

National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar 2016

Organizer: Dr. Betül Basaran, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Religious Studies, St. Mary's College of Maryland

Host: The Institute of Turkish Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, DC

Outcome: Annotated Bibliography Toward a Course on "Blacks and the Mediterranean" by Gnimbin Ouattara, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History and International Studies, Brenau University

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY TOWARD A COURSE ON "BLACKS AND THE MEDITERRANEAN"

Course Description:

This course examines the social, cultural, and political history of pre-colonial Africa through the lens of Black African encounters with the Mediterranean world, from antiquity to the early modern period. Using a multidisciplinary approach to these interactions, the course will attempt to overcome the problem of "African sources," as it makes an effort to study these encounters from the perspective of Black Africans rather than from that of their Mediterranean visitors.

Rationale for the Course:

There is no definitive number of Blacks who lived in the Mediterranean world from antiquity to the early modern period. But most scholars agree that these Blacks consistently lived as minorities among the dominant races of the Mediterranean. How did these Blacks, termed the African Mediterranean Diaspora, negotiate its racial survival in this region? How did Blacks on the continent view their relationships with the Mediterranean, including with Blacks living there? How did these two sets of relationships of Blacks with the Mediterranean world influence their black identities, in particular? These are some of the questions that this course investigates.

PART I. WHAT IS AN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE ON SLAVERY?

Diop, Cheikh Anta. *Pre-Colonial Black Africa*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 1988.

Boahen, Adu A. *African Perspectives on Colonialism*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Thiong'o, Ngugi wa. *Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance*. New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2009

Gueye, Mbaye. "The Slave Trade within the African Continent." In *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century: Reports and Papers of the Meeting of Experts Organized by Unesco at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, 31 January to 4 February 1978*. Paris: Unesco, 1979.

Kake, I. B. "The Slave Trade and the Population Drain from Black Africa to North Africa and the Middle East." In *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century: Reports and Papers of the Meeting of Experts Organized by Unesco at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, 31 January to 4 February 1978*. Paris: Unesco, 1979.

Ogot, Bethwell A. "Population Movements Between East Africa, the Horn of Africa and the Neighboring Countries." In *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century: Reports and Papers of the Meeting of Experts Organized by Unesco at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, 31 January to 4 February 1978*. Paris: Unesco, 1979.

PART II. WHAT IS A MEDITERRANEAN PERSPECTIVE ON SLAVERY?

Lange, Christian. "On that Day when Faces will Be White or Black" (Q3:106): Towards a Semiology of the Face in the Arabo-Islamic Tradition. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127.4 (2007): 429-. One of the most striking eschatological images employed in the Qu'ran is that of black faces of sinners in Hell, and, conversely, the white faces the inhabitants of Paradise: "On that day when faces will be white or black." P. 429

Goldenberg, David. *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003. "Was Jewish antiquity where anti-Black attitudes originated and became fixed in Western civilization?" p. 4.

El Hamel, Chouki. *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. "When Mauritians call a black person by the term 'abd or 'abda (Arabic generic terms that designate male or female slaves respectively), they often refer to the black's family origin rather than their current legal condition. In either case, the stigma persisted....Although slavery has practically ceased to exist in Morocco since the 1950s, its legacy persists in a form of prejudice and inherited marginalization." P.1-2.

Hess, Andrew C. *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago, 1978. "To state it baldly [in opposition to Fernand Braudel's theme of a united or common Mediterranean], I believe that the separation of the Mediterranean world into different, well-defined cultural spheres is the main theme of its sixteenth-century history. Moreover, this divergence in the internal patterns of Latin Christian and Turko-Muslim civilizations continued long past the death of Philip II in 1598..." P.3

Copley, Esther. "Slavery among the Jews." In *A History of Slavery and Its Abolition* by idem. London: Houlston & Stoneman, 1836.

"Slaves might be acquired as captives in war...Deut. xx. Persons committing a theft...were enslaved for a period, not exceeding six years...Exod. Xxii., 2, 3....slavery sometimes originated in birth. If a married Hebrew sold himself for a slave...Exod. X xxx. 2-4." P. 50-57.

PART III. BLACK NON -ENSLAVED AFRICAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

"**The Trick of Adahu**," reconstructed by me from the following primary source: Azurara, Gomes Eannes de. *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*. Vol. I, trans. Charles Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage. New York: Hakluyt Society 1899.

PART IV. BLACK MINORITIES IN THE PRE-CHRISTIAN AND PRE-ISLAMIC MEDITERRANEAN

Snowden, Jr., Frank M. *Blacks in Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970).

"**Blacks in a White Society—a Summation**," Frank Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity* (The Belknap Press,).

"The Greeks and Romans developed no doctrine of white superiority unsupported by facts or theoretical justifications for a color bar. The presence of large numbers of Negroes in a white society, according to some modern views, gives rise to anti-Negro feeling. Ethiopians were far from rare sights in the Greco-Roman, particularly the Roman, world. Yet the intense color prejudice of the modern world was lacking."p.183

Lewis, Bernard. *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. "In the ancient Middle East, as elsewhere, slavery is attested from the very earliest written records, among the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and other ancient people."

Gordon, Murray. *Slavery in the Arab World*. New York: Editions Robert Laffont, 1989. Raiding for slaves in the bilad-as-Sudan can be traced to the fourth millennium when King Sneferu of Egypt penetrated Nubia as far south as the fourth cataract of the Nile, where slaves were captured in the area where the White and Bule Nile cross. Such forays were frequently undertaken by the dynastic families who ruled Egypt down through the centuries. Slaves were also sent north as tribute to the Egyptian rulers.p108

PART V. MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN BLACK MINORITIES IN CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM "MEDITERRANEAN" LANDS ACCORDING TO THEMSELVES

A1-Muslim Black Minorities Primary Sources:

Pellat, Charles. *The Life and Works of Jahiz, Translations of Selected Texts*. Translated from the French by D. M. Hawke. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul,

1969. Jahiz (160 A.H.-255 A. H.) (c.776-c.868). Jahiz was born in Basra, the principal city of southern Iraq, and later lived in the capital, Baghdad. His family was of African origin, and his ancestors had been slaves. His full name was Abu Utman Amr b. Bahr al-Kinani al-Fuqaimi al-Basri. He is known as al-Jahiz, a nickname on account of his protruding eyes. “These [protruding eyes], together with his extremely swarthy complexion, made him ugly to a degree which soon became proverbial; and these attributes having passed into legend, the eminent writer became the subject of a number of anecdotes on physical ugliness.” P.3 The only precise date in Jahiz’s biography is that of his death at Basra in Muharram 255 (December 868-January 869. “A later annalist records a tradition, obviously spurious, that Jahiz’s death was caused by the collapse of the mound of books he always kept piled up around him. No fitter end can be imagined for a man who had devoted his whole life to learning.” P.9 In “Superiority of the Blacks to the Whites,” Jahiz writes, “The Zanj say to the Arabs: You are so ignorant that during the jahiliyya you regarded us as your equals [when it came to marrying] Arab women, but with the advent of the justice of Islam you decided this practice was bad.” P.196

Ahmad Baba al-aqit al-Tinbukti (1556-, a Tuareg aqit slave in the Moroccan Caliphate of al-Mansur, a rival of the Ottoman Empire. He was “the chief *qadi* (judge) of Tumbuktu and the city’s foremost scholar,” and was captured at 37 in 1593 during the Moroccan Sadi sultanate invasion of the city in 1591. 455 He “came from a great lineage of Timbuktu scholars; his father and grandfather are credited with various works on law and logic, and his great-grandfather Mahmud had been *qadi* of Timbuktu for the first half of the sixteenth century. Local scholars occupied prominent positions in the state closely linked to its power structures. This allowed them to wield a great deal of political influence, and as keepers of Muslim legal traditions, they held both the keys to affirming as well as undermining state legitimacy. Thus, these scholars were both extremely useful and dangerous for states claiming legitimate Islamic governance.

Suhaym (d.660)—born a slave and of African origin

Nusayb (d.726)—probably the most gifted of these black poets

Abu Dulama (d. ca 776), a slave who became the court poet

North African papal captive, Leo Africanus or al-Hazzan al-Wazzan (16th century)

Ancient Manuscript from the Desert Libraries of Tumbuktu, Mali (16th-18th century)

Hunwick, John Owen and Eve Troutt Powell, ed. *The African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Lands of Islam*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2002. “The initial impulse to write this book came from Bernard Lewis, who was kind enough to send me a collection of source materials he had assembled, and encouraged me to put together a reader on Africans in slavery in the Muslim world. I then worked at broadening the **documentary** base over several years until 1992 I had sufficient material to use as the basis of an undergraduate course at Northwestern University.” P. vii.

A2-Christian Black Minorities Primary Sources:

Walker, David. *Appeal in Four Articles, Together with a Preamble to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in Particular and Very Expressly to Those of the United States of America* (Boston, MA: 1829). “I have several times called the white Americans our natural enemies—I shall here define my meaning of the phrase. Shem, Ham and Japheth, together with their father Noah and wives, I believe were not natural enemies to each other...some ignorant creatures hesitate not to tell us that we, (the blacks) are the seed of Cain the murderer of his brother Abel. But where or of whom those ignorant and avaricious wretches could have got their information, I am unable to declare... Yet those men tell us that we are the seed of Cain, and that God put a dark stain upon us, that we might be known as their slaves!!!” p.60-61.

B1-Muslim Black Minorities Mediterranean Secondary Sources

Sardar, Ziauddin. “The Master Race.” In *Critical Muslim 13: Race*, edited by idem. London: Michael Dwyer, 2015.

Aisha, the Prophet’s youngest wife, “objected to the kafala system, which automatically made Arabs superior, simply because of their lineage and bloodlines... One issue is the kafala system, which, has since been ‘ratified’ using no less than hadith. We are told that the Prophet is supposed to have said that: ‘The leaders are from Quraysh. The righteous among them are the leaders of the righteous, and the wicked among them are the leaders of the wicked.’ In other hadith, found in the authentic collection, the Prophet says ‘the people follow Quraysh’ and ‘this matter will remain with Quraysh as long as there are two of them alive’. So the Quraysh, the main tribe of Mecca, and by association other tribes of Arabia, are the natural leaders of Muslims.” pp.44-45.

Curtis IV, Edward E. *The Call of Bilal: Islam in the African Diaspora*. Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 2014.

“This book will explore the religious practices of all of the Muslim of African descent—those who have heard, at least symbolically, the call of Bilal. The book’s main goals are (1) to offer the first synthetic account of Islam in the global African diaspora, (2) to create a portrait of the diverse ways in which Islam is practiced by people of African descent, and (3) to explore how those practices of Islam are influenced by the experience and interpretation of diaspora.” P.6.

Abdul-Rauf, Muhammad. *Bilal Ibn Rabah: A Leading Companion of the Prophet*. Plainfield, IL: American Trust, 1977.

B2-Christian Black Minorities Mediterranean Secondary Sources

Eve Troutt Powell, *Tell This in My Memory: Stories of Enslavement from Egypt, Sudan and the Ottoman Empire*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012.

“The following chapters will attempt to fill in these gaps in historical geography by exploring the maps made by slaves caught in the slave trade, from the south of Sudan or Darfur, to Egypt, to Ottoman cities in Anatolia, and to Europe. By looking at

the narratives of a group of people who were born within a decade of each other in the late nineteenth century and died by the 1960s, I hope to show how slaves and the experience of slavery affected each one and how they told their stories to various audiences.” P.3

Mirzai, Behnaz A., Ismael Musah Montana, and Pau E. Lovejoy. *Slavery, Islam, and Diaspora*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2009.

This volume explores the relationship between slavery and Islam in the context of diaspora...Certainly, this book does not aim to examine Islam as a religion, but attempts to promote discussion on how various communities and societies used Islam to justify enslavement, liberate slaves, and defend or maintain their communities and indeed their individual identities.” P.1

PART VI. BLACK MINORITIES IN CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM LANDS ACCORDING TO THE MEDITERRANEAN MAJORITY

Gratien, Chris. “Race, slavery, and Islamic law in the early modern Atlantic: Ahmad Baba al-Tinbukti’s treatise on enslavement.” *The Journal of North African Studies* 18:3 (2013): 454-468. This paper seeks to reconstruct the story of this manuscript and its author, al-Tinbukti, in hopes of gaining further insight into the world of Muslim West Africa.445

Toledano, Ehud R. Bringing, “Bringing the Slaves Back In.” In *Slavery, Islam, and Diaspora*, edited by Mirzai, Behnaz A., Ismael Musah Montana, and Pau E. Lovejoy. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2009. “Although some of us have brought out the stories of individual slaves, however, the absence of slave narratives has, to a large extent, silenced the voices of the enslaved, especially the Africans, who occupied the lower, uneducated rungs of Ottoman society. With the mounting interest in Ottoman slavery, combined with the first expressions of radical criticism from Africans toward the enslavers in the Middle Eastern societies, the time has come to heed the call to recover the suppressed narratives of Ottoman-African slaves.” P.7

Toledano, Ehud R. *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

“[Note on Transliteration and Terminology] Ottoman Turkish words have been transliterated according to modern Turkish standards, and Arabic terms follow the style adopted by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*...Responsibility for all translations from Ottoman Turkish and Arabic is mine. I have usually preferred “enslaved,” enslaved person/s,” “enslavement,” and “slaver/s” to “slave/s,” “slavery,” and “slaveholder/s” or “slave owner/s.” P. xi. “The “cameras” of our historical exploration will be placed, as much as possible, in the hands of the enslaved, rather than in those of the slavers, where they have rested in most standard documentary accounts...Now the slaver becomes less omnipotent, the slave less impotent.” P.8

Segal, Ronald. *Islam's Black Slaves: The Other Black Diaspora.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001. In 1995 Jewish White South African, anti-Apartheid Activist wrote on the transatlantic slave trade in *The Black Diaspora: Five Centuries of the Black Experience Outside Africa.* In *Islam's Black Slaves*, he writes: "This is a book whose beginning reaches back into my childhood. I was born into a Diaspora myself, the Jewish Diaspora, in a country, South Africa, where Jews occupied both a privileged and a perilous position. Acceptably white, we had title to the top floor in the racial structure. As Jews, we were consigned to the balcony and constantly at risk of being pushed over the railings." *Islam's Black Slaves* is designed to be a companion volume to *The Black Diaspora.* It deals with the paradox of a black diaspora whose very existence is denied..."

Toledano, Ehud R. *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998. "For a number of reasons, which I will discuss in various parts of this book, only a limited amount of work has appeared on slavery in Ottoman society, and for that matter in other Muslim societies. This deficiency has impeded the effective incorporation of slavery in those societies in the analytic framework of comparative slavery... In looking at Ottoman slavery as a whole, it seems to me that one of its salient and most interesting features is the variety of modes of servility. It is precisely this variety that has constituted a major analytic impediment to the study of Ottoman slavery as a coherent social phenomenon." P.ix-x.

Lewis, Bernard. *Race and Color in Islam.* New York: Harper and Row, 1971. "Blacks frequently appear in the stories that make up The Arabian Nights. Where they do, it is almost invariably in the menial role—as porters, household servants, slaves, cooks, bath attendants and the like, rarely if ever rising above this level in society.p.5" Lewis quotes Jahiz in these terms: "To those who ask, 'How is it that we have never seen a Zanj who had the intelligence even of a woman or of a child?' the answer, says Jahiz, is that the only Zanj they knew were slaves." P.16

PART VII. WHITE JEWISH, CHRISTIAN, AND MUSLIM MINORITIES IN THE LAND OF THE BLACKS

Primary source:

Romanelli, Samuel. *Travail in an Arab Land*, translated from the Hebrew by Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman. Tuscaloosa, Al: The University of Alabama Press, 1989. Samuel Romanelli's *Travail in an Arab* has enjoyed an enduring place in Hebrew literature since the first of its nine editions appeared in 1792. The book is a first-hand account of the author's adventures during the four years he was stranded in Sharifan Morocco between 1787 and 1790. He writes: "There was a Negro with him [a Renegado]. I asked him about the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet which were white. He informed me that the blacks are the descendants of Ham. When Noah, Ham's father, cursed him, his skin turned black. He wept and pleaded with him, and his father out of compassion, took pity on him so that his palms and soles became white again. On account of this, however, they were subjugated and sold into slavery, thus fulfilling their forefather's curse—"Cursed be Canaan, the lowest of slaves shall he be to his brothers." When I heard this, I understood." P.69-70.

The Rev. Samuel Lee, Trans. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*. London: Oriental Translation Committee, 1829.

“It happened that, when I was in a certain part of India, there came to me a company of the religious of the Hydarla sect, having in their hands and about their necks iron chains. Their leader was **a black of a filthy colour**. They requested me to solicit the governor of the place to bring them some wood to which they may set fire, and then sing and walk into it. I did so, and he brought them ten bundles. P.34

“I was told by some credible black Hajis, that the infidels of some parts of Sudan will eat men; but that they will eat none but blacks, because, say they, the white are injurious on account of their not being properly matured; and, that when their Sultan happens to send his ambassadors to one of the Kings of the black Mohammedans, and **intends to honour them with a feast, he also sends to them a black slave, whom they kill and eat, and then return their thanks for the honour and favour done them.**” P. 241

VIII. BLAME GAME IN MEDITERRANEAN HISTORY OF SLAVERY

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

“I hope to demonstrate that slavery has always been a source of social and psychological tension, but that in Western culture it was associated with certain religious and philosophical doctrines that gave it the highest sanction.” P.ix

Davis, David Brion. *Slavery and Human Progress*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

“How did Slavery shift from being considered a progressive institution to being denounced and attacked as outmoded and retrogressive?” P.1

Thornton, John. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. New York: Cambridge University press, 1992. “Did Africans participate in the Atlantic trade as equal partners, or were they the victims of European power and greed?” P.6.

Goldenberg, David. *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.

“Was Jewish antiquity where anti-Black attitudes originated and became fixed in Western civilization?” p. 4.

Schorsch, Jonathan. *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

“One of the more unfortunate results of the rancorous debates about Black-Jewish relations has been to warp scholarly (and not so scholarly) discussion around the topic of Jewish slave trading and the alleged Jewish invention of anti-Black racism, with polemics about who did or did not do what to whom and how badly; in short, the goal often seems to be to name the enemy.” P. 1