und Verlagsanstalt (Graz) followed suit. The Hakluyt and Linschoten societies have published little on Africa in recent years. French publishers, with the minor exception of éditions Karthala (Paris), remain on the whole indifferent to the whole notion of reprinting works on Africa, except occasionally on microfiche; and since the deaths of Avelino Teixeira da Mota and António Brásio it is uncertain whether much work of this kind will continue to appear in Portugal. In West Germany the one publisher with a commercial interest in edited reprints on Africa (apart from the Frobenius-Institut's series Studien zur Kulturkunde, published by Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, for which each volume requires a large printing subsidy) is Thiemeann Verlag (Stuttgart), which recently took over the Edition Erdmann series; but it publishes only abridged reprints with a very poor editorial apparatus, aiming at the popular market. There are a few rays of hope in Italy (mainly works on mission history, often difficult to obtain) and in South Africa (where publishers such as Balkema, Struik and the Brenthurst Press supplement the valuable work of the Van Riebeeck Society). In London the British Academy's "Fontes Historiae Africanae" committee has also published several good editions of European texts in the last few years, but these are heavily outnumbered by the editions published in its series "Arabica" and "Aethiopica". (22) In general, the situation for editors of early European texts on tropical Africa is even less attractive today than it was in 1960.

3. THE LISTS

In order to make it easier to assess the position we are in at the moment, I decided to prepare a critical review of works published recently in this field. The task raised considerable problems. Firstly, it soon became clear that I could not limit myself to books: some of the best work is published in the form of articles, and I therefore faced the difficulty of keeping track of all the journals dealing in some way or other with precolonial sub-Saharan Africa. Secondly, it proved harder than I had imagined to establish firm criteria by which items should be selected and evaluated. I started to list "works devoted to textual criticism", but soon realised that this was too vague. (One acquaintance pointed out indignantly: "All my writings are based on textual criticism!")

In the end I was obliged to compile three lists and at the same time to admit that whatever selection I made was bound to be to some extent arbitrary. The rough criteria I have tried to follow are summarised in the following table.

22. See the Bulletin of Information/Bulletin d'Information of Fontes Historiae Africanae, edited by John Hunwick (Northwestern University) and published by the International Academic Union. It performs a useful task, but reflects the low priority given in some quarters to European sources for African history.
SCOPE OF THE THREE LISTS

1. **Chronological**: works published since 1960, referring to texts written in or before 1885, using the Roman alphabet. (It does not concern me whether the texts were published after 1885, nor whether the author was a European.)
2. **Geographical**: sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa, the Atlantic islands (Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé etc.) and islands off the east coast, but not Madagascar. Works dealing partly with the Sahara and partly with the Sahel are included. Those in which more than two-thirds of the material concerns other parts of the world are excluded.

**CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION IN LIST A ("EDITIONS")**

1. The publication must include the reproduction of a text or part(s) of a text. The text(s) must be altogether at least 500 words long (unless very important).
2. **Mere reprints are excluded.** A publication must include:
   a) a transcription of a manuscript; and/or
   b) a translation (new or substantially revised); and/or
   c) a text accompanied by some new **editorial apparatus**, such as an introduction or some annotation.
3. The list excludes any monograph which quotes passages from a text merely in order to illustrate a historical point, irrespective of how valuable the publication of such passages might be in itself.
4. Editions of **maps** are included; editions of **pictures** are excluded.

**CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION IN LIST B ("ANALYTICAL WORK ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS")**

1. Publications must be designed to enhance the appreciation of particular texts or authors. They thus serve a function similar to that of the editorial apparatus in an edition (see above: List A, 2c), except that the material concerned is not reproduced verbatim.
2. They may, for example, consist of:
   a) a précis of a neglected source;
   b) analysis of the **motives and/or sources** of an author;
   c) discussion of the problems involved in interpreting a text or set of texts;
   d) **elucidation** of the information provided in a text.
3. The list excludes surveys of available material, i.e. publications which merely contain bibliographic information or describe the contents of an archive.

**CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION IN LIST C ("ANALYTICAL WORK ON GROUPS OF TEXTS")**

The criteria are the same as for List B, except that List C is devoted to particular groups of authors (e.g. Capuchin missionaries or Portuguese ship-captains) or of sources (e.g. sources on a particular region).
List A is intended to cover nothing but "editions", by which I mean publications offering glosses on a text (or set of texts, or extracts) quoted verbatim or in translation. Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether a work fits this definition. Portuguese historians, for instance, often publish a set of paraphrases of documents (terming this "history") or add a documentary appendix to their monograph. If an appendix is of substantial length and offers a translation or a transcription of previously unpublished material, I have been inclined to include it, since the text of the monograph sometimes serves virtually the same purpose as a commentary; but I cannot claim to have been entirely consistent about this and have in any case excluded transcriptions or translations given as the appendix to an unpublished thesis. Biographies which consist of a secondary narrative interspersed with primary material from a person's papers, such as some of the "life and letters" publications of the South African publisher Balkema, have been included. I have also mentioned several editions of maps (23) and anthologies written mainly for a non-scholastic readership, (24) but not editions of statistics (25).

List B is devoted to publications discussing particular texts or writers who dealt with sub-Saharan Africa. In a sense these perform the same task as an introduction to a reprint, except that the reader is obliged to fetch the text(s) himself. Clearly it was necessary to impose some additional limits on this list. I have not included publications discussing the value to

23. List A: Becker 1981, 1985; Cortesão & Mota 1960; Monod 1964; Mota 1964; Thilmans 1975; Verger 1968. Another illustration of how cartographical sources can be used to throw light on African history, falling outside the period covered by this review, is W.g.l.Randle's, South East Africa and the Empire of Monomotapa as Shown on Selected Printed Maps of the Sixteenth Century (Lisbon, 1958). The forthcoming exhibition of maps of Senegambia, to be held in Dakar in 1987, will no doubt make an important contribution to this field of research.


26. Among the major South African publications on this subject are the series of books on Thomas Baines published by the Brenthurst Press (a few contain texts and are therefore included in my list) and a number of works edited by A.Gordon-Brown. See also List B: Robinson 1972b. For West Africa see Walter Hirschberg, "Der ethnographische Quellenwert früher afrikanischer Bilddokumente", Afrika heute 1968, 56-60 (also published with slightly different wording as "Der Quellenwert früher ethnographischer Bilddokumente", Anthrosopos 63 (1968) 139-55); George E. Brooks, "Artists' depictions of Senegalese signares: Insights concerning French racist and sexist attitudes in the nineteenth century", Genève-Afrique 18 (1980) 75-89.
historians of European engravings or paintings. (26) Very short articles
have been likewise excluded, although I feel it a pity that there are today
very few journals with a "correspondence" or "notes and queries" section.
(27) With regard to studies of the writings of nineteenth-century explorers
I have had to be very selective, depending mainly on how much is said about
Africa: the literature on figures such as Barth, Burton, Livingstone, Park and
Stanley is extensive and often makes only a minimal contribution to African
history. (28) Finally I have excluded articles and books which are purely
bibliographic or biographical and those which confine themselves to drawing
attention to an underrated archival source: these urgently call for a list of
their own, but fall outside the scope of this paper. (29)

List C supplements List B: each of the items refers not to an individual
author or work, but to a group. Just as the items in List B could have formed
part of the scholarly apparatus of an edition, so the items in List C could
equally well form part of the introduction or appendix to an anthology or
collective edition of the writings concerned. In writing my article on
seventeenth-century German sources (List C: JONES 1982), for instance, I was
to some extent aiming to reduce the length of the introductions to my
editions of these sources (List A: JONES 1983, 1985). It should be noted that
List C does not include works on European attitudes towards Africa (30) or on

27. In the early 1960s journals such as GNO, Sierra Leone Studies and Tanganyika Notes and
Records and Nigeria Magazine often had such a section. Today, it seems, such short
notes and queries are published only by ANAN, QBSAL and Notes Africaines (Dakar).

28. One of the most useful books is Robert I. Rotberg, ed., Africa and Its Explorers,
Motives, Methods and Impact (Cambridge, Ma., 1970). It includes essays (of varying
quality) on Baker, Barth, Burton, Cameron, Livingstone, Rohleis, Speke, Stanley and
Thompson.

29. Some guides (including several of those published by UNESCO) provide only the most
rudimentary information, whilst others are really calendars and almost fall into the
category of editions. See List A: SANTANA 1964–74, Cf., Fontes Para a História do
Antigo Ultramar Português, Vol. 2 (Lisbon, 1982); Maria de Lourdes Esteves dos Santos
latter summarises 529 documents in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (1608–1753),
listing the persons and toponyms mentioned in each one and providing indexes of
persons, toponyms and subjects - an extremely helpful tool for historians, but not an
"edition" by my definition. Another very useful type of work is a bibliography or bio-
bibliography of the writings of a particular traveller; see, for example, H. Fisher &
J.-P. Farruggia, "Bibliographie de Gustav Nachtigal", Journal des Africaniestes 46
(1976) 216–23, which covers not only Nachtigal's publications but also writings about
(Edinburgh, 1979) and the supplement by Cunningham (Edinburgh, 1985).

30. e.g. Philip D. Curtin, The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action,
1780–1850 (Madison, 1964); Urs Bitterli, Die Entdeckung des schwarzen
Afrikaners. Versuch einer Geistesgeschichte der europäisch-afrikanischen

-11-
general aspects of European sources (31).

Linguistic material features prominently in all three lists: (32) language is as much a part of African history as any other cultural feature, and analyses of wordlists etc. can certainly improve our understanding of the past. (33) My general rule has been to place a linguistic item in List A where a wordlist is reproduced in full, and in List B where it is merely discussed; but sometimes it has proved difficult to draw the boundary so neatly.

My definition of "European" sources has deliberately been left as loose as possible: it encompasses American authors and other non-Europeans, such as Blyden, Crowther, Equiano, Umbala and Wainwright, because in my view their writings raise essentially the same problems for an editor as those of "proper" Europeans. Nineteenth-century authors who transcribed, translated and/or published texts in African languages or Arabic (using the Roman alphabet) constitute a special category. (34) It might be argued that they do not belong in my lists at all; but I have included them because I regard their authorship as a dual one - that of the African narrator and that of the European scholar who learnt the language, selected particular pieces of material and published them, albeit in a language that was not his own. I have also included modern articles published in the Cyrillic alphabet but based on sources originally written in the Roman alphabet. (35) I treat


32. Most important is the very useful series of articles by different linguists discussing the wordlists of various languages published by S.W. Koelle in his Polyglotia Africana (1864), collected from liberated slaves in Freetown. These were published in the SLLR (later ALR and then AL) between 1964 and 1975 (see index of Primary Authors: Koelle).


Afrikaans as a "European" language, because of the difficulty of finding a dividing-line between it and Dutch; but I exclude "Arab-Afrikaans", i.e. Dutch or Afrikaans sentences written in Arabic script. (36)

My lists deal only with works actually written or published in or before 1885 - not, for example, with memoirs relating to the 1870s but written down twenty years later. I have, however, included works which cover the periods both before and after 1885, even where they say little about the former.

In arranging my lists I have broken several rules normally observed. Where an author's surname consists of two or more components without a hyphen (e.g. Le Cordeur, Van Dantzig) I have listed him or her under the last component (Cordeur, Dantzig). Furthermore, in List A I have arranged works according to the name of the editor or, if there is none, of the author of the modern introduction or, failing that, of the modern translator. This differs from the normal procedure of listing works under the names of the original authors, because my purpose is to emphasise modern editorial work. To compensate for this innovation I have listed in my "Index of Primary Authors" the original authors referred to in the three lists.

In my "Geographical Index" I have grouped the works mentioned in Lists A and B according to geographic regions, in order to show which parts of Africa have received the best coverage from modern editors and analysts of texts. It will be seen that in terms of sheer quantity South Africa has fared much better than anywhere else. Other regions that have been moderately well served (in part reflecting the availability of documentation, though this alone is not a sufficient explanation) are Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Zaire, Angola and the Sudan. There has also been much work that cannot be tied down so easily to a particular region, especially on European exploration of East and Central Africa and on Africa's role in the Atlantic slave trade.

4. QUALITATIVE EVALUATION (List A)

My description of the items in List A begins with a very rough summary of what the "edition" is - whether, for instance, it is a facsimile supplemented by a modern introduction, an abridged reprint, an anthology, a translation, or the transcription of a manuscript. I have not commented on the value of these alternatives, but it should be evident that although a facsimile is often the best form in which to present an old printed text, it does not in itself constitute a great achievement on the part of the editor (as some reviewers imply). Conversely, far too little credit is given to those who perform the laborious and delicate task of transcribing a manuscript, particularly one dating from before about 1700: scholars such as Brásio, Piazza and Toso deserve considerable praise in this respect.

36. e.g. Mia Braudel Syrier, The Religious Duties of Islam as Taught and Explained by Abu Bakr Effendi (Leiden, 1960); A. van Selms, Abu Bakr; se 'Uiteensetting van die godsdienis' (Amsterdam, 1979).