**Reconsidering Islamic Law Through Africa: Perspectives from the Sahara**

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This special issue seeks to refocus attention from the application of laws by modern states to a much longer tradition of Islamic jurisprudence in Africa.[[1]](#footnote-1) Although the treatises and *fatwā*sof legal specialists are a fixture of research on the Arab Islamic World, they remain scarce in the study of Africa. The present volume offers a corrective to the discussion of Islamic law on the continent that is often confined to the machinations of contemporary governments.[[2]](#footnote-2) It continues recent efforts to challenge the legacies of colonialism that persist in the study of Islam in Africa more broadly, arguing that a similar reexamination of Islamic law is overdue.[[3]](#footnote-3) The six articles included here represent a modest start to that work.

Rather than a survey of the continent, they begin with a study of the communities and legal literature emerging from the Sahara. The largest desert in the world, it is uniquely fertile ground for exploring the development of Islamic law in Africa. Stretching westward from the Nile River to the Atlantic Ocean, the region has been viewed as a barrier, or at best a frontier, dividing sub-Saharan Africa from an Arab north.[[4]](#footnote-4) The image owes less to historical evidence than to the familiar colonial fantasy of an Africa populated by autochthonous blacks and orthodox Arabs, each providentially separated by the physical and intellectual void of the Sahara.

This imagining of the Sahara as a space defined by absence has, in recent years, been subjected to welcome scrutiny. A growing body of work has called for reconceiving of the region not as a periphery but a center, an axis around which distinct religious, economic, and political communities evolved.[[5]](#footnote-5) A thriving culture of Islamic scholarship is commonly cited as evidence of such a Saharan ecumene.[[6]](#footnote-6) Yet with the exception of thejurisprudentialtexts of precolonial Mauritania, there exists little research on the content of Saharan legal literature itself. Our issue follows these pioneering studies on the manuscripts of the *Shanāqiṭa* in privileging the legal dimensions of Mālikī scholarship in the Sahara.[[7]](#footnote-7) It also builds off a rich literature on the social and cultural significance of legal texts to the region.[[8]](#footnote-8) Drawing from both, our study situates the Sahara not as a space of privation but of vibrancy, one home to a particularly rich intellectual tradition of jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

The breadth of the articles included here reflects the diversity of that tradition. They draw from multiple historical and ethnographic sources and across a wide range of literary genres, among them biographical dictionaries (*ṭabaqāt*), abridgements (*mukhtaṣarāt*) and commentaries (*shurūḥ*), legal responsa (*nawāzil*), court records (*sijillāt*), and treatises (*rasāʾil*). The contributions also cover extensive historical and geographic terrain. They encompass nearly four hundred years of Saharan jurisprudence, beginning with a sixteenth-century biography of legal scholars in Timbuktu and concluding with a debate over law and textuality in contemporary Chad. They highlight not just the legal literature of its better studied west, but also traditions of *fiqh* in less represented communities of the Sahara’s east. Together they sketch an image of the doctrinal and social dimensions of Islamic law, revealing the ways in which legal texts both influenced, and were themselves influenced by, the shifting sands of Saharan society and politics.

Marta G. Novo begins the issue by presenting a portrait of Islamic law in medieval West Africa through the period’s preeminent jurist and historian, Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī (d. 1627). Novo explores a peculiar feature of Aḥmad Bābā’s historical scholarship, asking why his immensely famous biographical dictionary *Nayl al-ibtihāj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībāj* was largely restricted to detailing the history of his home city of Timbuktu and members of his Aqīt family. Her article considers the question by locating Aḥmad Bābā’s account of legal scholarship within the larger sociopolitical context of Islamic learning in West Africa. Novo juxtaposes the intellectual milieu of the sixteenth-century Sahara with a tradition of self-conscious historiographies emerging in Timbuktu little more than a century later. She concludes that *Nayl al-ibtihāj* was as much a work of politics as of history; Timbuktu’s fall at the hands of the Saʿdian dynasty (1510-1659) and Aḥmad Bābā’s own forced exile to Morocco were more than sufficient motivation for reminding his captors of the identity of the true vanguards of Islamic learning in West Africa.

Ismail Warscheid considers how *muftī*s and judges in a Saharan oasis society confronted legal dilemmas posed by a range of social dependencies. Relying on *nawāzil* compiled between 1750 and 1850, he explores the legal relationship between servants and masters in the oases of Tuwāt in present-day southern Algeria. Warscheid finds that the work of Muslim jurists was essential to maintaining forms of social dependency. He explores the ways that Saharan legal scholars often sought to sustain the hegemony of local elites over subaltern groups, particularly the *ḥarāṭīn* population, through upholding exploitative sharecropping arrangements. The tendency of local jurists to defend individual property rights usually worked in favor of social groups claiming genealogical and cultural superiority and, thereby, played a crucial role in maintaining relationships of inequality in a society deeply marked by the trans-Saharan slave trade.

Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh traces the fascinating history of gum Arabic (ʿ*ilk*) in the legal scholarship of the nineteenth-century south-western Sahara. He points to France’s growing commercial interests in the Senegal River basin as a crucial point of departure for the significance of gum Arabic in the region. Starting with Paris’ founding of the trading outpost of Saint Louis in 1659, increased demand for control of the export of *ʿilk* to European markets sparked not infrequent confrontations between French traders and colonial officials and the Mauritanian aristocracy traditionally responsible for the gum trade. The conflict culminated nearly two centuries later in a decree issued by the leader of Mauritania’s Trārza Emirate, Muḥammad Laḥbīb (d. 1860), prohibiting all exports of *ʿilk* to Saint Louis indefinitely. Ould Cheikh notes that the embargo raised a provocative question for Mauritanian jurists asked to assess the legitimacy of Laḥbīb’s declaration: was gum Arabic best classified as a food, or was it, in fact, a currency? The legal consequences of either designation were considerable. Relying on Yahya Ould-al-Bara’s remarkable *al-Majmūʿ* collection, Ould Cheikh contemplates the dilemma through the responsa of Mauritanian jurisconsults as they debated how to build a legal category for gum Arabic that attended to its physical characteristics and reflected the social and economic changes wrought by colonialism. He argues that these debates played a crucial role in developing a collective identity among Mauritanian, and specifically *zawāyā,* jurists. Ould Cheikh compares their practices with Pierre Bourdieu’s study of medieval scholasticism, insisting that jurisprudential debates were less a matter of resolving actual problems than of exhibiting mastery of a professional art on which the *zawāyā*’s claims to social prestige ultimately depended.

Matthew Steele explores the endurance of the Mālikī school in late colonial Sudan. He begins with the country’s arguably most famous critic of Islamic law, presenting Ḥasan al-Turābī’s (d. 2016) dismal account of legists as an opportunity for rethinking the place of *fiqh* in mid-twentieth century Sudan. Steele relocates discussion from law’s enforcement in colonial courts, already well studied in the country, to a tradition of Muslim jurisprudence in Sudan that stretched back some four centuries. He does so through the lives and careers of two legal scholars, ʿUthmān b. Ḥasanayn Barrī al-Ja*ʿ*alī (d. 1960) and Abū Ṭāhir Ḥasan Fāy al-Bijāwī (d. 1984). Rather than the obscurantists of al-Turābī’s fantasy, Steele maintains that al-Ja*ʿ*alī and al-Bijāwī are proof that the rise of the modern Sudanese state hardly signaled the demise of “traditional” Islamic law in the country. Instead, both men fought with ingenuity to revive institutions of Mālikī *fiqh* that were marginalized by critics and the governments alike. Steele concludes that rather than the stagnation of precolonial Islamic law, al-Ja*ʿ*alī and al-Bijāwī attest to the surprising dexterity of the Mālikī school in adapting to modern Muslim societies.

Dorrit van Dalen reflects on the unexpected afterlife of the Chadian jurist and scholar ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Sanūsī al-Tarjumī (d. 1917). Best known for his treatise *Tabṣirat al-ḥayrān min hawl fitan al-zamān,* al-Tarjumī maintained that with the defeat of the Sultanate of Wadai to the French military, Muslims were permitted to live in “reconciliation” (*ṣulḥ*) with the newly established colonial government. Through a careful reading of his *Tabṣirat* and recent ethnography in Chad, van Dalen charts how the reception of al-Tarjumī’s work has taken an extraordinarily different turn in the years after his death. She examines why *Tabṣirat* is deployed by many Chadians today not as a justification for accommodating colonial rule, but for defending local traditions of Islam they argue are increasingly under attack by Muslim reformers. Van Dalen argues that this recasting underscores the broader epistemic shifts that have transformed knowledge and legal literature across Africa in the century after al-Tarjumī’s death.

Taken together, the contributions to this issue seek to provide a more historically grounded view of Islam’s intellectual history in Africa, one with a greater fidelity to the archives and scholarship of the continent’s Muslims themselves. They provide a corrective to a literature that has largely mislabeled the Islamic legal tradition in Africa the “sharīʿa”, a title, if not a status, it confers less commonly to divine will than the courts and legislation of modern governments. The articles reorient that discussion from colonial and contemporary judiciaries to a tradition of Muslim jurisprudence indigenous to Africa for at least a millennium. They take as a productive starting point the jurists and debates emerging from a desert historically regarded as a barrier dividing Africa’s Arab north from its black south. The authors point to a vast Mālikī legal literature endemic to the Sahara, one firmly at odds with claims of any grand divide separating North African from sub-Saharan Muslims. They challenge the notion that the latter was in some way divested from Islam’s tradition of scholasticism, maintaining that the discipline of Muslim jurisprudence was no less central to the production of ideas in the Sahara than in the Arab and Persianate Worlds.

Such a revision of Islamic intellectual history is already underway in other corners of the Western academy. Since the late 1970s, research has increasingly challenged the historiographical and geographic assumptions underlying the study of ideas. It has begun to rethink once derided peripheries, paying newfound attention to scholarship produced after Islam’s early period as well as societies excluded from the “core lands” of the Muslim World. This expansion of the field has added crucial nuance to our understanding the ways of “being Islamic”, to invoke Shahab Ahmed’s evocative phrase, developed across time and space. Yet Ahmed himself makes almost no mention of the societies explored in the present issue.[[9]](#footnote-9) This omission seems to not only relate to the persistent cliché of the Islamic West or Muslim Africa being somehow less “relevant” when rethinking Islamic studies. It also is the result of an equally persistent tendency in the historiography of Islam in sub-Saharan or Saharan Africa to adopt what was elsewhere described as a vernacular approach.[[10]](#footnote-10) In this, the rich textual legacy of Muslim communities essentially serves as an entry into the intimacy of local societies but without much consideration of its relevance for the field of Islamic history in general. In a review published in 1971, John Ralph Willis already deplored the “tendency to consider African Islam in isolation”, emphasizing “an urgent need” for replacing the development of local Islamic institutions in broader historical contexts.[[11]](#footnote-11) Several decades later, the need may be less urgent but is still palpable.

This issue demonstrates the benefits of pursuing such an approach through Islamic law in the Sahara. It shows the embeddedness of Saharan and Sahelian knowledge production in cross-regional networks similar to those that Stefan Reichmuth has carved out in his pioneering study of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī’s numerous African visitors to eighteenth-century Cairo.[[12]](#footnote-12) Novo’s and Steele’s observations on the personal and intellectual acquaintances that tied Saharan and Sahelian scholars to the Middle East and Maghrib highlight the pivotal role of academic exchange across the Mālikīschool’s“southern belt”, a question also present in van Dalen’s reconstruction of al-Tarjūmī’s biography. All three articles highlight the prominence of Egypt in the intellectual networks of the Sahara. Though the significance of Cairo’s teaching institutions and scholarly communities calls for further study, such work needs to move beyond merely tracing under whom one trained in al-Azhar. Future research may ask, for instance, how Egypt-centered biographical materials relate to the well-known reception of Khalīl b. Isḥāq’s *Mukhtaṣar* in the Islamic West, while much less is known of the significance of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī’s writings to Saharan and Sahelian legal literature.

The contributions also point to the semiotics of Islamic law within Muslim societies of the Sahara. Novo demonstrates how biographical dictionaries operate as crucial symbolical sites for academic and social struggles on a regional level and beyond. At the same time, she rightly stresses the claims to hegemony and political authority that undergird them. Similarly, Ould Cheikh illustrates how scholastic disputes nurtured mechanisms of integration and exclusion within southern Saharan statutory hierarchies transforming intellectual authority into an essential tool for the constitution of corporate identities. These insights admittedly recall the numerous studies on the role of West Africa’s precolonial *ʿulamāʾ* as organizing forces in decentralized political settings.[[13]](#footnote-13) On the other hand, they emphasize the social effects inherent to scholarly knowledge that, in our view, remain too often neglected in studies concentrating on the movement of scholars rather than ideas. In this regard, Warscheid’s paper on the impact of juridical knowledge on power relations in a Saharan oasis presents a close reading of the intellectual and cultural grammar that underlies speaking in the name of the sharīʿa.

Finally, the studies presented here extend chronologically from Marshall Hodgson’s famous “Middle Period” to the contemporary world. As such, they raise the complicated question of how to qualify them as historiographical objects. Are the following papers writing pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial history? Or perhaps reflecting on postclassical and pre-modern Muslim scholarship? What of early modern and contemporary designations? As chronological models in Islamic history are under intense revision today, such questions need to be addressed more forcefully by scholars working on Muslim societies in Africa. Indeed, one is struck by either the absence of African perspectives in such debates or the unsuitability of suggested alternatives in contexts beyond the Middle East and North Africa. If, for example, “early modern” is regarded as Eurocentric, what would be a more fitting expression? Few current alternatives are more inspiring. “Ottoman” or any other dynastic signifier only introduces other types of centrism that appear even more misleading. Similarly, “postclassical” implies a normative view of history that the actors discussed in our issue otherwise resist.[[14]](#footnote-14)

In this context of ongoing historiographical redefinitions, our issue constitutes a further argument for attending to internal developments in any discussion of chronological divisions.[[15]](#footnote-15) The formation of vernacular Muslim scholarly communities in the Sahara and Sahel between roughly 1450 and 1850 was indeed a defining process that involved the emergence of a new social and political order in the region. To frame the era’s history in simply “post” or “pre” terms inevitably risks overlooking its foundational character. Conversely, exploring such internal dynamics seems inseparable from constantly moving between a “post” perspective that is indispensable for understanding the grammar of intellectual expression as well as a “pre” awareness of its future transformations.

The distinction of course is neither historically fixed nor normatively prefigured. “Pre” and “post” are invoked here only to suggest that the institutions explored in the following articles underwent profound changes during the colonial and postcolonial periods, and that these changes remain vital to contemporary struggles over defining the boundaries of “being Islamic”, to borrow Ahmed’s expression once again. Van Dalen and Steele make clear that any engagement with the intellectual heritage of Sahelian and Saharan Muslims, even when it seeks to recover a seemingly distant past, requires situating oneself in the troubling waters of cultural and historical memory. To open this issue, the editors then hope to emphasize the foundational *and* transitional character of the centuries in which Muslims developed their own visions of Islam across Africa. The rich traditions of Islamic law that emerged from those efforts in the Sahara are the subjects of the following papers.

1. This special issue grew out of a workshop hosted by the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) in June 2018. We would like to thank the Institut for its generous support and Augustin Jomier for graciously serving as both a convener and contributor to the workshop. The contributors are grateful to Ismail for his leadership and unfailing collegiality, a more thoughtful collaborator would not be possible. Lastly, we thank the editors and anonymous reviewers of *Die Welt des Islams* for their patience and careful feedback. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. This is not to say that research on the courts and constitutions in Africa is ill-conceived. The opposite, there exists a rich body of historical and ethnographic work on Islamic judiciaries in precolonial and contemporary Africa. Rather than a critique of that literature, this issue argues merely for attending to a wider tradition of Islamic law on the continent than its application in modern courts. For an excellent volume on Islamic courts and colonial legal reforms across Africa, see Shamil Jeppie, Ebrahim Moosa, and Richard Roberts, eds., *Muslim Family Law in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial Legacies and Post-Colonial Challenges* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. For a selection of works that rightly highlight the lingering effects of colonial conceptions of race and Islam in discussion of Muslims on the continent, see Rüdiger Seesemann, “African Islam or Islam in Africa? Evidence from Kenya”, in *The Global Worlds of the Swahili: Interfaces of Islam, Identity and Space in 19th and 20th-Century East Africa*, ed. Roman Loimeier and Rüdiger Seesemann (Berlin: Lit, 2006), 229–50; Scott S. Reese, “Islam in Africa/Africans and Islam”, *The Journal of African History* 55:1 (2014), 17–26; Sean Hanretta, “Muslim Histories, African Societies: The Venture of Islamic Studies in Africa”, *The Journal of African History* 46:3 (2005), 479–91; Benjamin Soares, “The Historiography of Islam in West Africa: An Anthropologist’s View”, *The Journal of African History* 55:1 (2014), 27–36; Jean-Louis Triaud, “Giving a Name to Islam South of the Sahara: An Adventure in Taxonomy”, *The Journal of African History* 55:1 (2014), 3–15; Robert Launay, “An Invisible Religion? Anthropology’s Avoidance of Islam in Africa”, in *African Anthropologies: History, Critique, and Practice*, ed. Mwenda Ntarangwi (New York: Zed Books, 2006), 188–203. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Ghislaine Lydon, “Saharan Oceans and Bridges, Barriers and Divides in Africa’s Historiographical Landscape”, *The Journal of African History* 56:1 (2015), 3–15. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. In this, the work of Ghislaine Lydon, Judith Scheele, Ann McDougall is instructive. For a selection of their publications, as well as other discussions of the centrality of the Sahara, see Ghislaine Lydon, *On Trans-Saharan Trails: Islamic Law, Trade Networks, and Cross-Cultural Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Western Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Judith Scheele, *Smugglers and Saints of the Sahara: Regional Connectivity in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Ann McDougall, “Saharan Peoples and Societies”, in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Roman Loimeier, “The Sahara as Connective Space”, in *Muslim Societies in Africa: A Historical Anthropology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 54–76. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. There are several outstanding studies of the institutions and practices of Islamic learning in the western Sahara. See Ghislaine Lydon, “Inkwells of the Sahara: Reflections on the Production of Islamic Knowledge in Bilad Shinqit”, in *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa*, ed. Scott Reese (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 39–71; Chouki El Hamel, “The Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Moorish Society From the Rise of the Almoravids To the 19th Century”, *Journal of Religion in Africa* 29:1 (1999), 62–87; Mohamed Lahbib Nouhi, “The Maḥaẓra Educational System”, in *Arabic Literature of Africa. Volume V: The Writings of Mauritania and the Western Sahara*, ed. Charles Stewart (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 18–48. These are joined by a robust bibliographic literature dedicated to cataloging the Islamic libraries of Mauritania by Ulrich Rebstock, Rainer Oßwald, and Charles Stewart. For their detailed handlists, see Ulrich Rebstock, *Maurische Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Würzburg: Ergon, 2001); Rainer Oßwald, *Die Handelsstädte der Westsahara: die Entwicklung der arabisch-maurischen Kultur von Šinqīṭ, Wādān, Tīšīt und Walāta* (Berlin: Reimer, 1986); Charles Stewart and Sidi Ahmed Ould Ahmed Salim, *The Writings of Mauritania and the Western Sahara* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Though there is little in English, the scholarship in Arabic, German, and French is impressive. On the first, see Yaḥyā wuld al-Barā*ʾ*, *al-Majmū*ʿ*at al-kubrā: al-shāmila li-fatāwā wa-nawāzil wa-aḥkām ahl gharb wa-janūb gharb al-ṣaḥrāʾ*, 12 vols. (Nouakchott: al-Sharīf Mawlāy al-Ḥasan b. al-Mukhtār b. al-Ḥasan, 2009); Muḥammad al-Mukhtār wuld al-Saʿd, *al-Fatāwā wa-l-tārīkh: dirāsa li-maẓāhir al-ḥayāt al-iqtiṣādiyya wa-l-ijtimā*ʿ*iyya fī Mūrītāniyā min khilāl fiqh al-nawāzil* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000). For the German literature, see Rainer Oßwald, *Schichtengesellschaft und islamisches Recht: die Zawāyā und Krieger der Westsahara im Spiegel von Rechtsgutachten des 16.-19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993); Ulrich Rebstock, “Mathematische Quellen zur Rechtsgeschichte: Das Problem des Hermaphroditen”, *Die Welt des Orients* 20/21 (1989), 99–114. On French work, see Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Bah, *La littérature juridique et l’évolution du malikisme en Mauritanie*, Publications de l’Université de Tunis, Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Tunis. Sixième série, Philosophie-littérature v. 19 (Tunis: Université de Tunis, 1981); Yahya Ould-al-Bara, “Fiqh, société et pouvoir: étude des soucis et préoccupations socio-politiques des théologiens-légistes maures (fuqahā) à partir de leurs consultations juridiques (futāwā) du XVIIème au XXème siècle” (Thèse de doctorat, Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh, “Nomadisme, islam et pouvoir politique dans la société maure précoloniale (XIème siècle–XIXème siècle): Essai sur quelques aspects du tribalisme” (Thèse de doctorat, Paris, Université de Paris V, 1985); Charles Stewart, Islam and Social Order in Mauritania: *A Case Study from the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); Ghislaine Lydon, *On Trans-Saharan Trails: Islamic Law, Trade Networks, and Cross-Cultural Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Western Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Bruce Hall, *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Ismail Warscheid, *Droit musulman et société au Sahara prémoderne: la justice islamique dans les oasis du Grand Touat (Algerie) aux XVIIe-XIXe siècles* (Leiden: Brill, 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. This is most apparent in his influential “Balkans-to-Bengal complex”. Cf. Shahab Ahmed, *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Ismail Warscheid, “Le livre du désert: la vision du monde d’un juriste ouest-saharien au XIXe siècle”, *Annales : histoire, sciences sociales* 73:2 (2018), 359-84. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. John Ralph Willis, “The Historiography of Islam in Africa: The Last Decade (1960-1970)”, *African Studies Review*, 14:3 (1971), 410. The passage deserves to be quoted in full: “Much of the work which has emerged over the past decades has been greatly limited by the tendency to consider African Islam in isolation. At the risk of repetition, it must be stressed that this tendency has resulted from the lack of broad historical perspectives in the few studies which have appeared on Islamic diffusion, the development of Islamic institutions, and the growth of literacy in Arabic. Again, it must be said that there is an urgent need for histories willing to pursue these themes over time and, importantly, against the background of their evolution elsewhere in the Muslim world.” [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtada al-Zabidi (1732-91): Life, Networks and Writings* (London: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. See, most notably, Elias Saad, *Social History of Timbuktu: The Role of Muslim Scholars and Notables, 1400-1900* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. For a critique of the notion postclassical, see Thomas Bauer, “In Search of “Post-Classical Literature”: A Review Article,” *The Middle East Documentation Center* 11/2 (2007), 137-67. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. This is a point that Ahmad Dallal and others have convincingly argued in recent years. See Ahmad Dallal, *Islam without Europe: Traditions of Reform in Eighteenth-Century Islamic Thought* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)