

STUDIES IN AFRICAN LITERATURE: NEW SERIES

SIMON GIKANDI

Reading the African Novel

SIMON GIKANDI

Reading Chinua Achebe (forthcoming)

KENNETH W. HARROW (ed.)

Faces of Islam in African Literature

ADEOLA JAMES (ed.)

In Their Own Voices: African Women Writers Talk

ELDRED DUROSIMI JONES

The Writing of Wole Soyinka

MILDRED MORTIMER

Journeys Through the French African Novel

EMMANUEL NGARA

Ideology and Form in African Poetry

NGUGI WA THIONG'O

Decolonising the Mind

*Faces of Islam in
African Literature*

Edited by

KENNETH W. HARROW

Michigan State University

HEINEMANN
Portsmouth, NH

JAMES CURREY
London



*Through a Prism Darkly:
“Orientalism” in European-
Language African Writing*

GEORGE LANG

*And the day will come
when the Law of the Prophet shall rule
throughout the lands, when Ethiopia
shall stretch forth her hands unto Allah, and shall
thus rise to her highest point of civilization.*

RICHARD BURTON, *cited in Hiskett 1984, 210*

One need not concur with Richard Burton's deliberately provocative vision of the inevitable victory of the nineteenth-century Fulani jihad to recognize that his admiration for Islam runs counter to the current of European-language thinking in his times as in our own. Nor need one have digested all of *Orientalism* to recognize that Burton is one of Edward Said's arch-villains, the consummate Orientalist who mastered the Orient, in all senses of the word, and penetrated "to the heart of Islam" (Said, 1979, 195). I can think of no comparable scholar of African Islam, but the absolutism and lack of nuance in Burton's prophecy does exemplify, albeit in reverse, one feature of European-language writing of Islam, the reduction of it to a monolith, one more often malevolent than benevolent. Of course, many Muslims also assume the unity of believers and themselves thus tend to reduce Islam's variegation. But the web of unexamined opinion about Islam that flourishes in the West holds even when transposed into Africa; and many Africanists, who were first and foremost Europeanists, have copied their script over from European

learning, from what has historically been the dogmatic vision of Islam as a uniform and timeless superstition. My aim in the ensuing remarks is to discuss the effects this often-unconscious reduction of the prismatic complexity of Islam has upon African and Africanist writing and thought.

These effects are manifold, even to some extent among writers of Islamic tradition, because any language conveys with it a burden of predigested terminology and attitudes against which it is difficult, but not impossible, to write. As Mbye B. Cham has observed, writers of Islamic background run from traditional or modern promoters of Islam (Hampâté Bâ or Cheikh Hamidou Kane), to those using Islamic elements without actively fostering Islam (the *almukhlit*, "mixers" like Camara Laye [Fisher 1980]), to a large body of irreverents, and on to the apostates (like Sembène Ousmane and Yambo Ouologuem, though Edris Makward disputes this interpretation of Sembène elsewhere in this volume). Alongside this continuum runs another composed of writers from non-Islamic traditions. There are allies (like Edward W. Blyden, who advocated the spread of Islam, much to the consternation of the Christian missionaries of Liberia [Hiskett 1984, 210]), synthesizers (like Léopold Sédar Senghor, who saw Islam as having an important but not primordial role in African culture), misinformers (even well-intentioned ones, like some mentioned below) and, at the far extreme and corresponding to the apostates, debunkers like Ayi Kwei Armah (to whom Islam was anathema, the alien imposition of another, earlier colonizing force). To this last category also belong Christian missionaries and colonial administrators and commentators, who saw Islam as a focus of resistance to European hegemony. It is fruitful to look at the full range of these writers in light of the peculiar systematic distortion of Islam we might think of as an Africanist strain of Orientalism.¹

Adopting, as many have, Michel Foucault's notion of discourse as a self-contained and inalterable sphere comporting an impermeable *epistémè*, Said implies that no knowledge of other beings is possible. To such epistemological monadism, I oppose a pragmatic notion of ideological hegemony as open to contradiction, and hence to correction.² Communication is indeed possible, but there is a deeply ingrained pattern of denial, if not of Islam itself then of its complexity, which impedes understanding not just of Islam but of Africa, and diminishes the full spectrum of its variety to a single murky hue.

There are considerable though not always consistent differences between African and non-African treatments of Islam in Africa, in part because Muslim and non-Muslim Africans have long co-existed, at least in the Sudan and Sahel. It follows that African irony about a particular facet of Islam (say, the mockery of the false marabout) is too easily missed by Western critics, or is cast out of context. That such lapses are institutional and collective rather than individual is suggested by the apparently neutral remark by my colleague Eric Sellin, who is both professionally and personally well-informed about Islam, that Aminata Sow Fall's *La Grève des bâttu* "tells of a beggar's strike after an official has tried to restrict downtown begging. This strike wreaks havoc with the almsgiving that is required by local custom" (Klein 1986, 148). Since alms-giving is one precept of Islam,³ this is tantamount to alluding to a principle of Christian practice (say, confession in Graham Greene's *The Heart of the Matter*) as a quaint local tradition, and this in a novel dealing with the higher ambiguities of faith. There is a gamut of reaction to the marabout in Senegalese novels, some of which posit the holy man as a positive figure (e.g., Kane's *L'Aventure ambiguë* and Mamadou Dia Mbeye's *Au delà de la vertu*), some of which is gently chiding (Birago Diop in his *Contes d'Amadou Koumba*), some of which is quite negative (Sembène Ousmane or Cheikh Aliou Ndao in *Buur Tilleen: Roi de la Médina* and *Le Marabout de la sécheresse*), and some of which, like Sow Fall's novel, involve a core tenet of Islam in a complex web of ironies. Any reader who is not already *au courant* will find it difficult to situate any of these attitudes correctly, especially the last one, if misconceptions about Islam are promulgated by the critics, or for that matter if the complexity of Islamic tradition is not given its due.

The intellectual resources of that tradition are all but invisible to Europhones, and few translations from Arabic, Wolof, Hausa, and other languages necessary to understand them are available. This leads to a range of erroneous or partial readings of African literature, some of which reflect blatant Western stereotypes about Islam, others of which are more subtle, though still reductive. Take, as an example of the former, Ouologuem's denunciation of the abuse of Koranic rhetoric in the hands of petty tyrants in the opening pages of *Le Devoir de violence*, which appeared to many Western readers to be a strikingly original, but well-justified formulation of the intrinsically despotic nature of Islam (Miller 1985). Yet such criticism is a commonplace within Islamic tradition itself and was often leveled by the Sufi Qadiriyya, Tijaniyya and Mourides, or later by the

Ahmadiyya (though granted these last are notoriously unorthodox).

As an example of the subtler form of misreading, take Wole Soyinka's remark in *Myth, Literature and the African World* that Samba Diallo has assaulted the materialist atheism of the West "with the West's own dialectical weapons" (1976, 82). Soyinka himself is very willing to acknowledge the weight of the Islamic world-view in some African writing, but his readers may be too easily led to believe that Kane/Diallo's antithesis to materialism derives from the West, whereas the line of thought Kane followed both has roots in Sufi thought and goes back as far as the ninth century A.D. to the Mutakallim or Islamic scholastic movement.⁴ So Mercier and Battestini claim, which demonstrates that some Western Africanists are aware of the larger Islamic world: "L'ambiguïté pour les Mutakallimoun se matérialisait dans la discussion. Ce mouvement de pensée aurait pu être repris par les musulmans actuels, adaptant le Coran aux nécessités modernes; dans la lignée islamique, Samba Diallo aurait pu voir là une issue" (Mercier and Battestini 1964, 15). ["For the Mutakallim, ambiguity was in the nature of discussion. This line of thought could have been taken up by today's Muslims, adapting the Koran to modern exigencies. Samba Diallo could have found therein an Islamic solution to his problem".] Seen in these terms, Cheikh Hamidou Kane's work reverberates with meaning far greater than the culture-conflict or "psycho-culturalist" molds into which it has been too easily crammed by, for example, Dominique Desanti or Guy Ossito Midiohouan. One understands that Midiohouan's socialist perspective would lead him to dismiss religion as escapism, but read within an Islamic framework or with some knowledge of what that framework might be, *L'Aventure ambiguë* is a most "committed" novel. Indeed, it is hard to think of any other work of African literature of traditional, Christian, or Marxist orientation that taps so deeply into its avowed tradition for a radical alternative.

Not even eminent Africanists escape from the "created consistencies" of which Said speaks (1979, 3). The noted Islamist J. Spencer Trimingham is not above observations like the following: "Muslims place extreme emphasis on the externals of religion and make no important ethical demands. They have a unified and attainable religious-social code of behavior. They do not live, as Christians do, in a state of tension, feeling that their lives fall short of their religious standard. Therefore no strain is put on them. Their religious life is wholly a matter of behavior and conformity" (1965, 107). Yet are

not the very criticism of the charlatan marabout and the gallery of prayer, alms, fasting and *hadj* deviants drawn up by Debra Boyd-Buggs *prima facie* evidence that African Muslims are sensitive to the tension between essence and appearance, ethics and externals?⁵

There have been an increasing number of re-readings of West African fiction in the light of Islam: insistence upon the Sufi sub-text in *Le Regard du roi* (Obumsele 1980) and *L'Aventure ambiguë* (Harrow 1983)⁶; explanation of the inclusion of "Arab" Islam as part of the "white death" in Ayi Kwei Armah's *Two Thousand Seasons* (Lang 1987); Thomas Hale's reading of *Le Devoir de violence* against both contemporary Songhay griot versions of the legend of Askia Mohammed and the Islamic chronicles *Tarikh es-Sudan* and *Tarikh es-Fettach* (Hale, 1990); plus the aforementioned typology of Islam in Senegalese literature by Mbye Cham, the study by Debra Boyd-Buggs, Simon Battestini's "Muslim Influences on West African Literature and Culture," and, of course, the contributions to this present volume. Still, these revisionist readings are largely thematic or involve layers of translation, and the translation of Islamic material into English or French faces a daunting double barrier.

It is perhaps easier to understand the first of those hurdles, the political motives for which reference to African resistance to the West in any form is either masked or expunged. As Thomas Hodgkin observed in 1966: "the average Ghanaian university student will usually know something of the works of H. G. Wells or Arnold Bennett, but is unlikely to know anything of the works of their approximate contemporary, al-Hajj 'Umar ibn Abi Bakr al-Salghawi. Yet al-Hajj 'Umar's writing would seem to be at least as significant for an understanding of the recent social history of Ghana as are the writing of Wells and Bennett for the social history of Britain" (1966, 443). It is patent that something more than lack of "communication between two distinctive literary traditions" is at stake here. Al-Hajj 'Umar was hardly neutral about Western thought and politics, and it is, conversely, hardly surprising that the English or French have been so inhospitable to Islamic thought. Muslims were literally mortal enemies to the first European travelers into the Sudan, Mungo Park, René Caillé, and Heinrich Barth; and the first concrete reactions to African Islam were introduced into the English, French, and German languages by their publications, which set the foundations for the colonial novel in Europe. In the early part of this century both the English in Northern Nigeria and the French in Mali used Arabic and/or a vernacular for administrative purposes, but these practices were

terminated when it became evident they inadvertently promoted Islam. The barrier between European languages and Islamic traditions in Africa was thus a deliberate one, and this obstacle affects all writers, Islamic or not—the former insofar as they must strive against the prejudice inherent in the language they are using, the latter because of the blackout that prevails as a matter of policy at all but the most learned levels of the Western intellectual world.

Yet whatever ideological challenge Al-Hajj 'Umar and other West African Muslim writers posed to the West, there are additional “literary” reasons for their relegation to marginality. Arabic and *a'jami* (African languages in Arabic script) have, in the words of Albert Gérard, “[leurs] propres critères d'excellence, qui n'ont rien de commun avec ceux de l'Occident moderne. Essentiellement, ils se ramènent à deux grandes exigences: la fidélité aux thèmes et aux structures établies, et la virtuosité dans le maniement du langage et du vers” (Gerard 1984, 132) [“their own standards of excellence which have nothing in common with those of the modern West. Essentially, they come down to two important requirements: faithfulness to established themes and structures, and virtuosity in language and verse”]. Apart from the purely political barriers to incorporating Islamic tradition into European languages, the twentieth-century European modernist penchant for “open” literary forms is at odds with the practice of “virtuosity in language and verse”—a virtuosity exemplified by the Wolof verse studied by Amar Samb and the Hausa verse Hiskett has explored. Since this mode of poetry has no counterpart flourishing in the West, Islam, perceived through the veil of Europhone translation, seems, if not limited to prose, then prosaic. The shift of matter from Islamic to Europhone spheres entails a reorientation of genres, therefore to some extent a distortion. Hiskett argues convincingly that the development of Islam in West Africa is united by a “single, unbroken thread . . . [and represents] a triumph for the power of literate ideas” (1984, 318). But the nature and forms of that literacy remain invisible to the West or the Westernized, for they have roots in Islamic theology and in the unique traditions of literacy derived therefrom.⁷

One of the most interesting conclusions drawn by Said is that “the modern Orient participates in its own Orientalizing” (1979, 325), largely by adopting Western views of itself. An analogous assimilation of course occurred in Africa during the years preceding Négritude (which explicitly argued against such), but one still-pervasive aspect of “self-Orientalizing” is the marginalization of

Islam within Africa implied by setting the Sahara as a significant *cultural* boundary, and this despite the fact that Islam extends well south of the desert and that the desert has never been an absolute barrier. There are to be sure some cases, such as the politically defined Sudan, in which culture and race fall into relatively neat, sometimes violent demarcations, but the assumption that the Sahara is more than a geographical feature is an implicitly racist one, and is a corollary of the two most common presumptions about African Islam: the first that it is an anomaly in the Islamic world, the second that its impact on Africa has been due to some fantastic misunderstanding (“malentendu fantastique” [Moreau 1982, 39]). This latter point of view includes the insinuation that Islamic polygamy and amenability to superstition predisposed Africans to it. Islamists of this persuasion manage to tar both Islam and Africans with a single brush. Islamists of a different, presumably purist bent (like Jean-Claude Froelich) alternatively assert that African Islam is by its very nature condemned to schism and heresy: “L’islam doit une partie de ses succès à sa souplesse, mais il a dû payer rançon de cette facilité: l’islam en s’adaptant s’est défiguré . . . En mêlant la foi nouvelle aux pratiques païennes les populations noires, sans s’en douter, ont plongé dans le schisme, sinon dans l’hérésie” (Moreau 1982, 235). [“Islam owes part of its success to its flexibility, but it has had to pay a price for it: in the process of adapting, Islam has become distorted . . . Syncretizing the new faith with pagan customs, the black population unbeknownst to itself slipped into schism and perhaps heresy”]. This is not to suggest that there is no variety of sect and schism in Africa, but the contention that African Islam might have a monopoly upon diversity and variety of approach is curious. Africa is but one of the five cultural spheres in which Islam has found a home, and the Arab heartland but another. There remain the Turkish, the Irano-Indian, and the Indonesian, and the proliferation of sect within each of them certainly undermines any characterization of African Islam as especially given over to schism and heresy.⁸ There is also, I would argue, a peculiar blindness towards Islamic thought practiced by philosophers like Paulin Hountondji and V. Y. Mudimbe, who see African philosophy as a synthesis of non-Muslim African civilizations and “modernity” (Mudimbe 1985, 212). In their thought, Islam is excluded from the nascent African philosophical discourse, though the terms and the methodology of contemporary post-modernist Western discourse are implicitly embraced.

There have been a number of other thinkers who have inserted

Islam into the total synthesis of cultures Africa is said to represent, the gamut here running from Léopold Sédar Senghor (whose embarrassingly opportunistic *Les Fondements de l'Africanité, ou Négritude et Arabité* is to some extent tempered by the poetic synthesis he did achieve in his *Elégies majeures*), to Hampâté Bâ (*Aspects de la civilisation africaine*) and Sulayman S. Nyang (*Islam, Christianity, and African Identity*), both active promoters of Islam. Synthesis invariably reflects its author's own ideological needs. It is hardly surprising that Senghor's *Fondements* was conceived as an address delivered in the presence of Gamal Abdel Nasser, or that as the Catholic president of a nation over 90 percent Muslim, Senghor found good reasons of his own to attribute an important role for Islam in his Universal Synthesis of cultures. Doubtless part of the popular appeal of Ali Mazrui's synthetic view of Africa as a fusion of animist, Western, and Islamic components is that such a fusion is in fact unique in world history and thus attractive to pan-African nationalists.

Historians have shown the actual complexity of West African Islamic history and thought to be a response not to European imperialism *per se*, but to the imposition of the secular European ideal of nation-states. Islamic advance and resistance to the West has flourished not along lines and among the political entities recognized by the West, but across borders and within sects, among the Wahabdis (as antagonistic to the Sufi as the Sunni are), or the Ahmadis (who count as apostates in the eyes of most Muslims). The periods and boundaries within which we interpret the chronology and the geography of West Africa frequently ignore the alternative vision Islamic tradition offers. "Islamic culture being virtually frontierless, and Muslim scholars habitually cosmopolitan and peripatetic" (Hodgkin 1966, 447), both the literary and the political endeavors of Muslims tend to slip through the grid of Western or Western-oriented analysis.

I do not wish to be programmatic. Dorothy S. Blair makes the point that in Senegal there is a "high degree of homogeneity. The Muslim majority cohabits easily with the Catholic minority and has a strong tolerance of traditional beliefs and cults." It follows that sect and syncretism, within Senegal at least, are already foregone conclusions, such that "the few traces of religious schism reflected in Senegal's literature are associated with the Mourides" (1984, 8). What this means is that a developing national culture can and will override the usually prevailing Europhone view of Muslims. Hence, in Senegal, nationalist portrayals of resistance to the French turn around historical figures who were Muslim, in particular Al-Hajj

'Umar and Lat Dior, whose conversion sparked a successful attack upon the French protectorates in 1871. Blair cites similar attitudes in Gérard Chenet's radio play *El Hadj Omar*, Cheik Aliou Ndao's *L'Exil d'Alboury*, and D. T. Niane's *Sikasso, ou la dernière citadelle* (1984, 22–30). Her point is well-taken. These statements of Senegalese nationalism are part of a syncretic national culture that rejects the Orientalist suppositions of Francophone culture. The rule this exception proves might read as follows: unless an indigenous Europhone tradition of writing or school of scholarship centered on Islamic Africa develops, the presuppositions and prejudices of the international English and French cultures regarding Islam will prevail.

West Africa offers an exemplary metaphor for interactions on the global scale. There will be no accurate and sufficiently complex representation of the Islamic world until European languages are no longer the sole curriculum of study, or at least until translation helps understand the variegation of that world. In West Africa this means a serious reappraisal of Islam, not in the provocative manner Richard Burton displayed above, but with full appreciation of its integrity as a system "of interlocking ideas, of intense intellectuality and mystical complexity" — as Mervyn Hiskett imagined Al-Hajj 'Umar imagining the *tariqa* of the Tijaniyya (1984, 318). Only then can the spectrum of Islamic thought in Africa be conveyed into Europhone scholarship and can we no longer gaze through this particular prism darkly.

Notes

1. Said's choice and understanding of the term Orientalism is not itself above reproach, and it would be unwise to apply it uncritically to Africanists, despite the common historical and institutional roots Africanists share with European Orientalists, as is apparent in the usual grouping of "African" and "Oriental" studies in English and French universities. Indeed, one must recognize that this present study would be impossible without some of these same Africanists and Islamists. We learn through approximation and error, our own as well as others'. Said himself has too blithely dismissed some Orientalists, for example the Victorian scholar of Persian, E. G. Browne, whose knowledge of his subject matter and ringing denunciation of European colonialism in the Foreword to Volume II of his *History of Persian Literature* ought to temper such categorical treatment.
2. It is revealing that prior to his recent polemic works such as *The Question of Palestine* and *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives*, which reflect his role as spokesman for the Palestinian National Council, Said never tried to explain the Oriental Other to his readers. In addition, he seems not to have appreciated the difference between Foucault's epistemological concept of *epistémè* and Gramsci's political and "pragmatic" understanding of

- hegemony, which implies a more variegated and dynamic picture of ideological conflict.
3. The voluntary alms in Sow Fall's novel were not *zakat*, as Mbye Cham suggests (1985, 452). *Zakat* is a formal annual tithe (10 percent of one's capital goods). The *Koran* does, however, recommend the voluntary charity Sow Fall's beggar's strike cut off. See Bâ (1972, 142) and, of course, the *Koran* (II, 172).
 4. *Mutakalliim* means simply theologian, but the movement itself applied dialectic and reason to the interpretation of the *Koran*, distinguishing itself from both the conservative traditionalists, from mystics, and from the "neo-Platonic and Aristotelian philosophers of the Sunnite faith . . ." [It was based upon the] "atomistic system which was Islam's most original contribution to philosophy" (Gibb and Kramer 1965, 212).
 5. To these ideological barriers must be added material ones. We lack basic and easily available research tools. In the words of Jean-Louis Triaud: "Dans le cas de l'Afrique noire, un tel capital [des ouvrages de référence essentiels à l'étude de l'Islam en Afrique] fait défaut, ou se montre largement insuffisant: où sont les travaux de références bibliographiques et biographiques, les dictionnaires spécialisés, les enquêtes systématiques?" (1986, 452). ["In the case of Black Africa, such resources—works essential to the study of Islam in Africa—are lacking or very insufficient: where are bibliographical and biographical reference books, the specialized dictionaries, the systematic surveys?"] Even the compendious *European-Language Writing in Sub-Saharan Africa*, which conformed to the best models of international comparatist practice, has almost nothing to say about Islamic influence in Africa, and this despite the pioneering work of its editor, Albert S. Gérard, in making known the wealth of Islamic and related writing on the continent—and his lengthy chapters on Islamic traditions in *African Language Literatures*. The essay contained therein by Mazrui and Bakari does express the kernel of the thought Mazrui finally brought forth in *The Africans*—the now well-known but not very specific thesis that contemporary Africa is the product of indigenous, Western, and Islamic traditions.
 6. It is worth observing that both Obumsele and Harrow as well as Johnson attribute Islamic influence on Laye on the basis of very general parallels between Sufi imagery and that found in the African texts, and that Sufi practice is the best known and most positively received facet of Islam in Western languages.
 7. Indeed, Jack Goody's study of the Vai script demonstrates how imbued it is with West African Islamic traditions, even in the south, far from the Sudan, and how alien to Western senses of "literacy" (1987, 191 ff). For more on language use and Islam, see Brenner and Last.
 8. Nor are the common attacks on and defenses of Islamic education an isolated African or Senegalese phenomenon, but part of a venerable neo-Islamic tradition well exemplified by the Egyptian Taha Hussein's "Student Days" (from *Al-Ayyam*). Scathing denunciations of the religious charlatan have a counterpart in the Iranian Sedagh Hedayat's "Caravan of Islam" and the Islamic connection extends to Indonesia where Mochtar Lubis's 1963 *Twilight in Djakarta* treated the problem of the cosmopolitan "been-

to" who returns to promulgate a modernized Islam. It is interesting in this light to consider the paucity of comparative studies of the "been-to" theme and the corresponding emphasis by Arab writers of the *nahda* (the renaissance) on the impact of Western culture on those who studied abroad (Allen 1982, 54).

References

- ALLEN, ROGER. 1982. *The Arabic Novel: An Historical and Critical Introduction*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- BÂ, AMADOU HAMPÂTÉ. 1972. *Aspects de la civilisation africaine* Paris: Présence Africaine.
- BATTESTINI, SIMON P. K. 1986. "Muslim Influences on West African Literature and Culture." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 7, 2 (July) 476–502.
- BLAIR, DOROTHY S. 1984. *Senegalese Literature: A Critical History*. Boston: Twayne.
- BOYD-BUGGS, DEBRA. 1986. "Baraka: Maraboutism and Maraboutage in the Francophone Senegalese Novel." Ph.D. thesis, Ohio State University, *Dissertation Abstracts* 47:899A.
- BRENNER, LOUIS, and MURRAY LAST. 1985. "The Role of Language in West African Islam." *Africa* 55, 4, 432–46.
- CHAM, MBYE B. 1985. "Islam in Senegalese Literature and Film." *Africa* 55, 4, 447–63.
- DESANTI, DOMINIQUE. 1968. "Le Conflit des cultures et *L'Aventure ambiguë*." *African Arts/Arts d'Afrique* 1 (Winter) 60–61; 106; 109–10.
- DIAGNE, AHMADOU MAPATÉ. 1920. *Les Trois volontés de Malic*. Paris: Larousse.
- FALL, AMINATA SOW. 1979. *La Grève des Bàttu*. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines.
- . 1986. *The Beggars' Strike*. Translated by Dorothy S. Blair. Burnt Mill, Essex: Longman.
- FISHER, HUMPHREY J. 1980. "Crescent and Consciousness." *Research in African Literature* 11, 1 (Spring) 27.
- FROELICH, JEAN-CLAUDE. 1966. "Sectes musulmanes et civilisations négro-africaines." *Le Mois en Afrique* 1 (Mai) 98–105.
- GERARD, ALBERT S. 1984. *Essais d'histoire littéraire africaine*. Sherbrooke: Naaman.
- GERARD, ALBERT S. (ed.) 1986. *European-Language Writing in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- GIBB, H. A. R., and J. H. KRAMERS. 1965. *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- GOODY, JACK. 1987. *The Interface between the Written and the Oral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HALE, THOMAS A. 1990. *Scribe, Griot and Novelist: Narrative Interpreters of the Sanghay Empire* Gainesville: U of Florida P, 1990.
- HARROW, KENNETH. 1983. "A Sufi Interpretation of *Le Regard du Roi*," *Research in African Literatures* 14, 2, 135–64.
- HISKETT, MERVYN. 1975. *A History of Hausa Islamic Verse*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- . 1984. *The Development of Islam in West Africa*. London: Longman.

- HODGKIN, THOMAS L. 1966. "The Islamic Literary Tradition in Ghana," in I. M. Lewis (ed.) *Islam in Tropical Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 442-60.
- . 1984. *The Development of Islam in West Africa*. London: Longman.
- HODGKIN, THOMAS L. 1966. "The Islamic Literary Tradition in Ghana," in I. M. Lewis (ed.) *Islam in Tropical Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 442-60.
- HOUNDTONDI, PAULIN J. 1983. *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality*. Henri Evans with the coll. of Jonathan Rée. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- JOHNSON, LEMUEL A. 1980. "Crescent and Consciousness: Islamic Orthodoxies and the West African Novel." *Research in African Literatures* 11, 1 (Spring) 264-9.
- KANE, CHEIKH HAMIDOU. 1961. *L'Aventure ambiguë*. Paris: Julliard.
- KRITZECK, JAMES, and WILLIAM H. LEWIS, (eds.) 1969. *Islam in Africa*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.
- KRITZECK, JAMES. 1970. *Modern Islamic Literature*. New York: New American Library.
- KLEIN, LEONARD S. 1986. *African Literatures in the 20th Century: A Guide*. New York: Ungar Publishing Company.
- LANG, GEORGE. 1987. "Text, Identity and Difference: Yambo Ouologuem's *Le Devoir de violence* and Ayi Kwei Armah's *Two Thousand Seasons*," *Comparative Literature Studies* 24, 4 (December) 274-89.
- MADUKUIKE, IHECHUKWU. 1983. *The Senegalese Novel: A Sociological Study of the Impact of the Politics of Assimilation*. Washington, D. C.: Three Continents.
- MERCIER, ROGER, MONIQUE BATESTINI, ET SIMON BATESTINI (eds.) 1964. *Cheikh Hamidou Kane: Ecrivain Sénégalais*. Paris: Fernand Nathan Editeur.
- MIDIOHOUAN, GUY OSSITO. 1986. *L'Idéologie dans la littérature négro-africaine d'expression française*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- MILLER, CHRISTOPHER L. 1985. *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MOREAU, RENÉ LUC. 1982. *Africains, musulmans*. Paris: Présence Africaine.
- MUDIMBE, V. Y. 1985. "African Gnosis: Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge." *African Studies Review* 28, 2/3 (June/September) 149-233.
- NYANG, SULAYMAN S. 1894. *Islam, Christianity, and African Identity*. Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books.
- OBUMSELU, BEN. 1980. "The French and Moslem Backgrounds of *The Radiance of the King*." *Research in African Literatures* 11, 1 (Spring) 1-25.
- OULOQUEM, YAMBO. 1968. *Le Devoir de violence*. Paris: Seuil.
- SAID, EDWARD W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage.
- SAMB, AMAR. 1968. "L'Influence de l'Islam sur la littérature volof." *Bulletin de l'IFAN, Série B.*, 30, 2 (Avril) 628-41.
- SENGHOR, LÉOPOLD SÉDAR. 1967. *Les Fondements de l'africanité ou négritude et arabité*. Paris: Présence Africaine.
- SOYINKA, WOLE. 1976. *Myth, Literature and the African World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- TRIAUD, JEAN-LOUIS. 1986. "Review of Christian Coulon, *Les Musulmans et le pouvoir en Afrique noire*." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 20, 3, 451-53.
- TRIMMINGHAM, J. SPENCER. 1955. *Islam in the Sudan*. New York: Barnes and Noble.
- WARDENBURG, JEAN-JACQUES. 1963. *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'occident*. Paris: Mouton.