

A CHECKLIST OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH VERSIONS OF THE SUNJATA EPIC PUBLISHED BEFORE THE 21ST CENTURY¹

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This checklist of published versions of the Sunjata epic (which is a slightly edited version of an article I published in *History in Africa* [1997]) aims to include the widest possible corpus of written variants of the Mande tradition available through publishers, libraries, and in unpublished higher degree dissertations.² It builds upon the work of Guy Tombs, Stephen Belcher, John Johnson, David Conrad and Ralph Austen.³ Entries are arranged alphabetically, by the name of the *jeli* (griot or bard, plural *jeliw*) or writer.⁴ Included in each entry are (1) the bibliographical reference (and subsequent references if the item has been republished or published in a translation or excerpted form);⁵ (2) the name of the performer (or writer); (3) details of the location and date of the performance; (4) details of the recorder(s) and translator(s); (5) the format of the published version (including the language(s) and the type of translation); and (6) the coverage of the published version.⁶ Coverage is indicated by use of a simple five-fold division of material traditionally included within the epic:

1. Paternal ancestry of Sunjata - links with the Middle East, Bilali, the Three Simbons, etc.
2. Buffalo woman tale
3. Birth and childhood of Sunjata
4. Exile of Sunjata
5. Return and war with Sumanguru

[1] ANONYMOUS

Anonymous, 'La ruse de Diegué' *Présence Africaine* 5 (1949): 769-809.

Writers: unknown Marian students at the Ecole Normale William Ponty at Sebikotane, Senegal, in 1937, when the play was staged at the school fête

Source(s): unknown *jeli(w)*

Format: Drama. French verse and prose, and Maninka songs

Coverage: 5

Notes: The Prologue notes that stories about Sunjata are told by the Kéla griots every seven years at Kangaba.

[2] BACILI

‘Suite de la singulière légende des Soninkes’ in ‘Traditions orales sur le royaume de Koumbi et sur divers autres royaumes soudanais, ‘ recueillies par Robert Arnaud, *L’Islam et la politique musulmane française en Afrique Occidentale Française*. Paris: Comité de l’Afrique Française (1912): 166-172.

Source: a Soninke of the Bacili family

Recorder: Robert Arnaud, French colonial official

Place of recording: Nioro, Mali

Date of recording: between 1898 and 1912 (publication), probably 1906

Format: French prose

Coverage: 1, 3, 4, 5

[3] BERTOL, Roland

Roland Bertol, *Sundiata: the epic of the Lion King*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company (1970); British edition published in London by Hamish Hamilton (1972).

Writer: Roland Bertol, Franco-American children’s author

Source(s): unknown, but probably includes DIAKITÉ c.l.

Format: English prose

Coverage: 1, 3, 4, 5

[4] CISSE, Ahmed-Tidjani

Ahmed-Tidjani Cissé, *Le tana de Soumangourou*. Paris: Nubia (1988).

Writer: Ahmed-Tidjani Cissé, poet, dancer, and playwright, born ca. 1942, Guinea, resident in Paris since 1960s

Source(s): Wa KAMISSOKO and a performance by *jeli* Binta Gawlo Madam, translated by Khalifa Bayo

Format: Drama. French verse and prose

Coverage: 4, 5

[5] CONDE, Babou

1. Camara Laye, *Le maître de la parole: Kouma Lafôlo Kouma*. Paris: Librairie Plon (1978).

2. English edition: *The Guardian of the Word: Kouma Lafôlo Kouma*, trans. J. Kirkup.

Glasgow: Fontana/Collins (1980).

Performer: Babou Condé (died ca. 1964), Belentigi of Fadama, Guinea

Recorder: Camara Laye (1928-1980), Guinean novelist

Place of recording: Fadama, Guinea

Date of recording: March-April 1963

Format: 1, French prose; 2, English prose

[6] CONDE, Mamadi

Mamadi Condé, (a)’Sunjata’ (b)’Fakoli’ in David Conrad, ed., *Epic Ancestors of the Sunjata Era: Oral Tradition from the Maninka of Guinea*. Madison WI: University of Wisconsin African Studies Program (1997).

Performer: Mamadi Condé (died January 1994), *jeli* of Fadama, Guinea

Recorder: unknown Guinean tape merchant

Translators: David Conrad, Jobba Kamara, Lansana Magasouba

Place of recording: a. Kankan, Guinea; b. unknown

Date of recording: a. before 1984: textual references indicate that it was probably towards the end of Sékou Touré's regime; b. unknown

Format: English linear translation

Coverage: a. 1, 2, 3, 4; b. 5

Notes: a. the performance took place in two sessions

[7] DIABATÉ, Ami

Ami Diabaté, 'Fasa Sunjata' and 'Fasa Sumaoro' in *Siramuri Diabaté et ses enfants: une étude sur deux générations des griots Malinke*. Utrecht/Bamako: ISOR/ISH (1991): 95-98.

Performer: Ami Diabaté, born Kéla, 1969, wife of Sidiki KOUYATÉ of Kangaba; now living in Kangaba

Recorder: Jan Jansen

Translator: Cemako Kanté

Place of recording: Figuira-Koro, Mali

Date of recording: December 1988

Format: French linear translation

Coverage: *fasaw* or praise-songs are generally, as in this case, allusive

[8] DIABATÉ, Bakary

1. Abdoulaye Sadji, 'Ce que dit la musique africaine' *L'éducation africaine* 94 (April-June 1936): 140-154.

2. Reprinted as 'Soundiata' in Abdoulaye Sadji, *Ce que dit la musique Africaine*. Paris/Dakar: Présence Africaine (1985): 11-38.

Performer: Bakary Diabaté, *jeli* of Khasso province, Mali

Recorder: Abdoulaye Sadji (1911-1961), Senegalese school teacher and author

Place of recording: unknown, probably the province of Khasso, Mali

Date of recording: unknown, probably early 1930s

Format: French prose

Coverage: 2, 3, 5

[9] DIABATÉ, Lansiné

a. Lansiné Diabaté 'Fasa Sunjata, 'Fasa Sumaoro', and 'Fasa Tiramagang' in *Siramuri Diabaté et ses enfants: une étude sur deux générations des griots Malinke*. Utrecht/Bamako: ISOR/ISH (1991): 81-90.

b. 1. Jan Jansen, Esger Duintjer, and Boubacar Tamboura, *L'épopée de Sunjara, d'après Lansiné Diabaté de Kéla*. Leiden: Centre for Non-Western Studies (1995).

Performer: Lansiné Diabaté (1926-2007), *jeli* of Kéla, Kumatigi ('Master of the word') since 1989

Recorder: Jan Jansen

Translators: a. Cemako Kanté; b. J. Jansen, E. Duintjer, and B. Tamboura

Place of recording: a. and b. Kéla

Dates of recording: a. March 1989 b. 8 February and 6 December 1992

Format: a. French linear translation; b. 1, Maninka transcription, linear French translation; 2, Dutch prose and verse

Coverage: a. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; b. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

[10] DIABATÉ, Mamadi

Mamadi Diabaté, ‘Sunjata and Fakoli’ in David Conrad, ed., *Epic Ancestors of the Sunjata Era: Oral Tradition from the Maninka of Guinea*. Madison WI: University of Wisconsin African Studies Program (1997).

Performer: Mamadi Diabaté (died 1979), *jeli* of Kouroussa, Guinea

Recorder: unknown Guinean tape merchant

Translators: David Conrad, Jobba Kamara, Lansana Magasouba

Place of recording: possibly Kissidougou, Guinea, where the narrator lived

Date of recording: ca. 1970

Format: English linear translation

Coverage: 4, 5

[11] DIABATÉ, Sekou

Sekou Diabaté, ‘Ancestors of the Manden’ in David Conrad, ed., *Almami Samori and Laye Umaru: Nineteenth-Century Muslim Heroes of Mande Epic Tradition*, forthcoming

Performer: Sekou Diabaté, of Setigiya, Guinea; songs by Fanta Kouyaté (*jelimuso*)

Recorder: Fatamata Doubaya Kamara of Radio Télévision Guinéenne

Translators: David Conrad, Jobba Kamara, Lansana Magasouba

Place of recording: Conakry

Date of recording: March 1989

Format: English linear translation

Coverage: 3, 4

[12] DIABATÉ, Siné

Siné Diabaté, ‘Fasa Sunjata’, ‘Janjo Fakoli’, ‘Fasa Tiramagang’, ‘Fasa Sumaoro’, in *Siramuri Diabaté et ses enfants: une étude sur deux générations des griots Malinke*. Utrecht/Bamako: ISOR/ISH (1991): 37-44.

Performer: *jeli* related to the Kela Diabaté (born ca. 1940)

Recorder: Jan Jansen

Translators: Cemako Kanté

Place of recording: Kéla

Date of recording: between December 1988 and April 1989

Format: French linear translation

Coverage: *fasaw* or praise-songs are generally, as in this case, allusive

[13] DIABATÉ, Siramuri

Siramuri Diabaté, ‘Fasa Sunjata, ‘Fasa Sumaoro’, ‘Gwede’ (de vrais chasseurs) comprenant un fasa sur Tiramagang, ‘ and ‘Sumaoro Fasa (reprise)’ in *Siramuri Diabaté et ses enfants: une étude sur deux générations des griots Malinke*. Utrecht/Bamako: ISOR/ISH (1991): 66-80.

Performer: Siramuri Diabaté (1937-1989), *jelimuso* of Kéla/Kangaba

Recorder: Jan Jansen

Translators: Cemako Kanté

Place of recording: Kangaba

Date of recording: January 1989

Format: French linear translation

Coverage: *fasaw* or praise-songs are generally, as in this case, allusive

[14] DIAKITÉ, Mamadou A’issa Kaba

a. Mamadou Aissa Kaba Ben Mohamed Kaba, ‘Généalogie des gens de Keita’ in’ Livre renfermant la généalogie des diverses tribus noires du Soudan et l’histoire des rois après Mahomet, suivant le renseignements fournis par certaines personnes et ceux recueillis dans les anciens livres’ *Annales de l’Académie des Sciences Coloniales* 3 (1929): 209-210.

Writer: Mamadou Aissa Kaba Ben Mohamed Kaba, known as Mamadou Ai’ssa Kaba Diakité

Place of composition: Nioro, Mali

Date of composition: 1891

Format: French prose

Coverage: 1, 3, 4, 5

b. G. Adam, ‘Légendes historiques du pays de Nioro (Sahel)’ *Revue Coloniale*, nouvelle série (juillet 1903-juin 1904) (version entitled ‘Le Mande’). Paris: Augustin Challamel, éditeur, Librairie Maritime et Coloniale: 354-362.

Source: a young Soninke marabout of Nioro, probably to be identified as Mamadou Aissa Kaba Diakité

Recorder: G. Adam, Administrateur du Cercle de Kayes, 1900-1903

Place of recording: Nioro, Mali

Date of recording: between 1900 and 1901

Format: French prose

Coverage: 1, 3, 4, 5

c. 1. Maurice Delafosse, ‘Histoire de la lutte entre les empires de Sosso et du Mande (XIII^e siècle)’ in *Traditions Historiques et Légendaires du Soudan Occidental, traduites d’un manuscrit arabe inédit*. Paris: Comité de l’Afrique Française (1913): 19-30.

2. Printed under the same title in *Bulletin de l’Afrique Française, Renseignements-Coloniaux* (1913), no. 8: 291-306; no. 9: 325-329; no. 10: 355-368.

3. Reprinted as ‘Histoire de la lutte entre les empires de Sosso et du Mande (XIII^e siècle) (Manuscrit arabe anonyme, traduit par Maurice Delafosse)’ *Notes Africaines* 83 (1959): 76-80.

4. Excerpted English translation by Basil Davidson as ‘Sundiata’s Triumph (Anonymous)’ in Davidson, ed., *The African Past: Chronicles from Antiquity to Modern Times*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap (1964): 73-74.

Writer: Mamadi [sic] Ai’ssa, qadi of Nioro

Translator: Maurice Delafosse (1870-1926), French colonial official and scholar, writer on Western Sudanese culture and history

Place of recording: Nioro

Date of recording: probably around 1910

Format: 1, 2, 3, French prose; 4. English prose translation of excerpt

Coverage: 1, 3, 4, 5

Notes: Delafosse’s telling of the story of Sunjata and Sumanguru in his *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* (3 vols.) Paris: Maisonneuvre et Larose (1912) vol. 2: 162-184, seems to be based on this manuscript.

[15] DJEBAHATE, Mahan

1. Sory Camara, ‘L’histoire pour les Mandenka’ paper presented to the Conference on Manding Studies, SOAS, London (1972).

2. Reprinted as ‘L’histoire du Mande’ in Sory Camara, *Gens de la parole: Essai sur la condition et le rôle des griots dans la société Malinke*. Paris/The Hague: Mouton (1976): 254-266.

Performer: ye// Mahan Djebahate, originally from Kangaba

Recorder and translator: Sory Camara

Place of recording: Kedougou, Senegal

Date of recording: July 1970

Format: 1, Maninka linear text and French linear translation 2. French linear translation only

Coverage: 1, 2

[16] GBAGBO, Laurent

Laurent Gbagbo, *Soundjata: Lion du Manding*. Abidjan: Editions CEDA (1979).

Writer: Koudou Gbagbo Laurent, Ivorian, born 1945

Source(s): unknown, but employs Mamoudou KOUYATÉ

Format: Drama. French verse

Coverage: 1, 3, 4, 5

[17] GIBATE, Yeli Fode

Michael Jackson, ‘Prevented Successions: A Commentary upon a Kuranko Narrative’ in R.H. Hooke, ed., *Fantasy and Symbol: Studies in Anthropological Interpretation*. London: Academic Press (1979) 101-103.

Performer: Yeli Fode *Gibate, jeliba* (Kuranko griot)

Recorder and translator: Michael Jackson

Place of recording: Kabala, Sierra Leone

Date of recording: August 1970

Format: English prose
Coverage: 3

[18] GUILLOT, René

'La fleche magique' in René Guillot, *La Brousse et la Bête*. Paris: Librairie Delagrave (1950): 54-73.

Writer: René Guillot (1900-1969), French children's author living in Senegal 1923-1948, except for World War II

Source(s): unknown

Format: French prose

Coverage: 3, 4, 5

[19] HOURST

1. *Sur le Niger et au pays des Tuaregs: La Mission Hourst par Le Lieutenant de Vaisseau Hourst*. Paris: Librairie Plon (1898): 50-53.

2. English edition: *Lieut. Hourst, French Enterprise in Africa: The Personal Narrative of Lieut. Hourst of his Exploration of the Niger*, trans. N. Bell. London: Chapman & Hall Ltd (1898): 52-58.

Performer(s): unknown, probably a *jeli* or *jeliw* from Kulikoro

Place of performance: Kulikoro

Date of performance: 1889 or 1895

Format: 1. French prose; 2. English prose

Coverage: 3, 5

[20] HUMBLOT, Paul

P. Humblot, 'Episodes de la légende de Soundiata' *Notes Africaines* 52 (1951): 111-113.

Performer(s): unknown, but clearly a composite account

Recorder: Paul Humblot, French colonial official

Place of recording: unknown, perhaps Upper Guinea, around Kankan, where Humblot conducted ethnographic research on the Maninka that was published in 1918

Date of recording: unknown, before 1918

Format: French prose

Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

[21] JABATE, Ansumana

Ansumana Jabate, 'Mande History' in *Ancestors of the Guinea Forest: Foningama Kamara and Bakari Kromah in Maniga Oral Tradition*, ed. Tim Geysbeek, forthcoming.

Performer: Ansumana Jabate, leader of the old men of Douama-Sobala, Guinea. In his seventies at time of performance

Recorder: Tim Geysbeek and Makula Mammadi Kromah

Place of recording: Douama-Sobala, Guinea

Date of recording: 12 July 1992

Transcriber and translator: Adama Talawole

Format: English line-by-line translation

Coverage: 2

[22] JABATE, Bolin Jigi and others

Mamby Sidibé, ‘Soundiata Keita, héros historique et légendaire, Empereur du Manding’
Notes Africaines 82 (1959): 41-51.

Writer: Mamby Sidibé (1891-1977), school teacher, scholar, and storyteller

Sources: *jeli* Bolin Jigi Jabate, father of Kele Monson JABATE, according to M.M. Diabaté, and other unnamed *jeliw*

Place of composition: Bamako

Date of composition: 1937

Format: French prose, with some Maninka songs

Coverage: 3, 4, 5

[23] JABATE, Jeli Kanku Madi

Jeli Kanku Madi Jabate, *L'histoire du Mande*. Ed. and trans. M. Ly-Tall, S. Camara, and B. Diouara. Paris: Association SCOA (1987).

Performer: *Jeli* Kanku Madi Jabate (1913-1987) of Kéla, Kumati (‘Master of the word’), 1960-1987.

Recorders: Madina Ly-Tall, Seydou Camara, Bouna Diouara

Place of recording: Kéla

Date of recording: 14 January 1979

Format: Maninka linear transliteration, literal linear French translation and liberal French translation

Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

[24] JABATE, Kele Monson

1. Massa Makan Diabaté, *Kala Jata*. Bamako: Editions Populaires (1970) 2. ‘The Epic of Sunjata’ trans. Rex Moser, Mamadou Konaré, and Charles Bird in R.E. Moser,

‘Foregrounding in the “Sunjata”, the Mande Epic’ PhD. dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington (1974): 203-349.

3. M.M. Diabaté, ‘Essai critique sur l’épopée Mandingue’ Doctoral de troisième cycle, Centre de Recherches Africaines, Université de Paris I, Sorbonne (n.d.) 48-621.

4. M.M. Diabaté, trans., *L'aigle et l'épervier ou La geste de Sunjata*. Paris: Pierre Jean Oswald (1975).

5. M.M. Diabaté, trans., *Le lion à l'arc*. Paris: Hatier (1986).

6. Charles Bird, trans., ‘The Coming of Sunjata’s Ancestors’ in ‘Bambara Oral Prose and Verse Narratives Collected by Charles Bird’ in Richard M. Dorson, ed., *African Folklore*. Garden City NY: Doubleday (1972): 443-448.

Performer: Kele Monson Jabate, *jeli* of Kita (born Karaya, Mali)

Recorders: Charles Bird and Massa Makan Diabaté (1938-1988)

Transcriber and translator: 1, 3, 4, 5, M. M. Diabaté

Transcriber: 2, Mamadou Koita

Translators: 2, Rex Moser, Mamadou Konaré, and Charles Bird

Place of recording: Kita

Date of recording: 18 March 1968

Format: 1, French prose translation 2, Maninka linear transcription and English linear translation 3, Maninka linear translation, French literal translation, and French liberal linear translation 4, 5, French linear translation 6, English linear translation

Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Notes: Massa Makan Diabaté also produced a collection of traditional Mande songs rendered into French, *Janjon et autres chants populaires du Mali* (Paris: Présence Africaine [1970]). This contains ‘Une mère chante son fils’, ‘Sun Jata Faasa’, ‘Chants a la mémoire de Sun Jata’, ‘Janjon’, and ‘Tira Magan ni Kankejan Faasa’. Diabaté used as informants Tiemoko KONE, Yamourou Diabaté, Kele Monson JABATE, and Fa-Digi SISOKO. The same treatment of the Sun Jata Faasa also appears as M.M. Diabaté, ‘Presentation du Sunjata Faasa: version originale de Kéla’ *Etudes Maliennes* 1 (1970?): 101-108.

[25] JAIME

Le Lieutenant de Vaisseau Jaime, *De Koulikoro a Tombouctou a bord du ‘Mage’ 1889-1890.* Paris: Librairie de la société des gens de lettres (n.d.): 329-333. Revised edition, Paris: Les Librairies Associées (1894).

Performer(s): unknown, probably *jeli(w)* from Kulikoro

Recorder: Lieutenant Jaime of the French navy, member of the Niger flotilla based at Kulikoro, Mali

Place of recording: Kulikoro

Date of recording: 1889

Format: French prose

Coverage: 5

[26] KAMALA, Vase

Vase Kamala, ‘Sunyala and Mande’ in Tim Geysbeek, *Mande Voices from Southern Guinea: Koniya Traditions of Sunyala, Foningama, and Samori*, forthcoming.

Performer: Vase Kamala (died 1994/1995) of Fombadu, Guinea

Recorder and Transcriber: Jobba K Kamara

Translators: Muhammed Chejan Kromah, Tim Geysbeek, Jobba Kamara, and David Conrad

Place of recording: Fombadu, Guinea

Date of recording: 21 December 1985

Format: English linear translation

Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

[27] KAMARA, Sila Nani

Sila Nani Kamara, ‘Mande History’ in *Ancestors of the Guinea Forest: Foningama Kamara and Bakari Kromah in Maniya Oral Tradition*, ed. Tim Geysbeek, forthcoming.

Performer: Sila Nani Kamara, head of the youth association of Douama-Sobala, Guinea. 38 years old at time of performance

Recorder: Tim Geysbeek and Makula Mammadi Kromah
Place of recording: Douama-Sobala, Guinea
Date of recording: 29 October 1990
Transcriber and translator: Faliku Sanoe
Format: English line-by-line translation
Coverage: 3, 4

[28] KAMARA, Sory Fina

Sory Fina Kamara, ‘Almami Samori’ in David Conrad, ed., *Almami Samori and Laye Umara: Nineteenth-century Muslim Heroes of Mande Epic Tradition*. Madison, WI: African Studies Program (1997).

Performer: Sory Fina Kamara; songs by *jelimuso* Saran Kouyaté
Recorder: unknown
Translators: David Conrad, Jobba Kamara, Lansana Magasouba
Place of recording: Macenta, Guinea
Date of recording: ca.1985
Format: English linear translation
Coverage: 2

[29] KAMISSOKO, Wa

- a. *L'empire du Mali: Un récit de Wa Kamissoko de Krina, enregistré, transcrit, traduit et annoté par Youssouf Tata Cissé*: Fondation SCoA pour la recherche scientifique en Afrique Noire (Projet Boucle du Niger): Premier Colloque international de Bamako, 27 janvier - 1 février 1975. Paris: Fondation SCoA (1975).
- b. *L'empire du Mali (suite): L'enfance, l'exile, le testament et les funérailles de Magan Soundyata; les Peuls du Manding: Un récit de Wa Kamissoko de Krina, enregistré, transcrit, traduit et annoté par Youssouf Tata Cissé*: Fondation SCoA pour la recherche scientifique en Afrique Noire: Deuxième Colloque Internationale de Bamako, 16 février - 22 février 1976. Paris: Fondation SCoA (1977).
- c. Youssouf Tata Cissé, Wa Kamissoko, *La grande geste du Mali: Des origines à la fondation de l'Empire (Traditions de Krina aux colloques de Bamako)*. Paris: Editions Karthala/Association ARSAN (1988).
- d. Y.T. Cissé, Wa Kamissoko, *Soundjata, la gloire du Mali: La grande geste du Mali*, tome 2. Paris: Editions Karthala/Association ARSAN (1991).

Performer: Wa Kamissoko (1919-1976), *jeli* from Krina, Mali
Recorder, transcriber, translator: Youssouf Tata Cissé, ethnologist from San, Mali
Places of recording: San and Krina, Mali
Date of recording: from March 1972
Format: a, b, c: Maninka transcription, literal French translation, liberal linear French translation; d, French translation only
Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Notes: Much of the material in volumes (c) and (d) of Wa Kamissoko's performances reproduces that found in the earlier ones: (c) chapter 2 = (b) chapters 1 and 2 (rough equivalent); (c) chapter 3 = (a) chapter 4; (c) chapter 4 = (a) chapter 1; (d) chapter 3 = (a) chapter 2 (rough equivalent); (d) chapter 4 = (a) chapter 3; (d) chapter 6 = (b) chapter 3

(rough equivalent); (d) chapter 8 = (b) chapter 4 (rough equivalent); (d) Chapter 10 = (a) chapter 5 (rough equivalent). Kamissoko was a source for CISSE and KONARÉ BA.

[30] KANOTE, Kande

Franz de Zeltner, *Contes du Sénégal et du Niger*. Paris: Ernest Leroux (1913) ('La légende de Soundiata': 1-36).

Performer: Kande Kanote, a Khassonkey'e/i of Nioro

Recorder: Franz de Zeltner, French colonial official, ethnologist, and archeologist, through an interpreter

Place of recording: probably Nioro, Mali

Date of recording: between 1904 and 1912

Format: French prose

Coverage: 2, 3, 4, 5

Notes: De Zeltner presented two versions of the epic of Sunjata in his book: see also SISSOKO, Habibou.

[31] KANOUTE, Dembo

Dembo Kanoute, 'Formation de l'Empire Mandingue' in *Histoire de l'Afrique authentique*, trans. T. Sanogho and I. Diallo. Dakar (1972): 30-71.

Performer: Dembo Kanoute, Senegalese *jeli*, son of Djalimadi Kanoute and Sakiliba Kounadiya

Translators: Tidiane Sanogho and Ibrahima Diallo

Place of recording: unknown

Date of recording: unknown; 1972 or before

Format: French prose

Coverage: 2, 3, 4, 5

[32] KANTÉ, Ibrahima

Ibrahima Kanté, *L'épopée du Mandingue*. Kindia, Guinea (n.d.).

Performer: Ibrahima Kanté, *jeli* of Kankan, Guinea

Recorder: N'Famara Keita, government minister, Guinea

Translator: Ahmadou Kada, government official

Place of recording: unknown, probably Kindia or Kankan, Guinea

Date of recording: soon after May 1963

Format: French prose

Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

[33] KANTÉ, Nakunte

'De l'histoire des Sinbon et du Sosobala', appendix to Drissa Diakité, 'Le Mansaya et la société Mandingue. Essai d'interprétation des luttes sociopolitiques qui ont donné naissance à l'empire du Mali au XIII^e siècle' Thèse pour le doctoral de 3e cycle d'histoire. Université de Paris I (1980).

Performer: Nakunte Kanté of Narena, Mali, member of a blacksmith family

Recorder: Drissa Diakité

Place of recording: Narena, Mali

Date of recording: October 1977

Format: Maninka transcription and French linear translation

Coverage: 1, 4, 5

[34] KANUTE, Banna

Banna Kanute, ‘Sunjata’ in Gordon Innes, ed. and trans. *Sunjata: Three Mandinka Versions*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies (1974): 136-259.

Performer: Banna Kanute, *jeli* from the Georgetown area of Gambia (born ca. 1925).

Younger brother of Dembo KANUTE

Recorder: Gordon Innes

Transcriber: Bakari Sidibé

Translator: Gordon Innes with Bakari Sidibé

Place of recording: Serrekunda, Gambia

Date of recording: 1969

Format: Mandinka linear transcription and English linear translation

Coverage: 1, 3, 4, 5

[35] KANUTE, Dembo

Dembo Kanute, ‘Faa Koli’ in Gordon Innes, ed. and trans. *Sunjata: Three Mandinka Versions*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies (1974): 260-323.

Performer: Dembo Kanute (born ca. 1920), *jeli* from Niani-Kayayi, The Gambia. Older brother of Banna KANUTE

Recorder: Seni Darbo, agricultural officer, Yumdum, Gambia

Place of recording: Serrekunda, a village about 8 miles from Banjul, Gambia

Date of recording: 1968

Transcriber: Bakari Sidibé

Translator: Gordon Innes, with Bakari Sidibé

Format: Mandinka linear transcription and English linear translation

Coverage: 3, 4, 5

[36] KOATE, Kieba

1. Leo Frobenius, ‘Die Sunjattalegende der Malinke’ in his *Atlantis: Volksmarchen und Volksdichtungen Afrikas*, V, *Dichten und Denken im Sudan*. Jena: Diederichs Verlag (1925): 303-331.

2. Printed in part as ‘Ein historisches Dichtwert (der Mande oder Mandingo)’, in Leo Frobenius, *Und Afrika Sprach*. Berlin/Charlottenburg: Bita, Deutsches Verlagshaus (1912-1913): 445-461.

3. Excerpted English translation: ‘An Historical Poem (The Mandes or Mandingoes)’ in Leo Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa* 2, trans. R. Blind. London: Hutchinson & Co. (1913): 449-466.

Performer: *jeli* Kieba Koate, alias Korongo
Recorder: Leo Frobenius, German ethnologist (1873-1938), through an interpreter
Place of recording: unknown, perhaps Kankan, Guinea
Date of recording: probably 1907-1909, but possibly 1910-1912
Format: 1, 2, German prose; 3, English prose translation of excerpt
Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

[37] KONAKE, Sory

Sory Konake, *Le grand destin de Soundjata*. Paris: Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française, Direction des Affaires Extérieures et de la Cooperation (1973).

Writer: Sory Konake, born 1922, school inspector and writer from Mali
Source(s): unknown, but probably based in part on Mamoudou KOUYATÉ
Format: Drama. French verse and prose
Coverage: 2, 3, 4, 5

[38] KONARÉ BA, Adama

Adama Konaré Ba, *Sunjata: le fondateur de l'empire du Mali*. Libreville: Lion/Nouvelles Editions Africaines (1983).

Writer: Adama Konaré Ba, lecturer, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Bamako. Wife of Alpha Oumar Konaré (president of Mali, 1994-2002)
Sources: unknown, but includes Wa KAMISSOKO
Format: French prose
Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

[39] KONE, Tiemoko

Tiemoko Kone, *Soundiata*, transcribed and translated by Lassana Doucoure and Mme Marta. Bamako/Niamey: Institut des Sciences Humaines/Centre Régionale de Documentation pour la tradition orale (1970).

Performer: Tiemoko Kone *jeli* from Mourdia, Mali (born ca. 1907)
Recorder: Lassana Doucoure
Transcribers and translators: Lassana Doucoure and Mme Marta
Place of recording: Mourdia, Mali
Date of recording: November 1967
Format: Bamana transcription, French literal translation, and French liberal translation
Coverage: 1, 2

[40] KONTE, Bakary

Charles Monteil, ‘Fin de siècle à Médine (1898-1899)’ *Bulletin de l’Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire* 28B (1966): 166-170 (‘Simanguru et Sun-Dyata’).

Performer: Bakary Konte, Khassonke, *marabout* of Komenfara, near Medina, Mali
Recorder: Charles Monteil (1871-1949), French colonial officer and scholar

Place of recording: unknown, probably Medina or Komenfara

Date of recording: June 1898

Format: French prose

Coverage: 1, 5

Notes: This is the second of two brief versions of the Sunjata epic recorded by Monteil in his journal. The first is anonymous, see Charles MONTEIL.

[41] KOUYATÉ, Bintan

a. Bintan Kouyaté, ‘Fasa Sunjata, ‘Fasa Sumaoro’, and ‘Fasa Tiramagang’ in *Siramuri Diabaté et ses enfants: une étude sur deux générations des griots Malinke*. Utrecht/Bamako: ISOR/ISH (1991): 99-104.

b. Bintan Kouyaté, Sanungwe Kouyaté, Siramuri Diabaté, Kelebala Diabaté and (probably) Bremadjan Diabaté, ‘Fasa Sunjata’ in *Siramuri Diabaté et ses enfants: une étude sur deux générations des griots Malinke*. Utrecht/Bamako: ISOR/ISH (1991): 57-65.

Performers: Bintan Kouyaté, born Kangaba 1959, now living in Kéla; daughter of Siramuri DIABATÉ of Kangaba. Kelabala Diabaté, ‘chef des griots’ of Kéla (1919-1997). For Sanungwe KOUYATÉ and Siramuri DIABATÉ see separate headings.

Recorder: a. Jan Jansen; b. staff of Institute des Sciences Humaines, Bamako

Translator: Cemako Kanté

Place of recording: a. Kangaba; b. Bamako, at a ceremony to mark Banzumana Cissoko’s death

Date of recording: a. January 1989; b. 1988

Format: French linear translation

Coverage: fasaw or praise-songs are generally, as in this case, allusive

[42] KOUYATÉ, Demba

Demba Kouyaté, ‘Sunjata’ in David C. Conrad, ed., *Epic Ancestors of the Sunjata Era: Oral Tradition from the Maninka of Guinea*. Madison WI: University of Wisconsin African Studies Program (1997).

Performer: Demba Kouyaté

Recorder: Fatamata Doubaya Kamara of Radio Télévision Guinéenne

Translators: David Conrad, Jobba Kamara, Lansana Magasouba

Place of recording: Radio Télévision Guinéenne, Conakry

Date of recording: 19 May 1987

Format: English linear translation

Coverage: 2, 3, 4

[43] KOUYATÉ, Jeli Fayala

Jeli Fayala Kouyaté, ‘Kamanjan and Islam’ in David C. Conrad, ed., *Epic Ancestors of the Sunjata Era: Oral Tradition from the Maninka of Guinea*. Madison WI: University of Wisconsin African Studies Program (1997).

Performer: Jeli Fayala Kouyaté of Siguiri, Guinea

Recorder: Fatamata Doubaya Kamara of Radio Télévision Guinéenne

Translators: David Conrad, Jobba Kamara, Lansana Magasouba, Emmanuel Yemoson, Djibrila Dumbuya

Place of recording: Quartier Colya, Conakry

Date of recording: December 1992

Format: English linear translation

Coverage: 1

[44] KOUYATÉ, Mamary

Mamary Kouyaté, ‘Sunjata’ in David C. Conrad, ‘The Role of Oral Artists in the History of Mali’, PhD. University of London (1981) vol. 2: 711-713.

Performer: Mamary Kouyaté, *jeli* living at Kolokani, originally from Kita

Recorder: David Conrad

Transcriber: Sekou Camara

Translators: Sekou Camara and David Conrad

Place of recording: Kolokani, Mali

Date of recording: August 1975

Format: English prose translation

Coverage: 3, 5

[45] KOUYATÉ, Mamoudou

1. Djibril Tamsir Niane, *Soundjata, ou L'épopée Mandingue*. Paris: Présence Africaine (1960).

2. English edition: *Sundiata, an Epic of old Mali*, trans. G.D. Pickett. London: Longman (1965).

Performer: *jeli* Mamoudou Kouyaté (died 1967) of Djelibakoro, Guinea

Recorder: D.T. Niane (born 1932), Guinean historian and writer

Place of recording: Djelibakoro, Guinea

Date of recording: 1958

Format: 1, French prose; 2, English prose

Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Notes: Mamoudou Kouyaté became *Belentigi* of Djelibakoro before his death but did not hold this position in 1958. Niane writes that he and Kouyaté spent many sessions together over a period of several weeks to record this version (personal communication, 1988).

[46] KOUYATÉ, Mori

Mori Kouyaté, ‘Ancestors, Sorcery and Power’ in David Conrad, ed., *Epic Ancestors of the Sunjata Era: Oral Tradition from the Maninka of Guinea*. Madison WI: University of Wisconsin African Studies Program (1997).

Performers: Mori Kouyaté, *jeli* of Niagassola, Guinea; songs by Mariamu Kanté

Recorder: unknown Guinean tape merchant

Translators: David Conrad, Jobba Kamara, Lansana Magasouba

Place of recording: Kouroussa, Guinea

Date of recording: 1988

Format: English linear translation
Coverage: 4, 5

[47] KOUYATÉ, Sanungwe

Sanungwe Kouyaté, (a) ‘Fasa Sunjata’ and ‘Fasa Sumaoro’; (b) ‘Fasa Sunjata’ in *Siramuri Diabaté et ses enfants: une étude sur deux générations des griots Malinke*. Utrecht/Bamako: ISOR/ISH (1991): 105-113.

Performer: Sanungwe Kouyaté (born 1953) of Bamako, daughter of Siramuri DIABATÉ of Kangaba

Recorder: a. Jan Jansen; b. staff of Radio Mali

Translators: a. Cemako Kanté; b. Suleyman Berete and Mamadu Kouyaté of Kangaba

Place of recording: a. Bamako; b. unknown

Date of recording: a. January 1989; b. unknown

Format: French linear translation

Coverage: *fasaw* or praise-songs are generally, as in this case, allusive

[48] KOUYATÉ, Sidiki

Sidiki Kouyaté, ‘Fasa Sunjata’ in *Siramuri Diabaté et ses enfants: une étude sur deux générations des griots Malinke*. Utrecht/Bamako: ISOR/ISH (1991): 91-94.

Performer: Sidiki Kouyaté (born 1956), son-in-law of Siramuri DIABATÉ of Kéla

Recorder: Jan Jansen

Translators: Cemako Kanté

Place of recording: unknown

Date of recording: between December 1988 and April 1989

Format: French linear translation

Coverage: *fasaw* or praise-songs are generally, as in this case, allusive

[49] LIKING, Werewere

Werewere Liking, *L'amour-cent-vies*. Paris: Editions Publisud (1988).

Writer: Werewere Liking, Camerounian author, based in Côte d'Ivoire

Source: unknown

Format: French prose and verse

Coverage: 2, 3, 4

[50] MONTEIL, Charles

Charles Monteil, ‘Fin de Siècle à Médine (1898-1899)’ *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*. 28B (1966): 166-170 ('Simanguru et Sun-Dyata').

Performer: unknown, probably a Khassonke storyteller or griot

Recorder: Charles Monteil (1871-1949), French colonial officer and scholar

Place of recording: unknown, probably Medina, Mali, or its environs

Date of recording: June 1898

Format: French prose

Coverage: 4, 5

Notes: This is the first of two short versions of the Sunjata story recorded by Monteil in his journal; for the second see Bakary KONTE. Monteil also includes elements of the epic of Sunjata in his historical study ‘Les empires du Mali’ *Bulletin du Comité d’Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l’Afrique Occidentale Française* 12 (1929): 291-377 (reprinted as *Les empires du Mali, Etude d’histoire et du sociologie soudanaises*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose [1968]).

[51] PAGEARD, Robert

Robert Pageard, ‘Soundiata Keita et la tradition orale. A propos du livre de Djibril Tamsir Niane: Soundjata ou l’épopée Mandingue’ *Présence Africaine* 36 (1961): 53-55.

Performer: unknown, of Segou

Recorder: Robert Pageard, French official and historian

Place of recording: Segou, Mali

Date of recording: ca. 1954-1956

Format: French prose

Coverage: 2, 3, 4, 5

[52] QUENUM, Maximilien

Maximilien Quenum, ‘La légende de Fama-Sundiata (Soudan Français)’ in his *Légendes Africaines, Côte d’Ivoire-Soudan-Dahomey*. Rochefort-sur-Mer: Imprimerie A. Thoyen-Theze (1946): 43-72.

Writer: Maximilien Quenum Possy Berry, born 1911, Cotonou, Dahomey (present-day Benin), ethnographer and author.

Sources: based in part on the play ‘La ruse de Diegué’ composed at the William Ponty School in 1937 (see ANON.), and apparently on childhood memories of *jeliw* performances

Format: French prose

Coverage: 3, 5

[53] QUIQUANDON, F.

F. Quiquandon, ‘Histoire de la puissance mandingue d’après la légende et la tradition’ *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Bordeaux* 2/15 (1892): 305-318.

Performer(s): unknown *jeli(w)* of Kenedugu

Recorder: Capt. F. Quiquandon of the French army, emissary of Archinard, to Tieba, ruler of Kenedugu

Place of recording: probably Sikasso, capital of Kenedugu

Date of recording: 1890

Format: French prose

Coverage: 3, 4, 5

[54] SAKO, Ousmane

‘Two Brothers, Kirama and Kankejan’ in Harold Courlander, ‘Three Soninke

Tales' *African Arts* 12/1 (1978): 84-88, 108.

Performer: Ousmane Sako (Sakho), a Soninke, born 1946, Bamako

Recorder: Harold Courlander, died 1996

Place of recording: unknown

Date of recording: unknown

Format: English prose

Coverage: 2

[55] SAWSE, Ali

David Ames, 'Lion of Manding: A Wolof Epic' in Harold Courlander, ed., *A Treasury of African Folklore*. New York: Crown Publishers Inc. (1975) 71-78.

Performer: Ali Sawse, Wolof *gewel* (griot) from The Gambia

Recorder: David Ames, U.S. graduate student

Place of recording: Ballanghar, The Gambia

Date of recording: 1950

Format: English prose

Coverage: 3, 4

[56] SIDIBÉ, Bakari K.

Sunjata: The Story of Sunjata Keita, Founder of the Mali Empire, Comp. and ed. B.K. Sidibé, Introduction by Winifred Galloway. Banjul, Gambia: Oral History and Antiquities Division (1980) (reprinted: Banjul: Oral History Division for The Gambia Traditional Griot Society [1984]).

Sources: Bamba SUSO, Dembo KANUTE, Banna KANUTE, and Jabir Kuyate (from Tambasansang, Fuladu East, Gambia, died 1978)

Recorders: Gordon Innes, Bakari Sidibé, and Seni Darbo

Translator and writer: Bakari Sidibé

Format: English prose

Coverage: 3, 4, 5

Notes: Sidibé's Sunjata is a synthesis of the recorded performances of Banna and Dembo KANUTE and Bamba SUSO, plus a performance by Jabir Kuyate.

[57] SISOKO, Jeli Baba

Jeli Baba Sisoko, 'Wagadu and Sunjata' in David C. Conrad, 'The Role of Oral Artists in the History of Mali' PhD., University of London (1981) vol. 2: 649-710 (information on Sunjata, 670-710).

Performer: Jeli Baba Sisoko from Mali

Recorders: staff of the Institute des Sciences Humaines, Bamako

Transcriber: Sekou Camara

Translators: Sekou Camara and David Conrad

Place of recording: Institut des Sciences Humaines, Bamako

Date of recording: 24 July 1975

Format: English linear translation
Coverage: 2, 3, 4, 5

[58] SISOKO, Fa-Digi

1. John William Johnson, ‘The Epic of Sun-Jata: An Attempt to Define the Model for African Epic Poetry’ PhD., Indiana University (1978) vol. 2.
2. Reissued as: *The Epic of Son-Jara: A West African Tradition. Analytical Study and Translation by John William Johnson, text by Fa-Digi Sisoko*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press (1986).

Performer: Fa-Digi Sisoko, *jeli* from Bandoma, Cercle de Kita; father of Magan Sisoko

Recorders: Charles Bird, with the assistance of M.M. Diabaté

Transcribers and translators: J.W. Johnson, Charles Bird, Cheick Oumar Mara, Checkna Mohamed Singare, Ibrahim Kalilou Tera, and Bourama Soumaoro

Place of recording: Kita

Date of recording: 9 March 1968

Format: 1, Maninka linear transcription and parallel English linear translation; 2, English linear translation only

Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Note: 2 has been reissued in re-edited versions.

[59] SISOKO, Magan

1. John William Johnson, ‘The Epic of Sunjata: An Attempt to Define the Model for African Epic Poetry,’ PhD., Indiana University, 1978, vol. 3.
2. Reissued as *The Epic of Sun-Jata According to Magan Sisoko*. Bloomington: Folklore Publications Group, Indiana University (1979). 2 vols.

Performer: Magan Sisoko, *jell* from Kabe, cercle de Kita; son of Fa-Digi SISOKO

Recorder: John William Johnson

Transcriber: Cheick Omar (sic!) Mara

Translators: John Johnson, Ibrahim Kalilou Tera, Cheickna Mohamed Singare

Place of recording: Kita

Date of recording: 19 April 1974

Format: 1, Maninka linear transcription and parallel English linear translation; 2, English linear translation only

Coverage: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

[60] SISSOKO, Habibou

Franz de Zeltner, *Contes du Sénégal et du Niger*. Paris: Ernest Leroux (1913) (‘Suite à la légende de Soundiata’: 37-45).

Performer: Habibou Sissoko, Khassonke *jeli* of Nioro

Recorder: Franz de Zeltner, French colonial official, ethnologist, and archaeologist, through an interpreter

Place of recording: probably Nioro, Mali

Date of recording: between 1904 and 1912

Format: French prose
Coverage: 1, 3, 4, 5

Notes: De Zeltner published another, more accomplished, variant of Sunjata: see Kande KANOTE.

[61] SISSOKO, Djelimady

Music of the Royal Courts: A Celebration of the Musicians' Place Near the Thrones of Africa and the Orient: Epic Singing-Sunjata, from Mali. Concert programme notes, BBC Radio Three/South Bank Centre, 6-7 July 1987, Purcell Room, South Bank Centre, London.

Performer: Djelimady Sissoko
Recorder: Lucy Duran
Transcribers: Toumani Diabaté (the famous kora player) and Lucy Duran
Place of recording: unknown
Date of recording: January 1987
Format: English linear translation
Coverage: 3, 4

[62] SUSO, Bamba

Bamba Suso, 'Sunjata' in Gordon Innes, ed. and trans., *Sunjata: Three Mandinka Versions*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies (1974): 34-135.

Performer: Bamba *Susojeli* (ca. 1899-1974) of Sotuma, The Gambia
Recorder: Gordon Innes
Transcriber: Bakari Sidibé
Translator: Gordon Innes with Bakari Sidibé
Place of recording: Secondary School, Brikama, Gambia
Date of recording: 1969
Format: Mandinka linear text, English linear translation
Coverage: 3, 4, 5

[63] TOUNKARA, Monzon

Boniface Keita, *Le Monde Malinke de Kita des années 1910*. Bamako: Editions Jamana (1988): 8-13

Performer(s): unknown, of Kita
Recorders: Monzon Tounkara and Father Barrie
Place of recording: Kita
Date of recording: 1910s
Transcription and translation: Boniface Keita
Format: French prose and verse
Coverage: 3, 4, 5

[64] VIDAL, Jean

Jean Vidal, 'La légende officielle de Soundiata, fondateur de l'empire Manding' *Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Français*, 7 (1924): 317-328.

Performer(s): unnamed *jeli(w)* of Kéla

Recorder: Jean Vidal, 'administrateur en chef des colonies'

Place of recording: Kéla

Date of recording: December 1922 or soon after

Format: French prose

Coverage: 1, 3, 4, 5

NOTES

¹ I wish to thank Ralph Austen, Stephen Belcher, David Conrad, Paulo Farias, and the interlibrary loan staff of the Library of the University of Birmingham for their help in locating obscure versions of the Sunjata epic. I am grateful to Jan Jansen for providing details on the Sunjata recordings he has made in Mali. David Conrad also most kindly provided details of oral performances from Guinea he is to publish, while Tim Geysbeek graciously gave me his translation of Guinean versions of Sunjata he had recorded.

² I have not included vinyl, tape, or compact disc recordings of *jeliw*, which often include songs (*fasaw*) about Sunjata or other figures associated with the epic.

³ R.A. Austen (1990) 'Africans Speak, Colonialism Writes: The Transcription of Oral Literature Before World War II' *Cahiers de Littérature Oral*, 28 (1990): 29-53; S.P. Belcher (1985) 'Stability and Change: Praise Poetry and Narrative Tradition in the Epic of Mali' (Ph.D., Brown University); D.C. Conrad (1984) 'Oral Sources on Links between Great States: Sumanguru, Servile Lineage, the Jariso, and Kaniaga' *History in Africa* 11: 35-55; D.C. Conrad (1992) 'Searching for History in the Sunjata Epic: The Case of Fakoli' *History in Africa*, 19: 147-200; J.W. Johnson (1986) *The Epic of Son-Jara: A West African Tradition* (Bloomington/Indianapolis): 227-239; G. Tombs (1978) 'An Historical Interpretation of the Sundiata Epic' MA thesis, Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham.

⁴ Where the performer is unknown, versions are listed by recorder.

⁵ Different editions of the same performance or literary reworking of the Sunjata epic are arranged chronologically and given consecutive numbers. Consecutive lower-case letters within an entry refer to different performances by the same *jeli*. Where a *jeli*'s name is given in capitals in an entry it indicates a cross-reference to another entry in the checklist.

⁶ More detail on many of the versions, their performers and coverage is given in S.P.D. Bulman (1990) 'Interpreting Sunjata: A Comparative Analysis and Exegesis of the Malinke Epic' (PhD., Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham), and S.P.D. Bulman (1999) 'Sunjata as Written Literature: The Role of the Literary Mediator in the Dissemination of the Sunjata Epic' in R.A. Austen (ed.) *In Search of Sunjata: the West African Epic as History, Literature and Performance* (Bloomington/Indianapolis): 231-251