

NEHEMIA LEVTZION 1935—2003

With many other colleagues, I was truly upset to hear of the death of Nehemia Levtzion, who passed away on 15 August, 2003, at the age of sixty-eight, leaving behind four descendants: Moshe (b. 1964), Osnat (b. 1968), Noga (b. 1970), and Avner (b. 1974).

Celebrated as a scholar of African history—especially of Islam in Africa, he had also, in his home country of Israel, been a well-known executor of educational institutions at the university level. Among those positions were: Chairman of the Council for Higher Education's Planning and Budgeting Committee (1997-2003), the Executive Director of the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute (1994-1997), the President of the Open University of Israel (1987-1992), the Director of the Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East (1982-1987), and the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1978-1981).

Not only was he an active academic in his own country, but many times contributed to academic work and publication in Europe, Africa, and America. I remember, with pleasure, seeing him both in the 1970s and the 1980s. He went in 1972-3 to the University of Cambridge to work with J.F.P. Hopkins on the editing and annotation of a book: the *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*, principally translated by Hopkins (who had been one of my teachers of Arabic at SOAS in the 1960s), and published in 1981 in the 'Series Arabica' of the *Fontes Historiae Africae*, directed then by me.

Nehemia Levtzion also visited the University of Ghana (Legon) in the 1970s, when I was teaching there, and that

was how I first got to know him; and I saw more of him in the 1980s at Northwestern University; and long before he was a Visiting [Associate] Professor there in 1969. He also had similar positions in the University of California, Los Angeles (1975), Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan (2000), Fellow, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University (1981-82); and Fellow, St. Antony's College, Oxford (1977), Simon Senior Fellow, University of Manchester (1977-8), Fellow, Wissenschaftskolleg: Institute of Advanced Studies, Berlin (1996, 1997), and Visiting Professor, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris (1998).

I was also inspired by his 1970 article on the *Ta' rīkh al-fattāsh*, leading me to work more on that major chronicle of the Timbuktu area—a book that I hope eventually to translate into English.

He wrote much in English (and some in Hebrew, French, or German) and broadly inspired me as a scholar on Islam in Africa, and finally put together a number of his earlier publications, ten years ago, to form a book entitled *Islam in West Africa: Religion, Society and Politics to 1800*. Since he was Jewish, but an expert on Islam (especially in Africa), I plan to honour him by dedicating a new book of mine to his memory: *Jews of a Saharan Oasis: Muslims' Attack on the Tamantit Community*.

So now, to benefit you all, here is a bibliography of his publications in six sub-divisions:

Writings of Nehemia Levtzion

1. Conversion to Islam

Books

- 1.1 *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: a Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-Colonial Period*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press 1968, 256 pp.

- 1.2 (editor) *Conversion to Islam*. New York: Holmes & Meier 1979, 270 pp.

Articles and Chapters

- 1.3 'Patterns of Islamization in West Africa', in D.F. McCall and N.R. Bennet (eds.), *Aspects of West African Islam*. Boston: Boston University Press 1971, 31-39. Reprinted in Levtzion, *Conversion to Islam*, 207-16, and in 4.2.
- 1.4 'Conversion to Islam: Some Notes towards a Comparative Study', in C. Cahen (ed.), *Actes de 29e congrès international des orientalistes: Études arabes et islamiques*. Paris: L'Asiathèque 1975, 125-9.
- 1.5 'Towards a Comparative Study of Islamization', in Levtzion, *Conversion to Islam*, 1-23.
- 1.6 'Conversion under Muslim Domination: a Comparative Study', in David N. Lorenzen (ed.), *Religious Change and Cultural Domination*. Mexico City 1981, 19-38.
- 1.7 'Shari'ca and Custom in the Process of Islamization and Sedentarization'. *Cathedra*, xx, 1981, 78-80 (Hebrew).
- 1.8 'Migration and Settlement of Muslim Nomads and Conquerors: Their Contribution to Islamization', in A. Shinan (ed.), *Emigration and Settlement in Jewish and General History*. Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center 1982, 95-107 (Hebrew).
- 1.9 'Slavery and Islamization in Africa', in J.R. Willis (ed.), *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*. London: Frank Cass 1985, I, 182-98 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 1.10 'Aspekte der Islamisierung: Eine kritische Würdigung der Beobachtungen Max Webers', in W. Schluchter (ed.), *Max Webers Sicht des Islams: Interpretation und Kritik*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1987, 142-55.
- 1.11 'Conversion to Islam in Syria and Palestine, and the Survival of Christian Communities', in M. Gervers and R.J. Bikhazi (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity:*

Indigenous Christian Communities in Medieval Islamic Lands. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies 1990, 289-312.

- 1.12 'Conversion and Islamization in the Middle Ages: How did Jews and Christians Differ?' *Pe'amim*, xlii, 1990, 8-15 (in Hebrew).
- 1.13 'Islamisierungsmuster: Die Begegnung des Islam mit Achsenzeitreligionen', in S.N. Eisenstadt (ed.), *Kulturen der Achsenzeit II: Ihre institutionelle und kulturelle Dynamik*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1992, III, 226-41.
- 1.14 'Aspects of Islamization: Weber's Observations on Islam Reconsidered', in T.B. Huff and W. Schluchter (eds.), *Max Weber and Islam*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers 1999, 153-61 (an English translation of 1.10).

2. *Renewal, reform and Sufi brotherhoods in the eighteenth century*

Book

- 2.1 (editor, with J.O. Voll) *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 1987, 200 pp.

Articles and Chapters

- 2.2 'Notes on the Origins of Islamic Militancy in the Futa Jallon', *Notes Africaines* (Dakar), 132, October 1971, 94-6 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 2.3 'Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform Movements in Islam', in *Renewal (tajdīd) and Reform (iṣlāḥ) in Islam*, a special issue of *Hamizrah Hehadash*, xxxi, 1986, 48-70 (Hebrew).
- 2.4 [with J.O. Voll] 'Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform Movements in Islam: an Introductory Essay', in Levtzion & Voll, *Eighteenth-century Renewal and Reform*, 13-20.
- 2.5 'The Eighteenth Century: Background to the Islamic

- Revolutions in West Africa', in Levtzion & Voll, *Eighteenth-century Renewal and Reform*, 21-38 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 2.6 'Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam: The Role of Sufi *ṭuruq* in West Africa', in Levtzion, *Islam in West Africa* (1994, cf. 4.2; for publication in John Hunwick & Nancy Lawler (eds.), *The Cloth of Many Colored Silks: Papers in Honor of Ivor Wilks*, published later, Evanston: Northwestern University Press 1996).
- 2.7 'al-Tijānī, Aḥmad', in John L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*. New York: Oxford University Press 1995.
- 2.8 [with G. Weigert] 'Khalwatiyya', in Esposito, *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*.
- 2.9 [with G. Weigert] 'Religious Reform in Eighteenth-century Morocco', *North African, Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Pessah Shinar*, published as *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, xix, 1995, 173-97.
- 2.10 'Eighteenth-century Sufi Brotherhoods: Structural, Organizational and Ritual Changes', in Peter G. Riddel & Tony Street (eds.), *Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society: A Festschrift in Honour of Anthony H. Johns*. Leiden: Brill 1997, 147-60.
- 2.11 [with G. Weigert] 'The Muslim Holy Cities as Foci of Islamic Revivalism in the Eighteenth Century', in B.Z. Kedar and R.J. Zwi Werblowsky (eds.), *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land*. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences & Houndsmill: Macmillan 1998, 259-77.
- 2.12 [with G. Weigert] 'Renewal and Reform of the Khalwatiyya in Egypt in the 18th Century'. Unpublished paper presented to the MESA annual meeting, San Antonio, November 1990.
- 2.13 'The Dynamics of Sufi Brotherhoods', in Hoexter, Eisenstadt & Levtzion, *The Public Sphere in Muslim*

Societies (below, 3.3), 109-18.

3. *Studies on Islam*

Books

- 3.1 *International Islamic Solidarity and its Limitations*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press for the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations 1980, 65 pp.
- 3.2 [with Daphna Ephrat and Daniela Talmon-Heller] *Islam: A History of the Religion*. Jerusalem: The Open University of Israel, I & II, 1998; III, 2000 (Hebrew).
- 3.3 (editor, with M. Hoexter & S.N. Eisenstadt), *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*. Albany: SUNY Press (Series in Near Eastern Studies) 2002, 191 pp.

Articles and Chapters

- 3.4 'The Integration of the Muslim Northern Region into the Federation of Nigeria'. *Hamizrah Hehadash*, xii, 1962, 28-46 (Hebrew).
- 3.5 'Sects in Islam', in H. Lazarus-Yafeh (ed.), *Studies in the History of the Arabs and Islam*. Tel-Aviv: Reshafim 1967, 176-98 (Hebrew).
- 3.6 'Non-Arab Islam and the Middle East Conflict', in *Islamic Aspects of the Middle East Conflict*. Jerusalem: The Truman Research Institute 1974, 17-23 (Hebrew).
- 3.7 'Between 'ulamā' and Rulers in the Muslim State', in I. Gafni and G. Motzkin (eds.), *Priesthood and Monarchy: Studies in the Historical Relations of Religion and State*. Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center 1985, 115-21 (Hebrew).
- 3.8 'The Spirit of the Mediterranean: Cultural Exchanges in Trade and War'. *DOMUS: International Review of Architecture, Design, Art, Communication*, 813 (March 1999), 4-6.
- 3.9 'Islam and Politics: Lessons from the Past'. *Hamizrah Hehadash*, xl, 1999, 5-8 (in Hebrew) & *Prajna*

Vihara: The Journal of Philosophy and Religion (Assumption University, Bangkok), i, 2, July-December 2000, 111-20.

- 3.10 'Tolerance in Islam', in J. Iram (ed.), *Education for Human Values, Tolerance and Peace*. Jerusalem: School of Education, Bar-Ilan University 2000, 15-19.
- 3.11 'Islam in African and Global Contexts: Adventures in Comparative Studies of Islam'. Paper presented to the conference on 'Islam in Africa: A Global, Cultural and Historical Perspective', Binghamton University, 19-22 April 2001.

4. *Islam in Africa*

Books

- 4.1 (editor, with H.J. Fisher) *Rural and Urban Islam in West Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers 1987, 176 pp. (first published as a special number of *Asian and African Studies*, xx, i, 1986).
- 4.2 *Islam in West Africa: Religion, Society and Politics to 1800*. London: Variorum 1994, 300 pp.
- 4.3 (editor, with R.L. Pouwels) *The History of Islam in Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press 2000, 591 pp.

Articles and Chapters

- 4.4 'Islam in Africa: Some Central Issues for Research and Teaching'. *Hamizrah Hehadash*, xvii, 1967, 1-17 (Hebrew).
- 4.5 'The Long March of Islam in the Western Sudan', in R. Oliver (ed.), *The Middle Age of African History*. London: Oxford University Press 1967, 13-18.
- 4.6 'Reflections on the Muslim Historiography in Africa', in T.O. Ranger (ed.), *Emerging Themes of African History*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House 1968, 23-7.
- 4.7 'L'islam et le commerce chez les Dagomba du Nord Ghana'. *Annales: E.S.C.*, xxiii, 1968, 723-43.

- 4.8 'Islam in Coastal West Africa', in J. Kritzeck & W.H. Lewis (eds.), *Islam in Africa*. New York: Van Nostrand 1969, 301-18.
- 4.9 'The 'ulamā' of the Western Sudan before the Fifteenth Century', in G. Baer (ed.), *The 'Ulama' and Problems of Religion in the Muslim World: Studies in Memory of Uriel Heyd*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press 1971, 52-62 (Hebrew).
- 4.10 'Islam in West African Politics: Accommodation and Tension between the 'ulamā' and the Political Authorities'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, xviii, 1979, 333-45.
- 4.11 'Sociopolitical Roles of Muslim Clerics and Scholars in West Africa', in E. Cohen, M. Lissak & U. Almagor (eds.), *Comparative Social Dynamics: Essays in Honor of S.N. Eisenstadt*. Boulder: Westview Press 1985, 95-107.
- 4.12 'Islam and Religious Pluralism in West African States'. *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, lxxviii, 1981, 154-5.
- 4.13 'Rural and Urban Islam in West Africa', in Levtzion & Fisher, *Rural and Urban Islam in West Africa*, 1-20 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 4.14 'Merchants vs. Scholars and Clerics: Differential and Complementary Roles', in Levtzion & Fisher, *Rural and Urban Islam in West Africa*, 21-37 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 4.15 'Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa', in Mircea Eliade *et al.* (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*. New York: Macmillan 1987, VII, 344-57.
- 4.16 'Islam and State Formation in West Africa', in S.N. Eisenstadt, M. Abitbol & N. Chazan (eds.), *The Early State in Africa*. Leiden: E.J. Brill 1987, 98-108.
- 4.17 'Muslim 'ulamā' and Human Rights in Pre-Colonial West Africa', in C.E. Welch (eds.), *Human Rights in Developing Countries: Problems and Prospects*. Buffalo, NY 1989, 122-38.

- 4.18 'Islam in Africa to 1800', in J.L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford History of Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press 1999, 475-507.
- 4.19 [with R.L. Pouwels] 'Introduction: Patterns of Islamization and Varieties of Religious Experience among Muslims of Africa', in Levtzion & Pouwels, *History of Islam in Africa*, 1-18.
- 4.20 'Islam in the Bilad al-Sudan to 1800', in Levtzion & Pouwels, *History of Islam in Africa*, 63-91.

5. *History of West Africa*

Books

- 5.1 *Ancient Ghana and Mali*. London: Methuen 1973, 283 pp. (hardcover and paperback); 2nd edn, New York: Holmes & Meier 1980 (hardcover and paperback).
- 5.2 *An Introduction to African History*. Tel Aviv: The Open University of Israel, 1980, 147 pp (Hebrew).

Articles and Chapters

- 5.3 'Salaga—A Nineteenth-Century Trading Town in Ghana'. *Asian and African Studies*, xx, 1966, 207-44.
- 5.4 'Oral Traditions and Historical Consciousness in Africa', in *Awareness of the Past in the Consciousness of the Nations and of the Jewish People*. Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center 1969, 124-34 (Hebrew).
- 5.5 'The Early States of the Western Sudan to 1500', in J.F.A. Ajayi & M. Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*, I. London: Longman 1971, 120-57 (several later editions).
- 5.6 'Notes sur les états Dyula de Kong et de Bobo'. *Bulletin de liaison. Centre Universitaire de Recherches de Développement (Abidjan)*, i, 1971, 61-2.
- 5.7 'Northwest Africa: From the Maghrib to the Fringes of the Forest in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth

- Centuries', in J.R. Gray (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, IV. Cambridge 1975, 142-222.
- 5.8 'North Africa and the Western Sudan from 1050 to 1590', in R. Oliver (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, III. Cambridge 1977, 331-462.
- 5.9 'The Sahara and the Sudan from the Arab Conquest of the Maghrib to the Rise of the Almoravids', in J.D. Fage (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, II. Cambridge 1979, 628-74.
- 5.10 'Abdallah ibn Yasin and the Almoravids', in J.R. Willis (ed.), *Studies in West African Islamic History*, I. London: Frank Cass 1979, 78-112 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 5.11 'Kotoko'. *EI* (2), v, 1980, 278-9.
- 5.12 'Čad'. *EI* (2), XII (Supplement), 1981, 163-7.
- 5.13 'The Jews of Sijilmasa and the Saharan trade', in M. Abitbol (ed.), *Communautes juives des marges sahariennes du Maghreb*. Jerusalem: The Ben-Zvi Institute 1982, 253-63 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 5.14 'Mamluk Egypt and Takrur (West Africa)', in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of David Ayalon*. Leiden: E.J. Brill 1986, 183-207 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 5.15 'Mali'. *EI* (2), VI, 1987, 257-61.
- 5.16 'Berber Nomads and Sudanese States: the Historiography of the Desert-Sahel Interface', in Levtzion, *Islam in West Africa*, 1995 (no. 4.2).
- 5.17 'Sudanic empires of the Western Africa', in John Middleton (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Africa South of the Sahara*. New York: Simon & Schuster 1997, IV, 179-84.

6. Textual studies

Books

- 6.1 [with J.F.P. Hopkins] *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1981 (*Fontes Historiae Africanae*:

Series Arabica IV), 493 pp.

- 6.2 [with I.G. Wilks and B.M. Haight] *Chronicles from Gonja: a Tradition of West African Muslim Historiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986 (*Fontes Historiae Africanae: Series Arabica* IX), 258 pp.
- 6.3 [with Jay Spaulding] *Medieval West Africa: Views from Arab Scholars and Merchants*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers 2002, 126 pp.

Articles and Chapters

- 6.4 'The Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Kings of Mali'. *Journal of African History*, iv, 1963, 341-53 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 6.5 'Early Nineteenth-Century Manuscripts from Kumasi'. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, viii, 1965, 99-119 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 6.6 'Ibn Hawqal, the Cheque and Awdaghust'. *Journal of African History*, ix, 1968, 223-33 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 6.7 'Mahmud Ka'ti fut-il l'auteur de Ta'rikh al-Fattash?' *Bulletin de l'IFAN* (Dakar), xxxiii, 1971, 665-74. Published also in English in *Research Bulletin: Centre of Arabic Documentation* (Ibadan), vi, 1-2, 1970, 1-12.
- 6.8 'A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle by Ibn al-Mukhtar: A Critical Study of Ta'rikh al-Fattash', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxxiv, 1971, 571-93 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 6.9 'Was Royal Succession in Ancient Ghana Matrilineal?' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, v, 1972, 91-3.
- 6.10 'Oral Traditions and Arabic Documents in the Muslim Historiography of Africa', in *Congrès International des Africanistes*. Paris 1972, 47-59.
- 6.11 'Ancient Ghana: A Reassessment of some Arabic Sources'. *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, lxxvi, 1979, 139-47 (reprinted in 4.2).

- 6.12 ‘The Twelfth Century Anonymous *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*: A History of a Text’. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, xxiv, 1979, 201-17 (reprinted in 4.2).
- 6.13 ‘Muslim Travellers and Trade’, in John B. Friedman & Kristen M. Figg (eds.), *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopaedia*. New York & London: Garland Publishing 2000, 418-25.
- 6.14 ‘Arab Geographers, the Nile, and the History of Bilad al-Sudan’, in H. Erlich and I. Gershoni (eds.), *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner 2000, 71-6.
- 6.15 ‘The Almoravids in the Sahara and Bilad al-Sudan: A Study in Arab Historiography’. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, xxv, 2001, 133-52.

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