Bogumil Jewsiewicki David Newbury Editors

African Historiographies

What History for Which Africa?

Bogumil Jewsiewicki David Newbury Editors

African Historiographies

What History
Which Africa?



Copyright @ 1986 by Sage Publications, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

For information address:

SAGE Publications, Inc. 275 South Beverly Drive Beverly Hills, California 90212

SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd. M-32 Market Greater Kailash I New Delhi 110 048 India

SAGE Publications Ltd 28 Banner Street London ECIY 8QE England

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

African historiographies.

(Sage series on African modernization and development; v. 12)

Bibliography: p.

1. Africa—Historiography—Addresses, essays, lectures. I. Jewsiewicki, Bogumil. II. Newbury, David S. III. Series.
DT19.C86 1985 960'.072 85-8113

FIRST PRINTING

Preface

The chapters in this volume were written as part of a larger project originally conceived in 1980. In the initial stages this was envisaged as an opportunity for those interested in reviewing the development of Central African historiography over the recent past to meet and discuss their common preoccupations. Thanks to Peter Gutkind's suggestion, the project became a more ambitious adventure, and came to include participants from many different regions of the continent (and outside Africa) and from diverse intellectual traditions. From the beginning it was seen as important that African scholars be included at the center of this critical reassessment of the existing historiography. The invitation sent to more than thirty colleagues in April of 1981 proposed joining efforts to reflect on the social and political conditions prevailing in the production of African history. and shaping the evolution of historical practice on and of black Africa. This was based on the premise that knowledge of the past serves our understanding of the present, and conditions our imagination in dealing with the future.

Except for the Introduction and the contributions of Alagoa, Bayart, Marks, Newbury, and Twaddle, the chapters included here were discussed at the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of African Studies held at Laval University in Québec City in May 1983. Financial assistance from the Canadian International Development Agency, the International Development Research Center, the Social Science Research Council of Canada, the Fonds HCAR of Québec, the Québec government, and the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères of France is gratefully acknowledged. We also particularly wish to express our thanks to Peter Gutkind for his original stimulus and constant encouragement. We dedicate this volume to him on the occasion of his retirement.

Given the strict page limitation imposed on the work, the editors have had to reduce the total manuscript by some 30 percent. We are grateful to the contributors for their forbearance in accepting the rather draconian reductions in their original texts. Working in constant contact with the authors, we have tried to make the volume more a work of collaboration and dialogue than a simple collection of separate papers, while at the same time remaining faithful to the ideas of each individual contributor. With the exception of several pages of the chapter by Jean Bazin, translated by C. Aubin-Sugy, all translations were undertaken by David Newbury, with grateful acknowledgment to Wesleyan University and Bowdoin College for providing facilities during the preparation of the translations. The Social Science Research Council of Canada and the History Department of Laval University have provided financial assistance for typing and duplicating the several versions of the individual chapters of this volume.

> —Bogumil Jewsiewicki David Newbury

Contents

Pre	ace	7
Inti	oduction: One Historiography or Several? A Requiem for Africanism BOGUMIL JEWSIEWICKI	9
PA	RT I. THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF AFRICAN STUDIES	
1.	African Historians and Africanist Historians NDAYWEL E NZIÈM	20
2.	Knowledge and Perceptions of the African Past JAN VANSINA	28
3.	Epistemological Ethnocentrism in African Studies WYATT MacGAFFEY	42
PA	T II. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ORAL DISCOURS	E
4.	Profile of a Historiography: Oral Tradition and Historical Research in Africa HENRI MONIOT	50
5.	The Past in the Present: Notes on Oral Archaeology JEAN BAZIN	59
6.	Confronting the Unequal Exchange of the Oral and the Written JEAN-PIERRE CHRÉTIEN	75
7.	African History and the Rule of Evidence: Is Declaring Victory Enough? DAVID HENIGE	91
8.	Afterthoughts on the Historiography of Oral Tradition JAN VANSINA	105
PA	RT III. AFRICA FROM THE OUTSIDE: FROM IMPERIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY, TO AFRICANIST HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND BEYOND	
9.	The Idea of Progress in the Revision of African History, 1960-1970 CAROLINE NEALE	112
10.	Decolonization in Africa: A New British Historiographical Debate? MICHAEL TWADDLE	123
	The second of th	123

11. Africanist Historiography in France and Belgium: Traditions and Trends CATHERINE COQUERY-VIDROVITCH and BOGUMIL JEWSIEWICKI	139
12. Africanist Historical Studies in the United States: Metamorphosis or Metastasis? DAVID NEWBURY	151
13. The Historiography of South Africa: Recent Developments SHULA MARKS	165
PART IV. AFRICA FROM WITHIN: NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES	
14. Marxian Method and Historical Process in Contemporary Ethiopia ROBERT S. LOVE	179
15. Nigerian Academic Historians E. J. ALAGOA	179
16. Nigeria: The Ibandan School and Its Critics PAUL E. LOVEJOY	197
17. Senegalese Historiography: Present Practices and Future Perspectives MOHAMED MBODJ and MAMADOU DIOUF	207
18. The Development of Senegalese Historiography MARTIN A. KLEIN	215
19. Historical Research in Zaire: Present Status and Future Perspectives MUMBANZA MWA BAWELE and SABAKINU KIN	VILU 224
PART V. WHICH WAY OUT? TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPING HISTORIOGRAPHIE	E
20. The Method of "Histoire Immédiate":	
Its Application to Africa BENOIT VERHAEGEN	236
21. Dar es Salaam and the Postnationalist Historiography of Africa HENRY SLATER	249
22. Populist Political Action: Historical Understanding and Political Analysis in Africa JEAN-FRANÇOIS BAYART	261
23. Toward a Responsible African Historiography CHRISTOPHE WONDJI	269
References	279
About the Contributors	317

African Historiographies

FOUNDING SERIES EDITOR (1976-1986)

Peter C.W. Gutkind, McGill University

SERIES EDITOR DESIGNATE

Paul E. Lovejoy, York University

EDITORIAL BOARD

Claude Ake, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria Bernard Magubane, University of Connecticut Ann Seidman, University of Zimbabwe Immanuel Wallerstein, State University of New York, Binghamton

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Chiuna Achebe, University of Massachusetts, Amherst Chris Allen, University of Edinburgh Samir Amin, UNITAR, Dakar Georges Balandier, Centre d'Etudes Africaines, Ecole des Hautes Etudes des Sciences Sociales. Paris

Abner Cohen, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Robin Cohen, University of Warwick, England
Jean Copans, Centre d'Etudes Africaines, Ecole des Hautes
Etudes des Sciences Sociales, Paris
Cohening Commen Videorités Luironnité de Baris VIII

Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Université de Paris-VII Michael Crowder, *History Today*, London

Walker Elkan, Brunel University, London

Leo Kuper, University of California, Los Angeles

Anthony Leeds, Boston University

Peter C. Lloyd, University of Sussex

Archibald B.M. Mafeje, American University, Cairo

Peter Marris, Centre for Environmental Studies, London

Segun Osoba, University of Ife, Nigeria

Maxwell Owusu, University of Michigan

Ian Pool, University of Waikato, New Zealand

Terrance Ranger, University of Manchester

Aidan W. Southall, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Jean Suret-Canale, Paris

Tamas Szentes, Institute for World Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

Bogumil Jewsiewicki David Newbury Editors

African Historiographies

What History
Which Africa?



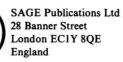
Copyright © 1986 by Sage Publications, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

For information address:

SAGE Publications, Inc. 275 South Beverly Drive Beverly Hills, California 90212

SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd. M-32 Market Greater Kailash I New Delhi 110 048 India



Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

African historiographies.

(Sage series on African modernization and development; v. 12)

Bibliography: p.

1. Africa—Historiography—Addresses, essays, lectures. I. Jewsiewicki, Bogumil. II. Newbury, David S. III. Series.

DT19.C86 1985 960'.072 85-8113

ISBN 0-8039-2498-4

FIRST PRINTING

Contents

Preface	1
Introduction: One Historiography	
or Several? A Requiem for Africanism BOGUMIL JEWSIEWICKI	9
PART I. THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF AFRICAN STUDIES	
African Historians and Africanist Historians NDAYWEL E NZIÈM	20
2. Knowledge and Perceptions of the African Past JAN VANSINA	28
3. Epistemological Ethnocentrism in African Studies WYATT MacGAFFEY	42
PART II. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ORAL DISCOURS	E
4. Profile of a Historiography: Oral Tradition and Historical Research in Africa HENRI MONIOT	50
5. The Past in the Present: Notes on Oral Archaeology JEAN BAZIN	59
6. Confronting the Unequal Exchange of the Oral and the Written JEAN-PIERRE CHRÉTIEN	75
7. African History and the Rule of Evidence: Is Declaring Victory Enough? DAVID HENIGE	91
8. Afterthoughts on the Historiography of Oral Tradition JAN VANSINA	105
PART III. AFRICA FROM THE OUTSIDE: FROM IMPERIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY, TO AFRICANIST HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND BEYOND	100
9. The Idea of Progress in the Revision of African History, 1960-1970 CAROLINE NEALE	112
10. Decolonization in Africa: A New British Historiographical Debate? MICHAEL TWADDLE	123
	0.000

11. Africanist Historiography in France and Belgium: Traditions and Trends CATHERINE COQUERY-VIDROVITCH and BOGUMIL JEWSIEWICKI	139
12. Africanist Historical Studies in the United States: Metamorphosis or Metastasis? DAVID NEWBURY	151
13. The Historiography of South Africa: Recent Developments SHULA MARKS	165
PART IV. AFRICA FROM WITHIN: NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES	
14. Marxian Method and Historical Process in Contemporary Ethiopia ROBERT S. LOVE	179
15. Nigerian Academic Historians E. J. ALAGOA	189
16. Nigeria: The Ibandan School and Its Critics PAUL E. LOVEJOY	197
17. Senegalese Historiography: Present Practices and Future Perspectives MOHAMED MBODJ and MAMADOU DIOUF	207
18. The Development of Senegalese Historiography MARTIN A. KLEIN	215
19. Historical Research in Zaire: Present Status and Future Perspectives MUMBANZA MWA BAWELE and SABAKINU KIVILU	224
PART V. WHICH WAY OUT? TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPING HISTORIOGRAPHIES OF AFRIC	CA
20. The Method of "Histoire Immédiate":	
Its Application to Africa BENOIT VERHAEGEN	236
21. Dar es Salaam and the Postnationalist Historiography of Africa HENRY SLATER	249
22. Populist Political Action: Historical Understanding and Political Analysis in Africa JEAN-FRANÇOIS BAYART	261
23. Toward a Responsible African Historiography CHRISTOPHE WONDJI	269
References	279
About the Contributors	317

Preface

The chapters in this volume were written as part of a larger project originally conceived in 1980. In the initial stages this was envisaged as an opportunity for those interested in reviewing the development of Central African historiography over the recent past to meet and discuss their common preoccupations. Thanks to Peter Gutkind's suggestion, the project became a more ambitious adventure, and came to include participants from many different regions of the continent (and outside Africa) and from diverse intellectual traditions. From the beginning it was seen as important that African scholars be included at the center of this critical reassessment of the existing historiography. The invitation sent to more than thirty colleagues in April of 1981 proposed joining efforts to reflect on the social and political conditions prevailing in the production of African history, and shaping the evolution of historical practice on and of black Africa. This was based on the premise that knowledge of the past serves our understanding of the present, and conditions our imagination in dealing with the future.

Except for the Introduction and the contributions of Alagoa, Bayart, Marks, Newbury, and Twaddle, the chapters included here were discussed at the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of African Studies held at Laval University in Québec City in May 1983. Financial assistance from the Canadian International Development Agency, the International Development Research Center, the Social Science Research Council of Canada, the Fonds HCAR of Québec, the Québec government, and the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères of France is gratefully acknowledged. We also particularly wish to express our thanks to Peter Gutkind for his original stimulus and constant encouragement. We dedicate this volume to him on the occasion of his retirement.

Given the strict page limitation imposed on the work, the editors have had to reduce the total manuscript by some 30 percent. We are grateful to the contributors for their forbearance in accepting the rather draconian reductions in their original texts. Working in constant contact with the authors, we have tried to make the volume more a work of collaboration and dialogue than a simple collection of separate papers, while at the same time remaining faithful to the ideas of each individual contributor. With the exception of several pages of the chapter by Jean Bazin, translated by C. Aubin-Sugy, all translations were undertaken by David Newbury, with grateful acknowledgment to Wesleyan University and Bowdoin College for providing facilities during the preparation of the translations. The Social Science Research Council of Canada and the History Department of Laval University have provided financial assistance for typing and duplicating the several versions of the individual chapters of this volume.

> —Bogumil Jewsiewicki David Newbury

INTRODUCTION One Historiography or Several? A Requiem for Africanism

BOGUMIL JEWSIEWICKI

If history as we

practice it today is simultaneously both reconstruction of the past and project for the future, this volume is, at least in part, an imposture. As Ndaywel notes, the Africanist historian and the African historian fully share neither the same responsibilities nor the same existential constraints. And yet, the lost unity between these two sets of practitioners is partially reestablished by the social location associated with the production of Africanist discourse: In some respects African academics are closer to their colleagues in western universities than to the peasants of their "own" national society.

There is a striking contrast between the approaches adopted by university historians, of whatever nationality, and by historical narrators, whether performing in an urban bar or in a village ceremony (Jewsiewicki, 1984). Even while addressing the same issues, the two categories of narrator do not say the same things, because the discourse of the former must be directed primarily to an audience outside the historical actors. The discourse of a narrator of social facts who performs before "the people" (Bourdieu, 1983) to earn a living must first elicit a reaction among the social actors, a reaction that must find

Author's Note: I wish to express my thanks to V. Y. Mudimbe, D. Henige, D. Cordell, H. Moniot, J. Gregory, and D. Newbury for their comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

its resonance in the collective consciousness. Irrelevance in this context carries a heavy price, because it cuts off the performers from their living, although irrelevance upheld by state power, as illustrated in the case of Zairean "authenticity," can be transformed into a strategic tool (Thompson, 1978a; Legendre, 1982).

ı

A New Copernican Revolution: The Decolonization of History [Sahli, cited in each issue of Africa Zamani].

Discourse based on Weberian rationalism and evolutionist historicism unifies participants at a level beyond the quarrels over a particular field of action. The type of analysis illustrated by the work of Cheikh Anta Diop is indicative of the broad scale on which such analyses take place. Many Western historians who would be prepared to argue the questions relating to pharonic negritude, were the debate to be carried out in its own terms, do not do so because they do not want to offend the sensitivities of their African colleagues. Diop's discourse divides African historians into unconditional supporters or opponents (for instance, see Obenga, 1980; Temu and Swai, 1981), but full debate is never engaged in by either group. From Laroui to Said in the Middle East, but also in many other cases (Berto, 1980; Larzac, 1971), historical and political experience show that calling for the decolonization of history is at the very least ambiguous (Rabinow, 1984). Lacking any social content, the greater the ambiguities in the Negro-Egyptian debate, the more the goal of "decolonization" reinforces rather than weakens Africanist epistemology.

Similarly, from their commitment to construct a veritable monument of respectability the authors of the UNESCO General History (1981) have avoided the essential questions, and focused instead on the simple chronological primacy of black civilization and its unity (Jewsiewicki, 1981a). As the inverse of the ideology of black inferiority, Diop's paradigm communicates essentially within the same epistemological framework, even if at the same time it reestablishes a degree of equilibrium to earlier arguments. But as with the colonial ethnographic corpus (Copans, 1980a, 1980b; Mudimbe, 1982b) and the "ethnosciences" (such as "ethnohistory" or "ethnophilosophy"; Houtondji, 1977; Mudimbe, 1984), this paradigm retains a slight "Odeur du Père" (Mudimbe, 1982a). Although useful for the political