

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
AHMED DRAÏA UNIVERSITY - ADRAR
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE



**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements of a Master's Degree in
Literature and Civilization**

The West African Medieval Empire of Mali (13th-15th Centuries)

Candidate:

Mohamed Oulhadji

Supervisor:

Mr. Tahar Abbou

The Board of Examiners

Examiner: Pr. Faouzi Borsali

President: Dr. Aziz Mostefaoui

Supervisor: Mr. Tahar Abbou

Academic Year: 2017-2018

Dedication

I dedicate this work:

To my parents,

To my sisters and brothers,

To all my Teachers,

And to all my relatives, friends, and colleagues.

Acknowledgements

I have first to thank Allah, the Almighty Who provided with the power to conduct this work.

I would like also to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Mr. Tahar Abbou, for his help, patience, guidance, pieces of advices, and encouragement during the progress of this research paper, and also for providing me with valuable documents.

Iam also indebted to my parents for their care and help. And I would like also to thank my teachers for enlightening and guiding me along the years I have spent at Adrar University.

At last, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues.

Abstract

Mali was a great Islamic empire that emerged from a small ethnic kingdom which gathered the Mande in the early 13th century. This Kingdom was ruled by Sundiata's father (Maghan Kon Fata the Mande King) who chose Kangaba as the capital of his newly established kingdom, but after the arrival of Sundiata Keita to the throne in 1235 a lot would change in the Mande Kingdom. Under Sundiata's reign (1235-1255), the Mali Empire expanded west and east to include other ethnicities and lands that belonged to the former pagan empire of Ghana. Unlike Ghana, Mali Empire witnessed a bright era in the 14th century because it became a wide trading and scholarship center in West Africa, especially after Mansa Musa's pilgrimage to Mecca 1324. This paper examines two significant eras of Mali history, that is to say, the eras of Sundiata and Mansa Musa's reign (1312-1337) and their achievements and influence on the Malian society.

Key words: Mali, Islamic, Mande, Ethnicities, Sundiata, Mansa Musa, Trading, Scholarship, Reign, Pilgrimage, Achievement and Society.

ملخص

كانت مالي واحدة من الإمبراطوريات الإسلامية الكبرى التي بدأت كمملكة صغيرة تجمع بين الماندي في أوائل القرن 13م. حكم هذه المملكة والد صاندياتا والذي اختار كنفابا كعاصمة لمملكته المؤسسة حديثا. لكن بعد اعتلاء 'ساندياتا كايثا' الحكم في 1235م, تغيرت أشياء كثيرة في مملكة الماندي. في ظل حكم صاندياتا, الإمبراطورية المالية اتسعت غربا و شرقا لتضم أعراق وأراضي كانت تحت لواء الإمبراطورية الغانية سابقا. على عكس غانا, شهدت الإمبراطورية المالية فترة رخاء في القرن 13م لأنها أصبحت أكبر مركز تجاري وعلمي في غرب إفريقيا, خصوصا بعد حج مانسا موسى إلى مكة في 1324م. هذه المذكرة تتطرق إلى مرحلتين هامتين من تاريخ مالي وتركز على فترة حكم صاندياتا ومانسا موسى تحديدا وعلى أهم منجزاتهم وتأثيرهم على المجتمع المالي عامة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: مالية, إسلامية, الماندي, العرقية, صاندياتا, مانسا موسى, التجارة, العلم, الحكم, الحج, المنجزات والمجتمع.

Résumé

Le Mali était un grand empire islamique qui a émergé d'un petit royaume ethnique qui a rassemblé le Mande au début du 13ème siècle. Ce royaume a été gouverné par le père de Sundiata (Maghan Kon Fata le roi Mande) qui a choisi Kangaba comme capitale de son royaume nouvellement établi, mais après l'arrivée de Sundiata Keita au trône en 1235 beaucoup changerait dans le royaume Mandé. Sous le règne de Sundiata (1235-1255), l'Empire du Mali s'étendit à l'ouest et à l'est pour inclure d'autres ethnies et des terres qui appartenaient à l'ancien empire païen du Ghana. Contrairement au Ghana, l'Empire du Mali a connu une période brillante au 14ème siècle car il est devenu un vaste centre de commerce et d'érudition en Afrique de l'Ouest, notamment après le pèlerinage de Mansa Musa à La Mecque 1324. C'est-à-dire, les époques de Sundiata et le règne de Mansa Musa (1312-1337) et leurs réalisations et leur influence sur la société malienne.

Mots clés: Mali, Islamique, Mande, Ethnicités, Sundiata, Mansa Musa, Commerce, Bourses d'études, Règne, Pèlerinage, Achievement et Société.

Dedication	I
Acknowledgements	II
Abstract	III

Table of Contents

List of Maps and Figures	X
General Introduction	1

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire in the 13th Century

-Introduction.....	5
1. Location and Origin.....	6
1.1-Geographical Locations.....	6
1.2-Origin.....	8
1.2.1 The Battle of Kirina (1235).....	8
1.2.2 The Founder “Sundiata”.....	9
1.2.3 The Growth of Mali Empire.....	10
1.2.4 The Death of Sundiata.....	10
2. Political Organization.....	11
2.1 The Constitution of the Mali Empire.....	11
2.2 Central Authority	12
2.3 The Capital “Niani”	12
2.4 The Army of Mali	13
2.5 The Shift of Power	13
3. Social Organization.....	14

3.1. The Family.....	15
3.2 Major Ethnic Groups.....	15
3.2.1 The White Nomads.....	15
3.2.2 The Black “Mandingo”.....	17
3.2.3 Other Ethnicities.....	18
3.3 Beliefs and Religions.....	18
3.4 Major Social Classes.....	20
3.4.1 Aristocrats.....	20
3.4.2 Officials.....	21
4. Cultural Heritage.....	22
4.1 Monuments.....	22
4.1.1 The Royal Palace.....	22
4.1.2 Jengereber, Sankore and Djenne Mosques.....	22
4.2 Oral and Written Tradition.....	23
4.2.1 “Griot.....	23
4.2.2 Manuscripts.....	24
-Conclusion.....	25

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

-Introduction.....	27
1. Mansa Musa “the Great” (1280-1337).....	27
1.1 Mansa Musa’s Biography.. ..	28
1.2 Accession to the Throne.....	28
1.3 Reign of Musa I.....	28
1.4 Mansa Musa’s Journey to Mecca (1324-1325).....	30

1.4.1 The Journey to Mecca.....	30
1.4.2 The Return Journey.....	32
1.4.3 The Impact of the Pilgrimage of Musa I.....	33
1.5 The Achievements of Mansa Musa	35
2. Economic Organization and Intellectual life.....	36
2.1 Economic Organization.....	36
2.1.1 Gold and Salt “Mining”	36
2.1.2 Trading Center.....	37
2.1.2.1 Timbuktu.....	37
2.1.2.2 Djenne, GAO and Walata.....	38
3.1.3 Mali’s External Commercial Contacts	39
2.2 Intellectual Life.....	40
2.2.1 Mosques and Universities.....	42
2.2.2 Scholars.....	43
3. The Death of Musa I and the Shift of Power.....	44
3.1 The Death of Mansa I	44
3.2 The Shift of Power	45
4. The Collapse of the Mali Empire.....	45
-Conclusion.....	46
-General Conclusion	47
-Appendices.....	49
-Work Cited.....	51

The list of Maps

Map1: The Mali Empire in the 14 th century.....	07
Map2: Mansa Musa's Route of Pilgrimage1324.....	34
Map3: Commercial Contact between Mali and North Africa Countries.....	41

The list of Figures

Figure1: A sample of Timbuktu's Manuscripts.....	49
Figure2: The Kings of the Mali Empire	50

General Introduction

In The Medieval era, West Africa witnessed the rise of three great empires that played a major role in the shift that took place within the African society, that is to say, in the middle Ages. West African was the first to acknowledge permanent settlements (Urbanism and Cities), and they also experienced life within organized societies that respected orders and laws such as in Ghana, Songhai, and the Mali Empire. The latter was the second great empire that emerged in Savanna land above the Niger River, and near the gold and salt mines. Mali was founded by the Mandingo people of old Ghana in 1200. Sundiata Keita was the man who established the first basis of Mali” Melle” the great Empire that gathered all the former Ghana ethnic groups and clans that did not share the same language, tradition, and even beliefs with the Mande. So, it included various ethnicities after it had been only the settlement of the Mande clan in Kangaba.

The Mali Empire was an Islamic empire, therefore, most of the kings conducted pilgrimage to Mecca in organized caravans bearing of the risk of a couple of month. Islam welcomed and applied by the Mansa in all the fields of life, especially during the reign of Mansa Musa who is remembered in West Africa and the whole World for his big pilgrimage that he conducted in the first quarter of the 14th century. Mansa Musa’s pilgrimage had a great impact on Mali because it became a well known empire that attracted many Arab scholars and even students, especially when it became the centre of education in Africa and the world.

This transfer had a great impact on the Malian society as a whole and on individuals in particular because of the exposure to the different branches of Islamic (Quranic) sciences and culture, and also due to the contact with Arab merchants and scholars. Under Mansa I, the Mali Empire doubled the size of Ghana (the former Empire) and it became one of the Largest Empires in the entire world where commercial activities emerged more than the past due to stability and

good governance of Mansa I. In order to illustrate what had been introduced, the dissertation will answer the following questions:

- How could Mansa Musa overcome the issue of diversity in the Mali Empire?
- What was the impact of Mansa Musa's pilgrimage on West Africa and the World?
- What were the factors of the development and fall of the Mali Empire?
- To what extent did Mansa Musa contribute to the spread of Islam in West Africa?

This dissertation is divided into two chapters. The first chapter deals with the location, origins, political authority, and social organization of the Mali Empire, that is to say, it will examine the era of Sundiata Keita (1235-1255AD). Moreover, it will examine the royal system and the components of Mali Society; whereas the second chapter tackles another significant era in the history of the Mali Empire which is the era of Mansa Musa. This chapter will provide detailed information about Mansa Musa including his Reign, pilgrimage, and achievements. In addition to that, the chapter will shed light on the economic and intellectual organization in that empire, and at the end, it will tackle the era after Mansa I and the reason behind the collapse of the Mali empire.

This research uses both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include Arabic documents which were written by Arab historians and Scholars about the Mali Empire. `

Information about this research was also collected from different secondary sources which included materials written by African themselves such as textbooks, articles, and journals. Both analytical and descriptive methods are employed in this paper.

The aim of the study is to shed light to the Mali Empire (13th and the15th century) as one of the great medieval empires that emerged as the first sample of civilized communities which showed tolerance and forgiveness between its different components, and it used to accept difference, respect law and orders. The study also aims to shows the role of Mali's different king in building a big Islamic society that contributed in spreading Islam in West Africa.

Chapter One:

**The Rise of the Mali Empire in the
13th century**

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

Introduction

The decline of Ghana in the 11th Century (the first West African Empire) gave birth to a new small Kingdom that took over Ghana's territory. These small states were ethnically based, that is to say, every ethnic group created its own kingdom. Kangaba was one of these kingdoms. It was a permanent settlement for the Mande clan then into a great Empire called Mali and which would include different clans led by Sundiata. The latter came to power in 1235, and he was able to conquer the remaining of Ghana's territories. Sundiata could gather different clans in a short time and he declared the foundation of the Mali Empire after the battle of Kirina¹ or Krina 1235.

Sundiata was a courageous leader who succeeded in ruling a vast empire whose population came from different background. The Mali Empire included many ethnic groups which did not share the same religions, beliefs and traditions, these circumstances might be a factor of failure in the fulfilment of Mali empire unity. Ethnicity was a real threat for Sundiata's reign.

Despite that Mali was a very large empire, Sundiata built an army that could keep his sovereignty over the Mali Empire, and he was also able to keep peace, stability and even extend the Mali Empire over the savannah forest up to Timbuktu. The chapter tackles the most significant factors that allowed Sundiata to establish the Mali empire, Moreover, the chapter treats the following elements as the geographical location, the origin of the empire (the founder ,successors and expansion) ,constitution, system of governing, society, and culture.

¹ Krina or Kirina is a small village near modern Koulikoro (Mali).

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

1. Location and Origin

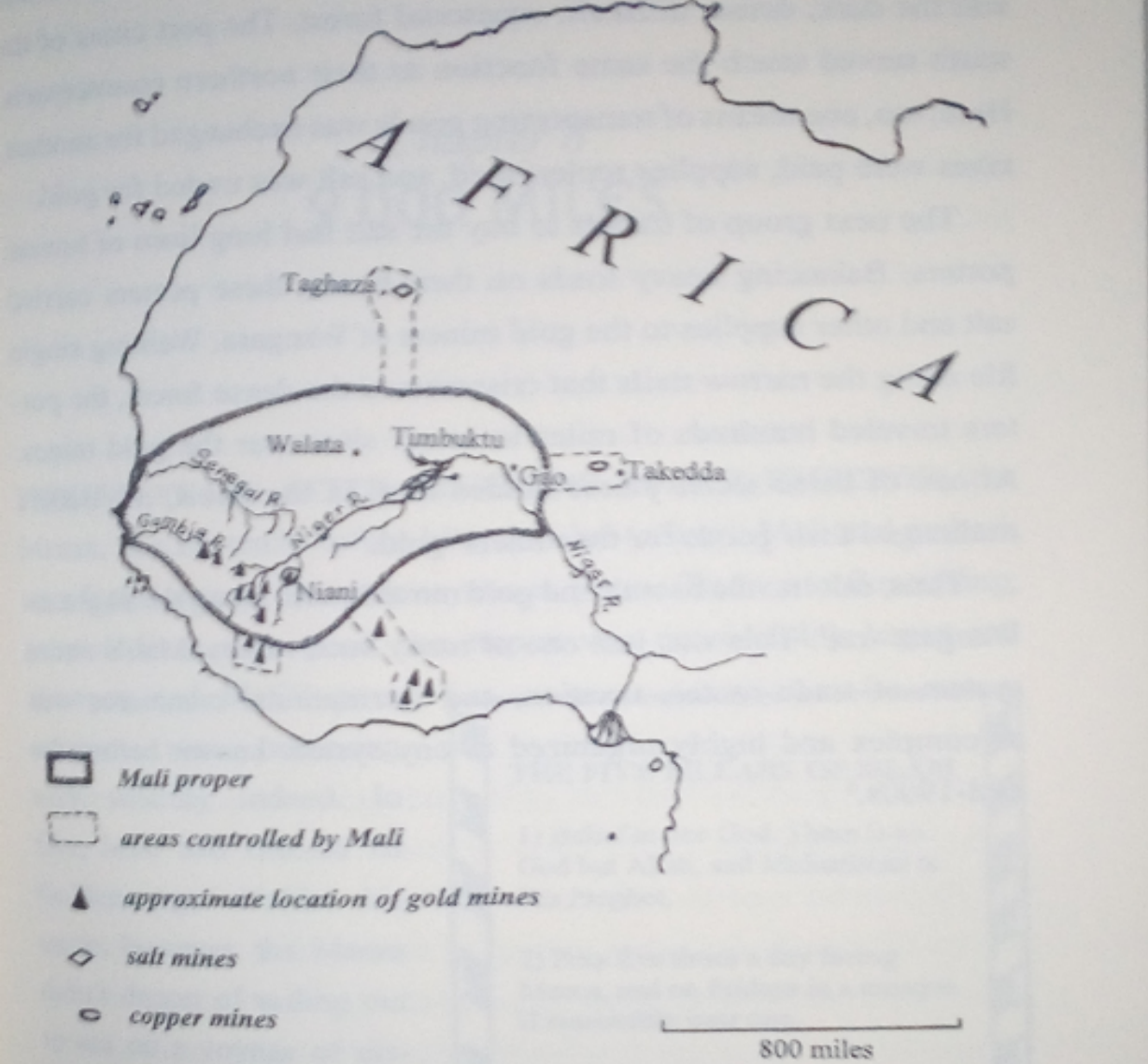
The Mali Empire is one of three medieval empires which flourished in West Africa. It was the second largest empire of West Africa in 1200. It was founded by the Mande clan.

1.1 Geographical Locations

Mali Empire was located in the west of Africa down to the Sahara desert. It took parts from present-day country of Mali, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and the Gambia. It stretched from the Atlantic coast south of the Senegal River to Gao in the east and from Walata and Tadmekka to the southern parts of the Sahara desert. It covered an area about 24,000 Square Kilometres. It included the gold fields of Bumbuk and Bure and the great cities of Timbuktu, Djenne and Gao on the Niger River and extended to the salt mines of Taghaza (Reece 7) .see map1 (p7).

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

Map1: The Mali Empire in the 14th century



Source: James Oliver, *Mansa Musa and Mali Empire*, 2013.p.25.

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

1.2 Origin

The Mali Empire was the greatest Empires of West Africa. It was founded by Sundiata-the Mande hero- in 1235 after the battle of Kirina.

1.2.1 The Battle of Kirina (1235)

After Sumaguru repeated his attacks against the Mande clan, the Mande had called Sundiata who had been in exile since he was a child. Now, Sundiata grew up and he became a mature strong warrior and leader who could save his clan (the Mande) from the oppression of Sumaguru. Sundiata called his allies from the Camara clan and his cousin Sundiata formed an army together with the allies. The army was headed by Sundiata after the agreement of the allies. Sundiata organized the army and he granted titles and occupations among different clans, and after that, the army sailed along the Niger River. On the other hand, Sumaguru headed his army. Sumaguru's army had organized a festival in advance to celebrate the victory even before the war was waged.

Sumaguru and his army leaders thought that Sundiata and his army could not resist. The two armies met at Kirina in 1235. Sundiata's army was eager to take revenge and take back what Sumaguru had already taken. Sundiata and his army succeeded in defeating Sumaguru's troops; however, they did not capture Sumaguru as Niane pointed out: "Sundiata and Fakole pursue Sumanguru who has fled with his son Sosso Balla". (120)The victory of Kirina was an important success for Sundiata to prove that he could lead the Keita and other Clans under one unified kingdom.

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

1.2.2 The Founder of the Mali Empire “Sundiata”

Maghan Sundiata (also called Mari-djata¹-Sunjata) was the founder of the Mali Empire. He was born in 1210 He belonged to the Keita clan of the Malinke people from the small Kingdom of kangaba near the present Mali –Guinea border. Sundiata was the twelfth son of Maghan Kon Fatta, and his mother was Sogolon Kedjou (the second and favourite wife of Maghan² the father) .He lived a hard childhood. He was a lazy and fat child; he did not have the characteristics of a king. Thus he was not considered as a threat to his brother Dankaran Touman who was the son of Sassouma bèrète, the first wife of Maghan, (the father). He started to walk till he reached seven years; he was abused by his stepmother, especially after the death of his father. After that; he left Kangaba to a neighbouring kingdom (Mema) with his mother. In Mema as Conrad said:

Sogolon had a baby but the child was born crippled...called...Sunjata..., then took him and her other children away to protect them. They stopped in various chiefdoms along the way. Eventually, they travelled northeast to the lands beyond Timbuktu and settled in the old Soninke kingdom of Mema. Sundiata used to work as a servant to the king of Mema (42-43).

After Sundiata grew up he established a strong army. Then he returned to Jeriba the capital of kangaba, and seized the throne after he had defeated Sumaguru Kante at the famous battle of Karina in 1235.This year is considered as the date of the establishment of the Mali Empire, and Sundiata became the first king or Mansa of the Mali Empire because he was the only son who still alive.

¹Mari-Djata: Lion King.

²Maghan: King or Mansa.

1.2.3 The Growth of the Mali Empire

Jeriba was the first settlement that Sundiata created after the battle of Kirina which brought glory for Sundiata as a leader especially after he won Sumanguru. After that, Sundiata moved towards Niani where he set the capital –the place of his birth- , then sooner, he took over the former capital of the Sudanese Ghana Empire, Kumbi Selah (Mauritania) in 1240. Sundiata stopped to conquer. And he turned to tackle the internal subjects which were more important in that era since the establishment of the Empire was in the beginning. So it was necessary for Sundiata to strengthen and consolidate the state and let the extension of the empire for his generals so as to continue what Sundiata had already begun.

Like Sundiata, his generals were sufficient men because they were able to secure and extend the boundaries of the Mali Empire to cover interesting areas at the south of the Sahara desert including Walata which was considered as an important trading center in the former empire of Ghana. And they extended it to the east to the Niger River, and the Mali Empire stretched to the goldfield of Wangara and west to the Senegal River, and it included about 50 millions of inhabitants (Levtzion 53).

1.2.4 The Death of Sundiata

There were numerous legends about the way Sundiata died, and the place where he was buried, In the one hand, the guard of oral tradition –the first source of the Mali Empire history- said that Sundiata was accidentally killed by an arrow during a ceremony in 1255. However, the guard of oral tradition ‘griot’ did not mention the place where Sundiata was buried because it was prohibited to open the tomb of great king in Mandingo oral tradition and religion. Therefore, it was unknown to them the accurate cemetery or place where Sundiata’s body buried.

As a result of this disagreement, the Mandingo and the Keita built various sacred places along the Sankarani River to offer sacrifices and conduct their sacred acts. The Sankarani River

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

was a reason for many historians to deduce and think that Sundiata was drowned in the waters of the Sankarani, because there was also a place in the Sankarani called (Sundiata's deep water) by the native people of that area.

Sundiata was a great king for the Mandingo clan which saw that he deserved respect and obedience, and his soul should be sacred. For the Keita, Sundiata was a symbol of courage and power and his pure soul should be an inspiration to them, therefore; they offered sacrifices in different places. Some of the Keita used to perform their sacred acts in a sacred forest in the north-east of Niani. However, others took a sacred pile at Tigan in which believed that the pile included shoes, a knife and a suit belonged to Sundiata –the lion king- that pile to them had the pure soul of Sundiata inside, and Sundiata should be memorized because he was the hero of all Mandingo clans (Niane 145).

2. Political Organization

After the establishment of the Mali Empire, Sundiata organized the political system of his empire.

2.1. The Constitution of the Mali Empire

The constitution of the Mali Empire was set just after the triumph of Kirina battle that was the first pillar for the rise of the great empire of Mali. The constitution stated clearly customs and prohibitions which governed the relationship between the Mandingo clans themselves, and between them and the other clans and ethnic groups. The new constitution set the governing system of the empire (Mali divided into province and sub province) and the characteristics of the successor of Sundiata the founder of the Mali Empire.

First, the constitution stated that the successor king or mansa should be selected from the descendants of Sundiata and the successor should have direct tie to Sundiata in this context Niane said: "...the succession was to be fratrilinal" (134).

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

The constitution also contained articles that forced the princes to marry only from the Conde clan- the clan which Sundiata's mother belonged to. Second, the Mansa in the new constitution was considered as the judge and the father of all the people of the Mali Empire. The Mansa was the only one to take decisions and order the army. Finally, the new constitution re-organized the social structure of the Mali Empire, and it also divided the professions and responsibilities among the clans.

Though the constitution aimed to strengthen the internal structure and make some balance among different ethnic groups and clans, it made some noticeable gaps between Sundiata's allies and clan who were granted high and specific occupations, whereas, the other clans were put on the margin because they did not benefit from the new constitution though it was set to achieve equality among people but it got things got worse and it separated between different clans after they unified and defeated Sumanguru with Sundiata at Kirina.

2.2 Central Authority

Like the previous empire of Ghana, Mali's king, the Mansa, divided Mali into provinces in order to simplify the way of governing and to impose his sovereignty over Mali .In this system, the king is the head of the Kingdom, the Mansa set some governors at the level of each province as well as to rule the kingdom in a smooth manner. The selected Governors belonged to the important families and descents, but there were a few officials who did not belong to famed families. Governors were responsible for fixing local problems if it was possible whereas the complicated matters were fixed by the king himself (Niane 135).

2.3 The Capital "Niani"

Niani was the capital of the Mali Empire and the most known province. It was located in a safe area near the delta of the Senegal River. It was the homeland of the Mansa and his throne. At Niani, there were the best officials and noble men. Those men were from the elite who could help and advise the king whenever it was necessary. They also had the high occupation

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

such as: Hari-Farma¹, Sao-Farma², Babili-Farma³ and Khalisi-Farma⁴. Niani was the political and trading centre of the Mali Empire during Sundiata's rule. And it was also the land where agriculture flourished because it had some water sources (Conrad 355-8).

2.4 The Army of Mali

The Mali Empire had an organized army forces which consisted of different groups. There were the aristocracy (nobles and quivers) who were selected soldiers and there were also horse-breeding and cavalry men. Cavalry men were armed with long spears in addition to bow and arrows. The army was under the control of Mali Mansa who was also the head of the troops. The Mansa also invited a lieutenant general to be in charge of the troops. Lieutenant general was function as Mansa's second commander and the chief of the armed forces. The army was an effective tool in keeping peace and protecting the interesting cities of Walata, Gao, Timbuktu and Niani. The army was also along the sensitive borders that linked Mali Empire with the other small kingdoms and the territory of the former Ghana Empire (Niane 160-4).

2.5 The Shift of Power

After the death of Sundiata in 1255, his son Uli or Yerelenko became the Mansa of the Mali Empire from 1255 to 1270. Mansa Uli was a great king. He expanded the empire, and under his reign Mali took Takrur and other parts from the territory of former Ghana Empire. He also encouraged Agriculture in order to increase income resources that were mainly dependent on gold and salt trading. Uli was a Muslim and he conducted the pilgrimage to Mecca during the reign of Sultan Bybars of Egypt 1260-1277. In Uli's era, Mali suffered from a real problem of leadership due to the lack of experience.

After Uli, his brothers Wati (1270-1274) and after him his brother Khalifa (1274-1275) became the King of the Mali Empire in 1274-1275 respectively. Wati and Khalifa ruled the

¹Hari-Farma: the man who was in charge of fishing.

²Sao-Farma: the man who was responsible for looking after the forest.

³Babili-Farma: the minister of culture.

⁴Khalisi-Farma: The minister of Finance

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

empire for about 5 years but they achieved nothing to be remembered for. After that, Abu-Bakr (1275-1285), the son of one of Sundiata's daughter came to power, he ruled for a while. Abu-Bakr was the first illegitimate ruler who broke the customs of patrilineal rule. Then Abu Bakr was followed by a military commander named Sakura (1285-1300). Sakura was an ex-slave who was freed during Sundiata's reign. Sakura seized the throne after he realized that the royal family was no longer able to provide a good leadership (Davidson 48-49).

Under Sakura's reign, Mali was expanded into a new area, and Sakura was also able to take control of the Kingdom of Gao, and he sustained stability and peace in the Mali Empire. Sakura was also a Muslim king, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca but he was killed on his way back to the Mali Empire, and after Sakura two legitimate kings followed him. Qu (or Gao in Arabic sources) was the son of Uli and the grandson of the great Emperor Sundiata. He occupied the throne from 1300 to 1305, and then he was succeeded by his son Muhammad who controlled the Mali Empire about five years 1305-1310, but they are less recorded because they ruled a short era and they were not able to achieve a lot for their population and Empire and after that, Abu-Bakr I who ruled from 1310 to 1312. Abu-Bakr I was recorded in the history of Mali for his ambition for adventure (Levtzion 341-353). See Fig1 (p 49).

3. Social Organization

In the Mali Empire, there lived many families, clans and ethnic groups in one single community, but in fact, they differed in their social rank, beliefs, and ways of living and even in terms of the geographical area that they occupied.

3.1 The Family

In old Mali families, the woman played a major role as the man within the family. She shared responsibilities on behalf with the man; in other word, she used to look after children and she had to work in farms in order to help the man. Besides that, she was able to make some of her house need (dishes) through transforming clay, whereas, the man was likely to follow his parent path, that is to say, he would work as his ancestors did, in addition to that ,he had to provide his family 's needs , working in plantation and he had also to share the king (Mansa) in keeping security and stability within the empire through serving the army troops . Moreover; parents shared duties towards children till children got eleven old, at that age, male children join Islamic schools in Timbuktu ,while female children were supposed as mature women. So they would marry and establish their own families after they had been taught by their mothers about life after marriage, and they also knew how to handle some handicrafts (Reece 09).

3.2 Major Ethnic groups

The structure of old Mali's society was very complicated one. It included many ethnicities and who had many differences.

3.2.1 The White Nomads

The white nomads (Berber¹ and Sunhaja) were merely composed of three tribes which were Lemtona, Masufa² and Djoddala. These tribes came from North Africa (Morocco) and they occupied the area of Sijilmasa, Awdagoust, Tadmekka, the Bank of Senegal River and Azke where was the castle of Lemtona, Azke was the northern port that linked between the old home land and that of West Africa (Sudan). They share mutual belief in which men of these communities used to cover their heads and mouth with turban. The turban was worn only by

¹Berbers were the inhabitants of North Africa who speak Tamazight.

² Masufa: Belongs to Tuareg dynasty.

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

nobles, then it became the common heritage of all the society components in which they could not differentiate between each other only if they were covering their mouth, whereas; women did not cover their whole faces and also in those societies, women granted high position in the rank of society, that is to say, women had the same rights as the men and they could attend tribe council, own properties and they used servants to do house duties instead of.

According to Arabs, there were many reasons behind the use of turban. First, the turban was worn by men in order to protect them from the hot weather of the desert. And some of them might say that these tribes used the turban fearing of the enemies' invasion that its homeland witnessed. So when the enemy came they could not recognise whether the human with turban is a male or female, those tribes also were divided into classes which were "Imajeghan" who dominated the political sphere, Army leadership and commercial life, and the other class called "Imghad" or slave, those were not sold like slaves but inherited like other properties. Imghad used to wear turban differently from the noble men "Imajeghan", they worked as cattle shepherds and they were also had the right to work and own, but their properties went back to their owners,

Though Masufa, Lemtona and Djadala shared the same tradition (way of clothing and foods) and they adopted Islam in the early ages, they were living in separate places and every tribe was specialized in a field for instance, Djadala used to live in the western part near the Atlantic Ocean above the Senegal River .They were numerous, and Masufa were the best soldiers and the most beautiful tribe of Berbers, they dominated the Area Awdagoust, above the Niger River to Tadmekka. And the third one was Lemtona. Lemtona covered the area above the Savanna and the Niger River till Azke. They were the leading of all the others tribe, and they also monopolized commerce since they were in the north port of the Soudan. Those tribes gradually got mixed with the other ethnic groups and they influenced them with their customs

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

and due to them Islam spread in the Mali Empire in the 13th Century. And after that they became part of Malian who used to work as traders, and they inhabited the most urban cities such as Goa, Djenne, Niani and Timbuktu (Dandash 29-36).

3.2.2 The Black “The Mandingo”

The Mandingo was a part of the inhabitants of high Niger River. They were divided into Sub-group: Soninke, Bambara, Dyula and Mandinka (Keita¹), they spread from the south of wagadougou till the Mountain of Futa-Djalon; they formed a group of farmer and animist. The Mandingo would occupy the left of the Niger River of the Woyo-Wayanko next to Bamako till Niandan, and because of the conflict with Sundiata. The Malinke had to cross the Niger River till to the West of Africa, they converted to Islam during the existence of the Mali Empire and after that, they started to spread Islam within the other tribes. The language (Mande) of the Malinke was already the language of trade interaction in all over the west of Africa in the 13th century. It was also spoken in Timbuktu and Gambia due to the voyage of the Malinke merchants and warriors along the Sudan, the Mande language became the dominant in the savanna when Mali's hegemony weakened.

The Bambara were a minority group of the Mande. they settled in Bani between Bougini and Sekoro, they were totally against Islam, and they protected themselves from merchants and marabout (Quranic teachers), while the Soninke “Serakoule” who were the founders of old Ghana empire and its capital Kumbi Saleh (Mauritania). They were under the sovereign of the Mansa after the rise of the Mali Empire, and they were one of its groups. Serakoule lived in the desert then they moved to settle in the region of Bakounou and Wagadou (Burkina-Faso). They converted to Islam in the early middle Ages. The Soninke were intellectuals and a rich group, their activities were based on agriculture and animal breeding (Niane 53-54).

¹ Keita is the name of Sundiata's clan.

3.2.3 Other Ethnicities

There were also some minor tribes and clans that were under the Mali Empire's sovereignty. In the west in Futa along the bank of Senegal River, there were Tacoror, the latter was non Muslims but after the arrival of Berbers tribes they mixed with, and they became Muslim. The Tacoror was the known name that used to address the Black Muslims of West Africa. And to the south of the Senegal River, there was a tribe called Woloff .The Woloff's origin went back to a group of tribes; Berbers, Mandinka, Serer and Fulbe. The Woloff were very black and they divided into many social classes (Free, Freed, Craftsmen and slaves) in which every specific class kept bound to itself, that is to say, a man and women from different classes could not marry and vice versa .The Woloff were numerous, they depended on farming and animals breeding because they dominated the fertile lands and sources of water as the Serer tribe who lived between modern Gambia and the Senegal River .Those tribes were the weak cycle in the community of the Mali empire because they were less influential than the other Major ethnic groups (Mandinka and Berbers)who were monopolizing the commercial(gold and salt trade with north African) and political life ,and beside that they inhabited the most effective and urban cities(Niani, Timbuktu, Djenne) where there were Islamic schools and the center of decision making (Dandash 36).

3.4 Beliefs and Religions

In West African ancient culture, people used to believe in the force of nature as divinities; those divinities played a vital role in old Soudan (Mali) traditions. Divinities were considered as the sole responsible for rains and as a result they became in charge of good farming season too. In each village, people used to have divinities whereas the name of those divinities and spiritual practices would vary from one village or from one ethnic group to another. For instance, the Malinke used to organize feasts and offer sacrifices under the order of "the Konkoba" who was

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

the chief of cultures for the Malinke, and the end of harvest; they would organize feasts and dance. Divinities were numerous among them there was Kodoba who was considered as the divinity of fecundity, and there was also a divinity called “Massa-Dan-Bali” or “Man-Tigui” who was the greatest of all in the Mandingo community.

Magic and prophecy also went hand in hand with divinities in west Africa at the 13th century, that to say, magic had a great importance in the life of old Malian. In magic practices, West African used their king’s body parts such the head because they believed that is a pure spirit. These practices were considered by Mandingo as a mutual heritage which belonged to Sassouma (Sundiata’s Mother) since she used to call after the power of evil ‘Soubago’, so they would stick on it (Niane244-49).

By the arrival of merchants to West Africa, they had their impact on people and on the ruling system, because those Berbers brought the Islamic religion and culture from North Africa to Sudan and the other empire that emerged in the 13th century, and due to the commercial interaction between those clans and tribe. Islam got its way to numerous of Mandingo merchants ,then Islam was also welcomed by the king of the Mali empire(Sundiata , Mansa Musa and so on...) himself and many kings along the history of Mali had conducted pilgrimage to the holy palace of Muslims ‘Mecca’ as a result, the great part of Malians were converted to Islam pursuing their leaders whom were considered as the ideals of all the empire components ,consequently; Islam had found its place within those people especially after Islamic mosques and universities had been built. These mosques were the leading basis that facilitated the spread of Islam through exposure to Quranic courses and lectures, and in turn, traditional beliefs had decreased within those societies though many peoples and even kings kept mixing between Islam and traditional ritual (Insoll 48-50).

3.4. Major Social Classes

Old West African (old Mali) societies were composed of many social classes. They had different social roles in society and which would not be altered because it was based on their ethnicity and origin (Links with the royal family) and here are some of these classes:

3.4.1 Aristocrats

Aristocrats were the top class in old Mali society; they were born of warrior families, and they were also the family leaders, they were constituted of classes since the conquest of Sundiata in the 13th century. The aristocrats were mainly made up of the chief of the allied or defeated people. Many people envied these aristocrats, as a result; they were named after their bosses; the practice of polygamy did not contribute to the extension of these families, there were thousands of people living in the royal houses in the Mali Empire as well getting the title of aristocrat.

At that time, there was a clear distinction among king's children and other children. The children who were born of free family and of the Mansa or royal had more rights than illegal children, and whenever the crown was unoccupied, it was the council of senior or aristocrats who decide who would be the king in general, while the child born a princess had the upper hand.

The reasons put forward above allow us to understand a genuine noble class that did not succeed in its growth. The royal family would grow constantly by adding new elements. The disrespect of the right of Elders did not allow to keep lineage of royal heritage, thus till the 14th century, the great dignitaries and the civil servants were recruited from the royal family or the great allied family: the Keita, Conde (Sundiata's mother clan) and koroma even in terms of marriage, whereas the other sub-class did not have these rights (Niane103-04).

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

3.4.2 Officials

In the 13th century, the dignitaries were chosen by virtue of their parental links with the king (Mansa), but in some provinces, the privilege was given to birth. The staffs were composed of people from different ethnic groups under the reign of the Mansa; Mandingue, Takrur and serokolles (Soninke). However, the supreme power was on the hand of the king himself. He gave a great importance to the army; the armies were the only one to sit when the king was present; in other words when he is sitting.

However, other functions in the far region were occupied by the relatives of the king. They were considered as vice-king, and they were much respected, whenever, they would move, they accompanied by drum players relatives, that is to say, the governor were known as “Kourmina-Fari” or the governor of the province. whereas, the “Dendi-Fari” (the governor of Dendi) who was the cradle of the Empire, as the bara or “Bara koi” they had the right to advise the king, because they had the power of veto over the king’s decision. The governor of “Dirma” was the only person who had the right to enter the palace of the king without getting of his horse, and the dirma was responsible of guiding the retinue when the king would go out of the capital, as far as “qadi”(judge) was considered, they were both promoted to the rank of counsellors, and they had also the right (or honour) to shake the king’s hands, that is to say, the relative of the king monopolized the representation in the administered system of the empire, and the lower position like ministries (general treasurer, ministry of forest...and so on) were held by freed slaves, and they also used to work as spokesmen (griot in the Mande) of the king which means they were repeating what the king articulated to the audience. And beside the two preceding classes, it came the class of soldiers who also were selected according to certain criteria that the soldier should own (go back to the title of political organization) (Niane 104-10).

4. Cultural Heritage

Mali Empire left many Islamic monuments, oral and written tradition that preserved its Islamic identity, architecture and history to modern day generation.

4.1 Monuments

The Monuments were one of the standing signs of the existence of the Mali Empire. They were in every single corners of Mali.

4.1.1 The Royal Palace

This palace (Madougou) was built during Mansa Musa's era (14th century). The palace was designed by an Andalusia poet and architect called E-Sahili, and it was probably in stone work with a mortar of lime like the great mosque of Jengereber, that's all that is known about the monument. It must be an ordinary palace but with so many decorations. It said that Mansa Musa wanted to adopt the oriental style, so he suggested constructing on the border of Niger a palace that could make comparison between royal palaces of the orient Kings, and due to the lack of materials, they gave it up. The palace has been occupied now by the slaughterhouse of the town but the Name Madougou remains till today every slaughterhouse is named Madougou (Niane 71-72).

4.1.2 Jengereber, Sankore, and Djenne Mosques

The mosque of Jengereber was built during Musa I reign. It is about 85 metre in length and 30 metre in depth, and because of its extraordinary dimension. Hadj Mansa Musa wanted to leave his fingerprint but the scarcity of materials that was always prevalent; he could not take care of it. The mosque had been renovated many times by using Sudanese materials, that's why, the visitor who came to Timbuktu could notice slight differences between the eastern side and the west side, there were many alterations to the eastern side of the mosque. The mosque was too

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

huge, but the only prestige of the architectural work of Mansa Musa I, it was that the light got hard in the mosque through the holes in the walls; the pillars of the mosque are covered with scriptural texts (Quran); and on the walls and on some pillars; some ornaments were drawn, and in the middle of the walls, there was the niche of the imam and next to it, there was a great chair in wood on which El-faqih or the minister of religious affairs used to sit as well as to read the Quran to the believer. The mosque of Sankore that became the university of Timbuktu which was built with the same style as Djenne and Djenguereber mosques but it was very small (Niane 72-77).

4.2 Oral and Written Tradition

There were many oral and written sources that preserved the history of the Mali Empire from the disappearance. These sources are as follows:

4.2.1 “Griot”

The Griot was an important person in the community of old Mali and he remained playing his social role till the Modern ages in Mali. A griot was an oral or verbal historian who was referred by many names such as “**jali**” or “**gawlo**” which was used by the Woloff clan and which has the same meaning of the word “**qawwal**” in Arabic language. A griot was the person who was responsible for keeping and transmitting the history of one specific generation to another through narrating stories “storyteller”, griot was also taken the form of poetry which was told while a group of the Mande were playing musical instruments, but the Griot was a historian not a poet as it might seem for us.

Because of his civic role, the griot was looked after, and he accompanied the king of the Mali empire in his travels (pilgrimage) and in wars because he was the associate who would deliver his triumph and achievement through retelling the story of Sundiata the hero of the Keita clan who founded the great empire of Mali. The Griot was also considered as the Mansa’s secret keeper and

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

his spokesman, that is to say, the griot delivered the kings orders' to the audience in ceremonies and most than that he was ready to sacrifice his life for the king. Thus many griots were buried alive with the kings in the same tomb.

The Griot was usually an honorable civic title or occupation in West Africa as in old Mali, this job was connected to a particular family, clan and ethnic lineage, in other word, the griot as a job was passed or inherited. The Griot was the keeper and the witness of sad and happy events of single person and communities, that is to mean, these families were responsible for memorizing and remembering historical family events as well as to be recited and passed it (ancestry) to their successor generation after death of the being able to recite historical family events and the family's many generations. Moreover; the Griot was the common memory of all Malians, thus the empire of ancient Mali relied on oral historians rather than written histories because the griots typically passed their knowledge down through their own families. Besides that, the griot was safer than any other written source that could disappear at any time because of human and even climate conditions (Diawara 31-33).

4.2.2. Manuscripts

As far as the griot preserved the history of Mali, the Manuscript was an important item that kept the identity of Malians ,and it also aided Malians to keep different Islamic and Quranic lecture and courses alive for centuries. Manuscripts were about thousands, they were written on Islamic or European imported papers and in many local languages that were used in the Mali Empire at the 13th Century such as; Arabic, Haussa, Mande and Songhai. Those Manuscripts were mainly about grammar, Logic, rhetoric, theology, astronomy and old Medicine. Those Manuscript were sold everywhere at that time and great part of them exist till nowadays and they need protection (Rasmussen 18-20). See Fig2 (p 50).

Chapter One: The Rise of the Mali Empire 13th century

Conclusion

This chapter tackled significant points related to the origin and emergence of the Mali Empire at the early 13th century; as far as, it examined the royal system of that empire, society, that is to say, it studied different ethnic groups, social classes, religions and traditional beliefs. Beside that; it examined the cultural heritage. However, the next chapter will tackle another important era of Mali history which the era of Mansa Musa 14th Century.

Chapter Two:

The Mali Empire (14th - 15th Centuries)

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

Introduction

After the reign of Abu-Bakr II, Mansa Musa raised as strong Muslim leader retrieving the glorious Ages of the Mali Empire, and whose ancestors (Sundiata) had already built. Musa came to throne in a difficult era that witnessed several problems and conflicts about authority, so it would not be easy for a king to solve and look after a kingdom with such inherited dilemma, but in fact, Mansa Musa managed to rescue the Mali Empire from the fragmentation, it was unbelievable that in short time he could sustain peace and bring prosperity to Mali's economy and commercial movement. The following chapter will shed light to Mansa Musa and to the great pilgrimage that he conducted in the 14th century and its impact on Mali, and the chapter will also refer to the economic (sources of income, trading route and trading center) and educational situation in term of institution (universities and mosques), in addition to the learning process ,branches and the movement of students and scholars, and later on, it refers to the process of succession and the fall of the Mali empire .

1. Mansa Musa “the Great”

Mansa Musa is one the great West African kings who ruled Mali Empire; he belonged to the Mande Muslims clan. During his era, Malian lived in peace, equality, and stability; beside that, Malian territories extended towards the North, and he is also remembered for his pilgrimage and wealth in all over the world.

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

1.1. Mansa Musa's biography

Mansa I or Mansa¹ Musa as was referred to by Mande, he was the tenth Mansa, and he was named by various names such as “King of Kings” or “Emperor” of the Malian Empire. His name is also found as Mansa Musa in West Africa manuscripts and literature. The name also might appear as Kanku Musa, which means "Musa, son of Kanku", as Kanku is the name of his mother and he is also named by Arab Historians “El hajj Musa of Melli²” in Al-Sadi book. He had also some alternatives such as Mali-koy Kankan Musa and the Lion of Mali. He is the son of Abu Bakari II and the grandson of Sundiata who is the founder of the Mali Empire. He was born in 1280 in Mali and ruled from 1312 to 1337 (“Mansa I of Mali” <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Musa-I-of-Mali>).

1.2 Accession to the Throne

Mansa Musa came to the throne After his father (Abu Bakr II) who ruled from 1310-1312. Musa's father left the empire and he crossed the Atlantic Ocean aiming to discover the New World even before Columbus did, and he never came back from that expeditionary journey, Thus, Mansa Musa came to power through a practice of appointing a deputy when a king lost [as in the case of Abu Bakari II] or went on pilgrimage to Mecca (Levtzion 147).

1.3 Reign of Musa I

Mansa Musa accessed the throne of Mali from 1312 to 1337. he had inherited an empire about to decline due to the problem of succession. After he had put hand on Mali he tried to consolidate the internal basis there were found by Sundiata. Mansa Musa ruled the empire at its greatest height. It was his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324 that put the empire on the map. He travelled with thousands of porters and servants carrying lots of gold with him. After his

¹Mansa :means the king in Mande Language

²Melli :the place where the king live

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

pilgrimage to Mecca he returned to Mali filled with a determination to purify and strengthen Islam, to promote Islamic education and to introduce some of the new things he had seen on his journey. In fact, Islam had become firmly established among the ruling classes of Mali under his reign and his contact with North Africa brought important developments in the field of architecture (“Mansa Musa of old Mali” <http://www.blackhistorypages.net/pages/m...>).

Musa also became famous in the globe for his work in the fields of politics, commerce and Islam. In the field of politics he extended the borders of Mali even much further and set up a more sufficient and effective system of administration than the previous Manses of Mali. Mansa Musa's regime of administration based on justice, fairness and unbiased, and he had put his print in the diplomatic sphere through establishing relationships (exchanging Ambassadors) with other African states such as Morocco and Egypt.

Mansa Musa brought stability, security and good management to Mali, consequently; Mali witnessed great commercial prosperity that his impact touched both the region of gold and salt-producing since gold mines were under his order and control. Under Mansa Musa's leadership, Mali became an attractive area for traders from the north and from the south of the empire. Mansa Musa selected a good governing staff and he built a strong army who could maintain order even among the chaotic areas in Mali of the Sahara, accordingly; traders and visitors could move and cross Mali in a safe way, As a result commerce became very rapid and traders from different lands such as Egypt and Morocco could be found in the commercial towns.

Some of the important commercial centers also had governors of their own. All these provincial administrators were responsible to the Mansa, and they were all said to be well paid. The king also regularly invited and dealt with complaints and appeals against injustices committed by the governors. Mansa Musa's prodigious generosity and piety, and his exemplary behavior did not fail to create a most favorable impression. He was also a devout Muslim and his

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

pilgrimage to Mecca made him well-known across Northern Africa and the Middle East, and also in a way or another he had hand in the development of his region at that time (Levtzion 351-353).

1.4 Mansa Musa's Journey to Mecca 1345-1325

Mansa Musa had had his noticeable reputation due to the wonderful pilgrimage that he conducted to Mecca (1324-1325), and also for the prosperity he brought to the empire of Mali during his reign. He decided to travel and take risk not only for fulfilling his religious duties, but also for his empire benefit because he invited some Muslim scholars, teachers and leader (from Arab Peninsula) to join his caravan back to the Mali empire, so that, they would help him in the educational revolution that he would launch to enlighten his fellows and explore their intellectual capacities towards building a well developed and strong empire.

1.4.1. The Journey to Mecca

Like his ancestors, Mansa Musa decided to pilgrim to the holy and sacred place of Muslims. He ordered his adviser to prepare for such had and difficult trip. After the preparation, Mansa Musa headed a great caravan from the capital of the Mali Empire Niani -which was on the upper Niger River - ,to Walata (Mauritania), then to Tuat or Adrar (south of Algeria) where he camped to rest because the caravan campaign get tired and some them felt sick. And after that, they resumed the journey, they passed by Ghadames (Libya) in the way to Cairo (Egypt), Mansa Musa was accompanied by an exciting caravan consisting of 60,000 men including personal associates of 12,000 slaves, all wearing clothes in brocade and Persian silk as Goodwin stated that:"the caravan consisted of not less than sixty thousands persons...twelve thousand young and attractive slaves were dressed in tunics of brocade or fine Silk ...each bearing a staff of pure gold."(110).the emperor Mansa Musa rode on horseback and he was directly preceded by

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

500 slaves, each one them was carrying a lot of decorated gold staff. In addition, Mansa Musa had his own personal belongings which were about 80 camels; each one of it was loaded 300lb¹ of gold.

According to Ibn Battuta (Arab Moroccan traveler and historian) records, Mansa Musa headed a great wealthy caravan that the Mali Empire and West Africa had ever witnessed before and after Mansa Musa rule. The caravan included a large presence of bodyguards, public figure, burden horses, and colored flags. And according to Conrad, Mansa Musa travelled with his junior wife, Inari Kanuté. Inari had also hundreds of her own servants and slaves. Inari's belonging contained 100 camel-charged by gold and every camel carried approximately 300 lb of gold; 500 slaves, each one carried a 4 pound too; and gold craftsmen were also among the caravans. There were also Muslims from among the Mali court, officials and merchant community, camel guiders, and numerous soldiers to protect the big caravan. Thousands of camels and donkeys were used as well as to carry food, water, and other supplies (Conrad, 37).

When Mansa Musa arrived in Egypt in July 1324, his huge caravan camped outside Cairo near the Great Pyramids. His visit to Egypt created an impression because he carried such a huge amount of gold with him and he was very generous in granting gifts. Among the offerings he sent to the sultan of Egypt were about 40,000 dinars (coins which were made up from gold). He also gave 10,000 dinars to the sultan's second-commander, and he was also generous to everyone he met at the king's (sultan) court. See map2 p32.

When the visitors from Mali shopped in the Cairo market, the merchants benefited of them and charged them five dinars for things that were worthy in value. Mansa Musa distributed so much gold as gifts, and the Malians spent such large amounts in the market, as a result gold became invaluable and did not pick up for several years. The King stayed at Cairo for three months before he continued on to Arabia and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. However, the

¹Lb: a weighting unit, 1lb=0.454kilogram.

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

value of gold there decreased as much as 25 per cent due to Mansa Musa's generosity in offering gifts and the large amounts spent by the Malians in the market (Oliver 43).

After Mansa Musa and the caravan had put feet in Medina, Mansa I went in order to visit the Islamic sacred places. First, he visited the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) tomb and Mosque, then left Medina towards Al-Baqiaa's graveyard where he had the chance to salute the prophet's companion tomb too, Mansa Musa voyage into Medina was not only spiritual and religious, but it was also an opportunity to meet some famed scholars and other whom were prophet's descents (chorafa). After that, the caravan continued the journey pursuing the prophet's way to Mecca, and after they had visited Meymuna tomb and Aisha Mosque, they reached Mecca. At Mecca, Mansa Musa cleaned his body and he took on two white unknotted pieces of cloth to cover his body, and later started performing the fifth rule of pilgrimage that were mentioned in the Muslims' holy book "The Qur'an" (Abbou 8). See map2 p34

1.4.2 The Return Journey

When Mansa Musa finished his religious duties in Mecca and Medina, he was highly prepared to return to Mali; he had almost spent the amount of gold he had, because he spent a lot of gold in the way to Cairo and Mecca. He left Mecca owning a little amount of money; consequently, he had to borrow a sum of money in order to finance the caravan needs till reaching home (Mali) "When Mansa Musa passed by Egypt, he borrowed some money from a famous merchant called Seradj Eddine Ibn Al-Kuik who own the land where Musa Kankan camped in"(qtd. in Al-Sadi 8) .

According to historians, when Musa and his caravan were returning from Mecca to Cairo, they decided to separate from the main caravan into smaller groups in order to walk in higher speed that would allow them to find water sources, since they didn't take any Arab companions to guide them in that hot and harsh area (desert). They started wandering because

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

they were about to lose the current that led them back to Egypt .until they finally came to the seashore at Suez (five centuries before the building of the Suez Canal at the east of Egypt). They were so exhausted and hungry thus they ate whatever fish they could catch there.

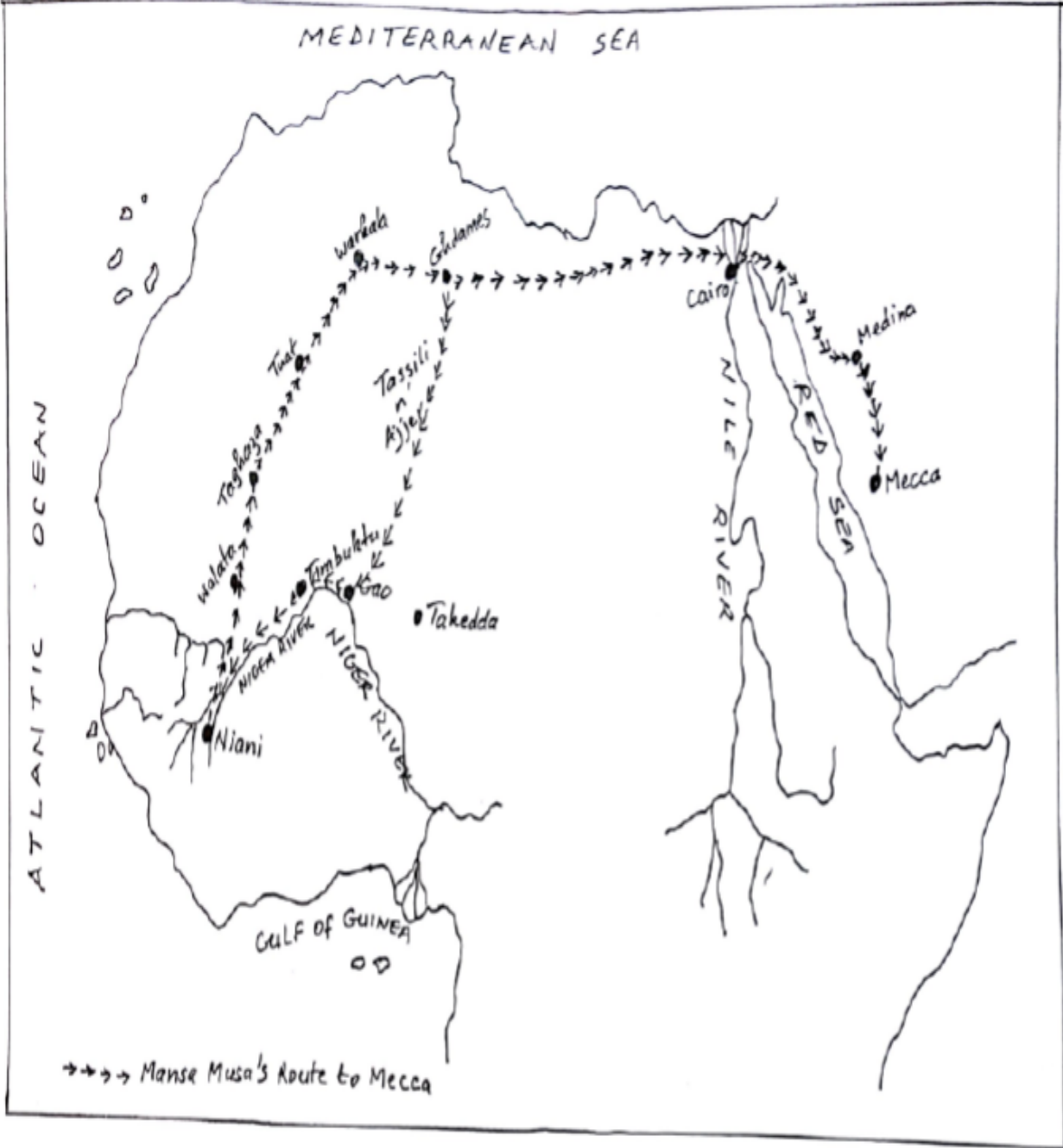
Whereas the lost people from the main group were kidnapped by local Bedouin people (nomads of the Arabian Peninsula) and taken as slaves. After the short break in Egypt, they passed by Ghadames then to the Tassili n' Ajjer, and he ended up in Goa and Timbuktu where he stayed for days in order to maintain order in Timbuktu after he regained from the Songhai, whereas, Ali Sunni (the Future king of Songhai) and brother Solyeman Nar were taken by the king to look after as al Sadi pointed that in Tarikh A-Soudan:“Ali Sunni and Sulayman Nar both lived in Mali Empire during the reign of Mansa Musa, and they used to serve in the palace of the king”(6).And after that he continued his way to Niani which he arrived in 1325. See Map2 p32.

1.4.3. The Impact of Mansa Musa's Journey

Most people considered that the pilgrimage into Mecca was only for fulfilling the fifth pillar of Islam, and they thought about its costs, However; emphasis should be put on the effects of Mansa Musa's hajj not on the pilgrimage itself. Mali became better known in North Africa, the Middle East, and even in Europe owing to his magnificent pilgrimage and the resulting advertising in Cairo. In 1339, Mali appeared on a "Map of the World". And years later, it appeared on another map of the world showed that a road leading from North Africa through the Atlas Mountains into the Western Sudan. And after that, a third map of the world showed a richly attractive monarch holding a large gold nugget in the area south of the Sahara. The order and prosperity found in Mali (Abbou 11).

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th - 15th Centuries)

Map2: Mansa Musa's Route of Pilgrimage 1324



Source: James Oliver, Mansa Musa and Mali Empire, 2013pp.50-51.

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

1.5 The Achievements of Mansa Musa

Mansa Musa returned to Mali with a strong desire to reform Islam. He brought back with him an Arabic library, religious scholars, and most importantly from Spain the Muslim architect Abu Ishaq al-Sahili whose most famous work was the Hall of audience which he built in Niani (capital of the Muslim Mandingo empire for 300 years), a building communicating by an interior door to the royal palace. It was a marvelous monument surmounted by a dome, adorned with arabesques of striking colors. The windows of an upper floor were plated with wood and framed in silver foil; those of a lower floor were plated with wood, framed in gold. Like the Great Mosque, a contemporaneous and extravagant structure in Timbuktu, the Hall was built of cut stones. Similarly, it was said to have built on the order of Mansa Musa the Jengereber Mosque (1324–1327) in Timbuktu that still stands till today (Davisson 52).

As a result, Timbuktu grew famous and soon it became Mali's centre of trade and culture (mosques, universities and libraries).Mansa musa had a great effect on Mali as a whole unit because trade had also flourished especially when goods became available and in bulk in the markets, goods were brought from different region of the Mali empire and even from other neighbors (Hausa land, Egypt, and other African kingdoms).Beside that ; Mansa Musa pilgrimage attracted people to the king's wealth and also the richness of Mali's cities of (gold and salt mines) even across the Mediterranean to Europe (Portugal, Spain ,Italy and France) , where traders and merchants from those geographical areas (Granada, Castile and Genoa) sooner highlighted Timbuktu in their maps to trade manufactured goods(cloths and food) for gold ("Mansa Musa of old Mali" <http://www.blackhistorypages.net/pages/m...>).

Furthermore, these commercial connections helped Mansa Musa to spread Islam in a very fast way to reach the Far the East, the south and the west border of his empire through season internal trade caravans and also through the Islamic universities and Mosques; as a result Timbuktu became a new area for Islamic scholarship. diplomatic friendship and ties were

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

established and for the first time, ambassadors were sent from Mali to Morocco and vice versa, Moreover, Malinke students started traveling to study in Morocco(Fez University) seeking to increase their intellectual abilities. The University of Sankore in Timbuktu was staffed under Musa's reign, with jurists, astronomers, and mathematicians. The university became a centre of learning and culture, drawing Muslim scholars from around Africa and the Middle East to Timbuktu (Goodwin 110).

2. Economic Organization and Intellectual life

Under the kinship of Mansa Musa, Mali witnessed a remarkable improvement on education and economic income and that due to effect of the pilgrimage (new trade relationship and new universities) that mansa Musa made, and as a result of Mansa Musa's policies that rely on various economic resources (Agriculture, gold and salt trading and taxation on trade routes) rather than the past when it was reliable on gold and salt trading.

2.1 Economic organization

Mali Empire had various sources of economic income. The letter was either from salt and gold trading or from taxation on trade routes and markets 'trading centers'.

2.1.1 Gold and Salt "Mining"

Mali's economy was based on gold and salt because they were the two most important items in West Africa. Gold came from the mine in the forest region south of the savanna between the Niger and Senegal rivers. West African Miners dug gold from shafts as deep as 100 feet or sifted it from fast-moving streams. According to historian, the Mali Empire monopolized the gold trade all over the world until the end of the fourteenth century, because about 1/3 of the world's supply of gold came from Mali (West Africa). ("Mali Empire"
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali_Empire#Salt)

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

Despite that, gold was available in high quantities, but it was rare in the market, because miners were using simple methods to dig on it. Besides that, gold was valuable in Mali and the neighbour kingdoms and even in the country and kingdom of the north Midstream coast, whereas, during Mansa Musa's reign, gold became available and as a result it lost its value ("Mali Empire" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali_Empire#Gold).

Although the Savannah forest was rich of gold, it lacked salt that is an essential material to humans which the Sahara region contained a big deposit of salt. In fact, people of Saharan village of Taghaza, they built their houses from salt blocks because it was the only material available.

The geographical location of the Mali Empire that was in between water gave it some characteristics to be more than gold producer, because there were large fertile lands at the Niger, Senegal and Sankarani River that could be used in agriculture, fishing and net work of transportation from an area to another through water routes. And it was a factor for varying the source of income rather being bound to gold and salt trade, so it was necessary to look forward encouraging farmers and handicraft men and depending on their own efforts in order to decrease importation of goods (Collins 82-87).

2.1.2 Trading Centres

Trading centers were the back bone of Mali's Economy during the 13th and 14th centuries. Here are the major trading centres:

2.1.2.1 Timbuktu

Tombuktu or Tinbuktu are two different names used by the Arab people and historian of North Africa to refer to Timbuktu. Timbuktu took its name from a slave woman called Buktu; it was established by a group of nomad called "Tuareg" before the rise of the Mali Empire in this

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

context Valancy quoted in his text that: “the legend is that the city was named for a slave woman named Buktu..., it was founded by the Tuareg.” (12). Timbuktu is located at the bank of the Niger River in the north of modern Mali. It considered as the north port of Mali through which traders of North Africa to reach Mali.

After the rise of the Mali Empire, Timbuktu became an interesting trading and scholarship center, especially under the leadership of Mansa Musa who not only invited scholars and built mosques and universities but he also encouraged traders and provide security, Timbuktu reached the peak of development and urbanism because it was influenced by the other people who passed by to trade in its Market, for getting knowledge and also for diplomatic visit form different places such Haussa land, North Africa(Morabit ,Berbers and Sunhaja) ,and the east of Africa (Cairo and Alexandria) ,beside that ,Timbuktu became one of the most trading centres that had a major role in the increase of Mali’s economic income.

2.1.2.2 Djenne, Gao, and Walata

Djenne (jenne-djeno) is the one of the oldest cities of the Malian Empire; Djenne’s establishment dated back to the pre-Medieval era, it was under Ghana prior empire and then it was included to Mali in the early 13th century. It is located in the south of Modern Mali. It was one of the most interesting trading centers of old Mali but not that much as Timbuktu. Djenne markets were full of gold and salt that came from the north and which it reached there through the Niger River, that to add, Djenne was also a centre of learning and Islamic culture which was spread by the Berbers and Sunhaja who were the first north African people to settle in Djenne as Levtzion Stated that:”Jenne is one of the greatest Muslim markets where traders carrying salt form the mines of Taghaza meet trades with the gold....” (157).

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

Gao is also considered as interesting economic centre in old Mali, it is suited at the eastern bend of the Niger River, it is about 400 kilometre far down Timbuktu (Modern Mali), it rose before the growth of Timbuktu, Gao was not as interesting as Timbuktu which was the first influential economic area in the Medieval ages in west Africa. Gao market were full of goods such as salt, gold and copper but most of these goods came from different region as mentioned by El Wazan “Black men came to Gao carrying a high amount of gold as well as to buy goods that came from the Barber’ land and Europe.”(167). Walata (Mauritania) also had a major role in the trading movement; it is located in the North West of Mali Empire, it was inhabited by Berbers and Sanhaja who used to pass through as well as to trade and exchange goods, Walata was the point that connected the trading caravans of North Africa with the markets of the Mali empire and that of Haussa land as a result Walata grew up to be the Back port for Timbuktu.

2.1.3 Mali’s External Commercial Contacts

Mali’s external commercial contact was an important trade movement that financed the economy of West African kingdoms and also those of North Africa. The Mali Empire was one of the leading empires that gained a lot from controlling trade in the early 14th century, but under the kinship of Mansa Musa; these routes witnessed a remarkable improvement, and it became not only a route for trading goods but it also played a major role in spreading Islam in those areas of Africa, and that due to the pilgrimage of Mansa Musa and the role of the scholars. (“Mali Empire“ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali_Empire#/media/File:The_Mali_Empire,Trans-trade).

The trans-Saharan routes was also the only tie that connected Malians with North Africans who has been traveling to Mali in organized caravans from Morocco, Algeria, Libya and Egypt after the journey of Mansa Musa to Mecca (1325). Moroccan caravans were passing by Sejelmasa, Walata (Modern Mauritania) desert into Timbuktu, and Algerian Caravans were crossing the Algerian Sahara (Tuat and Tementit) into Timbuktu too; whereas, caravans from

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

Egypt had to pass by the bend of the Niger; and then to Gao and later to Timbuktu where the caravans met as Barry Prima mentioned: “Timbuktu and Walata were both two famous cities of trading movement, and centre of Islamic religion and culture in west Africa in the 14th century.” (22-23).

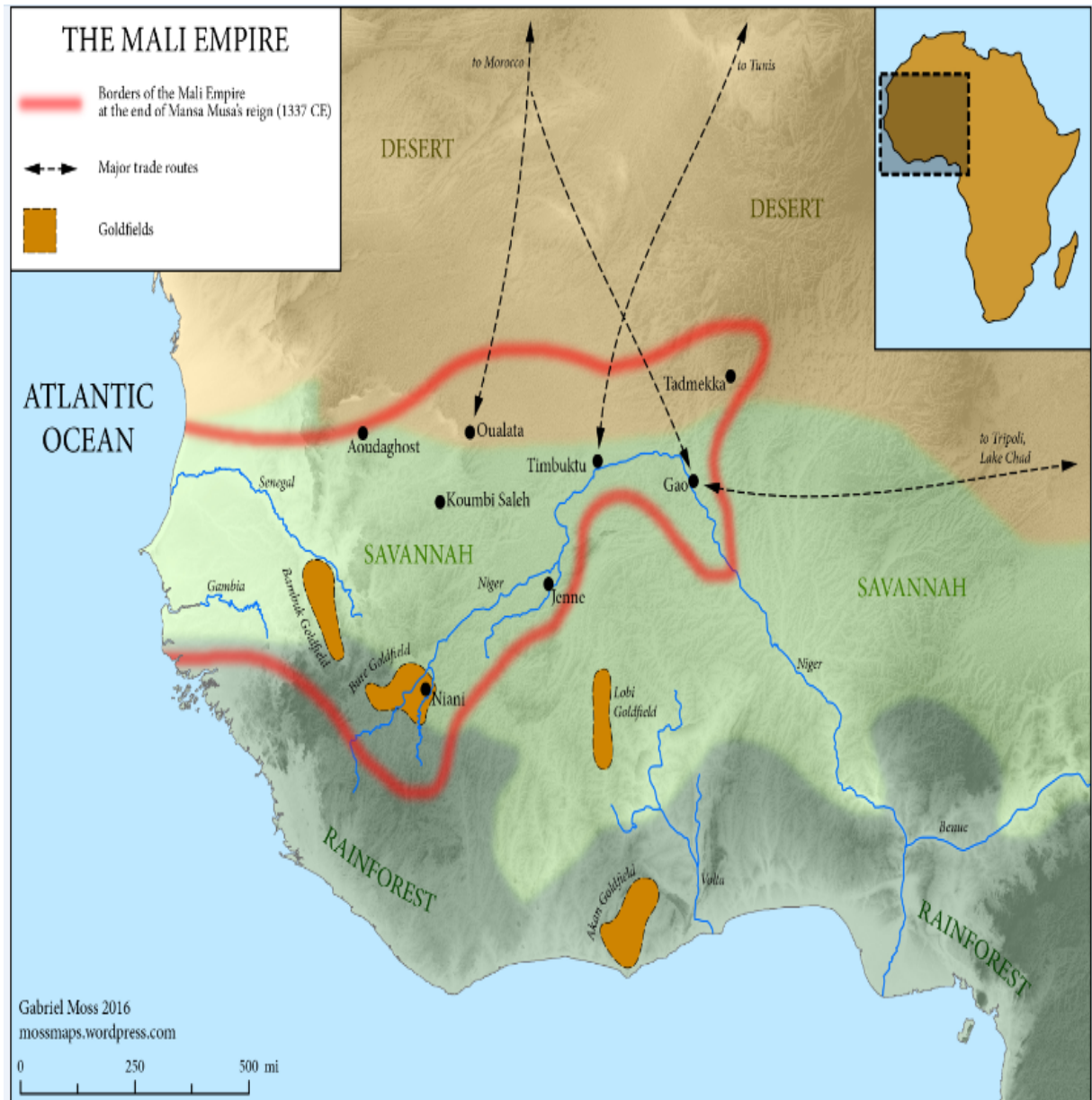
After a long exhausted journey, caravans finally arrived at Timbuktu; traders had to rest because they crossed a large distance across a difficult and harsh land which it included Sand Mountain and dry gravel land that lack of water and grass. And on the following day, they went to the market to expose their merchandise. The exposed commodities were almost rare or did not grow in western Africa and it was in bulks whether in north Africa or it came from Europe through North then it would reach Timbuktu, and these goods were perfume, sugar, silk, cloths and also cattle of good Berber horse which would be used as a means of transportation, North African traders used to barter their own goods by gold and ivory (El- Wazan 166-67). See map3 p41.

2.2 Intellectual Life

Most of the old empires that existed in this world even before the birth of the Mali Empire, they were built on education and learning as a process for development and prosperity. Thus Mansa Musa had initiated a great revolution in the scientific field and which was based on Islam. The project was to be fulfilled through constructing new institutions (mosques and universities) in the major province of Mali, and inviting scholars from Morocco, Egypt, and others of the Arabian Peninsula whom Mansa Musa had already met during his Pilgrimage (1325), those scholars were responsible for achieving Musa’s goals.

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th - 15th Centuries)

Map3: Commercial Contact between Mali and North Africa Country



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali_Empire#/media/File:The_Mali_Empire.

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

2.2.1 Mosques and Universities

The mosques of old Sudan (Mali Empire) were one of the Islamic monuments that played major role in spreading Islam religion and culture in West African. Some of these mosques were constructed before Mali's golden age such Sankore Mosque in Timbuktu and Djenne Mosque while there were others which was built during the reign of Mansa Musa such as the great Mosque (Jengereber) of Timbuktu which was designed by an Andalusia engineer called Ishaq in the 14th century. The mosque of Timbuktu and the other mosques were not only used to perform daily Islamic rituals (Daily prayers and Friday prayer) but they were also for teaching and also to enlighten people through exposing them to the principles of Islam which were adopted by Mansa Musa, as a result; Timbuktu old mosque(Sankore) witnessed an increasing cultural movement which allowed Timbuktu to be an Islamic university and mosques that had it influence in Africa sub-Sahara region, and the in other hand ,commercial activities emerged and some of the seasonal traders had settled in Timbuktu to trade and in meanwhile to receive Knowledge there from a great and sufficient scholars ,that shift had a positive impact on scholars movement on west Africa ,and it became a place known between the great Islamic universities unlike the past when it famous only for its gold , salt mine and trading activities in this context west African portrayed that: "salt comes from the north, gold from the south, and silver from the country of the white men, but the word of God and the treasures of wisdom are only found in Timbuctoo."(Qtd. in Singleton 1-12).

These circumstances presented Mali as the second attractive destination that scholars preferred to pilgrim to from all over the Islamic world especially in the 14th century. And in a short era, Timbuktu universities replaced Fez in getting scholars' attention, and after that, Mansa of Mali initiated the scholarship movement in which there was an exchange between the north and the east African universities with that of west of Africa in terms of scholars and Students,

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

consequently; their performance and intellectual abilities had improved and due to these interactions. Timbuktu's scholars were able to recognize different branches of Islamic studies such as (explaining the meaning of Quran verses, Prophet's speeches and El- Fekeh).in Timbuktu university, students also received some lessons in mathematics, justice and astronomy which were a necessity for their activities.

According to historian, the Sankore University was full of valuable books and manuscripts, thus before the Songhai invasion into Timbuktu (15th), scholars escaped from Timbuktu to Walata and took a lot of these books with them as Barry Prima mentioned:" When the king of Songhai had decided to conquer Timbuktu, A leader of Tuareg brought camels and he helped the scholars, their families to flee into Walata and he took even manuscripts were taken." (25). The product of Timbuktu university was not only books, but there were also many scholars who graduated from such Ahmed Baba, Mohamed Akit and Mohamed Andak, and they spent their lives in order to teach, guide and advise people as well as to get them out of the old religion and paganism that was based on spiritual ritual, and the obedience of more than one God.

2.2.2 Scholars

There were many scholars in Timbuktu; and one of the famous scholars at that time was Muhammad Aqit who belonged to the Masufa of Masina origin, and later they immigrated to Timbuktu. Aqit had many sons and most of them were educated, and one of his grandsons (called Abu' l-Thana Mahmud) who was selected to be the imam of Sankore Mosque and after that he became the judge of Timbuktu about fifty years, and during that era, he wrote a book through which he commented on a book called "*Mukhtasar Khalil*" and then he died as Hunwick stated that:" Mahmud became imam...and afterwards became qadi of Timbuktu for fifty years, during which he wrote a commentary...."(4-5).

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

And after that, Ahmed Baba rose to be a famous scholar and would carry what the other scholars had already started. Baba was a genius scholar, He wrote a famous book entitled “*Nayl al-ibtihaj bi-tatriz al-Dibaj*”, in fact, the book was a biography in which Baba described the Maliki scholars, Baba spent his life in Timbuktu and Marrakech, and he is celebrated till today.

There were also many scholars who came from the north of Africa such as the Arab historian Abd al-Rahman al-Sadi the Moroccan. Al Sadi worked in the administrative staff of Sankore University. He wrote a well-known book called Tarikh E-Sudan in which he described the West African medieval Empires. Mahmud Kati was also one of the foreigner Ulama who settled in Timbuktu, his father was a native Spanish men (Toledo) who would migrate later towards Timbuktu in the 15th century, and Abd al-Rahman E-Tanami who came from El-Hejaz, and later on, Timbuktu also witnessed the arrival of Ben Abd El-karim al-Maghili El-tlemceni who was an Algerian (Tuat) Scholar, Al-Maghili grew in Tementit then he travelled into Timbuktu even before Baba and E-Sadi (Barry Prima 22-23).

3. The Death Musa I and the Shift of Power

After glorious years as a king, Mansa Musa died (1337). After that, they would come many Kings.

3.1 The Death of Mansa I

The year of Mansa Musa’s death is often given as 1332. Yet, the Arabs had proposed a different date the great North African historian, Ibn Khaldun,- whose writings is considered as one of the best primary sources of information on the dates of the rulers of Mali and West Africa kingdom-, Arabs had recorded that Musa was still alive until 1337. When Mansa Musa died in 1337, his greatest legacy was not only the spread of Islam in western Africa caused by his great hajj, but also the prosperity and stability he had brought to the Empire of Mali. That’s why his

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

25-year reign (1312–1337 CE) is described as the golden age of the empire of Mali (Bell Nawal, 224-225).

3.2. The shift of Power

After the death of Mansa Musa in 1337, the rule was transferred to his elder son Magha. Mansa Magha ruled Mali Empire about five years (1337 to 1341). Magha was as sufficient as his father was, he was able to impose order, sustain peace and secure Mali border, and after Maghan, his brother Sulayman became the new Mansa. He ruled from 1341 to 1360. Sulayman was described as being less generous than his ancestor. Mansa Qasa was the successor of his father Sulayman, he ruled about one year, he was insufficient Mansa and his era also witnessed the spread of the influence of the king's viziers among the King's fellows, as a result the rule would pass to Mari-Jata I (1360-1374AD). Mari-Jata I was a vizier who did not belong to the former king dynasty, and he became the Mansa through breaking old order of the constitution. Musa II Become ruler (1374-1387).and then became Magha 1387-8, Sandaki 1388-1390 and later Mahmud in 1390 (Austen and Jensen 19-20).see Fig 01(p 49).

4. The collapse of the Mali Empire

According to the Arab historian, there were many reasons that contributed to the fragmentation of the Mali Empire in the late 14th century; the first was the change in the custom of Succession that took place after the rule of Mansa Musa, this mean that, the rules was held by some rulers whom did not belong to the royal family of Sundiata, Ibn Khaldun argued that in his Book Muqaddima“ All governments decay within four generation...The founder, the maintainer, the imitator and the destroyer”(qtd. Austen and Jansen, 21).Ibn Khaldun saw that this shift (From patrilineal to matrilineal) was the fundamental issue that he discussed , and Mari-Jata would be the first kings of a cycle composed form four successive kings who would led Mali to the ruin.

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

The structure of old Mali that was based on ethnicity and clan, it was also another reason which contributed to the collapse, because Mari-Jata and his successor could not manoeuvre this issue, beside that; they were not able to control the huge borders of Mali and maintain peace, unity and stability, because they turned to live in luxury, whereas; their fellows started to break from Mali and they established their own settlements such as: the Tuareg in Timbuktu ,and the Songhai in Gao and so on, as a result, Mali lost its power and its northern and eastern borders became unprotected, and after that split, Mali's economy had affected too, these circumstances paved the way to Ali Sunni Songhai leader to conquer the left part of Mali and declare the foundation of the Songhai and the collapse of Mali in the late 15th century.(Barry Prima42).

Conclusion

The previous chapter tackled another remarkable period of Mali's whole history which was the era of Mansa Musa 1312-1337AD. That era considered as one of the brightest period that Malians have ever seen because it witnessed a well-known event which is Mansa Musa's Journey to Mecca 1324,thus the chapter focused most on the personality of Musa I and the effect of his pilgrimage on Mali's economy and intellectual life and also his achievements, in addition, the chapter examined the economic organization ,that is to say, it examined the main resources of economic income such as gold and salt trade, foreign commercial contacts and the trading centres that were a big market to expose and exchange goods, moreover, the chapter shed light to the era after Musa I and the reason of the collapse of the Mali Empire in the 15th century.

Chapter Two: The Mali Empire (14th -15th Centuries)

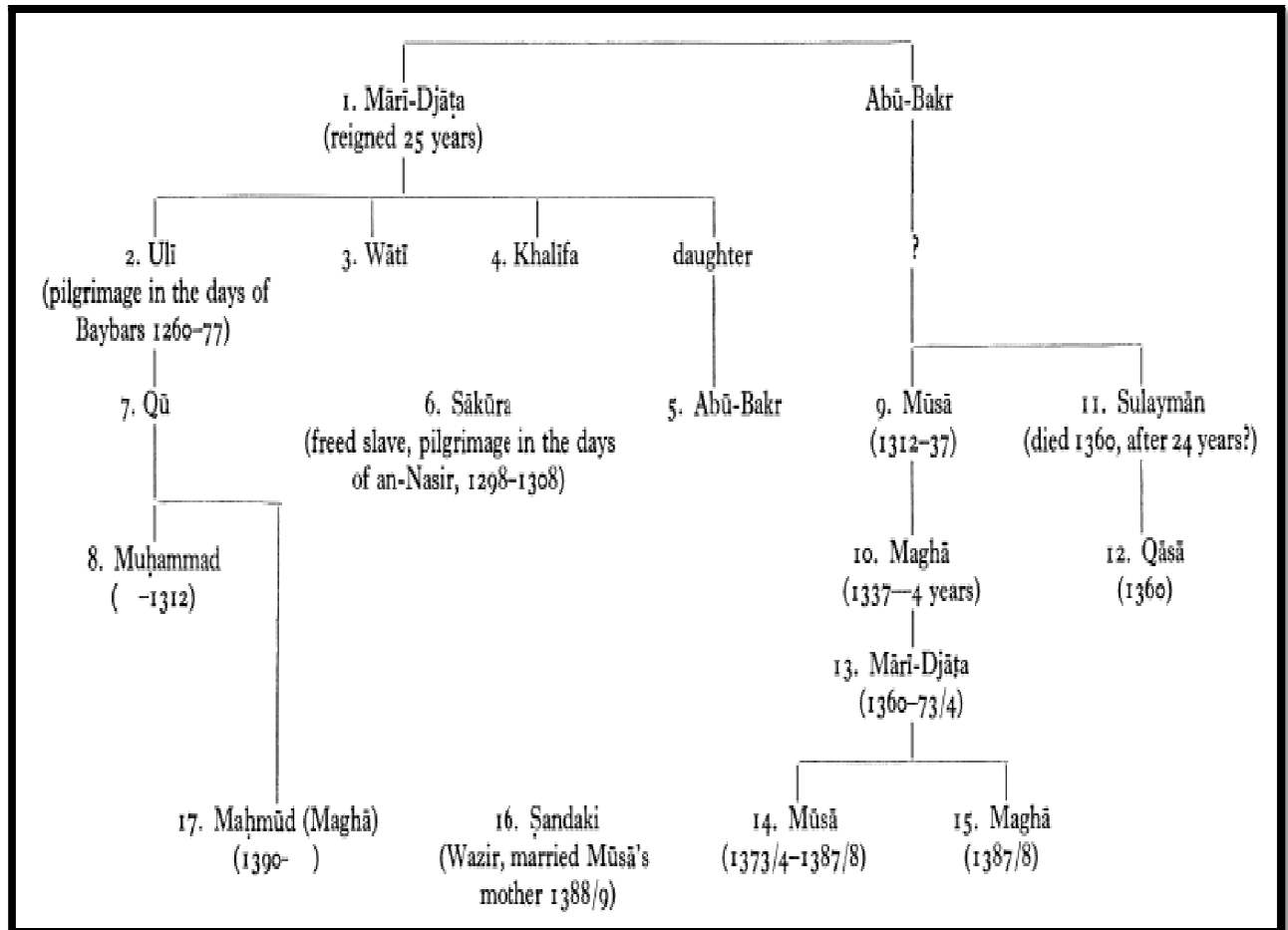
General Conclusion

The Mali Empire is considered as one of the strongest Islamic empire that flourished down North Africa desert between the 13th and the 15th centuries. During that era, the Malians experienced different regime in three remarkable periods: the first era starts from the foundation of Mali Empire by Mande hero “Sundiata” around 1235AD, and it lasted till Sakura’s era. This era was characterized by the establishment and annexation of new territories and ethnicities to Mali Empire through organized conquest led by Sundiata the founder himself. Sundiata’s era witnessed a wide internal ordering that touched the political organization of the empire such as setting laws and orders, provincial divisions, and changing the political center from kangaba into Niani.

The second era begins from the accession of Musa I to the throne in 1312AD till the end of the reign of Mansa Magha 1341AD. This era was the brightest period in Mali’s entire history because it witnessed a great event which was the journey of Mansa Musa from Mali to Mecca, that voyage had an impact on Mali’s commercial prosperity as well as intellectual life because Mali became the destination that every merchant or scholar from North Africa and Arabian Peninsula wished to travel to, either for gold trading or for accessing knowledge in Timbuktu University. The last era of Mali’s long history starts in 1341AD on ward. This era witnessed the slow decay of Mali’s influence on its territories and in West Africa as a whole because the Mansa of Mali became no longer able to govern a wide area and complicated society that consisted of various ethnic groups. Besides that, the Mansa showed a total ignorance towards people’s matters. He ran after life of luxury. This gap was an opportunity for women to interfere in political sphere, under these circumstances, the collapse of Mali became a reality in the 15th century, ending a glorious era of Mali history which lasted about two centuries.

Appendices

Fig1: The Kings of Mali Empire



Source: Levtzion, Nehemia. The thirteenth and the fourteenth Kings of Mali (pp 341-353).

Fig02: A sample of Timbuktu's Manuscripts



Source: wikipedia.org/wiki/Timbuktu_Manuscripts#/media/File:Timbuktu-manuscripts-astronomy-mathematics.jpg

Works Cited

Books:

- ❖ Collins. Robert O. *Western African History*, ed3. The USA: Markus Wiener, Vol. I of African History. 1997.
- ❖ Conrad, David C. *Empires of Medieval West Africa: Ghana, Mali, and Songhay*. Rev. ed. New York: Chelsea House, 2010. Print. Great Empires of the Past
- ❖ Davidson, Basil. *A history of West Africa 1000-1800*. Lagos: University of Lagos, 1965.
- ❖ Diawara, Gaoussou, *Abubakari II Explorateur Mandingue*, Paris : L'Harmattan, Paris, 2010.
- ❖ Levtzion, N. *Ancient Ghana and Mali*. London: Methuen & Co., 1973.
- ❖ Niane, Djibril Tamsir. *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century: Mali and the second Mandingo expansion*. California: University of California Press, 1984
- ❖ Niane, Djibril Tamsir, David W Chappell, and Jim Jones. *Sundiata: an epic of old Mali*. Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2009. Print.
- ❖ Niane, Djibril Tamsir, *Soundjata ou l'épopée mandingue*, Paris: présence africaine, 1960.
- ❖ Niane, Djibril Tamsir. *Le Soudan Occidental au Temps des Grands Empires XI-XVIe Siècle*, Paris : Présence Africaine, 1975.
- ❖ Oliver, P. James. *Mansa Musa and the empire of Mali*, Great Britain: 2013. Print.
- ❖ Rasmussen, Valancy. *The Manuscripts of Timbuktu: Armed Conflict and the Preservation of Memory*. Master Thesis Submitted to Hawaii University, May 2014.
- ❖ Reece, Katherine. *West African kingdoms*, Rourke Publishing, 2005

Arabic Books

- ❖ Al-Wazan, Al-Hasan. Hadji, Mohamed. *Wasf Afrikia*. Bayreuth: Dar Al-Gharb Al-Islami, Second Edition. 1983.
- ❖ Barry, Othman Prima. *Jodor Al-haddara al-islamia Fi Gharb Afrikia*. Cairo: Dar-Al-Amine, 2000.

- ❖ Es-Sa'adi, Abderrahmane. *Tarikh es-Soudan*. Paris : Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1981
- ❖ Essmat, A. Dandash. *Dor Al-Morabitin fi Nachar Al-Islam fi Gharb Afrikia*. Beyrout: Dar Al-Gharb-Islami, 1988.

Articles:

- ❖ Abbou, Tahar. *Mansa Musa's Journey to Mecca and Its Impact on Western Sudan*. The Conference of the Road of Pilgrimage. Khartoum: International African University. November 2016.
- ❖ Austen, Ralph A., and Jan Jansen. "History, Oral Transmission and Structure in Ibn Khaldun's Chronology of Mali Rulers." *History in Africa*, vol. 23, 1996, pp. 17–28. _
- ❖ Bell, Nawal Marcos. "The Age of Mansa Musa of Mali: Problems in Succession and Chronology." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1972, pp. 221–234.
- ❖ Bühnen, Stephan. "In Quest of Susu." *History in Africa*, vol. 21, 1994, pp. 1–47.
- ❖ Conrad, David C. "A Town Called Dakajalan: The Sunjata Tradition and the Question of Ancient Mali's Capital." *The Journal of African History*, vol. 35, no. 3, 1994, pp. 355–377.
- ❖ Hunwick, John. "Timbuktu: a Refuge of Scholarly and Righteous Folk." *Sudanic Africa*, Vol. 14 (2003), pp.13-20._
- ❖ Insoll, Timothy A. "The Road to Timbuktu: Trade & Empire." *Archaeology*, vol. 53, no. 6, 2000, pp. 48–52. .
- ❖ Levtzion, Nehemia (1963), "The thirteenth- and fourteenth-century kings of Mali", *Journal African History*4: 341–353,.
- ❖ Singleton, Brent D. "African Bibliophiles: Books and Libraries in Medieval Timbuktu" *Libraries & Culture*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (winter, 2004), pp. 1-12,
- ❖ Goodwin. A. J. H. "The Medieval Empire of Ghana" *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 12, No. 47 (Sep., 1957), pp. 108-112,

Websites

- Coleman, John. "Mans I of Mali" encyclopaedia Britannica.. Web <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Musa-I-of-Mali>. Accessed on March 15, 2018
- "Mali Empire", web,[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali_Empire#/media/File:The_Mali_Empire\(Trans-trade\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali_Empire#/media/File:The_Mali_Empire(Trans-trade)). Accessed on March4, 2018
- "Mali Empire". Web , https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali_Empire#Gold Accessed on March9, 2018
- Mali Empire" Webhttps://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali_Empire#Salt Accessed on March 9, 2018.
- "King Mansa Musa of old Mali" web, <http://www.blackhistorypages.net/pages/m>. Accessed on March13, 2018