Appendix Zeta: The Sankoré Intellectual Line

Connecting brothers of Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity at Cornell University,
tracing their fraternal Big Brother/Little Brother line
to tri-Founder John Andrew Rea (1869)

John Andrew Rea, tri-founder of
Phi Kappa Psi at Cornell . . .

▽

. . . was advised by Andrew Dickson White,
President of Cornell . . .

. . . . who was mentored by Henry Tappan,
president of Michigan University . . .

. . . brother Amo, in turn, was native to the
Nzema people of the Ashanti Empire, who
benefited from the learned tradition of
Emperor Askia the Great . . . ▽

. . . we then follow Appendix Gamma,
recording the Halle line to Johann
Gottfriend von Herder . . .

. . . and it was Askia who fostered the
educational spirit of Sankoré under Ahmad
Baba . . .

. . . Herder was influenced by von Hamann
and instructed by Immanuel Kant . . . ▽

. . . Sankoré, in turned, had been
conquered by Sonni Ali. . .▽

. . . Immanuel Kant was influenced by the
writings of Baumgarten . . .

. . . who built his Songhai Empire on the
conquered foundations of Mansa Musa's
Mali imperium . . . ☐

. . . who taught with brother Amo at the
University of Halle in the late 1730s . . . ▷

**Below we present short biographies
of the Sankoré intellectual line of
the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity
at Cornell University.**

"Who defends the House."

This intellectual line is dedicated to brother

John H. Jackson

Pledge Class of 1969 and Cornell Class of 1972, and the actives who voted him into

the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity:

the Alpha and the Omega . . .

January 17, 1869, three brothers of Ohio Alpha found New York Alpha. Union Army veteran Joe Foraker left Ohio Wesleyan because of its refusal to admit African Americans; Morris Buchwalter and Jack Rea moved to tap abolitionists Charles Sumner, Theodore Tilton and Carl Schurz as honorary members of Phi Kappa Psi;

In 1870, New York Alpha taps William Goldsmith and John Frankenheimer as the first Jewish members of Phi Kappa Psi and the first Jewish members of a Cornell fraternity;

In 1885, New York Alpha taps its first adherent to the Roman rite, Edward J. Shananan of Syracuse, New York; in the same class are the first Hispanic brothers, Mario and Adolphus Menocal;

Sixty years later . . .

On February 2, 1948, Frederick G. Smith '07 of New York Beta, President of the Johnstown, Pennsylvania Alumni Association of Phi Kappa Psi, submits a resolution to the National calling for a bar against the initiation of Jews into Phi Kappa Psi; on November 23, 1948, the brothers of Massachusetts Alpha initiate an African-American, Thomas Gibbs of Evanston, Illinois; on November 30, 1948, New York Alpha joins 12 other Chapters and called for and end to the proposed eviction of Massachusetts Alpha for admitting a black man;

On January 8, 1949, Massachusetts Alpha is stripped of its Charter by the National for admitting brother Thomas Gibbs;

In 1958, Pennsylvania Kappa, one of the '48 Twelve, was stripped of its Charter for admitting an African American brother;

In 1960 and 1962, Pennsylvania Kappa strike backs and moves to amend the National constitution to specifically bar racial discrimination; the National begins colonization of Alabama Alpha at the University of Alabama;

In 1963, Pennsylvania Kappa secedes from the National rather than endorse anti-Semitic and racist tenets; in 1964 and in response, Alabama Alpha is colonized the year after Governor George Corley Wallace, Jr. bars the way against African-American students entering to study;

From 1964 through 1968, New York Alphan Walter Lee Sheppard '32 serves as Vice President of the National fraternity;

On June 21, 1965, Cornell fraternity member Michael Schwerner (ΑΕΠ) is murdered while volunteering to defend African American civil rights in Mississippi;

In 1966, New Hampshire Alpha initiates Joseph Wright, an African American student, into the bonds of Phi Kappa Psi; California Beta issues a lateral blackball against Wright and demands his expulsion;

In 1967, New Hampshire Alpha secedes from the National fraternity after another case of racial discrimination is brought before the Grand Arch Council;

From 1968 to 1970, New York Alphan Walter Lee Sheppard '32 serves as as the 41st President of the National fraternity;

In 1968, New York Alpha pledges John H. Jackson '72 at Cornell, and in 1969, John is initiated as the third African-American brother of Phi Kappa Psi nationwide, making New York Alpha,

> *after the expulsion of Massachusetts Alpha and Pennsylvania Kappa,*
>
> *and the retreat of new Hampshire Alpha,*
>
> *the last of the civil rights Chapters standing,*
>
> *the Alpha and Omega.*

On June 21, 2000, the murderer of Cornell fraternity member and civil rights worker Mike Schwerner was finally brought to justice after 37 years in hiding, protected by his neighbors. Edgar Ray Killen, a Baptist preacher from Mississippi, was sentenced to 60 years in jail on manslaughter charges for ordering the deaths of brother Mike Schwerner of Alpha Epsilon Pi, and his buds, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney. At a previous trial, in 1967, an all-white jury had deadlocked 11-1 in favor of convicting Killen and 17 other men.

Memorial Window to
Mike Schwerner '63 at Sage Chapel

This is what it was all about.
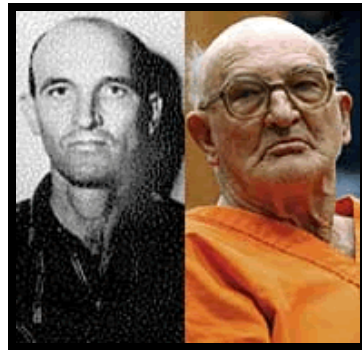
Edgar Ray Killen in penitentiary orange, finally.

*"remember Chickamauga, and death of
Captain Luther Morris Buchwalter, U.S.A. (Ohio Alpha 1862)."*

***We begin with John "Jack" Andrew Rea, Cornell Class of 1869
and one of the three founders of the New York Alpha Chapter
of the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity
at Cornell University.***

❖ Jack only spent a year at Cornell, transferring in the summer before his Senior course of studies. Much of that year he spent founding the fraternity, and its predecessor, the Irving Literary Society. Jack was one (1) of nine (9) transfer students who were in the first Class of Cornellians. Three (3) of those nine (9) were the founders of Phi Kappa Psi. All three had Faculty advisors. Jack was assigned Andrew Dickson White, the first President of Cornell.

Mo Buchwalter was assigned visiting professor Goldwin Smith, the former Regis Professor of Modern History at Oxford University; and Joe Foraker was assigned visiting professor Theodore Dwight. These three (3) relationships, scholar-to-scholar in the Cornell tradition, form the tap root of the intellectual legacy within New York Alpha.

The founding of the Irving Literary Society was the common project of President White and his protégé Jack Rea; Jack then used the Irving as the vehicle to rush that first immortal Pledge Class of 1869, Phi Kappa Psi, *the* New York Alpha. The intellectual legacy of this relationship includes both the influences on Andrew Dickson White as a doctoral student (see Appendix Alpha and this Appendix Gamma) and the role model proffered to Jack Rea by the Cornell president (Appendix Beta).

We then follow Appendix Gamma, the Halle Line, to the intellectual traditions of the Protestant German states:

❖ At this point, the "Halle" intellectual line of New York Alpha recognizes not an individual, such as Henry Tappan of Rhinebeck, but rather the institution which inspired him in his teaching of Jack Rea's (1869) mentor, Andrew Dickson White. The turning-point in the history of German educational progress was the founding of the University of Halle, in 1694. It was Halle that would provide the model for Cornell University's founding, which in turn became a turning point in the history of American educational progress.

The University of Halle, a model for the new Cornell University in 1868

The University of Halle, due to its entirely new methods of work, has usually been designated as the first modern university. A few forward-looking men, men who had been expelled from the University of Leipzig because of their critical attitude and modern ways of thinking, found professorships at the University of Halle.

Their patron was Elector Friedrich III of the margravate Brandenburg, later the first King of Prussia. The King intended that the new institution should be representative of modern tendencies in education. To this end he installed as professors men who could and would reform the instruction in theology, law, medicine, and philosophy.

In consequence, the study of Aristotle was displaced for the new scientific philosophy of Rene Descartes and Francis Bacon, and Latin in the classrooms for the German speech. The sincere pietistic faith of Francke (p. 418) was substituted for the Lutheran dogmatism which had supplanted the earlier Catholic theology. The instruction in law was reformed to accord with the modern needs and theoryof the State, rather than ecclesiastical notions of natural law. Medical instruction was now based on observation, experimentation and deduction, which also superseded instruction based on the reading of classical authorities such as Hippocrates and Galen.

The new sciences, especially mathematics and physics, found a congenial home in the philosophical or arts faculty. Free scientific investigation and research, without interference from the theological faculty, were soon established as features of the institution, and in place of the fixed scientific knowledge taught

for so long from the texts of Aristotle (Rs. 113-15) and other ancients, a new and changing science, that must prove its laws and axioms, and which might at any time be changed by the investigation of any teacher or student, here now found a home. Under the leadership of Christian Wolff, who was Professor of Philosophy from 1707 to 1723, when he was banished by a new King at the instigation of the Pietists for his too great liberalism in religion, and again from 1740 to 1754, after his recall by Frederick the Great, philosophy was "made to speak German" and the Aristotelian philosophy was permanently displaced. "No thing without sufficient cause" was the ruling principle of Wolff's teaching.

So the first modern nation to take over the school from the Church, and to make of it an instrument for promoting the interests of the State was the kingdom of Prussia, and the example of Prussia was soon followed by the other German States. The reasons for this early action by the German States will be clear if we remember the marked progress made in establishing state control of the churches which followed the Protestant revolts in German lands. The kingdom of Wuertemberg, as early as 1559, had organized the first German state-church school system, and had made attendance at the religious instruction, compulsory on the parents of all children. The example of Wuertemberg was followed by Brunswick (1569), Saxony (1580), Weimar (1619), and Gotha (1642). In Weimar and Gotha the compulsory-attendance idea had even been adopted for elementary-school instruction to all children up to the age of twelve.

By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the German States, even including Catholic Bavaria, had followed the example of Wuertemberg, and had created a state-church school system which involved at least elementary and secondary schools and the beginnings of compulsory school attendance. Notwithstanding the ravages of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), the state-church schools of German lands contained, more definitely than had been worked out elsewhere, the germs of a separate state school organization. Only in British North America had an equal development in state-church organization and control been made. As state-church schools, with the religious purpose dominant, the German schools remained until near the middle of the eighteenth century. Then a new movement for state control began, and within fifty years thereafter they had been transformed into institutions of the State, with the state purpose their most essential characteristic. How this transformation was effected in Prussia, the leader among the German States, and the forces which brought about the transformation, it will be the purpose of this chapter to relate.

The German model generally followed then, by Henry Tappan (q.v.) at the University of Michigan when Andrew Dickson White was a graduate student, had its roots in the European research university. These have a long history that arguably dates back to the founding of the University of Bologna in 1088, although the University of Paris and the University of Magnaura are other contenders for this position. In the 19th and 20th centuries, European universities

focused on science and research, and their structures and philosophies have shaped the university as we now know it. The original medieval universities are thought to have arisen from schools in churches before developing into what can now be definitively considered the "university." Aims of early universities included training professionals, investigating science, improving society, and teaching students to research and think for themselves. Many external influences, such as eras of humanism, Enlightenment, Reformation, and revolution, shaped research universities during their development, and the discovery of the New World in 1492 added human rights and international law to the university curriculum.

By the 18th century, universities published their own research journals, and by the 19th century, the German and the French university models had arisen. The German, or Humboldtian model, was conceived by Wilhelm von Humboldt and based on Friedrich Schleiermacher's liberal ideas pertaining to the importance of freedom, seminars, and laboratories in universities. The French university model involved strict discipline and control over every aspect of the university.

Universities concentrated on science in the 19th and 20th centuries, and they started to become accessible to the masses after 1914. Until the 19th century, religion played a significant role in university curricula; however, the role of religion in research universities decreased in the 19th century, and by the end of the 19th century, the German university model had spread around the world, finding its first footings in America at Michigan, Cornell and Johns Hopkins. The British also established universities worldwide, and higher education became available to the masses not only in Europe. In a general sense, the basic structure and aims of universities have remained constant over the years.

The first European university is often considered to be the University of Bologna, founded in 1088, although some dispute this statement based on the intangibility of the definition of "university." In addition, the concept of the University of Bologna as the "mother of European Universities" was created as a symbol for Italy's national unity, which detracts from the legitimacy of its being considered the first. If the term "university" requires that a single corporate body be made up of students and professors of different disciplines, rather than that a corporate body simply exists, the University of Paris, founded in 1208, can be considered the first university; however, the University at Magnaura Palace was founded much earlier, in the 9th century. The University of Magnaura can be defined as a university because it brought prominent scholars together to create a "focal point of medieval Greek science and culture".

Traditional medieval universities are thought to have arisen from schools in churches, which began to require more structure as a result of their increasing popularity. This need, along with the advancing complexity of society, which required specialized training for administrators, lawyers, doctors, notaries, and ecclesiastics, and the rediscovery of ancient knowledge, such as new

translations of Aristotle and Roman law, led to the development of student guilds, or universitates, and eventually the definitive university. Early universities, according to Professor of sociology and general editor of *A History of the University in Europe* Walter Rüegg, were meant to allow people to develop "knowledge for the sake of knowledge;" however, around the 16th century, knowledge was seen to be valuable as a part of the civil community. Universities at this time aimed to train clergymen, lawyers, government officials, and doctors. At the same time, according to Rüegg, people studied in order to further scientific investigation and attend to the demands of society. Science during the 16th century was an essential part of university curriculum, incorporating "openness to novelty" and the search for the means to control nature into the course of study.

The European University proliferated in part because groups decided to secede from the original universities to promote their own ideals; the University of Paris fostered many universities in Northern Europe, while the University of Bologna fostered many in the South. Some leaders also created universities in order to use them to increase their political power and popularity. For example, Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor founded the University of Naples in 1224 to train lawyers and administrators who could rival the University of Bologna's influence, which served the hostile Lombard League.

The structure of these early classes involved a master reading from texts and commenting on the readings, as well as students learning by teaching other students. Masters also offered disputed questions to their classes for discussion. Moving into the 18th century, professors became less focused on simply training university teachers and more focused on "forming the minds of the elite" of a larger society.

While humanistic ideas of the 14th-16th century Renaissance were slow to catch on, they eventually spread from France, to Germany, to England during the 16th century Reformation. Under the influence of the increasingly popular humanist mode of thought, university education began to include the preparation of students for lives of civility, civilization, and culture, along with a response to social concerns. Important to the medieval university curriculum were the trivium and quadrivium, two classifications of the liberal arts intended to prepare students for further learning, usually in the areas of theology, law, or medicine. Trivium included the three verbal disciplines: grammar, rhetoric, and logic, while Quadrivium included the four mathematical disciplines: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The discovery of the New World in 1492 prompted additions to the European University curriculum, as subjects such as human rights and international law became relevant to current times (Rüegg v.2, 22). Newly conquered Spanish territories raised questions about aboriginals' rights, and discussion stemmed from the Bible, medieval natural law theories, and humanistic ideas of toleration. Rüegg links the idea of the 'New' World to the idea of 'new' knowledge as opposed to the old works of the ancients. In the mid-16th century, scholarly and scientific journals became a popular way to "spread

innovations among the learned," and by the 18th century, universities were publishing their own research journals. Enlightenment in the 18th century also encouraged the transition from the "preservation and transmission of accepted knowledge" to the "discovery and advancement of new knowledge," although newer universities more quickly adapted ideas of Enlightenment and Absolutism than older ones.

Moving into the 19th century, the objective of universities evolved from teaching the "regurgitation of knowledge" to "encourag[ing] productive thinking." Two main university models, the German and the French, arose and gave rise to other models such as the British and Russian. The German model, conceived by Wilhelm von Humboldt, was also known as the Humboldtian model. In 1810, Humboldt convinced the King of Prussia to build a university in Berlin based on Friedrich Schleiermacher's liberal ideas; the goal was to demonstrate the process of the discovery of knowledge and to teach students to "take account of fundamental laws of science in all their thinking, " thus, seminars and laboratories started to evolve.

[Freedom was an important concept in the German university model, and the system of professors was based on competition and freedom: although professors served as state functionaries, they had the freedom to choose between several states, and their identity and prestige arose from the specialization of scientific disciplines.

The Halle line takes us to Johann von Herder, at the University of Konigsberg, as New York Alpha's intellectual, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, was influenced by Johann Gottfried von Herder, below:

❖ Johann Gottfried von Herder (August 25, 1744 in Mohrungen (Morąg), Kingdom of Prussia - December 18, 1803 in Weimar) was a German philosopher, poet, and literary critic. He is associated with the periods of Enlightenment, Storm and Stress, and Weimar Classicism. While Prussia was climbing to power in the later half of the 18th century, new thoughts were sweeping in from her eastern domains. Born in Mohrungen (Polish: *Morąg*) in Kingdom of Prussia, Herder grew up in a poor household, educating himself from his father's Bible and songbook. In 1762, an introspective youth of seventeen, he enrolled at the local University of Königsberg.

The University of Königsberg

At Königsberg von Herder became a student of Johann Georg Hamann, a patriotic Francophobe and intensely subjective thinker who championed the emotions against reason. His choice of Hamann over such luminaries as Immanuel Kant was significant, as this odd figure, a needy hypochondriac, delved back into the German mysticism of Jacob Böhme and others, pronouncing obscure and oracular dicta that brought him fame as the "Magus of the North". Hamann's disjointed effusions generally carried subtitles such as *Hierophantic Letters* or *A Rhapsody in Cabbalistic Prose*.

Hamann's influence led Herder to confess to his wife later in life that "I have too little reason and too much idiosyncrasy", yet Herder can justly claim to have founded a new school of German political thought. Although himself an unsociable person, Herder influenced his contemporaries greatly. One friend wrote to him in 1785, hailing his works as "inspired by God." A varied field of theorists were later to find inspiration in Herder's tantalisingly incomplete ideas.

In 1764, now a clergyman, Herder went to Riga to teach. It was during this period that he produced his first major works, which were literary criticism. In 1769 Herder traveled to the French port of Nantes and continued on to Paris. This resulted in both an account of his travels as well as a shift of his own self-conception as an author.   By 1770 he went to Strassburg (Strasbourg), where he met the young Goethe.

This event proved to be a key juncture in the history of German literature, as Goethe was inspired by Herder's literary criticism to develop his own style. This can be seen as the beginning of the "Sturm und Drang" movement. In 1771 Herder took a position as head pastor and court preacher at Bückeburg under Count Wilhelm von Schaumburg-Lippe.

By the mid-1770s, Goethe was a well-known author, and used his influence at the court of Weimar to secure Herder a position as General Superintendent. Herder moved there in 1776, where his outlook shifted again towards classicism. Towards the end of his career, Herder endorsed the French Revolution, which earned him the enmity of many of his colleagues. At the same time, he and Goethe experienced a personal split. Herder died in 1803 in Weimar.

In 1772 Herder published *Treatise on the Origin of Language* and went further in this promotion of language than his earlier injunction to "spew out the ugly slime of the Seine. Speak German, O You German". Herder now had established the foundations of comparative philology within the new currents of political outlook. hroughout this period, he continued to elaborate his own unique theory of aesthetics in works such as the above, while Goethe produced works like The Sorrows of Young Werther — the Sturm und Drang movement was born.

Herder wrote an important essay on Shakespeare and *Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker* (Extract from a correspondence about Ossian and the Songs of Ancient Peoples) published in 1773 in a manifesto along with contributions by Goethe and Justus Möser. Herder wrote that "A poet is the creator of the nation around him, he gives them a world to see and has their souls in his hand to lead them to that world." To him such poetry had its greatest purity and power in nations before they became civilised, as shown in the Old Testament, the Edda, and Homer, and he tried to find such virtues in ancient German folk songs and Norse poetry and mythology.

After becoming General Superintendent in 1776, Herder's philosophy shifted again towards classicism. Herder was at his best during this period, and produced works such as his unfinished *Outline of a Philosophical History of Humanity* which largely originated the school of historical thought. Herder's philosophy was of a deeply subjective turn, stressing influence by physical and historical circumstance upon human development, stressing that "one must go into the age, into the region, into the whole history, and feel one's way into everything". The historian should be the "regenerated contemporary" of the past, and history a science as "instrument of the most genuine patriotic spirit".

Along with Johann Fichte and others, Herder replaced the traditional concept of a juridico-political state with that of the "folk-nation" as organic in its historical growth, thus creating the Romantic nationalist school. Every nation was in this manner organic and whole, nationality a plant of nurture. He talked of the

"national animal" and of the "physiology of the whole national group" , which organism was topped by the "national spirit", the "soul of the people" (*Volksgeist*).

Herder gave Germans new pride in their origins, modifying that dominance of regard allotted to Greek art (*Greek revival*) extolled among others by Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. He remarked that he would have wished to be born in the Middle Ages and mused whether "the times of the Swabian emperors" did not "deserve to be set forth in their true light in accordance with the German mode of thought?". Herder equated the German with the Gothic and favoured Dürer and everything Gothic. As with the sphere of art, equally he proclaimed a national message within the sphere of language. He topped the line of German authors emanating from Martin Opitz, who had written his *Aristarchus, sive de contemptu linguae Teutonicae* in Latin in 1617. This urged Germans to glory in their hitherto despised language, and Herder's extensive collections of folk-poetry began a great craze in Germany for that neglected topic.

Along with Wilhelm von Humboldt, Herder was one of the first to argue that language determines thought, a theme that two centuries later would be central to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Herder's focus upon language and cultural traditions as the ties that create a "nation" extended to include folklore, dance, music and art, and inspired Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in their collection of German folk tales.

Herder attached exceptional importance to the concept of nationality and of patriotism — "he that has lost his patriotic spirit has lost himself and the whole worlds about himself", whilst teaching that "in a certain sense every human perfection is national". Herder carried folk theory to an extreme by maintaining that "there is only one class in the state, the *Volk*, (not the rabble), and the king belongs to this class as well as the peasant". Explanation that the *Volk* was not the rabble was a novel conception in this era, and with Herder can be seen the emergence of "the people" as the basis for the emergence of a classless but hierarchical national body.

The nation, however was individual and separate, distinguished, to Herder, by climate, education, foreign intercourse, tradition and heredity. Providence he praised for having "wonderfully separated nationalities not only by woods and mountains, seas and deserts, rivers and climates, but more particularly by languages, inclinations and characters". Herder praised the tribal outlook writing that "the savage who loves himself, his wife and child with quiet joy and glows with limited activity of his tribe as for his own life is in my opinion a more real being than that cultivated shadow who is enraptured with the shadow of the whole species", isolated since "each nationality contains its centre of happiness within itself, as a bullet the centre of gravity". With no need for comparison since "every nation bears in itself the standard of its perfection, totally independent of all comparison with that of others" for "do not nationalities

differ in everything, in poetry, in appearance, in tastes, in usages, customs and languages? Must not religion which partakes of these also differ among the nationalities?"

He also predicted that Slavic nations would one day be the real power in Europe, as the western Europeans would reject Christianity, and thus rot away, and saying that the eastern European nations would stick to their religion and their idealism; and would this way become the power in Europe.

This question was further developed by Herder's lament that Martin Luther did not establish a national church, and his doubt whether Germany did not buy Christianity at too high a price, that of true nationality. Herder's patriotism bordered at times upon national pantheism, demanding of territorial unity as "He is deserving of glory and gratitude who seeks to promote the unity of the territories of Germany through writings, manufacture, and institutions" and sounding an even deeper call:

> *"But now! Again I cry, my German brethren! But now! The remains of all genuine folk-thought is rolling into the abyss of oblivion with a last and accelerated impetus. For the last century we have been ashamed of everything that concerns the fatherland."*

Herder presented formal defiance of the age of reason and Enlightenment. In his *Ideas upon Philosophy and the History of Mankind* he even wrote "Compare England with Germany: the English are Germans, and even in the latest times the Germans have led the way for the English in the greatest things."

Herder, who hated absolutism and Prussian nationalism, but who was imbued with the spirit of the whole German *Volk*, yet as historical theorist turned away from the light of the eighteenth century. Seeking to reconcile his thought with this earlier age, Herder sought to harmonize his conception of sentiment with reason, whereby all knowledge is implicit in the soul; the most elementary stage is sensuous and intuitive perception which by development can become self-conscious and rational. To Herder, this development is the harmonizing of primitive and derivative truth, of experience and intelligence, feeling and reason.

Herder is the first in a long line of Germans preoccupied with this harmony. This search is itself the key to much in German theory. And Herder was too penetrating a thinker not to understand and fear the extremes to which his folk-theory could tend, and so issued specific warnings. While regarding the Jews as aliens in Europe, he refused to adhere to a rigid racial theory, writing that "notwithstanding the varieties of the human form, there is but one and the same species of man throughout the whole earth".

He also announced that "national glory is a deceiving seducer. When it reaches a certain height, it clasps the head with an iron band. The enclosed sees

nothing in the mist but his own picture; he is susceptible to no foreign impressions." And:

> "It is the apparent plan of nature that as one human being, so also one generation, and also one nationality learn, learn incessantly, from and with the others, until all have comprehended the difficult lesson: No nationality has been solely designated by God as the chosen people of the earth; above all we must seek the truth and cultivate the garden of the common good. Hence no nationality of Europe may separate itself sharply, and foolishly say, "With us alone, with us dwells *all* wisdom."

Time was to demonstrate that while many Germans were to find influence in Herder's convictions and influence, fewer were to note his qualificatory stipulations.

Herder had emphasised that his conception of the nation encouraged democracy and the free self-expression of a people's identity. He proclaimed support for the French Revolution, a position which did not endear him to royalty. He also differed with Kant's philosophy and turned away from the Sturm und Drang movement to go back to the poems of Shakespeare and Homer.

To promote his concept of the *Volk*, he published letters and collected folk songs. These latter were published in 1773 as *Voices of the People in Their Songs* (*Stimmen der Völker in ihren Liedern*). The poets Achim von Arnim and Clemens von Brentano later used *Stimmen der Võlker* as samples for *The Boy's Magic Horn* (*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*).

New York Alpha's intellectual, Johan Gottfried von Herder, below, was influenced by Johann Georg von Hamann, see Appendix Gamma, but was also instructed by, and later critiqued, Immanuel Kant:

❖ Immanuel Kant (22 April 1724 – 12 February 1804) was an 18th-century German philosopher from the Prussian city of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, Russia). He is regarded as one of the most influential thinkers of modern Europe and of the late Enlightenment. Immanuel Kant was born in 1724 in Königsberg, as the fourth of nine children (five of them reached adulthood). He was baptized as 'Emanuel' but later changed his name to 'Immanuel' after he learned Hebrew. He spent his entire life in and around his hometown, the capital of East Prussia at that time, never traveling more than a hundred miles from Königsberg. His father Johann Georg Kant (1682–1746) was a German craftsman from Memel, at the time Prussia's most northeastern city (now Klaipėda, Lithuania).

The University of Königsberg

His mother Anna Regina Porter (1697–1737), born in Nuremberg, was the daughter of a Scottish saddle/harness maker. In his youth, Kant was a solid, albeit unspectacular, student. He was raised in a Pietist household that stressed intense religious devotion, personal humility, and a literal interpretation of the Bible. Consequently, Kant received a stern education — strict, punitive, and disciplinary — that favored Latin and religious instruction over mathematics and science.

Kant showed great application to study early in his life. He was first sent to Collegium Fredericianum and then enrolled in the University of Königsberg in 1740, at the age of 16. He studied the philosophy of Leibniz and Wolff under Martin Knutsen, a rationalist who was also familiar with the developments of British philosophy and science and who introduced Kant to the new mathematical physics of Newton. His father's stroke and subsequent death in 1746 interrupted his studies. Kant became a private tutor in the smaller towns surrounding Königsberg, but continued his scholarly research. 1749 saw the publication of his first philosophical work, *Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces*. Kant published several more works on scientific topics, becoming a university lecturer in 1755.

In the *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte* (1755), Kant laid out the Nebular Hypothesis, in which he deduced that the Solar System formed from a large cloud of gas, a nebula. He thus attempted to explain the order of the solar system, seen previously by Newton as being imposed from the beginning by God. Kant also correctly deduced that the Milky Way was a large disk of stars, which he theorized also formed from a (much larger) spinning cloud of gas. He further suggested the possibility that other nebulae might also be similarly large and distant disks of stars. These postulations opened new horizons for astronomy: for the first time extending astronomy beyond the solar system to galactic and extragalactic realms.

From this point on, Kant turned increasingly to philosophical issues, although he would continue to write on the sciences throughout his life. In the early 1760s, Kant produced a series of important works in philosophy. *The False Subtlety of the Four Syllogistic Figures*, a work in logic, was published in 1762. Two more works appeared the following year: *Attempt to Introduce the Concept of Negative Magnitudes into Philosophy* and *The Only Possible Argument in Support of a Demonstration of the Existence of God*. In 1764, Kant wrote *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* and then was second to Moses Mendelssohn in a Berlin Academy prize competition with his *Inquiry Concerning the Distinctness of the Principles of Natural Theology and Morality* (often referred to as "the Prize Essay"). In 1770, at the age of 45, Kant was finally appointed Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at the University of Königsberg. Kant wrote his *Inaugural Dissertation* in defense of this appointment. This work saw the emergence of several central themes of his mature work, including the distinction between the faculties of intellectual thought and sensible receptivity.

At the age of 46, Kant was an established scholar and an increasingly influential philosopher. Much was expected of him. In response to a letter from his student, Markus Herz, Kant came to recognize that in the *Inaugural Dissertation*, he had failed to account for the relation and connection between our sensible and intellectual faculties. He also credited David Hume with awakening him from "dogmatic slumber" (circa 1770). Kant would not publish another work in philosophy for the next eleven years.

Kant spent his silent decade working on a solution to the problems posed. Though fond of company and conversation with others, Kant isolated himself, despite friends' attempts to bring him out of his isolation. In 1778, in response to one of these offers by a former pupil, Kant wrote "Any change makes me apprehensive, even if it offers the greatest promise of improving my condition, and I am persuaded by this natural instinct of mine that I must take heed if I wish that the threads which the Fates spin so thin and weak in my case to be spun to any length. My great thanks, to my well-wishers and friends, who think so kindly of me as to undertake my welfare, but at the same time a most humble request to protect me in my current condition from any disturbance."

When Kant emerged from his silence in 1781, the result was the *Critique of Pure Reason*. Although now uniformly recognized as one of the greatest works in the history of philosophy, this *Critique* was largely ignored upon its initial publication. The book was long, over 800 pages in the original German edition, and written in a dry, scholastic style. It received few reviews, and these granted no significance to the work.

Its density made it, as Johann Gottfried Herder put it in a letter to Johann Georg Hamann, a "tough nut to crack," obscured by "…all this heavy gossamer." This is in stark contrast, however, to the praise Kant received for earlier works such as the aforementioned "Prize Essay" and other shorter works that precede the first Critique. These well-received and readable tracts include one on the earthquake in Lisbon which was so popular that it was sold by the page. Prior to the critical turn, his books sold well, and by the time he published *Observations On the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime* in 1764 he had become a popular author of some note. Kant was disappointed with the first Critique's reception. Recognizing the need to clarify the original treatise, Kant wrote the *Prolegomena to any Future Metaphysics* in 1783 as a summary of its main views. He also encouraged his friend, Johann Schultz, to publish a brief commentary on the *Critique of Pure Reason.*

Kant's reputation gradually rose through the 1780s, sparked by a series of important works: the 1784 essay, "Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?"; 1785's *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (his first work on moral philosophy); and, from 1786, *Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science.* But Kant's fame ultimately arrived from an unexpected source. In 1786, Karl Reinhold began to publish a series of public letters on the Kantian philosophy. In these letters, Reinhold framed Kant's philosophy as a response to the central intellectual controversy of the era: the Pantheism Dispute. Friedrich Jacobi had accused the recently deceased G. E. Lessing (a distinguished dramatist and philosophical essayist) of Spinozism. Such a charge, tantamount to atheism, was vigorously denied by Lessing's friend Moses Mendelssohn, and a bitter public dispute arose between them. The controversy gradually escalated into a general debate over the values of the Enlightenment and of reason itself. Reinhold maintained in his letters that Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* could settle this dispute by defending the authority and bounds of reason. Reinhold's letters were widely read and made Kant the most famous philosopher of his era.

Kant published a second edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason* (Kritik der reinen Vernunft) in 1787, heavily revising the first parts of the book. Most of his subsequent work focused on other areas of philosophy. He continued to develop his moral philosophy, notably in 1788's *Critique of Practical Reason* (known as the second *Critique*) and 1797's *Metaphysics of Morals*. The 1790 *Critique of Judgment* (the third *Critique*) applied the Kantian system to aesthetics and teleology. He also wrote a number of semi-popular essays on history, religion, politics and other topics. These works were well received by Kant's

contemporaries and confirmed his preeminent status in eighteenth century philosophy. There were several journals devoted solely to defending and criticizing the Kantian philosophy. But despite his success, philosophical trends were moving in another direction. Many of Kant's most important disciples (including Reinhold, Beck and Fichte) transformed the Kantian position into increasingly radical forms of idealism. This marked the emergence of German Idealism. Kant opposed these developments and publicly denounced Fichte in an open letter in 1799. It was one of his final philosophical acts. Kant's health, long poor, took a turn for the worse and he died at Konigsberg on 12 February 1804 uttering "Genug" [enough] before expiring. His unfinished final work, the fragmentary *Opus Postumum*, was (as its title suggests) published posthumously.

A variety of popular beliefs have arisen concerning Kant's life. It is often held, for instance, that Kant was a late bloomer, that he only became an important philosopher in his mid-50s after rejecting his earlier views. While it is true that Kant wrote his greatest works relatively late in life, there is a tendency to underestimate the value of his earlier works. Recent Kant scholarship has devoted more attention to these "pre-critical" writings and has recognized a degree of continuity with his mature work.

Many of the common myths concerning Kant's personal mannerisms are enumerated, explained, and refuted in Goldwaite's translator's introduction to *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*. It is often held that Kant lived a very strict and predictable life, leading to the oft-repeated story that neighbors would set their clocks by his daily walks. Again, this is only partly true. While still young, Kant was a very gregarious socialite and he remained fond of dinner parties through most of his life. Kant's poetry was much admired, and handwritten manuscripts circulated among his friends and associates. He never married. Only later in his life, under the influence of his friend, the English merchant Joseph Green, did Kant adopt a more regulated lifestyle.

Kant defined the Enlightenment in the essay "Answering the Question: What is Enlightenment?" as an age shaped by the motto, "Dare to know" (Latin: *Sapere aude*). This involved thinking autonomously, free of the dictates of external authority. Kant's work served as a bridge between the Rationalist and Empiricist traditions of the 18th century. He had a decisive impact on the Romantic and German Idealist philosophies of the 19th century. His work has also been a starting point for many 20th century philosophers.

Kant asserted that, because of the limitations of reason, no one could really know if there is a God and an afterlife, and conversely that no one could really know that there was not a God and an afterlife. For the sake of society and morality, Kant asserted, people are reasonably justified in believing in them, even though they could never know for sure whether they are real or not. Kant explained:

All the preparations of reason, therefore, in what may be called pure philosophy, are in reality directed to those three problems only [God, the soul, and freedom]. However, these three elements in themselves still hold independent, proportional, objective weight individually. Moreover, in a collective relational context; namely, to know *what ought to be done*: if the will is free, if there is a God, and if there is a future world. As this concerns our actions with reference to the highest aims of life, we see that the ultimate intention of nature in her wise provision was really, in the constitution of our reason, directed to moral interests only.

The sense of an enlightened approach and the critical method required that "If one cannot prove that a thing *is,* he may try to prove that it is *not.* And if he succeeds in doing neither (as often occurs), he may still ask whether it is in his *interest* to *accept* one or the other of the alternatives hypothetically, from the theoretical or the practical point of view. …Hence the question no longer is as to whether perpetual peace is a real thing or not a real thing, or as to whether we may not be deceiving ourselves when we adopt the former alternative, but we must *act* on the supposition of its being real." The presupposition of God, soul, and freedom was then a practical concern, for "Morality, by itself, constitutes a system, but happiness does not, unless it is distributed in exact proportion to morality. This, however, is possible in an intelligible world only under a wise author and ruler. Reason compels us to admit such a ruler, together with life in such a world, which we must consider as future life, or else all moral laws are to be considered as idle dreams… ."

The two interconnected foundations of what Kant called his "critical philosophy" of the "Copernican revolution" which he claimed to have wrought in philosophy were his epistemology of Transcendental Idealism and his moral philosophy of the autonomy of practical reason. These placed the active, rational human subject at the center of the cognitive and moral worlds. With regard to knowledge, Kant argued that the rational order of the world as known by science could never be accounted for merely by the fortuitous accumulation of sense perceptions. It was instead the product of the rule-based activity of "synthesis." This consisted of conceptual unification and integration carried out by the mind through concepts or the "categories of the understanding" operating on the perceptual manifold within space and time, which are not concepts, but forms of sensibility that are a priori necessary conditions for any possible experience.

Thus the objective order of nature and the causal necessity that operates within it are dependent upon the mind. There is wide disagreement among Kant scholars on the correct interpretation of this train of thought. The 'two-world' interpretation regards Kant's position as a statement of epistemological limitation, that we are never able to transcend the bounds of our own mind, meaning that we cannot access the "thing-in-itself". Kant however also speaks of the thing in itself or *transcendental object* as a product of the (human) understanding as it

attempts to conceive of objects in abstraction from the conditions of sensibility. Following this thought, some interpreters have argued that the thing in itself does not represent a separate ontological domain but simply a way of considering objects by means of the understanding alone — this is known as the two-aspect view. With regard to morality, Kant argued that the source of the good lies not in anything outside the human subject, either in nature or given by God, but rather only the good will itself. A good will is one that acts from duty in accordance with the universal moral law that the autonomous human being freely gives itself. This law obliges one to treat humanity — understood as rational agency, and represented through oneself as well as others — as an end in itself rather than (merely) as means.

These ideas have largely framed or influenced all subsequent philosophical discussion and analysis. The specifics of Kant's account generated immediate and lasting controversy. Nevertheless, his theses -- that the mind itself necessarily makes a constitutive contribution to its knowledge, that this contribution is transcendental rather than psychological, that philosophy involves self-critical activity, that morality is rooted in human freedom, and that to act autonomously is to act according to rational moral principles -- have all had a lasting effect on subsequent philosophy.

Kant defines his theory of perception in his influential 1781 work *The Critique of Pure Reason*, which has often been cited as the most significant volume of metaphysics and epistemology in modern philosophy. Kant maintains that our understanding of the external world has its foundations not merely in experience, but in both experience and a priori concepts – thus offering a **non-**empiricist critique of rationalist philosophy, which is what he and others referred to as his "Copernican revolution."

Before discussing his theory, it is necessary to explain Kant's distinction between analytic and synthetic propositions.

1. Analytic proposition: a proposition whose predicate concept is contained in its subject concept; *e.g., "All bachelors are unmarried," or, "All bodies take up space."*

2. Synthetic proposition: a proposition whose predicate concept is not contained in its subject concept ; *e.g., "All bachelors are happy," or, "All bodies have mass."*

Analytic propositions are true by nature of the meaning of the words involved in the sentence - we require no further knowledge than a grasp of the language to understand this proposition. On the other hand, synthetic statements are those that tell us something about the world. Synthetic statements are true or false because their meaning transcends the content of the language used. In this instance, mass is not a necessary predicate to the body; until we are told the heaviness of the body we do not know that it has mass. In this case, experience

of the body is required before its heaviness becomes clear. Before Kant's first Critique, empiricists (cf. Hume) and rationalists (cf. Leibniz) assumed that all synthetic statements required experience in order to be known.

Kant, however, contests this: he claims that elementary mathematics, like arithmetic, is synthetic *a priori*. Here Kant includes *a priori* and *a posteriori* concepts into his argument, and posits that it is in fact possible to have knowledge of the world that is not derived from empirical experience. Thus does Kant develop his arguments for transcendental idealism. He justifies this by arguing that experience depends on certain necessary conditions - which he calls *a priori* forms - and that these conditions hold true for the world. In so doing, his main claims in the " Transcendental Aesthetic" are that mathematic judgments are synthetic *a priori* and in addition, Space and Time are transcendentally ideal and at the same time are necessary conditions for experience.

This is quite naturally confusing, yet Kant's idea is that since his first claim — about mathematic judgments — is true, then it will follow that his claims about space and time are true as well. The next paragraph deals with the notion of mathematic judgments being synthetic *a priori*, skip to the paragraph afterward to read more about perception and Kant.

Once we have grasped the concepts of addition, subtraction or the functions of basic arithmetic, we do not need any empirical experience to know that 100 + 100 = 200, and in this way it would appear that arithmetic is in fact analytic. However, that it is analytic can be disproved thus: if the numbers five and seven in the calculation 5 + 7 = 12 are examined, there is nothing to be found in them by which the number 12 can be inferred. Such it is that "5 + 7" and "the cube root of 1,728" or "12" are not analytic because their reference is the same but their sense is not - meaning that the mathematic judgment "5 + 7 = 12" tells us something new about the world. It is self-evident, and undeniably a priori, but at the same time it is synthetic. And so Kant proves a proposition can be synthetic and known a priori.

Kant asserts that perception is based both upon experience of external objects and a priori knowledge. The external world, he writes, provides those things which we sense. It is our mind, though, that processes this information about the world and gives it order, allowing us to comprehend it. Our mind supplies the conditions of space and time to experienced objects. According to the "transcendental unity of apperception", the concepts of the mind (Understanding) and the intuitions which garner information from phenomena (Sensibility) are synthesized by comprehension. Without the concepts, intuitions are nondescript; without the intuitions, concepts are meaningless — thus the famous quotation, "Intuitions without concepts are blind; concepts without intuitions are empty."

Immanuel Kant deemed it obvious that we have some objective knowledge of the world, such as, say, Newtonian physics. But this knowledge relies on synthetic a priori laws of nature, like causality and substance. The problem, then, is how this is possible. Kant's solution was to reason that the subject must supply laws that make experience of objects possible, and that these laws are the synthetic a priori laws of nature which we can know all objects are subject to prior to experiencing them. So to deduce all these laws, Kant examined experience in general, dissecting in it what is supplied by the mind from what is supplied by the given intuitions. This which has just been explicated is commonly called a transcendental reduction.

To begin with, Kant's distinction between the a posteriori being contingent and particular knowledge, and the a priori being universal and necessary knowledge, must be kept in mind. For if we merely connect two intuitions together in a perceiving subject, the knowledge will always be subjective because it is derived a posteriori, when what is desired is for the knowledge to be objective, that is, for the two intuitions to refer to the object and hold good of it necessarily universally for anyone at anytime, not just the perceiving subject in its current condition. Now what is equivalent to objective knowledge but the a priori, that is to say, universal and necessary knowledge? Nothing, and hence before knowledge can be objective, it must be incorporated under an a priori category of the understanding.

For example, say a subject says "the sun shines on the stone, the stone grows warm", which is all he perceives in perception. His judgment is contingent and holds no necessity. But if he says "the sunshine causes the stone to warm", he subsumes the perception under the category of causality, which is not found in the perception, and necessarily synthesizes the concept sunshine with the concept heat, producing a necessarily universally true judgment.

To explain the categories in more detail, they are the preconditions of the construction of objects in the mind. Indeed, to even think of the sun and stone presupposes the category of subsistence, that is, substance. For the categories synthesize the random data of the sensory manifold into intelligible objects. This means that the categories are also the most abstract things one can say of any object whatsoever, and hence one can have an a priori cognition of the totality of all objects of experience if one can list all of them. To do this, Kant formulates another transcendental reduction.

Judgments are for Kant the preconditions of any thought. Man thinks via judgments, so all possible judgments must be listed and the perceptions connected within them put aside, so the moments the understanding is involved in constructing judgments can be examined. For the categories are equivalent to these moments, in that they are concepts of intuitions in general, so far as they are determined by these moments universally and necessarily. Thus by listing all the moments, one can deduce from them all of the categories.

One may now ask: how many possible judgments are there? Kant believed that all the possible propositions within Aristotle's syllogistic logic are equivalent to all possible judgments, and that all the logical operators within the propositions are equivalent to the moments of the understanding within judgments. Thus he listed Aristotle's system in four groups of three: quantity (universal, particular, singular), quality (affirmative, negative, infinite), relation (categorical, hypothetical, disjunctive) and modality (problematic, assertoric, apodeictic). The parallelism with Kant's categories is obvious: quantity (unity, plurality, totality), quality (reality, negation, limitation), relation (substance, cause, community) and modality (possibility, existence, necessity).

The fundamental building blocks of experience, i.e. objective knowledge, are now in place. First there is the sensibility, which supplies the mind with intuitions, and then there is the understanding, which produces judgments of these intuitions and can subsume them under categories. These categories lift the intuitions up out of the subject's current state of consciousness and place them within consciousness in general, producing universally necessary knowledge. For the categories are innate in any rational being, so any intuition thought within a category in one mind will necessarily be subsumed and understood identically in any mind.

Kant ran into a problem with his theory that the mind plays a part in producing objective knowledge. Intuitions and categories are entirely disparate, so how can they interact? Kant's solution is the schema: a priori principles by which the transcendental imagination connects concepts with intuitions through time. All the principles are temporally bound, for if a concept is purely a priori, as the categories are, then they must apply for all times. Hence there are principles such as *substance is that which endures through time*, and *the cause must always be prior to the effect*.

Kant developed his moral philosophy in three works: *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals* (1785), *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788), and *Metaphysics of Morals* (1797).

In the *Groundwork*, Kant's method involves trying to convert our everyday, obvious, rational knowledge of morality into philosophical knowledge. The latter two works followed a method of using "practical reason", which is based only upon things about which reason can tell us, and not deriving any principles from experience, to reach conclusions which are able to be applied to the world of experience (in the second part of *The Metaphysic of Morals*).

Kant is known for his theory that there is a single moral obligation, which he called the "Categorical Imperative", and is derived from the concept of **duty**. Kant defines the demands of the moral law as "categorical imperatives." Categorical imperatives are principles that are intrinsically valid; they are good in and of themselves; they must be obeyed in all situations and circumstances if our

behavior is to observe the moral law. It is from the Categorical Imperative that all other moral obligations are generated, and by which all moral obligations can be tested. Kant also stated that the moral means and ends can be applied to the categorical imperative, that rational beings can pursue certain "ends" using the appropriate "means." Ends that are based on physical needs or wants will always give for merely hypothetical imperatives. The categorical imperative, however, may be based only on something that is an "end in itself". That is, an end that is a means only to itself and not to some other need, desire, or purpose. He believed that the moral law is a principle of reason itself, and is not based on contingent facts about the world, such as what would make us happy, but to act upon the moral law which has no other motive than "worthiness of being happy". Accordingly, he believed that moral obligation applies to all and only rational agents.

A categorical imperative is an unconditional obligation; that is, it has the force of an obligation regardless of our will or desires (Contrast this with hypothetical imperative). In *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals* (1785) Kant enumerated three formulations of the categorical imperative which he believed to be roughly equivalent:

Kant believed that if an action is not done with the motive of duty, then it is without moral value. He thought that every action should have pure intention behind it; otherwise it was meaningless. He didn't necessarily believe that the final result was the most important aspect of an action, but that how the person felt while carrying out the action was the time at which value was set to the result.

In *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals*, Kant also posited the "counter-utilitarian idea that there is a difference between preferences and values and that considerations of individual rights temper calculations of aggregate utility", a concept that is an axiom in economics:

> Everything has either a *price* or a *dignity*. Whatever has a price can be replaced by something else as its equivalent; on the other hand, whatever is above all price, and therefore admits of no equivalent, has a dignity. But that which constitutes the condition under which alone something can be an end in itself does not have mere relative worth, i.e., price, but an intrinsic worth, i.e., a dignity. (p. 53, italics in original).

The first formulation (Formula of Universal Law) of the moral imperative "requires that the maxims be chosen as though they should hold as universal laws of nature" (436). This formulation in principle has as its supreme law "Always act according to that maxim whose universality as a law you can at the same time will", and is the "only condition under which a will can never come into conflict with itself…"

One interpretation of the first formulation is called the "universalizability test." An agent's maxim, according to Kant, is his "subjective principle of human actions" — that is, what the agent believes is his reason to act. The universalizability test has five steps:

1. Find the agent's maxim. The maxim is an action paired with its motivation. Example: "I will lie for personal benefit." Lying is the action, the motivation is to get what you desire. Paired together they form the maxim.

2. Imagine a possible world in which everyone in a similar position to the real-world agent followed that maxim.

3. Decide whether any contradictions or irrationalities arise in the possible world as a result of following the maxim.

4. If a contradiction or irrationality arises, acting on that maxim is not allowed in the real world.

5. If there is no contradiction, then acting on that maxim is permissible, and in some instances required.

The second formulation (Formula of the End in Itself) says that "the rational being, as by its nature an end and thus as an end in itself, must serve in every maxim as the condition restricting all merely relative and arbitrary ends." The principle is "Act with reference to every rational being (whether yourself or another) so that it is an end in itself in your maxim…", meaning the rational being is "the basis of all maxims of action" and "must be treated never as a mere means but as the supreme limiting condition in the use of all means, i.e., as an end at the same time."

The third formulation (Formula of Autonomy) is a synthesis of the first two and is the basis for the "complete determination of all maxims". It says "that all maxims which stem from autonomous legislation ought to harmonize with a possible realm of ends as with a realm of nature." In principle, "So act as if your maxims should serve at the same time as the universal law (of all rational beings)", meaning that we should so act that we may think of ourselves as "a member in the universal realm of ends", legislating universal laws through our maxims, in a "possible realm of ends."

Kant stated the practical necessity for a belief in God in his *Critique of Pure Reason*. As an idea of pure reason, "we do not have the slightest ground to assume in an absolute manner… the object of this idea…", but adds that the idea of God cannot be separated from the relation of happiness with morality as the "ideal of the supreme good." The foundation of this connection is an intelligible moral world, and "is necessary from the practical point of view". Later, in the *Logic,* § 3 (1800) he argued that the idea of God can only be proved through the moral law and only with practical intent, that is, "the intent so as to act *as if* there be a God" (trans. Hartmann and Schwartz).

In the *Critique of Pure Reason* Kant distinguishes between the transcendental idea of freedom, which as a psychological concept is "mainly empirical" and refers to "the question whether we must admit a power of spontaneously beginning a series of successive things or states" as a real ground of necessity in regard to causality, and the practical concept of freedom as the independence of our will from the "coercion" or "necessitation through sensuous impulses." Kant finds it a source of difficulty that the practical concept of freedom is founded on the transcendental idea of freedom, but for the sake of practical interests uses the practical meaning, taking "no account of… its transcendental meaning", which he feels was properly "disposed of" in the Third Antinomy, and as an element in the question of the freedom of the will is for philosophy "a real stumbling-block" that has "embarrassed speculative reason".

Kant calls practical "everything that is possible through freedom", and the pure practical laws that are never given through sensuous conditions but are held analogously with the universal law of causality are moral laws. Reason can give us only the "pragmatic laws of free action through the senses", but pure practical laws given by reason *a priori* dictate "*what ought to be done*".

Kant discusses the subjective nature of aesthetic qualities and experiences in *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*, (1764). Kant's contribution to aesthetic theory is developed in the *Critique of Judgment* (1790) where he investigates the possibility and logical status of "judgments of taste." In the "Critique of Aesthetic Judgment," the first major division of the *Critique of Judgment*, Kant used the term "aesthetic" in a manner that is, according to Kant scholar W.H. Walsh, its modern sense. Prior to this, in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant had, in order to note the essential differences between judgments of taste, moral judgments, and scientific judgments, abandoned the use of the term "aesthetic" as "designating the critique of taste," noting that judgments of taste could never be "directed" by "laws *a priori*". After A. G. Baumgarten, who wrote *Aesthetica* (1750–58), Kant was one of the first philosophers to develop and integrate aesthetic theory into a unified and comprehensive philosophical system, utilizing ideas that played an integral role throughout his philosophy.

In the chapter "Analytic of the Beautiful" of the *Critique of Judgment*, Kant states that beauty is not a property of an artwork or natural phenomenon, but is instead a consciousness of the pleasure which attends the 'free-play' of the imagination and the understanding. Even though it appears that we are using reason to decide that which is beautiful, the judgment is not a cognitive judgment, "and is consequently not logical, but aesthetical" (§ 1). A pure judgement of taste is in fact subjective insofar as it refers to the emotional response of the subject and is based upon nothing but esteem for an object itself: it is a *disinterested* pleasure, and we feel that pure judgements of taste, i.e. judgements of beauty, lay claim to universal validity (§§20–22). It is important to note that this universal validity is not derived from a determinate concept of beauty but from *common*

sense. Kant also believed that a judgement of taste shares characteristics engaged in a moral judgement: both are disinterested, and we hold them to be universal. In the chapter "Analytic of the Sublime" Kant identifies the sublime as an aesthetic quality which, like beauty, is subjective, but unlike beauty refers to an indeterminate relationship between the faculties of the imagination and of reason, and shares the character of moral judgments in the use of reason. The feeling of the sublime, itself comprised of two distinct modes (the mathematical sublime and the dynamical sublime), describe two subjective moments both of which concern the relationship of the faculty of the imagination to reason. The mathematical sublime is situated in the failure of the imagination to comprehend natural objects which appear boundless and formless, or which appear "absolutely great" (§ 23–25).

This imaginative failure is then recuperated through the pleasure taken in reason's assertion of the concept of infinity. In this move the faculty of reason proves itself superior to our fallible sensible self (§§ 25–26). In the dynamical sublime there is the sense of annihilation of the sensible self as the imagination tries to comprehend a vast might. This power of nature threatens us but through the resistance of reason to such sensible annihilation, the subject feels a pleasure and a sense of the human moral vocation. This appreciation of moral feeling through exposure to the sublime helps to develop moral character.

Kant had developed the distinction between an object of art as a material value subject to the conventions of society and the transcendental condition of the judgment of taste as a "refined" value in the propositions of his *Idea of A Universal History* (1784). In the Fourth and Fifth Theses of that work he identified all art as the "fruits of unsociableness" due to men's "antagonism in society", and in the Seventh Thesis asserted that while such material property is indicative of a civilized state, only the ideal of morality and the universalization of refined value through the improvement of the mind of man "belongs to culture".

In *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795) Kant listed several conditions that he thought necessary for ending wars and creating a lasting peace. They included a world of constitutional republics. This was the first version of the democratic peace theory.

He opposed "democracy," which at his time meant direct democracy, believing that majority rule posed a threat to individual liberty. He stated, "…democracy is, properly speaking, necessarily a despotism, because it establishes an executive power in which 'all' decide for or even against one who does not agree; that is, 'all,' who are not quite all, decide, and this is a contradiction of the general will with itself and with freedom."

Kant lectured on anthropology for over 25 years and his *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* was published in 1798.

Kant's philosophy had an enormous influence on Western thought. During his own life, there was a considerable amount of attention paid to his thought, much of it critical, though he did have a positive influence on Reinhold, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and Novalis during the 1780s and 1790s. The philosophical movement known as German Idealism developed from Kant's theoretical and practical writings. The German Idealists Fichte and Schelling, for example, attempted to bring traditionally "metaphysically" laden notions like "the Absolute," "God," or "Being" with the confines of Kant's critical philosophy. In so doing, the German Idealists attempted to reverse Kant's establishment of the unknowableness of unexperiencable ideas.

Hegel was one of the first major critics of Kant's philosophy. Hegel thought Kant's moral philosophy was too formal, abstract and ahistorical. In response to Kant's abstract and formal account of morality, Hegel developed an ethics that considered the "ethical life" of the community. But Hegel's notion of "ethical life" is meant to subsume, rather than replace, Kantian "morality." And Hegel's philosophical work as a whole can be understood as attempting to defend Kant's conception of freedom as going beyond finite "inclinations," by means of reason. Thus, in contrast to later critics like Friedrich Nietzsche or Bertrand Russell, Hegel shares some of Kant's most basic concerns.

Many British Roman Catholic writers, notably G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, seized on Kant and promoted his work, with a view to restoring the philosophical legitimacy of a belief in God. Reaction against this, and an attack on Kant's use of language, is found in Ronald Englefield's article, "Kant as Defender of the Faith in Nineteenth-century England*, reprinted in* Critique of Pure Verbiage, Essays on Abuses of Language in Literary, Religious, and Philosophical Writings.

Arthur Schopenhauer was strongly influenced by Kant's transcendental idealism. He, like G. E. Schulze, Jacobi and Fichte before him, was critical of Kant's theory of the thing in itself. Things in themselves, they argued, are neither the cause of our representations nor are they something completely beyond our access. For Schopenhauer things in themselves do not exist independently of the non-rational will. The world, as Schopenhauer would have it, is the striving and largely unconscious will.

With the success and wide influence of Hegel's writings, Kant's influence began to wane, though there was in Germany a brief movement that hailed a return to Kant in the 1860s, beginning with the publication of *Kant und die Epigonen* in 1865 by Otto Liebmann, whose motto was "Back to Kant". During the turn of the 20th century there was an important revival of Kant's theoretical philosophy, known as Marburg Neo-Kantianism, represented in the work of Hermann Cohen, Paul Natorp, Ernst Cassirer, and anti-Neo-Kantian Nicolai Hartmann.

Jurgen Habermas and John Rawls are two significant political and moral philosophers whose work is strongly influenced by Kant's moral philosophy. They both, regardless of recent relativist trends in philosophy, have argued that universality is essential to any viable moral philosophy.

With his *Perpetual Peace*, Kant is considered to have foreshadowed many of the ideas that have come to form the democratic peace theory, one of the main controversies in political science.

Kant's notion of "Critique" or criticism has been quite influential. The Early German Romantics, especially Friedrich Schlegel in his "Athenaeum Fragments", used Kant's self-reflexive conception of criticism in their Romantic theory of poetry. Also in Aesthetics, Clement Greenberg, in his classic essay "Modernist Painting", uses Kantian criticism, what Greenberg refers to as "immanent criticism", to justify the aims of Abstract painting, a movement Greenberg saw as aware of the key limitiaton—flatness—that makes up the medium of painting.

Kant believed that mathematical truths were forms of synthetic a priori knowledge, which means they are necessary and universal, yet known through intuition. Kant's often brief remarks about mathematics influenced the mathematical school known as intuitionism, a movement in philosophy of mathematics opposed to Hilbert's formalism, and the logicism of Frege and Bertrand Russell.

Post-Kantian philosophy has yet to return to the style of thinking and arguing that characterized much of philosophy and metaphysics before Kant, although many British and American philosophers have preferred to trace their intellectual origins to Hume, thus bypassing Kant. The British philosopher P. F. Strawson is a notable exception, as is the American philosopher Wilfrid Sellars.

Due in part to the influence of Strawson and Sellars, among others, there has been a renewed interest in Kant's view of the mind. Central to many debates in philosophy of psychology and cognitive science is Kant's conception of the unity of consciousness.

From 1873 to 1881, money was raised to build a monument chapel. His tomb and its pillared enclosure outside the Königsberg Cathedral in today's Kaliningrad, on the Pregolya (Pregel) River, are some of the few artifacts of German times preserved by the Soviets after they conquered and annexed the city in 1945. Kant's original tomb was demolished by Russian bombs early in that year. A replica of a statue of Kant that stood in front of the university was donated by a German entity in 1991 and placed on the original pediment. Newlyweds bring flowers to the chapel, as they formerly did for Lenin's monument. Near his tomb is the following inscription in German and Russian, taken from the "Conclusion" of his *Critique of Practical Reason*:

"Two things fill the mind with ever new and increasing admiration and awe the more often and steadily we reflect upon them:

the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me."

Hi ! Hi ! Hi ! Phi Kappa Psi !

New York Alpha's Titan of an Intellectual

New York Alpha's intellectual, Immanuel Kant, above, drew from the theories of Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, below:

❖ **Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten** (July 17, 1714 – May 26, 1762) was a German philosopher. He was a follower of Leibniz and Christian Wolff, and gave the term *aesthetics* its modern meaning. Baumgarten was born in Berlin as the fifth of seven sons of the pietist pastor of the garrison, Jacob Baumgarten and his wife Rosina Elisabeth. Both his parents died early and he was taught by Martin Georg Christgau where he learned Hebrew and got interested in Latin Poetry. Whilst words may change their meaning through cultural developments anyway, Baumgarten's reappraisal of aesthetics is often seen as the key moment in the development of aesthetic philosophy.

The University of Halle

Previously the word had merely meant 'sensibility' or 'responsiveness to stimulation of the senses' in its use by ancient writers. With the development of art as a commercial enterprise linked to the rise of a *nouveau riche* class across Europe, the purchasing of art inevitably lead to the question, 'what is good art'. Baumgarten developed aesthetics to mean the study of good and bad "taste," thus good and bad art, linking good taste with beauty.

By trying to develop an idea of good and bad taste, he also in turn generated philosophical debate around this new meaning of aesthetics. Without it, there would be no basis for aesthetic debate as there would be no objective criterion, basis for comparison, or reason from which one could develop an objective argument.

So Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714), the German Wolffian philosopher and aesthetician, was born in Berlin. He was the son of an assistant to the Pietist theologian and pedagogue August Hermann Francke; his brother was the famous divine and church historian Sigmund Jakob. Baumgarten studied philosophy and theology at Halle. After receiving a master's degree in 1735, he was appointed a teacher at Halle and in 1738 became extraordinary professor. While teaching there, Baumgarten, in reaction against the Pietism dominant at Halle after the expulsion of Christian Wolff in 1723, reintroduced Wolffian philosophy. In 1740 he was appointed full professor at Frankfurt an der Oder, where he remained until his death.

Baumgarten's Latin handbooks on metaphysics, ethics, and practical philosophy were widely used in German universities both in his time and after his death, and his influence was extraordinary. Kant considered him to be one of the greatest metaphysicians of his time and adopted his *Metaphysics* and *Practical Philosophy* as textbooks for his own lectures at Königsberg. With the exception of his works on aesthetics, Baumgarten in general kept very close to Wolff's teachings, although he dissented from Wolff on several special points. For instance, he adopted a middle position in the controversy over the problem of the interaction of substances by reconciling Wolff's theory of the "preestablished harmony" of the soul and body with the theory of physical influence supported by the Pietists. Baumgarten, as a supporter of Leibnizian panpsychism, applied his solution to the connections among all substances. Wolff, to the contrary, distinguished very sharply between spiritual and material substances. Baumgarten was thus less Leibnizian than Wolff in accepting physical influence and more Leibnizian in his panpsychism.

Baumgarten made his most important contributions in the field of aesthetics, expanding a subject that had been summarily treated by Wolff and going far beyond Wolff in developing it. In this field he collaborated so closely with his pupil G. F. Meier (1718–1777) that it is difficult to establish the real authorship of many doctrines. There is a very close connection between Baumgarten's *Meditationes Philosophicae de Nonnullis ad Poema Pertinentibus* and his unfinished *Aesthetica* and Meier's *Anfangsgründe aller schönen Künste und Wissenschaften* (3 vols., Halle, 1748–1750). Baumgarten introduced the term *aesthetics* to designate that section of empirical psychology which treats of the inferior faculty, that is, the faculty of sensible knowledge. The problem of beauty was only one part of this subject.   Even in Kant, *aesthetics* referred both to sensible knowledge in general and to knowledge of beauty and the sublime in particular. Only later was it restricted to the field of beauty and sublimity. Aesthetics and logic together composed, in Baumgarten's view, a science that he called *gnoseology*, or theory of knowledge.

According to Baumgarten, the foundations of poetry and the fine arts are "sensitive (*sensitivae*) representations," which are not simply "sensual" (*sensuales*), but are connected with feeling (and therefore are pertinent both to the faculty of knowledge and to that of will). A beautiful poem is a "perfect sensitive discourse," that is, a discourse that awakens a lively feeling. This requires a high degree of "extensive clarity," which is different from "intensive (or intellectual) clarity." This means that an aesthetic representation must have many "characteristics," that is, it must be characterized by many different traits or particular elements, rather than by a few well-differentiated characters. Beauty must be "confused" and, therefore, excludes "distinctness," the main property of intellectual representations. Distinctness is reached by rendering clearly each of the characteristics of the characteristics of a representation. Establishing these characteristics presupposes intensive clarity and leads to a further abstraction of

the concept of representations. This abstraction is obnoxious to aesthetic liveliness and leads to pedantry.

The artist is not an imitator of nature in the sense that he copies it: He must add feeling to reality, and thereby he imitates nature in the process of creating a world or a whole. This whole is unified by the artist through a coherent "theme," which is the focus of the representation.

This does not mean that the artist should prefer fiction to truth; on the contrary, knowledge of the beautiful is, at its best, sensible knowledge of truth made perfectly lively. This is a main point of divergence between Wolff and Baumgarten. Baumgarten held that, since rational knowledge of several orders of facts or of many facts in general is impossible, it must be replaced or supplemented by "beautiful knowledge," that is, reliable sensible knowledge of things that cannot be known rationally; such knowledge is as reliable as rational knowledge; typical aesthetic elements of the cognitive process are inductions and examples. By stressing the importance and relative independence of the inferior faculty (which Wolff held to be only an imperfect stage of knowledge, to be superseded by intellect and reason), Baumgarten foreshadowed Immanuel Kant's doctrine of the peculiar and independent function of sensibility in knowledge.

Baumgarten used the word aesthetics to mean taste or "sense" of beauty. The word had been used differently since the time of the ancient Greeks to mean the ability to receive stimulation from one or more of the five bodily senses. In his *Metaphysic*, § 451, Baumgarten defined taste, in its wider meaning, as the ability to judge according to the senses, instead of according to the intellect. Such a judgment of taste is based on feelings of pleasure or displeasure. A science of aesthetics would be, for Baumgarten, a deduction of the rules or principles of artistic or natural beauty from individual "taste."

In 1781, Kant declared that Baumgarten's aesthetics could never contain objective rules, laws, or principles of natural or artistic beauty.

> The Germans are the only people who presently (1781) have come to use the word *aesthetic[s]* to designate what others call the critique of taste. They are doing so on the basis of a false hope conceived by that superb analyst Baumgarten. He hoped to bring our critical judging of the beautiful under rational principles, and to raise the rules for such judging to the level of a lawful science. Yet that endeavor is futile. For, as far as their principal sources are concerned, those supposed rules or criteria are merely empirical. Hence they can never serve as determinate *a priori* laws to which our judgment of taste must conform.
>
> It is, rather, our judgment of taste which constitutes the proper test for the correctness of those rules or criteria. Because of this it is advisable to follow either of two alternatives. One of these is to stop using this new

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name *aesthetic[s]* in this sense of critique of taste, and to reserve the name *aesthetic[s]* for the doctrine of sensibility that is true science. (In doing so we would also come closer to the language of the ancients and its meaning. Among the ancients the division of cognition into *aisthētá kai noētá* [felt or thought] was quite famous.) The other alternative would be for the new *aesthetic[s]* to share the name with speculative philosophy. We would then take the name partly in its transcendental meaning, and partly in the psychological meaning.

Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, A 21, note.

Nine years later, in his *Critique of Judgment*, Kant use the word *aesthetic* in relation to the judgment of taste or the estimation of the beautiful. For Kant, an aesthetic judgment is subjective in that it relates to the internal feeling of pleasure or displeasure and not to any qualities in an external object.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, below, taught with Anton Wilhelm Amo, below, at the University of Halle:

❖ **Anthony William Amo** (1703–c.1759) was born in what is now Ghana, taken to Europe, and became a respected philosopher and teacher at the universities of Halle and Jena in Germany. He was the first Sub-Saharan African known to have attended a European university. Amo was a Nzema (an Akan people). He was born in Awukena in the Axim region of Ghana, but at the age of about four (4) he was taken to Amsterdam by the Dutch East India Company. Some accounts say that he was taken as a slave, others that he was sent to Amsterdam by a preacher working in Ghana.

The University of Wittenberg

Whatever the truth of the matter, once he arrived, he was given as a present to Anthony Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, to whose palace in Wolfenbüttel he was taken. Amo was baptised (and later confirmed) in the palace's chapel. He was treated as a member of the Duke's family, and was educated at the Wolfenbüttel Ritter-Akademie (1717–1721) and at the University of Helmstedt (1721–1727). It's also believed that he would have met Gottfried Leibniz, who was a frequent visitor to the palace.

The University of Helmstedt, official Latin name: Academia Julia ("Julius University"), was a university in Helmstedt, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Holy Roman Empire, that existed from 1576 until 1810. Founded by and named after Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, as the first university of the state, the university quickly became one of the largest German universities. In the late 18th century, it lost popularity to newer universities, such as the University of Göttingen. It was closed by the Kingdom of Westphalia in 1810.

He then went on to the University of Halle, whose Law School he entered in 1727. He finished his preliminary studies within two years, his dissertation being: "The Rights of Moors in Europe". For his further studies Amo moved to the University of Wittenberg, studying logic, metaphysics, physiology, astronomy, history, law, theology, politics, and medicine, and mastered six languages (English, French, Dutch, Latin, Greek, and German). His medical education in particular was to play a central role in much of his later philosophical thought.

He gained his doctorate in philosophy at Wittenberg in 1734; his thesis (published as *On the Absence of Sensation in the Human Mind and its Presence in our Organic and Living Body*) argued against Cartesian dualism in favour of a broadly materialist account of the person. He accepted that it is correct to talk of a mind or soul, but argued that it is the body rather than the mind which perceives and feels.

> Whatever feels, lives; whatever lives, depends on nourishment; whatever lives and depends on nourishment grows; whatever is of this nature is in the end resolved into its basic principles; whatever comes to be resolved into its basic principles is a complex; every complex has its constituent parts; whatever this is true of is a divisible body. If therefore the human mind feels, it follows that it is a divisible body.

On the Απαθεια of the Human Mind 2.1

He returned to lecture in philosophy at Halle (under his preferred name Antonius Guilelmus Amo Afer) and in 1736 was made a professor. From his lectures there he produced his second major work in 1738, *Treatise on the Art of Philosophising Soberly and Accurately* in which he developed an empiricist epistemology very close to that of philosophers such as John Locke and David Hume. In it he also examined and criticised faults such as intellectual dishonesty, dogmatism, and prejudice.

In 1740 Amo took up a post in philosophy at the University of Jena, but while there he experienced a number of changes for the worse. The Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel had died in 1735, leaving him without his long-standing patron and protector. Unfortunately, that coincided with social changes in Germany, which was becoming intellectually and morally narrower and less liberal. Those who argued against the secularisation of education (and against the rights of Africans in Europe) were regaining their ascendancy over those (such as Christian Wolff) who campaigned for greater academic and social freedom.

Amo himself was subjected to an unpleasant campaign by some of his enemies, including a public lampoon staged at a theatre in Halle, and he finally decided to return to the land of his birth. He set sail on a Dutch West India Company ship to Ghana via Guinea, arriving in about 1747 where his father and a sister were still living, and his life from then on becomes more obscure. According to at least one report, he was taken to a Dutch fortress, Fort San Sebastian, in the 1750s, possibly to prevent him sowing dissent among his people.

The exact date, place, and manner of his death are unknown, though he probably died in about 1759 at Fort Chama in Ghana.

The most southern part of what is today Ghana was divided among amber of states, including the Fante and the Ga and the Ewes. To the north was the Empire of Ashanti that formed in 1670. This empire was the domiant power in the region. It is said that at its peak, the Empire of Ashanti could field 400,000 troops. The far north of Ghana was an outpost to empires of the cavalry-based Gur and Mande speaking peoples, with first the Songhay Empire and then the Fulani Empire controlling the area. The history of Ghana before the last quarter of the 15th century is derived primarily from oral tradition that refers to migrations from the ancient kingdoms of the western Sahel which is now the area of present-day Mauritania and Mali. Also, much of the history is derived from myths told by various tribes in the outlying areas.

The first contact with Europeans was made by the Fante nation of the Gold Coast in 1470, when a party of Portuguese landed and met with the King of Elmina. In 1482, the Portuguese built Elmina Castle, known in Portuguese as Castelo da Mina, as a permanent trading base. The first recorded English trading voyage to the coast was made by Thomas Windham in 1553. During the next three centuries, the English, Portuguese, Swedes, Danes, Dutch and Germans controlled various parts of the coastal areas.

New York Alpha's intellectual Anthony William Amo was of the Nzema sept of the Akan people. The Nzema fell, at one time, under the rule of their fellow Akans, the Ashanti. The Ashanti Empire or Asante Empire, also known as the Ashanti Confederacy or Asanteman (independent from 1701-1896), was a pre-colonial West African state of what is now the Ashanti Region in Ghana. Their empire stretched from central Ghana to present day Togo and Cote d' Ivoire. Today, the Ashanti monarchy continues as one of the constitutionally-protected, sub-national traditional states within the Republic of Ghana.

By the second half of the 15th century when the first Europeans arrived in the area, the ancestors of most of today's ethnic groups were already established in the present territories. In this period, the various groups began organizing into states. Over the years, trade contacts with the Islamic states of the north and, later, with the Europeans on the coast contributed to the rise and fall of these local states. The Ga people of the coastal plains organized into an effective political unit in approximately 1500. Islamic trade networks stimulated the development of Akan states, and the Akan-speaking Denkyira people of the southwest rose to become a dominant power by the 1650s. In the northern regions of the country, the Gonja, Dagomba, and Mamprusi contested for political power in the 1620s. However, it was the Ashanti Kingdom, located in south central Ghana, that was the most influential.

The Ashanti people, members of the Twi-speaking branch of the Akan, settled the upland region near Lake Bosumtwi by the mid-17th century. Under a series of military leaders, they expanded and gathered into five major political units. Around 1700 an Ashanti confederacy, under the leadership of Osei Tutu of

Kumasi, conquered the Denkyira state. Osei Tutu was declared the first *asantehene*, the king of a united Ashanti nation. Under his leadership and that of his immediate successors, the new nation expanded rapidly into an empire.

Political relations in the Ashanti confederacy were defined, preserved, and regulated by an oral constitution. The asantehene held power as commander in chief of the Ashanti armies. He had the authority to hear citizens' appeals, and all major chiefs of the Ashanti nation swore an oath of allegiance to him. Rulers of the confederate states, however, were allowed many privileges, including control over the inheritance of land and the right to preside over cases brought before them. Ashanti expansion toward the coast began in the first decade of the 19th century. By 1820 Ashanti held some degree of military and political influence over all of its neighbors.

The Ashanti or Asante are a major ethnic group in Ghana. They were a powerful, militaristic, and highly disciplined people of West Africa. The ancient Ashanti migrated from the vicinity of the northwestern Niger River after the fall of the Ghana Empire in the 1200s. Evidence of this lies in the royal courts of the Akan kings reflected by that of the Ashanti kings whose processions and ceremonies show remnants of ancient Ghana ceremonies. Ethno linguists have substantiated the migration by tracing word usage and speech patterns along West Africa.

Around the 13th century AD, the Ashanti and various other Akan peoples migrated into the forest belt of present-day Ghana and established small states in the hilly country around present-day Kumasi. During the height of the Mali Empire the Ashanti, and Akan people in general, became wealthy through the trading of gold mined from their territory. Early in Ashanti history, this gold was traded with the greater Ghana and Mali Empires.

However some historians maintain that the Ashanti are the descendants of those Ethiopians mentioned by the Greek historians, Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus, and that they were driven southward by a conquering Egyptian army.

Akan political organization centered on various clans, each headed by a paramount chief or Amanhene. One of these clans, the Oyoko, settled Ghana's sub-tropical forest region, establishing a center at Kumasi.[4] During the rise of another Akan state known as Denkyira, the Ashanti became tributaries. Later in the mid-1600s, the Oyoko clan under Chief Oti Akenten started consolidating other Ashanti clans into a loose confederation that occurred without destroying the authority of each paramount chief over his clan. This was done in part by military assault, but largely by uniting them against the Denkyira, who had previously dominated the region.

Another tool of centralization under Osei Tutu was the introduction of the 'Golden Stool' (sika 'dwa). According to legend, a meeting of all the clan heads of

each of the Ashanti settlements was called just prior to independence from Denkyira. In this meeting, the Golden Stool was commanded down from the heavens by Okomfo Anokye, the Priest or sage advisor, to Asantehene Osei Tutu I. The Golden stool floated down, from the heavens straight into the lap of Osei Tutu I. Okomfo Anokye declared the stool to be the symbol of the new Asante Union ('Asanteman'), and allegiance was sworn to the Golden Stool and to Osei Tutu as the Asantehene. The newly founded Ashanti union went to war with Denkyira and defeated it. The Golden Stool remains sacred to the Ashanti as it is believed to contain the 'Sunsum' — spirit or soul of the Ashanti people.

In the 1670s, then head of the Oyoko clan Osei Tutu began another rapid consolidation of Akan peoples via diplomacy and warfare. King Osei Kofu Tutu I and his chief advisor, Okomfo Kwame Frimpon Anokye led a coalition of influential Ashanti city-states against their mutual oppressor, the Denkyira whom held Asanteman as one of its tributaries. Asanteman utterly defeated them in the war and proclaimed its independence in 1701. Subsequently, through hard line force of arms and savoir-faire diplomacy, the duo induced the leaders of the other Ashanti city-states to declare allegiance and adherence to Kumasi, the Ashanti capital. Right from the onset, King Osei Tutu and Priest Anokye followed an expansionist and an imperialistic provincial foreign policy.

Realizing the weakness of a loose confederation of Akan states, Osei Tutu strengthened centralization of the surrounding Akan groups and expanded the powers of the judiciary system within the centralized government. Thus, this loose confederation of small city-states grew into a kingdom or empire looking to expand its borders. Newly conquered areas had the option of joining the empire or becoming tributary states. Opoku Ware I, Osei Tutu's successor, extended the borders, embracing much of present day Ghana's territory.

The Ashanti Empire was one of a series of kingdoms along the coast including Dahomey, Benin, and Oyo. All of these states were based on trade, especially gold, ivory, and slaves, which were sold to first Portuguese and later Dutch and British traders. The region also had dense populations and large agricultural surpluses, allowing the creation of substantial urban centres. By 1874, the Ashanti controlled over 100,000 square kilometers while ruling approximately 3 million people.

The lands within Asanteman were also rich in river-gold and kola nuts, and they were soon trading with the Songhay Empire, the Hausa states and by 1482 with the Portuguese at the coastal fort *Sao Jorge da Mina*, later Elmina. Thanks largely to profits from the slave trade, the Ashanti had risen to be a major force in the area.

The history of the confederacy was one of slow centralization. In the early nineteenth century the Asantehene used the annual tribute to set up a permanent standing army armed with rifles, which allowed much closer control of the

confederacy. Despite still being called a confederacy it was one of the most centralised states in sub-Saharan Africa. Osei Tutu and his successors oversaw a policy of political and cultural unification and the union had reached its full extent by 1750. It remained an alliance of several large towns which acknowledged the sovereignty of the ruler of Kumasi, known as the Asantehene.

The Ashanti prepared the fields by burning before the onset of the rainy season and cultivated with an iron hoe. Fields are fallowed for a couple years, usually after two to four years of cultivation. Plants cultivated include plantains, yams, manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, millet, beans, onions, peanuts, tomatoes, and many fruits. Manioc and corn are New World transplants introduced during the Atlantic European trade. Many of these vegetables crops could be harvested twice a year and the cassava (manioc), after a two-year growth, provides a starchy root. The Ashanti transformed palm wine, maize and millet into beer, a favorite drink; and made use of the oil from palm for many culinary and domestic uses.

The main cloth of the Ashanti was the kente cloth, known locally as nwentoma. Clothing production was typically gender specialized. Women grew and picked the cotton needed to spin it in a thread. The weaving performed along family lines is men's work. Customarily, the Ashanti weaver used a small horizontal loom and produces a narrow bolt. They weaved artistic designs into the fabric or stamp it with dye. The great ceremonial umbrellas that chiefs wore received special attention from these expert artisans. Related to the Golden Stool, the umbrella called *Katamanso*, "The Covering of the State," is made of camel's hair and wool. An ornamental figurine, plated with gold or silver, topped all ceremonial umbrellas.

The Ashanti government was built upon a sophisticated bureaucracy in Kumasi, with separate Ministries to handle the state's affairs. Of particular note was Ashanti's Foreign Office based in Kumasi; despite its small size, the Ashanti Foreign Office allowed the state to pursue complex arrangements with foreign powers, and the Office itself contained separate departments for handling relations with the British, French, Dutch, and Arabs individually. Scholars of Ashanti history, such as Larry Yarak and Ivor Wilkes, disagree over the actual power of this sophisticated bureaucracy in comparison to the Asantahene, but agree that its very existence pointed to a highly developed government with a complex system of checks and balances.

At the top of Ashanti's power structure sat the *Asantehene*, the King of Ashanti. Each *Asantahene* was crowned on the sacred Golden Stool, the Sika 'dwa, an object which came to symbolise the very power of the King. Osei Kwadwo (1764-1777) began the system of appointing central officials according to their ability, rather than their birth. [12]

As King, the *Asantehene* held immense power in Ashanti, but did not enjoy absolute royal rule, and was obliged to share considerable legislative and executive powers with Asante's sophisticated bureaucracy. The *Asantahene* was the only person in Ashanti permitted to invoke the death sentence. During wartime, the King acted as Supreme Commander of the army, although during the nineteenth century, actual fighting was increasingly handled by the Ministry of War in Kumasi. Each member of the confederacy was also obliged to send annual tribute to Kumasi.

The *Ashantihene* (King of all Ashanti) reigns over all and chief of the division of Kumasi, the nation's capital. He is elected in the same manner as all other chiefs. In this hierarchical structure, every chief swear fealty to the one above him -- from village and subdivision to division to the chief of Kumasi, and the *Ashantihene* swears fealty to the State.

The elders and the people (public opinion) circumscribe the power of the *Ashantihene*, and the chiefs of other divisions considerably check the power of the King. This in practical effect creates a system of checks and balances. Nevertheless, as the symbol of the nation, the *Ashantihene* receives significant deference ritually for the context is religious in that he is a symbol of the people, living, dead or yet to be born, in the flesh. When the king commits an act not approved of by the counsel of elders or the people, he could possibly be impeached, and made into a common man.

The existence of aristocratic organizations and the council of elders is evidence of an oligarchic tendency in Ashanti political life. Though older men tend to monopolize political power, Ashanti instituted an organization of young men, the *nmerante*, that tend to democratize and liberalize the political process. The council of elders undertake actions only after consulting a representative of the Young Men. Their views must be taken seriously and added into the conversation.

Below the Asantahene, local power was invested in the *obirempon* of each locale. The *obirempon* (literally "big man") was personally selected by the Asantahene and was generally of loyal, noble lineage, frequently related to the Asantahene. *Obirempon*s had a fair amount of legislative power in their regions, more than the local nobles of Dahomey but less than the regional governors of the Oyo Empire. In addition to handling the region's administrative and economic matters, the *obirempon* also acted as the Supreme Judge of the region, presiding over court cases.

The election of chiefs and the Asantehene himself followed a pattern. The senior female of the chiefly lineage nominated the eligible males. This senior female then consulted the elders, male and female, of that line. The final candidate is then selected. That nomination is then sent to a council of elders,

who represent other lineages in the town or district. The Elders then present the nomination to the assembled people.

If the assembled citizens disapprove of the nominee, the process is restarted. Chosen, the new chief is en-stooled by the Elders, who admonish him with expectations. The chosen chief swears a solemn oath to the Earth Goddess and to his ancestors to fulfill his duties honorably in which he "sacrifices" himself and his life for the betterment of the *Oman*. (State)

This elected and en-stooled chief enjoys a great majestic ceremony to this day with much spectacle and celebration. He reigns with much despotic power, including the ability to make judgments of life and death on his subjects. However, he does not enjoy absolute rule. Upon the stool, the Chief is sacred, the holy intermediary between people and ancestors. His powers theoretically are more apparent than real. His powers hinge on his attention to the advice and decisions of the Council of Elders. The chief can be impeached, de-stooled, if the Elders and the people turn against him. He can be reduced to man, subject to derision for his failure. There are numerous Ashanti sayings that reflect the attitudes of the Ashanti towards government.

The Ashanti also invented a "talking drum." They drummed messages to the extents of over 200 miles (321.8 kilometers), as rapidly as a telegraph. Twi, the language of the Ashanti is tonal and more meaning is generated by tone than in English. The drums reproduced these tones, punctuations, and the accents of a phrase so that the cultivated ear hears the entirety of the phrase itself. The Ashanti readily hear and understood the phrases produced by these "talking drums."Standard phrases called for meetings of the chiefs or to arms, warned of danger, and broadcasted announcements of the death of important figures. Some drums were used for proverbs and ceremonial presentations.

The Ashanti state, in effect, was a theocracy. It invokes religious rather than secular-legal postulates. What the modern state views as crimes, Ashanti view as sins. Antisocial acts disrespect the ancestors, and only secondarily harmful to the community. If the chief or King fail to punish such acts, he invokes the anger of the ancestors, and is therefore in danger of impeachment. The penalty for some crimes (sins) is death, but this is seldom imposed, rather banishment or imprisonment. The King typically exacts or commutes all capital cases.
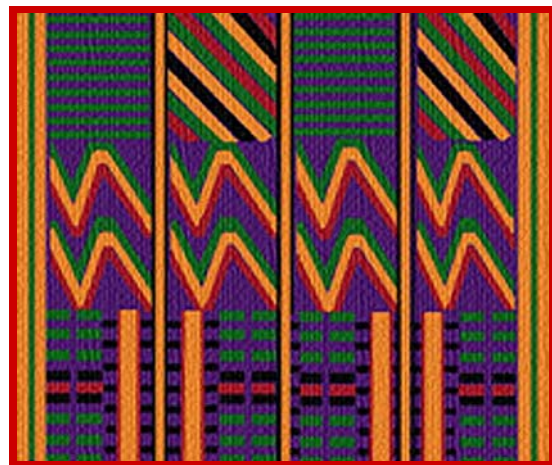
Kinte Designs of the Akan Nation, Including Amo's Nzema tribe

These commuted sentences by King and chiefs sometimes occur by ransom or bribe; they are regulated in such a way that they should not be mistaken for fines, but are considered as revenue to the state, which for the most part welcomes quarrels and litigation. Commutations tend to be far more frequent than executions.

Ashanti are repulsed by murder, and suicide is considered murder. They decapitate those who commit suicide, the conventional punishment for murder. The suicide thus had contempt for the court, for only the King may kill an Ashanti.

In a murder trial, intent must be established. If the homicide is accidental, the murderer pays compensation to the lineage of the deceased. The insane cannot be executed because of the absence of responsible intent. Except for murder or cursing the King; in the case of cursing the king, drunkenness is a valid defense. Capital crimes include murder, incest within the female or male line, and intercourse with a menstruating woman, rape of a married woman, and adultery with any of the wives of a chief or the King. Assaults or insults of a chief or the court or the King also carried capital punishment.

Cursing the King, calling down powers to harm the King is considered an unspeakable act and carries the weight of death. One who invokes another to commit such an act must pay a heavy indemnity. Practitioners of sorcery and witchcraft receive death but not by decapitation, for their blood must not be shed. They receive execution by strangling, burning, or drowning.

Ordinarily, families or lineages settle disputes between individuals. Nevertheless, such disputes can be brought to trial before a chief by uttering the taboo oath of a chief or the King. In the end, the King's Court is the sentencing court, for only the King can order the death penalty. Before the Council of Elders and the King's Court, the litigants orate comprehensively. Anyone present can cross-examine the defendant or the accuser, and if the proceedings do not lead to a verdict, a special witness is called to provide additional testimony. If there is only one witness, whose oath sworn assures the truth is told. Moreover, that he favors or is hostile to either litigant is unthinkable. Cases with no witness, like sorcery or adultery are settled by ordeals, like drinking poison.

Ancestor worship establishes the Ashanti moral system, and it provides thus the principle foundation for governmental sanctions. The link between mother and child centers the entire network, which includes ancestors and fellow men as well. Its judicial system emphasizes the Ashanti conception of rectitude and good behavior, which favors harmony among the people. The rules were made by *Nyame* (God) and the ancestors and one must behave accordingly.

The philosopher Willian Antony Amo was of the Nzema clan, under the Ashanti Empire.   The Nzema are an Akan people numbering about 328,700 people of whom 262,000 live in southwestern Ghana and 66,700 live in the southeast of Côte d'Ivoire. They speak a language called Nzema, also known as Nzima or Appolo. Linguistically this is classified as a Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Kwa, Nyo, Potou-Tano, Tano, Central, Bia language. It shares 60% intelligibility with Jwira-Pepesa and is close to Ahanta, Anyi and Baule.

The Nzema are mostly farmers. According to their traditional calendar days are orderered in cycles of seven, and these in turn follow each other in a three-week cycle. A religious *kundum* festival is held annually all over the Ahanta-Nzema area, starting in the easternmost part of Ahanta and advancing southwestward. Among other things, this festival is the main occasion on which the satirical *avudewene* songs are performed by young men. Lineage among the Nzema is matrilineal.

Axim is a town, district and kingdom on the coast of Ghana. It lies 63 kilometers west of the port city of Takoradi, south of the highway leading to the Côte d'Ivoire border, in the Western Region to the west of Cape Three Points.

Axim has a prominent seaside castle or fort, Fort San Antonio de Axim, first built by the Portuguese and Dutch from 1515 and mostly open to the public. Picturesque islands lie offshore, including one with a lighthouse and another with an old undersea tunnel to the castle. Two large mansions of lumber-trading magnates remain from the British colonial period. Axim is ruled by two traditional omanhenes or chiefs, a foreign-born king, and the political District Chief Executive of Nzema East.

William Amo's people, the Akan, are a linguistic group of West Africa. This group includes the Akuapem, the Akyem, the Ashanti, the Baoulé, the Brong, the Fante and the Nzema peoples of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. From the 15th century to 19th century, the Akan people dominated gold mining and gold trade in the region. Akan art is wide-ranging and renowned, especially for the tradition of crafting bronze gold weights, which were made using the lost wax method of casting. Branches of the Akan include the Abron and the Afutu. The Akan culture is the most dominant and apparent in present-day Ghana. The Akan are typically better educated and are in better financial positions than the other ethnic groups, historically. Some of their most important mythological stories are called anansesem. *Anansesem* literally means 'the spider story', but can in a figurative sense also mean "traveler's tales". These "spider stories" are sometimes also referred to as *nyankomsem*; 'words of a sky god'. The stories generally, but not always, revolve around Kwaku Ananse, a trickster spirit, often depicted as a spider, human, or a combination thereof.

New York Alpha's Anton Wilhelm Amo, above, was native to West Africa, where the rise of the Ashanti Empire and a tradition of learning was fostered by the kings of the preceding Songhai Empire and their trading caravans, of which Askia the Great was one:

❖ **Askia the Great** (c. 1442-1538, also **Muhammad Ture**) was a Soninke king of the Songhai Empire in the late 15th century. Askia Muhammad strengthened his country and made it the largest country in West Africa's history. At its peak under Muhammad, the Songhai Empire encompassed the Hausa states as far as Kano (in present-day Nigeria) and much of the territory that had belonged to the Mali Empire in the west. His policies resulted in a rapid expansion of trade with Europe and Asia, the creation of many schools, and made Islam an integral part of the empire.


Songhai: Succeeded Mali, Encouraged Ashanti

He is reputed to be buried in the Tomb of Askia in Gao, a World Heritage Site. Rumor has it that he gained the name Askia (which means forceful one) after Sunni Ali Ber's daughter heard the news of one of his wars.

The successor of Sunni Ali Ber, Askia Muhammad was much more astute and farsighted than his predecessor had ever been. The intended successor of Sonni Ali was removed by rebelling Islamic factions. In 1493, one of his generals, Muhammed Toure, later known as Askia Mohammed I or Askia the Great, mounted the throne. He orchestrated a program of expansion and consolidation which extended the empire from Taghaza in the North to the borders of Yatenga in the South; and from Air in the Northeast to Futa Tooro in Senegambooties.

Instead of organizing the empire along Islamic lines, he tempered and improved on the traditional model by instituting a system of bureaucratic government unparalleled in the Western Sudan. In addition, Askia established standardized trade measures and regulations, and initiated the policing of trade routes. He also encouraged learning and literacy, ensuring that Mali's universities produced the most distinguished scholars, many of whom published significant books. To secure the legitimacy of his usurpation of the Sonni dynasty, Askia Muhammad allied himself with the scholars of Timbuktu, ushering in a golden age in the city for Muslim scholarship.

The eminent scholar Ahmed Baba, for example, produced books on Islamic law which are still in use today. Mahmoud Kati published *Tarik al-Fattah* and Abdul-Rahman as-Sadi published *Tarik ul-Sudan*, two history books which are indispensable to present-day scholars reconstructing African history in the Middle Ages. For all his efforts, Mali experienced a cultural revival it had never witnessed before, and the whole land flourished as a center of all things valuable in learning and trade. Askia Muhammad went blind in his old age, and was deposed (removed from the throne) in 1528 by his son Askia Musa at the age of 80.
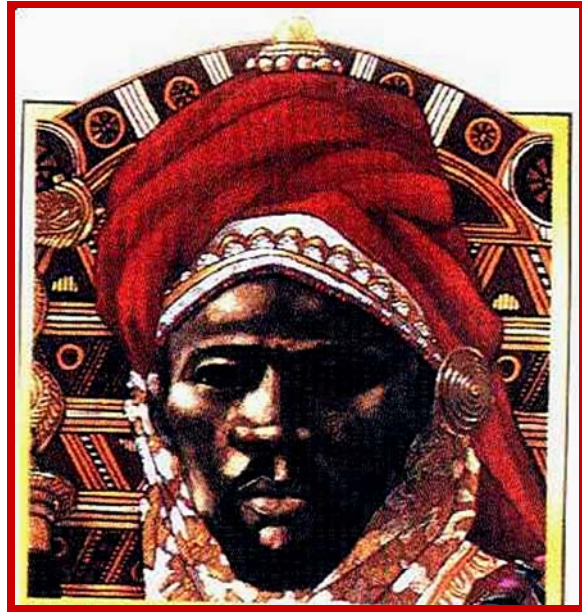
Emperor Askia

He died at the age of 96.

Songhai Empire, also known as the Songhay Empire was a pre-colonial African state centered in eastern Mali. From the early 15th to the late 16th Century, Songhai was one of the largest African empires in history. This empire bore the same name as its leading ethnic group, the Songhai. Its capital was the city of Gao, where a small Songhai state had existed since the 11th Century. Its base of power was on the bend of the Niger River in present-day Niger and Burkina Faso.

Prior to the Songhai Empire, the region had been dominated by the Mali Empire. Mali grew famous due to its immense riches obtained through trade with the Arab world, and the legendary hajj of Mansa Musa. By the early 15th Century, the Mali Empire began to decline. Disputes over succession weakened the crown and many subjects broke away. The Songhai were one of them, making the prominent city of Gao their new capital.

The Songhai are thought to have settled at Gao as early as 800 A.D., but did not establish it as the capital until the 11th Century, during the reign of Dia Kossoi. However, the Dia dynasty soon gave way to the Sunni, preceding the ascension of Sulaiman-Mar, who gained independence and hegemony over the city and was a forbearer of Sunni Ali Ber. Mar is often credited with wresting power away from the Mali Empire and gaining independence for the then small Songhai kingdom.

Sunni Ali Ber quickly established himself as the empire's most formidable military strategist and conqueror. He took advantage of the decline of the Mali empire, leading his armies on a series of conquests. His empire expanded to eventually eclipse Mali, covering a kingdom that encompassed more landmass than all of western Europe and, to date, was the largest empire that Africa has ever seen.

The first great king of Songhai was Sunni Ali (Although the name can be spelled Sonni Ali as well). Ali was a Muslim like the Mali kings before him. He was also an efficient warrior who, in the 1460s, conquered many of the Songhai's neighboring states, including what remained of the Mali Empire. With his control of critical trade routes and cities such as Timbuktu, Sonni Ali brought great wealth to the Songhai Empire, which at its height would surpass the wealth of Mali.

During his campaigns for expansion, Sonni Ali conquered many lands, repelling attacks from the Mossi to the south and overcoming the Dogon people to the north, before ultimately annexing Timbuktu in 1468, after Islamic leaders of the town requested his assistance in overthrowing marauding Tuaregs who had overtaken the city subsequent to the decline of Mali.[1] Sonni however, immediately met stark resistance after setting his eyes on the wealthy and renowned trading town of Djenne. Only after much persistence and a seven-month siege was he able to forcefully incorporate it into his vast empire in 1473, but only after having starved them into surrender, allowing no entrance into or exit out of the city.

While a Muslim in faith, Ali did not impose Islamic policy on non-Islamic peoples and instead, allowed and acknowledged the observance of traditional African religion and practices as well. Mainly due to his violent sack of Timbuktu, in many Islamic accounts, he was described as an intolerant tyrant. Islamic historian, Al-Sa'df expresses this sentiment in describing his incursion on Timbuktu:

> Soi Ali entered Timbuktu, committed gross iniquity, burned and destroyed the town, and brutally tortured many people there. When Akilu heard of the coming of Sonni Ali, he brought a thousand camels to carry the fugahd' of Sankore and went with them to Walata..... The Godless tyrant was engaged in slaughtering those who remained in Timbuktu and humiliated them.   [

In oral tradition, he is often known as a powerful magician. Whatever the case may have been, Sonni's legend consists of him being a fearless conqueror who united a great empire, sparking a legacy that is still intact today. Under his reign, Djenne and Timbuktu were on their way to becoming the greatest centers of learning in the ancient world.

Sonni Ali was followed by an emperor named Muhammad Ture commonly thought to have been from the Soninke people, who would preside over Songhai's golden age. He was called an Askiya or usurper, and he adopted the name as his title and name of his dynasty. Whereas Ali brought conquests, Muhammad brought political reform and revitalization. He set up a complex bureaucracy with separate departments for agriculture, the army, and the treasury, to each of which he appointed supervising officials. A devout Muslim, Muhammad not only completed a pilgrimage to Mecca like Mansa Musa before him, but opened religious schools, constructed mosques, and opened up his court to scholars and poets from throughout the Muslim world.

The time of Muhammad's birth is cause for much speculation and the exact date is generally unknown. Assumed by most Africanists and scholars to have been of a Soninke background, it has instead been postulated that Muhammad could have been of Tukulor origin, descended from a Senegalese family who settled in Gao, based on Arabic spellings of his name (Ture, or Towri). Oral tradition of the Griots however, holds that he was the nephew of Sonni Ali. Muhammad began to establish himself as a significant force directly proceeding the reign of Sonni Ali. In 1493, he began a campaign to relieve power from the rightful heir to the throne, Sonni Baru, son of Ali. A battle ensued at Anfao, where his troops were victorious. The throne then passed to Ture, under the title of Askia.

During his reign, Askia Muhammad was revered as a devout Muslim and respected statesman. He set up administration through out the various lands previously conquered by his predecessor, Sonni Ali; decisions were motivated by his strict adherence to Islam. While not renowned as much as his predecessor as a dominant military tactician, he initiated many warring campaigns, notably declaring Jihads against the neighboring Mossi, whom he could not get to convert to Islam, even after subsequent victory. His army consisted of war canoes, expert cavalry, protective armor, iron tipped weapons, and an organized militia. Muḥammad also increased organization and stability, creating the positions of director of finance, agriculture, justice, interior, protocol, waters and forests, etc. Under the rule of Muhammad Ture, it can be undoubtably stated that the empire reached its Zenith.

Safe economic trade existed throughout the Empire, due to the standing army stationed in the provinces. Central to the regional economy were the gold fields of the Niger River. The Songhai Empire would trade with these nearby but independent gold fields; salt was so precious in the region that the people of West Africa would sometimes be prepared to trade gold for equal quantities of salt. 80 percent of the people lived on small, family-owned farms no more than 10 acres large. The trans-Saharan trade consisted primarily of gold, salt, and slaves. The *Julla* (merchants) would form partnerships, and the state would protect these merchants, and the port cities on the Niger. It was a very strong

trading kingdom, known for its production of practical crafts as well as religious artifacts.

The Songhai economy was based on a traditional caste system. The clan a person belonged to ultimately decided their occupation. The most common castes were metalworkers, fishermen, and carpenters. Lower caste participants consisted of mostly non-farm working slaves, who at times were provided special privileges and held high positions in society. At the top were nobleman and direct descendants of the original Songhai people, followed by freemen and traders. At the bottom were war captives and slaves obligated to labor, especially in farming. James Olson describes the labor system as resembling modern day unions, with the empire possessing craft guilds that consisted of various mechanics and artisans.

Criminal justice in Songhai was based mainly, if not entirely, on Islamic principles, especially during the rule of Muhammad Ture. Ture appointed various ministerial positions, notably the minister of foreign relations, who was responsible for the well being of the *Korei-Farma*, or "white minorities". In addition to this was the local Cadis qadis, or judges whose responsibility was to maintain order by enforcing Sharia law under Islamic doctrine, according to the Qu'ran. An additional Cadi was noted as a necessity in order to settle minor disputes between immigrant merchants. Kings usually did not judge a defendant; however, under special circumstances, such as acts of treason, they felt an obligation to do so and thus exert their authority. Results of a trial were announced by the "town crier" and punishment for most trivial crimes usually consisted of confiscation of merchandise or even imprisonment, since various prisons existed throughout the empire.

Cadis worked at the local level and were positioned in important trading towns, such as Timbuktu and Djenne. The *Assara-munidios*, or "enforcers" worked along the lines of a police commissioner whose sole duty was to execute sentencing. Jurists were mainly composed of those representing the academic community; professors were often noted as taking administrative positions within the empire and many aspired to be Cadis.

Upper classes in society converted to Islam while lower classes often continued to follow traditional religions. Sermons emphasized obedience to the king. Timbuktu was the educational capital. Sonni Ali established a system of government under the royal court, later to be expanded by Askia Muhammad, which appointed governors and mayors to preside over local tributary states, situated around the Niger valley. Local chiefs were still granted authority over their respective domains as long as they did not undermine Songhai policy.[6]

Tax was imposed onto peripheral chiefdoms and provinces to ensure the dominance of Songhai, and in return these provinces were given almost complete autonomy. Songhai rulers only intervened in the affairs of these

neighboring states when a situation became volatile, usually an isolated incident. Each town was represented by government officials, holding positions and responsibilities similar to today's central bureaucrats.

Under Askia Muhammad, the empire saw increased centralization. He encouraged learning in Timbuktu by rewarding its professors with larger pensions as an incentive. He also established an order of precedence and protocol and was noted as a noble man who gave back generously to the poor. Under his Islamic policies, Muhammad brought much stability to Songhai and great attestations of this noted organization is still preserved in the works of Maghrebin writers such as Leo Africanus, among others.

At its greatest extent, the Songhai lands reached far down the Niger river into modern day Nigeria itself, all the way to the Northeast of modern day Mali, and even to a small part of the Atlantic ocean in the West. There were large cities such as Gao and Timbuktu, though 80% of the population remained in small family-owned farm houses. Songhai would continue to prosper until late into the 16th century, reaching its height under the long and peaceful rule of Askia Dauoud.

Following Dauoud's death, a civil war of succession weakened the Empire, leading Morocco Sultan Ahmad I al-Mansur Saadi to dispatch an invasion force under the eunuch Judar Pasha. Judar Pasha was a Spaniard by birth, but had been captured as an infant and educated at the Moroccan court. After a cross-Saharan march, Judar's forces razed the salt mines at Taghaza and moved on Gao; when Askia Ishaq II (r. 1588-1591) met Judar at the 1591 Battle of Tondibi, Songhai forces were routed by a cattle stampede triggered by the Moroccans' gunpowder weapons despite vastly superior numbers. Judar proceeded to sack Gao, Timbuktu, and Djenné, destroying the Songhai as a regional power. Governing so vast an empire proved too much for the Moroccans, and they soon relinquished control of the region, letting it splinter into dozens of smaller kingdoms.

The Songhai state has existed in one form or another for over a thousand years if one traces its rulers from the first settlement in Gao to its semi-vassal status under the Mali Empire through its continuation in Niger as the Dendi Kingdom. Below are list of the kings according to the period they occupied.

New York Alpha's intellectual Askia, above, restored the Sankore Madrasah, below, of which Ahmad Baba al-Massufi was an scholar:

❖ **Ahmad Baba** al-Massufi, Ahmed Baba Es Sudane, or Ahmed Baba, the black (October 26, 1556 – 1627), full name Abu Al-'abbas Ahmad Ibn Ahmad Al-takruri Al-Massufi, was a West African writer, scholar, and political provocateur in the area then known as the Western Sudan. Through out his life, he wrote more than 40 books and is often noted as having been Timbuktu's greatest scholar. Ahmad Baba was the son of a noted scholar and teacher, Ahmad bin al-Hajj Ahmad bin Umar bin Muhammed Aqit. Born at Araouane, he moved to Timbuktu at an early age, to study with his father and with a scholar known as Mohammed Bagayogo (sometimes spelled Baghayu'u).

The University of Sankoré

There are no other records of his activity until 1594, when he was deported to Morocco, where he remained until 1608 over accusations of sedition. A fair amount of the work he was noted for was written while he was in Morocco, including his biography of Muhammad Abd al-Karim al-Maghili, a scholar and jurist responsible for much of the traditional religious law of the area. The biography was translated by M.A. Cherbonneau in 1855, and became one of the principal texts for study of the legal history of the Western Sudan. Ahmad Baba's surviving works remain the best sources for the study of al-Maghili and the generation that succeeded him.

The only public library in Timbuktu, the Ahmed Baba Institute (which stores over 18 000 manuscripts) is named in his honour.

Another scholar at Timbuktu was Mohammed Bagayogo Es Sudane Al Wangari Al Timbukti was an eminent scholar from Timbuktu, Mali. He was the Sheik and professor of highly esteemed scholar, Ahmed Baba and teacher at the University of Sankore, one of three philosophical schools in Mali during West Africa's golden age (i.e. 12th-16th centuries); the other two were Sidi Yahya University and Jingaray Ber university. He was born in Djenné in 1523. A significant amount of his writings has been preserved in manuscript form in Institute Ahmed Baba of Tombouctou, a repository for African literature. Some of the manuscripts found their way into French museums. A project is under way to

digitalise these manuscripts which will lead to better understanding of the culture that flourished in Mali in the medieval period.

Mohammed Bagayogo also has a place in Mali history for his refusal to comply with Moroccan occupiers. He died on July 7, 1593 in what is now old town of Timbuktu.

The Sankoré Madrasah, University of Sankoré, or Sankore Masjid is one of three ancient centers of learning located in Timbuktu, Mali, West Africa. The three mosques of Sankoré, Djinguereber Mosque and Sidi Yahya compose the famous University of Timbuktu. Madrasah means "school" in Arabic and also in other languages associated with Muslim people.

The Mali Empire gained direct control over the city of Timbuktu in 1324 during the reign of Mansa Kankan Musa. Upon returning from his famous Hajj, Musa brought the Granada architect Abu Ishaq es Saheli from Egypt to help build mosques and palaces throughout the empire. He designed and saw the construction of one of Sankore's first great mosques and the Jingeray Ber Masjid in 1327.

The foundations of the previous structure were laid around 989 A.D. on the orders of the city's chief judge Al-Qadi Aqib ibn Mahmud ibn Umar. A local Mandinka lady, esteemed for her wealth, financed his plans to turn Sankoré into a world class learning institution with professors on par with any outside of Africa. He had the Mosque's courtyard built to the exact dimensions of the Ka'abah in Mecca, using a rope for precise measurements.

Timbuktu had long been a destination or stop for merchants from the Middle East and North Africa. It wasn't long before ideas as well as merchandise began passing through the fabled city. Since most if not all these traders were Muslim, the mosque would see visitors constantly. The temple accumulated a wealth of books from throughout the Muslim world becoming not only a center of worship but a center of learning. Books became more valuable than any other commodity in the city, and private libraries sprouted up in the homes of local scholars.

By the end of Mansa Musa's reign, the Sankoré Masjid had been converted into a fully staffed Madrassa (Islamic school or in this case university) with the largest collections of books in Africa since the Library of Alexandria. The level of learning at Timbuktu's Sankoré University was on the part with other Islamic centers in the world. The Sankoré Masjid was capable of housing 25,000 students and had one of the largest library in the world with between 400,000 to 700,000 manuscripts.[2]

As the center of an Islamic scholarly community, the University was very different in organization from the universities of medieval Europe. It had no

central administration other than the Emperor. It had no student registers but kept copies of its student publishings. It was composed of several entirely independent schools or colleges, each run by a single master or imam. Students associated themselves with a single teacher, and courses took place in the open courtyard of the mosque or at private residences.

The curriculum of Sankoré and other masjids in the area had four levels of schooling or "degrees". On graduating from each level, students would receive a turban symbolizing their mastery. The schooling was not secular as arguments that could not be backed by the Qu'ran were inadmissible in debates. However, secular teaching (geometry, mathematics) were included and stressed to develop well-rounded individuals.

The first or primary degree (Qur'anic school) required a mastery of Arabic language and writing along with complete memorization of the Qur'an. Students were also introduced to basic sciences at this level.

The secondary degree or General Studies degree focused on full emersement in the basic sciences. Students learned grammar, mathematics, geography, history, physics, astronomy, chemistry alongside more advanced learnings of the Qu'ran. At this level they learned *Hadiths*, jurisprudence and the sciences of spiritual purification according to Islam. Finally, they began an introduction to trade school and business ethics. On graduation day, students were given turbans symbolizing Divine light, wisdom, knowledge and excellent moral conduct. After receiving their diplomas the students would gather outside the examination building or the main campus library and throw their turbans high into the air cheering and holding each other's hands to show that they were all brothers and sisters, like many African American students still do to this day. This is certainly another aspect of the largely neglected cultural transfer in the academic field that the modern world owes to the University of Timbuktu.

The Superior degree required students to study under specialized professors doing research work. Much of the learning centered on debates to philosophic or religious questions. Before graduating from this level, students attached themselves to a Sheik (Islamic teacher) and demonstrated a strong character.

The last level of learning at Sankoré or any of the Masjids was the level of Judge or Professor. These men worked mainly as judges for the city and eventually the region dispersing learned men to all the principal cities in Mali. A third level student who had impressed his Sheihk enough was admitted into a "circle of knowledge" and valued as a truly learned individual and expert in his field. The members of this scholar's club were the equivalent of tenured professors. Those who did not leave Timbuktu remained there to teach or council the Who's Who of the region on important legal and religious matters. They would receive questions from the region's powerful (kings or governors) and

distribute them to the third level students as research assignments. After discussing the findings among themselves, the scholars would issue a fatwa on the best way to deal with the problem at hand.

Scholars wrote their own books as part of a socioeconomic model. Students were charged with copying these books and any other books they could get their hands on. Today there are over 700,000 manuscripts in Timbuktu with many dating back to West Africa's Golden Age (12th-16th centuries).

New York Alpha's intellectual Ahmad Baba al-Massufi, above, was a scholar at Timbuktu after being conquered by Sonni Ali, below:

❖ **Sonni Ali**, also known as **Sonni Ali Ber** or **Sunni Ali Ber** or "Sunni Ali", who reigned from about 1464 to 1492, was the first great king of the Songhai Empire, located on the continent of Africa and the 15th ruler of the Sonni dynasty. Under Sonni Ali's infantry and cavalry, Songhai extended to cover a great portion of the Niger River area and gained control of crucial trading areas such as Timbuktu (conquered in 1468) and Jenne (conquered in 1475). He also made a great Navy to patrol the Niger river. During Sonni Ali's reign, Songhai surpassed the height of the Mali Empire, engulfing areas under the Mali Empire (and the Ghana Empire before it).
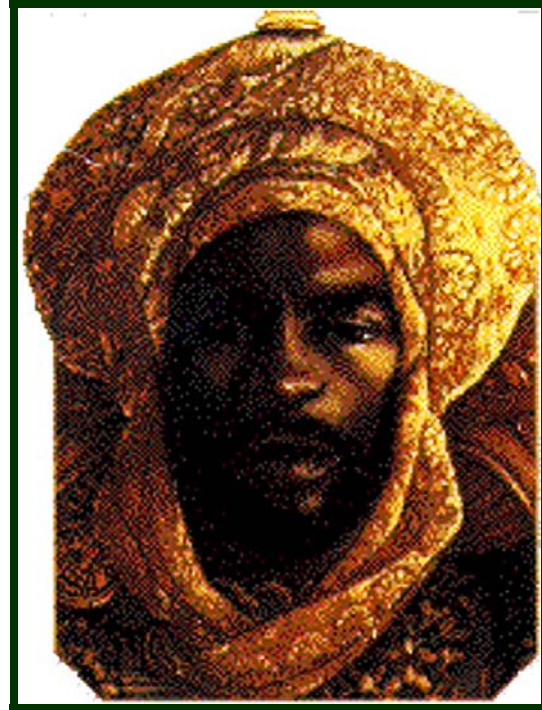
Emperor Sonni Ali Ber

On November 6, 1492, Sunni Ali's horse slipped and fell into the Koni River, Ali and his horse were swept over the falls and drowned. Sonni conducted a repressive policy against the scholars of Timbuktu, especially those of the Sankore region who were associated with the Tuareg that Ali expelled to gain control of the city.

In the sixteenth century the Songhay land awoke. A marvelous growth of civilization mounted there in the heart of the Black Continent. And this civilization was not imposed by circumstances, nor by an invader, as is often the case even in our day. It was desired, called forth, introduced and propagated by a man of the Negro race.

Félix Dubois, Tombouctou, la mystérieuse

Gao was established by the Songhai people at about the same time as the Soninke established Ghana. Gao never flourished as Ghana did and, after the fall of Ghana, Gao became a vassal state of Mali. In 1335, Gao became independent of Mali.

It was not until Sunni Ali Ber, a member of the Sunni dynasty, ascended to the throne in 1464, that the rulers of Gao looked beyond the confines of the Niger valley. In 28 years he turned the kingdom of Gao into the Songhai empire, which stretched from the Niger in the east to Jenne in the west and from Timbuktu in the north to Hombori, the wide arch formed by the Northern Niger bend, in the south. Songhai ultimately developed into the greatest of the Sudanic empires and, like Mali and Ghana, was strategically located along trans-Saharan trade routes.

Sunni Ali Ber's reign was one military campaign after another, extending the frontiers of his kingdom through conquest. Sunni Ali Ber built a well-organized army, which consisted of infantry, cavalry and a powerful navy—a fleet of ships manned by Sorko fishermen—which patrolled the Niger. Sunni Ali Ber cut a wide swath across the Western Sudan and punished his enemies mercilessly.

In 1468, supposedly invited by the people of Timbuktu, Sunni Ali Ber embarked on his military career by invading Timbuktu to oust the Tuaregs, who had wrested control from Mali in 1434. Timbuktu fell easily as Akil, the Tuareg chief, fled to Walata. Sunni Ali Ber looted and burned the city and is said to have murdered most of the priests and scholars there. Sunni Ali Ber then headed south and, in 1473, captured Jenne after a siege reputed to have lasted seven years, seven months and seven days. By contrast, Sunni Ali Ber was merciful at Jenne.

Sunni Ali Ber regarded the Mossi as a serious threat to his burgeoning power. In 1480, he encountered them after they had sacked Walata. He hounded them throughout the Western Sudan and succeeded in driving them back to their home. Next, he defeated the Fulani of Massina. Sunni Ali Ber had an intense hatred for them as he did all foreigners. In 1483, he went to war with the Mossi, repulsing them again and finally ending the Mossi threat in 1486.

In 1492, Sunni Ali drowned while returning home after a victory against the Fulani of Gurma. During his reign, Sunni Ali Ber showed little respect for the Muslim religion. He kept up the outward appearance of a Muslim, primarily for political purposes, as parts of his kingdom practiced the faith. He neither relinquished the traditional Songhai religion, or did he recognize Islam as the state religion.

Although it is purported that he ruled from horseback, Sunni Ali Ber did establish an effective system of government. He turned the conquered states into provinces, with a combination of his choices and extant rulers as governors. Consequently, Songhai became a centralized state dominating the entire Niger region. Special organizational arrangements were made for Timbuktu and other Muslim provinces. Additionally, he installed a commander-in-chief for his navy.

Arab historians have been harsh in their assessment of Sunni Ali, as expected from his anti-Muslim stance, and have depicted him as a tyrant and despot. Nevertheless, he positioned Songhai as Sundiata did for Mali and laid the foundation for Askia Mohammed to take Songhai to its greatest heights as an Islamic state.

Gao, from whence Sonni Ali rode, is a city in Mali and capital of the Gao Region on the River Niger, with a population of 57,978 in 2005. Through much of its history, Gao was a center of trade and learning, and was capital of Songhai Empire. It is similar to, and culturally connected with the great Trans-Saharan trade cities of Timbuktu and Djenne.

The city was founded around the seventh century as *Kawkaw*, its first recorded monarch being Kanda, who founded the Za dynasty of what became the Songhai Empire. He ensured the city's growth by allowing trans-Saharan traders to visit and Berbers to settle. Trade increased after Za Kossoi converted to Islam in 1009.

The Mali Empire conquered Gao sometime before 1300, but Ali Golon re-established Songhai rule. A distinguished author of the period, Al-Idrissi, described it as a

"populous, unwalled, commercial and industrial town, in which were to be found the produce of all arts and trades necessary for its inhabitants".

Tim Insoll from St. John's College, Cambridge University, carried out important excavations in Gao. Some of his finds have been on display at the British Museum. Particularly intriguing was an exhibit entitled: "Fragments of alabaster window surrounds and a piece of pink window glass, Gao 10th - 14th century."

Under Ali the Great in the late fifteenth century the city became centre of an empire, with about 70,000 residents and a 1,000-boat navy, but Gao was largely destroyed by the Moroccan invasion of 1591. The town remained small until French rule was imposed in the early twentieth century, expanding the port and establishing a colonial base.

New York Alpha's intellectual Sonni Ali, above, conquered the Mali dynasty which founded the University of Sankoré at Timbuktu, led at one time by Mansa Musa, below:

❖ **Mansa Musa** was a 14th century king (or Mansa) who ruled the Mali Empire from about 1312 to 1337. He is remembered for his hajj (pilgrimage) and as a benefactor of Islamic scholarship. In the 13th year of his reign (1324), he set out on his famous pilgrimage to Mecca. It was this pilgrimage that awakened the world to the stupendous wealth of Mali. Traveling from his capital of Niani on the Upper Niger River to Walata (Oualâta, Mauritania) and on to Tuat (now in Algeria) before making his way to Cairo, Mansa Musa was accompanied by a caravan consisting of 60,000 men including a personal retinue of 12,000 slaves, all clad in brocade and Persian silk. He also brought with him 80 camels loaded with 300 pounds of gold each. The emperor himself rode on horseback and was directly preceded by 500 slaves, each carrying a 6 pound staff of solid gold.

Emperor Mansa Musa

Mansa Musa's prodigious generosity and piety, as well as the fine clothes and exemplary behaviour of his followers, did not fail to create a most favourable impression. The Cairo that Mansa Musa visited was ruled over by one of the greatest of the Mamluk sultans, Al-Malik an-Nasir. The emperor's great civility notwithstanding, the meeting between the two rulers might have ended in a serious diplomatic incident, for so absorbed was Mansa Musa in his religious observances that he was only with difficulty persuaded to pay a formal visit to the sultan. The historian al-'Umari, who visited Cairo 12 years after the emperor's visit, found the inhabitants of this city, with a population estimated at one million, still singing the praises of Mansa Musa. So lavish was the emperor in his spending that he flooded the Cairo market with gold, thereby causing such a decline in its value that, some 12 years later, the market had still not fully recovered

During his return journey from Mecca in 1325, Musa heard news that his army had re-captured Gao. Sagmandia, one of his generals, led the endeavor.

The city of Gao had been within the empire since before Sakura's reign and was a very important, though often rebellious, trading center. Musa made a detour and visited the city where he received the two sons of the Gao king as hostages, Ali Kolon and Suleiman Nar. He returned to Niani with the two boys and later educated them at his court.

Musa embarked on a large building program, raising mosques and universities in Timbuktu and Gao. In Niani, he built the Hall of Audience, a building communicated by an interior door to the royal palace. It was "an admirable Monument" surmounted by a dome, adorned with arabesques of striking colours. The windows of an upper floor were plated with wood and framed in silver foil, those of a lower floor were plated with wood, framed in gold. Like the Great Mosque, a splendid monument of Timbuktu, the Hall was built of cut stone. During this period, there was an extraordinary level of urban living. Sergio Domian, an Italian art and architecture scholar, wrote the following about this period:

> "Thus was laid the foundation of an urban civilization. At the height
> of its power, Mali had at least 400 cities [sic], and the interior of the
> Niger Delta was very densely populated"

Mansa Musa died in 1337 and was succeeded by his son, Maghan I. Mansa Maghan was the first in a long line of destructive emperors that would start the slow decline of the Mali Empire until its complete disintegration at the beginning of the 17th century.

The Mali Empire or Manding Empire or Manden Kurufa was a medieval West African state of the Mandinka from c. 1235 to c. 1610. The empire was founded by Sundiata Keita and became renowned for the wealth of its rulers, especially Mansa Musa I. The Mali Empire had many profound cultural influences on West Africa allowing the spread of its language, laws and customs along the Niger River.

The Mali Empire grew out of an area referred to by its contemporary inhabitants as Manden. Manden, named for its inhabitants the Mandinka (initially Manden'ka with "ka" meaning people of), comprised most of present-day northern Guinea and southern Mali. The empire was originally established as a federation of Mandinka tribes called the Manden Kurufa (literally Manden Federation), but it later became an empire ruling millions of people from nearly every ethnic group imaginable in West Africa.

The naming origins of the Mali Empire are complex and still debated in scholarly circles around the world. While the meaning of "Mali" is still contested, the process of how it entered the regional lexicon is not. As mentioned earlier, the Mandinka of the Middle Ages referred to their ethnic homeland as "Manden".

Among the many different ethnic groups surrounding Manden were Pulaar speaking groups in Macina, Tekrur and Fouta Djallon. In Pulaar, the Mandinka of Manden became the Malinke of Mali. So while the Mandinka people generally referred to their land and capital province as Manden, its semi-nomadic Fula subjects residing on the heartland's western (Tekrur), southern (Fouta Djallon) and eastern borders (Macina) popularized the name Mali for this kingdom and later empire of the Middle Ages.

The Mandinka kingdoms of Mali or Manden had already existed several centuries before Sundiata's unification as a small state just to the south of the Soninké empire of Wagadou, better known as the Ghana Empire. This area was composed of mountains, savannah and forest providing ideal protection and resources for the population of hunters. Those not living in the mountains formed small city-states such as Toron, Ka-Ba and Niani. The Keita dynasty from which nearly every Mali emperor came traces its lineage back to Bilal, the faithful muezzin of Islam's prophet Muhammad. It was common practice during the Middle Ages for both Christian and Muslim rulers to tie their bloodline back to a pivotal figure in their faith's history. So while the lineage of the Keita dynasty may be dubious at best, oral chroniclers have preserved a list of each Keita ruler from Lawalo (supposedly one of Bilal's seven sons who settled in Mali) to Maghan Kon Fatta (father of Sundiata Keita).

During the height of Wagadou's power, the land of Manden became one of its provinces. The Manden city-state of Ka-ba (present-day Kangaba) served as the capital and name of this province. From at least the beginning of the 11th century, Mandinka kings known as faamas ruled Manden from Ka-ba in the name of the Ghanas.

Wagadou's control over Manden came to a halt after 14 years of war with the Almoravides, Muslims of mostly Berber extraction from North Africa. The Almoravide general Abu Bekr captured and burned the Wagadou capital of Kumbi Saleh in 1076 ending its dominance over the area. However, the Almoravides were unable to hold onto the area, and it was quickly retaken by the weakened Soninké. The Kangaba province, free of both Soninké and Berber influence, splintered into twelve kingdoms with their own maghan (meaning prince) or faama. Manden was split in half with the Dodougou territory to the northeast and the Kri territory to the southwest. The tiny kingdom of Niani was one of several in the Kri area of Manden.

In approximately 1140 the Sosso kingdom of Kaniaga, a former vassal of Wagadou, began conquering the lands of its old masters. By 1180 it had even subjugated Wagadou forcing the Soninké to pay tribute. In 1203, the Sosso king Soumaoro of the Kanté clan came to power and reportedly terrorized much of Manden stealing women and goods from both Dodougou and Kri.

During the rise of Kaniaga, Sundiata of the Keita clan was born around AD 1217. He was the son of Niani's faama, Nare Fa (also known as Maghan Kon Fatta meaning the handsome prince). Sundiata's mother was Maghan Kon Fatta's second wife, Sogolon Kédjou. She was a hunchback from the land of Do, south of Mali. The child of this marriage received the first name of his mother (Sogolon) and the surname of his father (Djata). Combined in the rapidly spoken language of the Mandinka, the names formed Sondjata or Sundjata. The anglicized version of this name, Sundiata, is also popular.

Maghan Sundiata was prophesized to become a great conqueror. To his parent's dread, the prince did not have a promising start. Maghan Sundiata, according to the oral traditions, did not walk until he was seven years old. However, once Sundiata did gain use of his legs he grew strong and very respected. Sadly for Sundiata, this did not occur before his father died. Despite the faama of Niani's wishes to respect the prophecy and put Sundiata on the throne, the son from his first wife Sassouma Bérété was crowned instead. As soon as Sassouma's son Dankaran Touman took the throne, he and his mother forced the increasingly popular Sundiata into exile along with his mother and two sisters. Before Dankaran Touman and his mother could enjoy their unimpeded power, King Soumaoro set his sights on Niani forcing Dankaran to flee to Kissidougou.

After many years in exile, first at the court of Wagadou and then at Mema, Sundiata was sought out by a Niani delegation and begged to combat the Sosso and free the kingdoms of Manden forever.

Returning with the combined armies of Mema, Wagadou and all the rebellious Mandinka city-states, Maghan Sundiata led a revolt against the Kaniaga Kingdom around 1234. The combined forces of northern and southern Manden defeated the Sosso army at the Battle of Kirina (then known as *Krina*) in approximately 1235. This victory resulted in the fall of the Kaniaga kingdom and the rise of the Mali Empire. After the victory, King Soumaoro disappeared, and the Mandinka stormed the last of the Sosso cities. Maghan Sundiata was declared "faama of faamas" and received the title "mansa", which translates roughly to emperor. At the age of 18, he gained authority over all the twelve kingdoms in an alliance known as the Manden Kurufa. He was crowned under the throne name Mari Djata becoming the first Mandinka emperor.

The Manden Kurufa founded by Mari Djata I was composed of the "three freely allied states" of Mali, Mema and Wagadou plus the Twelve Doors of Mali. It is important to remember that Mali, in this sense, strictly refers to the city-state of Niani.

The twelve doors of Mali were a coalition of conquered or allied territories, mostly within Manden, with sworn allegiance to Sundiata and his descendants. Upon stabbing their spears into the ground before Sundiata's throne, each of the

twelve kings relinquished their kingdom to the Keita dynasty. In return for their submission, they became "farbas" a combination of the Mandinka words "farin" and "ba" (great farin). Farin was a general term for northern commander at the time. These farbas would rule their old kingdoms in the name of the mansa with most of the authority they held prior to joining the Manden Kurufa.

The Gbara or Great Assembly would serve as the Mandinka deliberative body until the collapse of the Manden Kurufa in 1645. Its first meeting, at the famous Kouroukan Fouga (Division of the World), had 29 clan delegates presided over by a belen-tigui (master of ceremony). The final incarnation of the Gbara, according to the surviving traditions of northern Guinea, held 32 positions occupied by 28 clans.

The Kouroukan Fouga also put in place social and economic reforms including prohibitions on the maltreatment of prisoners and slaves, installing women in government circles and placing a system of banter between clans which clearly stated who could say what about in who. Also, Sundiata divided the lands amongst the people assuring everyone had a place in the empire and fixed exchange rates for common products.

Mansa Mari Djata's reign saw the conquest and or annexation of several key locals in the Mali Empire. When the campaigning was done, his empire extended 1,000 miles east to west with those borders being the bends of the Senegal and Niger Rivers respectively. After unifying Manden, he added the Wangara goldfields making them the southern border. The northern commercial towns of Oualata and Audaghost were also conquered and became part of the new state's northern border. Wagadou and Mema became junior partners in the realm and part of the imperial nucleus. The lands of Bambougou, Jalo (Fouta Djallon), and Kaabu were added into Mali by Fakoli Koroma, Fran Kamara, and Tiramakhan Traore, respectively.

There were 21 known mansas of the Mali Empire after Mari Djata I and probably about two or three more yet to be revealed. The names of these rulers come down through history via the djelis and modern descendants of the Keita dynasty residing in Kangaba. What separates these rulers from the founder, other than the latter's historic role in establishing the state, is their transformation of the Manden Kurufa into a Manden Empire. Not content to rule fellow Manding subjects unified by the victory of Mari Djata I, these mansas would conquer and annex Peuhl, Wolof, Serer, Bamana, Songhai, Tuareg, and countless other peoples into an immense empire.

The first three successors to Mari Djata all claimed it by blood right or something close to it. This twenty-five year period saw amazing gains for the mansa and the beginning of fierce internal rivalries that nearly ended the burgeoning empire.

After Mari Djata's death in 1255, custom dictated that his son ascend the throne assuming he was of age. However, Yérélinkon was a minor following his father's death. Manding Bory, Mari Djata's half-brother and kankoro-sigui (vizier), should have been crowned according to the Kouroukan Fouga. Instead, Mari Djata's son seized the throne and was crowned Mansa Ouali (also spelt "Wali").

Mansa Ouali proved to be a good emperor adding more lands to the empire including the Gambian provinces of Bati and Casa. He also conquered the gold producing provinces of Bambuk and Bondou. The central province of Konkodougou was established. The Songhai kingdom of Gao also seems to have been subjugated for the first of many times around this period.

Aside from military conquest, Ouali is also credited with agricultural reforms throughout the empire putting many soldiers to work as farmers in the newly acquired Gambian provinces. Just prior to his death in 1270, Ouali went on the hajj to Mecca strengthening ties with North Africa and Muslim merchants.

As a policy of controlling and rewarding his generals, Mari Djata adopted their sons. These children were raised at the mansa's court and became Keitas upon reaching maturity. Seeing the throne as their right, two adopted sons of Mari Djata waged a devastating war against one another that threatened to destroy what the first two mansas had built. The first son to gain the throne was Mansa Ouati (also spelt "Wati) in 1270. He reigned for four years spending lavishly and ruling cruelly according to the djelis. Upon his death in 1274, the other adopted son seized the throne. Mansa Khalifa is remembered as even worse than Ouati. He governed just as badly and reportedly fired arrows from the roof of his palace at passersby. He was assassinated, possibly on orders of the Gbara, and replaced with Manding Bory in 1275.

After the chaos of Ouali and Khalifa's reigns, a number of court officials with close ties to Mari Djata ruled. They began the empire's return to grace setting it up for a golden age of rulers.

Manding Bory was crowned under the throne name Mansa Abubakari (a Manding corruption of the Muslim name Abu Bakr). Mansa Abubakari's mother was Namandjé, the third wife of Maghan Kon Fatta. Prior to becoming mansa, Abubakari had been one of his brother's generals and later his kankoro-sigui. Little else is known about the reign of Abubakari I, but it seems he was successful in stopping the hemorrhaging of wealth in the empire.

In 1285, a court slave freed by Mari Djata whom had also served as a general usurped the throne of Mali. The reign of Mansa Sakoura (also spelt Sakura) appears to have been beneficial despite the political shake-up. He added the first conquests to Mali since the reign of Ouali including the former Wagadou provinces of Tekrour and Diara. His conquests did not stop at the boundaries of Wagadou however. He campaigned into Senegal and conquered

the Wolof province of Dyolof then took the army east to subjugate the copper producing area of Takedda. He also conquered Macina and raided into Gao to suppress its first rebellion against Mali. More than just a mere warrior, Mansa Sakoura went on the hajj and opened direct trade negotiations with Tripoli and Morocco.

Mansa Sakoura was murdered on his return trip from Mecca in or near present-day Djibouti by a Danakil warrior attempting to rob him. The emperor's attendants rushed his body home through the Ouaddai region and into Kanem where one of that empire's messengers was sent to Mali with news of Sakoura's death. When the body arrived in Niani, it was given a regal burial despite the usurper's slave roots.

The Gbara selected Ko Mamadi as the next mansa in 1300. He was the first of a new line of rulers directly descending from Mari Djata's sister, Kolonkan. But seeing as how these rulers all shared the blood of Maghan Kon Fatta, they are considered legitimate Keitas. Even Sakoura, with his history of being a slave in the Djata family, was considered a Keita; so the line of Bilal had yet to be broken.

It is during the Kolonkan lineage that the defining characteristics of golden age Mali begin to appear. By maintaining the developments of Sakoura and Abubakari I, the Kolonkan mansas steer Mali safely into its apex.

The Mali Empire flourished because of trade above all else. It contained three immense gold mines within its borders unlike the Ghana Empire, which was only a transit point for gold. The empire taxed every ounce of gold or salt that entered its borders. By the beginning of the 14th century, Mali was the source of almost half the Old World's gold exported from mines in Bambuk, Boure and Galam. There was no standard currency throughout the realm, but several forms were prominent by region.

Gold nuggets were the exclusive property of the *mansa*, and were illegal to trade within his borders. All gold was immediately handed over to the imperial treasury in return for an equal value of gold dust. Gold dust had been weighed and bagged for use at least since the reign of the Ghana Empire. Mali borrowed the practice to stem inflation of the substance, since it was so prominent in the region. The most common measure for gold within the realm was the ambiguous *mithqal* (4.5 grams of gold).[9] This term was used interchangeably with *dinar*, though it is unclear if coined currency was used in the empire. Gold dust was used all over the empire, but was not valued equally in all regions.

The next great unit of exchange in the Mali Empire was salt. Salt was as valuable if not more valuable than gold in Sub-Saharan Africa. It was cut into pieces and spent on goods with close to equal buying power throughout the empire. While it was as good as gold in the north, it was even better in the south.

The people of the south needed salt for their diet, but it was extremely rare. The northern region on the other hand had no shortage of salt. Every year merchants entered Mali via Oualata with camel loads of salt to sell in Niani. According to historians of the period, a camel load of salt could fetch 10 dinars worth of gold in the north and 20 to 40 in the south.

Copper was also a valued commodity in imperial Mali. Copper, traded in bars, was mined from Takedda in the north and traded in the south for gold. Contemporary sources claim 60 copper bars traded for 100 dinars of gold.

The number and frequency of conquests in the late 13th century and throughout the 14th century indicate the Kolonkan mansas inherited and or developed a capable military. While no particular mansa has ever been credited with the organization of the Manding war machine, it could not have developed to the legendary proportions proclaimed by its subjects without steady revenue and stable government. Conveniently, the Mali Empire had just that from 1275 until the first Kolonkan mansa in 1300.

The Mali Empire maintained a professional, full-time army in order to defend its borders. The entire nation was mobilized with each tribe obligated to provide a quota of fighting age men.] Contemporary historians present during the height and decline of the Mali Empire consistently record its army at 100,000 with 10,000 of that number being made up of cavalry. With the help of the river tribes, this army could be deployed throughout the realm on short notice.

The forces were divided into northern and southern armies. The northern army, under the command of a farin (northern commander) was stationed in the border city of Soura. The southern army, under the command of a Sankar (a term for the ruler near the Sankarani River), was commanded from the city of Zouma. The Farin-Soura and Sankar-Zouma were both appointed by the mansa and answerable only to him.

An infantryman, regardless of weapon (bow, spear, etc.) was called a sofa. Sofas were organized into tribal units under the authority of an officer called the kelé-kun-tigui or "war-tribe-master".

The kelé-kun-tigui could be the same or a separate post from that of the kun-tigui (tribe-master). Kun-Tiguis held complete authority over the entire tribe and were responsible for filling the quota of men his tribe had to submit for Mali's defense. Along with this responsibility was the duty of appointing or acting as kelé-kun-tigui for the tribe. Despite their power over infantry forces of their own tribe, kelé-kun-tiguis were more likely to fight on horseback.

Below the kelé-kun-tigui were two officers. The most junior of these was the kelé-kulu-kun-tigui who commanded the smallest unit of infantry called a *kelé-kulu* meaning "war heap" consisting of 10 to twenty men. A unit of ten kelé-

kulus (100 to 200 infantry" was called a *kelé-bolo* meaning "war arm". The officer in charge of this unit was called a *kelé-bolo-kun-tigui*.

Cavalry units called Mandekalu served as an equal if not more important element of the army. Then as today, horses were expensive and only the nobles took them into battle. A Mandinka cavalry unit was composed of 50 horsemen called a *seré* commanded by a kelé-kun-tigui. Kélé-Kun-Tiguis, as the name suggest, were professional soldiers and the highest rank on the field short of the *Farin* or *Sankar*.

The common sofa was armed with a large shield constructed out of wood or animal hide and a stabbing spear called a tamba. Bowmen formed a large portion of the sofas. Three bowmen supporting one spearman was the ratio in Kaabu and the Gambia by the mid 16th century. Equipped with two quivers and a shield, Mandinka bowmen used iron headed arrows with barbed tipped that were usually poisoned. They also used flaming arrows for siege warfare. While spears and bows were the mainstay of the sofas, swords and lances of local or foreign manufacture were the choice weapons of the Mandekalu. Another common weapon of Mandekalu warriors was the poison javelin used in skirmishes. Imperial Mali's horsemen also used chain mail armor for defense and shields similar to those of the sofas

Ko Mamadi was crowned Mansa Gao and ruled over a successful empire without any recorded crisis. His son, Mansa Mohammed ibn Gao, ascended the throne five years later and continued the stability of the Kolonkan line.

The last Kolonkan ruler, Bata Manding Bory, was crowned Mansa Abubakari II in 1310. He continued the non-militant style of rule that characterized Gao and Mohammed ibn Gao, but was interested in the empire's western sea. According to an account given by Mansa Musa I, who during the reign of Abubakari II served as the mansa's kankoro-sigui, Mali sent two expeditions into the Atlantic. Mansa Abubakari II left Musa as regent of the empire, demonstrating the amazing stability of this period in Mali, and departed with the second expedition commanding some 4,000 pirogues equipped with both oars and sails in 1311. Neither the emperor nor any of the ships returned to Mali. Modern historians and scientists are skeptical about the success of either voyage, but the account of these happenings is preserved in both written North African records and the oral records of Mali's djelis.

Abubakari II's 1312 abdication, the only recorded one in the empire's history, marked the beginning of a new lineage descended from Faga Laye. Faga Laye was the son of Abubakari I. Unlike his father, Faga Laye never took the throne of Mali. However, his line would produce seven mansa who reigned during the height of Mali's power and toward the beginning of its decline.

The Mali Empire covered a larger area for a longer period of time than any other West African state before or since. What made this possible was the decentralized nature of administration throughout the state. According to Joseph Ki-Zerbo, the farther a person traveled from Niani, the more decentralized the mansa's power became. Nevertheless, the mansa managed to keep tax money and nominal control over the area without agitating his subjects into revolt. At the local level (village, town, city), kun-tiguis elected a dougou-tigui (village-master) from a bloodline descended from that locality's semi-mythical founder. The county level administrators called kafo-tigui (county-master) were appointed by the governor of the province from within his own circle.[] Only when we get to the state or province level is there any palpable interference from the central authority in Niani. Provinces picked their own governors via their own custom (election, inheritance, etc). Regardless of their title in the province, they were recognized as dyamani-tigui (province master) by the mansa. Dyamani-tiguis had to be approved by the mansa and were subject to his oversight. If the mansa didn't believe the dyamani-tigui was capable or trustworthy, a farba might be installed to oversee the province or administer it outright.

Territories in Mali came into the empire via conquest or annexation. In the event of conquest, farins took control of the area until a suitable native ruler could be found. After the loyalty or at least the capitulation of an area was assured, it was allowed to select its own dyamani-tigui. This process was essential to keep non-Manding subjects loyal to the Manding elites that ruled them.

Barring any other difficulties, the dyamani-tigui would run the province by himself collecting taxes and procuring armies from the tribes under his command. However, territories that were crucial to trade or subject to revolt would receive a farba. Farbas were picked by the mansa from the conquering farin, family members or even slaves. The only real requirement was that the mansa knew he could trust this individual to safeguard imperial interests.

Duties of the farba included reporting on the activities of the territory, collecting taxes and ensuring the native administration didn't contradict orders from Niani. The farba could also take power away from the native administration if required and raise an army in the area for defense or putting down rebellions.

The post of a farba was very prestigious, and his descendants could inherit it with the mansa's approval. The mansa could also replace a farba if he got out of control as in the case of Diafunu.

The Mali Empire reached its largest size under the Laye mansas. During this period, Mali covered nearly all the area between the Sahara Desert and coastal forests. It stretched from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to Niamey in modern day Niger. By 1350, the empire covered approximately 439,400 square miles. The empire also reached its highest population during the Laye period ruling over 400 cities, towns and villages of various religions and ethnicities.

Scholars of the era claim it took no less than a year to traverse the empire from east to west. During this period only the Mongol Empire was larger.

The dramatic increase in the empire's size demanded a shift from the Manden Kurufa's organization of three states with twelve dependencies. This model was scrapped by the time of Mansa Musa's hajj to Egypt. According to al'Umari, whom interviewed a Berber that had lived in Niani for 35 years, there were fourteen provinces (really tributary kingdoms). In al-'Umari's record, he only records the following thirteen provinces.

- Gana (this refers to the remants of the Ghana Empire)
- Zagun or Zafun (this is another name for Diafunu)
- Tirakka or Turanka (Between Gana and Tadmekka)
- Tekrur (On 3rd cataract of the Senegal River, north of Dyolof)
- Sanagana (named for a tribe living in an area north of the Senegal river)
- Bambuck or Bambughu (gold mining region)
- Zargatabana
- Darmura or Babitra Darmura
- Zaga (on the Niger, downriver of Kabora)
- Kabora or Kabura (also on the Niger)
- Baraquri or Baraghuri
- Gao or Kawkaw (province inhabited by the Songhai)
- Mali or Manden (capital province for which the realm gets its name)

The first ruler from the Laye lineage was Kankan Musa, also known as Kango Musa. After an entire year without word from Abubakari II, he was crowned Mansa Foamed Musa. Mansa Musa was one of the first truly devout Muslims to lead the Mali Empire. He attempted to make Islam the faith of the nobility,[8] but kept to the imperial tradition of not forcing it on the populace. He also made Id celebrations at the end of Ramadan a national ceremony. He could read and write Arabic and took an interest in the scholarly city of Timbuktu, which he peaceably annexed in 1324. Via one of the royal ladies of his court, Musa transformed Sankore from an informal madrasah into an Islamic university. Islamic studies flourished thereafter. That same year a Mandinka general known as Sagmandir put down yet another rebellion in Gao.

Mansa Musa's crowning achievement was his famous pilgrimage to Mecca, which started in 1324 and concluded with his return in 1326. Accounts of how many people and how much gold he spent vary. All of them agree it was a very large group (the mansa kept a personal guard of some 500 men), and he gave out so many alms and bought so many things that gold's value in Egypt and the near east depreciated for twelve years. When he passed through Cairo, historian al-Maqurizi noted "the members of his entourage proceeded to buy Turkish and Ethiopian slave girls, singing girls and garments, so that the rate of the gold *dinar* fell by six *dirhams*."

Musa was so generous that he ran out of money and had to take out a loan to be able to afford the journey home. Musa's *hajj*, and especially his gold, caught the attention of both the Islamic and Christian worlds. Consequently, the name of Mali and Timbuktu appeared on 14th century world maps.

While on the hajj, he met the Andalusian poet and architect Es-Saheli. Mansa Musa brought the architect back to Mali to beautify some of the cities. Mosques were built in Gao and Timbuktu along with impressive palaces also built in Timbuktu. By the time of his death in 1337, Mali had control over Taghazza, a salt producing area in the north, which further strengthened its treasury.

Mansa Musa was succeeded by his son, Maghan I. Mansa Maghan I spent wastefully and was the first lackluster emperor since Khalifa. But the Mali Empire built by his predecessors was too strong for even his misrule and passed intact to Musa's brother, Souleyman in 1341.

Mansa Souleyman took steep measures to put Mali back into financial shape developing a reputation for miserliness. However, he proved to be a good and strong ruler despite numerous challenges. It is during his reign that Fula raids on Takrur began. There was also a palace conspiracy to overthrow him hatched by the Qasa (Manding term meaning Queen) and several army commanders.[8] Mansa Souleyman's generals successfully fought off the military incursions, and the senior wife behind the plot was imprisoned.

The mansa also made a successful hajj, kept up correspondence with Morocco and Egypt and built an earthen platform at Kangaba called the Camanbolon where he held court with provincial governors and deposited the holy books he brought back from Hedjaz.

The only major setback to his reign was the loss of Mali's Dyolof province in Senegal. The Wolof populations of the area united into their own state known as the Jolof Empire in the 1350s. Still, when Ibn Battuta arrived at Mali in July of 1352, he found a thriving civilization on par with virtually anything in the Muslim or Christian world. Mansa Souleyman died in 1360 and was succeeded by his son, Camba.

After a mere nine months of rule, Mansa Camba was deposed by one of Maghan I's three sons. Konkodougou Kamissa, named for the province he once governed,[9] was crowned as Mansa Mari Djata II in 1360. He ruled oppressively and nearly bankrupted Mali with his lavish spending. He did however, maintain contacts with Morocco, sending a giraffe to King Abu Hassan of the Maghreb. Mansa Mari Djata II became seriously ill in 1372, and power moved into the hands of his ministers until his death in 1374.

The ruinous reign of Mari Djata II left the empire in bad financial shape, but it passed intact to the dead emperor's brother. Mansa Fadima Musa or

Mansa Musa II, began the process of reversing his brother's excesses. He does not; however, hold the power of previous mansa because of the influence of his kankoro-sigui.

Kankoro-Sigui Mari Djata, who had no relation to the Keita clan, practically ran the empire in Musa II's stead. He put down a Taureg rebellion in Takedda and campaigned in Gao. While he met success in Tahkedda, he never managed a decisive victory in Gao. The Songhai settlement effectively shook off Mali's authority in 1375. Still, by the time of Mansa Musa II's death in 1387, Mali was financially solvent and in control of all of its previous conquests short of Gao and Dyolof. Forty years after the reign of Mansa Musa I, the Mali Empire still controlled some 1.1 million meters of land throughout Western Africa.

The last son of Maghan I, Tenin Maghan (also known as Kita Tenin Maghan for the province he once governed) is crowned Mansa Maghan II in 1387. Little is known of him except that he only reigned two years. He is deposed in 1389 marking the end of the Faga Laye mansas.

From 1389 onward Mali will gain a host of mansas of obscure origins. This is the least known period in Mali's imperial history. What is evident is that there is no steady lineage governing the empire. The other characteristic of this era is the gradual loss of its northern and eastern possession to the rising Songhai Empire and the movement of the Mali's economic focus from the trans-Saharan trade routes to the burgeoning commerce along the coast.

Mansa Sandaki, a descendant of Kankoro-Sigui Mari Djata, deposed Maghan II becoming the first person without any Keita dynastic relation to officially rule Mali. He would only reign a year before a descendant of Mansa Gao removed him. Mahmud, possibly a grandchild or great-grandchild of Mansa Gao, was crowned Mansa Maghan III in 1390. During his reign, the Mossi emperor Bonga of Yatenga raids into Mali and plunders Macina. Emperor Bonga does not appear to hold the area, and it stays within the Mali Empire after Maghan III's death in 1400

In the early 1400s, Mali is still powerful enough to conquer and settle new areas. One of these is Dioma, an area south of Niani populated by Peuhl Wassoulounké. Two noble brothers from Niani of unknown lineage go to Dioma with an army and drive out the Peuhl Wassoulounké. The oldest brother, Sérébandjougou, is crowned Mansa Foamed or Mansa Musa III. It is likely that his reign saw the first in a string of many great losses to Mali. In 1430, the Taureg seized Timbuktu. Three years later, Oualata also fell into their hands.

Following Musa III's death, his brother Gbèré became emperor in the mid 15th century. Gbèré was crowned Mansa Ouali II and ruled during the period of Mali's contact with Portugal. In the 1450s, Portugal began sending raiding parties along the Gambian coast. The Gambia was still firmly in Mali's control, and these

raiding expeditions met with disastrous fates before Portugal's Diego Gomez began formal relations with Mali via its remaining Wolof subjects. Cadomasto, a Venetian explorer, recorded that the Mali Empire was the most powerful entity on the coast in 1454.

Despite their power in the west, Mali was losing the battle for supremacy in the north and northeast. The new Songhai Empire conquered Mema, one of Mali's oldest possessions, in 1465. It then seized Timbuktu from the Taureg in 1468 under Sunni Ali Ber.

It is unknown when exactly Mamadou became Mansa Mahmud II or whom he descended from, but he is likely to have taken the throne in the 1470s. Another emperor, Mansa Mahan III, is sometimes cited as Mansa Mahmud I, but throne names don't usually indicate blood relations. Mansa Mahmud II's rule was characterized by more losses to Mali's old possessions and increased contact between Mali and Portuguese explorers along the coast. In 1477, the Yatenga emperor Nasséré makes yet another Mossi raid into Macina this time conquering it and the old province of BaGhana (Wagadou). In 1481, Peuhl raids against Mali's Tekrur provinces begin.

The growing trade in Mali's western provinces with Portugal witnesses the exchange of envoys between the two nations. Mansa Mahmud II receives the Portuguese envoy Pedro d'Evora al Gonzalo in 1484. The mansa looses control of Jalo during this period. Meanwhile, Songhai seizes the salt mines of Taghazza in 1493. That same year, Mahmud II sends another envoy to the Portuguese proposing alliance against the Peuhl. The Portuguese decide to stay out of the conflict and the talks conclude by 1495 without an alliance.

It is unlikely that Mahmud II ruled much longer than the first decade of the 16th century; however, there are no names for the ruler or rulers during this time. If Mahmud II was still on the throne between 1495 and the 1530s, he may hold the dubious honor of having lost the most possession during Mali's imperial period. Songhai forces under the command of Askia Muhammad defeat the Mali general Fati Quali in 1502 and seize the province of Diafunu. In 1514, the Denanke dynasty is established in Tekrour. It isn't long before the new kingdom of Fouta Tooro is warring against Mali's remaining provinces. To add insult to injury, the Songhai Empire seizes the copper mines of Takedda.

The last mansa to rule from Niani is Mansa Mahmud III also known as Mansa Mamadou II. Like many rulers of this period, it is unclear when he came to power. The only dates distinguishing his rule are the arrival of a Portuguese envoy in 1534, and the 1545 sack of Niani. These do not rule out his ascension to the throne in the late 1520s or even earlier.

In 1534, Mahmud III received another Portuguese envoy to the Mali court by the name of Peros Fernandes. This envoy from the Portuguese coastal port of

Elmina arrives in response to the growing trade along the coast and Mali's now urgent request for military assistance against Songhai. Still, no help is forthcoming and Mali must watch its possessions fall one by one.

Mansa Mahmud III's reign also sees the military outpost and province of Kaabu become independent in 1537. The Kaabu Empire appears every bit as ambitions as Mali was in its early years and swallows up Mali's remaining Gambian provinces of Cassa and Bati.

The most defining moment in Mahmud III's reign is the final conflict between Mali and Songhai in 1545. Songhai forces under Askia Ishaq's brother, Daoud, sack Niani and occupy the palace. Mansa Mahmud III is forced to flee Niani for the mountains. Within a week, he regroups with his forces and launches a successful counter-attack forcing the Songhai out of Manden proper for good. The Songhai Empire does keep Mali's ambitions in check, but never fully conquers their old masters.

After liberating the capital, Mahmud III abandons it for a new residence further north.[18] Still, there is no end to Mali's troubles. In 1559, the kingdom of Fouta Tooro succeeds in taking Takrur.[34] This defeat reduces Mali to Manden proper with control extending only as far as Kita in the west, Kangaba in the north, the Niger River bend in the east and Kouroussa in the south.

There are no dates for when Mansa Mahmud III ceased to rule the Mali, which by 1560 was really only the core of the Manden Kurufa. From 1559 to 1645, the mansas of Manden rule from Kangaba during its final decline. The next notable mansa, Mahmud IV, doesn't appear in any records until the end of the 16th century. However, he seems to have the distinction of being the last ruler of a unified Manden. His descendants are blamed for the break-up of the Manden Kurufa into north, central and southern realms.

Mansa Mahmud IV (also known as Mansa Mamadou III, Mali Mansa Mamadou and Niani Mansa Mamadou) was the last emperor of Manden according to the Tarikh es-Sudan. It states that he launched an attack on the city of Djenné in 1599 with Fulani allies hoping to take advantage of Songhai's defeat. Moroccan fusiliers, deployed from Timbuktu, met them in battle exposing Mali to the same technology (firearms) that had destroyed Songhai. Despite heavy losses, the mansa's army was not deterred and nearly carried the day. However, the army inside Djenné intervened forcing Mansa Mahmud IV and his army to retreat to Kangaba.

The mansa's defeat actually won Manden the respect of Morocco and may have saved it from Songhai's fate. It would be the Mandinka themselves that would cause the final destruction of the empire. Around 1610, Mahmud IV died. Oral tradition states that he had three sons whom fought over Manden's remains.

No single person ever ruled Manden after Mahmuud IV's death, resulting in the end of the Mali Empire forever.

The old core of the empire was divided into three spheres of influence. Kangaba, the de facto capital of Manden since the time of the last emperor, became the capital of the northern sphere. The Joma area, governed from Siguiri, controlled the central region, which encompassed Niani. Hamana or Amana, southwest of Joma, became the southern sphere with its capital at Kouroussa in modern Guinea. Each ruler used the title of mansa, but their authority only extended as far as their own sphere of influence. Despite this disunity in the realm, the Manden Kurufa survived into the mid 17th century. The three states warred on each other as much if not more than they did against outsiders, but rivalries generally stopped when faced with invasion. This trend would continue into colonial times against Tukulor enemies from the west.

Then, in 1630, the Bamana of Djenné declared their version of holy war on all Muslim powers in present day Mali. They targeted Moroccan Pashas still in Timbuktu and the mansas of Manden. In 1645, the Bamana attacked Manden seizing both banks of the Niger right up to Niani. This campaign gutted Manden and destroyed any hope of the three mansas cooperating to free their land. The only Mandinka power spared from the campaign is Kangaba.

Mama Maghan, mansa of Kangaba, campaigned against the Bamana in 1667 and attacked Segou. Segou, defended by Biton Kouloubali, successfully defended itself and Mama Maghan was forced to withdraw to Kangaba. Either as a counter-attack or simply the progression of pre-planned assaults against the remnants of Mali, the Bamana sack and burn Niani in 1670.

Conclusion of the Sankoré intellectual line

So *what is the lesson* of the **Sankoré** line's intellectual legacy within New York Alpha?

Simply stated, brothers, for an institution which so under-represented the selection of people of colour for all of the 20th century, Cornell University, nonetheless—through the Irving Literary Society and the New York Alpha Chapter of the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity—has an intellectual tradition back to Africa. Black brothers can hold their heads high, knowing that they are not latecomers to our tradition, but rather representative, in part, of some of the older grandfathers in our intellectual heritage.

We are all one with Anton Wilhelm Amo, everyday, at our studies !

The Sankoré intellectual line is part of New York Alpha's local Chapter lore, first recorded by brother Cadwalader E. Linthicum (1885)(1889) and preserved by Walter Sheppard ('29)('32) and Fred E. Hartzch ('28)('31).