THE PROPAGATION OF ISLAM IN AFRICA
REVISITING THE ROLE OF CLERICS AND TRADERS (*)

HUSSIN AHMED*

The association of commerce in sub-Saharan Africa is a well-known fact (1)
Carried by traders and itinerant scholars, Islam first penetrated. Not as a proselytizing religion seeking converts but as the religion of a merchant class bent primarily on trade.(2)
Traders were little interested in proselytization (3)
The effective representatives of Islam are traders and clergy, whose functions are often combined in the same person (4)
It came to West Africa through the individual efforts of merchants from North Africa who happened to be Muslim and acted as amateur missionaries(5).
The relationship between trade and Islam has been so often postulated that economic determinism threatens to swallow up the religious element; it is particularly this relationship which needs a fresh look (6).
Generalizations about the history of the propagation (draw's) and expansion of Islam in Africa, which are applicable to all the regions constituting such a large continent, are precluded by the diversity and complexity of the local and external contexts within which Islam was first introduced, the mechanisms employed by the early carriers of the faith, the motives for its expansion, and even by

*Addis Ababa University.
Geographical proximity to the cradle of Islam. Nonetheless, some broad patterns and common themes and features of the process of Islamization can be discerned and analyzed.

The principal aim of this paper is to discuss some selected aspects of the propagation of Islam and to raise some issues which require further rethinking and reassessment. These include the phases or stages in the spread of Islam and the contribution scholars and traders to its cultivation and consolidation in Africa. The present writer’s attempts is not so much a critique of the existing approaches to the study of Islam in Africa as a call for the reexamination of certain widely-held assumptions and models of Islamization, and suggest new lines of interpretation.

Islam can be said to have gained its first foothold in Africa through the propitious circumstances created by the military occupation, and the subsequent political and cultural integration into the emerging Islamic empire, of Egypt and North Africa, the migration and settlement of Arab tribes and traders and elites in North Africa and eastern Sudan,(7), the initiatives and efforts of preachers, merchants and rulers in western and central Sudan, and the sustained activities of initially foreign (Arab and Persian), and increasingly indigenous traders and clerics in Ethiopia and the Horn, and the east African coast. The history of the major milestones in the progress- and occasionally containment- of Islam in Africa is well-documented.(8).

Yet one of the least-explored and crucial issues in the history of Islamic propagation in Africa is the way ((s) in
which Islam was presented to the indigenous people of the continent during the initial and critical period of encounter between the carriers of the new religion and the followers of the traditional belief systems, and the nature and extent of the responses of the Africans - both ruling classes and the commoners. Was Islam preached openly and publicly? How was conversation to Islam both individually and collectively, achieved? Who were the principal carriers and cultivators of Islam? What were the languages, concepts and symbolisms used to teach the religion? To what extent were the traditional systems undermined? Who was the introduction of the new faith justified? Fisher has raised similar questions in connection with the expansion of Islam in the Central Sudan?

It should be the task of historians of Islam in Africa to seek answers to such questions by searching for evidence in the earliest extant sources as well as in oral traditions. This is quite imperative because the existing literature on Islam, though extensive, hardly addresses itself to the questions raised above but rather reflects the assumption that the mere arrival of Muslim conquerors, traders and clerics led to conversion to Islam, and dwells on the factors which facilitated or impeded Islamization. While this paper does not claim to proved easy answers to, and to introduce fresh material on, the questions rose earlier, it attempts to draw the attention of scholars to the urgent need for tackling them in the course of their readings of primary and secondary written sources and while undertaking field research. It is the contention of this paper that the first major turning pint and milestone in the history of Islam in Africa should not be associated merely with the earliest contact between Islam
and Africa, but with the beginning of the effective propagation of Islam among the indigenous peoples. In fact any account of the history of Islam in Africa should begin with the period of its active expansion.

An equally crucial question in the history of Islamic propagation in Africa is the role of clerics and traders in the dissemination of the faith. The quotations with which this paper was introduced reflect the positions—some complimentary, others contradictory—of scholars on the issue. On the whole, recent research has tended to emphasize the immense contribution made by men of religion to the expansion of Islam. (10). And to cast doubt on the part which merchants are believed to have played in the propagation of Islam (11). Such a trend has therefore undermined the long-established and tenaciously-held view which has almost commoditized Islam and demonstrated the inadequacy of treating and interpreting the history of Islam in Africa from the perspective of conquerors and traders. As Fisher argued convincingly: "the hypothesis of an independent religious penetration in the Sudan, only loosely connected with trade, seems strengthened by the evidence of Mediterranean commerce, which led to little religious interaction, and hardly any conversion. (12)

A third problem is related to the progress of Islam in Africa in terms of the various theoretical models proposed by writers. Hume’s model of what he called the pattern of Isalmization assumes that the arrival and settlement of Muslim merchants in search of local products led to contact with indigenous people facilitated by the dormer’s literacy in Arabic. They then became advisors to the rulers and
gained a monopoly over certain trade goods. The rulers and court circles were gradually drawn into Islam. At first those aspects of the new religion which supplemented, or were not fundamentally contradictory to, indigenous beliefs and practices were introduced. Ritual prayers, fasting and the Holy Book were viewed with awe and the Muslims came to acquire prestige. The ruling class converted to Islam which thus became a royal cult. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth entries, devout rulers tried to strengthen Islam which, after their death, declined and provided the background to reformist movements through the jihad (13).

Trimingham’s three-stage model of the process of conversation, although corresponding in some aspects to Hunwick’s, is much more detailed and introduces the clerical element into the mode. He speaks of germination, crisis and reorientation. The first stage is characterized by contact between traders and clerics leading to the adoption of the material aspects of Islam, the second by the assimilation of elements of Islamic religious culture and the gradual undermining of the African culture which leads to a crisis, and the onset of the third stage at which the old religious authorities are rejected and supplanted by Muslim clerics. The”-dualism” of the second stage gives way to “parallelism” although Islam still pervades social life (14).

Fisher also proposed a three-phase model of Islamization: the stage of “quarantine” in which Islam becomes a minority faith, that of “mixup” of Islam and pre-Islamic elements, and that of “reform” (15).

All these models are interesting but they suffer from two basic weaknesses. Firstly, their validity needs to be supported and substantiated by evidence coming form the
receiving end, i.e. the Africans converted to Islam. Secondly, we are left in the dark as to the precise role of the local Muslim propagation in the different stages of Islamization.

The Spread of Islam in Africa: A Regional Approach

Trimingham and El Fasi and Hrbek have identified seven "culture zones" in Africa into which Islam penetrated from the seventh to the nineteenth century. They are: Egypt, the Maghrib, the Western and Central Sudan, the Nilotic Sudan, the Horn of Africa, and the East African coast.

More recently, El Fasi and Hrbek have summarized the main developments in the process of the dissemination of Islam on a regional basis from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries. These were:

a) The Arab conquest of Egypt and North Africa, which created favourable conditions for the gradual conversation of the indigenous people;

b) The commercial activities of Muslim Arab, Persian and African traders which gave impetus to the Islamization of tropical Africa;

c) The clerics who introduced Islam among the Somali and strengthened it among those who had already converted and

d) The Islamization of the Nilotic Sudan through the migration and settlement of nomadic Arabs and the further spread of the religion in the Horn of Africa through clans and families.(16).

1. Egypt

Although the Arab conquest of Egypt is conventionally regarded as the staring point of the history of Islam in Africa, since Egypt " was the first country to be

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invaded by the Arabs, (17) the conquest did not immediately lead to the Islamization of the indigenous people of the country. (18) However, due to internal contradictions and problems in Egypt religious and political- between and within the Coptic Church, on the one hand, and the ordinary Egyptians, on the other, the local people were only gradually attracted to Islam, facilitated by the "steady influx of Arab Beduins from the Arabian peninsula and the Fertile Crescent. (19) However the early sources suggest"... the rapid spread of Islam in the early days of the occupation"(20) what we do not know for certain- and this is a crucial pint- is what actually happened between the arrival of the Arab conquerors and the conversation of the local people to Islam: how and by whom the new religion was preached, and the mode of conversion. The available evidence in fact suggests that the process of the propagation of Islam was slow and uncoordinated- and even slight- since conversions became a means of escaping from fiscal burden imposed by the Muslim authorities. (21)

The period from the Arab conquest up to the establishment of Fatimid power is rather obscure from the point of view of the spread of Islam. It is dominated by dynastic changes- the Ikhahidids and Tulunids- and the struggle for power among the local protagonists and supporters of these alien dynasties.

The coming to power of the Fatimids gave stimulus to the revival of Islamic da’wa with the funding the Azhar mosque-university (22). There were also coercive measures taken against the local Christians and Jews during the reign of al-Hakim (996-1021) which led to the conversion of thousands of Copts to Islam. (23) Al-Mustansir’s long reign (1036-94) marked not only the apogee of Fatimid power but
also the expansion of Shiism beyond Egypt into Sind and the Yemen (24) there was also a modest growth of literature on Isma'ili theology and law. (25)

The next phase in the history of Islamic propagation in Egypt was the Ayyubid period which was characterized by the ascendancy of Sunni Islam following the collapse of Fatimid hegemony. Madrasas (religious colleges) were established during the time of Salah al-Din, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. The introduction of the Sufi brotherhoods also acted as a further stimulus to the revival of Islam (26).

The other significant depend of the history of Muslim Egypt in the period under discussion is its relations with the Maghrib and West Africa, especially in the cultural field. As Hrbek put it, "this process [of cultural links] was conditioned not only by Egypt's leading position in the Muslim world but also by the gradual spread of Islam and Islamic learning in the sub-Saharan belt. (27) The pilgrimage, extended stay of pilgrims in Egypt, acquisition of knowledge and books, settlement of Egyptian clerics in the Sudan, and correspondence between Sudanese and Egyptian rulers "... contributed to the widening of Sudanese scholars, horizons, and to their acquisition of a larger and deeper knowledge of Islamic learning." (28) One adverse effect of the influence of Egyptian scholars was, however, the absence of dynamism and tradition of reform in Islam in West Africa. (29)

2. The Maghrib

The military campaigns into the Maghrib immediately followed the Rab conquest of Egypt. Amr b. al-As and 'Abdallah b. Sa'd, successive governors of Egypt, launched
expedition into the Maghrib in 643 and 647, respectively.) (30) However, it was the establishment of Qayrawan in 670 by 'Uqba b. Nafi' which played a more crucial factor in the dissemination of Islam. The scholars of Qayrawan and of other Islamic centers, were instrumental in the propagation of Islam among the Berbers, although there is paucity of material on the actual process of Islamization. (31) A major trend, however, was the formal conversion of the Berbers following their subjugation by the Arab armies and their reversion to their traditional belief after the withdrawal of the armies. Another feature of the Islamization of the Berbers was the conversation of prisoners of war among the chiefly families after their liberation which encouraged others to follow their example. However, this affected only a minority of the population, and the expansion of Islam into the hinterland took a long time. Hence, by the first half of the eighth century Islam had spread among the sedentary and nomadic peoples of the plains and the coast. (32) The Berbers also adopted Kharijism as an ideology of resistance against Arab domination and as "an expression of Berber acceptance of Islam as a religion." Numerous Ibadic clerics carried out an extensive da'wa among the Berbres who "were genuinely and not merely nominally converted. (33) the Islamization of the Maghrib was completed by the tenth century (34)

The next landmark in the history of Islam in the Maghrib was the emergence of the movement of the Almoravids (al-murabitun). The main features of the religious background of the movement were summarized by Hrbek and Devisse, Levzoin and de Moraes Farias. They were: the superficial state of Islam among the Sanhaja in the
western Sahra and the urge, inspired by militant Islam, to establish a purer and rigorous Malikism, and the impact of the pilgrimage on the awareness of the Almoravid leaders of the shortcomings of Islam among their people.(35) the multiplicity of heterodox sects (such as the Barghwata and the Ibadis,) and the prevalence of superficial Islam gave stimulus to the revival of Sunni Islam as a reaction to the Fatimid attempt to impose their doctrine, and a movement of Islamic reform.(36).

The Mahdist tradition of Islam in the Maghrib was firmly established by Muhammad b. Tumart, founder of the movement of the Almohads (al-Muwahhidun).(37) The most enduring legacy of the Almohads from the pint of view of religious development was the impetus they gave to the revival of Sufism, and not the promotion of reform(38).

3. Western and Central Sudan

The penetration of Islam into the Western Sudan predates the complete Islamization of the peoples of North Africa and the Sahara. Kharjite scholars and traders, especially of the Ibadi sect, played a major role in the process much earlier that those of Sunni Islam.(39) the spread of Islam was facilitated by the emergence of commercial settlements along the trade routes of the Sahel and the Sahara. As El Fasi and Hrbek put it:

Thus Islam appeared not as a moving frontier of mass conversion in a continuous area but rather as a series of urban enclaves at the centers of trade and political power.. These settlements along the trade routes and in the major centers constituted
the nursery of the eventual propagation of Islam.(40)

The earliest convert were local traders, followed by rulers and countries the first West African ruler to convert was War Djabi of Takrur on the lower Senegal. Even before him, however, a local chief of Gao had adopted Islam in 1009 A.D. The king of Mallah, an early Malinke state, was also converted about the same time.(41)

The establishment of Islam in the central Suan occurred in the eleventh century when Kanem’s ruler converted to Islam.(42) However, Islam’s definitive consolidation took place during the fourteenth century as a consequence of the activates of traders and clerics, and the arrival of Sharifs.(43)

In Ghana Islamization was brought about peacefully and gradually through preaching and commercial influence, and not through the Almorativd conquest.(44) the Islamization of the rulers of Mali took place in the thirteenth century. The further expansion and consolidation of Islam came with the emergence of local preachers and scholars.(54).

In Songhay the position of Islam was strengthened from the time of Askya Muhammad onwards.(46) the rise of Timbuktu as a center of an extensive caravan trade and a vigorous intellectual life also contributed to the consolidation of Islam.(47).

In Senegambia the sixteenth century witnessed the adoption of Islam by the great majority of the Gambian
populations and the Tukilor of Futa Toro. On the Gambian coast Muslim clerics traveled widely preaching conformity to Islamic precepts and three ribats (Sufi retreats) on the banks of the Gambia served as centers for the training of clerics who carried Islam into the adjoining regions (48).

4. **Nubian and the Nilotic Sudan**

Although Nubian maintained contact with the Islamic world from the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt, the advance of Islam was blocked by the existence of the Christian states of Maqurra and 'Alwa. In the eight-century Arab nomadic groups from Upper Egypt migrated to Nubian and the Red Sea littoral. Their settlement and the subsequent arrival of Muslim traders led to the gradual Islamization of the Nubians and the Beja. In subsequent centuries Muslim clerics and holy men preached Islam in the central Nile valley (49).

5. **Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa**

The Dahlak Islands of Red Sea coast were occupied by Muslims Arabs in the early eighth century. By the beginning of the tenth century, an independent Muslim dynasty had been established there. The area maintained commercial relations with the Christian state of Aksum and served as a gateway for the spread of Islam, although the significance of its role as a center of diffusion of Islam had been recently challenged based on the argument that the Christian state and church made the preaching of Islam in the hinterland difficult (50).

The other route of the penetration of Islam was the port of Zayla' on the Gulf of Aden cost (51). A number of
Muslim trading communities emerged followed by the establishment of full-fledged states in the hinterland of southern and eastern Ethiopia: the sultanate of Shawa (fi. until the end of the ninth century and whose founder claimed descent from the Makhzumi clan of Mecca); Ifat, founded by the Walasma ruling family (according to Ibn Khaldun, the ancestors of the Walasma had fled to Ifat as refugees form the ancient Muslim state of Famut) who, according to oral traditions, also claimed Arab origin, their progenitor being "Aqil b. Abi Talib or, alternatively, the founder of the dynasty was descended from Hasan b. Ali,(52), Dawaro, Hadya and Balí, besides a number of other smaller states.(53)

The Somali groups living on the coast and hinterland of the Gulf of Aden had early contact with Arab and Persian merchants who settled in the towns and brought Islam with them. Traditions say that the ancestors of the various tribal groups came from Arabia. Mogadishu, Brava and Merca where, beginning form the tenth century, Arab and other Muslim merchants had settled.(54)

6. The East African Coast

Islam reached the northern coast of East Africa in the eighth century and the southern parts before the eleventh century. It remained a faith of the foreign trading communities without affecting the indigenous peoples because these expatriate merchants had not developed any large-scale proselytizing activity 55 It was not until the twelfth century that Islam began to have an impact upon the coastal societies to an appreciable degree (56).

Islamization: the Role of Clerics and traders

A direct, mechanical and spontaneous connection had often been assumed to exist between commercial expansion and the spread of Islam. It had become so well established a
notion at both the popular and scholarly levels that there was, until recently, not attempt to question (a) its very historicity and (b) assuming that it is valid for some areas, its applicability of different historical epochs, circumstances and communities.(57) It is therefore necessary, both from the theoretical and historical perspectives, to define, as precisely as the sources at our disposal permit, the actual relationship between traders and the spread of Islam, and to examine how for traders were, if at all, involved in the work of proselytization(58).

Trimingham says that “accounts given by Arab writers make it clear the Islam made its first appearance through the operation of traders (59). The mere presence of Muslim/Arab trader per se does not, however, lead to conversion or suggest that those traders were directly involved in the task of proselytism unless it can be proven with concrete evidence that they were so involved. The commercial explanation of Islamic propagation suffers from two basic weaknesses. First, it was largely based on a general assumption that has emerged in order to overcome a lack of detailed factual information- a consequence of the nature of the available sources. There’s sources do not tell us as much as we would like to know about the social and educational background, and upbringing of merchants, the way in which they used their leisure time apart from their religious duties, and the degree of their religious commitment and competence to undertake proselytization. They are also silent- and this is very important- on the presence or absence of clerics in their midst, although some writers have suggested that traders were invariably accompanied by clerics, (60) and asserted that the latter
were allowed by African ruler". Both to practice and propagate their religion."(61) Second, it obscures the role that professional clerics certainly played in the propagation of the faith by giving more credit to traders than to clerics.

Lевtzlжon subscribes to the view that..."traders served as vehicles for the propagation of Islam beyond the boundaries of the military expansion."(62) He regards the period when "Islam [was] transmitted by Muslim traders" as the second phase in the process of the diffusion of Islam. (63) In a later work, however, he wrote: "Traders did open routes, expose isolated societies to external cultural influences, and maintain communications. But it seems that the traders were not themselves engaged in the propagation of Islam."(64)

If, and whenever feasible, the study of the socio-economic and educational background of traders before their active involvement in commerce should throw light on their precise contribution to Islamization. In Wallo, Ethiopia, an analysis of traditional Muslim educational system reveals the fact that there is a special relationship between Islam and commerce. Those who acquired basic Qura’anic and post-Quranic education faced considerable economic hardship (since there was no institutional and financial support for their activities) and extensive traveling in search of teachers. (65). This served as a sort of informal training in commerce. Thus formal education can be said to have fostered a positive attitude and inclinations towards commerce which in turn facilitated the expansion of Islam. This seems to have been a characteristic feature of the relationship between trade and Islam with the former
contributing to the material sustenance of the latter. Such institution as the Hajj, Qur'anic schools and Sufi establishments were maintained through the generous patronage of prosperous traders and cultivators. This is especially true in the relatively dense settlements along the trade routes. In the rural areas, well to do cultivators and craftsmen also contributed to the upkeep of a clerical class through grants of waqf- lands and regular allowances in grain.(66)

There is no question that Muslim traders had historically played a leading role in creating the favourable conditions in which proselyization could take root and flourish. It is even difficult to conceive of the spread of Islam in areas where Muslim merchants had not preceded the arrival of clerics.(67) However if this argument is pressed too far, it will lead to assertions such as that made by McCall.” There is little doubt that as long as Muslim merchants have been doing business south of the Sahra, they have also been explaining and exhorting”(68).

Wallo oral traditions strongly suggest that Muslim teachers were preoccupied with instruction and had little time and inadequate resources to take up trading. There was a local cultural stigma attached to the trading alim because of, among other things, the danger of coming into contact with women in the market which might invite temptations. Hence, teachers and clerics in Ethiopia seem to have been, for the most part, professionally and culturally averse to commerce.(69).

The early and mediaeval Arabic sources on Ethiopia, for example, hardly portray a direct link between the
activities of traders and the propagation of Islam. In fact there are more references to the establishment of settlements on the Ethiopian Red Sea coast founded by Arab families from the Hijaz and Yemen, many of whom consisted of political refugees and pious men, than to trading stations funded by merchants, and hardly any allusions to merchants engaged in religious propagation. There are also more references to conversation to Islam indicted by clerics than to religious change brought about as a result of the efforts of traders. Such is the tradition, for instance, of the origin of the Muslim dynasties of the sultanates of Shawa and Ifat. Maqrizi wrote that the ancestors of the latter had hailed from the Hijaz and settled near Zayla. He explicitly stated: "some of them gained a reputation for their philanthropy and piety." 70 Cerulli wrote that the Islamization of the peoples of southern Ethiopia was effected through the settlement of Arab immigrants consisting of both traders and men of religions. 71) among the emphasize the pre-eminent role which indigenous clerics played in the propagation of the faith. 72)

In a seminal and illuminating article, Sæneh has argued that the traditional image of the trader and warrior as the principal carriers of Islam in Africa has been over-emphasized by scholars to the extent of obscuring the more decisive and effective role of clerics in the dissemination of Muslim culture. 73) Levtzion also expressed a similar view by noting that while historians have tended to stress the role of traders as carriers of Islam, local traditions of Islamization among indigenous Muslim communities have highlighted that of the Muslim holy men. 74) Fisher has stressed the role of Muslim teachers in providing not only
literacy and education, but also their skills in prayer and divination which had utilitarian values (75).

By far the most conclusive evidence for the prominent role which clerics played in the cultivation and recrudescence of Islam in Africa comes from the period of the introduction and dissemination of the Sufi orders (turuq; tariqa). The conversion of a significant number of Africans to Islam is attributed to holy men trained in the mystical way, a subject beyond the scope of this paper.
References:

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(17) Ibid., p. 59.
(19) El Fasi and Hrbek, op. cit., p. 61.
(20) Ibid., p. 59.
(21) Ibid., p. 59n. 5.
(23) Ivan Hrbek, "Egypt, Nubia and the Eastern Deserts" in CHA, 3, pp. 11-12.
(24) Ibid., pp. 12-13; Bianquis, "Egypt from the Arab conquest..." p. 184.
(26) Ibid., pp. 21-22.
(27) Ibid., pp. 31-32.
(28) Ibid., p. 92.
(29) Ibid., p. 93.
(31) El Fasi and Hrbek, p. 62; Adolphe Faure, "Islam in North-West Africa (Maghrib)" in A.J. Arberry (ed.), Religion in the Middle East:
(32) Elfasi and Hrbeck, p.63
(33) Ibid., pp.64-65, Mones, p.240.
(34) Ibid., p.66.
(37) Levtzion, p.340.
(38) Ibid., p.346.
(39) Elfasi and Hrbeck, pp.69, 71.
(40) Ibid., pp.71-72
(42) Ibid., pp.73,79-80; Fisher, "The Western Maghrib," pp.294-296.
(43) Elfasi and Hrbeck, p.74
(47) Elfasi and Hrbeck, p.80.
(48) Ibid., pp.81-84; Tringham, The Influence of Islam upon..., pp.22-25; Hrbeck, "Egypt, Nubia...," pp.71-80.
(49) E. Cerulli, "Ethiopia's relations with the Muslim world" in Elfasi and Hrbeck, op. cit., p.577. In spite of its historical significance for an understanding of the advent of Islam to Ethiopia and its relations with the Islamic world, the hijra (the migration in 615 A.D. of the Prophet's followers to the Kingdom of Aksum) has been left
out from the present discussion since it did not lead to the conversion of the indigenous people apart from the alleged conversion of the contemporary Aksumite king. On this and other related aspects of the event, see J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 44 ff. and Hussein Ahmed, “Aksum in Muslim Historical Traditions” Journal of Ethiopian Studies, XXIX, 2 (1996), pp. 47-66.

(50) Taddesey Tamrat, “Ethiopia, the red Sea and the Horn” in CHA, 3, pp. 121-122. Notwithstanding his earlier statement, Cerulli also cites the existence of the Christian state as a factor which prevented the further spread of Islam. op. cit., p. 579.

(51) Taddesey, pp. 105-107,139.

(52) Cerulli, pp. 580-582.

(53) Taddesey, pp. 140-143, El Fasi and Hrbek, p. 86.


(56) Ibid., p. 606.


(59) Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, p. 25, idem, Islam in Ethiopia, pp. 61,139.


(64) Idem, (ed.), Conversion to Islam.

(65) Cf. ibid.


(68) In Daniel E. Mc Call and Norman R. Bennett (eds.)


(70) Quoted in Trimmingham, Islam in Ethiopia, P. 59 (emphasis added).


(74) Levtozion (ed.), Conversion to Islam, p. 16.