subscribers. Similarly, because of the relatively high cost of local electronic mailbox services from African Internet service providers, a large proportion of African e-mail users make use of the free Web-based services such as Hotmail, Yahoo, or Excite, most of which are in the United States.

The use of fiber-optic cable for international traffic is still in the beginning stages in Africa, and most international telecom connections are carried via satellite. Currently five submarine cables provide some international fiber connectivity to Africa. These cables connect most of North and West Africa's coastal countries to networks in Europe. All remaining international bandwidth is provided by satellite providers. The high costs and limited service are attributed to the monopoly environment in which most of the communications companies operate, but this is slowly changing with increased privatization.

Some of the factors hampering the development of telecommunication in Africa include irregular or nonexistent electricity supplies, tax regimes that regard computers and cell phones as luxury items, and limited business environments characterized by inflation, currency instability, and exchange controls.

See also: RADIO AND TELEVISION (Vol. V).

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terrorism The word *terrorism* dates to the Reign of Terror (1793–94) of the French Revolution. During this period Robespierre (1758–1794) and the Jacobins violently purged French society of 12,000 so-called enemies of the revolution in hopes of making a better society. As a concept and a practice, though, terrorism existed in deed if not name long before this. Many scholars trace its beginnings to Phineas, a Jewish high priest. Historian Flavius Josephus (37 CE–100 CE) described how Phineas and his Sicarii (militant Zealots) killed a number of Jewish priests in an effort to frighten the remaining priests into opposing Rome. "The panic," Josephus wrote, "was more alarming than the calamity itself; everyone, as on the battlefield, hourly expected death."

While today's terrorism may differ from that of the ancient past in scope and execution, the roots remain the same. As characterized by the United Nations, terrorism is distinguished from other violence in that its motivation is to generate, increase, or spread fear in an effort to change the social order. It is not killing for killing's sake. It is an "act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian . . . when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act." Those who employ it believe that they are using the most effective tool of revolt or war to fight against those who oppress them.

The root causes of terrorism are complex. For instance, Nobel laureate Kim Dae Jung (1925–) stated that "at the bottom of terrorism is POVERTY." Those who are poor, advocates of this view believe, have little to lose and everything to gain. They are at the bottom of the social or economic order, and only by upending this order can they move ahead. Some leaders, including Tony Blair, former president of SOUTH AFRICA Nelson MANDELA (1918–), and President Robert MUGABE (1924–) of ZIMBABWE, have called for significant investment by wealthy countries in poverty alleviation, declaring that this will help dissuade would-be terrorists. The very real fear is that an African variant of terrorism can rise. Little economic opportunity, social deprivation, and loss of cultural identity—all rampant in Africa—provide the seeds of terrorist growth and mutation.

Another cause of terrorism is political motivation. Where the problem with the social order is ideology rather than economic oppression, modern day zealots of all religions and creeds feel isolated from the political structure. This explanation has been used most fervently in recent years to explain the actions of radical Muslims who oppose secular Muslim governments. According to this argument, these radical Muslims see no opportunity for participation in the current system since the religious law under which they wish to live is excluded from the political system. In this sense, terrorism becomes a highly violent form of political participation. Perhaps the best example of this in Africa is in NIGERIA. Throughout the oppressive regimes of Ibrahim BABANGIDA (1941–), Sani ABACHA (1943–1998), and Abdulsalami Abubakar (1943–1998) the government maintained a monopoly on violence. Terrorism, while it existed, was uncommon. With DEMOCRATIZATION and the presidency of Olusegun OBASANJO (c. 1937–) in 1999, the state became less oppressive and more open to the freedom of association, RELIGION, and expression. Rules were more formalized, primarily at the regional level. The new secular government accepted mass participation but only in a secular manner. Those who wanted to see the rise of *SHARIA*, Islamic law, could not participate in a fashion that would bring it about. For them, resorting to terrorist acts became a way of trying to change the new political system. They gained enough legitimacy to bring about a constitutional crisis in which the central government had to bar states from electing leaders that would bring about a shift to *sharia*. In recent years there has been a radicalization of *sharia* not only in Nigeria but in ALGERIA, SOMALIA, and even SOUTH AFRICA.

In Africa, a strong state has tended to be a deterrent to terrorism. State violence can keep the peace or oppress but it is not, by definition, terrorism. This has been the case, for instance, in KENYA, TANZANIA, MALI, ZAMBIA, CAMEROON, and MALAWI. In reverse, one of the greatest contributors to the rise in terrorism has been the weakness of states. A collapsed state is one that can no longer perform the functions expected of it. This means that it cannot secure its population or its borders. Nor can it provide police, banks, a financial system, or any of the other elements of a functioning contemporary society. LIBERIA, SIERRA LEONE, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO all serve as examples, while GUINEA, CHAD, the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, the Republic of the CONGO, the Republic of the SUDAN, and ANGOLA have significantly deteriorated in this direction.

The quintessential example, however, is Somalia. When the former dictator Mohammed Siad BARRE (1919–1995) was ousted, in January 1991, what remained of his soft, autocratic state collapsed. After a brief period of anarchy, local leadership—religious and ethnic—filled the void, as the country became a violent and dangerous place. Since 2000 President ABDIKASSIM SALAD HASSAN (1941–) has unsuccessfully tried to recentralize authority in the hands of the state. He has been powerless in stopping secessionist movements in Somaliland and Puntland, both of which have set up quasi states. Perhaps more importantly, his government has not been strong enough to ensure that local leaders will follow national laws instead of their own. Important INFRASTRUCTURE has collapsed, schools are not functioning, hospitals are closed, civil services have not resumed, and jobs are virtually nonexistent. Many groups are unhappy with the

status quo and have little to lose by trying to do something about it, particularly since the police and military are too weak to stop them. Warlords have taken the place of politicians. Moreover, where these local leaders want to see the rise of a radical Islamic state in Somalia or empathize with groups in other countries trying to do the same, the state lacks the ability to stop them. Al-Ittihad al-Islami, an organization that did not even make the U.S. Foreign Terrorist Organization list until after September 11, 2001, is now strong enough to be considered one of the greatest terrorist threats in Africa. Their influence has crossed the border to ETHIOPIA, and the United States has pointed to their connections with Al Qaeda, the organization responsible for the September 11 attacks. What Somalia has taught the world is that failed states provide a fertile ground for terrorist groups to grow.

Terrorist acts escalated in Africa in the 1990s. Violent attacks were stepped up against the government in Algeria, against Egyptian president Hosni MUBARAK (1928–) while he was in Ethiopia, and Western tourists in EGYPT. The biggest event came on August 8, 1998, when two bombs, believed planted by Al Qaeda, destroyed the U.S. embassies in NAIROBI, Kenya and DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania. Hundreds of Kenyan, Tanzanian, and American nationals were killed. This began a new era in the role of Africa in global terrorism, and U.S. policy changed. In Somalia, in particular, the United States set out a policy, still in place, that seeks to remove the terrorist threat, ensure against Somalia as a base of terrorist operations, prevent terrorists from destabilizing the region, and overcome the challenges of governance in Somalia. However, even as the United States has realized the rising global terrorist threat stemming from Africa, organizations have proliferated in East Africa in particular, providing training grounds and bases that have been used to launch attacks against the United States and its allies.

African leaders have made significant attempts to quell the rising terrorist tide, with successive antiterrorist statements and pacts on the part of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU). These culminated in 1999 with the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism. Signed in ALGIERS, Algeria, this acknowledged the link between countering terrorism and recognizing civil rights while reinforcing continent-wide efforts to cooperate against the rise of extremism.

Despite the great efforts of the United States, its allies, the OAU, and its successor, the AFRICAN UNION, the nature of terrorism in Africa and around the world appears to be becoming more global. Affordable TELECOMMUNICATIONS and technologies—such as cell phones and the Internet—have facilitated its growth. This has blurred the line between terrorist organization and supporter. Indeed, while the United States chased Al-Ittihad al-Islami, Al Qaeda, and other organizations in Africa, the National Islamic Front of Sudan has simultaneously served as government, government backer of terrorist groups, and a non-state terrorist group. It is situations like this that have made scholars and political leaders alike realize that they have a long way to go before they can effectively determine how to recognize terrorism, let alone how to confront its globalization from an Africa base.

See also: STATE, ROLE OF (Vol. V).

Further reading: Douglas Farah, *Blood From Stones: the Secret Financial Network of Terror* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004); Sherene Razack, *Dark Threats and White Knights, the Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Rahul Mahajan, *The New Crusade: America's War on Terrorism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002).

theater Used to disseminate foreign and indigenous literature and to teach those who are not literate, the staged play became very important as an African literary genre after independence. Many African cultural traditions, masquerades, festivals, and story telling in which costume and dance were a part of communication were used for instruction and information. MISSIONARIES taught Africans about theater and used it for instructional purposes. European-style educational institutions such as the William Ponty Teacher Training School, Achimota College, and MAKERERE UNIVERSITY helped to contribute European expression to an African theater rooted in African values.

Many of the first African playwrights used their colonial training to produce European-style plays, sometimes providing an anticolonial message. Those playwrights who were educated under colonialism and came into prominence after independence often used the genre to provide a political critique of fledgling African governments. Other playwrights used the genre of popular theater for popular EDUCATION, providing people with the facts on the medical issues surrounding the HIV/AIDS epidemic and the hazards inherent in the cultural practice of female circumcision.

In West Africa the best-known dramatist is Nigerian writer Wole SOYINKA (1934–), who won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1986. Writing in English, he used myths to provide a means of indirectly criticizing the government, and because his plays focused on a YORUBA cultural setting, he educated non-Yoruba audiences about Yoruba culture. As the early years of independence unfolded Soyinka used social and religious themes to debunk the prevailing ideas of a glorious African past and to deflate the enthusiasm about the future in his play *A Dance of the Forests* (1963). Like Chinua ACHEBE (1930–) did for the IGBO in his novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958), Soyinka portrays the consequences of the intrusion of British colonialism among

the Yoruba in his *Death and the King's Horseman* (1975), his most successful play internationally.

During the 1960s and 1970s many playwrights were Yoruba, a people that easily translated ideas from their culture to the stage. Nigerian Femi Osofisan (1946–) emerged in the 1970s, writing plays about the Biafran civil war (1967–70). In his play *Sons and Daughters* (1964), Ghanaian Joe de Graft (1924–1978) dramatized the generational and cultural conflicts between parents with an indigenous education and children with a colonial education. *The Dilemma of a Ghost* (1965), a dramatic work by Ama Ata AIDOO (1942–), demonstrates the problems of intercultural marriages. A pioneer in developing Ghanaian national theater, Efua Sutherland (1924–1996) used radio as the first stage for which she wrote plays such as *The Marriage of Anansew* (1975).

In East Africa playwrights wrote about colonial events. These writers included NGUGI WA THIONG'O (1938–) of KENYA, who collaborated with Micere Mugo (1942–) in writing *The Trial of Dedn Kimathi* (1976), and Ebrahim Hussein (1943–), who wrote *Kinjeketile* (1969) and *Kwenye Ukingo wa Thim* (1988). These writers also dealt in contemporary political critiques. The direct criticism of the Kenyan government conveyed in the 1977 performance of *Nagaahika Ndeenda* by Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Ngugi wa Mirii resulted in the imprisonment of Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the exiling of Ngugi wa Mirii, and the destruction of the Kamiriithu Community Educational and Cultural Center, where the play was performed. Despite these attempts at censorship, the play continued to be staged in other locations.

In SOUTH AFRICA the history of theater began in 1947 with the establishment of the National Theatre Organization, a group that performed for white audiences only. In the 1950s the Union Artists joined with the African Music and Drama Association and the Rehearsal Room at Dorkay House in JOHANNESBURG for the production of urban English-speaking performances. In 1972 the multiracial Spaced Theater was opened in CAPE TOWN by Brian Astubury, Yvonne Bryceland, and Athol FUGARD (1932–), who is South Africa's most popular English-speaking playwright. Fugard's early work focuses on anti-APARTHEID themes in his Sophiatown "Township" plays, political violence in *My Children, My Africa* (1989), and the need for reconciliation in a democratized South Africa in *Playland* (1992).

In North Africa the 1960s were theatrically dynamic in EGYPT, which was known for its role as the cultural leader of the Arab world. The government of Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) sponsored theater companies through the Ministry of Culture, and many playwrights and directors applied the knowledge they gained in their study abroad to the Egyptian genre. While playwrights contested over language usage, they merged local, Arab, and European themes in their plays. Ali Salim (1936–)

used satire in comedies, including *Bir al-qamh* (The wheat-pit, 1968), a play that addressed the world's myopic archaeological interest in Egypt's past. Alfred Faraj (1929–) wrote for the wider Arab audience, focusing on classical topics of the universal Islamic state in his *Hallaq Baghdad* (The barber of Baghdad, 1963). In his two-act play, *al-Farafir* (The Farfurs, 1964), Yusuf Idris (1927–) merged indigenous genres with popular comedies. One of the most important playwrights of the 1960s and 1970s was Najib Surur (1932–1978), who used Arabic verse in drama.

African theater continues to merge indigenous culture with foreign cultural elements experienced in African life into a hybrid literary genre for the literate and a popular theater for the nonliterate. The products of African playwrights are essential to the understanding of the tremendous upheaval experienced in Africa during the age of colonialism and in the turbulent times of independence that followed.

See also: ACHIMOTA COLLEGE (Vol. IV); BIAFRA (Vol. V); COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ÉCOLE WILLIAM PONTY (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); *THINGS FALL APART* (Vol. IV).

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Tigray Large ethnic group concentrated in ERITREA and ETHIOPIA. The northern province in which the majority of Ethiopia's Tigray live is also called Tigray. The Tigray people speak the Semitic language of Tigrinya. Today they make up about one-third of Eritrea's population and about 6 percent of Ethiopia's population.

Most Tigrayans are members of the Coptic ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH, although some have converted from Coptic Christianity to Islam. The Tigray are primarily agricultural, but they also raise livestock for important EXPORTS.

Over the years the Tigray have resisted attempts at cultural assimilation by the Amhara, the dominant group in Ethiopia. At the same time they are in competition with other ethnic groups in the region, including the OROMO. Ethnic relations in Ethiopia have been extremely contentious in recent years, with the Tigray occupying a central role in determining the face of Ethiopian politics, most notably through the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF).

Beginning in the 1960s the Tigray fought back against the poor treatment they received from the regime of former Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975). After Selassie was deposed, in 1974, the Tigray, through the TPLF, launched a protracted fight against the military government of MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (c. 1937–   ). The battle against the Amhara-dominated government in Ethiopia included efforts to establish an independent Tigrayan republic. Eventually, in 1991, the TPLF allied with other oppressed groups, including the Oromo People's Democratic Organization, to take control of the government. The new coalition governing party, called the ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC FRONT, ousted Mengistu Haile Mariam, replacing him with MELES ZENAWI (1955–   ), from Tigray. However, Tigray control of Ethi-opia has not alleviated contentious ethnic politics and conflict continues in the region.

See also: AMHARA (Vols. I, III, IV); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); TIGRAY (Vols. I, IV); TIGRINYA (Vol. I).

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Todd, Garfield (1908–2002) *Prime minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1953 to 1958*

Garfield Todd was born in 1908 in New Zealand and came to Southern Rhodesia (present-day ZIMBABWE) with his wife, Jean Grace Wilson, as a missionary in 1934. He entered politics in Southern Rhodesia, which was then a self-governing colony within the British Empire. In 1946 Todd became a Legislative Assembly member representing Salisbury, the capital that later became HARARE. A charismatic public speaker, he became Southern Rhodesia's prime minister in 1953, leading the United Rhodesia Party.

As a moderate politician Todd introduced and supported various laws that extended voting, home ownership, and land ownership rights to Southern Rhodesia's African majority. In the country's racially charged political climate, the white minority came to view Todd as too liberal. The African majority, however, considered him not progressive enough. When his cabinet resigned over his policies, in 1958, Todd was removed from office.

He remained outspoken and sympathetic to the rights of black Africans following the UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE issued in 1965 by Ian SMITH (1919–   ). The Smith government of the newly named RHODESIA restricted Todd to his farm and even imprisoned him briefly. After the African majority gained independence as Zimbabwe in 1980 Todd reentered politics as a member of the Senate before leaving public life for good, in 1985. He died on October 13, 2002, in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, at the age of 93.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); MISSIONARIES (Vols. III, IV, V); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

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Togo Small West African country about 22,000 square miles (57,000 sq km) in size located on the Gulf of Guinea and sharing borders with GHANA to the west, the Republic of BENIN to the east, and BURKINA FASO to the north.

Togo at Independence Togo received its independence from France in 1960, with Sylvanus Olympio (1902–1963) becoming president the following year. Conservative and authoritarian in his leadership, Olympio strove to achieve economic independence from France through tax policies and trade restrictions. However, his failure to take care of his military personnel led to his death following a COUP D'ÉTAT in 1963.

Led by Sergeant Étienne EYADEMA (1935–2005), the new government invited former Togolese prime minister Nicolas Grunitzkey (1913–1969), to become the new leader of government. However, this arrangement lasted only four years, and in 1967 Eyadema, now a general, led another coup and installed himself as president of Togo.

In 1969 Eyadema created the Togolese People's Rally (Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais, RPT) and turned Togo into a one-party state. In an effort to create political unity, in 1974 he launched a cultural revolution that called for the rejection of foreign personnel and place names. In addition he encouraged Togo's 20 to 30 ethnic groups (depending upon classification) to assert their individual cultures, a divisive measure. He changed his first name from the French Étienne to Gnassingbe, a name of the northern Kabye ethnic group to which he belongs.

With the support of Togo's army, which Eyadema staffed mostly with men from his native region, he was able to maintain political stability during the 1970s and early 1980s. However, fraudulent tactics during elections, a weak economy, and government CORRUPTION led to bomb attacks in LOMÉ, the capital, during the 1980s. This overt challenge to his government led Eyadema to arrest and detain dissidents. Later reports of torture and disappearances have led Amnesty International and other organizations to charge the Eyadema regime with numerous HUMAN RIGHTS violations.

Togo Since 1990 In the 1990s Togo's domestic policy focused on the challenge of creating a multiparty,

democratic state. In 1991 Eyadema suspended the conference to establish a transition government to democracy, leading to more political unrest. To appease his opponents Eyadema named Joseph Kokou Koffigoh (1948–   ), the leader of the strongest opposition group, as prime minister.

From 1991 until the elections of 1993 general strikes and violence threatened Togo's political and social stability. The resulting government repression forced thousands of Togolese to flee to Benin, Burkina Faso, and Ghana. The exodus embroiled the region in a foreign policy crisis, with Eyadema accusing these countries of harboring the "dissidents," who were branded as criminals. In the 1993 elections a fragmented opposition and low voter turnout allowed Eyadema to win. In legislative elections held the following year, opposition parties won by a small margin. Eyadema was able to limit the opposition's threat, however, by naming Edem Kodjo (1938–   ), who led a small opposition party, as prime minister. In 2002 Eyadema dismissed Kodjo and the RPT subsequently won another landslide electoral victory. In 2005 Eyadema died while in transit to Paris for emergency medical treatment. After a special parliamentary session, Eyadema's son, Faure, was named the new president of Togo.

See also: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICA (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); TOGO (Vols. I, II, III, IV); TOGOLAND (Vol. IV).

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Tolbert, William (William Richard Tolbert, Jr.)
(1913–1980) *Former president of Liberia*

Born to a prominent Americo-Liberian farming family in Bensonville, near the national capital of MONROVIA, Tolbert received an EDUCATION that prepared him for national leadership. He entered government employment soon after his graduation from Liberia College, in 1934, and within a decade had won a seat in the House of Representatives. In 1951 William TUBMAN (1895–1971), who was elected Liberia's president in 1944, selected Tolbert as his vice presidential running mate. Following Tubman's victory Tolbert held the office of vice president until Tubman's death, in 1971, at which time he assumed the presidency. In 1975 Tolbert won election on his own.

The Liberian economy, which had been relatively strong during the Tubman era, began to decline during Tolbert's presidency. Worsening economic conditions, the country's long-standing social and economic inequalities, and the long-simmering resentment on the part of the indigenous population against the Americo-Liberian elite finally brought down the government. Riots in Monrovia in 1979—sparked by a steep rise in the price of rice, which was the basic food staple—brought about a COUP D'ÉTAT led by army sergeant Samuel DOE (1952–1990) in

1980. The army mutineers murdered Tolbert in his bed and took control of the government.

Tolbert's death marked the end of 133 years of constitutional government in Liberia, and also heralded a period of unprecedented upheaval in the decades that followed.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V).

Tombalbaye, François (N'Garta Tombalbaye)
(1918–1975) *Former president of Chad*

Born in southern CHAD during French colonial rule, Tombalbaye had little education. His involvement in LABOR UNIONS led to a role in creating the Chadian Progressive Party (Parti Progressiste Tchadian, PPT), led by Gabriel Lisette (1919–2001). Lisette, who was originally from the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe, was named prime minister when Chad became autono-mous, in 1957. Upon independence Chad was already an ethnically divided country, and Tombalbaye took advantage of Lisette's inability to bring the country together. In 1959 Tombalbaye effectively carried out a "coup by telegram," stripping Lisette of his Chadian citizenship while the prime minister was abroad and then assuming control of the government.

Tombalbaye immediately banned all political parties other than his PPT and attempted to quash the opposition. Faced with riots in 1963, he announced a state of emergency and began a massive roundup of any and all political adversaries. By the middle of the following year Tombalbaye had consolidated his power.

The president next turned to removing French influence from the country, the first of his efforts to Africanize Chad. However, because there were few trained Chadian replacements for the expelled French officials, government services declined drastically, with CORRUPTION running rampant. The Africanization process alienated the Arabic and Berber peoples living in the northern regions of the country.

Tombalbaye made little effort to reach out to the north, and his discrimination led to Muslim riots. In 1965 civil war erupted between the north and south, and Tombalbaye was forced to call on France for military intervention. In 1971 Tombalbaye used a supposed coup attempt funded by LIBYA, Chad's neighbor to the north, as an excuse to sever relations with that country. This led Libyan leader Muammar QADDAFI (1942–   ) to sponsor the Chad National Liberation Front (Front du Libération Nationale du Tchad, FROLINAT), a Muslim-dominated rebel army in northern Chad.

Conditions in Chad continued to worsen at an alarming rate. Financially the country was in ruins, and a drought had devastated AGRICULTURE. In 1972 students launched a strike in the capital city of Fort Lamy, a clear demonstration of how Tombalbaye's popularity was waning, even in the south. Tombalbaye reacted with increas-

ing paranoia, arresting another 1,000 supposed conspirators, including southerners. He also severed ties with Israel in an attempt to gain favor with Muslims and to secure aid from Arab countries. The ploy worked to temporarily limit FROLINAT's advance, which by then had won control of a large portion of northern Chad.

In 1973 Tombalbaye had his military chief of staff, Colonel Félix Malloum (1932–   ), and a group of other government officials arrested, accusing them of carrying out animal sacrifices in an effort to undermine his administration. The official charge was "political sorcery."

To reduce the threat to his regime, Tombalbaye made a number of misguided efforts at reviving the country. To help combat the drought he initiated Operation Agriculture, a so-called volunteer effort in which the military rounded up civilians and forced them to plant cotton on unused lands. To boost morale the president once again turned to Africanization, or, as he termed it, "Chaditude." He renamed various locations in the country, including Fort Lamy, which became N'DJAMENA. Government officials were forced to use African names, and Tombalbaye himself took the first name N'Garta. He also used fiery oratory against France to stir up national pride.

Ultimately Tombalbaye was able to unite the country; however, it was united *against* him. By 1975 southerners and the military had joined the northerners in wanting Tombalbaye gone, and he was killed in a military mutiny.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV).

Touré, Ahmed Sékou (1922–1984) *First president of Guinea*

Although he received limited formal EDUCATION, Ahmed Sékou Touré dominated the political scene of GUINEA by using his innate ability to consolidate and rally the country's diverse population, which was divided by language, RELIGION, and region. As president he adopted African socialism as his domestic policy and favored the PAN-AFRICANISM espoused by Kwame NKRUMAH (1909–1972) as his "continental policy." In other foreign policy matters, Sékou Touré imitated Egypt's Gamal Abdel NASSER (1918–1970) and his nonalignment in the context of the Cold War between the capitalist and Communist worlds.

Sékou Touré learned the extent of Guinea's reliance on French economic support when France cut virtually all ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE to the former colony. He immediately sought to diversify the country's economy, which was overwhelmingly oriented toward AGRICULTURE, allocating almost half of his budget to the industrial sector. Soon, however, Guinea faced a serious trade deficit, and Touré was forced to denationalize industry. He then tried to encourage FOREIGN INVESTMENT by relaxing restrictions on Guinea's MARKETS, by making guarantees against nationalization, and by instituting favorable tax incentives.

Under Touré's Three-Year Plan, farmers worked in cooperatives to qualify for government credits, services, supplies, and rental tractors. However, of the 500 cooperatives that the Plan projected, by 1963 only 291 were formed. Agricultural production declined even though farming occupied 75 percent of the country's workforce. Although Guinea enjoyed a good climate and relatively fertile soil and its level of mechanization increased, many agricultural producers rejected Touré's reforms. By the mid-1960s the program failed, and by the late 1960s Guinea had to rely on expensive, imported food.

When Sékou Touré had assumed control in 1958, he tolerated a multiparty system of government. By 1962, however, he was stressing political organization based on a one-party state, which, in Guinea's case, became his Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG). Increasingly paranoid of a COUP D'ÉTAT, he surrounded himself with a loyal cadre, appointing many Maninka speakers from his hometown, Faranah, to positions in the government and to the leadership of the military. Touré expelled foreigners, arrested and executed political opponents, and purged the army and the governmental elite. Many who were brought to Camp Boiro, a military base in CONAKRY, were never heard from again.

In 1975–76 the failure of Guinea's agricultural economy led to a famine that caused many farmers to migrate to neighboring countries. Most of those who remained reverted to subsistence farming and augmented their incomes through bartering and smuggling. By 1978, in light of Guinea's widespread economic failures, Sékou Touré attempted, with mixed success, to bring Guinea back into the economy of the capitalist world.

As part of his Guinean "Cultural Revolution," Sékou Touré also instituted reforms in education. At independence nearly all of Guinea's population was illiterate in French, the official language, and only 2 percent of Guinea's children were attending school. He nationalized all schools—with the exception of Muslim Quranic schools—so that more students had access to education from primary school to the university level. Sékou Touré's educational revolution attempted to reclaim indigenous cultural independence by using indigenous languages for education. Funded by the United Nations Economic, Social, and Cultural Organization, Guinea implemented the Maternal Language Program, by which students learned in and became literate in indigenous languages in addition to the colonial language. Sékou Touré's ultimate aim was uni-

Ahmed Sékou Touré assumed the leadership of Guinea in 1958 and led the country until his death. Here he is seen addressing the Organization of African States in 1982. © *AP/Wide World Photos*

versal compulsory education, but he never had enough funding to achieve that goal.

In 1982 Sékou Touré was reelected Guinea's president. However, his term was cut short when he died during emergency heart surgery while at the Cleveland Clinic Foundation in Cleveland, Ohio. His death left a void in Guinean politics that was later filled by Lansana CONTÉ (1934–   ), who came to power following a bloodless coup.

See also: COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NONALIGNED MOVEMENT AND AFRICA (Vol. V); SÉKOU TOURÉ, AHMED (Vol. IV).

Touré, Amadou Toumani (1948–   ) *President of Mali*

Now known as a staunch advocate for peace, ironically Touré began his career in the Malian military. Born in 1948 in Mopti, MALI, Touré attended military school in his home country before receiving further training in the former Soviet Union and France. Touré had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel when Lieutenant Moussa Traoré (1936–   ) deposed Mali's first president, Modibo KEITA

(1915–1977), in a COUP D'ÉTAT in 1968. Traoré, a highly autocratic ruler, frustrated Touré's military aspirations, putting him at odds with the Traoré government.

Throughout the 1980s Malians cried out for democratic reforms with little success. Finally, popular dissatisfaction reached a boiling point. In 1991, in what became known as the Malian Revolution, demonstrators in the capital of BAMAKO and throughout Mali rioted after police fired on the crowds, killing 300. Horrified by the violence Touré rallied the army to overthrow Traoré. Following the coup d'état Touré headed a committee that drafted a new constitution and established the structure for a new government. Elections were held fourteen months later, and Alpha Oumar KONARÉ (1946–   ) became president.

Touré then put politics aside in favor of humanitarian work. In collaboration with former U.S. president Jimmy Carter (1924–   ), Touré created the Children's Foundation in defense of children's rights and launched a campaign to eradicate the guinea worm parasite, a major health threat in Mali and elsewhere in Africa. As a result of his efforts, Touré was asked by Kofi ANNAN (1938–   ) of the United Nations to head a delegation for peace in the CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. This led to a greater role for

Touré in terms of peacekeeping, particularly for the Great Lakes region, where countries such as RWANDA, BURUNDI, UGANDA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO have been frequently plagued by violence and HUMAN RIGHTS violations. For his success in conflict resolution, Touré was awarded the Africa Prize for Leadership in 1996.

Concerned about the state of his home country, in 2002 Touré reentered politics as a candidate in the Malian presidential elections. He won the election, and, for the first time in the nation's history, one democratically elected administration gave way to another. A peaceful transition of power such as the one from Touré to Konaré is a rare occurrence in Africa. Touré was only the second African military leader to willingly surrender power, the first being Olusegun OBASANJO (c. 1937–   ) of NIGERIA.

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Known affectionately as "A-T-T," Touré is very popular with the Malian people, who cherish his optimistic outlook and emphasis on traditional beliefs and values as a foundation for a successful future. One of his well known sayings is "When the night is darkest, the dawn is at hand."

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See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V).

tourism With the advent of commercial jet airliners, international tourism evolved from being the privilege of a wealthy few into a market for the broad middle class. Several countries in Africa have discovered and successfully exploited the international tourism market in recent decades. Africa is well endowed with potential tourist attractions, and countries in East and southern Africa have invested in the INFRASTRUCTURE necessary to attract billions of tourist dollars every year. The countries of West Africa have also begun to promote tourism with events such as the All Africa Games and the West Africa Travel Show, both held in NIGERIA in 2003.

One of the most successful types of tourism is ecotourism. The continent is ideal for ecotourism, with its variety of ecological zones ranging from deserts to rain forests. Ecotourism in Africa includes safaris in rugged open-topped land cruisers in naturally preserved NATIONAL PARKS, river rafting on the Zambezi or the Nile, scuba diving and deep-sea fishing off the coast of East Africa, and camel rides in the Kalahari or Sahara deserts. Hundreds of private and national organization now promote sustainable ecotourism in Africa.

The unique ecology and wildlife that is readily on display in the large national parks, especially in East and southern Africa, attract many of the tourists who come to Africa. Some governments and private tourism companies have tapped into tourists' concern for environmental CONSERVATION by implementing policies that reduce impact on WILDLIFE and natural areas. African governments that rely upon tourism have implemented regulations that limit the total number of people who can visit particular preserves on a daily basis and ecotourism companies are quick to advertise these ecologically friendly policies. Research facilities, such as the cheetah or chimpanzee rescue centers in SOUTH AFRICA, have also tapped into the tourism market. These research centers offer daily or weekly paid tours of the facilities and combine this with wildlife and nature education.

Aside from the large and well-known wildlife species, such as the lion, buffalo, and leopard, Africa is a wonderland for ornithologists. Thousands of colorful birds are the subject of bird-watching tours in East and southern Africa. Africa's waters also offer a host of ecotourist activities. Recently, international concern for Africa's coral reefs has brought about new conservation efforts and has increased tourism to these areas. For example, the coral reefs of KENYA, the SEYCHELLES, and MADAGASCAR have been targeted for tourism DEVELOPMENT as well as preservation.

Africa has many other attractions, aside from ecotourism destinations, which bring tourists from all over the world. Some of the most well-known cultures are from Africa, such as the MAASAI. Visitors come to see the vibrant reenactments of cultural ceremonies that they have read about in publications such as *National Geographic* magazine or have seen on television and movies. The bright ceremonial attire of the Maasai or some West African ethnic groups have been so well publicized that tourists incorrectly assume they will find all Africans dressed in this manner. Tourism hotels and lodges often offer ethnic dance and MUSIC shows catered to foreign tourists.

The colorful and bustling markets are also popular among tourists. Open-air markets have existed in Africa for centuries, providing a venue to sell agricultural goods, clothing, household furnishings, and livestock. The spread of tourism has resulted in the addition of markets that cater solely to tourists, offering indigenous ART, cloth, and jewelry, all of which are popular souvenirs.

Africa also offers numerous historical sites for those interested in its long and rich past. Archaeological research such as that in ETHIOPIA—where the human ancestor, "Lucy," dating back more than 3 million years was discovered—has demonstrated that Africa was home to humans and their ancestors from an early time. The Rift Valley in East Africa, especially Olduvai Gorge, has become a popular tourist destination due to its link with our ancient ancestors. The fossil and DNA evidence also suggests that *Homo sapiens* originated in Africa between 150,000 and 100,000 years ago.

With its ancient pyramids along the Nile, the Egyptian Museum in CAIRO and its magnificent collection of more than 120,000 objects, and a a multitude of good hotels and TRANSPORTATION facilities, Egypt has long been an important tourist destination. One of the most important attractions has been the Great Pyramid of Giza, which dates back to 5,000 years ago. Many tourists are interested in seeing the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, whose first walls were built in the 12th century. Some tourists enjoy participating in activities that are as old as many African civilizations, such as camel rides through deserts. West African countries, such as GHANA and SENEGAL, that do not have the attraction of big game animals and nature preserves are promoting historical sites associated with the former slave trade.

South Africa offers a unique tourist experience in its wine country. The rolling hills near CAPE TOWN attract many tourists every year. South African wine has become well known throughout the world and is exported to many countries. Along with the culture of wine, South Africa has developed a reputation for excellent cuisine.

Visitors to Cape Town have a choice of a wide variety of accommodations, from modestly priced bed-and-breakfast inns to five-star hotels. In 2000 *Conde Nast Travelers'* Readers Choice Award for the best hotel in the world went to the Cape Grace Hotel, which is located on the Cape Town waterfront. In the 2002 poll the nearby Table Bay Hotel was named the fourth-best hotel in the world.

Although Africa is rich in tourist attractions, the economic benefit of this sector of the economy has not been realized equally throughout the continent. Southern Africa (including South Africa, NAMIBIA, LESOTHO, BOTSWANA, and SWAZILAND) receives the greatest percentage (20–30 percent) of tourists to Africa. Political instability and poor infrastructure have been the biggest roadblocks to tourism development in countries in West and Central Africa. Africa as a whole has only 2 percent (approximately $6.6 billion) of the world's tour-ism market. This means there is great potential to increase its share of tourism. Since 1995, growth in the tourism industry in Africa has been consistently above the world average.

See also: ARCHAEOLOGY IN AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); GOREÉ ISLAND (Vol. III); GREAT PYRAMID (Vol. I); GREAT ZIMBABWE (Vol. II); *HOMO SAPIENS* (Vol. I); KALAHARI DESERT (Vols. I, II); OLDUVAI GORGE (Vol. I); RIFT VALLEY (Vol. I); SAFARI (Vol. V); SAHARA (Vols. I, II); SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT (Vol. V).

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trade and commerce One of the main goals of many postcolonial African leaders has been to develop their countries' economies by diversifying trade and finding a profitable advantage in a particular industrial or technological sector. Unfortunately these efforts have not been successful enough to counteract Africa's long-term economic reliance on the export of low-profit raw goods. As a result CASH CROPS grown for export and products from the continent's vast NATURAL RESOURCES are still the mainstay of the economies of most African nations.

This problematic economic situation is not new to Africa. For centuries trade routes lined Africa's northern and coastal areas to Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent. For many hundreds of years a number of different products moved back and forth across these routes. But for many years the most visible form of commerce was the slave trade. Then during the colonial era the emphasis shifted to the extraction of African resources for the benefit of European markets. For the most part this was undertaken by European colonial governments and private companies such as the Royal Niger Company, the United Africa Company, and the British East Africa Company.

Both of these forms of trade—the slave trade and the commerce in natural resources—still exist in postcolonial Africa. Indeed, trade in raw goods remains the dominant element in African commerce.

Although slavery has been officially outlawed by most countries for some time, some sociologists estimate that there still are almost 27 million slaves in the world today and that the trade in humans continues in many parts of Africa.

As some analysts argue, poor countries with good soil and a relatively uneducated LABOR force have, ironically, a comparative advantage when it comes to prices on the international market. This, in turn, can lead these countries to ultimately generate the wealth and DEVELOP-

MENT they need for the private sector to surge into new arenas. In MAURITIUS, for example, the surge in the sugar market led, first, to the growth of an important CLOTH AND TEXTILES industry and, in more recent years, to new high-tech businesses. Similarly, SOUTH AFRICA, BOTSWANA, and UGANDA have successfully diversified their economies to include both industrial and technological bases.

Not everyone agrees with this strategy or even with this analysis. Some analyses maintain that development that begins with the exporting of raw materials ultimately maintains the system of exploitation typified by the colonial era. The only difference, they argue, is that now African elites rather than colonial elites benefit from this exploitation of the poor and the natural bounty of the continent. To support their argument, these analysts point to the many countries of Africa, including MOROCCO, EGYPT, KENYA, IVORY COAST, and others, in which the economic base is too dependent upon agriculture and the extraction of minerals and other resources.

Regardless of which position analysts take, however, it is clear that, for their long term development and prosperity, it will be important for African nations to develop beyond both agricultural or resource-exploiting economies. Not surprisingly many countries—and their leaders—have come to see this as one of the main challenges of the 21st century.

See also: CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT (Vol. V); EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (Vol. V); ECONOMIC COMMUNITY FOR WEST AFRICAN STATES (Vol. V); EXPORTS (Vol. V); GLOBAL ECONOMY, AFRICA AND THE (Vol. V); MONEY AND CURRENCY (Vols. I, II, III, IV); MINERALS AND METALS (Vol. V); MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS (Vol. V); ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (Vol. V); SLAVE TRADE (Vol. IV); TOURISM (Vol. V); TRADE AND COMMERCE (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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transportation Primarily because of little public investment, transportation in postcolonial Africa remains largely made up of modest rail networks, barely emerging private aviation, and private buses and trucks running on modest networks of roads. The INFRASTRUCTURE needed for effective public transportation is, for the most part, lacking throughout sub-Saharan Africa. To a great extent this is a legacy of the colonial era. During the colonial period, for example, Britain and France made only minimal transportation investments. In contrast, Portugal's DEVELOPMENT of transportation systems within LUANDA, the capital of ANGOLA, was significant. Portugal also developed a rail link between MAPUTO, the capital of MOZAMBIQUE, and PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA, as well as other rail networks along Mozambique's coastal areas. Since independence much of Africa has seen the decay of what limited infrastructure had developed.

In spite of the fact that Africa represents more than six times the land area of Europe, according to the WORLD BANK, as of 2000 there were only 994,194 miles (1.6 million km) of roads in sub-Saharan Africa compared to 1,677,700 miles (2.7 million km) in Europe. In general, North African countries are much better served. For example, ALGERIA has nearly 44,739 miles (72,000 km) of paved highways and 398 miles (640 km) of expressway. Many of Africa's roads are in significantly ill repair, requiring four-wheel drive vehicles or else reducing the life of cars. KENYA, with one of the best road and rail systems in the subcontinent, has only 41,423 miles (63,663 km) of roads and 1,625 miles (2,615 km) of rail line. Even TANZANIA, with a rail system traced to the African socialism of Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) in the 1970s, suffers from this plight. Despite massive investment by the Tanzanian government and China, the country has only 54,681 miles (88,000 km) of roads, and 1,330 miles (2,141 km) of rail lines. Only the regional superpower, SOUTH AFRICA, stands ahead with 113,294 miles (182,329 km) of roads, including 1,263 miles (2,032 km) of expressways, and nearly 13,670 miles (22,000 km) of rail lines.

Getting around on these road and rail lines can be challenging. In some parts of the country the portion of the population that can afford to purchase private cars outstrips the ability of the government to invest in road construction. LAGOS, NIGERIA is thought to have worse traffic congestion on its highways than Los Angeles, California.

Yet the high levels of POVERTY throughout the continent mean that relatively few suffer the ills of traffic congestion. Rather, the majority of people must fight for public transportation. Some cities have public buses. The dearth of public investment in this sector has led entrepreneurs to form private bus cooperatives. Every country in sub-Saharan Africa has them, albeit by different names. *Matatus* in Kenya, Tanzania, and UGANDA, *carrapides* in SENEGAL, *danfos* and *molues* in Nigiera, *tro tros* in GHANA, *poda podas* in SIERRA LEONE, and *taxi brousse* in MADAGASCAR, all are essentially the same thing. They are minibuses owned by middle-class and elite businesspeople and operated by a team of a driver and a tout. This is the most important form of transportation throughout the continent. The private minibus has long been under attack for packing too many people in each vehicle and for driving at speeds that are too high, resulting in high numbers of fatalities each year. In 2003 Kenya became the first country to attempt to regulate significantly this private system, but the economic consequences have led to many challenges.

Where private buses often bring individuals to market with their goods, private trucking industries have

Despite assistance from abroad, airline transportation in sub-Saharan Africa has not flourished. Zambia's national airline, Zambia Airways, survived for 30 years before going bankrupt in 1995, four years after this photo was taken. © *United Nations/M. Grant*

flourished in the place of scant rail services. They have been cardinal to the African intra-country and cross-border shipping industry.

Most countries in Africa have their own airlines. Virtually all were started as a public carrier and have since privatized. The share Africa holds of the global airline market is small—about 3.7 percent. The Yamoussoukro Decision on African aviation in 1999, sponsored by the United Nations, led to continent-wide liberalization that has brought about significant growth in Africa air transport. Given its high cost, it will nonetheless continue to serve only a modest few of sub-Saharan Africa's nearly 800 million citizens.

See also: colonialism, influence of (Vol. IV); industrialization (Vol. V); trade and commerce (Vol. V); transportation (Vol. IV).

tribes and tribalism The terms "tribe" and "tribalism" were popularized by Europeans who applied them to non-European, nonwhite societies to imply that these societies were disorganized, inferior, and uncivilized.

Prior to European contact Africans did not use words equivalent to "tribe" to describe their own social groups. The word is a European construct that conceptualizes the relationships within non-state societies that hold them together. Europeans theorize that the structure of these societies is largely based on kinship, shared culture, and relations among kinship groups. However, many groups that have long been identified as tribes are made up of peoples who speak different languages, practice different rituals, and follow different leaders. As a consequence of this misunderstanding, the European concept of African ethnicity and identity was, and in many cases still is, skewed.

During the late 19th century the prevailing European concepts of social evolution were greatly affected by the landmark study, *Origin of the Species* (1859), written by Charles Darwin (1808–1882). This study, which originally was narrowly applied to some biological systems, was subsequently juxtaposed onto social structures around the world. Under this concept of "Social Darwinism," social inequalities are natural, and African forms of social organization were marked as "unfit for survival." At the same time, Europeans' desires to control the wealth of

the African continent led them to try to remove legitimate African governments from power. In order to justify their actions, they devised specious rationalizations based on a profound misunderstanding of African society. These arguments were typified by the colonial claim that it was an ethical imperative—the so-called white man's burden—to raise African social organization to the level of the "superior" European model.

During the 20th century the media often referred to any conflict between two groups of Africans as an outgrowth of "tribalism." This bred the misconception that African groups could not get along with one another. It also obscured the nature of many conflicts, demonstrating contempt for the issues that actually cause it. In RWANDA and BURUNDI, for example, conflict between the HUTU and the TUTSI was characterized in the world press as "tribalism," when, in fact, the roots of the conflict were in the economics of LAND USE and the divisive European colonial policies that empowered one group, the Tutsi, to rule over the other.

In ZIMBABWE, the government has used the "tribal" term to disparage local liberation movements, such as the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION (ZAPU). The government tries to dismiss the political opposition by reporting to the press that the group is based on frivolous "tribal" interests when, in fact, the group has broad, multiethnic support and a proper grievance against the government.

See also: ETHNIC GROUP (Vol. IV); KINSHIP (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Kenneth Christie, ed., *Ethnic Conflict, Tribal Politics: A Global Perspective* (Richmond, Surrey, U.K.: Curzon, 1998); Harold R. Isaacs, *Power and Identity: Tribalism in World Politics* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1979); Roger Sandall, *The Culture Cult: Designer Tribalism and other Essays* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2001); Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1989).

Tripoli (Tarablus al-Gharb) Capital of LIBYA, located in the northwestern part of the country along the Mediterranean coast. Once a quiet former colonial town, Tripoli began a radical transformation in 1958 following the discovery of OIL reserves in Libya. Large numbers of foreigners came to live and work in the emerging oil industry, and western-style dress became the norm for men in the urban areas. Money brought in by oil production financed new housing projects, schools, water delivery systems, and roads. There were so many cars that driving in downtown Tripoli became difficult and the city's first parking meters had to be installed. The downtown commercial sector catered to foreign businesspeople, and one hotel even had its own movie theater and casino.

Attracted by the employment opportunities, many rural Libyans moved into the city as well. Tripoli's suburbs became populated by members of a growing Libyan middle class of shopkeepers, whose goods were bought by the Western shoppers who flooded Tripoli's shopping district every day.

During the 1970s and 1980s, however, the pattern of DEVELOPMENT changed drastically. Tripoli's streets emptied as Muammar QADDAFI (1942–), who came to power in 1969, made it known that foreigners were no longer welcome. The city soon lost a significant part of its European population, especially when the government expelled those Italians who had remained from the colonial era. Others left when the government confiscated their property. The absence of foreigners had an adverse effect on many parts of Tripoli's economy, including the hotels and restaurants that lost patrons, the taxi drivers who lost fares, and the emerging middle class, which lost its clientele. A subtle government action that made it clear that foreigners were unwelcome in Tripoli was the removal of all foreign-language signs and advertisements and a new emphasis on Arabic words, which began to appear on everything down to hotel monograms.

In 1986 the United States accused Qaddafi of sponsoring international TERRORISM, and American president Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) ordered the bombing of government offices and military installations in Tripoli and Benghazi, another Libyan Mediterranean port. The bombing destroyed parts of Tripoli, causing as many as 31 deaths and leaving hundreds injured. Toward the end of the 20th century, however, the volatile situation between the two countries improved. Today Tripoli is Libya's largest city, home to an estimated 1.5 million people.

Tripoli attracts a growing number of tourists, who come to see its Roman walls, the arch of Marcus Aurelius, the Karamanli Mosque, and the former royal palace. Also, visitors can go to the city's traditional markets to bargain for beautiful handicrafts, including GOLD and silver jewelry, leather goods, pottery, clothing, and carpets.

See also: ITALY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); TOURISM (Vol. V); TRIPOLI (Vol. IV); TRIPOLITANIA (Vol. IV); UNITED STATES AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Council established by South African president Nelson MANDELA (1918–) to investigate the crimes committed by the government during the APARTHEID era in SOUTH AFRICA (1948–94). Headed by Archbishop Desmond TUTU (1931–), one of the most prominent leaders of the anti-

apartheid movement, the TRC is composed of the Amnesty Committee, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, and the Human Rights Violations Committee. The commission was envisioned as an alternative to the war-crimes-tribunal model advocated by many black Africans seeking justice for the atrocities committed by the white apartheid government.

Still operative as of 2004, the TRC gathers the testimony of both those who supported apartheid and those who suffered under it. It offers amnesty to those who fully confess to racial crimes committed during the apartheid era as long as the offending party can demonstrate that their actions were motivated by political expediency rather than racial hatred. The desired result of this method is to expose the truth, allow the airing of grievances, and lay blame on those responsible. Ideally this will allow the country to vent its anger, forgive, and move on to a racially unified future. Though welcomed by many, this approach also has its critics, most of whom believe amnesty should not be an option for those who participated in one of the most brutal reigns of racial oppression in world history.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); HUMAN RIGHTS (Vol. V); RACE AND RACISM (Vol. IV).

Tshombe, Moïse (Moïse Kapenda Tshombe)
(1919–1969) *Political leader in Katanga, Democratic Republic of the Congo*

Born at Sandoa, in southwestern KATANGA in the present-day Democratic Republic of the CONGO, Moïse Tshombe was a life-long advocate of autonomy for the mineral-rich province. He also had close ties with European, especially Belgian, interests and made extensive use of Belgian technicians and military mercenaries during his tenure as head of the breakaway Katangan government.

The son of a successful businessman, Tshombe was educated by Methodist MISSIONARIES. He entered politics in the mid-1950s, serving in the Katanga Provincial Council and as the head of a local Katangan business group. In 1958 he helped form CONAKAT, the Confederation of Tribal Associations of Katanga, which quickly became his political power base. Through CONAKAT Tshombe sought autonomy for Katanga, even within the Belgian Congo, as well as close ties to Belgium. This placed Tshombe in direct conflict with future prime minister Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961), who advocated an independent, but united Congo. The May 1960 elections that preceded Congolese independence saw Tshombe's CONAKAT party winning only eight legislative seats. Despite their poor showing, CONKAT retained control of Katanga.

Within two weeks of independence Tshombe announced that Katanga was seceding to become an independent country. Supported by massive financial, political, technical, and military aid from Belgium, he was able to hold off both the national forces and UN peacekeepers, who were fighting to reunify the country. In the course of events, Lumumba was handed over to the Katanga government and was subsequently murdered under uncertain circumstances. Ultimately, in 1963, Tshombe was forced to admit defeat and seek safe haven in Spain.

The next year, however, President Joseph KASAVUBU (c. 1913–1969) invited Tshombe to return to the Congo as the prime minister of a government of reconciliation. Calling on European assistance, Tshombe was able to put down the rebellions that were endangering Kasavubu's government. He then set his sights on ousting Kasavubu, who ultimately dismissed Tshombe. Tshombe, for his part, refused to recognize Kasavubu's authority and, in the chaos that was developing, Joseph-Désiré Mobutu (1930–1997), later known as MOBUTU SESE SEKO, seized power in a COUP D'ÉTAT.

Tshombe went into exile but was kidnapped while on a flight from Spain and taken to ALGERIA. Algerian authorities refused to extradite him to the Congo, where he had been charged with treason and sentenced to death in absentia. Instead they held him under house arrest, where he remained until his death, apparently from a stroke, in June 1969.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); BELGIUM AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); CONGO CRISIS (Vol. V).

Tsiranana, Philibert (c. 1912–1978) *First president of Madagascar*

Born into a Tsimhety peasant family living in northeastern MADAGASCAR, Tsiranana completed a secondary education and later studied in France, where he earned a technical-education certificate.

Tsiranana entered Madagascar politics in the early 1950s, which was a tumultuous time in the island's history. A nationalist rebellion against French colonial rule had left about 100,000 people dead. The violence and repression that followed produced a split in the nationalist movement, with a more militant faction professing support for communism and a more moderate element willing to retain ties with France. Tsiranana headed the moderate faction and, with the backing of the Catholic Church, founded the Social Democratic Party. He won election to the French National Assembly, in 1956, and in 1958 became prime minister of the Madagascar National Assembly.

When Madagascar became an independent republic, in 1960, Tsiranana became president. He ruled the country for the next dozen years, following a pro-West foreign policy. He even retained ties with SOUTH AFRICA because of its importance as a trading partner. However, increased disapproval of ties with South Africa and its APARTHEID policies led to discontent with Tsiranana's leadership.

Deteriorating economic conditions over the late 1960s proved to be the last straw, and in 1971 a peasant rebellion broke out.

A rigged 1972 election, in which Tsiranana garnered 99.9 percent of the vote, led to urban demonstrations and a military COUP D'ÉTAT that ended Tsiranana's political career. In 1975 he was charged and tried for conspiracy connected with the assassination of President Richard Ratsimandrava (1931–1975), but he was acquitted. Tsiranana died three years later.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV).

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tsotsis (comtotsis, comrage totsis)

Youth gangs of SOUTH AFRICA. The *tsotsis* had their origins in the growing URBANIZATION of the inter-war period, became a fixture of black urban life in the APARTHEID era, and remain prevalent in the post-apartheid era. A single member is called a *tsotsi.*

The term *tsotsi* first came into usage in the early 1940s. Possibly derived from the Nguni word *tsotsa,* meaning "flashily dressed." Another possible derivation involves a pronunciation shift of the words *zoot suit,* which was a preferred outfit of the *tsotsis*. It remains an apt term to describe many *tsotsis,* who today sport thick gold chains, sunglasses (even at night), and stylish clothing in an attempt to emulate the wealthy and the criminals depicted in their favorite American and European films. *Tsotsis* are also associated with their own language. Called *tsotsitaal,* it is derived from a mixture of AFRIKAANS and English interspersed with African slang.

The first township gangs emerged among African youth in DURBAN and JOHANNESBURG as early as the 1920s. By the 1940s they were a staple feature of URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE in these cities, as well as in PRETORIA and CAPE TOWN. During the apartheid era *tsotsis* served multiple purposes, from providing a structure for organizing militant resistance, to protecting neighborhoods from the violent tactics of the police, to increasing the strength of criminal organizations that preyed largely on their fellow township inhabitants.

Under apartheid, black South Africans were relegated to segregated areas such as SOWETO and the barren Cape Flats. The police had little interest in protecting the township populations from the *tsotsis,* so their crimes went largely unreported outside of these areas. Over time the *tsotsis* consolidated, forming ever larger gangs that came to dominate certain townships. Complicating matters, the insurgent AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) encouraged the boycotting of schools and disobedience toward the government.

By the 1990s this strategy of induced anarchy had left behind a generation of uneducated youth with little respect for authority. These youth provided a fertile pool of potential *tsotsis*. As black Africans gained access to areas outside the townships after the fall of the apartheid government, many *tsotsis* took advantage of their new freedoms and ventured into the previously segregated white suburbs to commit crimes. These ventures carried less risk than crimes committed within the black townships, as people there began taking matters into their own hands, beating or killing captured gangsters.

Many black South Africans believed the end of apartheid would lead to a life of economic security. The reality of the post-apartheid era, however, was marked by continued POVERTY and the absence of job prospects. The bleak economy proved a useful tool for *tsotsi* recruitment, as many unemployed youths joined the roving gangs of criminals that continued to wreak havoc. The activities of the *tsotsis* remained an issue into the 21st century, presenting the ANC and the government it controls with a problem they, in part, encouraged.

See also: BANTUSTANS (Vol. V); CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE (Vol. IV); RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV); UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Vol. V).

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Tsvangirai, Morgan (1952–) *Zimbabwean labor-union leader*

Born in eastern ZIMBABWE (Southern Rhodesia, at the time), Morgan Tsvangirai left school and subsequently became the foreman at a nickel mine. This was during the era of the African nationalist struggle against the white-minority government of RHODESIA, led by Ian SMITH (1919–). Tsvangirai rose through the ranks of LABOR UNION leadership to become head of the mine-workers union, and in 1988 he was elected secretary-general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). ZCTU unions represented 700,000 workers, providing Tsvangirai with a strong political base.

During the early 1990s the ZCTU leadership found itself increasingly at odds with the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION-PATRIOTIC FRONT (ZANU-PF), the ruling party of Zimbabwean president Robert MUGABE (1924–). By 1997 the union coalition was organizing "stay-aways," or strikes, to protest Mugabe's proposed tax increases, which would be especially burdensome to Zimbabwe's largely urban, working-class people. Mugabe wanted increased tax revenue to provide pensions for war veterans, who formed one of his important support bases. The stay-away strikes brought the country's economy to a halt, forcing the government to cancel the tax increases.

The strikes also propelled Tsvangirai to the forefront of Zimbabwean politics. Rising discontent with the failing economy, as well as Mugabe's increasingly despotic rule, helped fuel the emergence of political opposition groups. In 1999 these groups came together to form the MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (MDC). Tsvangirai played a key leadership role, becoming the movement's president. The core MDC support came from the LABOR movement and younger, better-educated urban Zimbabweans.

For the first time in its 20 years of governing the country, the ruling ZANU-PF party faced strong and credible political opposition. In 2000 the MDC spearheaded opposition to Mugabe's attempt to change the national constitution to allow the seizing of farms from whites without compensating them. Such a step probably would have led to food shortages and higher prices, a development that would be detrimental to the MDC's urban base.

In the 2002 elections Tsvangirai led the MDC to win 57 parliamentary seats (to 62 for ZANU-PF). As a candidate, however, Tsvangirai lost the parliamentary seat he contested. In light of the MDC's success Mugabe's government, which had employed intimidation tactics in the election, moved to stifle further political opposition. Its tactics included bringing charges of high treason against Tsvangirai for participating in an alleged plot to assassinate Mugabe.

See also: MINING (Vols. IV, V); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Tuaregs Berber-speaking peoples of the Sahara region of North Africa. With a present-day population slightly less than 1 million, Tuaregs live in relatively isolated communities, or confederations, throughout ALGERIA, LIBYA, BURKINA FASO, CHAD, NIGER, and the Republic of MALI.

For centuries Tuaregs lived as nomadic pastoralists and desert traders. Since independence, however, increasing DEVELOPMENT and URBANIZATION in North Africa have altered the traditional lifestyle of many Tuaregs. As a result, in the early 1990s Tuareg rebels rose up in an armed rebellion to protest government policies that forced them to establish more permanent settlements. Since that time, peace agreements have largely curtailed the violence. However, rebels in traditional Tuareg strongholds such as Agades, Niger, continue to agitate for less government interference.

See also: AGADES (Vol. III); BERBERS (Vols. I, II, III, IV, V); TUAREGS (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

Tubman, William (William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman) (1895–1971) *Former president of Liberia*

Coming from a family long devoted to public service, William Tubman chose to enter the military in 1910. After several civil-service positions he eventually studied law and went into politics, serving in the national legislature and on the Supreme Court. In 1951, as leader of the True Whig Party, he began the first of seven consecutive terms as president of LIBERIA. The linchpins of his programs were attracting FOREIGN INVESTMENT as a way to foster DEVELOPMENT for his country and providing the neglected interior of the country with the economic stimuli and INFRASTRUCTURE needed to integrate it into the national life. He died on July 23, 1971, while in London for surgery. His vice president, William R. TOLBERT (1913–1980), succeeded him as president.

See also: TUBMAN, WILLIAM (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Tuan Weh, *Love of Liberty: The Rule of President William V. S. Tubman in Liberia 1944–1971* (New York: Universe, 1976).

Tunis Capital of TUNISIA located on the edge of the Lake of Tunis, an inlet of the Gulf of Tunis on the Mediterranean Sea. Founded before the ninth century BCE by the Libyans, Tunis is the oldest city of Tunisia. Its long history has been overshadowed by the fame of nearby Carthage. After coming under the control of numerous different groups it was part of the French protectorate (1881–1956), during which time much of the modern portion of the city was built. In 1956 the city became the capital of the newly independent nation of Tunisia.

The region around Tunis is suited for AGRICULTURE and produces olives and cereal, which are processed in the city. Other industries include textiles, carpets, cement, metal products, fertilizer, and electronics. In addition to these businesses, there is an important TOURISM industry.

Visitors to the city enjoy the international theater, the thermal baths modeled after the ancient Roman baths, ruins of the Roman aqueducts, nearby Carthage, bustling markets, and the annual Festival of Carthage. A five-star hotel at Gammarth, The Residence, is located on the city's beachfront. Tunis is also the site of the mosque of Az-Aaytunah (the Mosque of the Olive Tree), which was built in the eighth century. This mosque and many others are housed within the Muslim quarter, called the *medina.* This section of the city is enclosed by a wall, and winding alleyways lead people past the markets (called *souks*), houses, and a museum of arts and artifacts. There is also the newer European quarter, which, with its French street names and overhanging balconies, serves as a strong reminder of the colonial period. Living conditions in the city improved greatly after independence, and in 2003 the population of the city stood at approximately 700,000.

See also: CARTHAGE (Vol. I); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Tunisia Country in North Africa on the Mediterranean Sea bordered by LIBYA to the east and by ALGERIA to the west. It covers approximately 60,000 square miles (155,400 sq km). The capital is TUNIS.

Tunisia at Independence Tunisia gained its independence from France in 1957, and by 1960 President Habib BOURGUIBA (1903–2000) was ruling the country with enormous executive powers. Based on a largely personal interpretation of the doctrine of African Socialism, Bourguiba's domestic policies focused on planned economic growth and modernization. As a consequence, Bourguiba's Neo-Destour Party changed its name to the Socialist Destourian Party.

Bourguiba's first five-year plan tried to create new industries and diversify the country's urban areas. He also set in motion a major land reform effort, nationalizing the large former European land holdings in 1964 and enabling the ministry of AGRICULTURE to redistribute 400,000 acres of farmland. By the end of the 1960s, however, Bourguiba was meeting strong opposition to his agrarian reform plan and to the nationalization of Tunisian-owned farms and olive orchards, with Tunisians rebelling against what they viewed as widespread government CORRUPTION. Bourguiba's foreign policy during this period emphasized support for struggles for African independence. In contrast to his stance on African independence, however, Bourguiba was a moderate member of the Arab League, supporting a negotiated settlement in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Because Bourguiba supported Algerian independence, Tunisia's relationship with France was problematic, and Tunisian and French troops frequently clashed along the Tunisian-Algerian border. This led Bourguiba to insist that the remaining French military installations be removed from Tunisian soil. As a result, by 1963 France had evacuated its naval installation at Bizerte. Tensions between Tunisia and France eased, however, once Algeria received its independence, in 1962. For the rest of the decade Tunisia enjoyed favored-nation trade status with France.

The position of strength that Bourguiba had enjoyed in the 1960s eroded during the 1970s and 1980s, as Tunisians became increasingly restive with the government's domestic policies. The ruling party split into conservatives and liberals, and in 1981, despite the fact that Bourguiba authorized the formation of opposition political parties, there were demonstrations against the government.

The situation was equally bleak in the area of foreign policy. In 1974 Bourguiba reversed himself and created a union with Libya, joining the parliaments, militaries, and governments of the two countries and giving Libya the role of the dominant partner. Because Bourguiba had done this without consulting his advisors, the union was dissolved before it began. This, in turn, led for a search for someone to replace the president, who was deemed to

have become unstable. In 1987 General ZINE EL ABIDINE BEN ALI (1936–) assumed the presidency while the hero of the revolution, Bourguiba, retired.

Ben Ali's domestic policies moved toward liberal reforms, and he changed the name of the government party to the Constitutional Democratic Rally. However, after he met fierce political opposition from Islamic fundamentalists in the elections of 1989 and 1994, Ben Ali returned to his predecessor's tactics of political repression, imprisoning the leaders of the opposition and restricting the Islamic political parties. Ben Ali's foreign policy focused on regional cooperation. In 1987 he signed a treaty of economic cooperation with other states in the MAGHRIB, including Algeria, Libya, MAURITANIA, and MOROCCO. Ben Ali was reelected in 1999.

See also: ARAB WORLD AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); ARAB-ISRAEL WARS (Vols. IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); DESTOUR PARTY (Vol. IV); TUNISIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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Turabi, Hassan Abd Allah al- (1932–) *Islamic fundamentalist leader in the Republic of the Sudan*

A controversial figure, al-Turabi has become one of the world's most prominent supporters of Islam and Islamic law, or SHARIA. Born in Wad al-Turabi, Sudan, during the period of British colonial rule, al-Turabi later moved to KHARTOUM, the capital. After earning his law degree at the University of Khartoum he continued his studies in London and Paris before returning to the Sudan.

Following independence, in 1956, the Sudan was beset by political instability. Constant tension marred relations between the north and south. In the north, where Khartoum and much of the nation's political authority was located, the people were primarily Arabic speakers and Islamic. In the south the population spoke other languages and practiced Christianity or indigenous religions. In 1964 the revolution began, and in 1969 Gaafar NIMEIRI (1930–), a northerner, overthrew the military government and assumed the presidency.

Al-Turabi took part in the revolution and became head of the Muslim Brotherhood, or Islamic Charter. He molded the group into a powerful organization known as the National Islamic Front (NIF) assuming the position as the chief opposition leader against Nimeiri's government. As the organization's leader, al-Turabi became a hard-line advocate of *sharia,* insisting that a secular Islamic state was untenable for devout Muslims.

By this time al-Turabi's position and extensive education had made him an international spokesperson for Islam. Although Nimeiri imprisoned al-Turabi multiple times for his outspoken criticism of the government, ulti-

mately al-Turabi's influence proved so great that the president was forced to work with the Islamic leader. As a result Nimeiri appointed al-Turabi attorney general in 1979. This position was highly advantageous for al-Turabi, who immediately began to alter the legal system to follow Quranic imperatives. However, as Nimeiri lost his grip on the presidency, he once again imprisoned al-Turabi, who regained his freedom only after Nimeiri's government fell.

Al-Turabi is relatively unique among fundamentalist Muslim leaders in that he is concerned with public image. He has been known to speak freely to Western journalists and even to his harshest critics. His skills in public relations have earned him the facetious title of the "Madison Avenue Ayatollah."

Upon his release al-Turabi once again began agitating for the Sudan to become a fully Islamic state. In the 1986 elections, he and the NIF made significant strides. In 1988 al-Turabi once again became attorney general, this time in the elected government of Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi (1935–). Al-Turabi's desire for the full Islamization of Sudan heightened tensions between the north and the south, and his unwillingness to compromise finally led to his dismissal from the government.

Briefly out of Sudanese politics, al-Turabi toured the world, speaking on the subject of *sharia* in the Islamic state. However, in 1989, Omar Hassan Ahmad al-BASHIR (1945–) led a coup that ousted the Mahdi government, and al-Turabi quickly rose to become the actual power behind al-Bashir's administration. As head of the Popular Arab and Islamic Congress, al-Turabi essentially ran the Sudanese government. Still unfailing in his desire to see Sudan become a religious Islamic state, al-Turabi and the al-Bashir government continued the ongoing civil war with the south. Western critics harshly criticized the government for its fundamentalist position and supposed support of international TERRORISM.

In support of his beliefs, al-Turabi has argued that "in the absence of *sharia* in poor, largely illiterate societies like Sudan, corruption ruled because there was also no accountability or moral checks on government . . . Only when all subscribe to the moral code of Islam in public affairs can corruption be eliminated."

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); RELIGION (Vols. IV, V).

Tutsi Minority ethnic group of RWANDA and BURUNDI. Since the end of the colonial era, the Tutsi, who form roughly 14 percent of the populations of Rwanda and Burundi, have been locked in an excessively violent struggle for dominance with the HUTU, the majority ethnic group of both nations. The Tutsi share the Hutu language and religious beliefs. They are largely pastoralist, valuing cattle as a sign of prestige and wealth. The agricultural Hutu have taken on this characteristic as well. With much intermingling and blurring of the ethnic lines between Tutsi and Hutu, the ongoing struggle between the two groups is in reality fueled less by ethnicity than by political power and class distinctions. Though greatly outnumbered by the Hutu, the Tutsi have historically enjoyed superior status, with Tutsi monarchies ruling over the Hutu who made up the lower class. Class tensions between the two groups were heightened during Belgian colonial rule, during which the Tutsi were the beneficiaries of Belgian favoritism.

Upon Rwandan independence, in 1962, the Hutu had assumed power after overthrowing the Tutsi monarchy the previous year. Hutu president Juvenal HABYARIMANA (1937–1994) dominated the country's politics. Strongly opposed to a recurrence of Tutsi rule, Habyarimana refused to allow Tutsi exiles in UGANDA to reenter the country. These exiles then formed the RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF). Invasions by the RPF in 1990 and subsequent years were repelled by the Rwandan army.

In 1992 a peace agreement was reached, but the tenuous agreement fell apart in 1994. That year the plane in which Habyarimana and Burundian president Cyprien NTARYAMIRA (1956–1994) were traveling crashed—probably shot down—killing both leaders. The resulting upheaval led to a campaign of genocide, with as many as 1 million people, mostly Tutsi, killed by Hutu death squads. Later that year the RPF, led by Paul KAGAME (1957–) invaded again and took control of Rwanda. Though a joint Tutsi-Hutu government was established, Kagame and the Tutsi clearly commanded the power.

In Burundi independence began with Tutsi rule. When the Hutu rose up against Tutsi prime minister Michel Micombero (1940–1972) in 1972, the Tutsi retaliated, systematically killing about 150,000 Hutu. In 1988 a military COUP D'ÉTAT led by Tutsi Pierre BUYOYA (1949–) caused another Hutu uprising and another brutal Tutsi campaign of ethnic cleansing, resulting in an estimated 20,000 more deaths.

The Tutsi lost control of Burundi following multiparty elections in 1993. They were themselves victims of genocidal attacks that year, after the assassination of the elected Hutu president Melchior Ndadaye (1953–1993). An estimated 150,000 Tutsi were killed during the violence that followed Ndadaye's murder. However, in 1996 Buyoya once again seized power. The Tutsi-Hutu conflict in Burundi raged until 1995, when peace talks seemed to make progress toward reconciliation.

See also: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); TUTSI (Vols. II, III, IV).

Further reading: Aimable Twagilimana, *Hutu and Tutsi* (New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 1998).

Tutu, Desmond (Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu) (1931–) *Archbishop of Cape Town, South Africa*

The son of a Methodist school headmaster in Klerksdorp, SOUTH AFRICA, Desmond Tutu eventually became the champion of the peaceful resistance to APARTHEID. He lived in black townships for most of his youth. When Tutu was hospitalized with tuberculosis, in 1945, he met Trevor Huddleston (1913–), a British priest. Huddleston had a profound influence on Tutu and inspired the young man to become an Anglican priest himself. Tutu recovered his health just prior to the official institutionalization of apartheid as government policy, in 1948.

Having missed nearly two years of school because of his sickness, Tutu worked hard to catch up. He eventually graduated from the University of South Africa in 1954 and taught for a time before being ordained as a priest in 1961. The following year Tutu won a scholarship to study theology in London, an opportunity that allowed his family to escape horrible living conditions in JOHANNESBURG. The time spent in London resulted in a master's degree and a taste of a life in which he was treated with respect by white counterparts. This experience played a large role in Tutu's emergence as an antiapartheid leader.

In the early 1970s Tutu lectured at universities in LESOTHO, BOTSWANA, and SWAZILAND. In 1976 he became bishop of Lesotho, and within a few years he became the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches. About that time the struggle between the apartheid government and the oppressed black population was nearing its peak, with hundreds of black African protesters having already died as a result of the repression of demonstrations by South African police. In this environment Tutu took a leading role in protesting the racism and violent mistreatment he and his fellow black Africans faced on a daily basis.

In 1985 Tutu became bishop of Johannesburg. At the same time he became the first black archbishop of CAPE TOWN. From this position Tutu fully came to the forefront of the struggle against apartheid, which continued unabated. In 1986, with violence sweeping the country, the South African government declared a state of emergency.

Tutu desired the same government reforms that were the aim of other black African leaders, such as Nelson MANDELA (1918–). However, he did not agree with the violent means that Mandela and other members of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS had turned to in the battle against apartheid. In impassioned speeches, sermons, and official statements, Tutu unequivocally supported nonviolent protest as the way to end racist rule in South Africa. He promoted economic sanctions, in particular, as the best means to undermine South Africa's affluent, white ruling class. For his efforts, in 1984 Tutu won the Nobel Peace Prize. Fortunately for Tutu, his nonviolent stance and international recognition protected him from a backlash from the South African government.

In 1989, with the rise of F. W. DE KLERK (1936–) to the presidency, the efforts of Tutu and others finally began bearing fruit. In 1993 de Klerk announced the country's first multiracial elections. The following year Nelson Mandela became president, and apartheid was at an end.

Tutu scorned the U.S. government for its reluctance to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. He called President Ronald Reagan's policy of CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT and "friendly persuasion" a failure. In 1986 Tutu won a partial victory when the U.S. Congress overrode Reagan's veto to pass a number of economic sanctions.

In an effort to heal the country torn by years of racism and ethnic strife, in 1995 Mandela selected Tutu to head the newly created TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION. The commission was designed to study the countless cases of racial crimes committed by the apartheid government. Hearing the testimony of both victims and perpetrators, the commission offered amnesty to those who fully confessed to their crimes and could offer clear political motivations. Though some criticized the commission as being too merciful to those who had once supported apartheid, Tutu was widely considered the perfect person to lead the healing process. Though Tutu battled cancer in the late 1990s, as of 2004 he remained an enormously popular and respected leader of the people of South Africa.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. V).

Tutuola, Amos (1920–1997) *Yoruba writer from Nigeria*

With only a limited formal education, Amos Tutuola emerged in the 1960s as one of the foremost authors from NIGERIA, a country that was producing other great writers, including Chinua ACHEBE (1930–) and Wole SOYINKA (1934–). His first novel, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard and His Dead Palm-Wine Tapster in Deads' Town* (1952), was rife with magical elements drawn from YORUBA folklore and was written in the English of the ordinary people, which made it more accessible. The novel became a sensation abroad, both for its use of oral tradition and its

fresh language. Many well-educated Nigerians, however, held it in disdain as the product of a poorly educated writer who had an insufficient command of English to utilize the language properly.

The Palm-Wine Drinkard was followed by a number of other novels, including *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* (1954), *Simbi and the Satyr of the Dark Jungle* (1955), *Ajaiyi and His Inherited Poverty* (1967), and *The Witch-Herbalist of the Remote Town* (1981), though none of these approached the success of Tutuola's first effort. All of these novels draw from traditional Yoruba stories, but they also include the influences of colonialism and Christianity. Though critically acclaimed outside of Nigeria, Tutuola's

novels were unpopular with members of the Nigerian elite, who criticized them as unpolished. Tutuola essentially ignored his critics and continued to write novels that were in an idiom that the general Nigerian—and particularly Yoruba—public could understand. Tutuola also adapted a number of his works for the stage. His success earned him teaching positions at the University of Ife and at the University of Iowa, in the United States. He died in 1997 in IBADAN, Nigeria.

See also: FOLKLORE (Vol. I); LANGUAGE USAGE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); LITERATURE IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V).

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Uganda East African country approximately 91,100 square miles (236,000 sq km) in size and bordered by (clockwise from the north) the Republic of the SUDAN, KENYA, TANZANIA, RWANDA, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Lake VICTORIA dominates the geography of the southeastern part of the country. The capital is KAMPALA.

Uganda at Independence Under British colonial rule Uganda was a composite of disparate ethnic groups and once-proud kingdoms. Among the most important of these was the kingdom of BUGANDA, which was populated primarily by the Ganda people. During the colonial period, the British authorities tended to favor Buganda, giving it greater autonomy than other kingdoms and fostering a wealthy and influential Ganda elite. Over the years this produced a volatile mix of jealousy and political intrigue that caused major problems upon Uganda's independence in 1962. As full autonomy approached the British authorities also granted self-government to the kingdom of Buganda, whose first prime minister was Benedicto Kiwanuka (1922–1972).

During the elections of 1962, however, Kiwanuka was defeated by Milton OBOTE (1925–), the leader of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC). Obote, of the Langi people, initially accepted Buganda as a federated part of the greater nation. He formed a coalition government with the conservative Ganda party known as the Kabaka Yekka (meaning "King Alone"). Obote became prime minister, and the Ganda *kabaka,* or king, Mutesa II (1924–1969) became Uganda's first president. However, the coalition became increasingly frayed by internal friction between the UPC and the Ganda, who were dissatisfied with playing a secondary role in the government. Mutesa's presidency was largely a figurehead position.

Obote clashed with the Baganda over territory and struggled to balance Buganda's autonomy with a centralized national government.

Facing mounting criticism and opposition from all parts of his government, in 1966, Obote reacted by suspending the constitution and arresting a number of opposition officials. The new constitution that was instituted abolished all kingdoms within Uganda and gave the prime minister presidential powers. When the Ganda protested and demanded the withdrawal of the Ugandan government presence from Buganda. Obote responded by sending Ugandan troops, led by future Ugandan president Idi AMIN (1925–2003), to arrest the *kabaka.* The royal palace was burned down, but Mutesa escaped and fled into exile.

Obote began to rely more heavily on the military to maintain his now dictatorial power. However, the ethnic divisiveness that plagued the countryside was also a prominent feature of the Ugandan military. Rifts began to divide Obote's Langi and the Acholi people on one side, and the Kakwa of Idi Amin on the other. Obote began to see Amin as a threat to his power and planned to have him arrested. However, Amin acted first, launching a COUP D'ÉTAT, in 1971, while Obote was abroad.

Uganda under Amin Although Ugandans (and the Ganda) were initially supportive of Amin's coup, their approval quickly disappeared as the country found itself under a brutal military regime. Almost immediately Amin launched a reign of terror that would eventually earn him the nickname "Butcher of Africa." He began to purge the military of Acholi and Langi troops, staging mass executions of any Ugandans he presumed to be supporters of the former president. Spending extensively on the military, Amin let the rest of Uganda's economy decline. In 1972 he

banished Uganda's Asian population, who owned much of Uganda's business and industry. Amin then handed the seized businesses to army officials with little business experience. Before long the country's economy collapsed.

As Uganda dissolved into general chaos, Amin reacted more and more violently to perceived threats to his power. In 1978, in an attempt to distract and unite the country, Amin ordered an invasion of Tanzania. Tanzania struck back with the help Ugandan exiles and their Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA). Future Ugandan president Yoweri MUSEVENI (1944–) was among the UNLA forces that captured Kampala, in 1979, sending Amin fleeing into exile. Approximately 300,000 Ugandans had been killed during Amin's regime.

The Return of Obote The political arm of the UNLA, called the Uganda National Liberation Front, assumed control of the country. In 1980, after the chosen UNLA leaders failed to make headway in settling the country's crisis, a cadre of UNLA members, including Museveni, led a military coup. Museveni, who by this time had built his own private militia, sat on the military council that governed until elections were held later that year. Running for the UPC, Milton Obote won the elections, once again assuming control of Uganda.

Obote immediately faced resistance from Museveni, who formed the National Resistance Army (NRA) and launched a civil war to unseat the president. Obote responded with brutal tactics reminiscent of Idi Amin's. Unable to defeat the NRA, Obote fell victim to ethnic tensions within his own army. Obote, a Langi, was overthrown by the Acholi commander, Basilio Okello (1929–1990). General Tito Okello (1914–1996; no relation to Basilio Okello) assumed the presidency.

Uganda under Museveni Like Obote, however, Okello failed to hold off the NRA. In 1986 the NRA captured Kampala, and Museveni assumed the presidency of a nation ravaged by years of military atrocities and economic neglect. He set about reforming the government and taming the highly militaristic atmosphere that pervaded Uganda following years of conflict and dictatorial rule. Believing that political parties formed along ethnic and regional lines had fueled the conflicts in Uganda, Museveni established the NRA as the sole legal party. In 1989 he decreed that presidential candidates could only run as individuals, not sponsored by any party. Elections held that year went smoothly, with Museveni winning. Voters approved of the "no-party" system, which was used again in 2001 with the same victorious results for Museveni.

That conditions in Uganda improved dramatically under Museveni is undeniable. The economy underwent consistent DEVELOPMENT, and Asian business owners were encouraged to return and resume their essential roles. Uganda has also made remarkable progress against the spread of HIV/AIDS, the disease that has spread wildly throughout the African continent. In addition, cases of violence and HUMAN RIGHTS violations diminished. In 2003, however, Museveni still struggled to subdue armed rebel movements in the north and west of the country.

See also: CIVIL WARS (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); UGANDA (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

ujamaa Economic and social policy proposed by Tanzanian president Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) that advocated collective, grassroots DEVELOPMENT. Developed during the late 1960s, *ujamaa* was a policy that Nyerere hoped would provide TANZANIA with a stable, socially responsible path towards development. Drawing on African social traditions, *ujamaa,* in the spirit of the root of the word, *jamaa,* which translates as "family," based its economic policy on mutual help and respect.

Nyerere's vision of *ujamaa* entailed good will and assistance among the people and communal ownership of many goods. With *ujamaa,* hard work and sharing both the means and the fruits of the people's LABOR were the best path for bettering the lives of the majority of the Tanzanian people.

In practice, however, *ujamaa* had mixed results. Its economic goals often were undermined by poor planning and mismanagement, causing decreased agricultural production and economic hardship. As a result, in the years since Nyerere's death, in 1999, Tanzania's leadership has been providing for more private sector involvement in the economy. In contrast, *ujamaa* proved successful in other areas, fostering EDUCATION and DEMOCRATIZATION to such an extent that Tanzania now boasts one of the region's lowest rates of illiteracy as well as a notable political stability.

See also: ARUSHA DECLARATION (Vol. V); SOCIAL CAPITAL (Vol. V).

Umkhonto we Sizwe Armed guerrilla wing of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, which sought the overthrow of APARTHEID from 1961 to 1990. In the wake of the SHARPEVILLE Massacre of 1960, which involved the shooting of 249 unarmed anti-apartheid protestors (69 of them fatally), the government of SOUTH AFRICA declared a state of emergency and banned the African National Congress (ANC) and other black opposition groups. As a result the ANC went underground and embarked upon an armed struggle with the goal of toppling the apartheid state. After nearly 50 years of being committed to nonviolence, the ANC leadership recognized the futility of this approach and in December 1961 formed an armed wing known as Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), or for short, MK. It targeted public facilities like police stations, post offices, and power pylons, initially attempting to avoid the

loss of human life. Nelson MANDELA (1918–) became head of the new guerilla organization and traveled abroad for military training, mainly in ALGERIA and ETHIOPIA.

In 1963 state security forces captured MK's high command at a farm in Rivonia, outside JOHANNESBURG. During the ensuing high-profile Rivonia Trial, ANC stalwarts such as Govan MBEKI (1910–2001) and Walter SISULU (1912–2003) were arrested. They and Mandela—who was already in prison—were sentenced to life terms and imprisoned on ROBBEN ISLAND for their involvement in MK activities. Remaining at large members of MK left South Africa, renewing operations in various states in southern Africa.

In exile the MK fighters participated in the liberation struggles of African peoples against colonial regimes in ZIMBABWE, MOZAMBIQUE, and ANGOLA. They also benefited from financial support and insurgency training provided by the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries. In the 1970s MK rebuilt its organization within South Africa and by 1976 began targeting public installations. This fresh wave of attacks drew upon the new militancy among South Africa's black youth following the police shootings of children in SOWETO, a sprawling township outside Johannesburg that housed the city's black population. Among its most daring acts of sabotage, MK attacked a massive state-owned OIL-refinery complex in 1980 and the Koeberg nuclear plant in CAPE TOWN in 1983. As the 1980s wore on, the tempo of attacks intensified, with an ever-increasing toll in fatalities, particularly as a result of car bombs aimed at the South African military, police, and justice system.

Umkhonto we Sizwe was officially disbanded in August 1990, after the ban on black opposition groups including MK had been lifted, and the ANC embarked upon meaningful negotiations with the ruling white-minority government toward a new political dispensation that would involve power sharing with the black opposition. During hearings convened by the TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION, revelations came to light of HUMAN RIGHTS abuses in MK camps outside South Africa during the years of exile, somewhat tarnishing the MK legacy in the liberation struggle. With the ANC's capture of political power, in 1994, began the awkward process of integrating MK guerrilla fighters into the very organizations dedicated to suppressing, harassing, and even killing them—the South African National Defense Force and national police service.

See also: RESISTANCE AND REBELLION (Vol. IV).

unilateral declaration of independence (UDI)
Assertion of independence by the white-minority government of RHODESIA from Britain. The declaration by Rhodesia's prime minister, Ian SMITH (1919–), took place on November 11, 1965.

By 1965 talks between Britain and the Smith government had broken down. Smith and his radical, white-supremacist political party, the Rhodesian Front (RF), worried that the success of INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS in neighboring Nyasaland (which became MALAWI) and Northern Rhodesia (which became ZAMBIA) would lead to similar results in Rhodesia if the white-minority community did not take full control. After easily winning the elections in 1965, Smith had the backing of the white electorate for declaring independence.

Britain refused to recognize the new state and considered Smith's UDI as an act of rebellion. As a result Rhodesia was unable to secure international recognition as an independent republic. Britain applied minimal but continuous diplomatic, military, and economic pressure on the white Rhodesian government to negotiate a settlement regarding the future of the country's black majority. They also imposed sanctions to limited effect. Ultimately UDI failed not because of British actions but due to the opposition of the country's African majority and the long struggle they waged to gain control. In 1979 the Rhodesian government recognized Britain's constitutional authority. Britain then oversaw the settlement that led to the emergence of independent ZIMBABWE.

See also: DECOLONIZATION (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SETTLERS, EUROPEAN (Vol. IV); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

UNIP See UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY.

UNITA See NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA.

United Democratic Front (UDF, South Africa)
Broad-based alliance of groups in SOUTH AFRICA dedicated to ending APARTHEID. The United Democratic Front (UDF) is made up of more than 500 grassroots organizations, including community and professional associations, women's and youth groups, LABOR UNIONS, and a broad range of anti-government activists. The UDF fought to dismantle apartheid and create a color-blind, socially just South Africa. As part of this the organization embraced the guiding principles of the Freedom Charter, which had been formulated in 1955 by the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) and other liberation organizations. The UDF was formed in August 1983 in direct response to the government's move to introduce a new constitution. The centerpiece of that constitution was a tricameral parliament involving separate chambers for whites, Coloureds, and Asians (but none for the majority African population). This initiative, engineered by Prime Minister P. W. BOTHA (1916–), was a transparent at-

tempt to foster an image of reform for the benefit of an increasing critical international community, while retaining the underlying edifice of apartheid. Instead of deflecting international condemnation and placating domestic opposition, however, the new constitution ultimately intensified hostility toward the government's refusal to implement real change.

The UDF was multiracial and, originally, middle-class in orientation. As its national profile grew it rapidly emerged as the most powerful vehicle of anti-government opposition. As a result it increasingly drew on a working-class membership. Much of its momentum came from the renewed wave of protest among urban Africans that began in 1984. Its strongest support came from the regions known for their militancy, the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape. As an umbrella organization, the UDF coordinated bus boycotts, rent boycotts, worker strikes, and protests. UDF supporters also worked to render large areas of South Africa ungovernable and, in the place of government structures, to substitute new local institutions representing the interests of the masses. Perhaps its greatest contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle was its ability to provide a national apparatus so that the various opposition groups around the country could achieve common goals. It also served as a front organization for the ANC, which had been banned since 1960, and most of whose leaders were either abroad in exile or in South African prisons. Not only did UDF members adopt the ANC's Freedom Charter as their blueprint for a new post-apartheid South Africa, but they also acknowledged the ANC as South Africa's only legitimate political party. It regarded the ANC's former president, Nelson MANDELA (1918–   ), who had been sentenced to life in prison on ROBBEN ISLAND, as the country's moral leader.

During the state of emergency, which was in place from 1985 to 1990, many UDF members were harassed, banned, and jailed. In the wake of the comprehensive restrictions that the government imposed upon the UDF in February 1988, many members drifted to the Mass Democratic Movement, which also functioned as an alliance of anti-apartheid groups. Shortly after replacing Botha as prime minister, F. W. DE KLERK (1936–   ) removed the banning orders for the UDF, ANC, and other opposition groups. The following year, in August 1991, as the country was progressing toward a more inclusive and democratic political dispensation, the UDF dissolved itself after having achieved its main goals.

See also: ASIAN COMMUNITIES (Vols. IV, V); CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE (Vol. IV); FREEDOM CHARTER (Vol. IV); TRANSVAAL (Vol. IV)

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United National Independence Party (UNIP)

Political party of ZAMBIA that controlled the government through the first 27 years of independence. In 1959 Mathias Mainza CHONA (1930–2001) founded UNIP as a successor party to the banned Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC), a more militant offshoot of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). Chona was the party's first president, but only because Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–   ), UNIP's de facto leader, was in prison. Upon his release, in 1960, Kaunda assumed his role as president of the party. He then went about positioning the party at the forefront of the African nationalist movement in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). The objectives of the party were to fight British colonial rule and to bring about independence.

In 1962 UNIP urged civil disobedience to initiate changes in Northern Rhodesia's constitution. The campaign was effective, and the constitution was altered to ensure that the Africans were fairly enfranchised. Later that year, elections for the legislature ended in a stalemate between UNIP and the white-supremacist United Federal Party. UNIP, however, joined with the NRANC, which was led by Harry NKUMBULA (1916–1983), to form an African-led coalition government.

The party fared better in the elections of 1964, handily winning a legislative majority and naming Kaunda prime minister. In October of that year Northern Rhodesia gained its independence and was renamed Zambia. Kaunda became president, and UNIP began its long reign as the controlling party of the country.

Widespread political violence marked the elections of 1968. In 1972 Kaunda, alarmed by the political gains of his opponents, made UNIP the only legal party of Zambia. The country thus joined the widespread movement on the continent toward one-party states. Over the next 20 years the party's political dominance became increasingly untenable as economic difficulties and failed social programs led to popular dissatisfaction.

In 1991 the National Assembly, under pressure from the MOVEMENT FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY (MMD), abolished the country's one-party system of government. Later that year, Zambia held multiparty elections in which Frederick CHILUBA (1943–   ) and the MMD ended Kaunda's and UNIP's control of the government. Though the party remains active, it has yet to regain its position as the majority party of Zambia.

See also: NORTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vol. IV, V).

United Nations and Africa   The United Nations (UN) is the preeminent world body, comprising 191 countries, of which more than two-thirds are developing countries. At its creation the organization had 51 members. African countries, including LIBERIA, ETHIOPIA, EGYPT, and APARTHEID-era SOUTH AFRICA, were among the original members. The organization now includes most African countries, many of which were under colonial rule when the United Nations was created.

The UN General Assembly is made up of representatives from all the member states and meets once a year. The most powerful organ of the United Nations is the Security Council. Its role is to maintain peace and security between nations. Since it is one of the most important organs, membership on the council is a significant matter. The Security Council has five permanent members: the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China, and Russia. The permanent members exert the major influence on the council. A negative vote or veto by any of the permanent members can stop a proposal. However, there are 10 representatives for other areas of the world. The African, Latin American, and Western European blocs choose two members each, and the Arab, Asian, and Eastern European blocs choose one member each. The final seat alternates between Asian and African selections. As a result of this arrangement, Africa always has two representatives on the Security Council and at times three. In 2004, for instance, there were three African members—ALGERIA, ANGOLA and The Republic of BENIN. The Security Council, unlike other organs of the United Nations, which can only make recommendations to member governments, has the power to make decisions that member governments must carry out under the UN Charter.

The chief executive of the United Nations, the secretary general, is important with regard to highlighting global issues and bringing sensitivity of the issues. Since 1992 the secretary general has come from Africa, which may have helped bring African issues higher on the agenda. From 1992 to 1996 an Egyptian, Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1922–   ), served as secretary general. In 1996 an American veto prevented him from having a second term. From 1997 Kofi ANNAN (1938–   ) of GHANA has served as the secretary general and was reappointed to serve for a second term to last until 2006.

From the 1960s Africa has had a major impact on the United Nations, primarily through the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU). The OAU, which was transformed into the AFRICAN UNION (AU) in 2002, maintained observer status at the United Nations since its creation in 1963. During this time the OAU coordinated collective action among African nations at the United Nations, a process that proved crucial during the 1960s, when many African countries had liberation movements and were not independent.

In 1974 African countries succeeded in having the United Nations take action against SOUTH AFRICA, which was a founding member of the organization but which maintained the much-hated policy of racial segregation known as apartheid. Because of its racist policies, South Africa was barred from participating in the UN General Assembly.

The United Nations has played a major role in encouraging countries under colonial rule to attain their independence. The UN participation was most evident in supervising elections that led to independence in the African countries of TOGO, in 1960, and in NAMIBIA, in 1989. Still concerned with the question of colonialism, which affects countries such as WESTERN SAHARA, in 2000 the General Assembly declared 2001–10 as the second International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism.

One of the major areas in which the United Nations has had an impact in Africa is in peacekeeping. Between 1960 and 2000 the African continent saw 13 major conflicts, many of them CIVIL WARS, to which the United Nations sent military personnel. Some interventions were outright successes, some had questionable outcomes, and others had mixed results based on the measurement of their objectives and their outcomes. Still others were outright failures. Nonetheless, the role of the United Nations in conflict resolution has been vital.

In Africa UN peacekeeping efforts started with the CONGO CRISIS, in which the United Nations intervened from 1960 to 1964. In 1959 anticolonial rioting broke out in the Congo. Belgium, the colonial power, attempted to pacify the situation by offering a gradual path to independence. The demand for independence was so strong, however, that Belgium abandoned its original approach and instead announced that the country would become independent within a few months. Joseph KASAVUBU (c. 1913–1969) was elected president, and Patrice LUMUMBA (1925–1961) became the prime minister. Immediately after the declaration of independence, mutinies broke out. Another complication arose as Moïse TSHOMBE (1919–1969) proclaimed independence for mineral-rich KATANGA province. This was further aggravated by the presence of Belgian troops. Kasavubu and Lumumba asked for UN intervention.

While the UN efforts prevented the secession of Katanga, its success in the Congo was limited. Indeed, little was done to improve the conditions and the future of the Congolese people. This was similar to what happened during the 1990s in LIBERIA, where UN forces only served to delay the victory for one political party rather than prevent it.

In contrast UN peacekeeping efforts proved more successful in Namibia, where all three countries involved—South Africa, Cuba, and ANGOLA—were interested in achieving a peaceful outcome. The United Nations supervised the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, which represented a clear success for the United Nations. The Cuban withdrawal was linked to decolonization, and the United Nations ultimately supervised the plebiscite that led to the independence of Namibia from South Africa.

Although the United Nations is mostly known for its role in maintaining peace and security, a large proportion of its resources is devoted to economic development, social development, and SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT. Africa has been a recipient of substantial UN resources and programs, many of which have had important impacts on Africa's population. In each African country, for example, the UN Development Program maintains an office through which the organization connects to governments and other development partners to bring knowledge, experience, and resources from across the region and around the world.

See also: BELGIAN CONGO (Vol. IV); COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); CUBA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); DECOLONIZATION (Vol. IV); ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Norrie Maqueen, *United Nations Peacekeeping in Africa since 1960* (New York: Longman, 2002).

In addition to its humanitarian causes, one of the great responsibilities of the United Nations is to monitor elections worldwide. In 1994, two years after Mozambique's civil war ended, Mozambicans like this woman in Catembe voted under the watchful eye of United Nations officials. © *United Nations/P. Sudhakaran*

UN intervention in SOMALIA in 1992–93 proved even more problematic. There, UN forces led by the United States were drawn into confrontations with the local people with the objective of forcing peace. The result was that the peacekeepers were seen as being involved in the situation rather than objectively pursuing a peaceful outcome. Not surprisingly, UN intervention in Somalia has been seen as an example of peacekeeping failure in Africa.

Given the failure in Somalia, there was reluctance for the United Nations to be involved in similar conflicts. Shortly afterwards, for example, the members of the Security Council initially refused to authorize UN intervention in the genocide that was taking place in RWANDA. In the end, the UN force of 5,500 that was sent was insufficient to halt the killing, and many Africans felt betrayed, thinking that the United Nations failed to prevent the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people.

United States and Africa   The relationship between the United States (U.S.) and the African continent, which underwent dramatic changes in the 1950s, has become increasingly complex in the years since. Today there are multiple and diverse sets of relationships between them.

Prior to the era of African independence U.S. interests in Africa were limited, in large part due to Europe's colonial control of most of the continent. To a great extent U.S. involvement was limited to activities like those of American MISSIONARIES, who were at work in many parts of the continent. Other activities came from the African-American community within the United States, where African-Americans such as W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) and Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) were enthusiastically espousing PAN-AFRICANISM and where there had long been supporters of a Back-to-Africa Movement. Beyond this, some Africans who later were to become prominent political leaders of their countries studied in the United States, often at historically black universities such as Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. Economic relations between the United States and Africa were minimal, with the Firestone Rubber Plantation in LIBERIA as one of the few major American economic undertakings in Africa.

In the early 1960s, as the Cold War developed, the United States used humanitarian aid to establish ties to emerging African states. This U.S. Air Force plane dropped bags of corn to flood victims in Tanzania. © *U.S. Air Force*

World War II (1939–45) drew American attention to Africa, especially to North Africa, where many Americans fought and died. After the war, with decolonization clearly in the offing, American interest began to grow. In the late 1940s, for example, AFRICAN STUDIES began to arise as an scholarly field of study. In the following decade, the Cold War also began to take shape. When African countries gained their independence from their former colonial rulers (LIBYA, in 1951, the Republic of the SUDAN, in 1954, MOROCCO and TUNISIA, in 1956, and GHANA, in 1957), the United States began to compete actively with the Soviet Union for influence with their leaders and citizens. In 1958 the U.S. Department of State created the Bureau of African Affairs to oversee its relations with the emerging sub-Saharan African countries (the North African countries were under the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs). Especially under the assistant secretary of state for African affairs, G. Mennen Williams (1911–1988), who served under President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963), the bureau actively promoted and encouraged political independence for Africa. President Kennedy also launched the Peace Corps, which sent thousands of young Americans to serve in Africa as volunteers. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) also began to provide ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE for African DEVELOPMENT, especially to countries such as EGYPT, Ethiopia and SOMALIA, the Republic of the Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the CONGO. Support for African independence and development also was politically important in the United States, especially among the growing black electorate coming out of the civil rights era.

The optimism of the early years of successful INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS, however, did not last. The CONGO CRISIS of the early 1960s was a harbinger of the political instability that was to become characteristic of much of the continent. Also, a number of more radical leaders

came to power, and, like Libya's Muammar QADDAFI (1942–), they were suspicious of U.S. motives and policies. The situation was further complicated in the 1960s by the outbreak of wars of liberation in the Portuguese colonies of ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, and GUINEA-BISSAU. Since Portugal was an important ally in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United States was unwilling to openly oppose Portugal's efforts to retain its colonies. A similar situation emerged in southern Africa. There, in the context of Cold War politics, the APARTHEID government of South Africa became an important, if not overt, ally of the United States in what it perceived as the struggle against Communism in southern Africa.

During this period apartheid became a flash point in American politics, for unlike any other country on the continent, the racially politicized politics of South Africa bore considerable resemblance to the situation in the United States. Eventually, it became increasingly difficult for a country that had lived through the civil rights era to sanction South Africa's racially oppressive political system. In 1986 anti-apartheid sentiment in the United States led to the passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, with Congress overriding a presidential veto by President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) to enact the legislation. By this time, however, the Cold War was nearing its end, and the collapse of the Berlin Wall, in 1989, signaled the beginning of the end of the international influence of the Soviet Union.

Freed from the constraints of the Cold War, relations between the United States and Africa underwent yet another major change. The United States could now openly support and encourage the forces of DEMOCRATIZATION in South Africa and other parts of the continent. It no longer needed to support autocratic, tyrannical leaders such as the Congo's MOBUTU SESE SEKO (1930–1997) out of concern that pro-Soviet leaders might replace them. The United States also no longer needed to try and outbid the Soviet Union in the provision of economic assistance, which led to a decline in overall foreign aid to Africa and other parts of the so-called Third World. However, since much of the earlier aid had ended up in the private bank accounts of tyrants like Mobutu, declining dollar amounts of aid did not necessarily equate with a decline in effective aid.

The type of political instability, warfare, and ethnic conflict that has gripped LIBERIA, RWANDA, and BURUNDI continue to command the attention of Americans. More recently, new concerns have come to characterize American-African relations. The emergence of the HIV/AIDS crisis in Africa has led to sharp debates within the United States regarding how best to respond to the pandemic. In 2003 U.S. president George W. Bush (1946–) announced that the United States would contribute $15 billion to the fight against HIV/AIDS, resulting in a major shift in the flow of aid to Africa. The African Growth and Opportunity Act, first passed in 2000 and amended in 2002, focuses on opening up economies and building free markets as the most effective means for promoting African development. Countries that meet certain requirements are eligible for tariff preferences in their trade with the United States. In 2003 as many as 37 countries met the criteria.

Security concerns have also come to the forefront of American dealings with Africa. Several African countries hold vast deposits of OIL, and the United States is looking to them as potential source of oil imports in the increasingly probable event that the flow of oil from the Middle East is disrupted. Even before the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, TERRORISM became another security concern. The 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in NAIROBI, KENYA and DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA were one of the major precursors of the 9/11 attack. In the aftermath of 9/11, the United States became increasingly concerned with the absence of a functioning state in SOMALIA, a situation that made the country a haven for international terrorists, especially those associated with radical Islam. In response, the United States stationed 1,500 troops in neighboring DJIBOUTI. In this way, the Horn of Africa once again became an important arena for American strategic planning, just as it was prior to the overthrow of Emperor HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975) in 1974.

See also: BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENT (Vol. IV); COLD WAR AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); DU BOIS, W. E. B. (Vol. IV); GARVEY, MARCUS (Vol. IV); SOVIET UNION AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V); UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AFRICA (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Asgede Hagos, *Hardened Images: The Western Media and the Marginalization of Africa* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2000); Zaki Laïdi, *The Superpowers and Africa: The Constraints of a Rivalry, 1960–1990*, Patricia Baudoin, trans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Peter J. Schraeder, *United States Foreign Policy Toward Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis, and Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Upper Volta Name given to the present-day country of BURKINA FASO during French colonial rule and also for the first 24 years after gaining independence. Upper Volta was renamed Burkina Faso (roughly translated as "the Land of Incorruptible Men") in 1984 by then president Thomas Sankara (1949–1987).

See also: UPPER VOLTA (Vol. IV).

urbanization The population of Africa historically has been predominantly rural, but the initial change in the rate of urbanization that occurred during the colonial period has accelerated during the post-colonial era. In the postcolonial era, Africa, like other more developed continents, saw the rise of modern metropolises, such as JO-

HANNESBURG and CAIRO, cities with strong industry, commerce, and tall skyscrapers.

Rural-to-Urban Migration The principal reason for increased urbanization in Africa is rural-to-urban migration. Due to this pattern the urban population in sub-Saharan Africa rose from less than 15 percent in 1950 to more than 30 percent in 2000. The percentages, however, vary greatly among individual countries. For example, in 2000 the WORLD BANK estimated that RWANDA had 6 percent and UGANDA had 14 percent of their respective populations living in urban areas. In contrast, the figures for the Republic of the CONGO and IVORY COAST, respectively, were 63 and 46 percent. Reasons for rural-to-urban migration include ethnic conflicts, natural disasters, land scarcity, and the desire to escape rural POVERTY. Widespread ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA has caused people to flee from violence in rural areas. (The opposite is common, too, with urban violence causing a mass exodus from the cities to the rural outskirts).

Typically people who find limited resources for survival in the countryside move to the city in hopes of finding a wage job or some other way to make a living. In certain cities in central, eastern, and southern Africa, rural-to-urban migration has increased dramatically since the independence era (c. 1960), when Africans were finally allowed to live in cities legally. Although urbanization is occurring rapidly, there are still strong links between urban and rural residents in much of Africa; it is common for urban immigrants to send a portion of their earnings home to their families and to return to the countryside during holidays or between jobs.

The Challenging Urban Environment With the massive migration of people to the cities, unemployment rates there are high, and people who arrive poor typically continue to suffer from poverty in the city as well. For these individuals jobs in the formal economic sector are especially difficult to come by. An informal economy, however, has served to absorb many of the otherwise unemployed migrants over the last several decades. In fact, the informal market is considered the most active and fastest growing part of many national economies in Africa.

Even if an urban migrant is able to find a job in the informal economy, however, living conditions usually are poor at best. The great influx of migrants has resulted in severe urban housing shortages, forcing people to gather in slums or squatter settlements. Due to the housing shortages rents are high and consume a substantial portion of income. Squatter settlements, frequently built on marginal lands, lack appropriate WATER sources, waste disposal, health-care facilities, schools, and electricity. One squatter settlement outside of NAIROBI has been built up on "black cotton" soil—a clay soil that does not absorb water—and flooding is a problem every time it rains. The policy of some governments has been to bulldoze squatter settlements like these, claiming that they are ille-

gal and that they constitute unsightly health hazards. Other governments have allowed such settlements to develop into more substantial communities.

Women in Cities Despite the poverty and unemployment faced by urban migrants, life in many cities represents a marked improvement in the status of WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT AFRICA. Women have better access to information and EDUCATION when they move to cities, thereby giving them more control over their own fertility and, hence, more control over the size of their families. In addition, throughout the 1970s and 1980s urban women benefited from an unforeseen effect of a declining African economy: men became more likely to establish stable unions with them in order to make enough money to live.

Efforts at Improvement Some African countries have not yet recovered from economic recession. After independence the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND and the World Bank loaned money to African countries with a number of conditions, including a commitment to limit government spending on social services. Known as STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs, these conditions are designed to build a healthy economy. Positive results, however, have been slow in coming, and the policies have greatly impacted the poor in both urban and rural areas by reducing health-care services. They also have allowed the INFRASTRUCTURE to go unimproved, and have limited housing, water, electricity, and waste disposal projects. By cutting back civil service jobs, these structural adjustment programs have also increased unemployment.

The Rise of African Super-Cities One of the most obvious changes to the urban landscape in Africa has been the increasing magnitude of Africa's large cities. In the 1960s Johannesburg, SOUTH AFRICA, was the only city outside North Africa with more than 1 million inhabitants. Today there are 27 cities with a population greater than 1 million. This phenomenon has largely been caused by the concentration of commerce and industry in only one large city within each country. Recently, however, some secondary cities have begun to grow very rapidly, sometimes surpassing the rate of growth found in the most highly populated cities.

Character of Africa's Urban Centers As cities grew during the postcolonial period they responded in different ways to this growth, and today there are differences in the character of various cities in Africa. Some cities, such as DAKAR, in SENEGAL, and KINSHASA, in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, have a colonial legacy evident in their layouts and ARCHITECTURE. These types of cities often served as capitals during colonial times and maintained that status upon independence. They already had the industrial infrastructure established by colonial interests, making them the best location for further industrial development after independence.

Other cities, such as Lamu, in Kenya, and Timbuktu, in the Republic of MALI, maintain a more "indigenous" feel, while still others have developed with a combination of colonial and African characteristics. The city of KHARTOUM, in the Republic of the SUDAN, still seems to be structured to cater predominantly to its European residents. This is the case in Nairobi, Kenya, and PRETORIA, South Africa, as well. Districts in these cities are still home to many Westerners, and they are characterized by a cosmopolitan, international flavor.

A unique type of postcolonial African urban center is the planned city. The inland city of ABUJA, for example, was built from the ground up as the new federal capital of NIGERIA when LAGOS, the former capital, became too densely populated to serve as an effective administrative center. Under slightly different circumstances, the more easily accessible city of DODOMA, located near the center of TANZANIA, became the new federal capital replacing DAR ES SALAAM, an old and densely settled city located on the coast.

Even in 1964 Johannesburg was a booming urban center, with high rise apartments and traffic-choked streets. © *Library of Congress*

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Nearly all African urban centers share one common feature—a bustling mass-TRANSPORTATION system. Many governments have allowed for privatization of some mass transportation, leading to the dominance of overcrowded *matatus,* or small minibuses.

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See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V); INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vol. V); POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); TIMBUKTU (Vols. II, III, IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

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urban life and culture   African cities range from modern centers of international commerce scattered with skyscrapers, to smaller urban centers with historic structures and local markets. Regardless of the type of city, however, urban centers in Africa tend to be bustling and vibrant.

After much of Africa gained national independence, many rural Africans saw the cities as the land of opportunity. The rural-to-urban migration that began under colonialism intensified during this period. The new wave of migrants included many women, who had been discouraged from relocating to the cities during the colonial era. Migrants expected to find more employment opportunities and a better quality of life in the cities. While some did find employment, many did not and were forced to be creative about making a living. Their entrepreneurial spirit resulted in a well-developed, informal economic sector. Critical to the exchange of consumer goods in the economies of African nations, the street vendors and open-air markets of the informal sector have contributed greatly to the vibrant nature of urban landscapes. The informal sector is a major source of employment for urban women. Selling used clothing sent by aid organizations in the West is a major informal economic industry. Many urban dwellers wear formal modern office attire from the West. The used clothing vendors offer these articles at much lower prices than the formal shops in the cities.

Another area in which the informal market thrives is TRANSPORTATION. The widespread lack of public transportation in many African cities has resulted in extensive networks of private minibuses offering transportation to urban dwellers. The overcrowded minibuses, adorned with popular artwork and blasting local radio stations, take people back and forth between work, school, home, markets, and stores.

Urban neighborhoods are often segregated. The elite, both foreign and local, live in guarded neighborhoods with large gated houses. Expatriates and embassy personnel dominate some neighborhoods. On the other side of the spectrum, the lack of affordable urban housing has forced many of the poorer city dwellers to live in squatter settlements known as "shantytowns." Houses in shantytowns are often made from iron, wood, plastic, or whatever materials can be found locally. These settlements are usually not officially recognized municipalities, and therefore they often lack running water, electricity, waste disposal, and health-care facilities. However, some governments and NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS have implemented projects to bring these facilities to shantytowns.

In addition to the daytime chaos of pedestrians and vehicles navigating busy streets, urban nightlife is also vibrant. African young people frequent the many bars and discos that have opened in recent years, which play popular Western and African MUSIC. Most major cities also have theaters for drama or musical performances. Colorfully lighted signs advertising local and Western products add to the energy of the urban landscape during the day and night.

Unfortunately, with the massive influx of migrants and the shortages of jobs and housing, crime also has become a problem for many African cities. In addition, it is not unusual to see homeless people begging for food or money. These factors add to the chaotic feel of the urban areas in Africa.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. V); THEATER (Vol. V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vol. IV).

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V

Verwoerd, Hendrik (Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd; H. F. Verwoerd) (1901–1966) *Prime minister of South Africa*

A rigid ideologue and fierce believer in white supremacy throughout his career, Verwoerd was a leading architect of the racial policy of APARTHEID in SOUTH AFRICA. After becoming prime minister, in 1958, Verwoerd was at the height of his political power in 1960. At that time, South Africa faced increasing criticism for its racial policies from fellow members of the British Commonwealth. Verwoerd responded defiantly, setting out on a course to free South Africa from the influence of Britain and other commonwealth members.

In May 1961 a Verwoerd-backed popular referendum was passed—with only whites voting—approving the creation of a South African republic. With the new government in place, a month later Verwoerd forced a confrontation with the commonwealth. South Africa unilaterally withdrew from the organization, severing relations with Britain that dated back to 1795.

Verwoerd then pressed on with a policy, eventually known as "separate development," that continued apartheid and sought to relegate nonwhites to 10 separate homelands. Ostensibly encouraging the development of these homelands into independent nations, Verwoerd's policy was, in effect, a means of depriving blacks of South African citizenship. Although the program met with protest and resistance on the part of black South Africans—as well as the international community—Verwoerd's government managed to keep protests in check for many years. It could not, however, stop the international outcry that increasingly drove South Africa into political and economic isolation.

Verwoerd himself survived an assassination attempt that took place in JOHANNESBURG in April 1960. A second attempt on his life on September 6, 1966, proved successful. A mentally unbalanced parliamentary messenger stabbed Verwoerd to death in CAPE TOWN. Succeeded by John Vorster (1915–1983), another ardent supporter of apartheid, Verwoerd left behind a legacy of a bitterly divided country whose repressive government had become an international outcast.

See also: VERWOERD, HENDRIK FRENCSH (Vol. IV).

Further reading: Henry Kenney, *Architect of Apartheid: H. F. Verwoerd, an Appraisal* (Johannesburg: J. Ball, 1980).

Victoria Capital and lone port of the Republic of SEYCHELLES, located on the northeastern coast of Mahé Island in the Indian Ocean. Britain assumed colonial control of the Seychelles from France in 1814, but it administered the territory as part of MAURITIUS, another Indian Ocean island colony, until 1903. When the Seychelles became a separate crown colony that year, Victoria—named in honor of Britain's queen—served as the colonial capital. The city's subsequent development reflected its British colonial character. Victoria's locally famous Clock Tower, built in 1902, served to represent the islands' status as an independent British colony.

Victoria continued as the capital of the Republic of the Seychelles upon its independence, in 1976. Some of the government buildings have not changed from the time of their construction earlier in the 20th century and serve as a reminder of the colonial past. However, many of the roads have been restored and the city, one of the smallest

capitals in the world with only 23,000 inhabitants, has a quiet and clean atmosphere. All of the other settlements on the islands are villages, and most of the people who live on the island of Mahé live in the city of Victoria. While English and French are the official languages, most of the people speak a French-based Creole language.

The economy depends on industries associated with copra (dried coconut meat), vanilla, guano (bird dropping fertilizer), and cinnamon. Recently TOURISM, mostly focusing on the natural history and physical beauty of the surroundings, has become increasingly important. Victoria's international airport, built with British funds in 1971, is the main point of entry for tourists visiting the Seychelles. The town offers a host of small hotels, a botanical garden, and a natural history museum.

See also: ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Victoria, Lake   Large body of water located near East Africa's Great Rift Valley. Lake Victoria was called *Ukerewe* prior to European exploration in the 18th century. Today it is called *Victoria Nyanza* by many Africans. At once a biological wonder and a critical natural resource, Africa's largest freshwater lake teems with life while providing a livelihood for millions of people from East Africa through EGYPT. Today the lake is dying, and one of the world's most concerted scientific efforts is trying to save it.

At 26,830 square miles (69,490 sq km), Lake Victoria is second in surface area only to Lake Superior in North America among the world's freshwater lakes. The lake measures 270 feet (82 m) at its deepest. Lake Victoria is historically among the most species-diverse lakes on earth, making its continued BIODIVERSITY a great concern to scientists. As a principal source of the Nile River, it is a critical resource not only for the 30 million inhabitants who live near it but also for the people of Republic of the SUDAN and Egypt, countries through which the river runs on its way north to the Nile Delta before emptying into the Mediterranean Sea.

Significant changes to Lake Victoria began under colonial rule. The British cleared the vegetation around the lake, felled forests, and drained wetlands in order to create plantations for tea, coffee, and sugar to be exported to European markets. Runoff from the plantations severely polluted the lake and the surrounding ecosystems, reducing their biological functions. Local AGRICULTURE also attracted migrant workers, who ultimately became permanent residents, thus increasing the consumption of lake fish. Fishing for export further reduced fish numbers and even caused the extinction of some fish species.

In 1956 the British colonial administration introduced into the lake the Nile perch (*lates nilotica*), a nonnative fish species. It had the intended effect of increasing fish catches for export, but, while the Nile perch accounted for about 1 percent of the fish catch in the 1960s, today it makes up more than 80 percent. It is thought that this predatory fish has caused the extinction of hundreds of fish species found nowhere else. In particular, Lake Victoria was once host to an unknown number, probably between 400 and 800, of small cichlid fish species. Now, as a direct result of the introduction of the Nile perch, less than half of those species remain.

The changing fish life has had a critical impact on local economies. Smaller cichlids, now hard to catch in sufficient numbers, have long been food staples for local communities. The Nile perch lives in deeper waters that cannot be reached by small boats and, thus, the fish benefits only the bigger commercial FISHING operations, which generally service foreign markets. In this sense the shift in fish species has been a great benefit to large businesses but a significant blow to local fishing markets. Further, related industries such as fish processing have also been significantly affected. A Kenyan research group, Friends of Lake Victoria, and other local organizations have been working with local communities to try to mitigate some of these negative economic impacts through aquaculture development.

Further compounding damage to the lake's ecology, industrial companies dumped untreated pollutants into the water—a practice that continues today—causing a proliferation of algae. TANZANIA alone is responsible for dumping more than a half-million gallons of untreated sewage and industrial waste into the lake daily, which leads to diseases such as typhoid, cholera, and diarrhea. The ongoing destruction of the lake's wetlands reduces the water-purifying function of such ecosystems.

Another great change in the Lake Victoria ecosystem is the growth of water hyacinth (*Eichhorina crassipes*), which was first observed in 1989. Originally from the Amazon basin, water hyacinth grows at an alarming rate, clogging water channels, changing hydrological cycles, causing flooding, strangling other flora, and blocking sunlight in the water, all of which can lead to massive fish kills. The weed weaves itself into such a dense matt that boats cannot pass. Water hyacinth also makes an ideal home for snails, which can proliferate diseases such as bilharzias, and mosquitoes, which spread malaria and other diseases. Further, when hyacinth dies, it releases toxins that kill other flora and fauna.

Service at Uganda's Owen Falls Hydroelectric facility, the most important hydroelectric source in the region, is regularly interrupted because of problems related to water hyacinth, the weed has become the largest single problem facing Lake Victoria. The Lake Victoria Environmental Management Plan, managed by the Global Environment Facility of the UN Environment Program, has allocated $76 million to alleviate the problem, but efforts to control water hyacinth growth have met with only modest success.

Beginning in the colonial era, pollution combined with the introduction of non-native species to the Lake Victoria ecosystem greatly reduced the catches of local fishers like these. © *Corbis*

In 1994 a genocidal war in RWANDA led to many thousands of human corpses being thrown into the Kagera River, which flows into Lake Victoria. Many of the bodies became so tangled in the thick water hyacinth that they could not be recovered. The decay of the bodies caused such health hazards that the government of UGANDA considered parts of the lake a disaster area.

The combined impact of the Nile perch and the water hyacinth has exacted a terrible cost to indigenous communities. Ecologically, there is a consensus among scientists that unless something is done to halt its destruction, Lake Victoria soon will cease to sustain life. With so many millions of lives—human and otherwise—in the balance, local communities have been collaborating with international agencies to develop lake-management strategies. It remains to be seen, however, if these economic and environmental efforts will be sufficient or if the damage is irreversible.

See also: COLONIAL RULE (Vol. IV); ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); NILE RIVER (Vol. I); SPEKE, JOHN HANNING (Vol. IV); VICTORIA, LAKE (Vols. I, II).

Further reading: Tijs Goldschmidt, *Darwin's Dreampond: Drama in Lake Victoria* (Boston, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996).

Volta Lake World's largest man-made lake, located in east-central GHANA. Volta Lake was the result of the construction of the AKOSOMBO DAM across the lower Volta River in the mid-1960s. With a surface area of about 3,274 square miles (8,480 sq km), the lake now covers some 45 percent of Ghana's land area.

The main purpose of the Akosombo Dam was to generate hydroelectricity, which it does in large quantities (up to 768,000-kilowatts). Over time, however, the lake has become a prime recreation area and tourist attraction, as well. It also provides the country with WATER RESOURCES for irrigation and is an important TRANSPORTATION link. Ferry service across the lake was initiated in 1989, at first with rehabilitated craft, and then, in 2001, with new, 150-passenger ferries. The Volta River Authority, which is responsible for the administration of the hydroelectric dam, also oversees the DEVELOPMENT of the areas adjoining the lake.

See also: INDUSTRIALIZATION (Vol. V); LAKES AND RIVERS (Vol. I); TOURISM (Vol. V); VOLTA RIVER (Vol. II); VOLTA BASIN (Vol. III).

W

Wade, Abdoulaye (1926–   ) *President of Senegal*

Wade received his primary education in SENEGAL before studying in France. Returning to Senegal with doctorate degrees in both law and economics, he taught at the University of Dakar and opened his own law firm. In the early 1970s he turned to politics, founding Senegal's second political party, the Senegalese Democratic Party. An outspoken opponent of the dominant SENEGALESE SOCIALIST PARTY (Parti Socialiste, PS), he ran unsuccessfully for president four times between 1978 and 1993. After serving as minister of state under President Abdou DIOUF (1935–   ), he finally won the presidency, in 2000, ending the PS's 40-year rule over Senegal.

Wade's opposition to the PS led to charges against him of everything from treason to complicity in murder. But he steadfastly maintained his innocence, remaining determined to make substantive changes in Senegal's government. Elected at a time when the country faced severe economic crises, as well as increasingly loud demands for a more democratic political system, Wade offered few specific programs during his campaign for office. Instead he promised only to work hard and to build a revitalized, more democratic nation.

Wade's election was greeted with approval around the country, where people had long been eager for economic, political, and social reform. International observers also saw his victory as advancing DEMOCRATIZATION on the continent. Since taking office, he has faced criticism for the continued weak economy, as well as charges of nepotism and CORRUPTION. Still, Wade's government has managed to make slow progress, with minor increases in economic growth and hopes for a decrease in the rate of inflation.

Walvis Bay

City on the Atlantic coast of NAMIBIA (formerly SOUTH WEST AFRICA) and important deepwater port. Located about 250 miles (402 km) west of WINDHOEK, the country's capital, Walvis Bay is a city of approximately 50,000 inhabitants. It is situated at the mouth of the Kuiseb River on the Atlantic Ocean and is surrounded on three sides by the Namib Desert. It is one of only two ocean harbors in Namibia, the other being Lüderitz, farther to the south.

Britain annexed Walvis Bay in 1878 as part of the Cape Colony, to keep it out of the hands of Germany, at the time Britain's imperial rival. The surrounding region became the German colony of South West Africa. Upon the unification of SOUTH AFRICA, in 1910, Walvis Bay became part of its Cape Province. From 1922 to 1977 Walvis Bay and all of Namibia were administered by South Africa, originally as a League of Nations mandate and then, subsequent to 1948, as a UN trust territory.

In 1977 the United Nations passed a resolution declaring null and void the South African claim to Walvis Bay. Nevertheless, and despite Namibia's achieving independence in 1990, South Africa governed it directly from 1978 to 1992. Negotiations between Namibia and South Africa led to joint administration from 1992 to 1994, at which time South Africa relinquished sovereignty. Due to its historical connections with the Cape Colony, Walvis Bay lacks the German characteristics of nearby coastal Swakopmund, which the Germans had founded in the colonial era.

In addition to being the country's main port Walvis Bay is also the only one that accommodates deepwater anchorage. Walvis Bay handles 85 percent of the country's foreign trade, which includes EXPORTS of uranium,

copper, and lead. Fishing is an important facet of the city's ECONOMY, with rich harvests of anchovies, pilchards, and mackerel. The bay is also renowned for its varied bird life south of the port, including pelicans, cormorants, and pink flamingoes. The pleasant climate, coastal setting, fishing, and bird life make Walvis Bay a popular tourist destination.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); TOURISM (Vol. V); TRUST TERRITORY (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vols. IV, V).

warfare and weapons Since 1960 Africa has been the site of some of the longest-running and most devastating wars in the world. In general these wars have been of three different types: struggles for independence, CIVIL WARS, and border disputes. During the COLD WAR (1945–91), global powers including the United States, the Soviet Union, and China insinuated themselves into African conflicts. In their attempts to gain allies, they exported equipment, such as tanks and anti-aircraft machine guns, and offered military expertise to help African forces achieve their goals. As a result combat across the continent became increasingly lethal.

In addition to killing millions of combatants, warfare in Africa also has created large numbers of REFUGEES, people who have fled their homes because of the threat of violence. Living in makeshift camps or as exiles in foreign countries, these people have been subject to exposure, hunger, violence, and disease, all of which have claimed many more lives.

Wars of Independence By the late 1950s European colonialism on the continent seemed to be coming to an end, and Britain, France, and Belgium began to hand their colonial governments back over to African-led political organizations. In many cases the transfer of power was peaceful. In other cases—France in ALGERIA and Portugal in its colonies—independence came only with violence. Portugal, in particular, tenaciously maintained its hold on colonial authority. As a result, from 1961 until 1974 independence movements in the Portuguese colonies of ANGOLA, CAPE VERDE, GUINEA-BISSAU, and MOZAMBIQUE all waged wars against the Portuguese colonial government.

The insurgents had weapons such as machine guns, mines, and grenades, but they were poorly armed in comparison to the Portuguese forces. Because of this, African forces did not engage in conventional battleground warfare but instead resorted to guerilla tactics. These included attacking individuals and launching raids on police barracks, government offices, and other installations crucial to the colonial power infrastructure.

In Angola and Mozambique the rebels usually avoided the urban colonial strongholds and instead operated from rural areas. Local populations often showed their support by offering water, food, and shelter. Since close combat in the rural areas favored the rebels, the Portuguese regularly attacked enemy positions using World War II–era bombers mounted with forward-firing machine guns before sending in ground troops.

Leaders of independence movements such as the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA and the MOZAMBICAN LIBERATION FRONT followed a Marxist ideology. Believing that gender equality was an important aspect of the state, these organizations encouraged able-bodied women to become soldiers in the guerrilla armies.

By 1974 Portugal had undergone a change of leadership and began its withdrawal from the continent. However, in both Angola and Mozambique, the ethnically driven independence movements that had fought Portugal then clashed with each other, vying for control of the postindependence national governments. In both countries the postindependence civil wars were also proxy wars within the larger Cold War, and the support of powerful foreign nations contributed to the continuation of these civil wars until the 1990s.

In southern Africa, too, guerrilla warfare was the norm. The difference, though, was that instead of fighting for the overthrow of a colonial occupier, the insurgents wanted to oust a white minority government and make the change to black majority rule. This was the case in RHODESIA (today's ZIMBABWE) and SOUTH WEST AFRICA (today's NAMIBIA), as well as in SOUTH AFRICA. In general, the white minority governments of these countries supported each other. Rebel forces, on the other hand, received support from the African governments in the FRONTLINE STATES, as the neighboring countries became known collectively. Centrally located ZAMBIA played a leading role in the activities of the Frontline States.

Civil Wars Religious differences also caused civil strife in several African countries. In CHAD and the Republic of the SUDAN, devastating wars between Muslims and Christians have been ongoing since the end of colonialism. In the Sudan conflict alone, it is estimated that more than 2 million people have died. Since 1990, conflicts between Nigeria's Muslim and Christian populations have resulted in thousands of deaths. In the early 1990s Algeria, too, was the site of religion-based civil war. There, Muslim fundamentalists clashed with the more secular Muslims in the government, sparking a 12-year civil war in which up to 100,000 people died.

Besides ideology and religion, ethnic and regional differences also emerged as common causes of civil war in Africa. In an unfortunate pattern that was seen all over the continent, the jubilance of independence quickly gave way to internal ethnic strife. Such conflicts were particularly violent in, among other places, BURUNDI, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, the Republic of the CONGO, DJIBOUTI, ERITREA, ETHIOPIA, GUINEA, LIBERIA, NIGERIA, SIERRA LEONE, SENEGAL, SOMALIA, RWANDA, TANZANIA, and UGANDA.

Border Wars   Since 1960 several conflicts in Africa have been fought over disputed borders. These include the ongoing conflicts between ERITREA and ETHIOPIA, in the Horn of Africa, and the struggle of the SAHARAWI people against the Moroccan government in present-day WESTERN SAHARA. In the 1980s CHAD and LIBYA were engaged in three separate conflicts for control of the Aouzou Strip, an area in the Sahara desert along the Chad-Libya border that was thought to have uranium deposits.

Clearly, wars in Africa are fought for a variety of reasons, and there are no easy solutions for avoiding them in the future. International organizations such as the African Union and the United Nations make efforts to bring warring sides to the negotiating table, but very often this occurs only after great losses already have been incurred.

The Cold War (1945–91) between the United States and the Soviet Union had repercussions that spread around the globe. The war was considered "cold" because the two combatants never actually engaged in direct military conflict. This was because, if used, the overwhelmingly destructive nuclear weapons that both countries possessed could conceivably put an end to the human race. Fortunately, warfare among Africans has not included the threat of nuclear weapons, since no African nation has nuclear capability. In the early 1990s, however, South Africa did possess six uranium bombs it had constructed. When power was transferred to the black majority after 1994, the outgoing government voluntarily dismantled the bombs.

See also: ARAB-ISRAELI WARS (Vols. IV, V); BIAFRA (Vol. V); ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA (Vol. V); WARFARE AND WEAPONS (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

water resources   Africa possesses some of the most noteworthy water resources on the planet. Yet for thousands of years a lack of access to clean water has remained one of the primary problems on the continent.

Africa's rivers range from the famous, like the Nile, Niger, and Congo, to the not so famous, including the Cuanza, Rufiji, and Shabeelle. These rivers not only are invaluable waterways, but, in many regions, they are critical sources of water for everything from irrigation to drinking. Africa also is a continent of lakes, with some of the largest and deepest lakes in the world. These lakes are vital ecosystems that provide food and other essentials to millions of people.

How big are Africa's rivers? The continent's longest river, the Nile, is the longest in the world. Africa's third largest river, the NIGER, which is the principal river of western Africa, is 2,500 miles (4,023 km) in length. The odd, boomerang-shaped course of the Niger is the result of the fact that it once was two rivers that changed course and linked together when the Sahara desert dried up, around 4000 to 1000 BCE.

Unfortunately Africa's rivers and lakes cannot provide the continent with all the water it needs for nourishing its people and irrigating its crops. For this reason rainfall always has been critical to food production—and therefore survival—in Africa, a continent with land features that vary from the deserts of the Sahara to the rain forests of the equatorial regions. Beyond the great ranges of rainfall in Africa's various regions, which can make the land both too arid and too wet to farm, Africa also has endured long periods of great climatic change during which rainfall increased or decreased dramatically. In East Africa, for example, the Warm Period, which lasted from approximately 1000 to 1270 CE, saw a marked decrease in rainfall. In contrast the years between 1270 and 1850 CE, which have become known as the Little Ice Age, were significantly wetter than others.

In spite of the apparent wealth of water on the continent, Africa has faced—and currently still faces—what amounts to a water crisis. With the most rapid growth rate of any area in the developing world, Africa has repeatedly found that its systems of water and food production cannot keep pace with its constant population increase. As a result only about 62 percent of the people of Africa currently have access to safe drinking water, the lowest percentage of any continent. Equally problematic, only about 60 percent of all Africans have adequate sanitation, a situation that is responsible for the waterborne diarrheal illnesses that kill approximately 2,500 African children each day.

The problem of drinking water and sanitation is compounded, of course, by the food shortages that are in themselves a crisis for Africa. Much of Africa's land must be irrigated in order to produce enough food to support

the people. The situation is critical, therefore, with AGRI-CULTURE, industry, and individuals all competing for scarce water resources.

The pressing problem, then, is how to deal with the current water crisis in Africa—now and in the future. One plan that has emerged in recent years has been to rely on privatization, letting independent, private corporations take the job of providing water to Africa's people, farms, and industries. In theory this should make an excellent solution, since private corporations, in contrast to the governments of developing countries, frequently have both the financial and scientific resources to find and exploit new supplies of water.

In practice, however, privatization has not always worked well. In KENYA, for example, privatization of water production has had to take place alongside a general localization of government. As a result the private corporations engaged in supplying water must work with small, local governments rather than larger regional or even national agencies. Having less power than larger governments to leverage the corporations, these small, local agencies frequently have had to make crippling concessions—sometimes even guaranteeing price levels that are too high for them to support. In addition, the prospect of dealing with many individual bureaucracies—and with the inevitable additional costs involved—often scares off investors and corporate executives alike.

The southwestern country of GABON provides an interesting case in the problem of privatization. In 1997 the Vivendi organization took over management of water and electricity production in that country, promising major improvements to the nation's INFRASTRUCTURE. The corporation not only carried out those improvements but by 2002 it also turned the debt-ridden public corporation into a profit-making business. However, 40 percent of Gabon's people still remained without safe drinking water—a level as poor as many other parts of Africa.

Scientists and politicians alike have argued that water is fast becoming the next great resource challenge for our planet's population. In Africa some policy makers and government leaders have chosen to focus on generating water through engineering and scientific efforts. Others have tried to make water a public item free of economic considerations, arguing that no person or government should be denied water for lack of funds.

See also: POPULATION GROWTH (Vol. V); ECOLOGY AND ECOLOGICAL CHANGE (Vol. V); ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V); NATURAL RESOURCES (Vol. V).

Further reading: Mikiyasu Nakayame, ed., *International Waters in Southern Africa* (New York: United Nations University Press, 2003); Thomas J. Crisman, ed., *Conservation, Ecology, and Management of African Fresh Waters* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 2003).

Western Sahara Disputed territory in northwestern Africa, bordered by MOROCCO to the north, ALGERIA to the east, MAURITANIA to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The indigenous SAHARAWI of Western Sahara have been locked in a continuous struggle for independence since the imposition of Spanish colonial rule, in 1884.

The modern history of Western Sahara is characterized by outside rule and internal resistance. Since Spain declared a protectorate over the region from Cape Blanc to Cape Bojador, in 1884, and established the colony of Spanish Sahara, the Saharawi have engaged in an unending effort to reclaim their indepedence. In 1958 it took the Ecouvillon Operation, a joint Spanish-French military maneuver, to finally, if temporarily, subdue Saharawi resistance.

The territory remained "pacified" for nearly a full decade. The region of the western Sahara was declared a Spanish province in 1961. In 1963 and again in 1965 the United Nations (UN) asserted the Saharawis' right to self-rule and encouraged Spain to decolonize the territory.

In 1967 the Saharawi began to agitate once again for independence. The Movement for the Liberation of the Sahara was organized under Mohammed Sidi Brahim Bassiri (1942–1970). By this time Spain had ceded a portion of the region to Morocco but retained control of the areas of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro (now Dakhla). The Spanish were particularly interested in the large mineral wealth of the region, especially phosphates, of which the world's largest reserves were discovered in Boukra in 1963. The discovery of the Boukra phosphate deposits led to the construction of a massive, 18-mile-long conveyor belt to carry the phosphate to the coast for export.

In 1970 massive demonstrations were held in the capital of LAAYOUNE. The Spanish colonial authority responded with a civilian massacre and hundreds of arrests. Turning away from nonviolent protest, the Saharawi organized the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro, or POLISARIO, in 1973. That same year the Polisario launched its first assault on the Spanish. With aid from ALGERIA, the armed resistance clashed with Spanish forces repeatedly, capturing the commander of the Spanish troops in May 1975. At a meeting in September between the two sides the Spanish agreed to turn over power gradually to the Polisario in exchange for continuing Spanish control over mineral and fishing resources. In the wake of the agreement Spain began withdrawing some of its occupying forces. The United Nations officially named the territory Western Sahara that same year.

Western Sahara, 2004

MOROCCO

ALGERIA

Mahbes

Laayoune

Saguia El Hamra

Smara

Bir Lehlou

Mehariza

Tifaniti

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Oum Drelga

Dakhla peninsula

Rio de Oro

Msyek

MAURITANIA

Awserd

Aghwinit

Dougaj

Canary Is.

Map area

- - - - Former demarcation line
of Moroccan and
Mauritanian zones.

□ U.N. Observation post

0   150 Miles

0   150 Kms
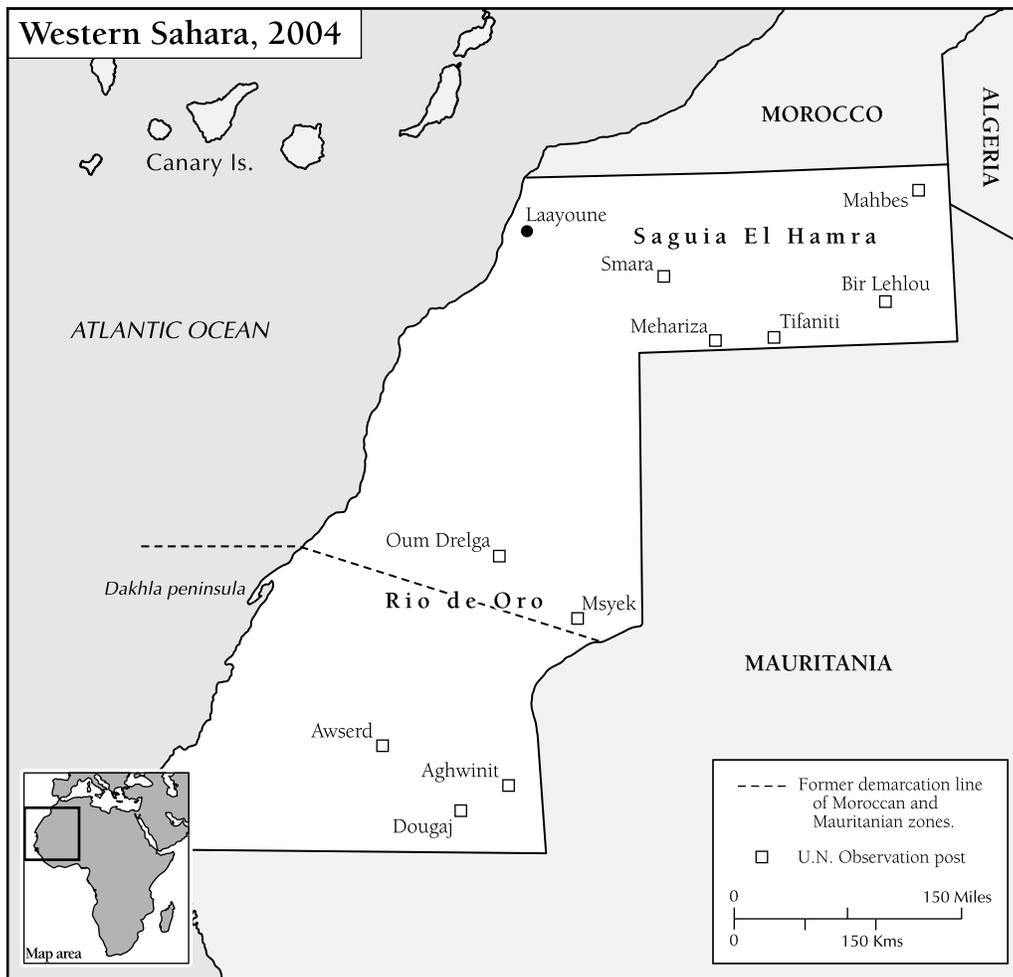
This victory, however, proved to be a moot one for the peoples of Western Sahara. Both Morocco and Mauritania were poised to take advantage of the withdrawl of the Spanish military and claim the territory for themselves. In October 1975, King HASSAN II (1929– 1999) of Morocco ordered the Green March, a massive migration of 350,000 Moroccan settlers into Western Sahara, a move designed to give Morocco a firm claim to the territory. Before the Green March crossed the border, Moroccan troops entered, meeting fierce Polisario opposition. The United Nations condemned the march, and Algeria warned the encroaching countries against interfering with Western Saharan independence. Nevertheless, in November Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania reached an agreement that partitioned the territory between the two Morocco and Mauritania (Morroco claiming the northern two-thirds and Mauritania claiming the remainder) while allowing Spain to maintain its MINING and fishing interests.

In anticipation of a drawn-out conflict the Polisario dissolved the traditional Djemaa, or governing body, and formed the Polisario Provisional Saharawi National Coun-

cil. It also facilitated the evacuation of Saharawi civilians, with most becoming REFUGEES in Algeria.

By the end of 1975 Moroccan and Mauritanian troops had entered their respective regions of control. In 1976 Spain officially ended its colonial rule over Western Sahara, and the Polisario officially began another campaign against new occupiers. It declared a government-in-exile, the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, which was subsequently recognized as legitimate by 70 countries as well as the ORGANIZATION FOR AFRICAN UNITY. The Polisario then launched a widespread offensive, focusing primarily on Mauritania but also waging devastating battles against Moroccan troops and capturing Spanish fishing vessels. Assaults by the Polisario on the Boukra conveyor belt essentially shut down the phosphate industry in Western Sahara. By 1978, with its capital of NOUAKCHOTT twice bombarded by Polisario forces, the Mauritanian government fell in a COUP D'ÉTAT brought on in part by the ongoing conflict in Western Sahara. The new government quickly acted to end hostilities, and in 1979 Mauritania agreed to relinquish their claims to the disputed territory.

This left Morocco as the last obstacle in the way of Western Saharan independence. Bitter fighting continued to rage between the two sides until 1988, when a UN peace plan was finally accepted. A cease-fire was established in 1991 in anticipation of a referendum on Western Saharan independence the following year. However, the referendum has been repeatedly delayed due to conflict over voter eligibility, as Morocco has continued to send settlers into the territory to skew any referendum results. Various negotiation attempts have failed, and in 2001 Morocco placed limits on UN workers trying to identify true Saharawi voters, making the task virtually impossible. The following year King MOHAMMED VI (1963–) of Morocco declared his country would "not renounce an inch" of Western Sahara, indicating that independence for the embattled territory is not on the immediate horizon.

See also: SPAIN AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); SPANISH SAHARA (Vol. IV); UNITED NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); WESTERN SAHARA (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

wildlife   Africa is home to some of the most exotic wildlife species on the planet, including mammals such as lions, leopards, cheetahs, elephants, giraffes, and hippopotamuses, as well as an astonishing array of bird, reptile, and insect life. Wildlife has long represented an important resource for Africans, and, in the past, hunting was a sustainable activity that provided an important part of Africans' livelihood. With the coming of colonialism, however, this changed. Increases in population, the shifting of populations to towns and urban centers, and the international demand for African wildlife as commodities all contributed to diminishing animal populations and near extinction for many creatures. Recently, however, important changes have been made to preserve Africa's fauna. African wildlife, for example, has been recognized for its role in an important economic activity—ecotourism. At the same time ecologists, wildlife biologists, and nature advocates have succeeded in convincing people of the ecological value of Africa's unique and diverse wildlife. This has helped bring about important efforts to save— and, in some cases, even increase the numbers of—Africa's wild creatures.

The cheetah is a prime example of a species that has benefited from recent preservation efforts. Just a few years ago the cheetah was seriously threatened, with only approximately 12,000 of them remaining in 30 African countries. Today cheetahs are the subject of extensive research projects aimed at their breeding and reintroduction into the wild. Such CONSERVATION efforts are, in many areas, combined with public EDUCATION and cooperation, the goal of which is to prevent farmers and herders from killing cheetahs and other wildlife. Similar efforts are being made on behalf of wild dogs,

another species facing near extinction. Rampant outbreaks of canine distemper, as well as habitat reduction, have contributed to such a rapid loss of population that only 3,500 to 5,000 of these creatures are left in the wild. Research and reintroduction efforts have helped, but still more work must be done before the wild-dog population is safe.

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Large numbers of ecotourists visit Africa each year. Many of them stay in luxury lodges, while others utilize simpler, less expensive facilities. Regardless of precisely where these ecotourists stay or exactly how much they spend, these people represent millions of dollars worth of TOURISM for countries such as KENYA, SOUTH AFRICA, TANZANIA, and BOTSWANA. Because of this, concern for endangered and threatened species has risen dramatically within these countries. As a result many are extending more and more protection to their wildlife through the establishment of NATIONAL PARKS and, most recently, the creation of transnational parks that aim to protect wildlife and habitats.

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Wildebeests represent an even more successful story, one that bears directly on the area of ecotourism. From its low point during the 1970s the wildebeest population has increased dramatically. The prime reason for this lies in the number of tourists who come to Tanzania's Serengeti and Kenya's Masai Mara parks specifically to see the annual wildebeest migration. Each July as many as 500,000 wildebeests cross the Serengeti into the Masai Mara, fording crocodile-infested rivers and bringing with them a host of other creatures, from zebras and gazelles to predatory lions and hyenas. Four months later they reverse their journey, traveling back to the Serengeti. By establishing connecting natural preserves in Tanzania and Kenya, the annual migration—and the income from ecotourism—have been preserved.

One of the most important aspects of African wildlife is the fact that the continent has such great BIODIVERSITY, being home to a large number of species found nowhere else on the planet. In MADAGASCAR, for example, the lemur has been brought to the brink of extinction. The same is true of many types of chameleons. Madagascar, however, recently has committed itself to tripling the size of its nature preserves in order to protect these and other creatures.

Elsewhere, however, efforts have not been as successful. In spite of years of publicity and major efforts by a diverse array of groups, elephants and gorillas continue to face peril in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO (DRC).

Civil war in the eastern Congo continues to threaten the endangered gorilla population. But even in the war-torn Congo preservation efforts have made headway. The DRC contains the world's largest nesting area for marine turtles, an area that is now protected by the Conkouati-Douli National Park.

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In the Transmara district of Kenya, farmers and aid organizations have come up with innovative techniques for dealing with elephants that raid farmers' maize fields. Farmers man tall watchtowers and take turns standing guard throughout the night, scaring off elephants that come to the fields. In addition, farmers have surrounded their maize fields with hot chili pepper plants, which have proved effective in warding off grazing elephants.

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Ecotourism, of course, is not the only wildlife story in Africa. Because of the continent's diverse and unique wildlife, there are numerous research organizations operating there. Their work involves everything from exploring hunting strategies to investigating the social interactions of various creatures. This research has provided knowledge of the complex, social network of elephants, the matriarchal social hierarchy of hyenas, and countless other fascinating aspects of the animal world.

See also: ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES (Vol. V).

Further readings: Luke Hunter, Susan Rhind, and David Andrew, *Watching Wildlife: Southern Africa* (London: Lonely Planet, 2002); Martin B. Withers and David Hosking, *Wildlife of East Africa* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Windhoek   National capital of NAMIBIA, located in the center of the country in a valley that protects it from the dry winds of the surrounding area. The region around Windhoek has been occupied since the 18th century by HERERO and Damara peoples, and, by the middle of that century, a European Christian missionary community had been established there. The origins of the present-day city, however, date to 1890, when Germany made Windhoek
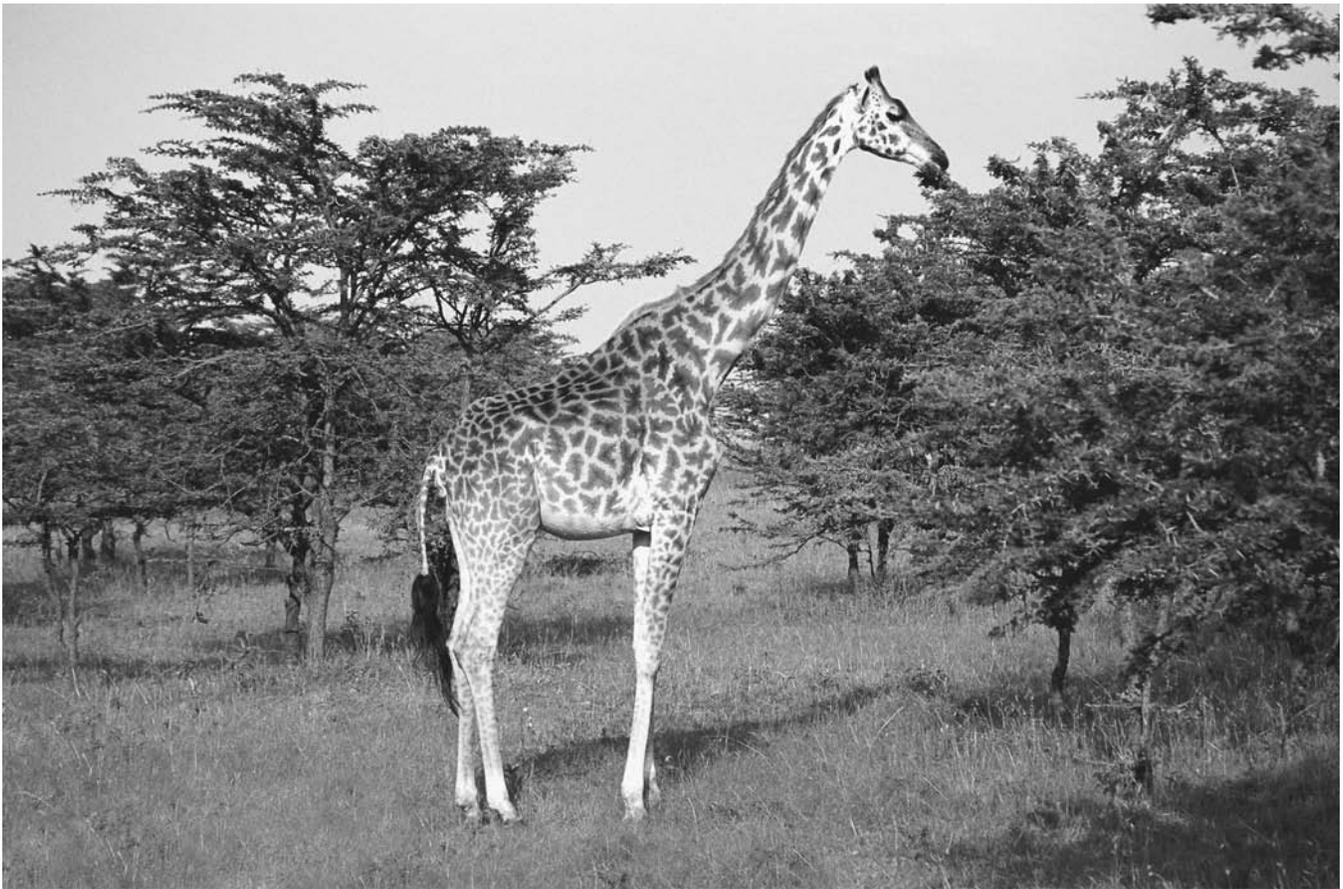
Ecotourists travel to southern Africa from around the world to view wildlife that live nowhere else, such as this giraffe. © *Corbis*

the headquarters of its colony of South West Africa. In 1915, during the course of World War I (1914–18), SOUTH AFRICA occupied the German colony and its capital of Windhoek, maintaining control until Namibia gained independence in 1990. During this period Windhoek served as the territorial capital for what was, in effect, South Africa's fifth province. It remained the capital city upon independence

Despite the predominance of African ethnic groups within Windhoek's population—and despite the long occupation of the city by historically Dutch and British South Africa—German culture is still prominent in the city. Descendants of German settlers have built numerous German Style buildings, and many of Windhoek's restaurants feature German cuisine.

The South African influence also is seen today, especially in the residential patterns of the city. Reflecting the APARTHEID laws imposed by the South African government, the city is functionally divided, to some degree, into three sectors, one each for Africans, whites, and Coloureds. The fastest growing area of the modern city is the largely African area known as Katutura.

In addition to government and educational institutions, the processing of cattle and sheep from the surrounding area serves as the basis for Windhoek's economy. In recent years TOURISM also has become an increasingly important economic activity, with visitors enjoying the relaxed environment, the annual Oktoberfest, and the nation's game reserves, including the nearby Daan Viljoen Reserve. Extensive road and rail systems connect the city to the rest of the country and to SOUTH AFRICA, and the city is home to the country's major international airport. Although Windhoek has grown recently due to the migration of workers from Namibia's rural regions, with only 221,000 people, it remains a fairly small city, especially for a national capital.

See also: GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V).

women in independent Africa

The lives of women, which had in many areas remained virtually unchanged for decades or even centuries, changed dramatically with the coming of colonialism, as their male partners headed off to work in towns, mines, and on plantations. Today in postcolonial Africa, although many of these patterns persist, in other ways women's lives are changing rapidly. Women who became de facto household heads when their husbands moved to wage-LABOR positions may still find themselves in this position now. However, women are no longer prohibited or discouraged from migrating to cities. Indeed, women have become an important part of the informal economy in African urban areas. In addition women themselves are finding opportunities in wage-labor positions, most notably as secretaries but also in more prestigious professions, including research and EDUCATION. As the Western gender movement penetrates Africa, women and men are increasingly provided equal access to resources such as land, credit, equipment, and employment. This movement is new and, in most situations, women are still at a disadvantage in most regards.

One of the consequences of the increased awareness of women's issues in Africa is a recent movement against the traditional female-circumcision ceremonies that many ethnic groups have carried out for generations. The procedure, which many African women who have experienced it describe as female genital mutilation, is considered by many in Africa and on the international scene as a severe HUMAN RIGHTS abuse. As a result of this attention, many African nations have passed laws against female circumcision. Enforcement, however, has not been able to prevent this deeply engrained tradition from being performed.

The postcolonial period also has seen a dramatic increase in female enrollment in primary, secondary, and post-secondary education. Across Africa many parents have made the commitment to educate their daughters, even though the male-to-female ratio is still quite disparate at the post-secondary level. The increase in female education also has had effects in terms of women demanding control over their reproductive rights. Increased formal education of girls and women is correlated with the increase in the average age for a woman's marriage and first pregnancy.

In general, although there are some similarities, there are marked differences between the lives of women in rural and urban settings. Rural women usually find themselves busy with AGRICULTURE-related tasks, child rearing, and household activities. Women in urban areas are also responsible for child rearing and household activities, which they combine with a small business or wage labor. Women in rural areas tend to depend on their children to assist in household chores and farming activities. Women in urban settings either rely on their children or on hired household help. which can be paid for because of the greater access to cash.

African urban areas also face the problem of female prostitution. In most urban areas there are any number of women who find work as prostitutes. Prostitution became a widespread phenomenon during colonial times, when men migrated without their families to the cities. Today it persists as a profession, and in the current HIV/AIDS environment prostitutes have become the focus of research focusing on finding a cure or vaccine for the virus.

In terms of appearance, women in rural areas are still mostly seen in dresses or skirts, either made of traditional African fabrics or in modern Western styles. Women in the cities are often seen wearing modern Western business attire, although slacks are still rarely worn by African women. In both rural and urban Muslim areas women are often seen wearing traditional Muslim attire, with their

East Africa's dual cultures, traditional and modern, are exemplified by these two young women from Kenya, photographed in 1964. Women who adopted Western styles were often criticized by their elders for valuing money above true happiness. © AP/Wide World Photos

heads and sometimes their faces covered. In most places in Africa it is not uncommon to see women carrying large loads of firewood or produce on their heads as they travel home or to the market. Women with children nestled close to their backs in a piece of African cloth are also commonly seen.

See also: COLONIALISM, INFLUENCE OF (Vol. IV); GENDER IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); HIV/AIDS AND AFRICA (Vol. V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); LITERATURE IN MODERN AFRICA (Vol. V); WOMEN IN COLONIAL AFRICA (Vol. IV).

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World Bank Giving more money and wielding more influence than any other international donor organization in Africa, the World Bank has responded to failures, criticisms, and its own internal challenges over the past half century by reinventing itself and shifting the emphasis of its programs. The need for the creation of the World Bank and its sister organization, the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF), was realized at a meeting at a UN Monetary and Financial Conference, held in Bretton Woods, New

Hampshire, in July 1944. The Bretton Woods Agreement, which was reached in July of that year, led to the inauguration of the World Bank, on June 25, 1946.

In its first decade of existence the World Bank committed $9.6 billion ($53.24 billion in 2002 dollars) in loans. By the early 1960s it became clear that four shifts in policy were necessary. First, the World Bank had to start considering DEVELOPMENT "programs" as opposed to just individualized projects. Second, certain lending conditions needed to be placed on these projects. Specifically, certain procedures had to be consistent with the World Bank's economically liberal philosophy, including appropriate accounting and dispersing, as well as economic policies such as tax administration and structure, monetary policy, and foreign exchange rates. Third, the policy of promoting constant lending requirements regardless of a country's credit qualifications or economic standing needed to be redressed. Fourth, more funds were needed for the developing world. While funds increased, there was little support for lending increases in Africa. As of June 1968 the World Bank, combined with its International Development Association, had committed only about $1.16 billion ($6 billion in 2002 dollars), or 8.7 percent of its worldwide commitments to Africa.

Throughout this period the World Bank's mission continued to be refocused on "development." Industrial development, agricultural production, and mineral EXPORTS were all seen as engines for economic growth. To facilitate this, the largest funding sectors included, in order, TRANSPORTATION, electrical power, industrial development, and agricultural development projects. So-called soft development lagged behind. Funding for EDUCATION, for instance, began only in 1966, and in the first two years it accounted for only $82 million of loans to Africa.

By the early 1970s it became clear that Africa's development plans were ineffective and that changes were necessary at the operational level. The organization itself needed decentralization. It also needed to give a stronger role to developing countries in policymaking, as well as increased flexibility in the terms and conditions of lending. World Bank president Robert McNamara obliged, and the institution itself went through significant changes.

By the end of the 1970s, however, evidence suggested that the revised World Bank policies actually decreased performance and that, combined with the global oil shock of 1973 (and again in 1979), development in Africa was stymied. In 1979 the African governors of the World Bank wrote to President McNamara to request a new assessment of economic development in Africa and the direction of World Bank funding for it. This resulted in the 1981 report, "Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action, " commonly called the "Berg Report" after its principal author Elliot Berg. The Berg Report ostensibly followed on the heels of a re-

port adopted by the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) called "The Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa." Far from agreeing with the OAU plan, the Berg Report outlined 13 points on which African polities must change. These changes were all along the lines of reforming monetary and fiscal policies, decreasing the role of the public sector, and opening up markets to MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS. With funding in the hands of the World Bank, and decision making within the World Bank primarily vested in U.S. and British leadership, nearly all of the Lagos Plan, save the goal of creating an African Economic Union by 2000, was set aside.

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Officially, the rate of growth for the continent slowed in the 1970s to 0.8 percent. But, in truth, growth actually decreased once certain factors were considered. For example, once the growth of the oil sector in NIGERIA was taken out of the equation, continent-wide growth actually was -0.3 percent.

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What emerged from all this were World Bank–funded STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT programs (SAPs). Far more ambitious than the development projects of the 1960s and 1970s, these programs sought to fundamentally change the way governments function. Conditions were placed on lending, and while many African leaders saw this as a violation of sovereignty, given the high levels of debt already accrued by most African countries, there was little practical dissent.

The changes brought about included lifting price controls, devaluing inflated currencies, cutting government expenditure on social services, reducing the size of bureaucracy and civil service, and privatizing state-owned corporations. In exchange for making these changes, governments would receive significant multiyear investments at favorable terms and, in some cases, a reorganization or partial reduction of existing debt. The short-term effect of structural adjustment was that life became much harder for the common person, who had to pay much more for food, transportation, and other basic needs and now had to start paying school fees—and possibly lose his or her job as well.

By 1987 it was clear that the early structural adjustment programs in countries such as KENYA, TANZANIA, and GHANA required austerity measures that were too painful for these nations to bear. Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facilities (ESAF) were undertaken in cooperation with the IMF. Under these ESAFs, short-term financial assistance was given to help with fiscal consolidation while reducing

inflation, creating nutrition schemes for children, and providing micro-credit lending for the poor.

As a result of SAPs and ESAFs, Africa's debt burden increased from $55 billion, in 1980 ($120 billion in 2002 dollars), to $150 billion, in 1990 ($206.49 billion in 2002 dollars). Meanwhile, economic growth slowed to negative 2.2 percent. In other words, life in 1990 was worse for the average person living in sub-Saharan Africa than it was at independence.

Structural adjustment was quickly blamed for rising food prices as well as the decreased public investment in health and education that led to the decay of already ailing health sectors. It was also blamed for educational system deterioration, high unemployment, increased debt, and dependence on capital transfers from wealthy countries in the form of aid.

In 1989 the World Bank released a report called "Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth." This report discussed how the World Bank had learned from past mistakes but believed that structural adjustment was the proper course for it to take. Most important, this report introduced three important concepts for development. First, it considered the conditions for creating an "enabling environment" for the private sector to grow African economies. Second, it introduced the idea that development was not possible without also considering the environment and the management of NATURAL RESOURCES. Finally, it clearly articulated the belief that the fundamental obstacle to development in Africa had been the crisis of African leadership and the absence of sound governance. This last element, which is a pillar of World Bank thought still today, was immediately controversial, since it overlooked the widely held belief that many of Africa's problems stemmed from a combination of the colonial legacy and unsound mandates from the World Bank and its partners during the postcolonial era.

The early and mid-1990s saw the DEMOCRATIZATION of the majority of African countries and the birth of new opportunities. It did not, however, see significant new development. Indeed, by the early 1990s scholars and internal World Bank evaluations alike began criticizing structural adjustment programming. Yet in 1994 the World Bank put out another report, this one entitled "Adjustment in Africa: Reform, Results, and the Road Ahead." While this report praised efforts to date, it also contained analyses that noted how SAPs were having disastrous effects on Africa.

A sea change in World Bank thinking came a year later when James D. Wolfensohn became the World Bank's president. What emerged in the place of new SAPs in 1999 were country-specific Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP). By 2003 there were 46 countries with PRSPs or Interim PRSPs. This is a marked shift in strategy, aimed at "democratizing development" by encouraging local participation in development. A significant debt-reduction initiative—Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC)—was concurrently undertaken. If a country met the stringent HIPC requirements for change, then it would see a significant debt reduction and a "new start" down the World Bank's neo-liberal path.

PRSPs have come under significant scrutiny on several themes. Most notably, half a decade later there are still only a small handful of African countries—TANZANIA, The Republic of BENIN, CHAD, MALI, UGANDA, CAPE VERDE, ETHIOPIA, BOTSWANA, ANGOLA, RWANDA, the Republic of the SUDAN, and LIBERIA—that have achieved the minimum 5 percent growth rates necessary to avoid economic backsliding, and Angola, Rwanda, and Sudan can attribute their growth more to war recovery than fundamental change. In addition, many critics have questioned the wisdom of opening Africa's new industries—many of which are in a new, fragile state—to the buffeting of the global economy.

As of 2003 the World Bank had $15.2 billion in ongoing investments in Africa—adjusting for inflation that is more than double its investment in 1968. Yet African countries have yet to reap the benefits of such investment. A fundamental shift took place with the change of millennium, and it continues. Between 2000 and 2003 World Bank lending to Africa increased more than 50 percent. At the same time, investment in social protection and risk management, rural development, urban development and human development, and natural resource management came at the expense of public-sector governance and financial-sector development. As has become the nature of the World Bank in Africa, it is responding to criticisms and shifting international tides. The question is whether the policies of this new decade will succeed where the policies of previous decades have failed.

See also: GLOBAL ECCONOMY, AFRICA AND (Vol. V); NEOCOLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT (Vol. V); ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (Vol. V).

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X

Xhosa Bantu-speaking people of SOUTH AFRICA who belong to the Nguni cluster of Southern Bantu. The Xhosa population surpassed 7 million at the beginning of the 21st century.

Historically, the Xhosa were cattle-herding agriculturists. However, with the encroachment of European settlers on their lands in the 19th century and the ensuing URBANIZATION during the 20th and 21st centuries, many Xhosa worked on white-owned farms or in the GOLD mines, or migrated to the cities to find work.

The etymology of the word *Xhosa* is uncertain. Some believe that the name derives from the Khoikhoi word *kosa,* which means "angry men" or "destroyers." Others believe that the Xhosa are named after an ancient chief by the same appellation. The present-day Xhosa are made up of people from different chiefdoms, and many within the Xhosa community identify themselves with these chiefdoms. Nelson MANDELA (1918–), for instance, is Thembu, while Winnie Nomzamo MANDELA (1936–), his former wife, is Pondo.

After the 1948 elections, South Africa fell under the system of APARTHEID, which greatly affected the Xhosa. Most importantly, the Xhosa were the largest group of people within the nationalist AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), which became the most visible and influential anti-apartheid group. In 1959 a BANTUSTAN, or "black homeland," was created for the Xhosa in the Transkei. (See map on page 44 of this volume.) Under the leadership of Kaiser MATANZIMA (1915–2003), the Xhosa homeland became self-governing, in 1963, and was granted so-called independence, in 1976. Unlike most of the other Bantustans, the Transkei contained a large contiguous area and only two other, smaller fragments. The other Bantustan for the Xhosa, the Ciskei, which was set up in 1961, fell into the general pattern for the Bantustans, containing only fragmented portions of the historic Xhosa homeland. Furthermore, these fragments were sited in remote rural areas, heavily overcrowded, and with largely infertile soils that were unable to support even their existing populations, let alone the millions the apartheid government forcibly moved into these areas.

As the era of apartheid continued, many anti-apartheid leaders arose from the Xhosa. In the 1970s, for example, Steve BIKO (1946–1977), a Xhosa from the Ciskei Bantustan, helped found the SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZAITON and became a leader of the BLACK CONCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT. Oliver TAMBO (1917–1993), who led the ANC from exile, came from Pondoland.

With the South African government's spurious granting of independence to the Transkei, in 1976, and the Ciskei, in 1981, the Xhosa officially were no longer citizens of South Africa. This independence, however, was largely a political illusion that was not recognized by the international community. Except for a few opportunistic individuals, the Xhosa themselves also rejected the independent Bantustans. Both homelands eventually fell with the collapse of apartheid and became reintegrated with South Africa.

The era of apartheid entered its final stages in the early 1990s. As free elections neared, different factions attempted to jockey for positions of political relevance. The INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP), a ZULU-dominated political party from the KwaZulu Bantustan and led by Mangosuthu Gatsha BUTHELEZI (1928–   ), targeted the ANC as its political adversary. As a result, violent clashes erupted in Natal between the Zulu adherents of the two organizations and in JOHANNESBURG between the Zulu who supported the IFP and the Xhosa and others who supported the ANC. Though the IFP claimed that the ANC favored Xhosa interests, other ethnic groups, including many Zulu, supported the ANC, and the violence between the two ethnic groups eventually subsided.

In 1994 Nelson Mandela became South Africa's first black president, and the ANC gained control of Parliament. With the ANC's victory, many Xhosa ascended to positions of political power. In 1999 Thabo MBEKI (1942–   ), also a Xhosa, succeeded Mandela as South Africa's second president. However, some Xhosa, including Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa (1955–   ), broke with the ANC to found the rival United Democratic Movement. Such developments illustrated that while the Xhosa have a clear, historically based ethnic identity, this identity also contains deeply rooted sub-identities and rivalries.

See also: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V): POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); XHOSA (Vols. II, III, IV).

Y

Yala, Koumba (Koumba Iala, Kumba Yalla) (c. 1953–) *Former president of Guinea-Bissau*

Born into a peasant family of the majority Balanta ethnic group, Koumba Yala received a graduate degree in law and philosophy from Lisbon Classic University, in Portugal. Upon graduating he taught philosophy and eventually headed some of Guinea-Bissau's top educational institutions. He joined the AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE (PAIGC) and was sent to Communist Germany and Russia to be trained as a future leader of the group. In 1989, however, PAIGC leadership expelled him from the ranks, citing his frequent divergence from party teaching. Yala then went on to co-found the Democratic Social Front. In 1993 he split with that group to form the PARTY FOR SOCIAL RENEWAL (Partido para a Renovaçao Social, PRS). In the country's first multiparty elections, which were held in 1994, Yala and others vied to unseat President João Bernardo Vieira (1939–), who represented the PAIGC. According to independent observers Yala certainly received more votes than Vieira. However, Vieira maneuvered to remain in power.

Yala was rarely seen without a bright red hat, a symbol of authority among members of his Balanta ethnic group.

In 1998–99, civil war in GUINEA-BISSAU eventually drove President Vieira into exile, after which an interim government was installed. This interim government called for new multiparty elections to be held in 1999 for both the National Assembly and presidency. In the elections, with 12 parties competing, Yala received 38 percent of the vote. In the runoff election, which took place in 2000, he captured 72 percent of the vote to become Guinea-Bissau's new president. Yala's PRS took roughly one-third of the seats in the National Assembly.

Once in power, Yala soon alienated his constituency by becoming increasingly authoritarian. His pledges to fight CORRUPTION were ridiculed when several million dollars in ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE disappeared and nobody was charged with wrongdoing. In addition, Yala's promises to revitalize AGRICULTURE and improve both the health and EDUCATION systems went unrealized. In September 2003 Yala and most of his PRS cohorts were ousted in a COUP D'ÉTAT led by General Verissimo Correia Seabra, the head of the armed forces. The military then chose Henrique Rosa (1946–) to serve as interim president until new presidential elections, scheduled for 2005, could be held.

See also: COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM (Vol. V); PORTUGAL AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V).

Yamoussoukro Official capital of IVORY COAST, located in the south-central part of the nation, 170 miles (274 km) northwest of the former capital, ABIDJAN. Originally a small village, Yamoussoukro came under French control during the colonial period. By 1935 future president Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY (1905–1993) had become Yamoussoukro's leader. After the nation gained its independence, in 1960, Houphouët-Boigny was named Ivory Coast's president. (He served as president until 1993.) Under his

leadership the government initiated large-scale investment in the city, constructing buildings and a major highway linking Yamoussoukro with Abidjan, which was the national capital. In 1983 Yamoussoukro replaced Abidjan as the national capital, but most of the financial and government offices remained in the former capital.

Yamoussoukro's Our Lady of Peace Basilica, modeled after St. Peter's in Rome, was built between 1986 and 1989. Considered the largest Christian place of worship in the world, the enormous structure stands 489 feet (149 m) at its highest point. Félix Houphouët-Boigny, the former president of Ivory Coast, sponsored the $150 million project and offered it as a gift to the Vatican. Pope John Paul II consecrated the church in 1990.

In 2001 the Ivorian government began its move to the new capital. However, despite heavy investments in Yamoussoukro's industrial sector, the DEVELOPMENT of the capital has lagged. Although the 2003 population was estimated at 185,600—revealing an eight-fold growth since 1970—the city still lacked the familiar vibrancy of West African cities.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Yaoundé   Capital city of CAMEROON, located on the south-central plateau, inland from the Gulf of Guinea. Founded by German explorers in the late 19th century, Yaoundé became the headquarters for the German colony of Kamerun in 1909. After World War I (1914–18) the city fell within the French-controlled zone of Kamerun (Britain controlled the other part of the colony), and it became a French mandate, held under the auspices of the League of Nations. Yaoundé continued to be a modest-sized town of under 10,000 people throughout the inter-war years, remaining largely Beti in ethnic composition but with a resident European population as well. By the early 1960s the population had risen to about 90,000, and when the British and French areas were united to form the CAMEROON Federal Republic, in 1961, Yaoundé became the capital. In 1972 Yaoundé remained the capital when the country became the united Republic of Cameroon.

While the city has developed as an administrative and TRANSPORTATION center, its industrial sector is small, producing mostly cigarettes, timber products, printed materials, palm products, construction materials, soap, and handicrafts. There are numerous government offices and educational institutions, including the University of Yaoundé (founded in 1962), the Pasteur Institute of Cameroon, which conducts biomedical research, as well as other schools focused on health, EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, journalism, and international relations. The national museum offers an impressive collection of Cameroonian sculpture. Yaoundé is well connected to other major urban areas of the country by rail, road, and air.

The population of the city was estimated at 1,400,000 in 2003, and the Beti, while still the largest ethnic group, are no longer a majority. A bustling capital city, Yaoundé attracts residents from throughout Camer-oon and retains a significant European population. Visitors and residents alike continue to enjoy the pleasant atmosphere of the tree-lined streets and the spectacular views of the surrounding tropical forests.

See also: FRANCE AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); GERMANY AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND AFRICA (Vol. IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V).

Yoruba   General term used to describe the language, peoples, and kingdoms of southwestern NIGERIA, Republic of BENIN, and TOGO. Not long after Nigerian independence, in 1960, the various ethnic, cultural, and religious threads that had been woven into a single state by British colonial powers began to unravel. Within months wrangling over the boundaries of Nigeria's federal regions—the Northern Region, dominated by the HAUSA-Fulani, the Western Region, dominated by the Yoruba, and the Eastern Region, dominated by the IGBO—escalated into political conflict. The feelings of divisiveness were exacerbated by the fact that Nigeria's central government was clearly dominated by northern Muslims, in spite of the large numbers of educated Yoruba and Igbo serving in both the government and the military.

By 1966 the situation had deteriorated, and the Nigerian central government suffered from a series of coups as various ethnic groups vied for control. Civil war broke out the following year, with the federal government, led by General Yakubu GOWON (1934–   ), attempting to put down the Igbo secessionist state of BIAFRA. This period saw the Yoruba, as a group, attempt to find a middle ground in which to survive the conflict between the central government, which was dominated by northerners, and the secessionist Igbo.

The end of civil war, in 1970, brought peace but not stability. Indeed, Nigeria endured the rule of a number of brutal dictators before the establishment of a fragile democracy in the late 1990s. Ethnic and religious dissension, too, became increasingly intense. All this tended to give the Yoruba, among whom Christianity and Islam coexist, a fairly prominent role in the Nigerian central government. Indicative of this fact, in 1999 the Yoruba-

speaking Olusegun OBASANJO (c. 1937–) swept into power as a democratically elected president with the strong support of northerners. As a result, in spite of the fact that Obasanjo promised some of the first, substantive democratic reforms in years, he was seen as a traitor to the Christian southerners because of his support from, and moderate stance toward, northern Muslims.

See also: CHRISTIANITY, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. V); ILORIN (Vol. IV); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. IV, V); YORUBA (Vols. I, II, IV) YORUBALAND (Vol. II, III).

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Z

Zambia Landlocked country in southern Africa. Zambia, which was the former British colony of Northern Rhodesia, covers an area of approximately 290,600 square miles (752,700 sq km) and is surrounded by ANGOLA, the Democratic Republic of the CONGO, TANZANIA, MALAWI, MOZAMBIQUE, ZIMBABWE, BOTSWANA, and NAMIBIA. Most of the country lies on a plateau that rises to 8,000 feet (2,434 m) in the east.

Zambia is one of the most urbanized countries in Africa, with about 50 percent of the nation's population living in cities. LUSAKA, the capital, is the largest. Other major urban areas are the Copperbelt cities of Kitwe and Ndola and the major tourist city of Livingstone, in the south. In 2001 the country's population was about 9.8 million. Zambia has nine provinces, each headed by a provincial minister.

Zambia at Independence In 1964 Zambia, with vast NATURAL RESOURCES of copper, cobalt, zinc, and emeralds, had a fairly prosperous colonial economy. It had a well-established private sector dominated by expatriate business interests, MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, and commercial farmers. It also was the world's third-largest copper producer. In spite of all this there was minimum DEVELOPMENT in the INFRASTRUCTURE, and the country lacked qualified Zambian personnel.

> At the time of Zambia's independence there were only 107 Zambian university graduates, and only four of these were female.

The new government started developing the country almost from scratch. The government drew up four national development plans between 1964 and 1991. The objectives were to develop the country's industry and create new jobs. The government also sought to improve the country's infrastructure, building major roads as well as the Lusaka International Airport, which opened in 1967. Improving the health and EDUCATION systems were other key objectives. The first university in the country, the University of Zambia, was built in 1966 and had an initial enrolment of 312 students. The development plans included diversifying the economy to promote balanced economic development and rural development. The plans also included nationalizing positions and ownership to reduce expatriate domination.

In the first decade after independence Zambia experienced economic growth that supported the development of social services, health facilities, housing, and schools. A large portion of the population moved from rural to urban areas. The government introduced a system of free education and health care. Also, the government established a hospital system made up of general hospitals in the main cities with smaller health centers in outlying regions. At least 12 general hospitals were built, including the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka. The first doctors trained in Zambia graduated in 1972. In addition, missionary hospitals continued to provide services mostly in the rural areas.

In 1968 President Kenneth KAUNDA (1924–) announced the state control of privately owned companies. The government took over control of a wide range of commercial activities ranging from retail shops to meat-packing plants and quarrying operations. A total of 28 companies

were placed under government-control. In 1969 the state created the Industrial Development Corporation to spearhead INDUSTRIALIZATION. In that same year, economic reforms led the government to buy 51 percent of the shares from the two MINING companies, Anglo-American Corporation and Roan Selection Trust, giving the state majority ownership of Zambia's copper-mining industry. In the end the state controlled 80 percent of the economy in various sectors including mining, energy, TRANSPORTATION, TOURISM, finance, AGRICULTURE, trade, manufacturing, and construction.

From the very beginning Zambia supported African liberation movements and vowed to help other African countries attain independence. Zambia played a leading role as one of the FRONTLINE STATES. Because of its commitment Lusaka became the headquarters of 15 African liberation movements from other countries including Zimbabwe, SOUTH AFRICA, Mozambique, and Angola. As a result of its stand Zambia suffered economically, as the ruling governments from these countries attacked and destroyed the country's infrastructure. Zambia also became a haven for REFUGEES, who later weighed heavily on its economy.

Zambia supported economic sanctions against the white-minority government in RHODESIA, leading the Rhodesian army to retaliate by destroying parts of Zambia's transportation network. Zambia stopped transporting its goods via rail through Rhodesia to the seaport of Beira in Mozambique, which posed a major problem for the landlocked country. Its overseas EXPORTS and imports were transported through the port of DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania by plane, and by truck through the Great North Road, which was an expensive route. In 1975 the Chinese government assisted in building the Tanzania-Zambia Railways (Tazara), a rail line that connected Dar es Salaam and Zambia, which helped ease the country's transportation problem.

In the 1960s and early 1970s the country's economy grew, primarily because of high copper production and increased maize and manufacturing output. In the mid-1970s, however, the economic situation deteriorated. The price of copper on the international market fell, and copper production decreased. Also, food production decreased, making agricultural commodities more expensive. The situation was worsened by the economic sanctions against Rhodesia, formerly a major trading partner.

In addition, government-controlled firms failed to perform for a number of reasons, including a lack of appropriate technology, a dependence on imported raw materials, and inexperienced managers, who in many cases were political appointees rather than experts in the field. Also, government control led to a lack of a competitive environment, which created stagnation in the industries.

The situation was made worse by the creation of a one-party state, in 1973. Kaunda's UNITED NATIONAL INDE-PENDENCE PARTY became the only legal political party. By the 1980s people were unhappy with the economic and political climate. At the same time the INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND and the WORLD BANK, as a condition for future aid, advised the government to introduce tough economic measures under its STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT program. Shortages of basic goods, unemployment, and removal of food subsidies led to rioting and strikes. At this time people called for multiparty rule and a change in government. To make the situation even worse, in 1986 South Africa launched attacks against Zambia and other neighboring countries, targeting camps that were suspected of being used by the liberation forces of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Multiparty Politics under Kaunda Kaunda was forced to legalize rival political parties in 1990. Afterward, a new party, the MOVEMENT FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY (MMD), emerged. The MMD was led by Frederick CHILUBA (1943–), a LABOR-UNION leader who won the 1991 election. The peaceful transition was hailed as one of the best in Africa. Chiluba introduced market-oriented economic policies that favored privatization. Initially Chiluba's economic and political plans were seen as progressive. However, privatization led to thousands of workers being laid off, and many were forced to take early retirement. All of this added to the already high unemployment. Zambia's foreign debt also continued to drag down the economy. By the late 1990s Zambia was classified as a low-income country. It has been classified with 40 other developing countries as "heavily indebted poor countries."

Chiluba changed the constitution to block Kaunda from having another bid at the presidency and was reelected president in 1996. In 2001 he attempted to find a way to bypass the constitutional two-term limit but failed. Chiluba then selected and campaigned for Levy MWANAWASA (1948–), who won the election despite charges of rigging. Although handpicked by Chiluba, Mwanawasa turned out to be independent and open, permitting the trial of his predecessor for misappropriation of public funds in 2003.

Zambia has continued to play significant political and economic roles in the region and on the continent. Since 1998 the state has worked to find a peaceful solution in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). In 1999 Chiluba's mediation efforts resulted in the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, which set the stage for the peace process. One of the leading members of the SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY, Zambia has played leading roles in various organizations and has hosted meetings of the former ORGANIZATION FOR AFRICAN UNITY, which recently has evolved into the AFRICAN UNION.

See also: CHINA AND AFRICA (Vol. V); COPPERBELT (Vol. IV); NORTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); ZAMBIA (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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Zanzibar African state made up of the two main islands of Unguja (Zanzibar) and Pemba with a number of adjacent islets about 30 miles (48 km) off the coast of mainland TANZANIA in the Indian Ocean. A part of Tanzania since 1964, Zanzibar covers an area of approximately 640 square miles (1,660 sq km). Its mixed Arab and African population was estimated at 750,000 in 2000. The island's capital is ZANZIBAR CITY.

Zanzibar at Independence Zanzibar gained its independence from Britain on December 10, 1963, with the Busaidi sultan, Jamshid ibn Abdullah (1929–   ), as the first head of state and another member of the ruling oligarchy, Muhammad Shamte Hamadi, as prime minister. At independence there were three contesting political parties. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP) represented Zanzibari Arab interests, and the AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY (ASP) represented African interests. Even before the first elections the two Arab parties formed a coalition, which led to their victory in the elections and their central role in the government that took power in 1963.

The election was marred by racial and religious differences and was followed by a week of civil unrest in which many died. On January 12, 1964, John Okello, a Ugandan who had been living on Pemba, took charge of a group of 300 followers who armed themselves by seizing the police barracks. Reacting to years of Arab dominance and oppression, the African populace rallied to Okello's side. Thousands of Arabs and Indians died in the resulting violence, and thousands of others fled for safety, often in unseaworthy boats. The sultan went into exile, and Abeid Amani KARUME (1905–1972), the ASP leader, became president and head of the ruling Revolutionary Council.

In October 1964 Zanzibar united with mainland Tanganyika to become the United Republic of Tanzania; Julius NYERERE (1922–1999) became the president. Under this arrangement, the president of Zanzibar served as the first vice president of Tanzania if the president was from the mainland and as the second vice president if the country's president was from Zanzibar. Nyerere merged his TANZANIA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (TANU) and Zanzibar's ASP into a single party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), meaning PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION in Kiswahili. Under the terms of the union, Zanzibar continued to exercise a degree of independence in most of its affairs, except defense and foreign affairs, which were to be the responsibility of the central government. This arrangement enabled Karume to chart an independent course for the island's domestic affairs. He received ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE from the Soviet Union, Cuba, and China, which in turn isolated Zanzibar from the West in the context of the Cold War.

In 1972 Karume was assassinated and was succeeded by Sheikh Aboud JUMBE (1920–   ) as Zanzibar's president and the first vice president of Tanzania. Jumbe held office until 1984, when growing Zanzibari resentment against the union with the mainland led to his resignation. Ali Hassan MWINYI (1925–   ) became the president, and in 1985 Mwinyi became the first Zanzibari to serve as the president of the union. In the 2000 election, Amani Karume (1948–   ), son of the late Abeid Karume, led the CCM to victory and became the island's president.

Zanzibar's economy is largely dependent on AGRICULTURE. Its main products are cassava, sweet potatoes, rice, maize, plantains, citrus fruit, and coconuts. Cloves and cacao are major CASH CROPS that, along with coconuts, are exported. There is a sizable fishing industry, and TOURISM has become an important part of the economy. Lime is the country's sole mineral resource. Beginning in the 1990s the government of Zanzibar has been aggressively implementing economic reforms and has legalized foreign exchange bureaus on the islands.

Zanzibar is at the heart of the distinctive *taraab*, or sung poetry, tradition. The diva of this haunting style is Siti binti Saad (c. 1885–1950), who in 1928 became the first East African singer to make commercial recordings.

The main languages spoken in Zanzibar are Kiswahili and English, with the latter serving as the official language but the former being the everyday language of the people. The Kiswahili spoken in Zanzibar is said to be the most standard form of the language, which makes the island an ideal place to learn it.

See also: BUSAIDI (Vol. IV); INDIAN OCEAN TRADE (Vol. II); SITI BINTI SAAD (Vol. IV); SWAHILI COAST (Vol. II); ZANZIBAR (Vols. II, III, IV),

Zanzibar City East African port city located on the Zanzibar Channel, which separates the island of ZANZIBAR from the African mainland. Originally a Swahili settlement, Zanzibar City became the capital of the Omani Arab sultanate in the 1830s. In the 1890s Britain made the island part of a protectorate that lasted until 1963.

At that time Zanzibar island was granted independence, with the British turning the island back over to the sultanate. A year later a violent revolution led by non-Arab Africans swept the sultan and his government from power, and Zanzibar was declared a republic. The island then joined with Tanganyika to form the nation of TANZANIA. As the primary urban center, Zanzibar City served as the island's administrative headquarters, operating somewhat independently from the federal Tanzanian government based in the mainland cities of DAR ES SALAAM and DODOMA.

Zanzibar's economy has long been based on the cultivation of cloves, which are still important export items today. The manufacturing of clove oil—used mainly in health and beauty products—is the major industry in the city.

Also, TOURISM has become an economic mainstay in recent decades, thanks to the beautiful beaches and the island's ambience. Another attraction is the city's unique mix of Arab, South Asian, and Swahili ARCHITECTURE, a style that is evident in many of the houses and mosques that are adorned with elaborate wood and stone carvings on the doors and facades. The modern area of Zanzibar City, on the other hand, is filled with drab apartment buildings built by East Germans in the aftermath of the 1964 revolution.

See also: BUSAIDI (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); ISLAM, INFLUENCE OF (Vols. II, III, IV, V); SLAVE TRADE ON THE SWAHILI COAST (Vol. III); SWAHILI COAST (Vols. II, III, IV); URBAN LIFE AND CULTURE (Vols. IV, V); URBANIZATION (Vols. IV, V); ZANZIBAR CITY (Vol. IV).

Zimbabwe Present-day country in southeastern Africa 150,900 square miles (390,800 sq km) in size and marked by a large central plateau. Zimbabwe is bordered to the east by MOZAMBIQUE, to the south by SOUTH AFRICA, to the west by BOTSWANA, and to the north by ZAMBIA. Zimbabwe has remained under the international spotlight, initially for being a white-minority-ruled nation until 1980 and more recently due to its steady political and economic decline.

In the early 1960s independent African governments were replacing those of the colonial rulers throughout most of the continent. Fearing that they too might face a situation of majority rule in the aftermath of the collapse of the Central African Federation, in 1963, the white-settler minority of Southern Rhodesia issued a UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE from Britain in 1965. Coalescing behind Ian SMITH (1919–) and his Rhodesia Front (RF), they also changed the country's name to RHODESIA. Britain refused to recognize the new state, and there was continuous but minimal diplomatic, military, and economic pressure to convince the white majority for a settlement. The sanctions had limited effect. In the

meantime the country's African population also became more politically organized and increasingly militant.

By the 1970s two major African nationalist INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS—the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (ZANU) and the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION (ZAPU)—had reached the point where they could stage an increasingly effective guerrilla campaign to overthrow the white-minority regime. This struggle became regarded as the second CHIMURENGA, or Chimurenga Chechipiri. Mozambique, which after a long struggle had rid itself of Portuguese colonial rule in 1975, and Zambia supported the two organizations. ZAPU primarily represented the Ndebele, who lived in the western portions of the country, while ZANU became the bearer of the majority Shona aspirations. In 1976 the two groups entered an informal pact to create the PATRIOTIC FRONT. By joining forces, they were able to inflict increasing losses on the Rhodesian Security forces, which in turn led to exodus of many whites from Rhodesia. By 1979 pressures from the international community, a unified African majority, and a relentless guerrilla movement provided the way for an "internal settlement." This was an effort to preserve the major elements of white privilege in the country while providing the semblance of African rule through Bishop Abel MUZOREWA (1925–). ZAPU leader Joshua NKOMO (1917–1999) and ZANU head Robert MUGABE (1924–) agreed on a joint position and boycotted elections that led to Muzorewa's election.

Rejected by the black majority, the internal settlement did little to abate the fighting. Muzorewa's government lasted barely six months. The war finally ended in 1979 with a peace agreement negotiated in Lancaster House, London. This led to an agreement on a new constitution, transitional arrangements, and a cease-fire.

Zimbabwe at Independence In the 1980 elections that followed the Lancaster House agreement ZANU candidates won comfortably. Robert Mugabe thus became the first prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe. ZANU promoted reconciliation, agreeing to share power with ZAPU, though with an eye toward co-opting the opposition within a one-party state that had the appearance of a multiparty system However, the alleged discovery of secret arms of ZAPU cadres, which it was claimed were to be used in overthrowing the new government, led to severe reprisals. Thousands, mostly from the Ndebele areas, were killed by the Zimbabwean army and paramilitary brigades that functioned outside formal military command structures. The Mugabe-led ZANU-PF party has completely dominated the government since this event and has not tolerated dissent or opposition.

Mugabe inherited a segregated nation, which had seen years of domination by the white minority. For the first seven years after independence, whites elected 20 members to 20 reserved seats in Parliament, out of the

In 1976 people took to the streets of Bulawayo to show their jubilant support for Joshua Nkomo, the leader of the African National Council. The transfer to black-majority rule in Rhodesia was still four years away. © *AP/Wide World Photos*

total 100 seats. At independence approximately 4,000 white farmers held more than a third of the total land and a majority of the most productive land. The Lancaster House agreement precluded a takeover of private property by the state without compensation. The large commercial farms were profitable and contributed the bulk of agricultural growth through maize and tobacco. During the first few years after independence the economy boomed partly because of elimination of the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia and the opening up of export markets. The first decade of independence witnessed years of brisk economic growth interspersed with years that saw drops in the growth rate due to drought and declines in demand for Zimbabwe's mineral EXPORTS. By the end of the decade economic decline, marked by zero growth rates, a foreign exchange crisis, and further drought, had set in.

Zimbabwe since 1990 Throughout the 1990s there has been a steady decline in the living standards of people

in Zimbabwe, costing the regime support and galvanized civic groups and the country's LABOR UNION movement. A third period of opposition politics started with civic organization for constitutional reform in 1997. During the 1990s there were a number of strikes as unemployment and inflation soared. In 1997, to challenge the proposed constitutional amendment that would have further strengthened the powers of the president, CIVIL SOCIETY organizations and the Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade Unions (ZCTU) formed the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). In response to this opposition, the government established its own commission to draft a new constitution. The NCA boycotted the government's commission and ZCTU organized mass demonstrations. Growing resentment among the urban masses provided the opening for the emergence of an opposition party. The MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (MDC) was founded as a wide coalition of interest groups, including

trade unions, civic groups, white farmers, and the business community. These groups were united in their aim to defeat ZANU-PF politically and transform the structures of power in the state. Morgan TSVANGIRAI (1952–   ), the head of the trade-union movement, beame the principal MDC leader.

The MDC emerged in the context of Zimbabwe's deteriorating national economy and the eroding popularity of the ruling party, especially in urban areas. With the 2002 elections in sight, Mugabe expanded the land-seizure program. Thousands of black workers and white farm owners were evicted, MDC supporters were intimidated, and journalists were attacked. In the presidential elections Mugabe was declared the winner, while international observers declared the vote neither free nor fair. To retain power, Mugabe reignited the land-ownership issue. The most fertile land in Zimbabwe had been under the control of the white minority, and redistribution became a key issue for Zimbabweans, especially for those without land living in the rural areas.

Throughout its first two decades of independence Zimbabwe, though supposedly having a multiparty political system, became increasingly a one-party state. Robert Mugabe and his ZANU-PF won its first parliamentary majority in the initial 1980 election and continued to do so in 1985, 1990, and 1995. ZAPU had initially constituted a strong regional party, but it was then transformed into a partner and later repressed as a dissident. Responding to the growing CORRUPTION in the ruling party and in defense of multiparty democracy, there briefly emerged the Zimbabwe United Movement (ZUM), which contested the 1990 election and then collapsed under heavy pressure. Electoral apathy marked the 1995 election.

By adopting land redistribution as an electoral tactic Mugabe was able to appeal to his key constituency and cling to power, but his hold on power continued to be tenuous, and Zimbabwe remained on the brink of collapse. Industrial and agricultural growth shrank by double digits. With unemployment soaring over 50 percent and inflation approaching 300 percent, Zimbabwean society became increasingly unstable. In 2003 more than 6.7 million people were estimated to be at risk of starvation. In just a few years Zimbabwe moved from being one of southern Africa's success stories to being a source of unending problems.

At independence a policy that was expected to redress the historical patterns of racial and class inequali-

ties has instead degenerated into oppression, leading to society-wide chaos and the possibility of state collapse. The land question and the current governance crisis in Zimbabwe are intimately linked and exacerbated by the intransigence of an octogenarian president, Robert Mugabe. It will probably take decades for Zimbabwe to regain its stature in the region.

One of the more unusual contributing factors to Zimbabwe's economic difficulties was the Mugabe government's intervention in the civil war in the Democratic Republic of the CONGO (DRC) to prop up the shaky government of Laurent KABILA (c. 1939–2001) and then that of his son, Joseph KABILA (1971–   ). More than 11,000 Zimbabwean troops have been in the Congo, at huge expense to the Zimbabwean government. Without a common border or a shared history of cooperation, the question is why Zimbabwe continues this expensive involvement. The answer seems to lie with the benefits that may accrue to Zimbabwe's ruling elite through joint business ventures, particularly in the MINING sector. According to one outspoken Zimbabwean critic of Mugabe, his government "seems intent on raiding the DRC and making it an economic colony."

See also: CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (Vol. IV); ENGLAND AND AFRICA (Vols. III, IV, V); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV); NDEBELE (Vol. IV); SHONA (Vols. I, IV); ZIMBABWE (Vols. I, II, III, IV).

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Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) Nationalist movement and political party in power for the first 22 years of independent ZIMBABWE. ZANU-PF is the political party that emerged after the unification of the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION (ZAPU), led by Joshua NKOMO (1917–1999), and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert MUGABE (1924–   ). Both ZANU and ZAPU were anticolonial movements that originated in the liberation struggle in former RHODESIA. Throughout the 1970s both movements carried out guerrilla campaigns against the white-minority government.

ZANU was the most radical ideologically. It sought no compromise with the white Rhodesian majority and emphasized its struggle for total independence. During the guerrilla war, the military wings of ZANU and ZAPU—the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Zimbabwe African People's Liberation Army (ZIPRA) respectively—controlled most of the country. ZAPU largely represented the Ndebele people, while ZANU drew its sympathies from among the majority Shona people.

At independence, in 1980, ZANU promoted reconciliation. It agreed to share power but with the goal of es-

In 1979 in Salisbury, Rhodesia, Africans rallied in support of ZANU leader Robert Mugabe, who became independent Zimbabwe's first president. © *UPI*

tablishing a one-party socialist state. ZANU-PF emerged by dismantling and co-opting key members of ZAPU. The parliamentary majority of ZANU allowed it to pass constitutional amendments further consolidating Robert Mugabe's powers by making him the first executive president. The relationship between the party and state organs merged, thus concentrating power in the hands of few.

During the mid-1990s there was some degree of internal party DEMOCRATIZATION. With the fall of socialist regimes around the world and the rise of liberal multiparty democracy, many ZANU members openly questioned the ideological goals of Marxist-Leninism, the one-party state, and the use of violence. ZANU's primary elections were often closely contested, with factional divisions and personal rivalries spilling over into the public discourse. However, until the late 1990s political challenges to ZANU were disorganized and organizationally weak. This was evident in the growing voter apathy in urban areas and higher turnout and support for the ruling party in rural areas.

Opposition to the ruling ZANU-PF government coalesced around the LABOR movement and civic groups. The growing economic malaise severely affected the livelihoods of urban workers, eventually triggering demonstrations. The strong response of the ZANU-PF government in banning demonstrations and the mass firing of government workers paved the way for the creation of the MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (MDC), a coalition of Zimbabwe's major LABOR UNIONS and CIVIL SOCIETY organizations.

During the parliamentary elections in 2000 the MDC won 57 of the 120 open seats with strong support from urban voters. ZANU-PF won 62 seats. The electoral setback reduced the ability of ZANU-PF to amend the Zimbabwean constitution unilaterally. The party yet again tried intimidating the opposition, controlling the media, and mobilizing rural voters around the issue of land reform. The ruling party since 2000 has rallied around the slogan, "The economy is the land," suggesting the redistribution of land held by a white minority to the black majority will improve their living standards and create the basis for future growth in the economy.

After Robert Mugabe, ZANU-PF faces an uncertain future. There are many among its current leadership who could replace the 80-year-old leader. However, ZANU-PF is like many other single-party regimes in Africa, existing mainly due to the charisma of its leader and relying on its ability to neutralize competing factions.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); NDEBELE (Vols. III, IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); SHONA (Vols. II, III).

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Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)

Opposition party that fought for Zimbabwean independence. In 1961 the white-minority government of Southern Rhodesia banned the National Democratic Party. In response, Joshua NKOMO (1917–1999) established the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The government quickly banned ZAPU, too, and Nkomo was forced to establish a government-in-exile. ZAPU soon split. The original core group retained Ndebele support, and a breakaway group, the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (ZANU), drew support from Zimbabwe's majority Shona people. ZANU was led by Ndabaningi SITHOLE (1920–2000) and Robert MUGABE (1924–   ).

In 1964 the Southern Rhodesian government issued a UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE from the United Kingdom and renamed the country RHODESIA. Despite being banned, both ZAPU and ZANU took up separate armed struggles against the increasingly oppressive white-minority rule—and occasionally against each other. As the independence struggle intensified in 1976, the two rebel groups came together to form the PATRIOTIC FRONT, although they each kept their own organizational structures.

When Rhodesia became independent ZIMBABWE, in 1980, ZAPU was labeled as a dissident organization concerned mostly with issues related to Zimbabwe's Ndebele minority population. During the first post-independence elections ZAPU won only 20 parliamentary seats, mostly in its stronghold, Matabeland. ZANU, on the other hand, won 57 parliamentary seats. ZAPU received five cabinet positions, including Joshua Nkomo's appointment as minister of home affairs. However, this veneer of ZANU-ZAPU collaboration was short-lived.

Soon after independence the goal of the ZANU leaders was to dismantle the opposition within the Patriotic Front and establish a monolithic, single-party socialist state. ZANU even sent the Zimbabwean army's Fifth Brigade to intimidate ZAPU dissidents in Matabeland. ZANU's message to the Ndebele was clear—reconsider your support for ZAPU or face the consequences.

Nkomo left Zimbabwe in 1982 but he returned to participate in the 1985 election. Violence was again part of the electoral process, as ZANU cadres used strong-arm tactics to intimidate opposition members. ZANU once again swept the elections while ZAPU's support declined further. This time ZANU did not offer ZAPU any cabinet seats. Firmly in control of Zimbabwe, Mugabe and ZANU set about negotiating a Unity Accord to create the coalition Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) ruling party. Under the provisions of the ac-

cord the ZANU government released ZAPU prisoners. The political implications of the accord, however, reduced ZAPU to a minor political party within ZANU-PF.

See also: INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. V); NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS (Vol. IV); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); SOUTHERN RHODESIA (Vol. IV).

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Zine El Abidine Ben-Ali (1936–   ) *President of Tunisia*

Born in Hammam Sousse, in the Sahel region of TUNISIA, Ben-Ali received military training in France and the United States. A member of the Neo-Destour Party, he served in a number of government positions, including director general of national security, secretary of state, and minister of the interior. In 1987 Ben-Ali became prime minister under President Habib BOURGUIBA (1903–2000). Facing popular unrest and debilitating illness, Bourguiba ruled in an increasingly authoritarian manner. Finally citing a constitutional provision, Ben-Ali deposed Bourguiba, in November 1987, on the grounds of the president's poor health. The move was widely supported by the Tunisian population.

Ben-Ali quickly turned his attention to democratizing the country, working to establish a multiparty system and releasing hundreds of political prisoners. However, Ben-Ali and the Neo-Destour Party (renamed the Constitutional Democratic Rally) largely controlled the government and banned any party with religious affiliations in an effort to limit the influence of Islamic fundamentalists. In 1992 Ben-Ali launched a massive domestic project called the National Solidarity Fund (NSF). The NSF provided assistance to more than 1,000 of Tunisia's most underdeveloped villages, constructing houses, schools, roads, and health centers and creating thousands of jobs. The United Nations used the NSF as the basis for the World Solidarity Fund, which was also devised by Ben-Ali.

In terms of foreign policy, Ben-Ali continued his predecessor's policy of nonalignment in regard to the Cold War conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, his support for the Iraqi people during the Gulf War (1991) led the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait to pull back much-needed investments, which Ben-Ali won back only after years of hard lobbying.

Ben Ali won reelection in a landslide, in 1994, and again in 1999. In 2001 he initiated a reform bill designed to create the "Republic of the Future." The bill made advances in terms of civil liberties and HUMAN RIGHTS and established new governmental branches in an effort to further democratize the country.

See also: DEMOCRATIZATION (Vol. V); DESTOUR PARTY (Vol. IV).

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Zulu

Bantu-speaking people of SOUTH AFRICA who belong to the Nguni cluster of Southern Bantu, many of whom live in the KwaZulu-Natal Province. The Zulu resisted the colonial advances of Britain in South Africa into the early 20th century. By the 1950s, however, the once-mighty Zulu monarchy had long been subjugated to the authority of the white South African government. With the introduction of APARTHEID and the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 came the BANTUSTANS, land set aside as "homelands" for the country's black African peoples. In 1970 the Zulu homeland, KwaZulu, was established from parts of the historical Zulu stronghold of Zululand. (See map on page 44 of this volume.)

The idea of a single Zulu homeland was in many ways a modern concept. Though Zulu royalty had existed since the 18th century, many Zulu did not view the monarchy as representing all of the Zulu people. Furthermore, only about half of the South African Zulu population lived in KwaZulu. During the 1970s, however, the controlling faction of KwaZulu, led by the Bantustan's chief minister, Mangosuthu Gatsha BUTHELEZI (1928–   ), initiated a campaign to unite the Zulu people. Viewed largely as an effort to strengthen Buthelezi and his cultural movement, Inkatha, at the expense of his main opponent, the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), the promotion of Zulu nationalism met with mixed results. Uninspired by Buthelezi's glorification of past Zulu rulers, many Zulu eschewed Inkatha and remained loyal to the ANC. During the 1980s thousands of people died as a result of conflict between the two Zulu factions. The conflict spread to JOHANNESBURG in the 1990s, as Inkatha transformed into the INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP), a political party created to compete in South Africa's first racially-inclusive elections. In the early 1990s the IFP's Zulu members fought with the XHOSA, who were viewed as the principal ethnic group within the ANC.

With the end of apartheid, in 1994, KwaZulu rejoined the Natal province, forming a new province named KwaZulu-Natal. In the elections of 1994 the IFP gained control of that province's government, marking their only significant electoral victory. In the following years, however, the ANC continued to garner support from a large segment of the Zulu population. At the beginning of the 21st century the ANC, which controlled the national government, moved closer to gaining power over the province named after the Zulu.

See also: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY (Vol. I); HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA (Vol. V); POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS (Vols. IV, V); SHAKA (Vol. III); ZULU (Vols. III, IV).

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GLOSSARY

agriculturalists Sociological term for "farmers."

agro-pastoralists People who practice both farming and animal husbandry.

alafin Yoruba word for "ruler" or "king."

Allah Arabic for "God" or "Supreme Being."

Americo-Liberian Liberians of African-American ancestry.

ancestor worship Misnomer for the traditional practice of honoring and recognizing the memory and spirits of deceased family members.

al-Andalus Arabic term for Muslim Spain.

animism Belief that inanimate objects have a soul or life force.

anglophone English speaking.

apartheid Afrikaans word that means "separateness"; a formal system and policy of racial segregation and political and economic discrimination against South Africa's nonwhite majority.

aphrodesiac Food or other agent thought to arouse or increase sexual desire.

askia Arabic word meaning "general" that was applied to the Songhai kings. Capitalized, the word refers to a dynasty of Songhai rulers.

assimilados Portuguese word for Africans who had assimilated into the colonial culture.

Australopithicus africanus Hominid species that branched off into *Homo habilis* and *A. robustus*.

Australopithicus anamensis Second-oldest species of the hominid *Australopithicus*.

Australopithicus ramadus Oldest of the apelike, hominid species of *Australopithicus*.

Australopithicus robustus A sturdy species of *Australopithicus* that came after *A. africanus* and appears to have been an evolutionary dead end. *Australopithecus robustus* roamed the Earth at the same time as *Homo habilis*.

balkanization The breaking apart of regions or units into smaller groups.

barter Trading system in which goods are exchanged for items of equal value.

bey Governor in the Ottoman Empire.

Bilad al-Sudan Arabic for "Land of the Blacks."

bride price The payment made by a groom and his family to compensate the bride's father for the loss of her services because of marriage.

British Commonwealth Organization of sovereign states that were former colonies under the British Empire.

caliph Title for Muslim rulers who claim to be the secular and religious successors of the Prophet Muhammad.

caliphate Muslim state ruled by a caliph.

caravel A small, maneuverable ship used by the Portuguese during the Age of Discovery.

caste A division of society based on wealth, privilege, rank, or occupation.

circumcision The cutting of the clitoris (also called clitorectomy or clitoridectomy) or the prepuce of the penis; a rite of passage in many African societies.

cire perdu French for "lost wax," a technique used to cast metals.

clan A group that traces its descent from a common ancestor.

conflict diamonds Gems that are sold or traded extra-legally in order to fund wars.

conquistadores Spanish for "conquerors"; term used to describe the Spanish leaders of the conquest of the Americas during the 1500s.

constitutional monarchy State with a constitution that is ruled by a king or queen.

customary law Established traditions, customs, or practices that govern daily life and interaction.

degredados Portuguese criminals who were sent to Africa by the Portuguese king to perform hazardous duties related to exploration and colonization.

dhow Arabic word for a wooden sailing vessel with a triangular sail that was commonly used to transport trade goods.

diaspora Word used to describe a large, readily distinguishable group of people settled far from their ancestral homelands.

divination The interpretation of supernatural signs, usually done by a medicine man or priest.

djembe African drum, often called "the healing drum" because of its use in healing ceremonies.

emir A Muslim ruler or commander.

emirate A state ruled by an emir.

endogamy Marriage within one's ethnic group, as required by custom or law.

enset Another name for the "false banana" plant common in Africa.

ethnic group Term used to signify people who share a common culture.

ethno-linguistic Word used to describe a group whose individuals share racial characteristics and a common language.

eunuch A man who has been castrated (had his testicles removed), generally so that he might be trusted to watch over a ruler's wife or wives.

francophone French speaking.

government transparency Feature of an open society in which the decisions and the policy-making process of leaders are open to public scrutiny.

griot Storyteller, common in West African cultures, who preserves and relates the oral history of his people, often with musical accompaniment.

gross domestic product (GDP) Total value of goods and services produced by a nation's economy, within that nation. GDP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

gross national product (GNP) Total value of goods and services produced by the residents of a nation, both within the nation as well as beyond its borders. Like GDP, GNP is measured within a certain time frame, usually a year.

hajj In Islam, a pilgrimage to Mecca.

hajjiyy "Pilgrim" in Arabic.

hegira Arabic for "flight" or "exodus"; generally used to describe the move of the Muslim prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina.

hominid Biological term used to describe the various branches of the Hominidae, the family from which modern humans descend according to evolutionary theory.

ideology A coherent or systematic way of looking at human life and culture.

imam A spiritual and political leader of a Muslim state.

imamate The region or state ruled by an imam.

indigénat Separate legal code used by France in its judicial dealings with the indigenous African population of its colonies.

infidel Term used as an epithet to describe one who is unfaithful or an unbeliever with respect to a particular religion .

infrastructure Basic physical, economic, and social facilities and institutions of a community or country .

Janissary From the Turkish for "new soldier," a member of an elite Ottoman military corps.

jebel "Mountain" in Arabic.

kabaka   The word for "king" in Babito and Buganda cultures.

kemet   Egyptian for "black earth."

kora   Small percussion instrument played by some griots.

kraal   Enclosure for cattle or a group of houses surrounding such an enclosure.

lineage   A group whose individuals trace their descent from a common ancestor; usually a subgroup of a larger clan.

lingua franca   Common language used by speakers of different languages.

Luso-African   Word that describes the combined Portuguese and African cultures, especially the offspring of Portuguese settlers and indigenous African women. (The Latin name for the area of the Iberian Peninsula occupied by modern Portugal was Lusitania.)

madrasa   Theological school for the interpretation of Islamic law.

Mahdi   Arabic word for "enlightened one," or "righteous leader"; specifically, the Muslim savior who, in Islamic belief, is to arrive shortly before the end of time.

mamluk   Arabic for "one who is owned"; capitalized, it is a member of an elite military unit made up of captives enslaved and used by Islamic rulers to serve in Middle Eastern and North African armies.

mansa   Mande term for "king" or "emperor."

marabout   A mystical Muslim spiritual leader.

massif   A mountainous geological feature.

mastaba   Arabic for an inscribed stone tomb.

matrilineal   Relating to descent on the maternal, or mother's, side.

medina   Arabic word for the old section of a city.

megaliths   Archaeological term meaning "large rocks"; used to describe stelae and such features as cairns and tumuli that mark important places or events for many ancient cultures.

mestizo   Adjective meaning "of mixed blood."

mfecane   Zulu word meaning "the crushing." When capitalized, the word refers to the nineteenth-century Zulu conquests that caused the mass migration of peoples in southern Africa.

microliths   Archaeological term meaning "small rocks"; used to describe sharpened stone blade tools of Stone Age cultures.

Monophysite   Related to the Christian tradition that holds that Jesus Christ had only one (divine) nature.

Moor   An Arab or Berber conqueror of al-Andalus (Muslim Spain).

mulatto   The offspring of a Negroid (black) person and a Caucasoid (white) person.

mwami   Head of the Tutsi political structure, believed to be of divine lineage.

negusa negast   "King of kings" in Ethiopic; traditional title given to the ruler of Ethiopia.

neocolonialism   Political or economic policies by which former colonial powers maintain their control of former colonies.

Nilotic   Relating to peoples of the Nile, or Nile River basin, used especially to describe the languages spoken by these peoples.

Nsibidi   Secret script of the Ekoi people of Nigeria.

oba   Yoruba king or chieftain.

pasha   A high-ranking official in the Ottoman Empire.

pashalik   Territory or province of the Ottoman Empire governed by a pasha.

pass book   A feature of apartheid-era South Africa, pass books were identification documents that black Africans, but not whites, were required by law to carry at all times.

pastoralists   People whose livelihood and society center on raising livestock.

patriarch   Male head of a family, organization, or society.

patrilineal   Relating to descent through the paternal, or father's, side.

poll tax   A tax of a fixed amount per person levied on adults.

polygyny The practice of having more than one wife or female mate at one time.

prazeros Portuguese settlers in Africa who held prazos.

prazos Similar to feudal estates, parcels of land in Africa that were leased to Portuguese settlers by the Portuguese king.

primogeniture A hereditary system common in Africa by which the eldest child, or more commonly, the eldest son, receives all of a family's inheritance.

proverb A short popular expression or adage. Proverbs are tools for passing on traditional wisdom orally.

pygmy Greek for "fist," a unit of measurement; used to describe the short-statured Mbuti people.

qadi Arabic for "judge."

Quran (also spelled Koran) Arabic for "recitation," and the name of the book of Muslim sacred writings.

ras A title meaning "regional ruler" in Ethiopia.

rondavel Small, round homes common in southern Africa.

salaam Arabic for "peace."

sarki Hausa word for "king."

scarification Symbolic markings made by pricking, scraping, or cutting the skin.

secret society Formal organizations united by an oath of secrecy and constituted for political or religious purposes.

shantytowns A town or part of a town consisting mostly of crudely built dwellings.

sharia Muslim law, which governs the civil and religious behavior of believers.

sharif In Islamic culture, one of noble ancestry.

sheikh (shaykh, sheik) Arabic word for patrilineal clan leaders.

sirocco Name given to a certain type of strong wind in the Sahara Desert.

souk Arabic word for "market."

stelae Large stone objects, usually phallus-shaped, whose markings generally contain information important to those who produced them.

stratified Arranged into sharply defined classes.

stratigraphy The study of sequences of sediments, soils, and rocks; used by archaeologists to determine the approximate age of a region.

sultan The king or sovereign of a Muslim state.

sultanate The lands or territory ruled by a sultan.

syncretism The combining of religious beliefs to form a new religion.

taboo (adj.) forbidden by custom, usually because of the fear of retribution by supernatural forces; (n.) a prohibition based on morality or social custom.

tafsir Arabic for "interpretation," especially as regards the Quran.

taqwa In Islam, the internal ability to determine right from wrong.

taro Another name for the cocoyam, an edible tuber common throughout Africa.

tauf Puddled mud that, when dried, serves as the foundation for some homes in sub-Saharan Africa.

teff A grass native to Africa that can be threshed to produce flour.

theocracy Government of a state by officials who are thought to be guided by God.

ulamaa Islamic learned men, the inheritors of the tradition of the prophet Muhammad.

vizier A high-ranking official in a Muslim state, esp. within the Ottoman Empire.

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