

THE RAPE OF THE AGADEZ CROSS: PROBLEMS OF TYPOLOGY AMONG MODERN METAL AND STONE PENDANTS OF NORTHERN NIGER

Introduction.

Over the years, without knowingly having paid more than passing heed to the bevy of metal and stone ornaments in and around Air, it has dawned on me that people may not agree on one standard name for the same object. This situation may be complicated by differing objects to which the same name is applied, such as the Agadez cross found: –

- a. Around Air/Agadez (J. Gabus, 1958, 369, a: cf. Fig. 1a, no. 1 and Pl. 1, left-hand cross).
- b. Apparently well south of Agadez (J. Gabus, 1958, 369, f: J. Kalter, 1976, 109, fig. 22), much in evidence at the Cologne Exhibition in Summer 1978 (Fig. 2).
- c. In and around Ayorou, almost in the Republic of Mali (G. Dieterlen & Z. Ligiers, 1972, Pl. V: cf. Fig. 3, which shows three out of six crosses illustrated by these authors (Fig. 3a, 3b, 3c).

The cross illustrated by P. Fuchs (1978, 145) is not an ideal choice, although it conforms in broad detail to the first – and probably best-known – type in a. above.

Matters finally came to a head, as far as I was concerned, when a lady asked if I could get her a cross of Tahoua: apparently what she wanted was that shown by J. Gabus (1958, 369, e: cf. Fig. 1a, no. 2a). In fact I was forced to ask a tourist visiting Niger to purchase it on my behalf. What he eventually returned with, provided by the well-known Mohamed Kumama, Agadez, bore no relation to that requested, being of the variety shown as “Bagzane” in fig. 1a, no. 17: cf. the “Baghzan” model in fig. 1b, no. 29.

This sort of muddle, involving three separate – and entirely different – “crosses”, may be typical of what can befall the hapless amateur. I therefore resolved to try to produce illustrations of various metal “crosses”, in the hope that time and patience may allow the compilation of a more accurate list. Meanwhile I take the view, wherever European publications disagree, that the “errors” may well be due to basic African indifference towards accuracy.

With regard to stone (slate) crosses, it may well be too late, to judge only from the myriad rough specimens manufactured by countless small boys, as well as better-made ones seemingly produced for the tourist trade. These latter are sold, to name just one spot, in Agadez, along with “silver” crosses which it is wise to examine in daylight, prior to purchase. I have yet to see black plastic crosses: but doubtless their day may soon dawn.

However often individual craftsmen are mentioned, our main concern must be with the mysteries of nomenclature and typology of their products, rather than with personal mystique found not only among Tuareg smiths but elsewhere too. (P. Fuchs, 1978, 146: N. Kodjo, 1978, 792: J. Gabus, 1976, 19–33).

References to metal crosses in the text will be made mainly to Fig. 1a and 1b. Of these, the first, showing 22 examples, is compiled almost entirely from a faint photocopy in the possession of Amate Anou, Arlit: the second gives further designs supplied by Chanka and Hamadeïdi, Ifrouane, plus a few non-illustrated names of types mentioned by them. The plates will show some metal crosses, most of them in my possession, including a few types not shown in figs 1a and 1b: stone crosses will appear in the plates.

The Agadez cross: history and speculation.

Before commencing the main part of this report, taken largely from personal experience, it is as well to resume briefly some facts and suppositions on the metal Agadez cross, whose zone of distribution (albeit in forms likely to cause the inventor to turn in his grave) would seem to have grown enormously during the present century alone.

Strangely enough, nineteenth-century explorers fail to mention it, even though G. Lyon (1821) noticed unspecified silver ornaments worn by Tuareg and J. Richardson (1848, II, 205) saw charms around female necks. F. Foureau (1902, 507) published it for the first time, without comment, worn by a lady who, we must presume, was the object of his attention. The admirable work by R. Mauny (1954, 70), dealing with possible origins and symbolism, mentions that it was probably the English traveller F. Rennell Rodd (later Lord Rennell) who actually described it (1926) first.

The cross appears to have found great favour with European wearers during the early part of this century (R. Mauny, 1954, 72), being found on sale in Senegal (Dakar), Morocco, Algeria and even in France. Gold, supposedly taboo among the Tuareg, holds no such terrors for non-African buyers and I have seen gold filigree models (yet never a true Agadez cross: see Pl. 1, left-hand cross) in a Paris jeweller's shop. The handicrafts village of Sumbédioune, near Dakar, made a busy impression on me around ten years ago, producing numerous filigree crosses (Pl. 1, right-hand cross). As at to-day, some time after the exit of colonial powers, one still sees the emblem worn as unit badges in African and even in Spain, among Foreign Legionaries in this latter case. A lady working in a shop in Arrecife, Canary Islands, was able to tell me recently that her gold filigree cross was "from Africa". This was all she knew.

It used not to be found in the Hoggar/Ahaggar of Central Algeria (H. Lhote, 1955, 316), although it is nowadays on sale in Tamanrasset. The two identical models worn by a small girl, described as being "from the Hoggar" (J. Kalter, 1976, 27, Abb. 4), seem – along with the attendant Zinder "cross" – likely to come from well south of Agadez. (While these notes are in press, W. Creyaußmüller has kindly drawn to my attention the fact that the same picture has twice been published by J. Gabus, clearly labelled as a girl from Niger.) T. Kalter (1976, 35) notes that the Zinger cross is supposed to be in use as currency (Cf. R. Mainy, 1954, 76, quoting H. Lhote (in litt.), "bijou a roue dentée munie d'un cône. C'est leur petite fortune, leur réserve". See Fig. 1a, no. 21 & Pl. 5, top left cross). The problem of assessing weight in the desert is self-evident: however some ladies do wear a number of Zinder crosses (Cf.

R. Gardi, 1970, Pl. 85 & 87) and I was resently shown some for which 4000 Francs CFA each was to be asked, with no pressure whatever being put upon me to buy one.

Several years ago a Danish friend, Jørgen Skriver, decided to write a novel about violence and death in Morocco, in which the filigree cross and a shady individual referred to only as "M. M.", were to feature. His own untimely death prevented this project, yet not before I had found out that his interest in the filigree cross arose from a Danish advertisement. It so happened that I later saw a similar advertisement in a British newspaper and managed to purchase a most unattractive imitation in November 1978. Just what sort of adverse comment this object provoked in Africa may be imagined. The advertising material was bound up with a tale of an unfortunate camel driver, Ahmed, who had displeased the great Askia, Sultan of Songhai. Being cast out of the oasis (which one is unstated) to die in the desert, Ahmed managed, while on the point of death, to pluck a strange silver cross from the throat of a thief about to rob him. The masterless camel then bore Ahmed to a cave near Agadez, where he found jewels and loot taken from a thousand caravans. He and his descendants lived in health, wealth and happiness, each the proud possessor of a replica of the cross.

If the publications relating to the symbolism of the Agadez cross have been summed up by G. Dieterlen & Z. Ligers (1972, 46), there is one additional suggestion as to origin that seems worthy of mention. This is that the form of the last-century Tuareg saddle-cross (H. Duveyrier, 1864, Pl. XXV: A. Keane, n.d, I(II), 449), a concave-sided ornament, is not essentially so very different. (Fig. 4.) It is furthermore reported that when a father gave his son the Agadez cross, in the days when it was still silver and still worn by men, it represented, inter alia, the pommel of the camel-saddle (G. Dieterlen & Z. Ligers, 1972, 46). Apparently those Tuareg who helped the above-named specialists with their enquiries (1972, 29) thought of the ringed part as being the bottom of the cross, rather than the upper part, as when it is worn around the neck. Thus their illustrations (1972, Pl. V.) appear to be published the wrong way up, although this is in fact intentional.

While this situation tends to be complicated by an illustration of H. Barth (1857, I, German edition, 208: English edition, 195), showing a rider with a "Christian-type" cross not only on his saddle-pommel but also on his shield – in no way to be taken as an indication that Tuareg used to be Christians – we may be on the right track here, even though one cannot tell who brought in the concave-sided cross to ornament the camel-saddle. Nor at what epoch. If I have yet to hear an expert opinion as to why the Agadez cross – only one of many other "crosses" : should be the oldest or the best-known, then here, it does seem, could be a possible explanation (Fig. 4).

We may note in passing that the modern Tuareg saddle-cross (P. Fuchs, 1978, 146: J. Gabus, 1958, 226: J. Nicolaisen, 1963, front cover) is somewhat trident-like: the form occurs in south Algerian rock carvings (Cf. P. Huard & J. Petit, 1975, fig. 18.). Just when the change-overs, from "cross-shaped" to "concave-sided" to "trident-like", may have occurred – assuming that they did so at all, in the case of the first two types – is unknown to me. However I am fairly well convinced that some rock

carvings show horses with a cross-shaped saddle-pommel, even if my only reason for this is that I find it hard to accept that a man is likely to be shown leading a horse with another man sitting on it, represented only by a cross (Lhote, 1972, figs. 718 & 719), while he himself, plus his horse and warrior-like accoutrements, are all comparatively lifelike. However there is always the unexpected, as a good many people who tried to interpret rock art have found out to their cost.

Already in 1955 B. Dudot was hinting that one cross (1955, fig. 12), named apparently after a former Tuareg leader, Peproun/Piproun, might be of recent origin, in view of its likeness to the “fantasy” crosses then in use among camel-troops. However in the same sentence he mentions that the form of crosses worn by Tuareg has not changed in centuries, an observation which I am totally at a loss to explain.

Further works containing a certain amount about Agadez and other “crosses” include A. Arkell (1935a, & b: 1939): Es Sahraoui (1954): R. Mauny (1955): N. Santoni (1976, an essentially popular book, though hard to obtain): Y. Urvoy (1955): R. You (1955): L. Zöhrer (1943). Some picturesque and useful information on manufacture is contained in R. Gardi (1971 & 1974), who shows Mohamed Kumama at work in both cases. Two publications have eluded me, namely that mentioned by G. Dieterlen & Z. Ligers (1972, 29) as being in preparation, plus a work entitled “Au Sahara. III. Bijoux et Techniques”, unpublished in 1958 (J. Gabus, 1958, opposite title-page).

The Stone Crosses.

Under this heading I can refer only to a few somewhat inconclusive publications and describe my own experiences in the next section. Elsewhere I have noted that stone crosses seem not to be mentioned except by R. Gardi (1974, 60), who refers to some owned by Monsieur Dudot. This is not quite accurate information, since there appear to be a few shown by A. Arkell (1935) and R. Mauny (1955), whose illustration is reproduced by N. Santoni (1976), without much being said about them. When a number of works (F. de Zeltner, 1912: R. Gardi, 1974: J. Kalter, 1976, 28: H. Lhote, 1950) have all interested themselves in stone arm-rings (Pl. 12), it is strange that crosses seemingly of the same material, i. e., slate, should almost completely escape mention.

Some personal experiences.

Over seven years ago I got to know Chanka, a smith of Iferouane. All I can recall of him in those days, as now, was that he possesses enormous sales energy. Since I never saw a local lady offer a single cross to a tourist, is it just possible that all females in the village had been left in no doubt as to what might befall them if they did?

He sold me an Iferouane cross which rapidly became a treasured possession, as well as a sort of “porte-bonheur”, from which I would not lightly become parted, resisting even the efforts of a certain Kel Owi girl who took a great fancy to my “zakkat”, as she called it.

More recently I spent some days in Arlit, making the acquaintance of Amate Anou, a son of Mohamed Kumama, who told me that he had worked for an official organisation in Niamey. It was he who first showed me a few black stone crosses (Pl. 9a), telling me that there existed 24 varieties, whose designs I was unable to obtain from him. These will, he assured me, have been in use before the advent of silver (whenever that may have been). Perhaps there were people in remote areas who could get none, which might account for Amate telling me that there are people even now who prize their black stone crosses far more highly than silver ones. His most surprising remark was to the effect that they are made from “Bilma stone”, about which I was unable to find out anything further for some time. On the subject of workmanship, I was assured that one smith in a region could always recognise the handiwork of another known to him.

Armed with this “knowledge”, my very next visit, two years later, was to Agadez. Not only did Amate’s father, Mohamed Kumama, fail to recognise some false metal crosses made by his own son, but apparently accepted my “explanation” that they had been manufactured in Mali. Much more surprisingly, the famous “Tahoua” cross, purchased the previous year on my behalf for a lady friend (see first page), was now labelled by Mohamed as being “Kel Owi” or “Tuareg” cross (Cf. Fig. 1a, no. 17). Two “Timia” crosses made for me by Amate bore only a vague resemblance to a model produced for sale by Mohamed, although I would now accept that others seen in Agadez later on do coincide with it.

On to Timia, where my recollections are mostly of a severe lack of stone crosses, plus the utter amazement of the inhabitants at our not wanting silver ones. Some very garish models indeed are offered us, although the prices are invariably outrageous. Smith Thoma’s nose is put badly out of joint, unwillingly on my part, when he presses me to purchase a hybrid monstrosity such as I have never seen previously, insisting that it be an Iferouane cross. Eventually I have to show him my own Iferouane cross, in use on on a key-ring, to clinch the argument. I am even able to tell him exactly who made it (Pl. 5).

In Krip-Krip (“Crip-Crip”/“Akerebreb”) I meet smith El Hassan briefly on one occasion. On the next, his son Amudi, a youth of apparently eighteen, obligingly makes four crosses while we wait. The stone is local, he says (Pl. 11). While the merchandise itself is beautifully-symmetrical – far better than that at Iferouane, for example – I find it impossible to convey to him the value of recommendations by satisfied clients. The concept of an exhibition in Europe is also clearly beyond his understanding: he normally sells one cross, he says, for 100 Francs CFA. And that is the end of the matter.

Various attempts to interrogate craftsmen as to the significance and origin of their products proved to be a waste of time. Whether professional secrecy entered into things I am unable to ascertain. However the African tendency to tell the listener what he wishes to hear is a huge barrier to progress.

At Iferouane I renew acquaintance with Chanka and am introduced to his colleague Hamadéidi. The latter appears somewhat older, while Chanka is exactly as I remember him, living from day to day and always on the watch for a quick bargain.

Their joint smithy is a meeting-place for all and sundry: many just drop in to pass the time of day. Rapidly I learn that to take one step outside is to be assailed by a host of small boys who are, however, far more agreeable than many others encountered over the years, in that they give a foreign tourist credit for possessing a mind of his own. It is even possible to converse on topics other than commerce. One invites me to visit a garden apparently owned by the smiths, where I am treated to free vegetables, after having contracted to buy a couple of indifferent stone crosses, the exact nomenclature of one of which is suspect (Pl. 9b, “village de Tamgak”).

The pulley-wheel above the well here is a metal vehicle-wheel, unlike one of the communal wells, where it is of wood. While I struggle with the latter one day, a villager arrives and tells me I am treating it all wrong. In my irritation I step backwards, only to collide with a thirsty baby camel, which lashes out with its hind feet. Luckily its size prevents injury, but I am reminded of a meeting, that very morning, with a Targui who has been kicked by an adult beast. He is convinced that his “eye-injury” cannot be cured by anything other than European “médicaments”, a word apparently known by all locals. We settle the matter, not without difficulty, by my suggestion that he needs a “grisgris”, or amulet, against “mauvais chameau”.

When small boys are not leading me to fictitious gardens – an opportunity to ride in my vehicle, blowing the horn and generally enjoying themselves, while giving me the chance to look out for the odd stone cross not made by the smiths – I stay inside the smithy, which is strictly out-of-bounds to all male children. Here I have a favourite seat in a corner from which to observe the girls of the family, traditionally the manufacturers of “grisgris”, also written “griggery”, in a Senegalese context, by an English traveller long ago (F. Spilsbury, 1807. 14). These small leather-covered amulets, worn at throat or elbow, support the assertion of H. Lhote (reproduced by R. Mauny, 1954, 76) that the Agadez cross is not a talisman.

Having noticed that the small boys occasionally go off to attend Koranic school – even if they return after only twenty minutes – I remark loudly one day that maybe it would be useful to possess a grisgris against “mauvais marabout”. From the ensuing stupefaction and strange looks in my direction, it is evident that this is an advantage to be followed up rapidly, since a young guide, in whose company I have spent many pleasant hours, has assured me that there do exist maraboutic gentlemen who are considered to be “bad” rather than “good”. Car-engines have even been known to refuse to start up, it appears, if the marabout and the car-owner cannot agree about the time – or the day – when the journey is to begin.

Judging the moment with care and then only when satisfied that there is a suitable audience of small boys listening at the window, I announce to the senior smith’s daughter (who is certain to achieve stardom as a junior witch one day) that I require a composite grisgris, valid against “mauvais policier, mauvais douanier, mauvais chameau and mauvaise femme”. Could she please oblige?

From the stunned silence which greets this remark, I judge – correctly for once – that I am not likely to be troubled by requests for lifts to gardens for some time to come. Even some of the adults present look worried and I deem it expedient to remember some rock art nearby, which I had not finished photographing.

The two smiths appear to live very much from hand to mouth, especially Chanka. Talk of exhibitions in Europe falls on deaf ears. In any case their wares, it must be admitted, are of somewhat indifferent quality. The stone is clearly local and no secret is made of its position nearby, while silver comes from any handy source, such as a silver spoon unthinkingly donated by a Swiss lady. The Maria Theresia Thaler is said to cost 3000 Francs CFA (in Arlit I am quoted 2000) and as these remarks go to press (May 1979) the purchase price in Austria is 118 Austrian Schillings, roughly equivalent to 1600 Francs CFA at the usual exorbitant exchange rate in Arlit. That in Agadez is a little more sane.

When asked to produce sketches of metal or stone cross types, both smiths wield a pencil so badly that it is necessary to order the crosses which they seem unable to draw. Doubtless this arrangement suits them very well financially: but their rate of production is so slow that I am unable to wait around long enough to find out the exact forms of seven metal types (See Fig. 1b, nos. 30–36). The price of stone crosses is so high – and the standard of workmanship so mediocre, by comparison with that of Krip-Krip – that I rapidly desist: I have meanwhile been told that “almost every village has its own stone cross.”

Only Hamadeïdi is anyway willing to manufacture them. Studying the designs shown in Pl. 10, however, it is unlikely that a greater quantity is going to show very marked variations in shape one from another. Would one get an unvarying answer, as to the name of each cross, on three successive days, I cannot help asking myself? Only a wish to avoid trouble prevents my asking. Compare, at this stage, the models made by Amate (Pl. 9a) and those shown by R. Mauny (1955, 15) and N. Santoni (1976, 115), labelled 1, 2 and 3, said to come from Agadez, Tahoua and Iferouane respectively. These are different not only one from another, but bear something more than a vague resemblance to metal crosses of the same respective names.

My false metal crosses are inspected with no more than passing interest and those present appear satisfied with the theory that they are made in Mali. Although both Iferouane smiths profess to know Amate, neither recognises his handiwork. No one except Amate, by the way, has mentioned “Bilma stone” to me. Meanwhile the metal Bilma cross shown at Fig. 1a, no. 12 (as per the list of Amate) is quite different to that indicated to me as the Bilma cross by Chanka and Hamadeïdi (Fig. 1b, no. 24): the latter, however, does bear some resemblance to their Bilma cross in stone.

While attempting, much later on, to find rock carvings adjacent to certain large stone monuments (“dallages géants”) of Ahaggar, thereby obtaining material which might help to prove or disprove a theory that certain rock art and monuments be related (J.-P. Maître, 1966), it dawned on me that at least two structures were built of slate and surrounded by a good deal more, enough to keep a smith busy for the rest of his days.

On my last visit to Arlit, a gentleman with a smart suitcase tried to persuade me to buy filigree crosses (“made in Niamey”) at prices which bore scant relation to my own view of their worth. A European informed me that such wares are not popular with the locals. But good salesmanship might yet induce them to abandon their own

notions of what is traditional. I saw Zinder crosses valued at 4000 Francs CFA, plus a photograph of metal cross designs (shown to me by Mohamed Galitan and Attacko Ahambale), which correspond more or less to those shown in Fig. 1a.

The help afforded by the following, in respect of various aspects of stone crosses, is gratefully acknowledged: – D. Haumann, Munich: Prof. Dr. Peter Fuchs, Göttingen: S. and B. Weiss, Ingolstadt. No mere words can express my gratitude to the smiths themselves for the part they have played in this narrative.

Conclusion.

My own fragmentary researches, hampered by lack of time, may only serve to underline the future problems confronting any but the most determined investigator. We have seen some of the difficulties of getting at “the facts”, if indeed there by any degree of African unity of opinion on certain cross designs, some of which may never have been published. There are “obscurities and contradictions . . . remaining in the nomenclature and the analysis of the objects” (G. Dieterlen & Z. Ligers, 1972, 31). While applauding their consternation (1972, 46) at lack of previous European enquiries made among Tuareg or smiths, it is impossible not to wonder what sort of replies are likely to be obtained in future: and just to what degree they may add to the present confusion?

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A few months before these words were written, two Europeans stood one afternoon in a peaceful garden in Auderas. Calm, friendly, unhurried people were tilling the ground at this pleasant spot and the moment came when old Sedaf straightened up from his work and came over to converse with the strangers. As a boy, he remembered Kaocen, the Tuareg leader, famed for his exploits in more troubled times, passing the village.

He also recalled a party of foreigners, he said, men who were not from France and who wore very short trousers. They stayed in Auderas for some time and people came to know them.

These notes are gratefully dedicated to the memory of the late Lord Rennell of Rodd who, with infinite patience and kindness, imparted to a novice his own enthusiasm and affection for the stark plateaux and leafy glades of Aïr.

A L G E R I A

• Assamaka

Tangak Mts
Iferouane ○

Arlit ○
A I R
Mts.

Agalak Mts
++++
Timia ○

• In-Abangerit

Bakran Mts
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N I G E R

○ AGADEZ

○ In-Gali

• Tillya

○ In-Waggeur

○ Tchin-Tabarsden

○ Abalek

○ TAHOYA

• Ayerou

○ Zinder

N I G E R I A

■ NIAMEY

0 km 100

MAP SHOWING SOME APPARENT CROSS-
NAMES, TAKEN FROM MICHELIN MAP
SHEET 153, 1:4.000.000.

M A L I

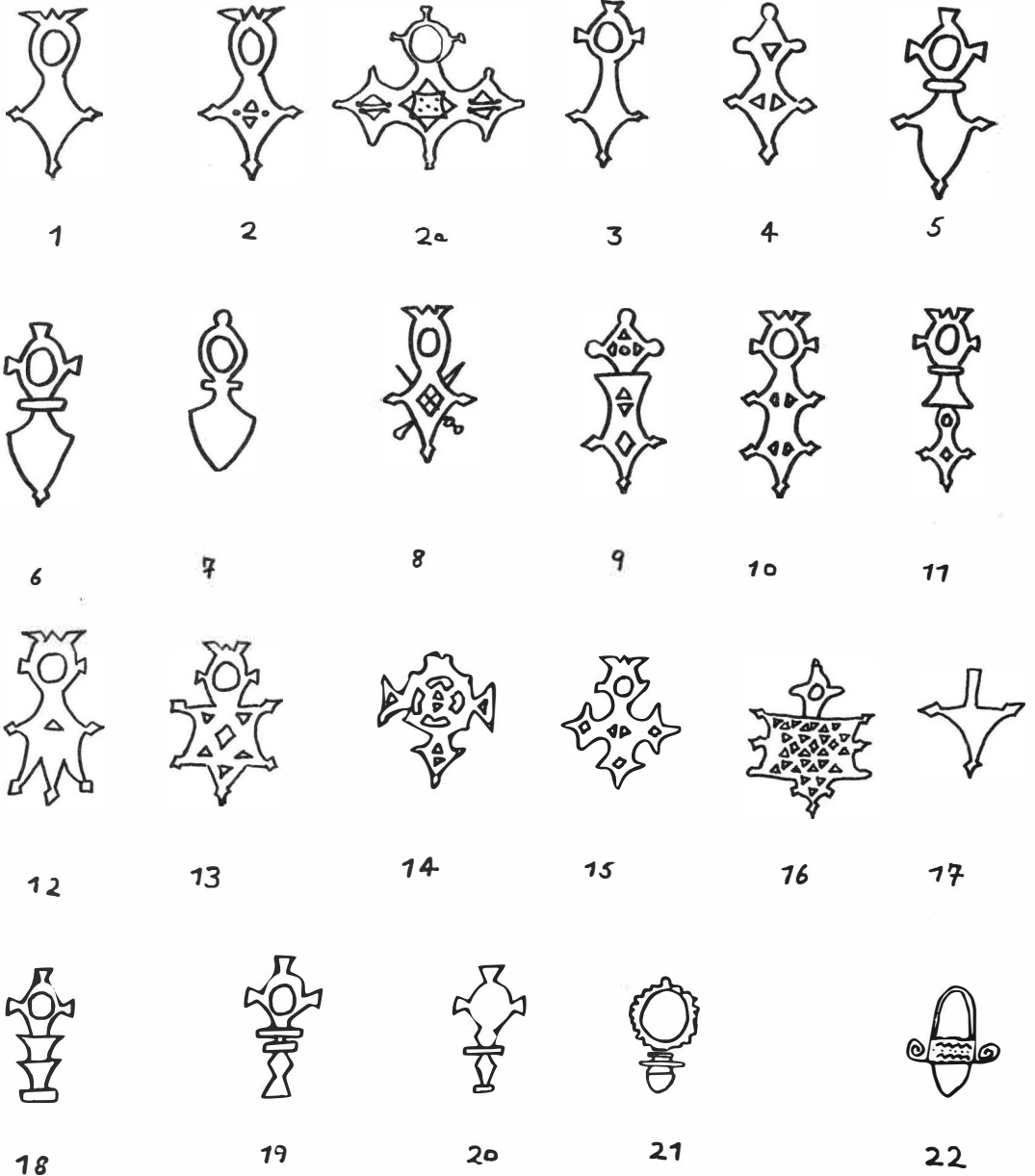


Fig. 1 a:

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. Agadez | 11. Crip-crip |
| 2. Tahua Tahoua | 12. Bilma |
| 2a. Tahoua "kaoulé" (from a Niger 50 franc
Timbre Taxe) | 13. Karaga |
| 3. In Abangaret | 14. Tchintchinbaradène |
| 4. Tchimoumenene | 15. Bartchakea |
| 5. Iferouane | 16. Abalak |
| 6. Tecarcar | 17. Bagzane |
| 7. Tchimya | 18. Un-named |
| 8. Aïr | 19. Inwaga |
| 9. Madauwa | 20. Takadenda |
| 10. Tilya | 21. Zinder |
| | 22. In Gall |

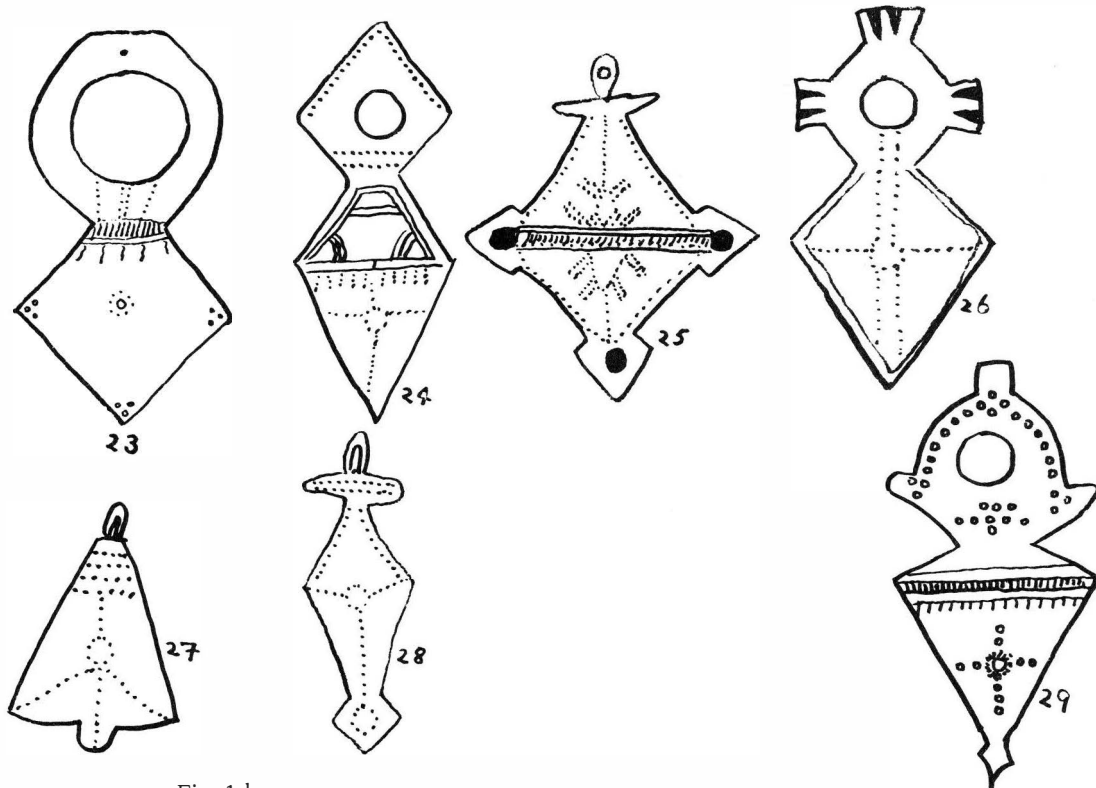


Fig. 1 b:

- 23. Kel ●wi
- 24. Bilma (Cf. no. 12 above)
- 25. Tamgak
- 26. Aguellal
- 27. Gougaram
- 28. Assamaka
- 29. Baghzan (Cf. no. 17 above)

- 30. Takriza
- 31. Assodé
- 32. Sirret
- 33. Kel Wédigi
- 34. Tintellust
- 35. Kel Tadek
- 36. Arlit

NB. It was not possible to ascertain the forms of nos. 30–36 above.

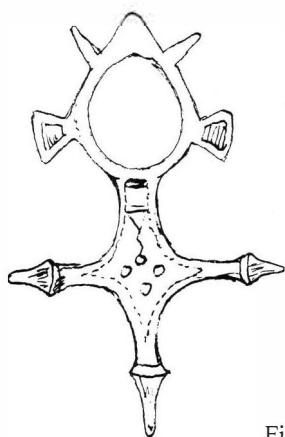


Fig. 2: Agadez Cross (after a sketch by J. Kalter).

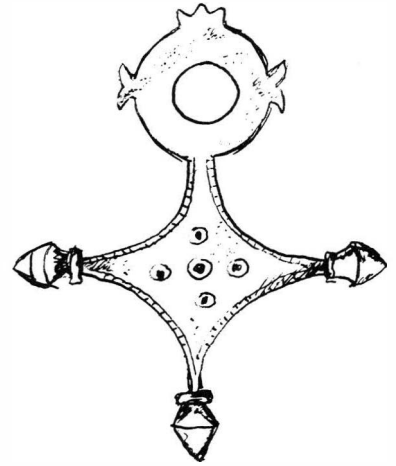
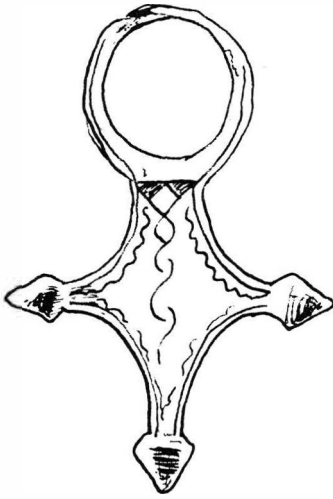


Fig. 3 (a, b, c): Agadez Crosses, after photographs by Dieterlen & Ligers, in whose article (1972) the objects were published the other way up.

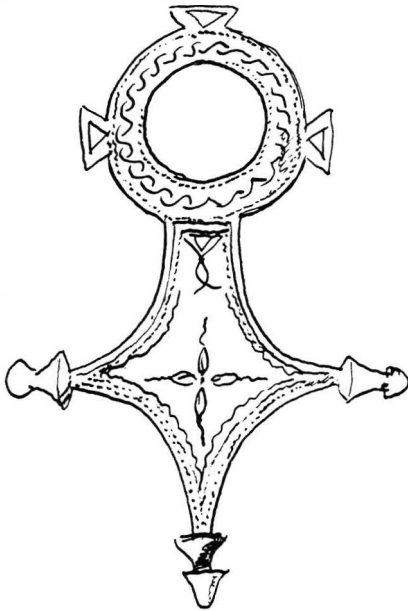
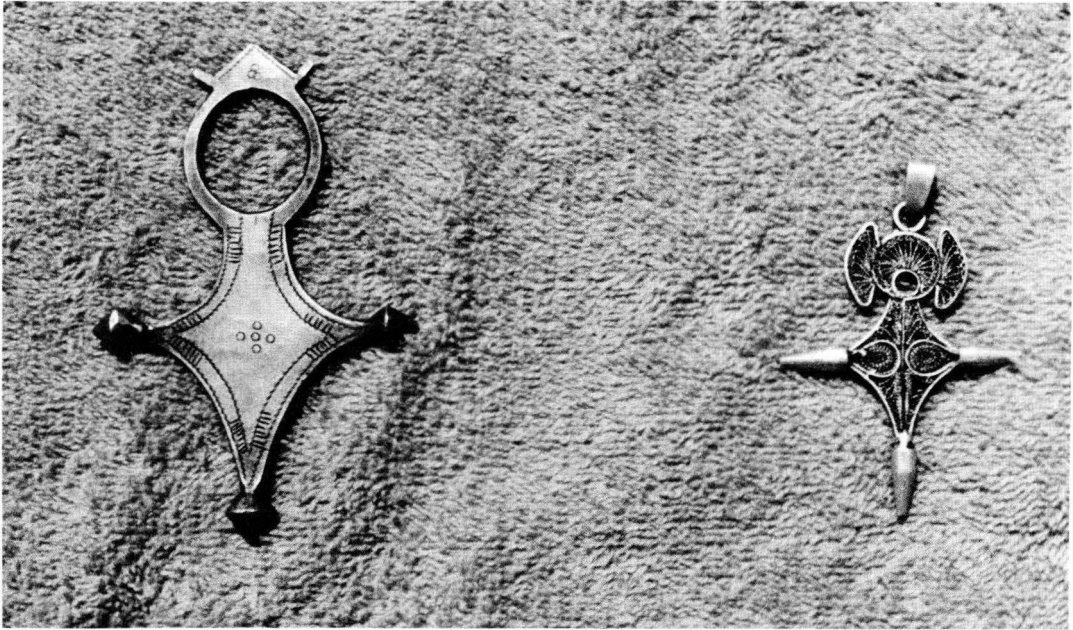
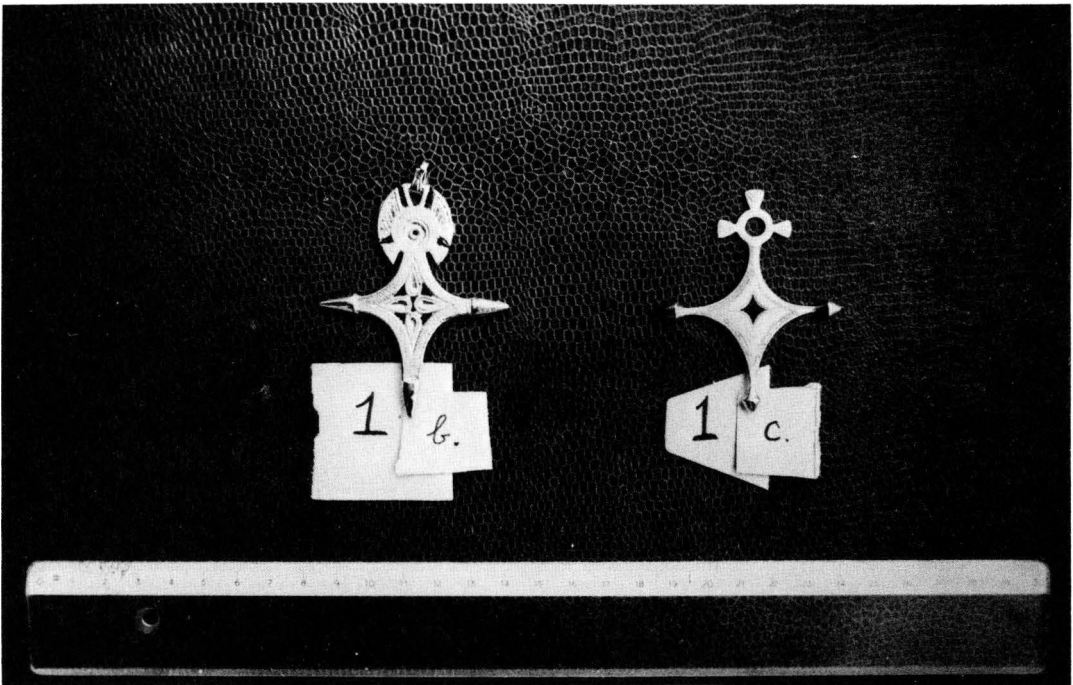


Fig. 4: A mid-nineteenth century camel-saddle, with its distinctive "cross" (After a sketch by H. Duveyrier).

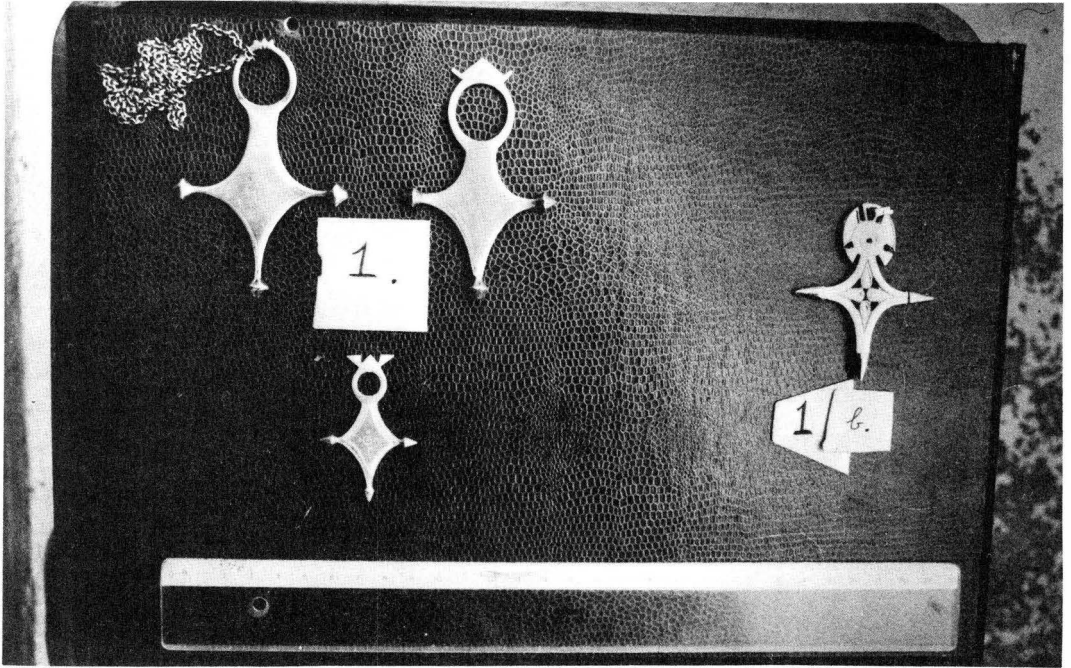


Pl. 1: Agadez cross (left). Filigree "Agadez" cross, possibly made in Senegal (right).

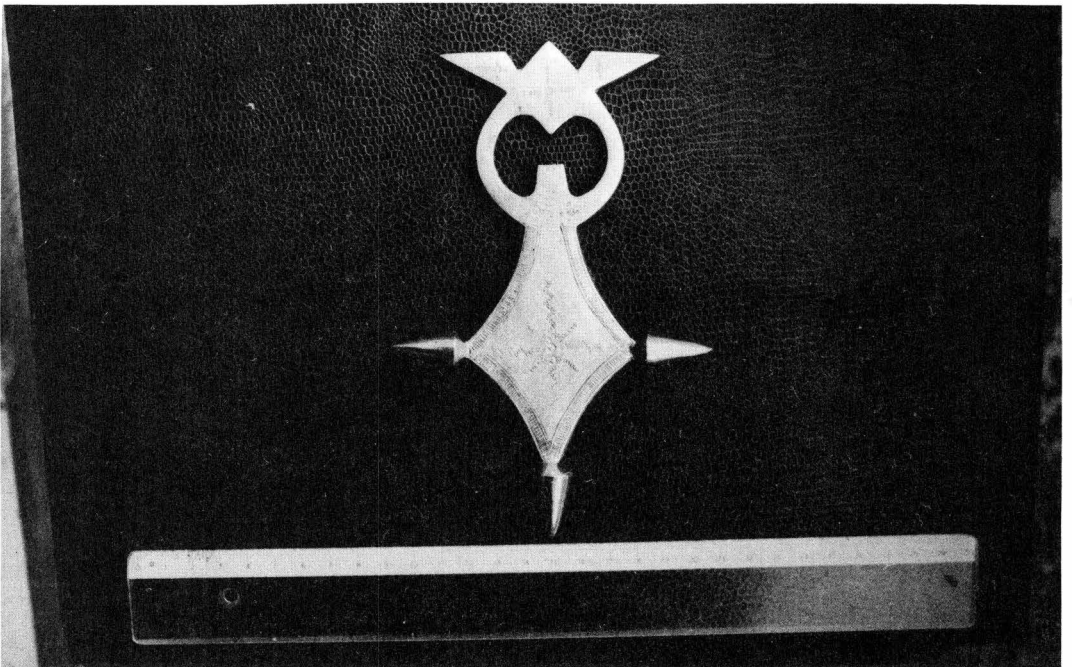


Pl. 2: 1b. Imitation filigree "Agadez" cross, sold by Leroco (Direct Sales) Ltd. England, during November 1978.

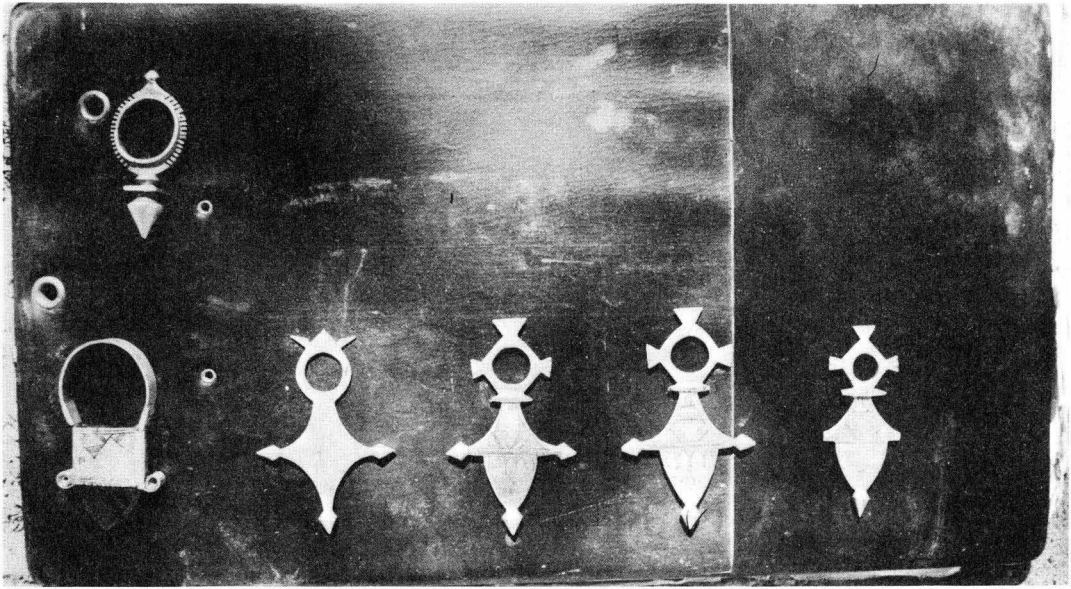
1c. "Agadez" cross manufactured by a European woman in the Canary Islands. Its shape and lack of decoration caused much merriment among Niger smiths.



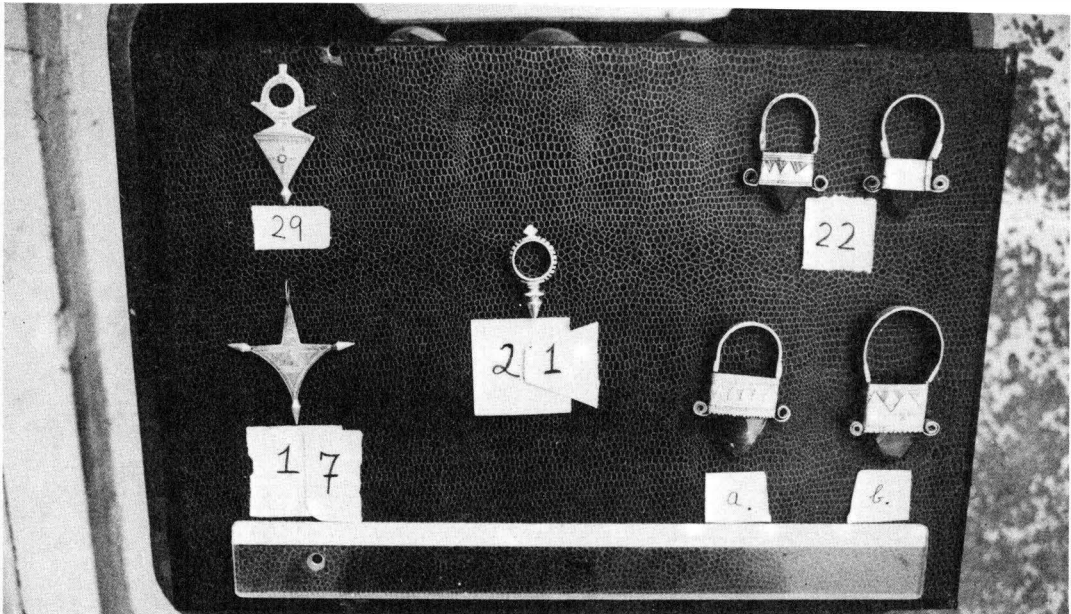
Pl. 3: 1. Three Agadez crosses: the bottom one is manufactured in Arlit.
1 b. Imitation cross as in Pl. 2 above.



Pl. 4: A bronze bottle-opener in the form of an Agadez cross.



Pl. 5: top left: Zinder cross. bottom row, left to right: In Gall cross with agate stone instead of glass: Agadez cross: two Iferouane crosses freak Iferouane cross, earmarked to be sold to an ignorant tourist.

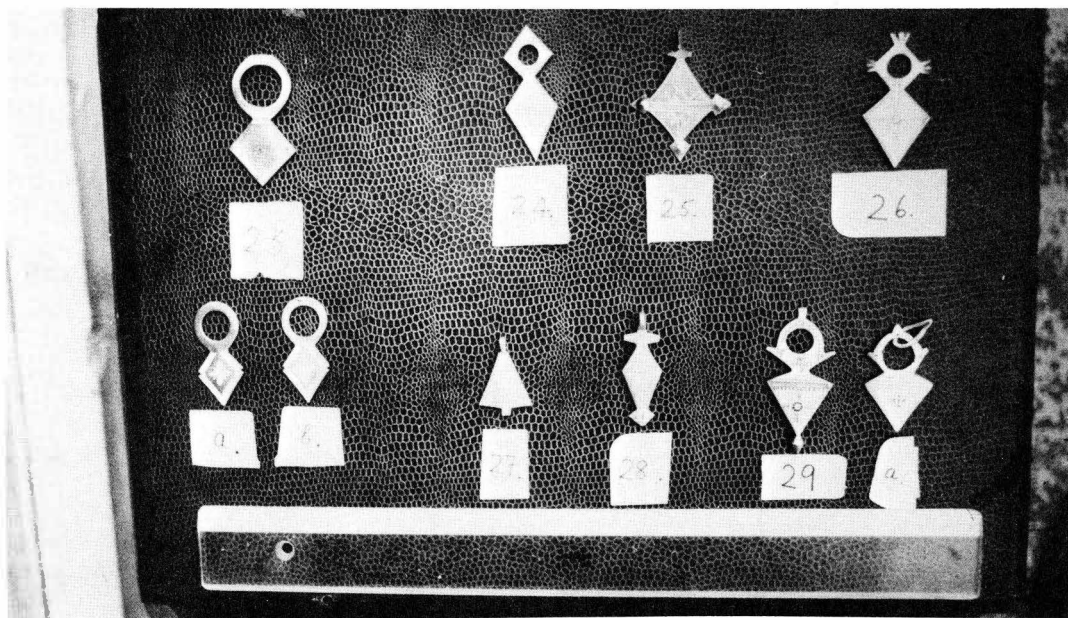


Pl. 6: 29. Baghzan cross (Cf. Fig. 1 a, no. 17, and this plate, no. 17).

17. Bagzane cross. 21. Zinder cross.

22. Small In Gall crosses, with red glass "stones".

a and b. Larger In Gall crosses, each with an agate stone. The right-hand example is manufactured from a silver spoon, a gift from a lady tourist. Kalter (1976, 35) mentions Saharan use of this fertility symbol, known from the Late Stone Age, by Moorish and Arab women.



Pl. 7: 23 and a + b. Kel Owi crosses.

24. Bilma cross (Cf. Fig. 1 a, no. 12).

25. Tamgak cross.

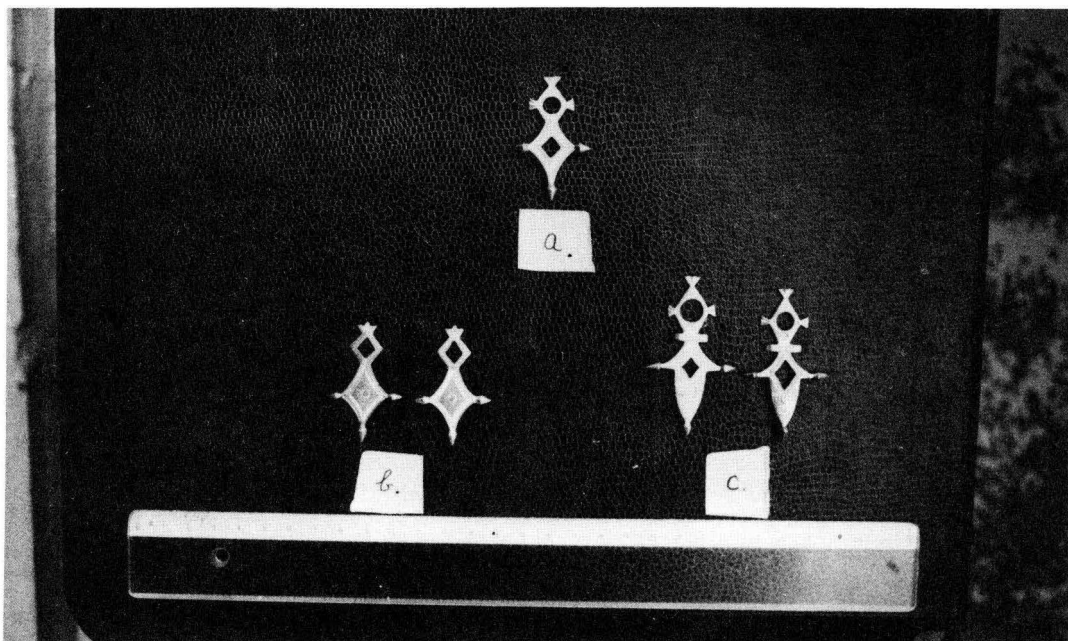
26. Aguellal cross.

27. Gougaram cross.

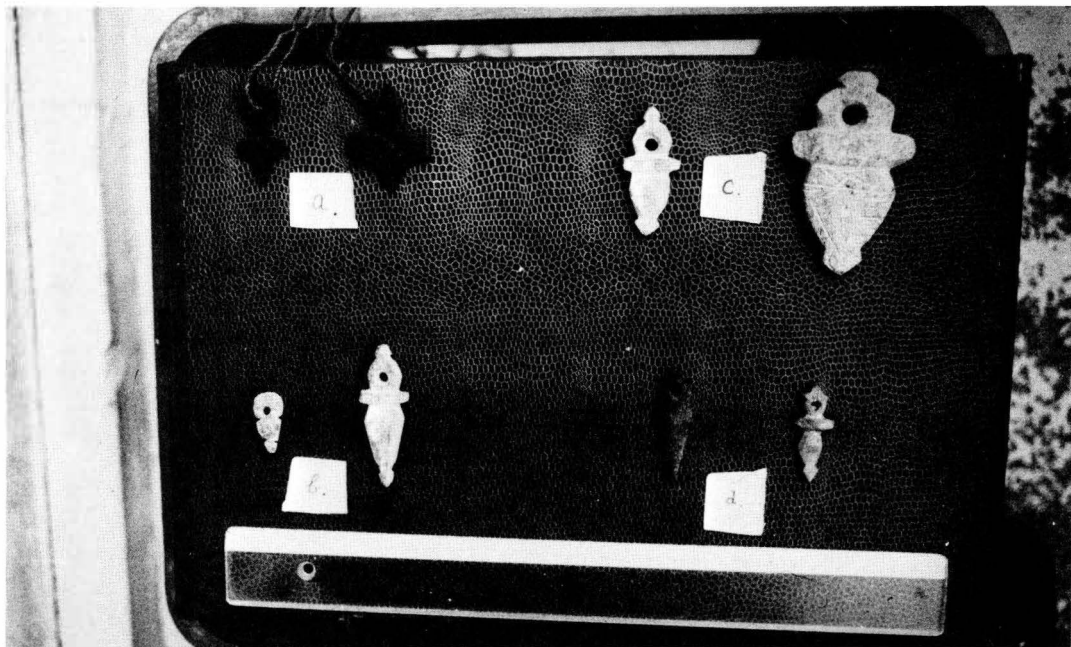
28. Assamaka cross.

29. Baghzan cross.

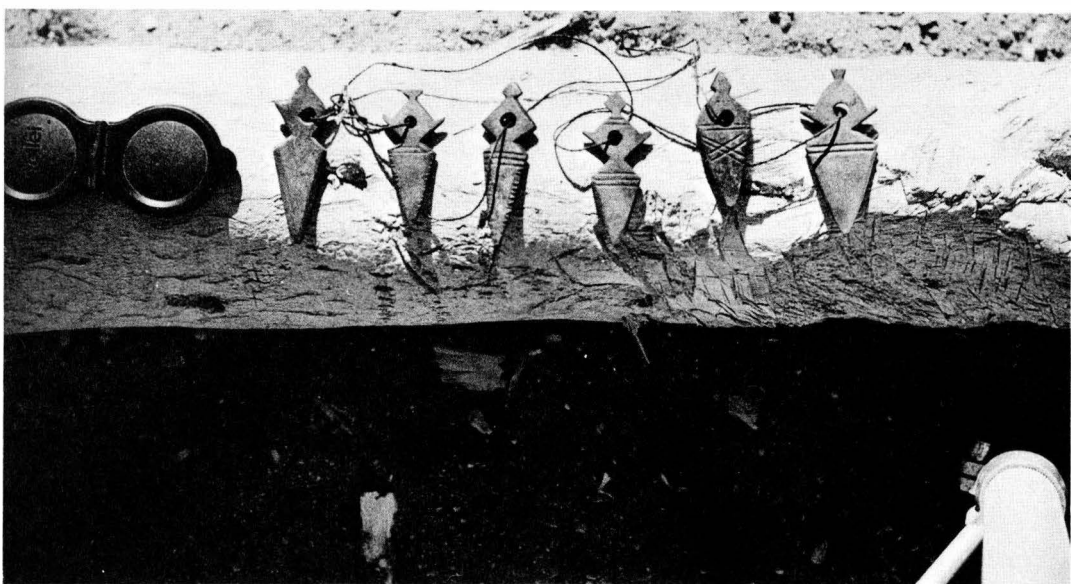
a. Copy (?) of no. 26.



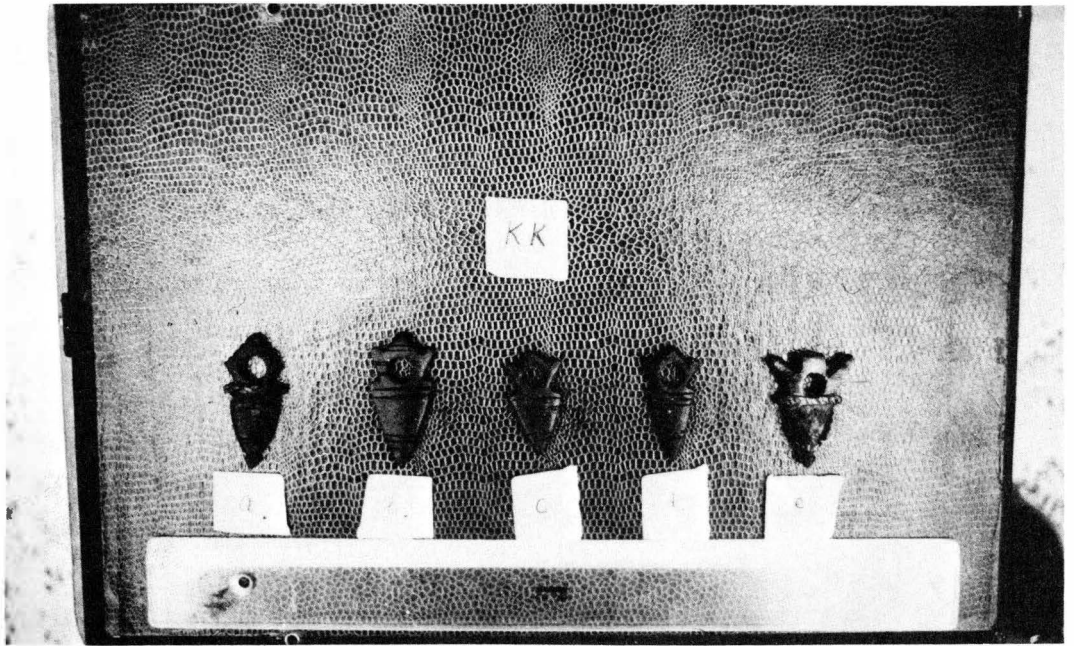
Pl. 8: a + b + c. False crosses, made in 1977 and shown to various smiths, with the intention of watching their reactions.



Pl. 9: a. Stone crosses made by Amate Anou.
 b. Stone crosses from Iferouane. Left: “Bilma”, Right: “Village de Tamgak”.
 c. Stone crosses, Iferouane. Left: unknown. Right: “Bilma”.
 d. Stone crosses, Iferouane. Left: unknown (Cf. N. Petit-Maire, Mar/Apr 1979, 33, “adornments in coastal Mauritanian civilisation (4,500–2,500 B. P.)”): Right: base metal cross, presumably “Bilma”.



Pl. 10: Stone crosses, Iferouane. Types, in line from camera lense-cap: — “Bilma”: “Bilma”: “Zinder”: “Tamgak”: “Kel Tadek”: “Kel Owi”.



Pl. 11: Stone crosses, Krip-Krip, un-named: note superior workmanship to those of Iferouane, in spite of extreme youth of Krip-Krip “deputy smith” Amudi.



Pl. 12: Iferouane: a + b: Maraboutic pendants. c + d + e: arm-rings with primitive local lettering.