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Full Length Research Paper

Vendetta case and oath based indigenous conflict management in Jawi district, Northwest Ethiopia: A symbolic ritual perspective

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Study was conducted on the mitigation of vendetta case and oath based conflict management in Jawi district of northwest Ethiopia. The study was aimed at investigating the mitigation and reconciliation of vendetta and management of conflicts through an oath, from a symbolic ritual perspective. Primary data were collected by in-depth interviewing of informants and through informal conversation methods. Secondary sources reviewed from empirical researches, statistical documents and from locally conducted studies on the study theme were used to complement first hand data. The primary and secondary data were analyzed and organized thematically, cross checking the results obtained by those methods to increase validity of the research. The study found that vendetta, which has been a common phenomenon in the study area, was mitigated and resolved through an indigenous reconciliation system accompanied by a symbolic ritual. Oath involving diverse symbolic procedures was found to be another widely practiced mechanism of managing disputes in the study area. In both cases the traditional role of symbolism appeared to be crucial in terminating violence, implementing and sustaining effective reconciliation, and rebuilding harmony and peaceful coexistence in the society. The strict traditional symbolic rituals and procedures containing elements of supernatural belief conducted during reconciliation of vendetta and execution of an oath reinforce on the disputing parties a serious observance of the reconciliation. The study implied that the indigenous reconciliation of vendetta and oath based management of conflicts, together with the aid of symbolism, are effective in restoring sustainable peace and efficient in terms of finance, time, and energy.

Key words: Vendetta, oath, symbolic ritual, conflict mitigation, reconciliation, Jawi, Kolegna Agaw.

INTRODUCTION

There are various definitions and perspectives on the issue of conflict. Conflict is a salient feature of human society which is as old as mankind. Men must fight even if they do not possess arms or when tools of violence are not within reach; and even when there are no arms to fight, men will fight with their bare fists. From birth, a baby begins the journey of conflict by crying, which is a flash of conflict (Folarin, 2015).

According to the Council of Europe and the European Union (2012), the word “conflict” comes from the Latin word conflictus, which means collision or clash. The definitions given to conflict vary based on the different
given to conflict vary based on the different analytical viewpoints (for instance, some focus on the causes such as material resources, some other base their conception on the conflicting parties). According to Schelling (1993) conflicts are bargaining situations in which the ability of one participant to achieve his ends is dependent on the choices or decisions that the other participant makes.

The anthropological notion of conflict has usually been derived from the biological concept of competition (in its most succinct form, competition being defined as it occurs when two or more individuals, populations, or species simultaneously use a resource that is actually or potentially limiting (Schmidt and Schröder, 2001)). Conflict is a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. According to this view conflict broadly denotes the incompatibility of subject positions (Pia and Diez, 2007).

There are viewpoints which suggest that conflict is normal. Conflict is a normal and even healthy part of relationships. After all, two people cannot be expected to agree on everything all the time. Since relationship conflicts are inevitable, learning to deal with them in a healthy way is crucial” [Helpguide, 2018]. Conflict can also lead to a new social or political organization and therefore be productive if the parties involved are able to deal with their incompatibilities in a way new organizational form is achieved (Pia and Diez, 2007).

Types of conflict

With respect to the types of conflict, various criteria could be used for classification like the conflicting parties, context of the conflict, the triggering factors behind the conflict, and consequences of the conflict, duration and intensity of the conflict and presence or absence of violence in the conflict (Council of Europe and European Union, (2012)). Evans (2013) classifies conflict as interpersonal, intrapersonal, intragroup and intergroup. Interpersonal conflict (man against man, man against nature and society and family conflict) is a conflict between two individuals which occurs as the result of incompatible choices, interest feelings, etc. Intrapersonal conflict (man against self) occurs within an individual as the result of frustration they feel with themselves or over their personal goals, plans, targets or accomplishments, or due to competing values and questions of conscience. Intragroup conflict happens due to misunderstandings and/or disagreements within a team, or may be within a social group, clan, ethnic group, etc., according to the setting where the conflict arises. Intergroup conflict takes place between various formal and non formal groups: For instance, it can take place between the government and trade unions, between class groups, between departments within an organization, or between cultural groups in a community. There may also be these categories as intra state conflict, interstate conflict and global conflict (Folarin, 2015; Council of Europe and the European Union, 2012; Evans, 2013).

Theories of conflict are the assumptions and elaborations to account for the root causes of the different forms of conflict. These may include structural theory, Marxist theory, realist theory, and psychological theory. Structural theory of conflict is an explanation of conflict as a product of the tension that arises when groups compete for scarce resources. According to structural theory conditions which lead to conflict include such things as social exclusion, deprivation, class inequalities, injustice, political marginalization, gender imbalances, racial segregation, and economic exploitation (Folarin, 2015; Oakland, 2005). Marxist theory of conflict is based on the Marxian understanding of society; since society is divided in classes, that is, the upper and lower class, the exploiting and the exploited class struggle and conflict become inevitable. The rich boosts wealth at the expense of the exploited poor (Lenin, 1917; Folarin, 2015).

Economic theory of conflict emphasizes (Folarin, 2015) on the economic factors in conflict causation. It claims that there is considerable interface between politics and scarcity. People seek power because it is a means to an end, more often, economic ends. Communities feud over farmlands, grazing fields, water resource, etc., and groups fight government over allocation of resources or revenue. The political realism perspective presents conflict as an inherent attribute of man. “As far as men live with their ‘baggage of emotions’, so will conflict remain a part of their habitat; and as long as man remains a ‘political animal’ with interests different from others, so shall conflict of interests remain a feature of society” [ibid: 9].

Frustration-anger-aggression theory addresses conflict psychologically. It suggests that that it is natural for man to react to unpleasant situations. Aggression is the result of blocking, or frustrating, a person’s efforts to attain a goal. When someone’s expectation fails the tendency is to confront others; his/her aggression cannot be expressed against the real source of frustration, displaced hostilities can be targeted to substitute objects, that is, aggression is transferred to alternate objects (Dollard et al., 1939; Miller, 1948; Berkowitz, 1969). There are also other theories of conflict such as biological theory, international capitalism theory of conflict, etc. It should further be noted that each of the conflict theories earlier discussed briefly have their own critics and flaws.

Indigenous conflict management systems

Almost all societies, regardless of their location in time and space, have laws for handling disputes and achieving resolution of differences (Gulliver, 1979; Abebe, 2016). Before briefing on indigenous conflict management systems, with respect to the theme of this
paper, it is important to conceptualize such terms and phrases as conflict resolution, conflict transformation, reconciliation, conflict mitigation and vendetta, and gratitude and forgiveness.

Conflict resolution tries addressing the root causes of direct, cultural and structural violence academics, professionals, civil mediation, citizens diplomacy, international and local non governmental organizations involved in conflict resolution through non-coercive strategies like facilitation and consultation.

Conflict transformation attempts to transform the relationships, interests, discourses and the constitution of society that supports violent conflict by means of capacity building, trauma work, grassroots training, development and human rights work (Pia and Diez, 2007).

A glossary on Violent Conflict (USAID, 2001) defines reconciliation, conflict management and vendetta as following.

(1) Reconciliation is the process through which conditions that lead to conflict are addressed and adversarial relationships are transformed into more harmonious ones. Sustainable peace is maintained as communities use nonviolent channels to resolve conflict, a sense of nationhood is established or restored, and social capital is enhanced.

(2) Conflict mitigation or management includes efforts to contain and reduce the amount of violence used by parties in violent conflict and engage them in a process to settle the dispute and terminate the violence.

(3) Vendetta is practice of a family taking vengeance on the person who shed the blood of one of its relatives (blood feud is one of the synonyms). Vengeance is taken in kind, that is, an eye for an eye, and may also be taken on one of the offender's relatives. It is an established institution in many cultures. Vengeance therefore, is inflicting punishment or obtaining satisfaction for an injury, hurt, and is one personal response to unjust treatment. Vengeful people are high in negative affectivity and are easily angered and offended by others. Vengeance is usually a driving force for destructive and aggressive interpersonal behaviors such as homicide, rape, arson, shoplifting, sexual infidelity, etc. (Satici et al., 2014).

Gratitude and forgiveness are the other side alternatives to address conflicts positively. Gratitude can be described according to Satici et al. (2014) as the positive emotion one feels when another person has willingly given, or intends to give, something needed or valued. Grateful feelings strengthen social relationships and help people cope with stressful situations, as well as bolstering self-acceptance. Forgiveness on other hand can be conceived as a pro-social motivational change toward someone who offends, which reduces motivation to seek revenge or to avoid the transgressor, and increases compassion or sympathy. Forgiveness is vital for maintenance of close relationships, and is viewed as necessary for satisfying and lasting relationships.

Indigenous conflict management systems alternatively referred as 'local' 'traditional' 'customary' ‘alternative’ justice systems have been playing vital roles in addressing and resolving various forms of conflicts in societies across the globe. Many of the contemporary societies (especially in the developing world) rely on indigenous justice systems, practicing side by side with the formal law, thus, having dual justice systems.

According to Melton (2013), the formal justice system, supposed to be rooted in the world view of Europeans, is guided by codified laws and written rules, procedures, and guidelines. The retributive philosophy holds that because the victim has suffered, the criminal should suffer as well. It is premised on the notion that criminals are wicked people who are responsible for their actions and deserve to be punished. Punishment is used to appease the victim, to satisfy society's desire for revenge, and to reconcile the offender to the community by paying a debt to society; it does not offer a reduction in future crime or reparation to victims.

The indigenous justice paradigm is based on a holistic philosophy; these systems are guided by the unwritten customary laws, traditions, and practices that are learned primarily by example and through oral teachings of tribal or community elders. The holistic philosophy is a circle of justice that connects everyone involved with a problem or conflict on a continuum, with everyone focused on the same center. The victim is the focal point, and the goal is to heal and renew the victim's physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual well-being (Melton, 2013). “Indigenous justice systems are based on a holistic philosophy. Law is a way of life, and justice is a part of the life process” [ibid: 2]. Therefore, it could be argued that indigenous justice systems are built up on the principles of peace, harmony and healing of broken relationships.

Accompanying conflict resolution with various rituals and symbols is one of the features of indigenous justice systems. Such symbolic rituals, built upon the society's traditional values, serve as means of strengthening the sustainability of the reconciliation and increasing solidarity and harmony among the society where the conflict has happened.

This paper is aimed at investigating conflict mitigation practice in cases where there occurs a homicide involving blood feud (Vendetta) and also in situations where conflicts are managed by oath based procedures, in Jawi district, northwest Ethiopia. What connects the two themes, that is, the vendetta and oath based cases is that in both cases there are symbolic rituals and procedures done at times where conflicts are mitigated in such mechanisms. Therefore, the paper stresses on the symbolic rituals and procedures in vendetta case and when conflicts are chosen to be addressed through traditional oaths. The research was done on the
justification that while feuding (and following ritual based reconciliation) and oath based conflict management systems are prevalent in the district, there were no adequate empirical studies conducted on the issue.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Study area

Jawi is one of the districts in Awi administrative zone, Amhara regional state, in northwestern Ethiopia. The Agaw people living in Jawi district are commonly and popularly known as ‘Kolegna Agaw’ (Agaw lowlanders), corresponding to their habitation of the lowland section of the Agaw Awi area. Other than the Agaw, there are also people that reside in Jawi that come as settlers, and as the district is area of cash crop and large-scale projects like sugar production, there is nowadays active movement of people in the area (Figure 1). The capital town of the district is Fendika, which is 210 km far from the Zone capital Enjibara, via Enjibara-Chagni-Benishangul Gumuz route, turning to north entering pocket road after crossing Beles river; and 67 km far from Dangila (Jawi was formerly part of Dangila district) through the direct steep route (Awi Zone Finance and Economic Development Department, 2007).

As of the Central Statistics Agency (CSA, 2007), Jawi district has a total population of 79,090, of whom 41,407 are men and 37,683 women; 7,722 or 9.76% are urban inhabitants, the rest of the population resides in rural areas. The majority of the inhabitants practiced Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, with 93.1% reporting as their religion, and 4.85% of the population said they were Muslim.

The climate alternates with long summer rain fall (June-September) and a winter dry season (October-May) with mean annual rain fall of 1569.4 mm. The mean temperature varies between 16.68 and 37.6°C. The altitude ranges from 648 to 1300 m.a.s.l. The land is covered by different vegetation types namely savanna grass land, forest, riverine and bush lands with major agricultural products like sorghum, maize, sesame and cotton (Shimelis et al., 2011).

Research method

The study is based on qualitative research methodology which is found to be suitable for such kind of enquiry where detailed data and deeper interpretation is essential. In-depth interviewing of informants, informal conversations and assessing empirical studies and documents relevant to the research theme were the data collection methods utilized for the study. Field data were collected in the vicinity of Fendika from October-November 2014 by meeting the appropriate participants of the study. With respect to in-depth interviewing, 12 elders who are experienced in resolving most difficult cases like vendetta and in executing oaths have participated. Officials in the Zone administrative office and justice department and from the District's offices were also interviewed. Interview data from informants were tape recorded and then transcribed in to a written form. The interview was done in Amharic language.

Informal conversation has been conducted at all stages of the field data collection with elders, the clergy, those that experienced
feuding in their families and in undertaking oaths, and with the local district officials. Informal conversation was important in opening up new areas of interest within the research theme and in enriching the data gathered by the other methods.

The first hand field data were also checked against the local unpublished secondary data that were consulted. Especially from the district’s culture and tourism office, important research documents on feuding and oath based conflict management were carefully reviewed and analyzed together with the primary data to increase the validity of the research.

Data analysis

Primary and secondary data were analyzed, organized, and interpreted thematically. Data gathered through the language of Amharic were carefully translated into English. Emphasis was given to emic interpretation of the symbolic rituals and procedures conducted during mitigation and reconciliation of conflicts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Causes of homicide and vendetta

In the study area, there are many factors which lead persons to non-violent and violent conflict such as issues on farming and pasture land, fracas due to various cases, looting, theft, quarrels over property ownership, adultery, and so on. So, while the causes which may result to homicide are common socio-cultural, political-economic and psychological, the fundamental pressure for vendetta is found to be the tradition of masculinity. One who did not revenge his father’s or brother’s blood is not considered as a man. He cannot talk freely in public. He can even hardly argue, quarrel and fight with another person; he is scolded as “you! Quarrel with me putting aside your brother’s blood?...”. A man who did not go for vengeance of his family’s blood is insulted tacitly for his spiritlessness. He suffers from veiled criticism and sarcasm. Due to this, it is not surprising that the man goes blindly for revenge to maintain his masculinity and dignity among the community he lives. Informants reveal that, even a child who lost his father in pregnancy is intentionally socialized to grow up learning about the murderer/s of his father, to create in him a sense of courage and feud, so that he revenges his blood when he becomes matured. Therefore, in the study area, the practice of vendetta is deeply associated with the cultural expectation of masculinity.

Mitigation of vendetta and the reconciliation ritual

Among the Kolegna Agaw, in any case, if a person is killed by another person, the victim’s family manages to revenge their blood immediately. The murder between two persons quickly turns to be family group feud. Vendetta is achieved by killing the murderer himself/herself or a person from their patrilineage.

Because it is believed that ‘ye enat wogen dem ayimolam-matrilineage does not satisfy for blood feud’, relatives of the murderer from the mother’s side are not the target for vendetta. Vendetta is taken normally on same sex; if the murdered is female, female would be killed, and male would be killed if the victim is male. If possible, it is recommended that the funeral of the two deceased shall be executed on the same day. According to the elders and informants from the clergy, this is for the rational to quickly balance the vendetta and deescalate the situation to prevent further loss, and to timely start the mitigation process. Usually the victim’s groups refuse to bury their deceased before revenge is taken. No one interferes between the adversaries during that toughest time. Even elders and the clergy do nothing until the victim’s group takes revenge of their blood.

Up on the achievement of balanced vendetta, elders immediately start their assignment, the process of mitigating the violence. Influential elders representing both blood adversary groups would be selected to lead and execute the mitigation and the reconciliation. Elders contact both adversarial groups and call for termination of the violence. They convince the adversarial groups to stop and put down their hands for peace. After this, the elders and both adversaries start preparation for the reconciliation ritual. As the primary field data and also secondary sources (Jawi District Culture and Tourism Office, 2003) reveal, the ritualized event of the reconciliation looks as the following.

On the day of the reconciliation, the elders and adversaries go down to a river with an ox (bought in the contribution of both adversaries), ‘te’la’ (traditional beer), and having two needles. The two adversaries sit on the opposite banks of the river. The elders start by explaining deeply with example about the loss and damage the bloodshed has left; the bad stressful situation it resulted; and the necessity of ending it which brought them this place. After this, two men selected from both adversary groups come, hold together a single knife and cut the neck of the ox presented for the reconciliation sacrifice. This (shedding the blood of the ox) is called ‘chiff’. The two men cut out the ox’s tongue and give a mouthful to one another. This signifies that we (the adversaries) have become brothers from now onwards’. Also, both men each cut a piece from the tongue and throw it away, which means ‘if I initiate feud after this let it (God?) throw me like this’. Then, one of the elders comes and does the following symbolic action: he impales one of the needles on the nearby verdant tree, which symbolizes as ‘let it freezes your feud like this needle, and greens your reconciliation like the tree’. The two men together break the other needle with their bloody hands, which implies ‘one who transgresses the reconciliation shall be broken like this’. After this, the two adversaries sitting on the opposite banks of the river come and join together. ‘Tikur dem dereqe-vendetta comes to an end’. A loud of joy bursts from the audience which marks for the restoration
of peace and harmony. The ox then would be slaughtered by both groups together; its ribs removed and put on a stone. In the presence of the elders, the murderers from both adversaries stand opposite sides and break the bone, symbolizing ‘let it breaks like this one who disobeys the reconciliation’. Then the feast follows...... The reconciliation ritual ends with the blessing of the elders.

Although the relationship between the adversaries cannot be expected to be as it was before the bloodshed, since the time of the reconciliation, at least they do not intend to feud one another. Adversaries still keep their interaction modest, but they can freely move outdoors and conduct their daily routines.

From the symbolic rituals conducted during the time of the reconciliation, we can understand that the symbolic actions are intended to create a strong ground for the observance of the reconciliation. Therefore, symbolism plays essential role in the efficacy of the indigenous justice system in the study area.

Oath based conflict management

Oath was found to be another effective and efficient indigenous system of conflict management and extracting truth in the study area. Oath is feared and respected. It is a powerful mechanism of assurance for hidden crime suspects without the need to search and present evidence. It is also used to prevent future malevolence, by forwarding punishment directly to the supernatural force which is believed to cause bad consequences if the person/s that made the oath transgresses it. People usually do not dare to make oath falsely for fear of the consequence. Oath is arranged by elders or third party, when someone appeals that he/she has lost their cattle or any other property or believe that they and/or their families are hurt in any case directly or hidden (for instance, may be sorcery) where they cannot or do not want to present a direct evidence against the suspect. So, if the suspect agrees to take the oath proposed by the plaintiff, it would be implemented that way. However, the suspect himself/herself may initiate the oath taking, if they know or believe that they are innocent and the plaintiff is suspecting them falsely. In this case, the plaintiff assures the truthfulness of his/her complaint or take the property they claimed by making the oath proposed by the suspect and/or the elders. Whatever risk resulting from the oath, if conducted falsely, is unto the oath maker.

Among the Kolegna Agaw, oath making have been a common and widely practiced mechanism of conflict management. The oaths are symbolic, and embrace both religious and traditional beliefs. Let us make a look on a few of them as an example:

Closing church door saying “let it shut me down like this if I really have done that” (mentioning the suspected deed presented against him/her by the plaintiff). Or may be stamping out a cross implying “let it stamp me out like this......”

Uprooting a grass- “let it uproot me like this grass if I did that or will do this for the future”

A mountain named Agaza Mebacha has been worshipped by the local people. If a conflict or deny on something occurs, the elders, the plaintiff and the suspect may go to the mountain to execute an oath. They put three stones on the ground, the suspect then states “If I have taken his... or done this..., let Agaza Mebacha overthrow me like this and overthrows the stones.

Another practice is that elders may take the conflicting parties to Beles River. The oath maker mixes up water from the river saying “let I am disturbed like this if I have done that or will do this....... for the future”

On the day of Finding of the True Cross the suspect may be asked to sweep the ash, stating “let it sweep me like this”

Removing out and snapping the intestine of live hen saying “let it snap me like this”, etc.

To sum up, in the study area, oath making is found to be a powerful instrument of managing dispute and denial on various cases based on a strong symbolic component, confronting truth for the supernatural. Oath based conflict management is both preventive and curative. It brings to an end unsettled cases. Furthermore, oath provides guarantee for the future wellbeing by halting disputants from doing malevolent acts against one another. It builds trust.

Conclusion

According to the local informants and legal officials in the study area, in Jawi district homicide and vendetta have shown a declining trend from time to time, and the cases when happened, are nowadays increasingly dealt in the formal court. Nevertheless, the indigenous ritual of reconciliation still has an invaluable role in preventing further loss of human life and property and in rebuilding sustainable peace and harmony in the society, which is the crucial essence in conflict management lacking in formal courts.

Symbolism in both vendetta and oath based conflict management systems plays vital role in making the reconciliation effective and sustaining it by building a strong traditionally acceptable belief in the psychology the conflicting parties. The strong symbolic actions heartily expressed in different traditional forms oblige the parties to be loyal to the reconciliation. Also the firm
symbolic oaths seem to be the easiest and shortest ways of accessing truth, and avoiding future malevolence of persons against one another.

The study findings imply that both the reconciliation ritual of vendetta and oath making are generally effective especially in sustainably repairing and maintaining interpersonal and communal peace and stability.

“ለማጣላት ባለህ በንድ ያለሸጭ ያለማስታረቅ ባለህ ፈን ያለሸጭ ገን ያለማስታረቅ- never cross a river to provoke but cross seven rivers to reconcile” (Folk proverb).

“Peace is not absence of conflict; it is the ability to handle conflict by peaceful means” (Ronald Reagan).

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS
The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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Full Length Research Paper

Scientific investigations on paper and writing materials of Mali: A pilot study

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The investigation of physical properties and chemical composition generates data important for answering cultural-historical questions that cannot be solved by historical and philological methods alone. Due to technological developments, technical diagnostics in art and culture are in ever-greater demand in such fields of transdisciplinary research. Natural sciences play auxiliary role in the studies of manuscripts. The success of their contribution depends strongly on the formulation of the question, the choice of the methods to obtain the requested answer, and appropriate reference databases. First, report was given on the measurements performed on local raw materials, such as, plants, minerals and animals, which constitute the reference session. Then, the first results of the scientific analysis of several fragments from the Malian manuscript collections were present.

Key words: Manuscripts, inks, colorants, scientific investigation, non-destructive testing.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological and art historical research often concerns the questions of origin, dating or attribution of cultural objects. Stylistic and art historical considerations in combination with extant technological treatises and recipes can answer many questions, but sometimes the analysis of the physical properties and the chemical composition of the artefacts is essential. Determination of chemical composition of cultural objects is also crucial for their conservation.

The collections in Bamako contain a vast number of manuscripts that were written and decorated with different inks and colourants on paper (Russo, 2017). Dating of paper can be roughly made through the key events of paper production. The heyday of Arabic paper production was between the 8th and the 13th century. After that, the centre of paper production shifted to Europe, especially Italy, although Arabic paper was still produced in the Middle East until the end of 15th century and until the 19th century in Central Asia (Loveday, 2001). Meanwhile many changes, concerning both process and materials, were introduced in Europe, leading to the industrial production of paper that started in the 18th century in Central Europe. Among the important innovations counted were the appearance of Hollander beater (1680), the introduction of the wove mould-covering and the increased use of cotton (second half of...
the 18th century). Also included are the invention of the paper machine (1798), the Fourdrinier wire webs and cylindrical forming vats (1806), the mass gluing of the pulp before scooping (also known as internal sizing) and application of rosin sizing (1807). Lastly, the use of ground wood as a source of fibers (first attempts in 1800, patented by Keller in 1840) (Hunter 1974).

Since it is assumed that the manuscripts were preferentially produced locally, in Djenné, Timbuktu or Kayes it was also assumed that the manufacture of the writing materials was based on local plants, minerals and animals (Haïdara, 2015). In addition, inks might contain a wide range of components and impurities due to individual recipes and the natural origin of raw materials. Therefore, a better understanding of the production processes of the local manuscripts requires the use of analytic techniques for characterization of writing materials.

A particular requirement for the scientific investigation of the manuscripts – also in Bamako – is the use of mobile equipment that employs non-destructive or micro-invasive techniques. In accordance to Lahanier et al., (1986), the ideal procedure for analysing art, historical, or archaeological objects should be non-destructive respecting the physical integrity of the object, but also fast to analyse large numbers of similar objects or to investigate a single object at various locations. In addition, the measurements should be universal to analyse many manuscripts and related objects of various shapes and dimensions, as well as versatility, permitting acquisition of average compositional information but also allowing local analysis of small areas. There are several analytical methods commonly used in the non-destructive, mobile and “multi-instrumental” approach for manuscript investigation, which embraces microscopy, elemental analysis, and chemical characterization. However, appropriate reference materials and databases are essential for the coherent interpretation of the analytic results.

**SAMPLES**

**Collection and revision of recipes from oral sources**

In the first stage of the study, the recipes and plant materials to be included into the ink and dye database were collected in Bamako and in Djenné. Since no written records for ink production were available, the ink recipes were compiled in interviews with local Marabouts and scribes of Djenné. Overall, 30 basic recipes were obtained for colorants and inks used to gather samples that amount to 80 specimens. The recipes were sorted according to the ink types (soot, tannin, iron-gall or iron-tannin dye or pigment, mixed), according to the production method (by sun maceration, by cooking, by squeezing, by pounding), and according to the secondary ingredients (such as, binder, colour enhancer). Following this step, the necessary ingredients to procure the local plants and minerals were identified. The reference set includes different leaves (such as, Acacia senegalensis, Indigiofera tinctoria / Indigiofera arrecta), flowers (such as, Hibiscus), and fruits (such as, Cola cordifolia / Cola nitida, Zafrane (local name), and Acacia senegalensis). It also includes bark (such as, Acacia senegalensis, Bari (local name), Vitex Chrysocarpa = Koronifin (local name), Pegu (local name), resins (such as, Acacia senegalensis) as well as minerals (such as, Laterite), and metals (such as, Gold) (Forgues and Bailleul, 2009). Figure 1 shows selected raw materials.

**Reference sample preparation**

Using the collection of the recipes and materials, different dummy inks were produced and were applied to standardized paper as shown in Figure 2. Ink production included extraction of the different plants using water or potassium carbonate solutions. First, the plants (flowers, fruits, bark, nuts, seeds, and leaves) were ground; the

![Figure 1. Koronifin (Vitex Chrysocarpa, left), Hibiscus (Hibiscus Sabdariffa, middle), and Laterite (Hematite, right); ©Eva Brozowsky, CSMC.](image-url)
resulting powders were boiled for 30 min to 1 h at 100°C in a bath consisting of purified water or potassium carbonate (15%). The coloured extracts were filtered with Whatman™ filter paper and dried. Finally, the plant extracts and/or minerals were mixed with binders (such as, gum Arabic) that were produced separately.

**METHODS OF SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS**

The reference samples were investigated optically (microscopy, Figure 3), with ultraviolet (UV) and near infrared (NIR) reflectography (Figure 4), visible reflectance spectroscopy (VIS, Figure 5), Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR-ATR, Figure 6), micro-Raman- spectroscopy (Figure 7), and micro-X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF, Figure 8).

For the studies of the original manuscripts, the systematic non-destructive investigation protocol developed in a collaborative effort between the Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung (BAM) and the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) were followed (Rabin 2014; Hahn and Nöller, 2014). Following this protocol microscopy and FTIR were used to investigate the writing supports to determine the type of paper used in each manuscript. After this step, each manuscript was subjected to a reflectographic screening with ultraviolet (UV), white, and near-infrared illumination (NIR) to obtain a preliminary grouping of the black writing inks. This sorting was supplemented by XRF analyses to obtain the relative concentration of metals in the iron-gall inks. The metal composition was then used to compare the inks, that is, to identify the individual ink recipes. The composition of the coloured inks was identified with the help of visible reflectance spectroscopy in conjunction with XRF.

**Light Microscopy**

Classification of different ink types is carried out with microscope (Keyence VHX-5000, at magnification: x 200). In contrast to the pure plant ink (Figure 3, left) and the carbon ink (Figure 3, middle) the iron gall ink shows brown haloes around the ink stroke (Figure 3, right) indicating the presence of tannins. The distinction of different black drawing materials is the starting point for the development of successful restoration or conservation concepts.

**Reflectography**

In general, infrared (IR) reflectography is used to reveal underdrawings in paintings. The method is based on the fact that certain materials (such as, pigments) absorb very little infrared radiation in the spectral range between 750 and 1500 nm (near infrared). Radiation incident on carbon-based underdrawings is strongly absorbed and becomes "visible" by means of appropriate cameras. In addition, the method provides an appropriate technique to distinguish between carbon-based (carbon ink) and non-carbon-based (iron gall ink, plant ink) drawing and writing materials (Mrusek et al., 1995).

Ultraviolet (UV) photography is a convenient tool to visualize older compositions, hidden signatures, and retouched areas of works of art (Hain et al., 2003). UV fluorescence is a kind of luminescence. A substance (such as, binding material) irradiated by UV light emits light in the visible range of colours. Under UV light, old paint or varnish layers emit more fluorescent light than "modern" materials do. Retouched or re-stored areas appear darker under investigation. UV reflectography is a convenient tool to visualize text fragments that became discoloured over time. Furthermore, it can be used to analyse the binding media used for paper preparation. The measurements were carried out with a three-color USB microscope (Dino-Lite AD413T-I2V, at magnification: x 50), that is commonly useful in determining the ink typology and surface morphology. The microscope possesses in-built LED illumination at 395 and 930 nm and an external white light source. In the case, of these dummy samples, the microscope was used to build an atlas of typical images as a part of the database. An example of such an entry in the database can be seen in Figure 4.

**Visible reflectance spectroscopy**

By means of a spectral photometer, the colour value of a colorant can be quantitatively determined based on its reflective spectrum in the range of visible light (380 to 730 nm). With this surface method,
the sample to be examined is illuminated with visible light. The sample material interacts with the visible light by absorbing or reflecting it in a specific way, thereby appearing coloured. The reflected light characteristic of a specific pigment is measured with a photometer and recorded in the form of a characteristic reflection curve. This curve represents the correlation between the intensity of the reflected light and its wavelength. Comparison with a databank makes it possible to ascribe the pattern to a certain pigment or dye (Fuchs and Oltrogge, 1994). In the example below, the curves display characteristic features for a red colorant (Figure 5).

The examinations were carried out with the aid of the spectral photometer SPM 100 (Gretag Imaging AG company Regensdorf, Switzerland) equipped with a 3 mm sensor and 2W white light bulb.

The measurements were conducted with 10 nm wavelength resolution and 0.5 sec illumination time.

**Vibration spectroscopy (ATR-FTIR and Raman spectroscopy)**

IR and Raman spectroscopy techniques are common methods to reveal the chemical composition of unknown assays. In the first, portions of IR light at characteristic frequencies are absorbed, leading to the identification of the corresponding molecules. In the second, which is named after its discoverer Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, portions of UV, VIS, and NIR light are in elastically scattered to collect similar information. With the FTIR spectroscopy method used over the last 120 years, samples were usually measured in transition mode, which means that small samples had to be taken from an object. Recently, non-destructive methods have been developed to study the surfaces of various objects. The miniaturization of IR sources and detectors has enabled the development of a new generation of portable spectrometers that allow handheld investigation in a diffuse reflection mode or in ATR
Figure 5. Normalized reflexion curves of the of the Laterite samples 1 and 2 (red and black solid lines), the corresponding derivatives (dotted lines).

Figure 6. Comparison of FTIR-ATR spectra of gum (red), fruit (blue), and bark (green) from Acacia Senegalensis.
Figure 7. Raman spectrum of gum Arabic (resin of Acacia Senegalensis); characteristic bands of carbohydrates between 1500 cm$^{-1}$ and 800 cm$^{-1}$ lead to unequivocal identification of the gums.

Figure 8. XRF line scan of two red Laterite ink strokes. Note the logarithmic scale of the y-axis. The main colorant is iron oxide (such as, hematite, Fe$_2$O$_3$). The presence of characteristic traces of aluminium (Al), silicone (Si), titanium (Ti), chrome (Cr) and potassium (K) reveals the mineral nature of the raw material.

In the example presented in Figure 6, different chemical composition of the gum of the Acacia Senegalensis is reflected in the IR spectrum, which is distinctly different from those of the fruit and the bark of the same tree. Raman spectroscopy is a technique that relies on the scattering of monochromatic light in the visible.
near infrared and near-ultraviolet range. It has proved to be a specifically powerful tool for identifying inorganic as well as organic materials. In the field of scientific manuscript analysis, it is now routinely used to identify inks, dyes and pigments, whose spectra are tabulated (such as, www.irug.org).

The inVia™ Raman spectrometer has been specially adapted for the study of objects in the field of Cultural Heritage. Instead of a microscope, it is equipped with two fibre optics probes connected to lasers operating at 530 and 785 nm, respectively. The probes are connected to a camera to position the object and a CCD camera for signal registration. Measurements were carried out with 785 nm laser line, a x 50 lens and an output power of 5 mW in the spectral range 100-3600 cm\(^{-1}\) with a spectral resolution of 4 cm\(^{-1}\). Three hundred scans were co-added per spectrum collected with 20 exposure.

**X-Ray fluorescence (XRF) spectroscopy**

After classification of the writing materials using microscopy, reflectography or chemical analysis with vibrational spectroscopy, it was asked whether the script was executed with one or more carbon or pigment ink. Thus, the next step is the analysis of possible trace elements in the writing inks. In addition to colorants and binders, writing inks contain secondary components, such as salts of the elements potassium, calcium, copper, iron, manganese, or aluminium, among others. The varying composition of these different components is a characteristic property of writing inks and makes possible their exact determination.

Ageing phenomena have no influence on the applied XRF, because even if the chemical composition of the binder and the colorants may change due to chemical corrosion processes that alter the organic material, the proportion of metal components, that is, the elemental composition, remains the same. To estimate the presence and the real amount of trace elements, line scans with XRF were performed. The XRF spectrometer ARTAX (Bruker GmbH) is well known in the field of cultural heritage and belongs to standard equipment in the majority of large museums. It has a measuring spot size of 70 µm diameter, a CCD camera for sample positioning and an electrothermally cooled XFlash detector (SDD, area: 30 mm\(^2\)) with an energy resolution of <150 eV at 10 kcps. XYZ motors that allow for spot measurements as well as line operate the movable probe and small area scans. Open helium purge in the excitation and detection paths allows for detection of light elements (Z ≥ 11). All measurements are made using a 30 W low-power Mo tube, operating at 50 kV and 600 µA, and with an acquisition time of 10 - 100 s (live time). The mobile XRF probe moves over the object at a distance of 5 mm and stops for the duration of a single measurement. A line scan consists of several single measurements along a chosen line. In the example shown in Figure 8 left image shows two strokes made with Laterite ink and a corresponding line scan that traverses the strokes. The graphics on the right presents the elemental composition of the paper in which only element calcium (Ca) has high intensity (grey solid circles). The intensities of all other elements that could be detected start growing only when, line scan reaches the inked area. The iron signal (Fe, red circles) grows extremely quickly and becomes higher than that of Ca once the scan reached the ink. It drops again when the scan leaves the ink to quickly grow once again when the second stroke is reached. The signals of all other elements that correlate with the ink, aluminium (Al), silicone (Si), titanium (Ti), chrome (Cr) and potassium (K), also grow and fall but always stay at least two orders of magnitude below that of the iron in the inked area. This behaviour reflects the mineral nature of the colourant used here: natural iron oxide with its contaminants. The type and relative intensity of the contamination are very helpful in the provenance studies since they are specific for the natural mineral deposits (Nöller, 2012).

Note that the intensity of Ca drops slightly in the inked area. This does not mean that paper has less Ca in the inked area but reflect the fact that the thick layer of the ink absorbs some of the signal of the Ca fluorescence.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Kitāb al-wathāʾiq, Abū Ishāq İbrahim b. Abd al-Rahmān al-Gharnāṭi (751/1350), Figures 9a-9e. Figure 9a shows an example of the documentation of the tests conducted on the inks of the recto side of the fragment under investigation. Individual tests are color-coded: the arrows indicate the spot at which a measurement was conducted and the corresponding file name. In this case, a heterogeneous mixture of carbon and iron-gall ink in the main text was detected, whereas the comments were executed in pure iron-gall inks. Figure 9b demonstrates the optical properties of two inks. The brown ink depicted in the bottom row appears homogeneous under UV illumination, but loses opacity under NIR light. The ink of the top row preserves more of its black color when the illumination is changed from VIS to NIR XRF analysis demonstrated the presence of the iron-gall ink in both cases. In the left and right portions of Figure 9c, the distributions of the elemental iron extracted from the scans that crossed the lines drawn in the black ink of the main text and the brown ink of the comment were shown, respectively. In both cases, the amount of iron is much higher in the ink than in the paper as can be seen by the rise of its intensity when the scan reaches ink. Other elements whose profile matches that of the iron also belong to the ink. In the first case, these are potassium (K) and -- very few - copper (Cu). In the second case, the ink of the comment, distribution of the elements potassium (K), manganese, (Mn), copper (Cu) and zinc (Zn) closely follow that of iron. Note that since the inks are different, two strikingly different sets of elements that comprise the inks were obtained. However, in both cases, inks contain elevated amount of iron and of the elements that are typical for iron-gall ink. Therefore, it was concluded that both texts were penned in different iron gall-inks (Figure 9d).

The paper shows intense foxing (browned spots), which indicates a high acid content in the paper (for example, lignin is found in especially high concentration in coniferous wood). Indeed, the pH value of the surface lay in the acidic range. The acid in the paper reacted with the acid in the iron-gall ink, leading to various signs of ink corrosion. Thus, the script has soaked through the paper, and around the script clear halos can be seen that show that the acid reaction has spread ever farther into the paper. The very short, slender fibers speak for a paper with wood content. The uniformly short fibres indicate that the paper pulp was beaten with a Hollander beater. The
the paper pulp was beaten with a Hollander beater. The superficial and irregular ribbed structure probably did not result from the moulding process but was pressed into the paper afterward. The paper has no recognizable surface treatment like gluing or polishing, as is often found in Arabic paper (Figure 9e).

This manuscript page is unambiguously a European paper, industrially produced around 1900, because that is when wood-content paper first gained wide distribution. Acidic papers, in particular, were produced in times of scarcity or war, when the raw material wood was in short

Figure 9a. recto side with the documentation of the ink investigation (left); verso side of the fragment (right). Kitāb al-wathāiq, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Gharnātī (751/1350).

Figure 9b. Iron-gall ink of the comment (bottom row), iron gall ink of the main text (top row). The columns correspond to UV, VIS, and NIR illuminations, respectively.
Figure 9c. Profile of the elements that follow iron in the ink of the main text (top) and of the comment (bottom).
Figure 9d. Fingerprint values (relative concentrations) of several elements in relation to iron.

Figure 9e. Non-treated paper surface.
supply and the lignin could not be adequately removed from the pulp. An even later dating, between 1914 and 1950, is even more probable.

Sharh ‘alā Alfiya Ibn Mālik (grammar, Figures 10a-10d). In contrast to the previous manuscript, here (Figure 10a) mixed carbon-iron-gall ink in the main text and comments executed in pure iron-gall ink were detected, with the onset of ink-induced corrosion. In this manuscript, cinnabar-based red inks are also present. In this manuscript, however, the presence of both iron-gall and carbon ink can be recognized using reflectography alone (Figure 10b). In the ink of the comments the loss of opacity speaks for the identification of the type whereas in the ink of the main text high degree of un-mixing that occurred in the ink leads to the extensive loss of opacity in the borders of the letters when the text is viewed in the
NIR light.

The paper displays traces of a watermark that unfortunately cannot be clearly recognized (Figure 10c) but allows us to identify this paper as a European one. The paper contains shorter and longer fibers and the paper shows foxing overall. The paper substance is very unstable and brittle. All of the marginal areas of the paper have broken off. The unstable paper substance indicates that the fibers were treated roughly, which is typical of paper made in Europe from 1850 on. It seems that in this case, a mixture of rag fibers and ground wood was used, which would also attribute the paper production to the post 1850 period. Furthermore, when light is shone through the paper, a regular rib-and-web pattern is visible confirming the identification of the paper as European: it was customary in Europe to produce a hand-scooped paper using a metal sieve, into which a watermark was woven.

Interestingly that in this case, it was coated with glue and polished, which would correspond with the previous manuscript fragment. The paper substance is very unstable and brittle. Not only are all of the marginal areas of the paper broken off and in part repaired with a glued patch; a large flaw also developed. In contrast with the previous manuscript (Sharh ʿalā Alfiya Ibn Mālik) this fragment displays no watermark. The fibers are shorter, more regular (Figure 11c), and even less stable than those of the previous fragment, which speaks for the rougher treatment. This was taken as an indication that the paper was produced later, with progress in industrialized papermaking.

**Kitāb Dalāʾīl al-khayrāt (prayers to the Prophet Muhammad PSL), Muhammad b. Suleymān al-Jazūlī (870/1465), Figures 11a-11c.** Here (Figure 11a), the text is written on European paper with short fibers. The surface was treated with glue and polished. As with the previous manuscript, the paper can be placed in the 19th century. The decoration on the verso side contains carbon-based ink, gold, azurite, and red organic dye (probably cochineal, see Figure 11b). The text paragraphs on the verso side were written with two different iron-gall inks, both containing iron and potassium.

Here, most aspects of the paper’s characteristics and dating correspond with the previous manuscript fragment. The paper substance is very unstable and brittle. Not only are all of the marginal areas of the paper broken off and in part repaired with a glued patch; a large flaw has also developed. In contrast with the previous manuscript (Sharh ʿalā Alfiya Ibn Mālik) this fragment displays no watermark. The fibers are shorter, more regular (Figure 11c), and even less stable than those of the previous fragment, which speaks for the rougher treatment. This was taken as an indication that the paper was produced later, with progress in industrialized papermaking.

**Kitāb fī al-Falak (astronomy) with Saharan writing, Figures 12a-12b.** Advanced ink corrosion indicates that the main text was executed in iron-gall ink, as revealed by the XRF analysis. Comments, too, were executed in iron-gall ink, though of a different composition (Figure 12b). In this manuscript, the red ink is not based on cinnabar as in previous manuscripts, but contains red lead.

The fragment displays no watermark. The dimensions of the paper show that it is only a half- or quarter-sheet. When light is shone through the paper, a regular rib-and-web pattern is visible. The fibres are long and irregular, suggesting high-quality rag fibre. It was probably made...
before 1850, when more rag fibre was used. The paper substance is stable and not very brittle. The fibres were not treated as roughly as in the previous fragments (Sharh ʿalā Alfiya Ibn Mālik, Figure 10a and Kitāb Dalāʾīl al-khayrāt, Figure 11a), suggesting a somewhat earlier production date. Furthermore, the paper surface experienced intense post-production treatment. The surface is high-gloss and polished, which would be...
unusual for European paper.

*Kitāb fi al-Hadīth (tradition of the Prophet Muhammad PSL)* with Oriental writing, Figures 13a-13d. The text was written with black and brown iron-gallinks (Figure 13b). The red ink is based on cinnabar. The paper has a cloudy structure (Figure 13c). The fibers are long and very irregular. Long, dark fibers can be clearly seen, distributed throughout the whole paper. This paper has a marked rib structure, but no webbing is visible. The broad ribs and the lack of webbing indicate a non-European paper. This could be Indian or Arabic paper. The surface is glossy and has a coating (Figure 13d).

![Figure 11b. VIS-spectrum revealing a red organic dye (cochineal).](image)

![Figure 11c. Transmissive light revealing the paper structure.](image)
The surface sizing of the coating clearly displays a brushstroke structure. This technique is typical for an Arabic paper. The most probable dating is before 1900; it is quite possible that the paper is much older.

Īthār al-Insāf fi al-Akhlāq (ethics), Abū Muzfar Yusuf Sibt al-Māridīnī (Sibt ibn al-Jawzi) (654/1257). Figures 14a-14c. In this manuscript, two types of paper glued together were found, making close inspection and classification impossible. It is seen though that both sides were polished but only one side was treated with glue (Figure 14b). The texts are executed in carbon and iron-gall inks as well as gold and red different cinnabar inks (Figure 14c). Presence of different trace elements in the red inks indicates tentatively that mineral cinnabar was used as a precursor for the inks (Nöller, 2012).

Al-Hulal al-Sundussiyat fil Maqāmāt al-Ahmadiyyat al-Qudussiyat (literature), Ahmad b. `Abd al-Hayy al-Halabī (1120/1708). Figures 15a-15c. The texts were written with various iron-gall inks that contain different relative concentrations of copper and zinc (Figure 15b). In addition, decorations were executed with a carbon-based ink, gold, and azurite. It was impossible to identify the yellowish dye.

The paper displays no watermark, but one could have been cut off. The dimensions of the paper show that it is only a half- or quarter-sheet. When light is shone through the paper, a regular rib-and-web pattern is visible. The fibers are long and irregular, suggesting high-quality rag fiber. The paper substance is stable and not very brittle. The paper substance is comparable to that of the fragment from Kitāb fī al-Falak (Figure 12a), but here it is in better condition and shows no foxing. The coating is unusual for European paper. The surface is high-gloss and polished (Figure 15c). The foxing of the paper and the ink corrosion on its surface could be a result of this sizing. Resin sizings also contain acid. Customary with handmade papers in Europe was a light, animal-based surface sizing. Polished surfaces are rare in papers, more common in parchments. The research used rags and was hand-scooped with a metal sieve. It was probably made before 1850, when more rag fiber was used. It was produced in Europe and only afterward given a glossy surface to make a European paper look Arabic for the Arabic manuscript market and to meet the taste of the later purchaser. The most probable dating was the 18th to 19th century.

Quran with decorated and gilded Maghrebinian writing, Figures 16a-16c. The main text was written with a carbon ink. Additional texts and decorations were executed in gold ink, blue azurite, and an organic red dye, probably cochineal (Figure 16b). Most aspects of the characteristics and dating of the paper correspond with those of the manuscript Kitāb Dalā'il al-khayrāt (Figure 11a), that is, European paper with short fibres (Figure 16c).

The paper substance is very unstable and extremely brittle. The marginal areas have broken off. There is a truncated watermark. The fibers are short, regular, and unstable, which speaks for a rough treatment of the fibers, which can indicate that the paper was made later, with the progress of industrialized papermaking. The most probable dating is therefore the 19th century.
Figure 12b: Characteristic XRF-spectra of different inks from fragment 4. For better comparability the Fe-Kα peaks were normalized to 1.

Figure 13a. Recto and verso side of the fragment. Kitāb fi al-Hadīth (tradition of the Prophet Muhammad PSL) with Oriental writing.
Figure 13b. Iron-gall ink of the comment (top row), iron-gall ink of the title (bottom row). The columns correspond to UV, VIS, and NIR illuminations, respectively.

Figure 13c. Transmissive light reveals the paper structure
Figure 13d. Treated paper surface.

Figure 14a. Recto (left) and verso side (right) of the fragment. Īthār al-Însāfī al-Akhlaq (ethics), Abū Muzfar Yūsuf Sibt al-Māridīnī (Sibt ibn al-Jawzi) (654/1257), with Oriental and gold writing.
Figure 14b. Treated paper surface.

Figure 14c. Fingerprint values of several trace elements in relation to mercury.
Figure 15a. Recto (left) and verso side (right) of the fragment. Al-Hulal al-Sundussiyat fil Maqāmāt al-Ahmadīyyat al-Qudussiyyat (literature), Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Hayy al-Halabī (1120/1708), with Maghrebinian and gold writing.

Figure 15b. Fingerprint values (relative concentrations) of several elements in relation to iron.
Figure 15c. Treated paper surface.

Figure 16a. Recto (left) and verso side (right) of the fragment from Quran with decorated and gilded Maghrebinian writing.
**Figure 16b.** VIS-spectrum revealing a red organic dye (cochineal).

**Figure 16c.** Transmissive light reveals the paper structure.
CONCLUSION

The results of the analyses of the reference materials indicate that one can recognize the local materials if they are used in the real manuscripts. In addition, it is possible not only to classify writing inks (typology) but also to differentiate between the different inks of the same type (fingerprinting). Meanwhile the research created a first structured collection of traditional recipes for producing black and coloured inks in Mali. The reference database will be expanded to include more materials and analyses to produce a solid base for comparison with original manuscripts. However, already at this stage one could begin with the analytic work on the original manuscripts in Bamako. For future analysis, the manuscripts will be sorted according to the type of inks (pigment inks, dye inks, etc.), to the type of applicable analyses and to the kind of sampling allowed by the libraries that own the manuscripts. These case studies show the maximum output of information that can be extracted with non-destructive methods. Though different paper types were found, no paper type could be ascribed with certainty to Malian production. In addition, several inks, dyes, and pigments were characterized in the pilot samples. The presence of different papers, inks, and colorants suggests different production sites and techniques.

Although practically all the types of the paper tested here were identified as European, they have clearly been subjected to a treatment that made them look like Arabic paper. It is believed that this was a common practice to make the paper look more attractive for the Arab market.

The results of the above case studies should encourage philologists and conservators working with manuscripts to enlist support from experts in material analysis. The most important precondition for these results is the formulation of precise research questions or hypotheses. More generally, the authors hope that material analysis will soon become an integral part of the emerging field of manuscriptology, uniting philology, codicology, and palaeography, as well as conservation science.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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